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THE AUSTRALIA
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SCHOOLS



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Innovation in Planning for Cities and Regions:

Proceedings of the Australia & New Zealand
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The Proceedings of the Australia and New Zealand Association of Planning Schools 2013 Conference details the papers, presentations and abstracts presented at the ANZAPS 2013 Conference held 27-28 September 2013 at University of Canberra, ACT, AUSTRALIA.

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Introduction

Welcome to the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Australia and New Zealand Association of Planning Schools 2013. During September 2013, the annual conference was hosted by the University of Canberra in Australia's national capital, Canberra, during our centenary celebrations. The University of Canberra offers a planning program at the undergraduate and postgraduate level and hosts a number of research doctoral students. The program is within the Faculty of Business, Government and Law and undertakes research at UC in collaboration with CURF (Canberra Urban and Regional Futures), NATSEM (National Centre for Economic and Social Modelling) and ANZSOG (Australia and New Zealand School of Government) Institute for Governance.

Planners play a critical role in shaping the communities in which we all live, making them more liveable, sustainable and vibrant places. Increasingly the planning profession is involved in multi-disciplinary responses to changing urban form and effective frameworks for private sector investment. Innovations in urban infrastructure planning, urban management and capital city strategic planning are emerging national priorities. The ACT region provides an immediate 'urban and regional observatory' for students to examine contemporary planning issues. Included in these proceedings are a number of key papers that provide insights into the changing landscape of tertiary education and local government and planning across various states.



ANZAPS 2013 Conference Program

Friday 27 September 2013

Time	Program	Venue	
12.30pm	Registration	University of Canberra, Ann Harding Centre Building 24 Ann Harding Centre Foyer	
Time	Conference Opening and Key note Lecture – Ann Harding Centre Seminar Room 2		
1.00pm	<div>- Welcome to Country</div> <div>- Welcome</div> <div>Professor Barbara Norman <i>University of Canberra, ACT</i></div>		
1.15pm	Key note Lecture Topic: Director General Dorte Ekelund <i>Environment and Sustainable Development Directorate, ACT Government</i>		
Opening Session			
Time	Track	Presenter	Presentation title
2.00pm	Planning Innovation	1. Dr Laura Schatz <i>University of Western Sydney</i>	Participatory, technocratic and neoliberal planning: governance tensions within the NSW planning system
2.20pm	Planning Innovation	2. Professor Peter Phibbs and Associate Professor Dr Nicole Garran <i>University of Sydney, NSW.</i>	NSW Planning Whitepaper
2.40pm	Planning Education	3. Anna Marie Leditschke <i>University of South Australia</i>	Expectations and realities: An exploration in teaching planning ethics to university students
3.00pm	Afternoon Tea- Ann Harding Centre Foyer		

Session 1 Concurrent Presentations							
Ann Harding Centre Seminar Room 1				Ann Harding Centre Seminar Room 2			
Time	Track	Presenter	Presentation title	Time	Track	Presenter	Presentation title
3.30pm	Planning Education	4. Jones et al. <i>University of Adelaide and Deakin University</i>	Teaching Sustainability Ethics and Practice: Exploring Strategies for Regional Community Resilience with Design and Planning Students	3.30pm	Planning Innovation	5. Roy Montgomery <i>Lincoln University, NZ</i>	Promise the earth then deliver the middle ground: reverse innovation in planning for suburban growth
3.50pm	Planning Education	6. Jones et al. <i>Deakin University Griffith University University of Western Australia and University of Canberra</i>	Planning Education and Indigenous Knowledge Systems in Australia: Where Are We?	3.50pm	Planning Innovation	7. Andrew Butt <i>La Trobe University</i>	Performance Failure, Legitimacy and Collective Representations: how should we teach rural planning?
4.10pm	Planning Innovation	8. Dr Richard Hu <i>University of Canberra</i>	Redefining Migration in Global Cities: A case study of Sydney	4.10pm	Planning Innovation	9. Awais Piracha <i>University of Western Sydney</i>	Climate Change Mitigation and Adaptation: A Comparative Study of Local Governments' Actions in NSW Australia and Nevada USA
Canberra Urban and Regional Futures Program - Ann Harding Centre Foyer							
4.30pm	Planning challenges or sustainability for the ACT MLA Simon Corbell <i>Minister Environment And Sustainable Development, ACT Government</i>						
6.00pm	Pre-Dinner drinks		Location: King O'Malleys, <i>the snug</i> , Garema Place, Civic				

Saturday 28 September 2013

Time	Conference Welcome	Ann Harding Centre Seminar Room 1
8.30am	Registration, Tea and Coffee on arrival	
9.00am	Overview of proceedings – <i>Urban and Regional Planning Program, University of Canberra</i> Professor Barbara Norman	

Session 2 Presentations

Seminar Room 1			
Time	Track	Presenter	Presentation title
9.15am	Planning Education	10. Associate Professor Claire Freeman <i>University of Otago, NZ</i>	New Zealand's Research Assessment Exercise: Implications for Planning Education
9.45am	Planning Innovation	11. John Jackson <i>Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology</i>	Planning Practitioners to Emulate: Role Models from Glasgow, Melbourne and Toronto
10.15am	Morning Tea – Ann Harding Centre Foyer		

Session 2 Workshop

Ann Harding Centre Seminar Room 1			
Time	Track	Presenter	Presentation title
10.30am	Planning Education	12. Dr Claudia Baldwin, Assoc Prof Johanna Rosier and research team <i>University of the Sunshine Coast, Qld</i>	Experiential learning in Planning schools, toolkits and training
12.30 – 1.00pm	Lunch – Ann Harding Centre Foyer		

ANZAPS AGM

1.15pm	Ann Harding Centre Seminar Room 1		
Time	Track	Presenter	Presentation title
1.00pm	Planning Education	13. Associate Professor Susan Thompson <i>University of New South Wales</i>	Interdisciplinary Teaching and Learning: Preparing built environment and health professionals for interdisciplinary and integrative 21 st Century practice
1.35pm	ANZAPS AGM		
3.00pm	Conference Farewell		

Abstract opening session

1. Participatory, technocratic and neoliberal planning: governance tensions within the NSW planning system.

Laura Schatz, Dallas Rogers
University of Western Sydney

In this paper, we explore the tensions between the practices of professional planners, the participatory planning frameworks of governments and the neoliberalisation of planning governance in Australia. Rather than fitting neatly together, we argue that there are fundamental theoretical and practical tensions amongst these technocratic, participatory and neoliberal governance processes. Importantly, each dictates a different source of power in terms of setting the planning agenda and making planning decisions. Using the New South Wales planning system as a case study, we demonstrate that the introduction of 'the market' and 'local citizens' as planning agenda setters and decision-makers has proved difficult for the New South Wales Government to manage in planning practice. We draw attention to the way the state might violate the democratic principles that enable the technocratic power of planning professionals if they devolve too much of their decision-making and agenda setting power to 'the market' or 'local citizens', or indeed both. Using theories of direct/participatory democracy, technocratic/representative democracy and neoliberal/market-centric democracy, we demonstrate where the political power is located to set the planning agenda and to undertake decision-making within each of the three governance processes. We conclude that enabling a suite of governance process in one governance space can disable or undermine important features within the other governance processes.

Participatory, technocratic and neoliberal planning: governance tensions within the NSW planning system

Key words: *Governance, neoliberalism, planning system, reform*

Introduction

Despite increasing political discourse about the benefits of both participatory and neoliberal governance in planning, limited attention has been directed to how participatory and neoliberal planning might work together as an intersecting set of governance processes in planning practice. In particular, little is known about how these processes might function in the broader representative system of government that authorises the technocratic power of planning professionals. Rather than fitting neatly together, there are fundamental theoretical and practical tensions amongst technocratic, participatory and neoliberal governance processes. Most importantly, each dictates a different source of power in terms of setting the planning agenda and making planning decisions. In this paper, we explore these tensions and argue that more attention needs to be given to the theoretical underpinnings of these planning processes in order for the planning system to operate in a socially, environmentally and economically beneficial way.

Involving the private sector and local citizenries in planning matters is an increasingly common feature of the NSW planning system. However different theories of democratic governance underwrite the technocratic systems of planning professionals, the recruitment of the private sector and 'the market' as key actors in strategic planning and infrastructure provision, and the involvement of local communities in planning decision-making. We use political philosophy theories of governance to investigate the analytical borderlands where these three governance processes converge (Sassen, 2006). We show that tensions have emerged within the NSW planning system between the role of expert planners in the NSW Government, the local participatory planning objectives of the NSW Government and the use of the private sector and 'the market' within the NSW planning system. Using theories of direct/participatory democracy, technocratic/representative democracy and neoliberal/market-centric governance, we demonstrate where the political power is located to set the planning agenda and to undertake decision-making within each governance process. We conclude that enabling a suite of governance processes in one governance space can disable or undermine important features of the other governance processes.

Participatory versus representative democracy in the planning literature

Recent decades have seen a trend in the planning literature towards recommending a move away from so-called 'top-down' comprehensive planning toward strategic planning based on citizen participation. Planning scholars such as Healey (2007), Albrechts (2006) and Maginn (2007) have called for planning to be based less on planners 'imposing' their expertise on the public and more on planners engaging in a dialogue with local residents on an on-going basis in order to formulate policies based on a consensus of what the community 'wants' for their local area. The overall argument is that planning policy formulation and implementation is much more effective when local residents are involved (Bäcklund and Mäntysalo, 2010; NSW Government, 2011; 2013b). While this argument has proved discursively powerful for planning policy-makers politically, where it has been implemented in practice local community uptake has been variegated (Arnstein, 1969; Atkinson and Cope, 1997; Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Cornwall, 2004; Lepofsky and Fraser, 2003; Maginn, 2007). The commitment to participatory planning appeared to be, or at least was rhetorically presented as, an urban policy panacea for local planning authorities, local citizens and the more centralised state planning departments. For instance Meadowcroft (2001) discusses how, in the 1970s, the Liberal Party in the UK adopted a 'Community Politics' approach to local government. This approach was a reaction against the 'representative' nature of local politics, the perception of which was local councillors making decisions on behalf of residents who had their say only when those councillors were elected. As Meadowcroft (2001: 28) states "Community Politics demanded a different form of representational relationship. The aim of the strategy was to involve the vast majority of the population in the decision-making processes that affected their lives". Meadowcroft's (2001) study demonstrated that the shift towards community politics was politically incongruous with local citizen dissatisfaction or even citizen apathy toward planning matters – mainly because popular discontent with local politics meant that local residents were not keen to participate on an on-going basis in local planning and policy-making. A voluminous literature (Arnstein, 1969; Atkinson and Cope, 1997; Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Cornwall, 2004; Lepofsky and Fraser, 2003) supports Meadowcroft's (2001) claim that in practice public participation ends up being more of an information-sharing process between local councillors, government planners and local citizenries – a process through which councillors or planners might convince residents of the correctness of the planning decisions that they have already taken, rather than a power-sharing process.

More importantly, for Meadowcroft (2001), Cooke and Kothari (2001), Cornwell (2004) and others, participatory governance research raises a fundamental concern that has not been sufficiently dealt with in the planning literature: that being the tensions that arise when policy-makers attempt to incorporate participatory planning processes into representative democracies. As Meadowcroft (2001) points out, the traditional foundation of representative democracy is based on the notion that local representatives make decisions on behalf of local residents that are based on the representatives' perceptions of what is in the best interests of those residents. This might coincide with what those residents 'want', but it might not. Ultimately the final decision will be based on what the councillors perceive, based on their own expertise and the advice of their planning experts, is best for 'the public' across the different scales of government. Meadowcroft (2001: 39) points out that where residents' desires and the perceived public interests are in conflict, representatives will end up "acting as the trustee of their constituents' interests rather than as a delegate mandated to serve the numerical majority". In practice, when a government calls for public participation, in the context of a representative system of democracy, the decision-making 'power' ultimately resides with a suite of bureaucrats operating within one or more institutional sites. More empirical work is needed at the intersection of these participatory planning practices and the broader representative system of democracy that authorises these bureaucratic planning powers.

Assembling participatory planning in NSW

Since 2005, the New South Wales system of local government, which is heavily controlled by the NSW State Government, has seen a decisive political move, rhetorically at least, towards "[r]eturn planning powers to local communities" in an attempt to increase the role that citizens might play in local or state strategic planning (NSW Government, 2011: 55). As Aulich (2009) points out, there is general agreement amongst policy-makers in NSW that citizens should be involved in local government decision-making. He argues that citizen participation, "...aims to devolve power and resources away from central control and towards front-line managers, local democratic structures, and local consumers and communities in what Stoker terms 'new localism'...This has implications for traditional ideas of representative government with communities moving away from vicarious engagement in democracy towards more direct involvement in decision-making processes". (Aulich, 2009: 45)

Aulich (2009) argues that the move towards more direct citizen participation in local government is aimed at addressing the shortcomings of representative democracy. In effect, by increasing local citizen input into policy-making, the government can respond to "demands for participation from a better educated, more articulate and more demanding citizenry, many of whom express a declining level of trust in political institutions and a belief that purely representative democracy often results in a 'democratic deficit'...This belief is expressed in demands for supplementary engagement of citizens beyond the traditional democratic processes of three or four year elections, with calls for more meaningful exchanges with government..." (Aulich, 2009: 52).

Pillora and McKinlay (2011: 7) similarly argue that, in Australia, the relationship between local authorities and their citizens is changing: "25 years ago in most developed countries the principal means of engagement with local government was through the electoral process; you elected your representatives and by and large left them to get on with the job. Since then there has been a very substantial shift in what citizens (communities) expect of their relationship".

What is missing from these critiques and the NSW State Government's planning documents (NSW Government, 2011; NSW Government, 2013b; NSW Government, 2013a) are clear statements that define what exactly constitutes 'direct engagement' at 'the local' level. In terms of the constitutional capacity to exercise decision-making power, the differences between 'local citizens' and 'local authorities' is significant; these two social actors cannot be assumed to share common political interests nor do they hold equivalent decision-making powers. The NSW State Government (2011: 3) states they will "...devolve decision making and return planning powers to the community...and give the community a say in decisions affecting their lives". It is important to separate the local citizenries from the local government authorities (local councils) when investigating participatory planning because the NSW State Government delegates these social actors very different decision-making 'powers'. The NSW State Government engages the local citizenry and the local government authorities on different terms and in different political spaces. Currently, the NSW State Government has mandated the engagement of local citizenries *through* the local government authorities. For example, the NSW State Government has implemented legislation and policies which require more citizen participation in local council and state government policy-making (particularly in the area of planning). Recent changes to the NSW *Local Government Act 1993* make it mandatory for local governments to create a 10-year Community Strategic Plan. This plan is to be the 'highest level of plan' that the local governments are required to create in consultation with the local community, complete with a community-based 'vision statement' (Prior and Herriman, 2010: 49). Prior and Herriman (2010) cite as one of the underlying reasons for the adoption of this requirement, a general move towards utilising participatory democracy as a counterbalance to the shortcomings of representative democracy. But representatives still play a role: councillors and ministers are to act as the 'custodians' of the plan.

As the name implies, community strategic plans seek to give emphasis to community-led rather than council-led strategy development, the idea being that the plan is owned by the local community, developed through extensive input by the community, and is for the community/whole of government area. It is not developed by a single institution, even though one institution – the council – is required to help bring the plan into being and operates as its 'custodian' (Prior and Herriman: 60-61).

More specific to local land-use planning, in the recently released White Paper, which outlines the proposed changes to NSW's *Environmental Planning and Assessment Act, 1979*, the NSW State Government places great emphasis on including the local community in the process of developing local land-use planning policies. According to the White Paper (NSW Government, 2013b: 6): "Community participation in the preparation of plans and the vision for their local areas represents a key change in the new planning system. It means that the opportunity for the community to participate at the start of the planning process, and on an ongoing basis, will be prioritised and integral to setting the vision and ground rules for local areas" (p.6). The new planning legislation, according to this document, will require a "high level of community participation" in the formation of local and regional planning policies. The new legislation will also provide for a Community Participation Charter that will impose a duty on local councils and state agencies to act consistently with the Charter in carrying out planning activities.

These developments indicate that the NSW State Government intends that citizens will become more involved in planning activities and that this will address the cited problems with top-down representative systems of planning governance. Nonetheless, little is understood about how this move towards citizen participation will work in a system of representative democracy where, ultimately, local representatives largely have the final say on planning approval matters and the state government has the final say on strategic planning matters. Hearfield and Dollery (2009) argue that further

complexity is expected following the amalgamations of local councils in NSW. They argue that a greater ratio of population per representative will change the scope, nature and efficacy of representative democracy. They identify the following question as requiring further investigation: “does this declining trend in the numbers of local government bodies and councillors actually decrease the representative and thereby democratic character of local government” (p.71). They do not, however, directly address the issue of the effect of increasing on-going local citizen participation on the efficacy of representative democracy. Grant, Dollery and Gow (2011) similarly raise the issue of the effect of local amalgamations on representative democracy: “the democratic legitimacy of local government has been significantly undermined by forced amalgamation processes across almost all state and territory jurisdictions, to the extent that the number of councils and councillors has been significantly diminished...while yielding disappointing results in terms of cost savings...” (Grant et al., 2011: 55).

While these authors identify the increasing trend towards encouraging citizen participation in local government decision-making (and the accompanying shift in power structures), they do not directly address the tensions inherent to this trend. Furthermore, the move toward more citizen participation in local planning and policy-making in NSW is taking place within a trend by the NSW State Government of reclaiming planning powers from local councils at various key phases of the planning cycle – ‘state significant planning’ is a key example (Ratcliff et al., 2010). There is one final feature of the NSW planning system that further complicates the capacity of the NSW State Government and local councils to grant decision-making power to local citizenries, and that is the role played by private sector actors and ‘the market’ in delivering planning infrastructure. In the next section we move onto a discussion regarding the intersection of these three governance processes: top-down representative planning; bottom-up citizen participatory planning; and market-driven neoliberal planning.

The various governance processes and the tensions amongst them

The involvement of the private sector and the use of public-private amalgams for the provision of major infrastructure and social services is an increasingly common feature of the NSW planning system (Rogers, 2013b). However, local participatory planning, the technocratic work of government planners, and the use of the private sector under neoliberal regimes of urban governance are underwritten by different theories of democratic governance – namely direct/participatory, technocratic/representative and neoliberal/market-centric respectively. In this section, we use political philosophy theories of governance to critique the intersections of these three features of the NSW planning system. Central to this discussion are the terms ‘democracy’ and ‘the market’, which are open to multiple meanings within the NSW State Government’s planning documents (NSW Government, 2011: 55). Within the political philosophy literature, some theorise ‘democracy’ and ‘the market’ as opposing to argue that ‘the market’ as an arbitrary decision-maker limits the sovereignty of citizens (Bensaid, 2011; Agamben, 2011). On the other hand, those informed by neoclassical economics intertwine ‘democracy’ and ‘the market’ to argue that competitive individualism means that free markets are freedom creating (Hayek, 1948; Friedman, 1963).

Thus tensions have emerged within the NSW planning system because different, and perhaps irreconcilable, theories of political governance underwrite these three key planning processes. To better understand these planning governance tensions we will critically review: (1) the technocratic planning frameworks of the NSW Government; (2) the participatory planning frameworks of the NSW Government; and (3) the emergence of the neoliberal

planning frameworks of the NSW Government. In this discussion about planning governance it was important to separate the *governance processes* from the *government system*. In this respect *government* is understood as a *system* that defines the relationships between the state and the people,¹ while *governance* is a set *processes* through which the people and businesses are governed. Within representative democracies, governance processes recognise that decisions are made based on complex relationships between many actors with different and often competing priorities. In the analysis that follows, we are interested in determining where the political power is located to set the planning agenda and to undertake decision-making within each of the three governance processes, and how each governance process might enable or undermine the efficacy of other governance processes.

Technocratic planning: representative democracy

The NSW planning system operates within a technocratic and representative system of democratic government. Within this system, there is an increasingly politicised and unstable discussion about the scale (federal-state-local) at which planning governance should be tasked. The most recent re-articulation of Australia's planning governance process came in December 2010 when the Australian Federal Government released the *Our Cities Our Future—building a productive, sustainable and liveable future* discussion paper. This was quickly followed with a policy framework for implementing a National Urban Planning Framework “in partnership with State, Territory and Local Governments, business and the community” (Australian Government, 2011: 2). The policy framework sets out the Australian Federal Government's ambitions for a national approach to the planning and governance of Australian cities (Australian Government, 2011). This was the first time that the Federal Government put forward a National Urban Policy Framework in an attempt to coordinate the State and Territories' urban agendas, and represents a Federal Government reinterpretation of the constitutional demarcations of governance power under Australian Federalism (Gleeson, 2006).

However in practical planning and political terms, the constitutional power to restructure Australian cities resides, as it always has, with the States and Territories and through them the local government authorities. While the Federal Government has no direct political oversight of State and Territory planning, the national agenda is explicitly focused on, and the Federal Government is seeking to influence, State and Territorial planning governance processes through the funding of major planning and infrastructure projects. This turn toward the national in urban planning policy represents a restructuring of planning governance. The politics of planning governance rescaling runs from the federal all the way down to the local level. A form of “new regionalism” (Paasi, 2003), which is characteristic of the Government's emphasis on intervention in urban policy at the scale of metropolitan regions rather than at local divisions, is driving a reworking of the political level at which citizens, businesses and community organisations are made governable. Over the last three years in NSW, the responsibility for planning governance has become more fluid and highly politicised as the Federal, State and Territory, and Local Government's vie for a share in the planning governance pie. In the 2011 NSW state election, the major political parties politicised planning governance, with the centre-right Liberal government coming to power on a platform built around handing planning governance power back to local government authorities and, surprisingly, even citizens (NSW Government, 2011). Then in the 2013 White Paper *A new planning system for NSW*, the NSW State Government sought to claw back their governance power from local government authorities with a significant

¹ Who are called citizens in democratic systems of government.

restructuring of the planning system (NSW Government, 2013b). But arguably, the 2013 referendum on recognising local government in the constitution represented one of the most significant attempts at rescaling planning governance under Australian Federalism (Grattan, 2013).

This intra-governmental politics is about the rescaling of planning governance within Australia's representative democracy and will continue to be played out in the coming years. However the technocratic system of representative democracy that structures this politics – a foundational feature of the democratic government system that the NSW planning governance processes sit within – is likely to remain intact. Within representative systems of technocratic government, sovereignty is exercised by a small group of representatives who are elected by the citizens. Within the NSW planning system, elected politicians hold the constitutional authority to set the planning agenda and they hold decision-making power. The requirements of technocratic government mean that they defer some of their agenda setting and decision-making power to planning professionals within their departments. However, the elected politicians at the State level can, and indeed they do, recall this power from time to time when they override planning decisions or make planning matters “state significant” (NSW Department of Planning, 2005). Thus, within the system of representative democracy, powers over planning agenda setting and decision-making are constantly shifting.

Participatory planning: direct democracy

Since 2005, there has been a sustained effort by the NSW State Government (2005a; 2010; 2011; 2013b) to reframe planning policy in terms of ideals around local democracy, social inclusion and citizen participation. Documents such as the NSW State Plan and the Sydney Metropolitan Strategy call for the returning of “planning powers to the community and giving people a say on decisions that affect them” (NSW Government, 2011: 6). As an intersecting suite of governance processes, the suggestion that the government could defer some of the technocratic decision-making powers of their professional planners over to the local ‘community’ is highly problematic. For example, the NSW State Plan states that “Essential to our strong democracy...[is] enabling citizens to critique government services, and finding more ways to involve people in government decision making...Making it easier for citizens to interact with government through modern, innovative and engaging tools” (NSW Government, 2011: 55-58). As independent governance processes, *critiquing government services*, *involving citizens in decision-making* and *interacting with citizens via new media tools* are underwritten by different ideas about citizen participation. ‘Critiquing’ the government can be achieved, as it has long been, by accessing government planning information through freedom of information (Government Information Publication Act, GIPA) legislation that does not necessarily require a fundamental restructuring of technocratic planning governance – i.e. the ministers and the planners act and then the citizens review and critique. Equally, when governments ‘interact’ with citizens via new media tools, they do not necessarily defer some of their decision-making power to citizens through this process, and this might partly explain why there has been very limited uptake or community interest in online community consultations in NSW. In short, governments can implement both of these governance processes without undermining the technocratic power of their planning professionals – that is without deferring their technocratic decision-making power to a local citizenry. However “involving citizens in decision-making” would require a fundamental restructuring of the representative system of government that currently frames planning governance in NSW.

It is one theoretical task to analyse the politics and rescaling of planning governance within the representative system of government. In the case of the NSW planning system, this is a focus on the political contestation regarding the rescaling of the constitutional authority to set the agenda and to hold

decision-making power at different levels of government within a system of representative democracy (see technocratic planning above). However, it is quite another theoretical task to analyse the politics of planning governance extra-representative government (i.e. extra-professional planner). This is especially the case when the analysis is focused on locating the social actors (citizens, private sector lobbyist etc.) who exercise agenda setting and decision-making power but do not hold any technocratic power granted them by the government. In the case of the NSW planning system, the focus on “finding more ways to involve people in government decision making” marks a significant rhetorical shift that, if it could be implemented as a governance process, would represent a significant challenge to the constitutional powers of the local, state and federal governments to set the planning agenda and to hold decision-making power *within* a system of representative democracy. What is being rhetorically proposed represents a political challenge to the representative *system* of democratic government in Australia; one which would require that some of the technocratic power of planning professionals be deferred to non-government actors via non-technocratic and non-representative governance processes. The government’s solution to this dilemma, where they have sought to acknowledge and address this governance dilemma, has been, rather problematically, to use the tools of direct democracy.

Ideals such as *citizen juries* and *local citizen involvement in decision-making* as they appear in the NSW Planning texts, and the models of citizen participation that they are taken from (IAP2, 2011; Farrar, 2007), might as well have been taken straight out of the direct democracy of 500^{BCE} Athens (NSW Government, 2011: 55-58). Within direct forms of democratic government, sovereignty is lodged with an assembly of ordinary local citizens instead of a collective of elected representatives and their technocrats. In direct democracies, citizens set the agenda and hold decision-making power and the elected representatives and technocrats have a limited, if any, role to play. “What is missing from these [citizen] participation policies”, argues Rogers (2013a: 6), “is the way – the method or the process – through which these processes of local-level democracy will be incorporated into a system of representative democracy”. The more direct forms of democracy that the government is proposing, such as citizen involvement in planning decision-making, would dilute the power that has been deferred to planning professionals within planning departments because it would require the introduction of a new power structure to intersect with the planning agenda setting and decision-making processes of technocratic planning governance. Indeed, a local citizenry could never be assumed to hold the technocratic expertise of planners. So through what governance process should local citizens be granted agenda setting and decision-making power? And if citizens are not to be granted agenda setting and decision-making power, then can these participatory planning processes be called democratic? Further compounding the democratic oxymora that provide the intersection for direct and representative models of democracy within the NSW planning system is the introduction of yet another planning governance process, namely the neoliberalisation of planning governance in NSW.

Neoliberal planning: market-centric democracy

The NSW Government (2005b; 2011) regularly makes claims about being coerced by market forces and global capitalism, rising public debt and the need to offload their public infrastructure provision and management to the private sector. On the contrary, McGuirk (2005) has demonstrated that the government is not a passive social actor in the neoliberalisation of NSW but rather a key player responsible for shaping and reshaping the urban, peri-urban and regional spaces of the state. Rather than an inevitable outcome of global economic uncertainty, the Government’s collective decisions to use the private sector as the provider and/or manager of state infrastructure and social service provision is an ideological choice that is reshaping planning

governance processes in NSW (NSW Government, 2011; 2013b). It is a decision that disorders the technocratic power of planning professionals through the further enabling of private sector power structures and complicates their reported participatory planning objectives through the introduction of additional private sector actors and 'the market' in agenda setting and decision-making processes. Through neoliberal governance processes, the Government's planning departments are encouraged to position financial evaluation, market conditions and economic performance as important planning drivers and decision-making mechanisms. These conditions make it harder for citizens to contribute to the policy debates about the reconfiguring of their cities, for they are rarely thought of as valid knowledge holders (technocratic planning experts) about their cities, nor are many of them financial share-holders in the *state-sponsored* private interests that are central to neoliberal planning. Neoliberal governance raises a fundamental concern about what types of planning governance processes are freedom-creating for which social strata or group (Soja, 2010; Peck, 2010). Through the selection of certain ideologically mediated market mechanisms over others, such as public-private partnerships, the NSW planning system is changing the conditions by which local citizens and private sector actors might engage in the planning of the state.

Within neoliberal governance processes, sovereignty is increasingly exercised by a small group of very powerful and wealthy businesses and citizens (Harvey, 2005; Peck, 2010). Like participatory planning, neoliberal governance represents an *extra-representative government* rescaling of political power in relation to the NSW planning system. The market-rights that are created *within* the governance processes facilitate a suite of new power structures and private sector businesses to act *outside* the government system. The result is a neoliberal assemblage of planning governance that requires a restructuring of the relationships between the private sector and the government planners (Anderson and McFarlane, 2011). Public-private partnerships are a good example of the planning mechanisms that are required of this type of planning governance assemblage. The democratic securities and protections that were previously regulating the pre-neoliberal public sector planning system (i.e. through representative and technocratic planning that was largely intra-government) must be reconfigured to make them compatible with neoliberal 'market-based' governance processes. It is important to note that, arguably, the government and private actors have both contributed to urban infrastructure delivery for many millennia (Farrar, 2007). What makes neoliberal governance different is that private sectors actors are increasingly invited to be 'responsible', in tempo-legal terms but certainly not democratic terms, for public infrastructure and social services delivery. The private sector is not expected to be responsible for the 'public good' but rather might mutually achieve a 'public benefit' while realising economic returns (Rogers, 2013b). The large infrastructure projects that the private sector now manages have significant social and spatial justice imperatives that were previous considered the remit of, and perhaps only protected by, governments. In fact when public-private partnerships fail in NSW (Hawthorne, 2013) the political discussion quickly turns toward the democratic implications for citizens, such as government bailouts that might be needed to ensure the 'public' infrastructure and/or services are still provided. In this respect, it is the elected representatives, and the planning technocrats to some degree, who remain responsible for strategy planning and large-scale infrastructure deliverables in NSW. Thus within neoliberal governance structures, the elected politicians still hold the constitutional authority to set the agenda and they hold the decision-making power. The requirements of neoliberal governance suggest that they should require their planning professionals to defer some of their agenda setting and decision-making power to market forces and to the private sector actors through various contractual arrangements with private and non-government actors. Nonetheless, the power to enable or restrain private sector power, and to incorporate neoliberal and technocratic governance processes, remains with the elected politicians within the representative system of democracy. The

responsibility to manage private sector insolvencies and other market failures, when a government enters a contractual agreement with a private sector actor, largely falls to the government's technocratic managers.

Discussion

Democratic systems of government are premised on a basic precondition that citizens have the freedom to question the power of their sovereign ruler. However political philosophers have long debated which amalgamation of governance processes might best enable this basic democratic right to be realised by citizens (Agamben, 2011; Arendt, 1993; Badiou, 2005; Sassen, 2006). Planning systems are similarly dynamic amalgamations of various governance processes, which are not always brought together in obvious ways. Nor are the governance relationships necessarily symbiotic or without urban politics. In fact, a very clear urban politics is driving the assemblage of various governance processes in the NSW planning system (Anderson and McFarlane, 2011). There is an intra-governmental politics spanning the Federal down through the State to the Local Governments. The Federal Government is driving a national planning reform agenda whereby the NSW Government is positioned to intervene in urban policy at the scale of metropolitan regions rather than at local divisions. However, we argue that this intra-governmental politics is largely about the rescaling of planning governance within Australia's representative democracy and largely does not undermine, although it does recalibrate, the technocratic power of planning professionals. It represents a rescaling of the government locales for placing technocratic planning power. Within this politics of planning governance, the elected representatives (Ministers) and the planning professionals hold the constitutional authority to set the planning agenda and they hold decision-making power. Of greater concern for us in this paper is the extra-governmental politics of participatory and neoliberal planning within the NSW planning system. The rhetorical introduction of 'the market' and 'citizens' as planning agenda setters and decision-makers seems duplicitous and has proved difficult to manage in practice. The duplicitousness draws attention to the way the state would violate the democratic principles that enable the technocratic power of planning professionals if they devolve some of their decision-making and agenda setting power to 'the market' or 'local citizens', or indeed both.

On the one side, the Government has sought to manage 'local citizen participation' by recruiting the tools of direct democracy. Within these direct forms of planning governance, the power to set the local planning agenda is suggested to reside, at least in part, with local citizens rather than with the elected representatives and their planning professionals. Using terms such as *social inclusion* and *citizen involvement in decision-making* the rhetoric is about involving citizens in local and state planning processes. However, what is missing from this debate about participatory planning is a discussion about the governance mechanisms through which these processes of local-level and more direct forms of governance will be incorporated into a system of State Government driven technocratic planning. Thus a tension often emerges between the long-term strategic planning decisions of professional planners and the short-term and more localised concerns of local communities. The technocratic power of planning professionals is often assumed, with good reason, to be better equipped for considering the more long-term strategic planning matters that might mitigate some of the shorter-term concerns of local residents. However, we are not arguing against the inclusion of citizens in local or state planning matters, but rather for the inclusion of citizens in ways that might work alongside the technocratic processes that guide the NSW planning system. Local citizenries have long used political tools that are complementary to technocratic planning – such as freedom of information, lobbying politicians, submitting planning objections, accessing to the land and environment court, or going to the media – and while these political tools are not always preferred by planners or developers, nor are

they without their own politics and shortcomings, they do have some historical credibility. Furthermore, extensive research suggests that the formal participatory planning processes of governments might in fact be placating, or at least rendering less visible, these long-standing and effective citizen participation processes (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Cornwall, 2004). Discourses of local consensus and collective decision-making have replaced local discontent and activism as the *modus operandi* for citizen participation without any real process for handing planning governance power over to local citizens (Cornwall, 2004; Lepofsky and Fraser, 2003; Rogers, 2013a).

On the other side, the Government's decision to use the private sector and 'the market' to inform planning decisions and to drive economic growth further disorders the technocratic power of planning professionals. Professional planners are now required to apply financial criteria to social and physical planning concerns, and economic performance has become a significant decision-making mechanism. The enabling of neoliberal governance auditing, and the private sector power structures that this governance process qualifies, undermines both the participatory desires and the technocratic planning realities of government. The power of professional planners, as the key planning agenda setters and decision-makers – and the aim for more 'local community' input for that matter – is diluted by the private sector contracts that lock-in planning decisions and rule out transparency (e.g. commercial-in-confidence of public-private partnership contracts), not to mention how government might manage a suite of governance process that includes technocratic, participatory and neoliberal features. In fact, this is the very dilemma the NSW Government finds itself in as it searches for an impossible marriage of incompatible governance processes across difference scales of government. What is needed is a clear governance framework for, or a critical reappraisal of, bringing participatory, technocratic and neoliberal planning together within the NSW planning system that acknowledges how each governance system might enable and mitigate the efficacy of other governance processes.

Conclusion

While planners and politicians regularly proclaim the benefits of participatory and neoliberal governance in planning, limited attention has been directed to how participatory and neoliberal planning might work together as an intersecting set of governance processes in planning practice. The case study demonstrated that there is very little practical knowledge about how participatory planning and neoliberal planning processes might be assembled within the broader representative system of government in Australia. Understanding the broader political context is important because it is through this governance process that the technocratic power of planning professionals is authorised. Thus further research is needed in two key areas, one theoretical and the other empirical. In theoretical political philosophy terms, there are fundamental tensions between technocratic, participatory and neoliberal governance processes that need to be teased out. Fundamentally, each governance process dictates a different source of power in terms of setting the planning agenda and making planning decisions. In empirical terms, a better understanding of the practical planning relationships between top-down and bottom-up planning governance is needed. If involving the private sector and local citizenries in planning matters is going to remain a key objective of governments, more empirical work is required to model these planning relationships. In this paper, the case study demonstrates that tensions exist within the NSW planning system between the role of expert government planners, the local participatory planning objectives of the Government and the use of the private sector to deliver infrastructure. We conclude that rolling out a participatory planning or neoliberal governance process in one location can undermine important features of technocratic planning governance in another location.

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Conference Abstract	
2. Professor Peter Phibbs and Associate Professor Dr Nicole Garran <i>University of Sydney</i>	<i>Discussion on NSW White Paper.</i>

Conference Abstract

3. Expectations and realities: An exploration in teaching planning ethics to university students.

Anna Marie Leditschke, Jon Kellett,
Mathew W. Rofo and Rowena Butland.
University of South Australia

Upon graduation, planning students move into a diverse world, ranging from development assessment to policy development and public consultation. Furthermore, students are often thrust into a darker reality of balancing conflicting interests, power struggles and the search for the multi-layered and contentious 'public interest' (Tait, 2011). When entering the 'real world' of planning practice, the need for students to be adequately prepared for a range of challenges – practical, professional and ethical – is vital (Gurran et al., 2008; Nagy, 2012). This paper presents a preliminary theoretical discussion of current state of planning ethics at tertiary, or university, level and its role in the development of the ethically aware, practising planner. It considers the role of neoliberalism in academia, stressing both the teachers' and students' roles in understanding the highly political nature of the planning environment. Two case studies – the University of South Australia (UniSA), Australia and the University of Auckland, New Zealand are investigated. Finally, the paper provides a short overview of the need for ethics education in the current environment and its role in developing the ethically sensitive student. This includes discussion of 'job preparedness/employability', 'approachability of teachers and education', 'approachability of moral philosophy' and 'the importance of self-reflexivity/reflection and positionality'. This desk-top analysis provides a valuable insight into the current state of planning ethics education at two intercontinental universities. In understanding the differences and similarities between these courses, one can begin to appreciate how the nature of assessments, assigned readings and teaching staff contribute to developing the ethically aware professional planner. Both the University of South Australia and the University of Auckland ethics courses enable students to not only begin to understand their role as part of the greater collective of planning and society, but also towards being increasingly self-aware in their own decision-making skills.

Expectations and realities: An exploration in teaching planning ethics to university students

Keywords: *Ethics planning, planning education, universities; accreditation*

Introduction

In 1993, American planning academic Jerome L. Kaufman wrote of his experiences teaching planning ethics at university over a period of 12 years. During this time (from the 1970s onwards), planning ethics was viewed as a minor topic – an 'add on' to the university planning course; 'lack(ing)

definition and depth', with planning educators giving the topic 'scant attention' (Kaufman, 1993, p.107). Kaufman, in this work, and driven by other research with Elizabeth Howe (see Howe and Kaufman, 1979; Kaufman, 1981) ultimately stressed the need for university planning courses to include comprehensive ethics education. This topic would be designed to help students understand basic moral philosophy and theory that they could then apply within their future professional lives. In providing this information in an informative, practical and interactive manner, Kaufman (1993) hoped that interest in ethics would appeal to a younger generation of planners, and that universities would incorporate this fledgling field in their own planning courses. This paper therefore seeks to provide a brief overview of ethics courses at two separate universities, and how this often difficult and sometimes dry issue is presented to their respective students.

Twenty years later, planning ethics is now recognised as an integral part of the planning profession (Hendler, 1995; Campbell, 2012; Thomas, 2012). A plethora of works, including the role of ethics in professional practice (Campbell, 2012; Hendler, 1990), moral responsibility in planning (Gunder and Hillier, 2007) and the consideration of what constitutes 'ethical' behaviour in planning (Booth 2009) are evident in contemporary planning literature. This research, as well as increasing interest in the discipline, confirms Kaufman's (1993) own predictions that ethics would become increasingly prominent in planning practice, and subsequently, education. Further proof of the importance credited to ethics education and observance is through the development of professional institutions' planning codes and policy, stipulating 'correct' professional practice or 'ethical behaviour' (See for example, the Planning Institute of Australia's (PIA) *Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct* (2002), the New Zealand Planning Institute's (NZPI) *Constitution (Section 8:Code of Ethics)* (2011) and the Royal Town Planning Institute's (RTPI) *Code of Professional Conduct* (2012). Ultimately, the drive by professional institutions and employers towards the ethically aware, culturally sensitive and responsible planner is becoming increasingly recognised and desired in contemporary society (Sandercock, 2003; Booth, 2009; March et al., 2012).

This paper explores the current state of planning ethics education at tertiary, or university, level and its role in the development of the ethically aware, practising planner. Much has been discussed about planning education in general (Gurran et al., 2008; Whitzman, 2009; Freestone et al., 2007; Freestone et al., 2006), but less on planning ethics education specifically. (Some examples include Nagy, 2012 and Thomas, 2012). As many planners face ethical dilemmas in their working lives, it is important to understand how students are prepared, through their education, for these potential challenges. This paper therefore provides valuable insight into how two universities conduct specific ethics topics, with comparison providing potentially shedding new light on how teaching staff can alternatively educate students in such a value-laden area.

In understanding the nature of current planning ethics education, the role of the university in modern day is briefly discussed. This highlights how many university courses globally, are driven towards the need to cater for 'job ready' individuals. Job-preparedness also is of paramount importance, as stipulated by professional planning bodies. Two case studies from within Australia and New Zealand have been selected for analysis. The selection of these case studies was based upon a Commonwealth Association of Planners' (CAP) Accreditation Report, published in 2011, which recognised that of the 105 universities in 18 selected Commonwealth countries, only seven of these countries: the UK, Australia, Nigeria, Canada, New Zealand, Malaysia and South Africa have professionally accredited courses. The planning institutes of the UK, Canada and Australia "offer mutual recognition of each other's qualifications", with some recognition of New Zealand's courses between these countries (Commonwealth Association of Planners, 2011, p.2). A

comparative desk-top study of each nation's planning courses, and ethics topic – a general requirement for undergraduate planning courses within the CAP - was also conducted. Course co-ordinators of these topics, from the two countries were also contacted via email, for individual comment.

The role of universities and planning in a neoliberal world: a short introduction

As expectations of higher education planning courses changed over time, so too has the role attributed to that of the university. Since the 1980s, the effects of neoliberalism upon the global economy have filtered through to universities (and other teaching institutions of the developed world), resulting in extensive socio-economic impacts upon these organisations (Shore, 2010; Williams, 2008; Olssen and Peters, 2005). Predominantly there has been a rise in the highly debated “global knowledge economy”; an effect which emphasises the economic potential of “knowledge”; or “the application and productive use of information” (Roberts, 2009, p.287). Shore (2010, p.15) argues that this paradigm consists of two major trends which impact directly upon universities. First, the “dramatic rise in student numbers’ attending universities in recent years”, (or “massification”), is coupled with a large decline in government funding per individual student. Second, a shift of emphasis within the role of universities, from that of a bastion of intellect and critical engagement, to an economic corporation, competing with other institutions and businesses for government and public funding. Ultimately, universities themselves are now no longer seen as providing for the ‘public good’ by educating the broader, general populace, but as an “individual economic investment” (Shore, 2010, p.15).

But what effect do these global economic impacts and the restructuring of university priorities have on the discipline of planning, and more specifically planning ethics education? The discipline of planning has evolved, often being shaped by the current economic climate and/or market (NZPI, 2011, p. 5). Certainly, the neoliberal agenda has had extensive ramifications upon planning practice (Campbell and Marshall, 1999; Cook and Sarkissian, 2000). The role and image of planning has had to grow and adapt, from that of apolitical, “technocratic determinism to philosophical indeterminism” (Connell, 2010, p.269). These changing expectations of the profession, highlights the continuing tension between the professional and personal values of the modern day planner (Sager 2009). Planning education, much like other social sciences, has therefore developed from a strict Modernity focus to reflexive Modernity, impacted by globalisation (Bosman et al., 2011, p.73). Because of a combination of these factors, university planning courses have had increasing demands placed upon them to produce work-ready, professional individuals (Gurran et al., 2008; Thomas, 2012). Accordingly, many planning courses globally now adopt and value the importance of work placement schemes, aimed at preparing students for the realities of working in the field (Freestone et al., 2007; Gurran et al., 2008; PIA, 2011). It could be argued that some preparation in ethics might form a natural prerequisite for such work experience.

Planning codes and institutions

Planning schools, and the academics who work within these institutions, hold some accountability for the ethical behaviour of individuals who are part of them. The two case studies have national, peak professional planning bodies: Australia – the Planning Institute of Australia (PIA); and New Zealand – the New Zealand Planning Institute (NZPI). The bodies themselves act as figurehead organisations for professionals in the planning discipline (NZPI, 2013a), and promote ‘planning’ as a profession. Furthermore, these bodies provide ethical codes for moral guidance, specifically “pragmatic guides for

professionals” (Hendler, 1990, p.23). Hendler, herself, recognised the importance of professional codes in influencing practice, functioning as normative guides for stipulating professional behaviour (Thomas, 2012, p.401). The university environment is therefore seen as important, in promoting both ethical practice and the role of the professional bodies’ code of conduct (NZPI, 2011, p.7). For example, at the University of South Australia, PIA’s *Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct* (2002) is often discussed in the undergraduate Bachelor of Urban and Regional Planning course. The Code is also heavily debated in the first few weeks of the “Planning and Professional Ethics” course in fourth year, with students considering its role and importance for the practising planner.

Planning expectations

“The one thing I have learnt during my few months in the working world, is that stress as a graduate planner is very different (from the stresses of university)” — Kylie Hall, New Zealand Planning Institute Young Planner Representative and graduate planner

As evidenced by planning professional bodies’ codes and policies, there is a general consensus among planning academics, employers and professional planning bodies that planning education must conform to certain criteria. Expectations and understanding of ethical behaviour are seen as an important facet of this education, and are developed in specialised ethics classes, work education opportunities and other topics. This paper therefore seeks to provide a brief overview of ethics courses at two separate universities, and how this often difficult and perhaps dry issue is presented to their respective students.

In 2008, the Planning Institute of Australia (PIA) released a Planning Education Discussion Paper, as a means of ensuring that the then current PIA *Education Policy* met the continuing needs of the planning profession (PIA 2013a). Under one section of the report, the authors asked a range of stakeholders in the planning profession – academics; employees and students – what they considered as ‘important’ within the planning education process. The National Young Planners’ Group, responding for the ‘students’ and ‘graduates,’ noted that primarily, planning courses should cater for the student to be ‘job-ready’ (Gurran et al., 2008, p.21). Other topics considered important included: ‘planning history’, ‘social theory’ and ‘sustainability’. Issues surrounding ‘ethics’ or issues of similar inclination were not included in the extensive list. The closest issue was: “processes in assessing development proposals, from the perspective of both the Council or authority, and the applicant or developer, and *equipping students with the skills to deal with different stakeholder interests, political pressures and community involvement*” (Gurran et al., 2008, p.21. Emphasis added).

Considering the responses in this report and reflecting on current higher education discourse and professional criteria, the need for preparing the student to be ‘job ready’ appears vital for many university courses, not only planning (Bosman et al., 2011; Thomas, 2012). Universities therefore, appear at a crossroad – where, due to demands for public funding, students are being moulded into employable professionals for current practice, often at the expense of developing critically thinking, morally sensitive individuals (Thomas, 2012; Cook and Sarkissian, 2000; Bosman et al., 2011). Ultimately, many graduate planners are left struggling with the realities of professional practice (Bosman et al., 2011, p.78; Cook and Sarkissian, 2000), with PIA recognising ‘stress’ as the reason many planners quit the discipline within the first five years of practice (Gurran et al., 2008). Ethics topics at university could, therefore, be seen as a practical mechanism of merging theory and practice; helping students become more aware of challenges which may confront them in their professional lives.

For example, in 2012, the South Australian Young Planners (SAYP) held an interactive workshop discussing the ethical dilemmas and circumstances planners encounter regularly in their profession. Respected individuals within the discipline in South Australia, working within local councils, academia, private development companies and the State Government, presented on their beliefs of ethical practice in their own daily working lives. The undergraduate ethics class, provided by the University of South Australia, was recognised as the catalyst for this event, and presenters at the workshop recognised the importance of this topic in their own professional development. This workshop provided both current students of planning and professionals to openly discuss what they expected from planning practice and reflect upon how their own education may have provided them with these skills and attributes.

The university experience: a snapshot from Australia and New Zealand

This section considers how two case studies – the University of South Australia, Australia and the University of Auckland, New Zealand – introduce their planning courses, and specifically, planning ethics topics, to potential students on their webpages. Further information was collected from the appropriate national planning institutes, mostly relating to accreditation of specific planning courses. The accreditation process presents an accountable mechanism for understanding the university process. The two course co-ordinators of these topics were contacted to provide comment of their courses through person or via email. This desk-top study is the initial stages of what is a planned detailed investigation into student expectations and views on ethics planning courses primarily in Australia, but also internationally.

University Planning Schools

University of South Australia, Australia

In Australia, 16 universities are currently offering PIA current accredited planning courses at undergraduate level (PIA 2013b). PIA notes that their “course accreditation process establishes and maintains national standards for the educational attainments of entrants into the planning profession” (PIA 2013b). The current Australian accreditation policy was reviewed and subsequently updated in 2010, following a report recognising the need to alter practice (Gurran et al., 2008; March et al., 2012). The subsequent review has seen substantial alterations and improvements in the accreditation process and planning education in Australian universities. As part of being accredited, Australian planning courses conform to a rigid Accreditation Policy, which states that “Professionalism, Practice and Ethics” must be a core component of the program to get approval (PIA, 2011, p.10).

At the University of South Australia, “Planning and Professional Ethics” is taught in the fourth year of the Bachelor of Urban and Regional Planning course, after students have participated in a 60 day work practicum in their third year of study. The course itself is designed to prepare the students for day to day ethical concerns that they would encounter in their role as a planner. The practical nature of this course is highlighted through assessments and class readings. For example, the first assignment sees students analysing a planning appeal judgement passed by the Environmental Resource Development Court. This assessment is designed to allow students to understand their responsibilities as a professional planner as ‘an expert’ (2013, p.5). Specific emphasis is placed upon how the Court concludes the “appropriate role of a planning expert”, and students are asked to give their own opinions regarding the role of the expert witness.

Within the UniSA model, and similar to Kaufman's classes, students are encouraged to speak their mind and continually challenge their own epistemological views. This course endeavours to enable ethics to be a relatable and practical topic for students. A series of short practical exercise scenarios place students in ethically awkward situations and class discussions focus on resolving these. Recognising the expressed need for university students to be 'job ready', students also partake in a mock Environmental Resource Development (ERD) Court appeal overseen by an experienced Commissioner. Emphasis is placed on the appropriate ethical behaviour of the expert witness in an appeal situation. Students are assigned roles – such as: planning lawyer or various expert witnesses representing the applicant, council or other parties joined to the appeal – and enact a real-life ERD scenario – an experience many of these individuals will participate in in their professional career. The mock appeal is a popular, relevant and eye-opening learning experience, according to student course evaluations, with practical and valuable implications for their professional lives.

University of Auckland, New Zealand

In New Zealand, five universities currently offer accredited NZPI planning courses at an undergraduate level (NZPI 2013 and 2011). The *NZPI Education Policy and Accreditation Procedures 2011* governs the requirements for university accreditation, and is run in conjunction with participating universities. As part of this policy, planning courses must include 'planning thematic' courses, which includes: "*philosophy, policy, history, ethics, theory, and critical reflection of planning* to provide students an overview of the nature and purpose of planning; planning history; contemporary debates and trends; planning theory; and planning at different spatial scales" (NZPI, 2011, p. 9. Emphasis added.)

At the University of Auckland, the Bachelor of Planning (to be replaced by a Bachelor of Planning Honours in 2014), offers 'Planning Theories and Professional Practice' (University of Auckland 2013). This fourth year subject investigates "theoretical approaches concerning the nature, scope and purpose of planning(,) (p)rofessional practice in public and private agencies (and) (t)he roles and function of planners in society" (University of Auckland 2013). From email correspondence with Associate Professor Michael Gunder, course co-ordinator, this topic focuses upon "developing critical reflective skills and thinking" (Gunder, 2013, pers. comm.). These skills are demonstrated through the second assignment, where students are asked to maintain a reflective diary, commenting on their expectations of planning and where they see themselves within five years in the planning profession. Furthermore, students are provided with a strong theoretical content, engaging with works by Immanuel Kant, Martin Heidegger and Jacques Lacan. This also includes questioning the roles such issues as rationality, power, knowledge and desire in planning.

Discussion: expectations of ethics planning

This study has provided a brief overview of the ethics topics for two universities: The University of South Australia, Australia and The University of Auckland, New Zealand. It is acknowledged that the current global neoliberal agenda (among other factors) has seen the role and expectations of the university change; to that of providing 'job ready' individuals. Considering this, and the needs of professional planning institutions, the following discussion provides some guidelines/observations about the current state of ethics planning teaching (and planning in general). These include:

Job preparedness/employability

An important aspect of planning education, expected by academics, students and employers alike, is for graduates to be 'employable' (Gurran et al., 2008; Cook and Sarkissian, 2000; Thomas, 2012). This need is mirrored in the range of topics offered to students (such as the work placement component at UniSA and the range of 'Planning Studios' offered at the University of Auckland), and the criteria outlined by the profession. Ultimately, university courses are generally designed to provide a range of skills/balance between the theoretical and practical (Gurran et al., 2008). Even so, the emphasis upon the immediate 'job preparedness' of the student and fulfilling the needs of the industry can compromise student learning in the long run. These skills can include the development of "deeper levels of understanding and higher order intellectual and communicative attributes". (Gurran et al., 2008:23. See also: Cook and Sarkissian, 2000; Thomas, 2012; Freestone et al., 2007).

Ultimately, the ethics classes presented by both UniSA and the University of Auckland strongly demonstrate evidence of the attempt to prepare students for their professional planning careers. As well as assignments catered for 'real-life' planning ethical experiences (such as students contemplating their views on the planning profession through a reflective diary at the University of Auckland and the ERD Court trial at UniSA), students are also given opportunities to listen to practising planning professionals explaining about the ethical issues they have faced in their varying careers.

'Approachability' of teachers and education

A recent paradigm in education involves the importance of the student/teacher relationship in developing morally sensitive and understanding students (Thomas, 2012; Park, 2012). In Australia, planning educators have become increasingly responsive to reflexive planning practices. This involves increasingly high levels of student interaction in teaching (Bosman et al., 2011, p.78). Furthermore, studies have demonstrated that practising planners recognise the importance of planning ethics education at university level (Cook and Sarkissian, 2000, p.19). Universities can aid in the development of students' moral sensibilities and understanding, through lectures, libraries and other elements (Thomas, 2012, p. 403). Certainly, considering Hendler's (1990) own work on the 'principled moral reflection', the importance of teacher-student and student-student interaction is exacerbated and needed (See also Thomas, 2012). The planning school environment subsequently nurtures the students' moral sensitivity and allows them to grow. The importance of the teacher in providing individualistic student help is therefore paramount, beyond the scope of classes (See Thomas, 2012).

Approachability of moral philosophy

From the case studies and literature, it is evident that the teaching of planning ethics requires a basic understanding of seminal philosophers, concepts and theories in moral philosophy (such as Socrates; Aristotle and Jeremy Bentham). Kaufman (1993, p.110) notes the need for the 'approachability' of moral philosophy, in order for these difficult, but important concepts/authors to be introduced to students. He suggests that teachers of planning ethics assign readings of authors who explain philosophers and their theories, rather the philosophers' works themselves. At UniSA, this model is seemingly followed, with weekly readings used to reflect relatable ethical dilemmas in planning practice. This is demonstrated in readings of works by Bent Flyvbjerg's (2002) and his reflections upon power, politics and planning in Aalborg, Denmark.

At the University of Auckland, the course guide demonstrates a strong theoretical emphasis, with one of the “Intended Learning Outcomes” to be able to “demonstrate knowledge and understanding of...international planning theorists and dominant planning theory narratives (and) the philosophical dimensions of ethical practice”. Gunder (2013, pers. comm.) confirms that the course is not just related to planning issues, but “all about ethics in the widest sense”. This is apparent in the range of theoretical issues covered throughout the course, including learning outcomes positioned to (for example) “develop an understanding of the scientific that underlies modern rationality” (Gunder, 2013, pers. comm.). Furthermore, Kaufman (1993) suggests the idea of ‘ethics games’ in class, using ethical scenarios which students can relate to and understand. This is evident with UniSA’s scenario exercises and mock ERD Court appeal.

The importance of self-reflexivity/reflection and positionality

This final observation could be considered one of the most important features in a planning ethics course. The two case studies highlight how these topics often cater for the recognition (or, at the very least, a development towards the understanding) of the student’s own epistemological standpoints. This includes how these views affect their own planning decisions and experiences. For example, at the University of Auckland, the course content appears to be positioned towards helping students understand their own role in the planning process. This is evident with the teaching of ‘phronesis’ learning (in Week 8) and power rationality (in Week 5). The student is also expected, as one of the “Key transferable skills” (under the course’s “Intended Learning outcomes”) to be able to “demonstrate a clear understanding of one’s ethical position” upon the completion of the ethics course. The assessment tasks, as well as correspondence with Gunder (2013) certainly demonstrate the emphasis upon this topic in helping students understand their role not only as part of the greater planning collective, but also as an individual planner.

At UniSA, students take part in a class task where they are presented with interpretations of planning practice which carry value and ethics implications. Presented with a variety of perspectives such as “Planning is an apolitical technical exercise” or “Planning is essentially about people” as well as scenarios where they are asked how they might act, for example “I would do nothing’ or “Legally I must do this despite not agreeing with it”, individual students align themselves with the statement which best represents their views. This is often an eye-opening task for students, as they are confronted with a wide range of responses from their peers, often forcing them to question and justify their own stance.

This recognition and perhaps, improvement in moral understanding is recognised in the literature (Thomas, 2012; Hendler, 1990; Kaufman, 1993). One means is through “principled moral reflection”, in which an individual “runs through (the) implications of ethical principles in relation to personal experience, other evidence and, often, the sense of her (sic) own moral identity and commitments”, often “usefully supported by guides such as parents and teachers” (Thomas, 2012, p.403-404). Ultimately, students are, and should be actively encouraged in a planning ethics course to reflect upon and reassess their own beliefs of what constitutes sound ethical planning practice, and indeed, their own views on morality. This is perhaps best encapsulated by a UniSA student, noting in their student evaluation survey, that the ethics topic “related to planning specifically but was transferable to life (making them) question where they stood on certain topics both morally and ethically”.

Conclusion

As recognised by Kaufman (1993), ethics is an important facet of a student's university planning education. As the roles of universities evolve to adapt to the current neoliberal paradigm, university courses, as well as planning courses globally, need to cater to the 'job-ready' professional. The two case studies have highlighted the different perspectives various universities adopt in their own planning ethics courses. The value in analysing and comparing different courses related to ethics planning is essential, as teaching staff and students alike have opportunities to learn from and adapt their own courses to reflect and best represent current educational discourse. This study has demonstrated that even though they are located within different countries, both the University of South Australia and the University of Auckland share strong common ideals in the teaching of their planning ethics courses. This relates to providing students the means to adequately address ethical dilemmas in their own careers, providing a strong theoretical basis in moral philosophy and enabling students to debate openly with teaching staff and invited guest lecturers. Perhaps most importantly, both universities highlight to students their role as an individual planner, as well as their position among the greater collective of the planning profession and society. These topics specifically encourage students to reflect on their own place in and views of society. Ultimately, it appears that even though these courses are specifically designed for ethical and moral development and situations suited for planning, many students recognise and appreciate the greater knowledge and personal insight these courses provide for life.

The authors wish to acknowledge the contribution of Associate Professor Michael Gunder in providing detailed course information about the University of Auckland's 'Planning Theories and Professional Practice' topic.

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Session 1

4. Teaching Sustainability Ethics and Practice: Exploring Strategies for Regional Community Resilience with Design and Planning Students.

Terry Williamson (UA), David Jones (DU), Susan Shannon (UA) and Antony Radford (UA)
University of Adelaide (UA) and Deakin University (DU)

In seeking to educate planning and design students about the ethics, value and realities of sustainability and professional practice in regional communities, an integrated immersive approach offers benefits for students, teachers and communities. This approach allows students to explore and learn about the interconnections between issues and empowers them to make trade-offs and judgments when developing project proposals for selected regional communities. This paper reviews and evaluates a series of immersive learning field trips to rural areas of South Australia, and concludes that students benefited from this learning in their Master's Programs, and were disposed towards careers in regional areas.

5. Promise the earth then deliver the middle ground: reverse innovation in planning for suburban growth.

Roy Montgomery
Lincoln University, NZ

Innovation is easy to claim but more difficult to deliver. Planning for urban growth is no exception. Although residential subdivisions are often regarded as bland and repetitive, developers go to great lengths to convince prospective buyers, local authorities and politicians that their development has a new innovative. These claims need to be treated with cautions. The likelihood is that the bigger the project and the longer it takes it roll out the more likely it is that innovation will be clawed back. This paper aims to show how innovation can work in reverse over time by use of a single case study of a development currently underway near Christchurch, New Zealand. Utilising publicly available information we show how the golden mean of the slightly less than one quarter acre sized section tends to emerge as the principal feature that endures when other factors change. Since we focus on a relatively typical element of the urban and suburban growth pattern, the master planned subdivision, it should follow that what is identified here as a reverse trend is likely to be the case in other contexts and hence should be of interest to planning students in particular.

Promise the earth then deliver the middle ground: reverse innovation in planning for suburban growth

Key words: *Subdivisions, development, urban growth, reverse innovation*

Introduction

The phrase ‘Innovations in planning for cities and regions’ is likely to connote an ambitious or ground-breaking project. Whether at a large scale, such as green technology-based industry parks, co-operative housing schemes, eco-villages, the repurposing of old factory complexes as culture parks, recreating pedestrian friendly downtown precincts, designing housing and neighbourhoods for digital commuters or at the micro-level, through the creation of ‘parklets’ in discarded interstitial urban spaces or ‘renaturing’ the city by stealth – these are exciting and attractive ideas and they are easy to promote as ideas or draft concepts even if they are difficult to implement.

The reality for most urban and regional planners, however, and by extension the likely day-to-day work of most planning graduates in developed nations in their first jobs at least, is far more mundane. The meat and potatoes of planning is the routine processing of applications from developers to create or build large tracts of suburban housing, often on greenfield sites. Planners and students are not alone if they feel apprehensive at the prospect of such traffic. Academic and popular literature on suburbia abounds with trenchant critiques of the stultifying conformity of house design and street layout and the fossil fuel depletion that accompanies it as if both developer and prospective homeowner live in some benighted aesthetic universe where status is measured by conspicuous energy use and community is defined by the arbitrary weekend or afterschool encounters of parents as they trail their offspring from one organised event to another.

When it comes to the marketing of new suburban housing developments they are almost certain to be presented as innovative in some way and it is only when roll-out takes place that questions begin to be asked about where the innovation might have gone. In this paper we trace the evolution of a recent housing subdivision development to argue that planners and planning students need to be wary of that which is trumpeted initially as innovative design and consider instead how in the long run the lowest common denominator, namely plot size, is likely to become the most salient and in some respects reliable factor. We scrutinise a range of publicly available marketing material brochures and plans for the subtle and not-so-subtle art of what we call here ‘reverse innovation’. In this we are aided by the fact that one of the authors is an accidental participant observer in the process, qua sociologist Herbert Gans, having recently bought and built in the particular subdivision discussed here.

Innovation in suburbia: a contradiction in terms?

As a planning innovation the large-scale privately financed master planned suburb of the post-war era cannot be denied even if it is often derided. The song ‘Little Boxes,’ written by Malvina Reynolds in 1962 about the growth of monotonous tract housing around Daly City, California which was popularised by Pete Seeger a year later, merely caricatured further what was already fair game for planning theorists, practitioners, architects and sociologists alike. Suburbia is almost inseparable from urban sprawl in its connotations and despite attempts at more fine-grained definitions that include ‘exurb,’ ‘bedroom community’ and ‘boomburb’ the reputation is one of repetition rather than revolution.

Yet planned suburban developments continue to be the primary mode of urban growth in most western nations. Indeed, authors such as Joel Garreau argue that “Edge Cities” are the new urban form in the post-industrial era (Garreau 1991). A few researchers have attempted to confront these

developments without prejudice, notably Herbert Gans as a participant observer sociologist in *The Levittowners* (Gans 1967). Taking a more aesthetic position architects Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, often with planning students in tow, have examined Las Vegas and specific Levittown designs for an understanding of how they work for those that inhabit or pass through these areas (Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour 1972). New Urbanists, such as Andres Duany and Peter Calthorpe on the other hand, have made great capital out of their critiques of suburbia and the paradox of high quality private space disposed in a sea of ugly freeways and low quality public space (Duany, Plater-Zyberk and Speck 1991; Calthorpe 1993). Their supposedly alternative neo-traditional neighbourhoods have in turn have been criticised as expensive suburban sprawl merely disguised by Disneyfied nostalgic references to early twentieth century housing and garden styles. For North America at least, growth by varying scales of suburban typologies appears to be the golden mean.

The New Zealand context, despite notions of a safe foundation in British values, culture and lifestyles from the past in places such as Canterbury and Otago, when viewed from any kind of significant vertical height suggests a similar pattern of largely low-rise dispersal from a small downtown core except where geographic features preclude such development. The same can generally be said for Australia. The song 'Little Boxes' was just as popular Down Under as it was in downtown Manhattan precisely because the phenomenon was palpable virtually everywhere.

Canterbury: originally planned as a group of villages

Even after the earthquakes of 2010-2012 Christchurch is, with 363,100 inhabitants, the second largest city in New Zealand.² Although very English by reputation and studded, in the central city, by Gothic Revival architecture the vast bulk of the city is in fact comprised of very low rise urban and suburban housing, most of it in the form of single family homes. Although the denials are vociferous, like most Australasian towns and cities, it has more in common with North American urban and suburban form than the towns and cities of Northern Europe. If one traces the origins of the Canterbury Association this should come as no surprise. The conventional mid-nineteenth century Anglo-European model of urbanisation was precisely what the Canterbury Association was against. It is most starkly expressed by Felix Wakefield, elder brother of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and the only formally qualified surveyor in the Wakefield family:

This abstinence from obtaining more money from waste land than is absolutely necessary, is one of the means by which the main object of the company may be best promoted: another means is the observance in this matter of the principle of free trade, or *laissez-faire*, by leaving to individual judgment and enterprise the business of establishing towns and dividing waste land into town lots, and suburban and rural sections. In this respect, the Government of the United States, which is the greatest and most successful of colonising authorities, sets us a valuable example. That Government sells waste land as waste land; it merely performs a necessary and simple function of government, without undertaking the speculative and complicated business of laying out towns, and giving new values to different portions of land. *Colonial surveying: with a view to the disposal of waste land: in a report to the New-Zealand Company* (Wakefield 1849:26).

The planning instructions and guiding principles issued to the original founders of Canterbury i.e., the surveyors, clearly indicate that dispersed rather than concentrated settlement was at the heart of the project. The capital was intended to cover some 1,000 acres, divided, after the necessary civic infrastructure and amenities were carved out of the grid, into quarter-acre sections for private sale. Roughly speaking, the capital was to house some

² [Subnational population estimates at 30 June 2012". Statistics New Zealand](#). Accessed 16 July 2013.

10-15,000 people while the six outlying market towns and the port town, if the latter in the end was to be separate from the capital, were to be half that size at 500 acres with half the population of the capital accordingly. As can be seen by the placement of squares to demarcate town sites in Figure 1 the plan is for a confederation of villages to feed a modest capital and a modest port. There are six market towns marked on the plan: Goulburn, Buccleugh, Lincoln Oxford, Mandeville and Stratford (which subsequently became Christchurch). There is no bustling metropolis envisaged either in this plan or in the publicity material issued by the Association at that time.

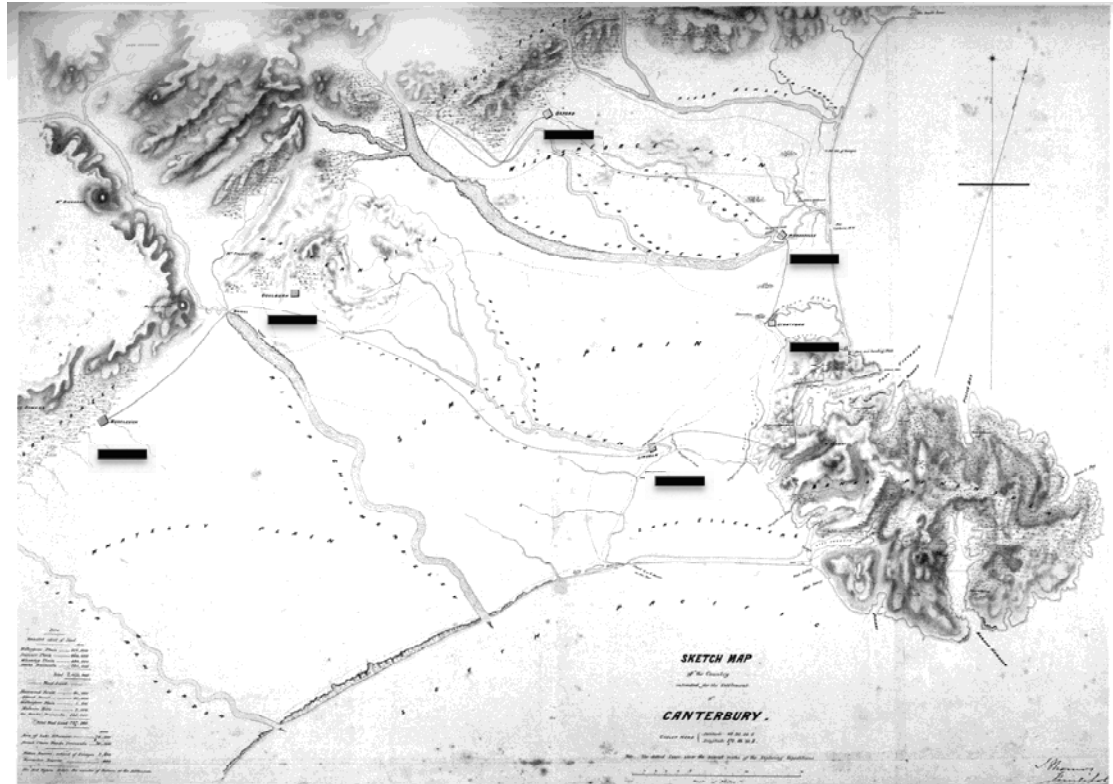


Figure 1: Sketch map of the country intended for the settlement of Canterbury (1849) with geometric annotations by author to indicate village and capital sites (Image courtesy of Land Information New Zealand, Christchurch)

Urbanisation in Canterbury 1850-1980

The pattern of settlement depicted did not in fact eventuate. Lack of funds and the fact that settlers were often motivated to rent, lease or otherwise squat on land saving their capital for livestock and farming infrastructure meant that of the many towns anticipated only Christchurch, the capital, and Lyttelton, the port, developed rapidly. Christchurch grew as a combination of metropolitan core surrounded by boroughs and counties which over time

grew or found themselves in need of larger capital investment such that incorporation and amalgamation became inevitable. While this incremental process of growth dealt with most demands for housing there were particular spikes caused by rapid population increases or the return of servicemen from the War campaigns. While so-called 'state housing' can be traced back until the 1930s, in New Zealand large scale housing developments driven by central government policy were essentially a post-war phenomenon. Whether as pure rental housing estates or mixed state rental and 'group housing,' where the government developed and serviced the land and then on-sold to groups of private builders who were contracted to build groups of houses with rights of sale back to government in case of low demand or market failure, they gave Canterbury and other parts of New Zealand their counterparts to uniform tract housing in the United States. In Christchurch, these were located in unprotected greenbelt infill areas such as Wainoni, Aranui and Shirley or greenfield extension areas such as Bishopdale, Hei Hei and Hoon Hay. At the same time, small private subdivisions, characterised by curved streets terminating in cul-de-sacs flourished at the urban fringe or in undeveloped metropolitan pockets.

Only in the 1980s, with major structural and ideological reform to central government, which included the dissolution of the Ministry of Works, once the Ministry of everything in terms of major infrastructure and housing development, did the big build housing process cease. From that point suburban development and urban growth was seen largely as a private enterprise activity subject to local authority and central government oversight via less restrictive and proscriptive town planning legislation culminating in the Resource Management Act, which was passed in 1991. These reforms and recessionary trends in the early 1990s saw a general slowdown in large suburban developments and a proliferation of small private housing developments, comprising only a handful of streets at a time became the norm on the edges of cities and towns.

Urban growth in twenty-first century Canterbury

Fast-forward a century and a half and what might have passed for a metropolis is present no more, due principally, but not solely, to the effects of severe earthquakes. Yet before that Christchurch was 'decanting into the suburbs' further and further as the central city waned despite official 'revitalisation' campaigns dating to the early 2000s. A general upturn in the economy and in the housing market in particular during the early 2000s prompted private developers to start thinking big. In Canterbury this was evidenced by the launching of the Pegasus Town project 30 kilometres north of Christchurch in the early 2000s. Buyers were to be enticed by a self-contained master-planned, new urbanist-influenced community of some 1700 private residential sections, 200 commercial business sections, school, recreational lake, wetland, and golf course. A novel marketing tool was the construction of a highly detailed 1000 square metre three dimensional scale model of the town which was housed under cover in an exhibition hall-sized sales centre in Christchurch for several years. A plan change was sought in 2000 followed by a resource consent application to develop land in 2006. While the development has suffered a number of setbacks, including the bankruptcy of the original development company, it is proceeding over time and one of the much-vaunted new urbanist design components, an interconnecting street layout has been retained up to the present time.

It is worth noting here that in terms of the original Canterbury plan of 1849, Pegasus Town sits only a mile or so north of the town marked as Mandeville. One could argue that what is now happening in Canterbury is a case of 'back to the future' i.e., the vision of a network of significant satellite towns, half the size of the capital but not overwhelmed by it, is now reaching fruition. According to the latest 2013 census information Selwyn District,

which includes the towns of Lincoln, Rolleston and Darfield, is the fastest growing local authority area in New Zealand.³ To that extent the founders of the Canterbury Association would have been greatly satisfied that their plans had been realised and that the map of 1849 was not mere fancy.

Although the Lincoln town set down on the original Canterbury plan of 1849 was situated on the banks of the Selwyn River the actual Lincoln sprang up some miles to north of that southerly location set out as another market centre. Lincoln is some 24 kilometres from the central city. The historical growth pattern of the town is shown in Figure 2.

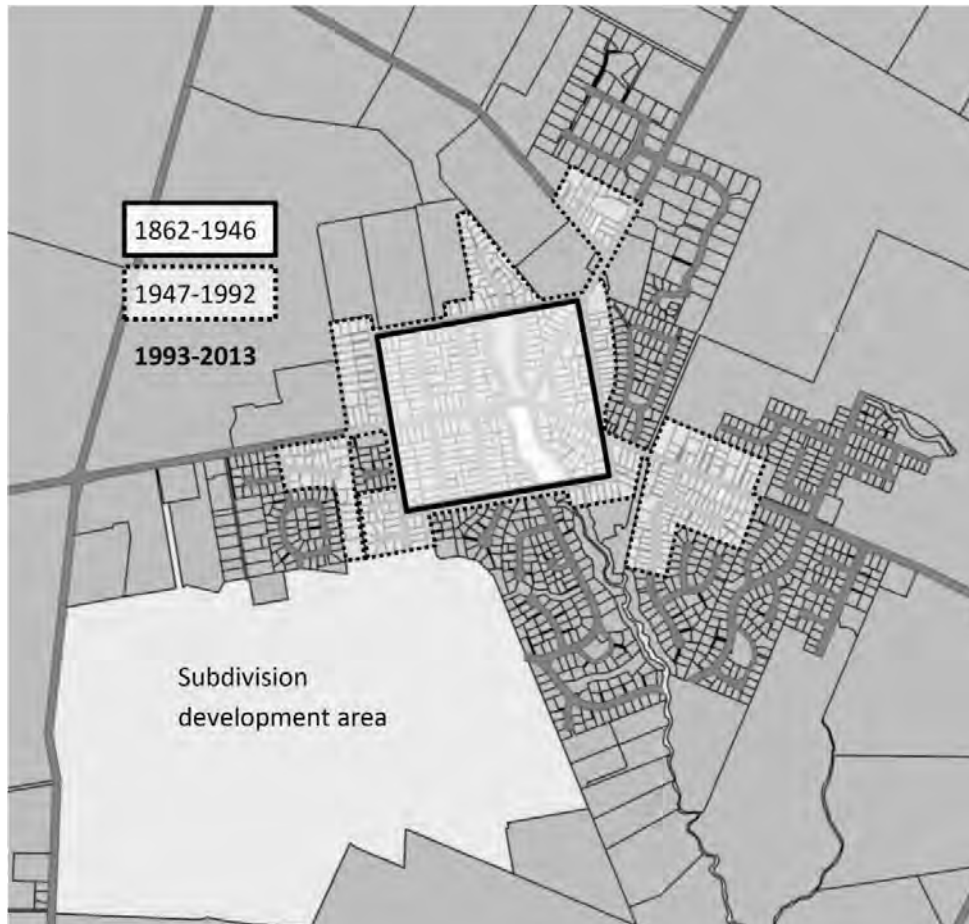


Figure 2: Patterns of growth in Lincoln township from 1862 until 2013

³ http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/census_counts/2013CensusUsuallyResidentPopulationCounts_HOTP2013Census.aspx. Accessed 29 October 2013

Although only presented in outline form the detail in the diagram is sufficient to show the characteristic cul-de-sac street patterning of the post-war period of development and the early grid pattern and the much later grid re-referencing in more recent subdivisions. From this one could reasonably conclude that the cul-de-sac or dead-end street typology has faded from practice.

The original “Live in Lincoln” Master Plan

A housing development on a similar scale to Pegasus was launched in the late 2000s. It came about as a result of a decision in the late 1990s by Lincoln University to convert a surplus-to-requirements dairy research farm property into a mixed-use housing development situated between the university and the existing rural township of Lincoln. A plan change application was lodged in 2000. Initial concept plans caused such concern amongst local residents that a consultation process was begun which yielded at least one draft street layout design showing interconnecting streets and greenlinks to the university and the existing town layout but this was indicative only. A lengthy hiatus ensued as the university found itself unable to pursue the project using its own resources. In 2007 a joint venture was formed with Ngai tahu Property under the name Lincoln Land Development and an application to create between 800-900 sections over 118 hectares in stages spanning some twelve years. This is shown in Figure 3.

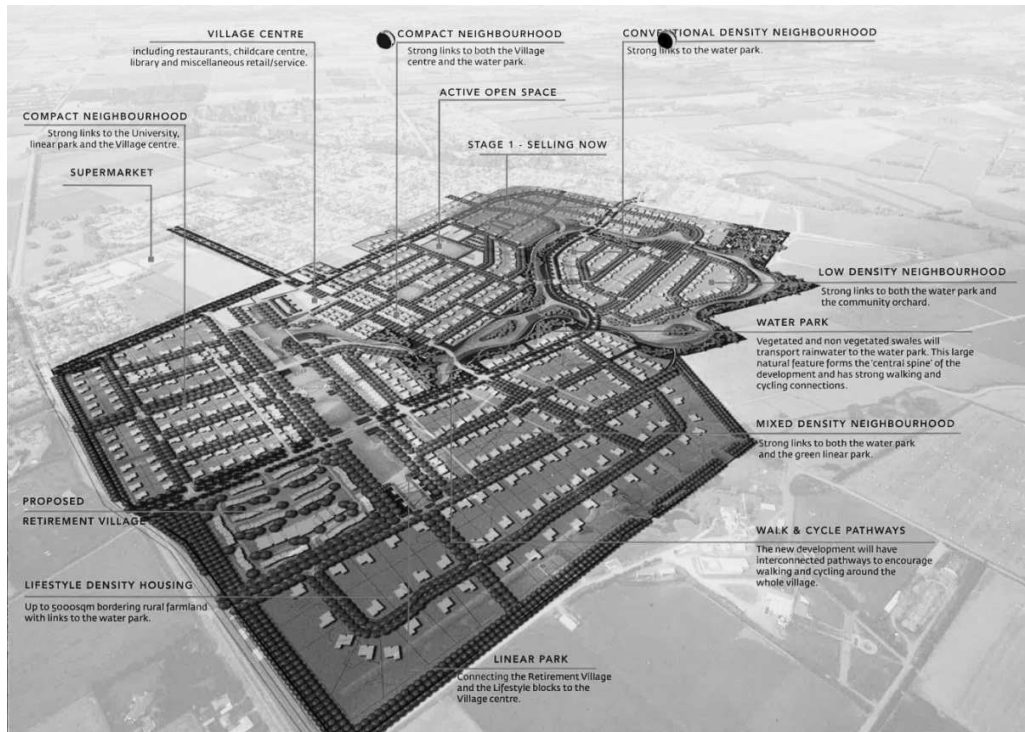


Figure 3: Axonometric view of Live in Lincoln as shown in 2009 advertising brochure

As can be seen in Figure 3, a diverse master planned community is depicted. There is no legend or key for the plan in the brochure but the elements are as follows:

- village centre 'including restaurants, childcare centre, library and miscellaneous retail/service;
- proposed retirement village
- lifestyle i.e., up to 5000m² or very low, density housing
- low density 'neighbourhood'
- conventional or medium density 'neighbourhood'
- mixed density 'neighbourhood'
- compact i.e., high density, 'neighbourhood' (two)
- high connectivity (no cul-de-sacs or dead end streets, six entry points into the development)
- 25km of walkways and at least 20km of on and off-road cycle paths, and
- four hectares of wetland basins (water parks).

For ease of interpretation and comparison we have transposed these features into a plan view representation as Figure 4 below. Of particular interest is the roading layout which shows a broad grid pattern which fits well with the renewed enthusiasm from the 1980s onwards for networked rather than isolated neighbourhoods or planned unitary developments (PUDs).

When the axonometric projection map first appeared both on the Live in Lincoln website and within a glossy printed brochure there was no information regarding average lot sizes or average household ratios within each of six putative neighbourhoods or the retirement village. Only the lifestyle neighbourhood had a figure in mind. As would be expected with any major development the actual roll-out, and as is indicated in the original brochure plan, was to be staged with the first stage in the upper north east area closest to the existing town fabric.

As it transpired the machinery for this development was set in motion during a property bubble in New Zealand and across the globe generally. The so-called 'Global Financial Crisis' of 2007-2008 could not have come at a more inconvenient time for both Pegasus Town and Live In Lincoln. Some nervousness would have been felt as sales offices opened and show homes were erected. Progress was no doubt affected but in broad terms the stage one sections sold well and were probably boosted, paradoxically it might seem to some, by the Canterbury earthquakes of 2010-2011 which, comparatively, made land to the west and south of Christchurch in particular appear safer and less damaged in the popular imagination and this was

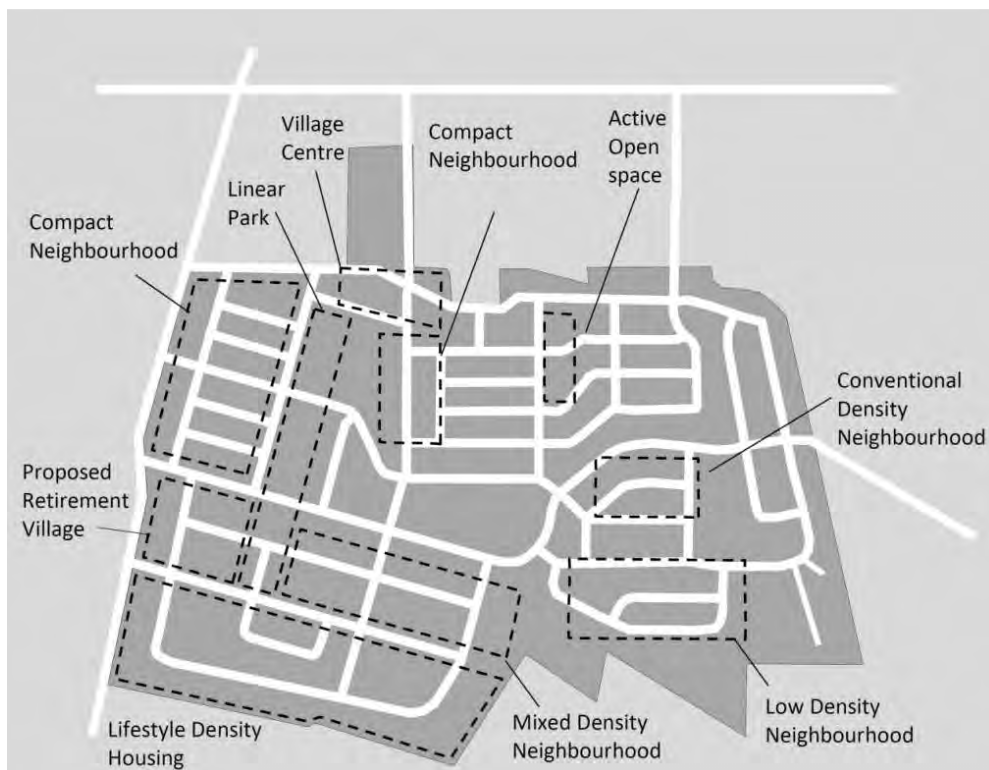


Figure 4: Plan view rendering of original Live in Lincoln development layout

backed up by a number of geotechnical assessments. The sections for stage one ranged from 535m² to 1018m² with an average section size comprising just over 681m². Apart from the making of streets and servicing of sections the first major part of the stormwater treatment system, appearing as swales and a small lake, and some of the greenway access links, the main signs of activity between 2010 and 2012 were the erection of show homes accompanied by the building of the first private dwellings.

Live in Lincoln becomes “Te Whariki”

In late 2012 an official change in direction for the new subdivision was signalled with the rebranding of Live in Lincoln as Te Whariki.⁴ To some extent a change in the proportioning of later stages of the development would have been inevitable by virtue of the Greater Christchurch Urban Development

⁴ Te Whāriki refers to the ‘floor mat’ or lake bed of Te Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) – home to the rich wetland and lake community that once extended to the doorstep of Lincoln and the Te Whāriki development. This symbolizes a place for all to gather and meet. <http://tewhariki.co.nz/lincoln-past-future/history-of-lincoln#fitzgerald>. Accessed 18 July 2013. Searches for

Strategy (GCUDS) launched as a policy initiative between Selwyn District Council, Waimakariri District Council, Christchurch City Council and the Ministry for the Environment in 2007. The strategy seeks to contain urban growth within particular settlements and in some cases this has meant changes to land zoning to achieve higher densities in town areas while leaving rural areas less affected by close residential housing schemes. This was the case with the Live in Lincoln project and it has meant that that the envisaged 5000m² low density section of Live in Lincoln, nominally zoned as Living 2, has now become Living Z, reclassifying the land to an average density of 10 households per hectare and bringing it on a par with the Living 1A3 zoning that exists for the first stages of the development.

Whether this drove the change in marketing or whether the maximisation of averagely sized lots was always part of the Live in Lincoln development strategy is something of a moot point. The fact is that in stages one and two of the development, shown as Ivey Neighbourhood in the figure below, the average lot size is between 681m² and 683m². This raises the question as to whether the old Australasian folk notion of the 'quarter acre pavlova paradise' has changed at all even if the more accurate average historically has been about one sixth of an acre or some 674m². Seen in this light the Lincoln subdivision is very close to a golden mean for residential settlement and it looks set to maintain this average as the project proceeds over the next decade and the new plan as shown below appears to reflect this shift from many different density neighbourhoods to neighbourhoods that will probably differ in name only e.g., Ivey Neighbourhood. Perhaps this was always the intention.

Of equal, if not greater, significance are two other changes that can be seen in the new plan. The first is the deletion of distinctive features such as the village centre, the linear park and the proposed retirement village. The second is the surprise return of cul-de-sacs. In effect the subdivision has now been scaled back to become a more conventional, relatively low density development, albeit more attractively and sensitively landscaped than most of its rivals, with greater roading and less greenspace than was initially proposed.

The stormwater swales shown at lower right are described as proposed only so there is no guarantee that this will mitigate the apparent loss of open space elsewhere. In essence, then, this is no more or less than a standard addition to suburbia.

"Live in Lincoln" automatically redirect to <http://tewhariki.co.nz/> and no trace now exists of the previous version of development anywhere on-line. It should also be noted that "te Whariki" has been used in New Zealand government education policy on a number of occasions, notably as the title for the Early Childhood Education Curriculum launched in 1996. The Te Whariki curriculum is still in place as at 2013 and it seems clear, since the subdivision is a joint venture development between Ngai tahu and Lincoln University, that there is a desire to draw a connection through the education process for young people, from "cradle to college," so to speak.



Figure 5: Revised plan view for Te Whariki re-launch of Live in Lincoln Development late 2012

Conclusion: planning ‘innovation’ as mediated via the private market should be treated with caution

From the point of view of planning education the principal lesson seems to be that total community design packages need to be treated with scepticism. Unless performance guarantees and bonds are offered or required there appears to be no certainty that what is promised will be delivered.

Our future planners need to treat such schemes with caution because when they fail to materialise it can have real consequences for those who bought the dream at first offering. The residents of Pegasus Town were promised a fully self-contained community. The “live where you play” strapline that went with the project seems a little hollow at present as there are only one or two shops, a boating lake, golf course and a few dozen houses after eight years of development. Many of those who bought sections in the early years on the promise of a playground in which to live are currently desperate to sell as indicated by the numerous private section sales alongside continuing developer sales.

In Lincoln the original strapline that went with Live in Lincoln in 2009 was “Live in a vibrant community. Lincoln completed.” The new strapline in 2013 with Te Whariki is “The best place to live. In Lincoln.” This suggests that promises and expectations are now more circumscribed if not muted. Even if one takes a charitable view of this process where innovation falls off the map as time passes and puts this down to market conditions and bureaucratic or regulatory delays it would perhaps be wiser were everyone to know what the ‘safe fail’ or default outcome is to be if and when the grand designs falter.

There are also lessons here for planners and planning professionals, including consultants and land developers. If this trend of over-promising on diversity of lot size and instant community infrastructure continues then buyers and the public will become cynical and this may affect sales and competitiveness. Instead of promising ‘community’ and a diversity that never arrives it might be wiser to encourage developers to trim their sails and promise only some form of ‘smart sprawl’ which focusses upon mass transportation and low carbon footprint per individual lot. If the single family home and the ability to own one’s own space is such a core value in post-colonial societies then it would be wiser to build up from that unit to more diverse and intelligent street and neighbourhood configurations rather than pretending to offer mega-packages of unitary development.

And if Felix Wakefield’s pronouncement in 1849 about allowing development to follow free enterprise still resonates, perhaps the emphasis should be on future-proofing what is built and encouraging settlers to stay settled rather than serially property-hopping. The earthquakes of 2010-2012 serve as a stark reminder that there may be an intuitive logic to relatively low density living arrangements insofar as it affords some natural hazard resilience at individual and group level for human beings. Most of the earthquake fatalities and injuries during the Canterbury earthquakes took place in built up or high rise locations. Very few casualties occurred in the suburbs and towns on the plains. In that sense the single family home on less than a quarter acre might be as close to ‘safe as houses’ as it gets and whether or not all of the promised features follow may be secondary as long the necessities of life are still close at hand. It would be better to encourage homeowners to build for fluctuating and varying family needs and think of the home in the context of a family farm. Similarly, as housing costs and fossil fuel-based energy costs increase, having an adaptable habitat will become more important. The challenge, should peak oil predictions prove accurate, may be how to retrofit the suburbs and our lifestyles to maintain this sense of safety and security.

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Session 1	
<p>6. Planning Education and Indigenous Knowledge Systems in Australia: Where Are We?</p> <p>David Jones, Darryl Low Choy (GU), Grant Revell (UWA), Scott Heyes (UC), Richard Tucker (DU) and Helen Meikle (DU) and Cate Davey (DU)</p> <p><i>Deakin University (DU), Griffith University (GU), University of Western Australia (UWA) and University of Canberra (UC)</i></p>	<p><i>In 2008 Sarah Oberklaid reviewed the state of Indigenous knowledge systems in the Planning Institute of Australia (PIA)-accredited University planning programs and found a fragmented unfocused suite of agendas and attempts at addressing this increasingly important moral, cultural and land use management issue. While Oberklaid statistically validated what several authors have observed, and continue to observe, there appears to have been little action by programs, and specifically the PIA (Planning Institute of Australia), to address this issue and re-position their education accreditation policies; with the latter increasingly reluctant to engage with their professional responsibilities. This paper appraises this situation and foreshadows continuing research that may better inform and support a change of perspective by the PIA and these programs.</i></p>

Planning Education and Indigenous Knowledge Systems in Australia: Where Are We?

Keywords: *Planning education, Indigenous knowledge systems, Planning Institute of Australia*

Introduction

Within the Australian built environment (architecture, planning and landscape architecture) literature, there is a clear lack of discourse about the nexus between built environment professionals and Indigenous protocols and knowledge systems. The literature expresses considerable desire to achieve this connection, but it has not generally been translated into tertiary-level execution other than in fragmented instances. Wensing (2011; with Small 2012) has expressed this as a major deficiency in the tuition of future planners. Their thoughts reiterate conclusions and investigations by Gurran and Phipps

(2003, 2004) who indicated that Indigenous knowledge systems and land management concepts were markedly lacking in planning education in Australia.

Low Choy *et al.* (2010, 2011a, 2011b) have reinforced both conclusions but have also demonstrated the unique and valuable insights that Indigenous knowledge systems and their stakeholders can offer to conventional planning practice. Similar concerns have been expressed in relation to landscape architecture curricula by Jones (2002), Lawson and Erickson (2002), Revell (2012, 2004), Revell and Burton (2005), Revell and Milroy (2001), Revell, Gartlett and Anda (2001), Revell, Saniga and Isaacs (1998), Revell and Pederson (1998) and Low Choy *et al.* (2011a).

Sinatra and Murphy (1999) charted a now lapsed Outreach initiative that exposed landscape architecture students to various Australian Indigenous communities and their landscape planning, management, and shelter and health challenges, and Revell and Jones have continued this agenda in central Western Australia and in south-eastern Australia respectively. Jones (2002) has pointed to an urgent need to reappraise and incorporate Indigenous environmental knowledge systems in mainstream landscape architecture education curricula. Revell (2012) has piloted an optional elective studies unit in 2011 entitled 'Sharing Space', as well as an Indigenous Design Studio program since 1996 – both coordinated in collaboration with The University of Western Australia's (UWA) School of Indigenous Studies.

In academic and practitioner architectural discourses the debates about 'Indigenous architecture' are about representation or symbolism and housing. These discourses cannot be appreciated in normal 'cultural competency' appreciation curricula nor can they be realised in offering an 'Indigenous perspective' as they are far more complex in place and design theory and practice, and such is a defined knowledge outcome that Australian Institute of Architects (AIA) professional accreditation policy expects a graduate to possess upon degree completion, as also PIA and Australian Institute of Landscape Architects (AILA) in their respective policies.

Australian University arrangements with Indigenous knowledge systems

As noted in Universities Australia's (2011a, b) investigations into Indigenous Cultural Competency, most universities have struggled with successfully devising and achieving a translation of Indigenous protocols into their curricula. Walliss and Grant (2000: 65) have also concluded that, given the nature of the Bachelor of Engineering disciplines and their professional practice activities, there is a **"need for specific cultural awareness education"** [author's stress] to service these disciplines and not just attempts to insert Indigenous perspectives into their curricula.

Bradley's policy initiative at the University of South Australia (UniSA) (1997-2007), "has not achieved its goal of incorporation of Indigenous perspectives into all its undergraduate programs by 2010, it has achieved an incorporation rate of 61%" (UA 2011a: 9; <http://www.unisa.edu.au/ducier/icup/default.asp>). This initiative drew from the vision for Indigenous higher education articulated by the Indigenous Higher Education Advisory Committee (2007), the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (2007), the *Vision for 2020* of the *Review of Australian Higher Education* (2008) all of which were embodied into the *Bradley Review of Australian Higher Education* (2008) recommendations.

Contextually, Bradley's strategic educational aim at UniSA was to ensure that all its graduates demonstrate "an understanding of the cultural, historical and contemporary frameworks which have shaped the lives of Indigenous Australians" (<http://www.unisa.edu.au/ducier/ICUP/coreknowledge.asp>) and are articulated in Bradley *et al.*'s (2008: 5) belief that "education is at the core of any national agenda for social and economic change" and by the "deepening understanding of health and social issues, and by providing access to higher levels of learning to people from all backgrounds, it can enhance social inclusion and reduce social and economic disadvantage". Thus a social reformist aspiration, which has been continued in UA's release of *Indigenous Cultural Competency* (2011a; 2011b) reports that has attracted mixed media criticism (Trounson 2012a: 5, 2012b: 5) and concerns about "social engineering" rather than enhancing "criticism as a pedagogical tool ... as a means of advancing knowledge" (Melleuish 2012: 10) which is the agenda of this project.

What is also evident is the poor level of Indigenous enrolment in built environment programs in Australia. While undergraduate and postgraduate statistics of students with an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander background are limited in the planning and landscape architecture disciplines, some data is available for architectural undergraduate and postgraduate enrolments. The pattern is largely minimal, does not reflect the ABS (Australian Bureau of Statistics) population distribution of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia, nor does it demonstrate any link to the predominant urban-based universities wherein the largest concentrations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples now reside in the urban concentrations of Melbourne, Perth, Adelaide, Brisbane and Sydney. Table 1 (below) provides a disheartening review of this information.

The recent *Review of Higher Education Access and Outcomes* (Australia 2012) also found that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students made up 1.4 per cent of all enrolments in university in 2010, yet made up 2.2 per cent of the working age population, and that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander full-time equivalent (FTE) staff made up 1.0 per cent of all FTE staff in universities in 2010, yet made up 2.2 per cent of the working age population. The Review (2012: 222) also concluded across all disciplines:

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge and perspectives are contested concepts within the academy.
- Indigenous knowledge, translated into practical curriculum, teaching practices and graduate attributes, makes important contributions to helping professionals meet the needs of Indigenous communities.

While it is easy to attribute negligence of inaction to a particular planning program, it needs to be understood that while planning programs are certainly accountable to PIA via PIA's professional education policies and accreditation processes, each program exists within a larger university 'business'. Each university charts policies, agendas, and marketing/business models that certainly impact upon programs more robustly than PIA's policies and it is to these that programs primarily find themselves accountable, responsive and subservient to notwithstanding the program's philosophical aspirations. In this regard, most Australian universities have sought to engage, and be seen as engaging, in social initiatives that support their business models but also address equity of opportunity and access needs and desires. Core within this social imperative is the initiative by many Australian universities to engagement in cultural reconciliation and to draft and adopt a Reconciliation Action Plan (RAP). Table 1 (below) documents Australian Reconciliation Action Plans per universities that host planning programs, pointing to some 70 per cent commitment by the host universities in this policy agenda.

	UNIVERSITY	LOCATION	PROGRAMS	Reconciliation Action Plan / Statement	
1	University of Canberra	ACT	Planning	YES	Reconciliation Action Plan 2010-2015: http://www.canberra.edu.au/university/governance/attachments/reconciliation-action-plan.pdf
2	University of NSW	NSW, Sydney	Planning	YES	Reconciliation Statement - difficult to find: http://www.hr.unsw.edu.au/equity/UNSW_Reconciliation_Statement.pdf
3	University of Sydney	NSW, Sydney	Planning	NO	none but multiple references to Reconciliation on website
4	University of Technology, Sydney	NSW, Sydney	Planning	YES	Reconciliation Statement- http://www.uts.edu.au/about/university/reconciliation-statement
5	Macquarie University	NSW, Sydney	Planning	NO	n/a on-line
7	University of New England	NSW, Armidale	Planning	YES	RECONCILIATION STATEMENT (approved 2006): http://www.une.edu.au/policies/pdf/reconciliationstatement.pdf
8	Charles Stuart University	NSW, Bathurst	Planning	YES	Reconciliation Statement 2007: http://www.csu.edu.au/faculty/educat/cfis/reconciliation
9	University of Western Sydney	NSW, Sydney	Planning	YES	Reconciliation Statement (approved 1998): http://www.uws.edu.au/about_uws/uws/vice-chancellors_welcome/reconciliation_statement
11	University of Queensland	QLD, Brisbane	Planning	NO	School of Psychology has a reconciliation plan but university as a whole does not.
12	Griffith University	QLD, Brisbane	Planning	YES	Reconciliation Action Plan launched September 2011: Include Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives in strategic plans and in undergraduate and postgraduate curricula
13	Queensland University of Technology	QLD, Brisbane	Planning	YES	2001 Reconciliation Statement adopted as University policy
14	James Cook University	QLD, Townsville	Planning	YES	Reconciliation Statement: http://www-public.jcu.edu.au/about/reconciliation/
15	University of the Sunshine Coast	QLD, Maroochydore	Planning	YES	Reconciliation Action Plan 2012-2014
16	Bond University	QLD, Gold Coast	Planning	NO	nothing on-line

17	The University of Adelaide	SA, Adelaide	Planning	YES	Reconciliation Statement: https://www.adelaide.edu.au/reconciliation/
18	The University of South Australia	SA, Adelaide	Planning	YES	Reconciliation. Statement of Commitment endorsed 1997.
19	University of Tasmania	TAS, Hobart	Planning	NO	nothing on-line
20	Latrobe University	VIC, Bendigo	Planning	NO	nothing on-line
21	RMIT University	VIC, Melbourne	Planning	YES	Reconciliation Statement http://mams.rmit.edu.au/gw80flcb236wz.pdf
22	University of Melbourne	VIC, Melbourne	Planning	YES	University of Melbourne Reconciliation Action Plan 2011-2013
23	Deakin University	VIC, Geelong	Planning	NO	nothing on-line
25	Curtin University	WA, Perth	Planning	YES	2008-2013 Reconciliation Action Plan http://planning.curtin.edu.au/local/docs/reconciliation_plan_2008-2013.pdf
26	The University of Western Australia	WA, Perth	Planning	NO	nothing on-line
27	Edith Cowan University	WA, Perth (Joondalup)	Planning	YES	Reconciliation Action Plan No.2 2012-2015

Table 1: Summary of Australian Universities hosting Planning Programs and their Reconciliation Action Plans

A second, and more robust thread of university policy is to articulate and require the Indigenisation of their educational curricula ‘products’ necessitating each school and course to demonstrate the incorporation of this policy agenda in their educational offerings. Table 2 (below) documents Australian Indigenisation of educational curricula strategies per universities that host planning programs, pointing to some 90 per cent commitment by the host universities in this policy agenda. This high percentage is in contrast to the findings by Oberklaid (2008) discussed below where a micro-appraisal of planning programs was undertaken.

	UNIVERSITY	LOCATION	PROGRAMS	Indigenising Curricula / Policy	
1	University of Canberra	ACT	Planning	YES	Indigenous Education Statement 2008, RAP: Each Faculty and Business Support Unit to review their policies and ensure the inclusion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander issues where relevant in particular in research, ethics, academic and teaching, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander student support, marketing

					and recruitment, community engagement and community relations
2	University of NSW	NSW, Sydney	Planning	unclear	Indigenous Education Statement 2010 DEWER report: ITEM 2.6: http://www.nuragili.unsw.edu.au/PDF/2010/UNSW_Indigenous_Education_Statement_2010_FINAL.pdf
3	University of Sydney	NSW, Sydney	Planning	YES	2011 appointed new position Deputy Vice Chancellor (Indigenous Strategy and Services) Wingara Mura –Bunga Barrabugu ATSI Integrated Strategy 2012: students and staff are able to engage effectively, respectfully and productively in critical thinking and self-reflection about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander issues specifically, and diversity more broadly —students and staff are able to research and use knowledge from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sources and settings, ethically and effectively
4	University of Technology, Sydney	NSW, Sydney	Planning	YES	Indigenous Education Strategy 2011-2014 Section 3 sets out a number of across-University curriculum related initiatives: http://www.gsu.uts.edu.au/policies/indigenous-education-strategy.html#teaching-learning
5	Macquarie University	NSW, Sydney	Planning	unclear	PATYEGARANG: MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY'S ABORIGINAL AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER ADVANCEMENT STRATEGY 2012-2017 - makes no clear commitment to Indigenising Curricula
7	University of New England	NSW, Armidale	Planning	YES	2012 Indigenous Education Statement and Graduate Attributes Policy: Knowledge and appreciation of Indigenous cultures is incorporated into Attribute Seven : Social responsibility. http://www.une.edu.au/policies/pdf/graduateattributes.pdf
8	Charles Stuart University	NSW, Bathurst	Planning	YES	Indigenous Education Strategy: 8. TOWARD AN INCLUSIVE CURRICULUM: INCORPORATING INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIAN CONTENT IN UNDERGRADUATE PROGRAMS http://www.csu.edu.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0018/144414/csu-indigenous-education-strategy.pdf
9	University of Western Sydney	NSW, Sydney	Planning	YES	Indigenous Education Policy (Approved 2008): Objective 9f. Ensure the inclusion of appropriate Indigenous content in curriculum across the University: http://policies.uws.edu.au/view.current.php?id=00229
11	University of Queensland	QLD, Brisbane	Planning	Unclear	Some reference in: Embedding Equity and Diversity within Operational Plans- http://www.uq.edu.au/equity/docs/PLANNING/Embedding%20Equity%20and%20Diversity%20within%20Operational%20Plans%20Nov%202012.pdf The University of Queensland Indigenous Education Statement – 2009- http://www.atsis.uq.edu.au/docs/UQ_Indigenous_Education_Statement_2009.pdf

12	Griffith University	QLD, Brisbane	Planning	YES	Whole-of-University approach approved in 2008 by Academic Committee. The goals of this initiative include the development of a culturally appropriate Indigenous curriculum and its implementation into degree programs, the development of culturally sensitive learning and teaching strategies and appropriate research protocols. http://www.griffith.edu.au/about-griffith/aboriginal-torres-strait-islander-first-peoples/learning-teaching
13	Queensland University of Technology	QLD, Brisbane	Planning	YES	QUT's overall approach could be to (a) Incorporate Indigenous perspectives in each course where such knowledge/skills are a professional competency;' - focuses on health, education, law http://www.reconciliation.qut.edu.au/implementation/teachingandl.jsp
14	James Cook University	QLD, Townsville	Planning	YES	Integrate Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander knowledge, perspectives and experience across the curriculum' - Reconciliation Statement James Cook University is working towards embedding Indigenous Perspectives in the Curriculum across its faculties.
15	University of the Sunshine Coast	QLD, Maroochy-dor e	Planning	YES	Reconciliation Action Plan: Focus area 2.2: Increase awareness of Indigenous culture and history 1. Invite Course Coordinators and Lecturers to explore opportunities to incorporate Indigenous content into their programs
16	Bond University	QLD, Gold Coast	Planning	NO	nothing on-line
17	The University of Adelaide	SA, Adelaide	Planning	YES	Reconciliation Statement: 3. contributing to the process of reconciliation by educating the Australian community about the cultures, languages, history and contemporary experiences of Australia's Indigenous peoples. Dean, Indigenous Education: lead Indigenisation of the University's programs.
18	The University of South Australia	SA, Adelaide	Planning	YES	Reaffirmed in Strategic Plan 'Horizon 2020'. The University of South Australia implemented a policy in 2004 which mandated the incorporation of Indigenous content into all undergraduate programs by 2010, with a pedagogical framework to guide the development of curricula. The University of South Australia has specific Indigenous indicators in three of seven Graduate Qualities. Program teams are required to advise which courses develop specific Graduate Qualities and this information is contained in Course information booklets. http://www.unisa.edu.au/gradquals/default.asp
19	University of Tasmania	TAS, Hobart	Planning	NO	nothing on-line
20	Latrobe University	VIC, Bendigo	Planning	unclear	Indigenous Education Statement 2011 DEWER report section 6: http://www.latrobe.edu.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0005/220469/IES2011.pdf

21	RMIT University	VIC, Melbourne	Planning	YES	Reconciliation Statement: 'providing specific education and training for and about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.' The Ngarara Willim Centre of RMIT University contributes to a number of professional development training workshops for staff including Understanding Indigenous Perspectives, Teaching Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Students, Understanding Names and Different Cultures, and Supporting Student Transition, particularly for staff who teach Indigenous students.
22	University of Melbourne	VIC, Melbourne	Planning	YES	One of the University of Melbourne's five graduate attributes makes specific reference to respecting Indigenous knowledge, cultures and values. 'All our graduates, regardless of how directly they are connected into this agenda and regardless of their personal and cultural histories, can make a contribution to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander development through their leadership, service and productivity. To that end our graduates will need to have a respectful understanding of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures and histories.' - Reconciliation Action Plan
23	Deakin University	VIC, Geelong	Planning	unclear	Indigenous Education Statement 2011 DEWER report section 6: http://www.latrobe.edu.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0005/220469/IES2011.pdf
25	Curtin University	WA, Perth	Planning	YES	Curtin University of Technology is currently developing a framework for cultural competent curricula within the university. The Mooditj Katitjiny: Indigenising the Curriculum Project at the Centre for Aboriginal Studies is one of the key initiatives of the university's RAP, and uses a cultural competency model informed by the work done at the University of South Australia. http://karda.curtin.edu.au/home/
26	The University of Western Australia	WA, Perth	Planning	YES	The University of Western Australia has developed mandatory Indigenous curriculum in key professional courses including education, social work, medicine, nursing and health. Under the new courses structure in 2012 every UWA undergraduate and post graduate student must now take the compulsory Indigenous Studies Essentials (ISE) on-line unit The University of Western Australia offers additional professional development workshops focussed on increasing awareness and cultural competence such as Courageous Conversations About Race (CCAR) and Indigenous Dialogues. As a part of its expanded Indigenous curriculum development initiatives from 2012 the University will establish a system of induction and training to assist staff in teaching Indigenous students, developing Indigenous-focused curriculum materials and researching Indigenous communities.

27	Edith Cowan University	WA, Perth (Joondalup)	Planning	YES	Edith Cowan University's (ECU)'s vision for reconciliation is to provide a learning environment that values Indigenous Australian people and knowledge' 'ACTION 6. Build students and staff members' capacity in Indigenous 'cultural competence' by implementing relevant Curriculum 2012 provisions, including institution-wide rollout of cultural competence simulation programs being developed in the health discipline.' - Reconciliation Action Plan
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Table 2: Australian Universities hosting Planning Programs and their Indigenising Curricula Policies

Australian planning and Indigenous knowledge systems

Australian planning is predicated on Eurocentric and post-mediaeval definitions of planning and land settlement that run counter to many Indigenous systems of planning. It also a quandary that scholars, including the Australian planning profession and its own Institute (PIA 2002, 2010), have started re-thinking. Anthropologist Stanner (1968) first challenged the 'great Australian silence' on Indigenous issues in the 1960s and subsequent authors and political and legal activities heightened debates about Indigenous marginalisation in Australian society and lack of legitimacy of Indigenous knowledge even in terms of citizenship and enfranchisement.

These differences cascaded into several actions by Indigenous peoples and communities aimed at redressing the denial, dispossession and discrimination against their traditional rights and interests. These include, for example, the Gurindji Strike (or Wave Hill Walk-Off) in 1966; the successful *Constitution Alteration (Aboriginal People)* 1967 Commonwealth referendum in 1967; the *Milirrpum v Nabalco Pty Ltd, (1971) 17 FLR 141* (the 'Gove land rights case') or Gove land rights Australian High Court determination that legally legitimised *terra nullius* and that no concept of native title existed in Australian law; the *Mabo v Queensland (No 2)* 1992 (commonly known as 'Mabo decision') decision by the High Court of Australia that declared *terra nullius* to be invalid and legitimised Indigenous 'ownership' of land and water based upon traditional custodianship practices and 'laws'; the *Wik Peoples v The State of Queensland* (commonly known as the 'Wik decision') of 1996; the *Motion of Reconciliation* by Prime Minister Howard in 1999; and, more recently the apology to the Stolen Generations by Prime Minister Rudd in 2008. Another key example is the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* (Cth) that was the lynchpin of the Mabo (No. 1) determination because the Court found that the Queensland Government's attempt to effectively wipe out native title rights while the Mabo case was before the Courts, was invalid on the basis of race and was in clear breach of the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*. The *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* also provides the right for compensation for the loss of native title rights subsequent to the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* in October 1975.

Of these the *Mabo* (No. 2) decision is highly significant to Australian planning histories as it clearly demonstrates that traditional custodianship practices and 'laws' constitute a system of conscious land management curatorship and thus an act of planning of lands, resources and patterns. 'Laws' embrace Indigenous myth, moral codes and their narratives linked to place, or a series of places (Gammage 2011; Rose 1996, 2000; Sandercock 1998).

In the academic realm, authors in the anthropology, geography and history disciplines have been perceptive and relevant in participating in much of this debate (Reynolds 1997). But the planning discipline has been lax in its introspectively and ethical responsiveness, still deferring its appraisals to dates of colonisation despite Native Title legislative and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural heritage legislative responsibilities. Thus historic and contemporary planning interrogations continue to exclude and marginalise despite pleas ‘from the edges’ of the discipline by authors and planning practitioners including Johnson (2010), Wensing (2007, 2010), Jackson (1997), Cosgrove and Kliger (1997), Lane (2005, 2008), Jones (2005, 2010), Porter (2004, 2006, 2010, 2013) and Barry (2011, 2013). These authors have both questioned this ethical accountability and offered case studies that demonstrate alternate planning approaches and outcomes that robustly express and fulfil Indigenous interests, aspirations and ‘planning’ strategies.

Wensing summarises it as:

This cultural blindness means that conventional land and property planning as well as management regimes have been, and continue to be, instruments in sanctioning and reinforcing ABTSI [Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander] people’s dispossession of their land and culture, causing loss of physical, spiritual and cultural traditions and customs (Wensing 2007).

The Mabo (No. 2) (1992) and Wik (1998) determinations, unfortunately, relied upon the demonstration of physical or tangible ‘evidence’, in contrast to intangible ‘evidence’, to be forthcoming, but, as a consequence have proven that rich and continuing narratives and legacies have legitimacy in the Native Title discourse. Where ‘evidence’ is muddled by years of dispossession resulting in fragmentation of knowledge such evidence is much harder to document and prove within the Western legal system (For example: http://www.nntt.gov.au/news-and-communications/newsletters/native-title-hot-spots-archive/pages/yorta_yorta_v_victoria.aspx). Notwithstanding this barrier, cultural re-empowerment and re-definitions of ‘ownership’ have been forthcoming through various measures including the creation of statutory land rights grants regimes, direct transfers, purchases on the open market, declaration of cultural heritage sites or zones, and re-naming or dual naming of places through Indigenous-informed or associative toponyms, consultation and direct involvement in national park joint planning and management arrangements, but have been deceptively and tacitly woven into larger reconciliation strategies.

Thus, while land ‘ownership’ and traditional country, as a *terra nullius* reversal, is known and increasingly becoming respected in both general and planning debates, the legislation of planning process and perspectives in land management and landscape planning has been limited and superficial, and hampered by planning practitioner and academic naïf and lack of depth of interrogation and appreciation.

Known planning education linked to Indigenous knowledge systems

There is a dearth of literature about the nexus between planning education in Australia and Indigenous knowledge systems. While many authors have identified a need to invest these systems into planning curricular and to support such through the PIA education accreditation regime, PIA appears to be reluctant to engage in the topic despite revisions to the regime, enabling an Indigenous Planning Working Group (IPWG) and supporting the drafting of a “Draft Reconciliation Action Plan” (2008) and supporting the development and release of the discussion paper in 2010.

Of this topic, only Oberklaid (2008) has reviewed accredited planning programs in an analytical survey finding the perspectives varies in approach and content. Her conclusions were that programs perceived “Indigenous issues ... ‘marginal’ compared to ‘mainstream’ planning subjects” but also that “to further include Indigenous components in planning courses requires training of educators” (Oberklaid 2008: 1). She also concluded that there is a paucity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander content in existing Australian planning courses, thereby substantiating the conclusions and concerns of Gurr and Phipps (2003, 2004), Low Choy *et al.* (2009, 2011), Jones (2002), Margerum *et al.* (2003), Walliss and Grant (2000), and Wensing (2007, 2011).

The same conclusion can be drawn about architecture and landscape architecture programs in Australia. There is no statistical analysis of what is transpiring for the former and a preliminary statistical review of the latter reveals a fragmented and highly disproportionate response largely driven by four programs at Griffith, University of Canberra, University of Western Australia and Deakin University.

Oberklaid (2008) expressed these findings as representing a major concern because planning courses were failing to:

- keep abreast of changes in the native title and land rights regimes to the recognition of pre-existing Aboriginal and Torres Strait islander land rights despite the major implications they have upon statutory and strategic planning practice
- incorporate Indigenous peoples as integral stakeholders in any consultation process especially given the extensive ‘country’ acknowledgement statements articulated throughout Australia
- adequately investigate property and land law, including Indigenous rights and interests as part of their translation of the Australian planning process
- grapple with and translate the implications of native title rights and determinations into statutory and strategic planning processes and instruments for students and practitioners alike
- address their moral obligations, and increasingly ethical obligations via PIA policy, to improve planners’ appropriation of Indigenous culture, rights and interests and the institutional frameworks thereto, and
- cultivate any research inquiry or discourse to assist the ‘re-tooling’ of planning education.

The same conclusions can be drawn of architecture and landscape architecture courses in Australia although there is a distinct lack of analytical research on this topic. Instead, as in the case of the planning courses surveyed by Oberklaid (2008), most courses offered fragments of this knowledge, knowledge systems, protocols and cultural codes (Walliss and Grant 2000). This is of increasing concern as being able to synthesise, distil, and craft environmental knowledge and patterns in design and text is so integral to the planning and landscape architecture disciplines. Thus, an initial stage of this project is to comprehend and assess what is presently transpiring in all these programs to provide a comprehensive perspective.

This lethargy of action is in deference to the rapidly changing and number of legal determinations in Australia, and the complexity and changes in planning-related legislation inter-woven through the different layers of Commonwealth, state and local jurisdictions, responsibilities, management regimes and legislations (Margerum, Hart and Lampert 2003, Kliger and Cosgrove 1996, Baker, Davies and Young 2001). Thus there is an increasing concern in some planning academic and practice sub-communities that while there are changes rapidly occurring in these realms that both planning

practitioners and academics, and thereupon students, are not keeping abreast of these changes and their consequential moral, legal and practical obligations and implications.

In this regard, there is an increasing voice that is expressing this concern and the need to re-dress this imbalance (Sheehan and Wensing 1998, Margerum, Hart and Lampert 2003; Porter 2006, 2010; Barry and Porter 2011; Lane and Hibbard 2005).

Thus, Oberklaid (2008) importantly sits in this void as a warning sign of the need to tackle planning education, as a vehicle to 'tool' and equip planning academics and partitioners.

In assessing the planning education sector, Oberklaid undertook a survey of all PIA-accredited programs in 2008 (undergraduate and postgraduate). The survey was executed hardcopy and electronic specifically to heads of programs seeking one response per program per undergraduate or postgraduate course. While all accredited programs offer the information that students had the opportunity to enrol in a unit that dealt with Indigenous planning issues, resulting in some 35 units across 13 universities, none were embedded in the actual planning course map or graduation pathway of the degree. Of these 35 units, nine possessed a sustainability and environmental management bias, eight had a social and community planning bias, eight had a land use planning and law focus, four addressed the topic within a wider consideration of Australian studies via an interdisciplinary study agenda, three embedded the content within planning theory and methods units, two units were specifically concerned within Indigenous land use issues but were taught external to the planning degree host school, and one was enveloped by heritage theory and practice.

As documented in Table 3, some nine responses were obtained from undergraduate Bachelor's programs. Of these some 28 units were offered: six possessed a sustainability and environmental management bias, seven had a social and community planning bias, two had a land use planning and law focus, four addressed the topic within a wider consideration of Australian studies via an interdisciplinary study agenda, two embedded the content within planning theory and methods units, two units were specifically concerned within Indigenous land use issues but were taught external to the planning degree host school, and one was enveloped by heritage theory and practice.

Survey Responses	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1. Number of subjects offered	N/O	3	2	N/O	2	7	3	?	N/O	N/O	1	5	5
a. Indigenous land use		1			1								
b. Land use planning practice/law		1			1	2							2
c. Planning theory/methods						1							1
d. Environmental mgt/sustainability		1	1			2	2	?					
e. Social/Community planning						2	1				1	1	2
f. Heritage			1					?					
g. General Australian studies												4	
2. Mode of delivery													
a. Compulsory			2			7		?			1		5
b. Core					2		2	?				1	
c. Elective within faculty		3					1						
d. Elective in other faculty												4	
3. Time dedicated													
a. Full semester		1	2#									1	
b. Few weeks		1			1	3	3					3	5
c. Less than a week		1			1	4					1	1	
4. Consultation													
a. Local Indigenous community		1	2		1	2							
b. Planning/land use/gov agency		1	2									1	
c. Heritage/Cultural advisor		1	2		1	1							
5. Additional tasks													
a. Compulsory assignment		1	2		1	1							
b. Optional assignment		2			1	1	3						4
c. Fieldtrip/Excursion, etc		1	2								1		
d. Guest lecturer		1	2		1	1	1				1		1
e. Other													
6. Course strengths indicated													
a. Indigenous heritage legislation		•	•		•								
b. Native title/land claims		•			•	•							
c. Local land mgt and practices		•	•				•	•					•
d. Indigenous law and culture					•						•		
e. Other						•							
N/O: No course offered													
?: The respondent did not indicate the number of subjects offered													
# : The respondent indicated that half of the semester was devoted to Indigenous issues													
• Indicates perceived strengths													

Table 3: Bachelor course responses as documented by Oberklaid (2008: 38)

As documented in Table 4, some three responses were obtained from Graduate Diploma programs. Of these some seven units were offered: one had a social and community planning bias, three had a land use planning and law focus, two embedded the content within planning theory and methods units, and one unit was specifically concerned within Indigenous land use issues but was taught external to the planning degree host school.

Survey Responses	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1. Number of subjects offered	N/O	N/O	N/O	1	2	4	N/O	N/O	N/O	N/O	N/O	N/O	N/O
a. Indigenous land use					1								
b. Land use planning practice/law					1	2							
c. Planning theory/methods				1		1							
d. Environmental mgt/sustainability													
e. Social/Community planning						1							
f. Heritage													
g. General Australian studies													
2. Mode of delivery													
a. Compulsory				1		4							
b. Core													
c. Elective within faculty					2								
d. Elective in other faculty													
3. Time dedicated													
a. Full semester													
b. Few weeks					1	1							
c. Less than a week				1	1	3							
4. Consultation													
a. Local Indigenous community					1	2							
b. Planning/land use/gov agency													
c. Heritage/Cultural advisor					1								
5. Additional tasks													
a. Compulsory assignment					1								
b. Optional assignment					1	1							
c. Fieldtrip/Excursion, etc													
d. Guest lecturer					1								
e. Other													
6. Course strengths indicated													
a. Indigenous heritage legislation					•								
b. Native title/land claims					•	•							
c. Local land mgt and practices													
d. Indigenous law and culture					•								
e. Other						•							
N/O: No course offered													
•: Indicates perceived strengths													

Table 4: Graduate Diploma course responses as documented by Oberklaid (2008: 40)

As documented in Table 5, some 10 responses were obtained from undergraduate Master's programs. Of these some 17 units were pro-offered: five possessed a sustainability and environmental management bias, three had a social and community planning bias, six had a land use planning and law focus, one embedded the content within planning theory and methods units, and two units were specifically concerned within Indigenous land use issues but were taught external to the planning degree host school.

Survey responses	A	B #	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1. Number of subjects offered	0	3/2	N/O	1	2	3	2	N/O	3	1	2	N/O	N/O
a. Indigenous land use		1/1			1								
b. Land use planning practice/law		1/0			1	2			1		1		
c. Planning theory/methods				1									
d. Environmental mgt/sustainability		1/1					2		1	1			
e. Social/Community planning						1			1		1		
f. Heritage													
g. General Australian studies													
2. Mode of delivery													
a. Compulsory				1		3				1	2		
b. Core		0/1					2		2				
c. Elective within faculty		3/1			2				1				
d. Elective in other faculty	?												
3. Time dedicated													
a. Full semester		1/1							1				
b. Few weeks		1/0			1		2				1		
c. Less than a week		1/1		1	1	3			2	1	1		
4. Consultation													
a. Local Indigenous community		1/1			1	2					1		
b. Planning/land use/gov agency		1/1							2				
c. Heritage/Cultural advisor		1/1			1				1		1		
5. Additional tasks													
a. Compulsory assignment		1/1			1						1		
b. Optional assignment		2/1			1	1	1		1				
c. Fieldtrip/Excursion, etc		1/1									1		
d. Guest lecturer		1/1			1		1		1		1		
e. Other													
6. Course strengths indicated													
a. Indigenous heritage legislation		•			•								
b. Native title/land claims		•			•	•			•		•		
c. Local land mgt and practices		•					•						
d. Indigenous law and culture					•						•		
e. Other						•					•		
N/O: No course offered													
?: The respondent did not indicate the number of subjects offered													
# : Two Masters courses which vary slightly are offered. The first number represents one course, and the second the other													
•: Indicates perceived strengths													

Table 5: Masters course responses as documented by Oberklaid (2008: 43)

Despite the 2008 date of this research, and changes to land use planning systems in some jurisdictions in Australia since that time, it is the argument of the authors that little has changed in these programs and that PIA is not accepting its moral and professional obligations in this matter. In contrast, there has been an increasing number of registered determinations of Native Title – 222 by March 2013 – affecting over 20 per cent of the land mass of Australia. One would have thought that these would make the planning profession realise the implications, but that still has not happened. This leads one to ask: “How many determinations and to what extent of the land mass of Australia has to be claimed by native title before the planning profession sits up and takes some notice?” (Wensing 2013, pers. com.). A reason for this could well be found within the performance and management of native title rights over land mining claims, for example, where in Australia’s history only one mining claim has ever been exonerated by the Native Title Tribunal.

Planning Institute of Australia’s (PIA) accreditation and policies

In expressing its *Indigenous Development Policy* in 2007, PIA confirmed that:

The Planning Institute Australia (PIA) is committed to reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. It is PIA’s vision that Indigenous Australians are provided with the same level of opportunities available to non –Indigenous Australians, in a society that values diversity and equality for all. Urban, regional and remote Indigenous populations suffer a high relative disadvantage compared to non-Indigenous populations. In some areas, this disadvantage expresses characteristics similar to those found in developing countries.

In order to reduce the disadvantages experienced by Indigenous Australians the following action should be taken:

- *a long term strategic approach, involving the collective effort of government, business, communities and peak industry bodies, to actively address the existing inequalities shown in current socioeconomic indicator.*
- *attention must be focused on the improvement of key areas such as housing, education, economic and cultural development, health and governance*
- *recognition of the key importance of caring for country as a driver for development, and*
- *holistic approach to community building rather than a reaction to a single issue.*

PIA acknowledges that the planning profession and its associated professions have much to offer the cause of Indigenous development through not only land-use and associated physical planning, which is highly and urgently required in developing rural and remote areas as well as urban areas, but also by applying principles of long term strategic planning¹, for addressing complex contexts and multi-layered issues (PIA 2007: 1)

In the same period PIA drafted and approved a *Reconciliation Action Plan* (RAP) (PIA 2008: 1) articulating a vision:

Our vision for reconciliation is to offer the assistance of the planning profession to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and communities in fulfilling their needs and aspirations.

The goal of this Reconciliation Action Plan is to turn good intentions into measurable actions that support Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and communities to achieve equality in all aspects of life, especially those which sound planning practices can influence.

This RAP included a sub-objective to “Develop a sub-strategy for including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander content in planning education across Australia” which was developed by the PIA’s Indigenous Planning Working Group (IPWG) over 2008-2011 pointing to the need for PIA’s Education Committee to incorporate this expectation and requirement in its professional education accreditation policy and or criteria.

The Indigenous Planning Working Group (IPWG) expressed this content in detail in their *Improving Planners’ Understanding of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians and Recommendations for Reforming Planning Education Curricula for PIA Accreditation* (PIA 2010: 4) discussion paper wherein:

Four areas require urgent attention:

- **Planning theory and methodology.** *New theories of planning need to be devised that are more sensitive to cultural differences and which facilitate greater recognition of the important role that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander law, lore and custom play in their lives.*
- **Normative values and processes.** *Current normative values and processes are, in certain situations, no longer relevant, and new values and processes of planning need to be devised that records, interprets and absorbs Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people’s intrinsic knowledge of country and the environment*
- **The administrative and legal context.** *Administrative processes need to change to enable Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to be involved in planning processes at least to the same extent as other interested parties and to have more control over the planning of their communities and traditional lands and waters.*
- **Communication skills and ethics.** *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have different ways of making decisions and different community structures, and it is important for planning processes to take account of these cultural differences in ensuring effective community engagement.*

Historically, PIA’s *Education Policy for Recognition of Australian Planning Qualifications* (2002a) with its accompanying *Core Curriculum in Planning* (2002b: 1) included the following statements requiring demonstration of evidence of these aspects in each National Visiting Accreditation Visit and the accompanying documentation. The points are very specific to enhancing Indigenous knowledge systems competency with planning students.

Extract

CORE CURRICULUM IN PLANNING

Knowledge of

- *indigenous Australian cultures, including relationships between their physical environment and associated social and economic systems [sic.].*

Skills in

- *understanding and responding to cultural diversity and difference*

Adoption of professional ethics

- *Integrate value issues in practice, ranging from professional practice ethics of consideration of future generations, to respect for diversity and the importance of social equity (PIA 2002b: 1)*
-

In contrast, PIA's revised *Accreditation Policy for the Recognition of Australian Planning Qualifications for the Urban and Regional Planning Chapter* (2011) adopted by PIA National Council 18 November 2010 (with amendments added - effective 25th August 2011) has substantially watered down both scope and intention.

A. Generic Capabilities and Competencies

- *operate in a manner that recognises cultural diversity, the need for equity in outcomes and the knowledge of and implementation of high ethical standards.*

B. Core Curriculum Competencies

1. Professionalism, Practice and Ethics

Performance Outcomes

1. Knowledge of the diversity of populations served, including indigenous cultures, minority and special needs groups, and different age groups including children and older people, and a capacity to engage meaningfully with diverse groups, including 'hard to reach' populations (PIA 2011: 10).

This Policy also includes a footnote that links the Policy to PIA's prospective consideration of the recommendations from its *Indigenous Development Policy* (2007) as follows:

Development and Refinement of this Policy (2011)

In the context of the on-going implementation and refinement of the "Accreditation Policy for the Recognition of Australian Planning Qualifications for the Urban and Regional Planning Chapter", the National Education Committee will examine the Discussion Paper prepared by the PIA Indigenous Planning Working Group titled Improving Planners' Understanding of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians and Recommendations for Reforming Planning Education Curricula for PIA Accreditation (21 October 2010) with a view to further amendment of this Accreditation Policy.

Thus, while PIA's education accreditation regime was renovated in 2010-2011, the authors of the new Accreditation Policy watered down PIA's original *Core Curriculum in Planning* (2002b: 1). The authors also failed to address PIA's *Reconciliation Action Plan* (RAP) (PIA 2008: 1) and explicitly ignored the recommendations of PIA's own Indigenous Planning Working Group (IPWG) discussion paper of 2010, quoted above. Thus, a lack of policy commitment and could we say, negligence, has occurred.

Further, hidden in PIA's initial statement of commitment to Indigenous development in 2007, it states:

The Planning Institute Australia (PIA) is committed to reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. It is PIA's vision that Indigenous Australians are provided with the same level of opportunities available to non-Indigenous Australians, in a society that values diversity and equality for all. Urban, regional and remote Indigenous populations suffer a high relative disadvantage compared to non-Indigenous populations. In some areas, this disadvantage expresses characteristics similar to those found in developing countries.

With the following 'Actions':

PIA ACTION

PIA aims to support Reconciliation by taking the following action:

- *Establish an Indigenous Planning Taskforce;*
- *Indigenous Taskforce to develop and Implement a Reconciliation Action Plan to be registered with Reconciliation Australia. The Action Plan will provide long term strategies supported by short term actions;*
- ***Educate the profession about the complexities of the Indigenous development context in Australia and how planning skills, processes and techniques can help to understand and address these complexities;***
- *Promote effective tools for engagement;*
- *Engage with Indigenous people and people working with and for Indigenous people to exchange knowledge and to transfer planning skills, processes and techniques to the Indigenous context (rural, remote and urban). (PIA 2007: nb; authors' stress in **bold**)*

thereby making a clear and strong policy commitment to “educate the profession about the complexities of the Indigenous development context in Australia and how planning skills, processes and techniques can help to understand and address these complexities” in contradiction to the revised *Education Policy* (2011) that substantially reduces its accreditation profile and thereby need for planning programs to address in their curricula.

PIA appears to be in policy hiatus presently, historically committing itself to the above quoted policies and their obligations and actions, but failing to carry through the recommendations contained therein. In addition, the contemporary environment of PIA appears to have placed the topic to one side as the RAP has not been re-visited, as promoted by Reconciliation Australia, and nor has it been evaluated, and the current Education Policy places little regard on the topic.

Directions Forward

It is not the purpose of this paper to offer answers to 'Directions Forward' in the Australian planning education system, but rather offer an appraisal of where debate is and is not. The larger discussion will unravel during the course of the overall research project that this paper originates from.

We are conscious that planning education possesses a key site for the transformation of the profession in this realm and that decolonisation of the discipline/profession is urgently needed. This decolonisation extends beyond mere 'cultural competency' 'training', and the positioning of Indigenous interests into mainstream planning education globally and in Australia.

Shifting forward in embracing Indigenous knowledge systems as a facet of education and practitioner policy requirements is easy for PIA as its 'road maps' have already been drafted and articulated. It is the willingness to embrace and action these recommendations and objectives and to sustain the momentum of its IPWG, that is lacking.

Shifting forward in embracing Indigenous knowledge systems in planning education is also easy for most Australian universities already have RAPs in place, and their Reconciliation and Indigenous Curricular Policy commitments are clear. These crucial 'road maps' have already been drafted and articulated.

What is lacking is a rigorous appraisal of the current 'state of planning education' in this realm and suitable educational models and or templates that could be incorporated within programs that address these policy requirements without compromising the increasingly tight curricula space these programs operate within.

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Session 1

7. Performance Failure, Legitimacy and Collective Representations: how should we teach rural planning?

Andrew Butts
La Trobe University

Planning for agricultural land protection is a core element of rural planning policy in all Australian states. Despite this, the proliferation of non-farm development and incremental land use change continues. Rural planning faces challenges from a policy regime that no longer provides the barriers and market controls that once supported farming activities despite viability, and from a set of non-agricultural policy priorities, including environmental and landscape protection. Collectively these may be considered as components of what has been termed a 'post-productivist' regime for many rural areas. This paper draws on interviews with rural planning practitioners to consider this dilemma, and the perseverance of a farmland protection narrative and morality, in the face of these challenges. It argues that the farmland protection narrative has ceased to be unquestioned, and has become an example of a failed social performance, one unable to convince an audience in the public and political spheres of its authenticity and urgency. For planning education this suggests that rural planning education should extend beyond technical considerations framed within this narrative, to areas of strategic social performance and advocacy aimed at linking policy-makers and the public with the internal rationality expressed by practitioners.

Performance Failure, Legitimacy and Collective Representations: how should we teach rural planning?

Keywords: *Rural planning, social performance, post-agricultural regions*

Introduction

Since the mid-twentieth century, rural planning in Australia has been driven by an imperative for the protection of agricultural production and land for commercial farming. In those locations where rural spatial planning is most contested and visible, and arguably necessary, this objective is at its most obscured and diluted by non-agricultural land uses and landscape values and conceptions of settlement and community that are at odds with the contemporary drivers of commercial agriculture. Additionally, the nature of agricultural restructure and associated industry policy operate without clear regard for land use outcomes in these contested locations – commodity farming at scale increasingly occurs beyond the reach of land use competition.

Understanding the role for rural planning in this environment is difficult and reflects competing objectives for rural land use and competing imaginaries for rural landscape futures. Planners and planning systems offer a normative approach that situates the planning project as one within a construct that emphasises agricultural activity as the central and morally appropriate purpose of rural land, despite the pressures on this from global and local processes of change and restructure that see new uses and values for rural land. For planning students, this presents both a challenge and opportunity to consider their role in rural planning and how planning is performed, understood and legitimised in the policy and public spheres.

This paper will draw on a series of interviews conducted with rural planners in Victoria, Australia to consider their views and constructions of the purpose and success of rural planning, specifically in relation to agriculture and the protection of farmland. It includes consideration of their views of planning education in this regard. The paper will then consider theoretical conceptions of *performance* and collective representations as described by Turner (1987) and Alexander (2011), among others, to consider how the planning discourse in relation to agricultural protection operates and is legitimised in post-productive rural environments. The paper will then offer some exploration of a focus for rural planning education that supplements and extends the typically technical discussion of land use change to include one that explores an effective discourse that can gain a broader legitimacy in the public sphere.

Rural planning and post-productivism

Rural planning is a component of a broad program of ongoing policy and social intent that, in an Australian context, relates to community (and nation) building, the production of national storylines of settlement and the reinforcement of imaginaries of rural landscapes and economies. Yet it is also concerned with the real politics of international trade and industry practice and restructure. Past policy and planning approaches such as farm and agricultural industry protection, irrigation development and closer settlement have given way to less directed policy that have placed an emphasis on markets responsive farming systems. The withdrawal of tariffs, a changing focus from *farm* to *industry* support in policy and the development of new global trade systems from the 1970s onwards offer examples of this changing environment (Vines, 1978; Miller, 1996; Vanclay, 2003).

Contemporary rural planning as a spatial and land use allocation process, in Australia and elsewhere, is framed by intentions to protect agricultural land and its productive potential. This, in part, maintains traditions of concern that pre-date the use of modern land use planning. Early concerns for the ordered use of agricultural land can be found in examples such as the *Ripon Regulations* of 1831, which were intended to prevent ad-hoc land grants by requiring purchasers to demonstrate their capital and capacity, and to seek an ordered, sequential and ‘closer’ settlement of the vast continent, and the *Australian Land Sales Act* of 1847 that identified land as *Settled*, *Intermediate* or *Unsettled*, determined by proximity to ports and existing urban areas, and setting requirements for productive use and settlement in each case. However contemporary systems of rural planning are most centrally concerned with the prevention of disordered conversion of farming land to non-farming uses, driven by the growth of lifestyle and amenity-driven housing, particularly close to cities.

This concern is explicitly stated in planning policies and frameworks. Each Australian state has a policy framework, typically within a planning system, which recognises that land used for agriculture, particularly ‘highly productive’ land, is a resource that should be valued (Budge et al., 2013). Such approaches were well formed in planning systems by the 1980s when the reach of rural planning for agricultural land protection, was universal in Australia, at least as a policy and statutory ideal (Houston 1994: 103). Typical approaches include the strategic decision to zone land for agricultural protection – often including potential layers of identification beyond a ‘general’ rural zone for land deemed an important resource – and the implementation of day-to-day decision making regarding development, land use change and land fragmentation through subdivision, all with regard to land resource protection objectives.

While this appears a reasonable and rational approach to rural planning, its inadequacies and lack of reflexivity in the face of global trends in agricultural restructure and local 'taste markets' for counter-urbanisation are increasingly apparent, given levels of land use change and the emergent modes of agricultural activity, particularly in peri-urban areas. The complexity and insufficiencies of dealing with this through the seemingly blunt tools of subdivision and housing controls are at the heart of rural planning for most practitioners, and initiate a planning career for many students and recent graduates.

Typically, the tension that exists between the needs of planning in rural areas include planning that aims to protect agricultural land, planning to protect rural landscapes (countryside protection), planning for environment and biodiversity protection, and planning to manage settlement form and housing location. While these objectives are inter-related, the legitimacy of each these arguments in the political and public spheres vary and the capacity for these arguments to be used effectively is likewise contingent.

Internationally, these tendencies are also apparent. Lapping (2006) suggests that in the face of rural restructure and differentiation European and North American planning systems show an "...amazing consistency and lack of imagination..."(p. 118) in relation to modes and approaches to agricultural protection. Moreover, conundrums emerge from such systems as they are largely reactive to changes in agricultural practice and land markets. They typically are concerned to support 'productive' farming, yet the conditions for productivity are in flux, and often unrelated to property size and location. Moreover, the relationships between productivity and land (or landscape) management outcomes are likewise unclear.

The legitimacy failures apparent in planning for farmland protection emanate from various sources: global trends resulting in farm restructure, emergent markets for non-farm rural housing development, neo-liberalism and the redefinitions of the role of the state in resource allocation, and the consequent emergence of post-productivist revaluing of the role of rural place and landscapes. The outcomes of these processes of change have been to create a complex purpose for rural planning, especially in locations where competing pressures on land markets and between private and public landscape objectives exist.

Post-productivism, agricultural restructure and emerging landscape values

Agricultural expansion in Australia from the mid-nineteenth century included the development of access to inland, dryland grazing areas, cereal cropping in areas of marginal rainfall, the eventual development of irrigation farming in parts of the Murray Darling Basin and the emergence of tropical and sub-tropical farming in the coastal north (Roberts, 1968). Much of this expansion was the result of a strongly state-directed approach to both agriculture and regional development. Examples such as 'closer-settlement' schemes (often linked to soldier settlement programs), land grants, the development of rail infrastructure and localised agricultural extension and training in various forms, all typified policy approaches from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries. Such approaches were certainly critiqued as emblematic of the *state (or colonial) socialism* of the era (Eggleston, 1932; Frost, 1982), but nonetheless provided a consistent policy pathway for nation-building, settlement strategy, decentralisation and agricultural policy. In many instances the limits to productivity in a low rainfall environment were quickly uncovered, often with significant economic and personal costs (Meinig, 1962; Barr and Cary, 1992). Since the 1970s however the modes and practices of agricultural policy have become dominated by conceptions of industry policy with preferences for markets and with industry policy displacing direct farm support and industry

protection. Such an approach has received continued support in Australian politics and has shaped policy at a local through to international level, resulting in considerable productivity gains for mainstream commodity farming (Mullen, 2010), but also leading to significant changes in the structure and fortunes of farms and rural communities.

Consequently, the connections between farming cultures, agricultural land use and policy have changed, and this is seen through a series of differing processes such as the tendency for increased farm sizes – and consequent population decline – in productive farming regions, alongside the emergence of contested land uses in accessible, urban-influenced regions (Barr, 2008). The associated process of the decline in state-directed outcomes for agriculture, and the emergence of other land uses and other values and priorities for rural land have been described as a transition to post-productivist tendencies (Marsden, 1995; Ilbery and Bowler, 1998) to an environment where competing expectations, policy imperatives and valorisation of land and landscape resources exist alongside productive agriculture. Indicators of this transition have variously included the diminished role of agricultural employment, an increased awareness and concern for environmental values, the re-valorisation of land for amenity purposes and diminished policy support for agriculture and food/fibre production. Lockie et al. (2006) consider these processes as, at least in part, inter-connected, especially as neo-liberal policies – those that advocate influence particularly of markets and of other actors beyond the state – have also resulted in a models of land management focussed on landholder and local communities along with policies that “...force producers to internalise the environmental and social costs of production” (p30). In this way, the process of diminished state direction in farming futures, and the emergence and the subsidiarity applied to environmental responsibilities and values are connected through policy.

Description of a transition to ‘post-productive’ rural landscapes, and the emergence of ‘multi-functional’ rural place (Holmes, 2002) are necessarily contested, at least as over-simplification (Evans et al. 2002; Argent, 2002; Wilson, 2010), or as neglecting the absence of a previously genuine *productivist* phase given the historic tendency to support community and political objectives through activities such as soldier settlement. But they remain useful, at least as locationally bound and situational concepts, suited to certain places. Most evidently however, regardless of terminology, the use of rural landscapes is in flux, and the emergence of land markets for recreational activities and counter-flows of population into rural areas, with the consequent pressure for population and development, are a reality for planning practice in many Australian regions – most particularly close to cities. However, perhaps more deeply, post-productivist rural landscapes describe not simply the retreat of agriculture, given that this may not have always been the single or dominant use, but rather the retreat of assumptions of primacy for agricultural support from society and policy. For example, even within the paradigm of market-led policy, the recent Murray-Darling Basin plan has, nonetheless, sought to recognise the value of recreational, cultural and environmental flows in addition to productive resource values, against sometimes bitter opposition from some farming groups (Cruse et al. 2011).

Consequently, while rural areas in Australia have been imprinted by an industrial agricultural model predicated on ongoing growth and restructure, an emerging rural ‘other’ has formed, supported by lifestyle aspirations, recreational opportunities and environmental values. This is most apparent in peri-urban regions where an increasingly urban-focused culture (Champion and Hugo 2003), often linked to expectations of *amenity* or landscape *quality* (Moss 2006, McCarthy 2008, Gosnell and Abrams 2009) has re-valorised rural land, primarily for residential or sub-commercial agricultural consumption. This has occurred not only on the immediate metropolitan fringe but also across much broader rural regions that are influenced by commuting and amenity-led migration.

Rural planning approaches: maintaining relevance beyond agriculture

The protection of rural land for agricultural purposes has a long history in town planning practice. In Australia this has been a feature of planning strategy and policy, with a specific reference to the metropolitan fringe over many decades. Orthodoxy emerged regarding planning for agricultural production (Winston, 1957; Logan, 1983), especially at the urban fringe, with approaches typically including limits to rural subdivision and to non-farm related development (Winston, 1957: 45-49; Archer, 1977; Boynton, 1979), becoming close to universal by the 1980s (Houston, 1994).

Some reservation was been expressed as to the need for rural land planning, with Brown and Sherrard (1951) for example suggesting “...our [Australia’s] rural areas do not lend themselves, except in the environs of town and cities and in the more closely settled rural area, to the detailed procedure followed in statutory town planning” (p. 356), and from those authors with reservations regarding the economic and social consequences of forgoing inevitable land use change (Wills, 1989; Bowie, 1992). Even by the 1970s the need for rural planning still required justification (Williams, 1976). Additionally, the actual focus and purpose of such policy was questioned, with competing perspectives of ‘green belt’ protection for urban settlement purposes and the protection of rural land as an agricultural resource apparent. Such contrast is evident in Abercrombie’s (1926) account of rural planning in the UK (Hall, 1973). In Australia Freestone (1989) argues that much of the early twentieth century Australian application of *Garden City* ideas was simply a form of suburban aesthetic not addressing issues such as “town-country” linkages, and absent the social re-organisation explicit in Howard’s (1898) manifesto. Clarke (1960) describes the Sydney greenbelt as largely a product of the desire for ordered development and reduced infrastructure costs rather than protecting agriculture. Bunker and Houston (2005: 310) suggest that Sydney’s 1950s greenbelt, while seeking to maintain a desired urban form “gave short shrift to agriculture”.

Nonetheless, as recently noted (Budge et al., 2013) planning for agricultural protection rural areas through zoning and subdivision limits is now the typical approach, even in areas well beyond direct urban influence. Yet the intent for ‘preservation’ of productive farming created by these approaches is often ambiguous. Examples include the Victorian State Planning Policy Framework, which seeks to “...protect productive farmland which is of *strategic significance* in the local or regional context” (emphasis added). This would appear to suggest that certain land is to be protected – not all – yet the clarity and definitions of this remain unclear and contested between planners, local politicians, farmers and the broader community.

Despite the persistence of this approach, the growth of housing in rural areas and the diminished viability of agriculture, particularly within the commuter field of larger cities, remains. It is incremental, but effectively unhindered except in the most highly valued landscapes (Buxton et al., 2011; Low Choy et al., 2008). This is not specifically an Australian phenomenon. For example, Harvold and Nordahl (2012) note that, in the case of Norway, the prevalence of approvals for evidently non-farm activities suggests that the aim of agricultural protection is insufficient in their planning system. Similar findings are noted in other jurisdictions such as Canada (Caldwell and Dodds-Weir, 2007). However agriculture in the peri-urban regions of Australia persists, and continues to provide considerable output and employment (Houston, 2005), yet it is dominated (at least in land use terms) by low value, sub-commercial farm enterprises, creating industry vulnerabilities from displacement and competing policy priorities (Butt, 2013).

In addition, rural planning systems have experienced an ongoing widening of their field to include matters such as landscape management, vegetation protection and soil and water controls. These roles emerged often as initial responses to the need for specific application of rural planning, with

examples such as the Yarra Ranges east of Melbourne showing an increased concern with recreation and conservation (and not specifically agriculture) from the 1970s in identified high-quality landscapes (Matthews, 2013). While these present valid areas of policy concern, in many locations they are not without implications for agricultural practice and restructure. Moreover, they are symbolic of the emergence of a set of post-productivist concerns regarding rural land that stray from announced ideals of farmland protection.

As consequence, rural planning retains a core aim of agricultural land and farm protection, especially in 'highly productive' regions, yet a confluence of global trends and local preferences have diminished the capacity of this to occur. Neo-liberalism in policy dictates a reluctance of government to actively 'pick winners', including in the agricultural industry and rural land use stakes. Re-valourised, multi-functional landscapes require consideration of policy priorities that may actively limit scope for farm restructure and adjustment, a process particularly evident in industries such as intensive poultry (East and Hamilton, 2009) as well as more generally. Rural planning for productive (or commercial) farmland protection implies a narrative at odds with these realities of 'real' regulation, where actors and processes beyond the planning instrument hold sway. The following sections explore this in the case of rural planners in Victoria, Australia.

Power, legitimacy and the performance of planning

The theoretical traditions of Clifford Geertz (1973) and Victor Turner (1987) offer a way to see 'symbolic action' and 'social drama' through performance as deliberative, ritualised process, but also as an everyday action, occurring within a 'processually structured' context (Turner, 1987: 34) that includes specific responses and approaches to social drama and disjuncture. In this regard, cultural texts matter. Actors play out roles that require an audience to understand, and in turn narratives are legitimised by this. Geertz offers that *ideology* operates to offer a mechanism to respond to disagreement in social systems, suggesting that a set of beliefs and norms can act as a useful narrative, and basis of performance, within social groups in the face of crisis. Hajer (2010) contends that the symbolic dimensions of governance; narratives and performance, are not peripheral to 'real' decision-making, but rather that symbolism and performance are central to politics "even if you operate in rational proceduralism" (p83).

Alexander (2011) offers a programmatic conception of such social performance as having either a *ritualised* or a *strategic* form and intent. He differentiates these based, in part, on acceptance and assumed legitimacy. In these terms, accepted or *fused* social ritual differs from performance that is *de-fused* from the shared understanding or truly collective representation. Hence "...collectives and individuals strategically direct their actions and mobilize all their resources, but their instrumental power usually depends on success of a cultural kind" (p. 78). Alexander further contends that social performers "...go over time and time again the story line they wish to project" (p.59) and that this often includes asserting themselves as heroes or victims in order to speak to an audience and sustain a narrative. This is, in part, achieved through having the capacity to control the means of symbolic production – the space and mechanisms to assert social power by controlling what and how such narratives are heard. The capacity to control this varies.

However, he also asserts that in the complex societies, and in the absence of a shared (collective) representation, the capacity for authentic and convincing social performance is diminished and often disrupted. The link between the background representations, the 'script' and the 'audience' is therefore broken and ineffective. This suggests that *rituals* are found insufficient and the strategic delivery of storylines is not sufficiently (or unable to

be) fused with an audience. Remedies in this regard relate to the ability to overcome the artificial perception of performance and convince an audience of the authenticity of meaning and importance. This is not simply a matter of text, but also of delivery. It is rendered more difficult as the audience is, likewise, socially complex and does not necessarily have a shared understanding of the problems to be solved and the message conveyed.

The following account of interviews with planning practitioners contends that rural planning for agricultural land protection can be seen as a social performance. While day-to-day planning involves an institutional legitimacy, the logic and narrative of rural land protection is framed squarely within a narrative of rationality and productivism, and within a morality relating to food security and land use optimisation, all in the face of the crises created by the 'non-conforming use' of non-farm development. Yet it experiences de-fusion from its audiences, and a consequent crisis of legitimacy. The *cultural text* of farmland protection, with its associated stories and symbols (food security, landscape protection, rational resource use) and its tools for performance (preventing land use change) are largely deemed inauthentic outside of the practitioner worldview. They have certainly proven ineffective over generations despite institutional power, authority and intent, as evidenced by the re-valorisation of land and the onward march of urban-generated development in many rural areas.

What do rural planners want in planning education?

Planning systems in Australia invariably assert a role for agricultural land protection. Planners practising in rural and urban fringe areas are typically charged with realising these objectives through land use controls and the assessment of applications for rural housing, subdivision and land use change, all within a context of socio-economic change. In 2012-2013 in-depth interviews were conducted with 30 rural planners practising in urban fringe, peri-urban and rural Victoria to explore their perspectives on rural planning; specifically agricultural land retention and rural land use change. Discussions included consideration of the needs of planning education in this regard. The planner respondents were mainly involved in statutory (development control) roles, although some worked in strategy and policy roles and some in private practice. Their experience ranged from recent graduates to those with more than 20 years experience.

The discussions regarding rural planning and planning education were broadly associated with three themes: issues of consistency in regulation, developing an agreed evidence-basis for decisions and the levels of commitment and contestation apparent within the planning system. In most discussions these three themes intersected, with the latter becoming an encompassing issue relating to the way in which the community, non-planning staff and elected representatives, and centralised authorities (such as the planning appeals system) were seen to lack commitment to genuine agricultural land protection, and the way in which the public perceived the role and purpose of rural planning.

The second point, that of an evidence-basis for decisions, raised the most uncertainty, with most planners recognising the complexity inherent not only in *knowing* if and how agriculture activity could be retained, but also in agreeing on the proper purpose of rural land. The most often cited examples in this regard related applications for housing in rural areas where proponents asserted a commitment to ongoing agriculture, as required by regulation, yet planners doubted this intent and typically considered that commercial level farming was impossible. Examples of this type were used to discuss the inadequacies of regulation and policy in that effective arguments against such development typically emanated from logics regarding landscape or habitat protection, or from those relating to urban form and settlement efficiencies. In this regard arguments focussed on the protection of productive

farming were considered slippery and difficult to support within communities, elected representatives and the planning review system (VCAT – the Victorian Civil and Administrative Tribunal).

The planners interviewed recognised that rural planning was often considered minor in their education experience and within professional practice, although the increasing brief of rural planning suggest some advance on the deficiencies identified by Williams (1976). Nonetheless, PIA (2010) makes no explicit mention of skills and needs in planning for agricultural land protection in its accreditation policy. The tendency for planners to ‘fall into’ rural planning from an urban planning background was also often noted. In this regard the planners recognised that they learnt on the job, not only techniques, but also the ethical or moral imperatives and values in relation to farmland protection. They described an enculturation.

There was recognition that professional development opportunities (including those from state government) were likewise limited. However in this regard most planner respondents were focussed on skills and knowledge relating to farming systems and opportunities to legitimately accept or reject dubious farm dwelling planning applications. Similarly, there was recognition that planning education was often lacking in regard to agronomy and farm economics, and little guidance was available through specialist agencies. For planning education, these planners typically prescribe an increased agricultural literacy amongst graduates.

In general, these interviews suggest that these planners exhibit a shared commitment to the ethic of farmland protection, but consider that this awareness offers little traction with a wider audience, at least at the individualised and local level of planning approval. Moreover, they consider that, despite the symbols and rhetoric contained within planning policy and statute, the logics of farm and agricultural protection have diminished value as evidence in decision-making. Additionally, they are well aware of the dilemmas of productive land use in the face of local and global restructure, yet are wary of processes that limit *potential* future agricultural activities and of arguments that seek to portray agriculture as irredeemable.

Examining performance in rural planning education

The interviews reveal a process of social performance that is deeply dramatic — one where a set of (often heroic) ideas and narratives are considered as undervalued within the public, non-expert, sphere. The motives and morality of farmland protection are considered necessary, yet pragmatism requires such arguments to be framed in the context of environmental protection and the management of settlement and infrastructure growth. To many respondents the costs of such pragmatism was the blurring of motive and the tolerance of land management outcomes above food production priorities; the social and economic acceptance of a non-agricultural rural landscape.

Reflecting on Alexander (2011) these practitioners have sought to adapt the narrative of their performance, to simplify their storyline and develop a scene in a manner that conveys importance to an audience. Resolving this is complex, and relates not simply to an information deficit, but also to the strategies that planners develop to communicate this and to develop a shared, or collective, representation of the ‘problem’; inherent in rural land use change. This is a challenge of understanding the source of legitimacy of rural planning, and the contestation of planning expertise.

For planning education this suggests the need to consider the pragmatics of engagement through recognition of the interpreter of the message. It also requires an interrogation of the legitimacy of rural planning, and of the sources of the narratives planners tell in this regard. Usefully, this suggests that rural planning offers fertile situations to consider planning overall (urban and rural) more explicitly as a communicative process, one where expertise is questioned, and motives obscured. Further it indicates that accepting the privileged role of 'environmental' moralities and narratives and other ways to value rural land is a necessary component of rural planning, alongside proficiency in areas such as rural economics.

Rural planning education needs to focus on the acceptance of these limits to legitimacy in relation to the farmland protection narrative, and to emphasise the way in which rural land management outcomes sit within a complex milieu of global and local processes where pragmatic responses are required to overcome an implementation gap. This should not diminish the need to explore the productivity debate, but rather to position it within an honest reflection on the various and sometimes competing motives – environmental, anti-sprawl, landscape protection – that provide a rationale for rural planning.

Conclusions

Rural planning for farmland protection is a system of practice that encounters significant barriers to effectiveness. These emanate from global and local processes, terms of trade, diminished state-directed farm support, the emergence of environmental management priorities and the social production of non-farming rural landscapes through counter-urbanisation. Consequently, typical approaches – the proscription of subdivision and demands for 'productive' farm use – have often proved unsuccessful in preventing land conversion, even when landscape and environmental objectives are achieved.

In the face of this failure, such approaches continue and while a pragmatic awareness exists, many planners contend that information deficiencies and a lack of understanding in the political and public sphere of the importance and urgency of this issue is to blame. This can be considered as a de-fusion between actor and audience (Alexander, 2011), calling into question the legitimacy and capacity of rural planning (and planners) to enact change.

Approaches to the resolution of this dilemma should be considered in the context of the sources of power for planners and through information, as indicated by the interview respondents, but also with clear regard to messages and narratives, their relevance and alternative moralities and rationalities. Frankly, it is apparent that a clearer audience appreciation exists regarding environmental and landscape values in many 'at-risk' rural locations.

For planning education this suggests a more circumspect approach to the scope and purpose of rural planning – particularly in relation to farmland protection. Presently the topic is under-emphasised, yet it becomes a core component of planning practice for so many (graduate) planners. Consequently the challenges of rural planning for farmland protection are often framed within an incomplete consideration of socio-economic factors and within certain social constructions of rurality. The communicative and performative aspect of the process matter, and consideration of the competing and complex narratives of population and farming change, the economic and the social constructions of rurality and rural space each need consideration in teaching rural planning. Procedural aspects do matter, and techniques and information are crucial in planning practice, but an

awareness of the barriers to the development of a collective representation of rural land futures. Education should have a communicative focus, and on arguing for authentic narratives of rural land planning. This should lead students to a critical appraisal of farmland protection and an increased knowledge of the complexity of and dynamism of farmscapes in contemporary Australia.

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Session 1

8. Redefining Migration in Global Cities: A case study of Sydney.

Richard Hu
University of Canberra

The global city discourse remains economic-centric, and fails to address the important element of migration to the extent it should be. In this paper, I provide a comprehensive examination of the spatial patterns of the foreign born population, the global services, and the people movement across global Sydney. The findings indicate that the global services – the defining attributes of global Sydney – have very weak association with the foreign born population, but have very strong association with the people movement. There is a need to redefine migration for the discourse of global city. We need to move beyond the conventional perception of migration by country of birth, and to define migration by global mobility and global capacity to capture the interplay between global city and migration.

9. Climate Change Mitigation and Adaptation: A Comparative Study of Local Governments Actions in NSW Australia and Nevada USA.

Awais Piracha
University of Western Sydney

Climate change is perhaps the most pressing problem faced by humanity in the 21st century. Climate change is occurring on global scale through the build-up of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. However its impacts are often felt locally in vulnerable, low lying and densely populated regions. Climate change is predicted to affect climatic conditions by increasing the intensity and frequency of precipitation and heat waves. As a result regions and local areas will face more frequent and extreme flooding, droughts and heat-wave events. These conditions will threaten lives and properties of people in localities all over the world. Dry, hot and coastal communities like Nevada USA and NSW Australia.

In Sydney, a significant proportion of the population resides in a coastal location, with impacts of climate change literally on their doorstep. Inland councils are also at risk with rising temperatures and increasing intensity and frequency of natural weather events. This research examines responses and the strategic directions of local councils in the Sydney Metropolitan region, Australia, in regards to climate change. Key documents, policies, and environmental planning instruments were analysed for their usefulness. Mitigation and adaptation action are essential to combating the present and future impacts, and thus are the key to managing climate change. One such example of a mitigative response is through the Cities for Climate Protection (CCP) program. The case studies of two coastal and two non-coastal councils conducted as part of this research provide insight into the development of climate change responses.

	<p><i>Nevada, located in the southwest of the USA is a very hot and dry place. In the southern end of Nevada, the Clark County and the Cities of Las Vegas and Henderson have a population of two million. Climate change is likely to threaten the water supply in the region as well as make an already very hot region hotter. Interviews were carried out with officials at the Southern Nevada Regional Transport Authority and planning and sustainability sections of the City of Las Vegas and the City of Henderson to learn about their mitigation and adaptation measures in relation to climate change. I have organised meetings with a few more people at the City of Las Vegas and neighbouring City of Henderson. Analysing responses of the local councils in Sydney Metro NSW and those of authorities in Southern Nevada helped in determining usefulness of various policies, instruments and programs in the two individual regions. Also the comparison of policy cultures and choice of instruments in the two regions led to several important and interesting findings.</i></p>
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Climate Change Mitigation and Adaptation: A Comparative Study of Local Governments Actions in NSW Australia and Nevada USA

Keywords: *climate change, mitigation, adaptation*

Introduction

This study is an outcome of research in Sydney NSW, Australia on local authorities actions on climate change mitigation and adaptation. Analysing key documents, policies, and environmental planning instruments, this research examines responses and the strategic directions of local councils in the Sydney Metropolitan region, in regards to climate change. Mitigation and adaptation action are essential to combating the present and future impacts, and thus are the key to managing climate change. One such example of a mitigative response is through the Cities for Climate Protection (CCP) program. This research in particular looks at the action on climate change mitigation and adaptation at local level through the prism of CCP which seems to have wide traction with local councils in NSW.

In this research, case studies of two coastal and two non-coastal councils provide insights into the development of climate change responses. Analysing their responses helps determine the usefulness of various policies, instruments and programs. Analysis and comparison of the case studies has revealed a number of interesting findings along the themes of state government (of New South Wales) and local councils (in NSW) interactions and the understanding, desire, capabilities and action of (small) councils in addressing this huge challenge.

A somewhat similar study was later conducted in Southern Nevada USA. This researcher spent two months at the University of Nevada as a visiting scholar. During that time a number of interviews at the local agencies were conducted. The interviewees were asked about their agencies' actions on

climate change mitigation and adaptation. Secondary material on that topic was also collected from those agencies. Field visits were also part of this exercise.

This paper presents findings from the two individual case studies as well as spells out commonalities, differences in approaches and lessons to be learnt from both sides.

Climate change mitigation and adaptation at local governments in NSW

Climate change is probably the most important and the most urgent issue faced at all levels of governance in the 21st century. Climate change is occurring through the build-up of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere on global scale, however its impacts are often felt locally in vulnerable, low lying and densely populated regions. In Sydney NSW, a significant proportion of the population resides in coastal locations, with impacts of climate change literally on their doorstep. Inland councils are also at risk due to rising temperatures and increasing intensity and frequency of natural weather events. Mitigation and adaptation are key to managing climate change. A comparative study of two coastal and two non-coastal local councils in the Sydney region of NSW with regard to their strategic responses to climate change reveals that some mitigation activity is in place, but that large-scale adaptation is limited.

Cities for Climate Protection (CCP)

One example of a mitigative response is the Cities for Climate Protection program. The International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI) set up Cities for Climate Protection (CCP) in 1993 (ICLEI, 1993; UN, 2006). ICLEI has become an internationally recognised organisation comprising local councils from over 900 cities, towns, counties and their associations (ICLEI, 2008c). Significant goals of the CCP program as stated in “An International Campaign to Reduce Urban Emissions of Greenhouse Gases” (1993) include:

- strengthening of local commitments to reduce urban emissions of greenhouse gases
- dissemination of planning and management tools to facilitate the development of cost effective CO₂ reduction policies
- research and development of best practices and development of local model projects for reducing energy use in buildings and transport, and
- enhancing national and international ties so that municipal level actions to reduce emissions are included in national action plans and future international deliberations.

ICLEI provides projects, program support, technical and policy support, workshops and training resources, opportunities for networking and information exchange, and recognition events. One of many tools it has created for local governments is a software package, which can calculate, forecast, and monitor greenhouse gas emissions (Bulkeley and Betsill, 2003).

The CCP program is implemented through a strategic milestone framework, as follows (ICLEI, 2008a; ICLEI 2008b):

1. **Establish an inventory** of greenhouse emissions from all operations (corporate sector), and an analysis of sources of emissions from the community as a whole (community sector). Following this, a Business As Usual (BAC) forecast is undertaken to inform Council of its future projections.
2. **Set goals** to be achieved by a stated year in the future. Goals are usually expressed as a percentage of corporate and community emissions.
3. **Action plan** — a strategy toward achieving goals set in milestone 2 set out as a blueprint in the form of a Local Action Plan (LAP).
4. **Implement and quantify** actions outlined in the LAP. Report reductions in greenhouse gas emissions as well as financial cost savings.
5. **Monitor and review** progress.

In Australia, CCP is a collaborative initiative between ICLEI, which delivers the framework to councils and works with them to develop and implement strategy, and the Department of the Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts, which provides policy and funding support. There are currently over 230 councils participating in CCP in Australia, representing about 84 per cent of the nation's population. New South Wales has (in 2008):

- 25 councils in the CCP Plus category
- 12 councils completing milestone 5, and
- 22 councils completing milestones 1-4.

(Department of Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts, 2008)

CCP Plus is an extended arm of the CCP program for councils that have moved beyond milestone 5. CCP Plus aims to bolster greenhouse gas reduction goals by offering focused support in key areas of organisational review, planning, action projects, and corporate and community sectors. It requires yearly contributions to the annual CCP measures report (ICLEI, 2008b).

Following are case studies of two coastal and two non-coastal local councils in Sydney. Examination is made of each council's actions and priorities regarding climate change, their level of implementation of the CCP program, and their adoption of policies for mitigation and adaptation. A coastal council for the purposes of this article refers to a council with significant frontage to foreshore, estuarine and/or coastal waters, and also membership to a regional organisation (in this case the Sydney Coastal Councils Group, SCCG).

Local Council Case Study 1: Ashfield Council

Inland Ashfield City Council is 12km south west of Sydney's central business district. The local government area (LGA) covers 8.3 square kilometres. It has a population of approximately 39,000 (ABS, 2006a).

Ashfield's vision is to be "a community which protects and enhances its native and existing flora and native fauna and contributes to the wider responsibilities for the whole community to preserve the earth's environment." In recent years the council has indicated ongoing commitment to environmental initiatives. It has adopted the Sustainable Streets program, established a staff sustainability committee and developed the GreenWay Coordination Strategy, the Cooks River Sustainability Initiative and Sustainable Ashfield. Ashfield has also adopted the Cities for Climate Protection program. A political declaration was completed in 2003, and the Council achieved milestone 2 in 2005. The Local Action Plan, part of milestone 3, is currently at draft stage.

Ashfield's LGA is growing at approximately 2 per cent per year (ABS, 2006a). It is highly urbanised and dense. The area consists predominantly of residential buildings, with a moderate commercial element; industrial uses are minimal. The population makeup of this council suggests a very multicultural mix, and also contains an ageing population – 23.7 per cent of the people are over 55 years of age. Department of Environment and Climate Change document "Who Cares" (DECC 2007) reveals that younger populations and people from English speaking households are more likely to be concerned and knowledgeable about climate change. Considering the makeup of Ashfield Council, it was important that the correct groups were targeted by educative campaigns.

Ashfield Council's current management plan is for 2008-2012. The council also produces supplementary documents in the form of a Strategic Plan providing broad, long term action plans, and operational plans outlining management plan actions and key performance indicators on a yearly basis. The management plan is predominantly aimed at the community. While the Council strives to achieve sustainable development, the plan doesn't necessarily indicate climate change specific action. It needs to be more specific to deliver clarity to the community and direction to the corporate sector. However, the Strategic Plan comprehensively outlines actions and reports on the progress of these tasks. The management plan does recognise commitment to ongoing implementation of the CCP program, and the achievement of milestone 3.

Ashfield's State of the Environment Report (SOE) is divided into seven themes. Greenhouse gas emissions come under the heading of Atmosphere. The main pressures highlighted under this section are motor vehicle emissions and smoke from solid wood fire heaters. The regional pollution index indicates that increasing use of private automobiles is impacting significantly on local air quality. The details are as follows:

Cities for Climate Protection (CCP) milestones – Ashfield Council

1. Establish an inventory

For the corporate sector, significant sources of emissions are from waste and street lighting. For the community sector, significant sources of emissions are from residential areas and transportation. Figures 1.1 and 1.2 indicate the emission distribution of Ashfield's corporate and community sectors.

2. Set goals

Ashfield has committed to a reduction goal of 20 per cent by 2010 from the baseline year of 1998 for the corporate sector, and 20 per cent by 2010 from 1996 levels for the community sector. Selection of baseline and goal years has been influenced by goal setting by other Australian councils. 64 per cent of Australian councils have endorsed a 20 per cent or greater community reduction goal, while 90 per cent of Australian councils have endorsed a 20 per cent or greater corporate reduction goal (Ashfield Council, 2008). It is interesting to note the council 'following suit' rather than attempting to take initiative by leading reduction goals. However, 20 per cent is a significant reduction goal, and it is recognised that considerable, innovative actions will be needed to reach it.

3. Action plan

The draft LAP outlines actions to be taken, some of which include:

Corporate actions

- staff energy awareness through education and campaigns, e.g. more efficient operating of appliances in the office
- establishment of an internal sustainability committee
- greater energy efficiency in office equipment through implementation of Energy Star Software on computers and installation of energy efficient flat screen monitors
- retrofit of council buildings with light timers and sensors and, where possible, use of photovoltaic systems
- audits on air conditioning systems and lighting in council buildings
- participation in SSROC (Southern Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils) street lighting review, and
- fleet vehicle policy review including introduction of 4-cylinder vehicles and diesel utes.

Community actions

- promotion of reduction of greenhouse gases and energy efficiency including efficient heating and cooling through newsletters, websites and carnivals
- development of open space network that allows continuous pedestrian and bicycle access across the region
- the Sustainability Street Program: providing education to residents regarding reducing energy, water and waste in their homes, and avenues for residents to become involved in local environmental projects, and
- participation in regional projects such as the GreenWay project to provide walking and cycling linkages between the Cooks River and Iron Cove.

The majority of these actions have yet to be implemented and timeframes for their completion are absent from the plan.

Implementation

The Ecological Sustainable Development (ESD) policy adopted by Council in 2003 demonstrates Council's commitment to incorporating environmental policy development and state of the environment reporting into all aspects of operations, from management plans to development assessment. The public availability of this document signals intention to address environmental issues, and opens the council to scrutiny regarding its decisions on environmental issues.

Environmental Planning Instruments of Ashfield have been under revision. The new LEP is currently being prepared, consistent with the State Government standard instrument, including specific provisions to achieve Council's development outcomes. The DCP is also being updated to ensure consistency with the LEP. Appointment of an environmental officer has assisted in implementing environmental goals in these planning instruments.

Ashfield has a "Building Design and Sustainability" DCP in Part D2 of the Act. This is an advisory document for ESD in residential and other development. However, state (BASIX) and national (Building Code of Australia) legislation already sets out requirements in accordance with sustainability. The purpose of Part D2 is to identify building designs that exhibit greater standards than set by existing legislation.

Adaptation

Whilst the council is aware of adaptive measures, there is little evidence of comprehensive action. The council states that adaptation is a capacity issue, but it would seem that it views adaptation as a large-scale, high-cost activity involving infrastructure development and ongoing high maintenance, rather than inclusive of education programs and modified urban design.

Local council Case Study 2: Burwood Council

Inland Burwood Council is 14km south west of the Sydney CBD. The LGA covers 7.26 square kilometres. It has a population of approximately 31,000 (ABS, 2006b).

Burwood Council has not traditionally been environmentally aware. However, the Council has indicated its concern about climate change through installation of energy efficient appliances and supply of rebates. Actions to date include production of the Green Action Plan, implementation of the Fridge Buyback Scheme, and participation in the regional group Inner West Regional Recycling Group (IWRRG). Burwood has also adopted the CCP program. A political declaration was completed in May 2006 and the Council achieved milestone 2 in 2007. The LAP, part of milestone 3, is currently at draft stage.

Burwood Council's current management plan covers 2008/09- 2010/11. Its vision is "to make Burwood vibrant, prosperous, progressive and proud of its history and heritage". Its statement of goals indicates that Council aims for "environmental sustainability" to be achieved through objectives outlined in the Burwood Town Planning Scheme. The operational component of the management plan outlines key tasks relating to waste management, transportation networks, community support services, recreation services, health and environment.

Within the health and environment theme, a section on “public health and pollution control” states Council’s objectives are “to minimise the occurrence of pollution incidents in the council area” and “to improve the environment through pollution control”.

The Council indicates that, in order to reduce pollution, it is important to maintain regulatory and educative functions. How they will do this is unclear. The main service provision seems to be investigations into pollution complaints.

The management plan points to the Green Action Plan (GAP) as its primary document in environmental management. The GAP is a council-specific initiative with a particular focus on greenhouse gas emissions and climate change impacts in the local area. In some ways it is similar to an LAP, the milestone 3 requirement for the CCP program.

The council’s SOE report is a 10 page document. Each of its five themes are identified in line with the LGA 1993. In “Air,” objectives are to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and reduce instances of air pollution within the LGA. Assessments of corporate and community activities include:

- Council Chambers, Enfield Swimming Pool and the Library produce nearly half of all greenhouse gases in the corporate sector, and
 - there is significant growth in the transport sector, in terms of the private car.
- (Burwood Council, 2007b)

Involvement in the CCP program has been relatively recent. The management plan refers to the program under discussion of the GAP. In the annual report, current progress in the program is indicated.

Cities for Climate Protection (CCP) Milestones – Burwood Council

1. Establish an inventory

For the corporate sector, significant sources of emissions are from buildings and street lighting. For the community sector, significant sources of emissions are from residential and commercial uses. Figures 2.1 and 2.2 indicate the respective distribution of emissions.

2. Set goals

Burwood has committed to a reduction goal of 20 per cent by 2012 from the baseline year 2005/06 for the corporate sector; and 20 per cent by 2010 from 2001 levels for the community sector. Selection of baseline and goal years was due to the availability of data necessary for completion of the inventory. Lack of available data from other years indicates insufficiency and/or inadequacy in greenhouse gas emission recording instruments.

3. Action plan

The LAP is in draft format, not yet available for public viewing.

Implementation

The Council aims, through the GAP, to educate the community and outline operations being implemented. The GAP brings “all of the council’s “green” actions into one accessible document” (Burwood Council, 2008a). It contains the corporate GAP and the community GAP.

The corporate GAP addresses energy efficiency in council operations. Outlined below are some of the initiatives in the corporate GAP:

Reduction of energy usage

- Solar lighting has been trialled in Flockhart Park, Enfield. Further installations of solar lighting are planned, an expensive exercise. Vandalism of facilities has occurred and is costly to repair.

Council fleet management

- Council has encouraged downsizing of employee vehicles to fuel-efficient varieties. The Council fleet has downsized to four-cylinder modes.
- A hybrid vehicle was purchased in 2006 for the Council’s car pooling system.
- The council’s truck fleet now uses low sulphur content diesel, which reduces black smog and sulphur dioxide.

Office equipment

- Paper recycling systems have been introduced at the council offices, Library and the Woodstock Centre.
- Printer and toner cartridges are recycled.

The community GAP addresses environmental impacts of community activities.

- BASIX is mentioned as a community action, though it is a State requirement that new development be energy and water efficient to meet certain standards.
- Tree plantings have been an ongoing council initiative, with over 900 trees planted in the past two years.
- Examples of promotion of energy efficient practices include water tank rebates, recycling programs, and distribution of environmental fact sheets and an environmental events calendar.
- Second-hand Saturday is a council-organised event that has been running for the past six years. It promotes reuse of items and reduces landfill.

The GAP is a good starter's document for the community and demonstrates some strategic direction. Whilst there is a comprehensive list of initiatives, it lacks statements of goals and plans for action. One might expect the production of the 'milestone 3' LAP to address environmental action with more detail.

The purpose of Burwood Council's ESD policy is to integrate sustainable development into the Council's operations through economic, environmental and social considerations. Consequently, ESD principles have been incorporated into the new Burwood Town Centre LEP and DCP.

The LEP has been exhibited for public comment. It seeks to replace two former draft LEPs for two town centre precincts to maximise development opportunities. It aims for sustainable development features such as:

- integrated approach to planning, management, development and economic use of land
- mixed balance of land uses
- development that encourages use of public transport and reduces reliance on, and the consequential environmental impacts of, private vehicles, and
- development that promotes energy efficiency in relation to water conservation and aims to ensure waste and noise minimisation.

A particular DCP refers to "Environmental Management", consisting of measures to maximise energy efficiency, minimise waste and conserve water. DCP No.8 refers to General Residential development. A specific clause, Part 5.4 "Energy Efficiency", requires that all development consider:

- efficient building orientation toward north and east
- internal design that minimises heating and cooling, and
- maximum natural ventilation.

Adaptation

There is a lack of available information regarding adaptive measures to be taken by this council. Sea level rise is an issue of State significance currently being addressed on a regional scale by SSROC, however, it does not appear to be of concern to Burwood council at present.

Local Council Case Study 3: Botany Bay Council

Coastal Botany Bay Council is 13 km south of Sydney's CBD. The LGA covers 10.3 square kilometres. It has a population of approximately 31,000 (ABS, 2006c).

Emission sources from Botany Bay are unique in that, both presently and historically, most pollution originates from the airport and from heavy industry. The area has traditionally been industrially used, the port being the major service for importing and exporting goods. Development of heavy industry depended on the water supplies off the bay.

The planned airport expansion includes a development proposed by the State to facilitate required infrastructure. Sydney Airport's approved master plan will see a significant increase in flights, and increased activity from the airport will exacerbate pressure on development. Airport noise and flight paths mean that roughly 33 per cent of the LGA is unsuitable for residential development. Restrictions on development are coupled by amenity impacts on existing residents and reductions in land value. The planned Botany Port expansion will impact not only this LGA, but also adjacent councils such as Rockdale Council. There is likely to be increased truck movement, and disturbances caused by freighting along the railway corridors.

Actions specifically addressing reduction of emissions have included trials of solar lighting at bus stops, adoption of hybrid vehicles for the council fleet, and implementation of an Energy Efficiency DCP. Botany Bay has also adopted the CCP program. A political declaration was completed in May 2001 and they achieved milestone 2 in 2002. The LAP is currently at draft stage.

The Botany Bay Council management plan is separated into principal activities undertaken, each detailing performance targets and measurements. There are no visions or goals in this document. The objective outlined in the Health and Environment section pledges "to contribute to a safe living and working environment by providing a public health service which aims to meet community needs while satisfying statutory requirements" (Botany Bay Council, 2006). The plan doesn't point to any particular mechanism of managing greenhouse gases and climate change, but mentions review of the Energy Efficiency DCP as an ongoing activity.

Part 3 of the State of the Environment report is titled "Air and Greenhouse". The main pressures outlined are climate change and air pollution. The report provides a brief summary of the principles of the greenhouse effect. Air pollution is identified as primarily derived from industry and automobile emissions. Two responses to climate change are recorded under Air and Greenhouse: extended trials of solar lighting at bus stops, with investigation into possible future locations for solar lighting, and purchase of two hybrid vehicles for the council fleet, aiming to reduce corporate emissions and set an example for the community.

Botany Bay Council monitors air pollution through participation in ANSTO's (Australian Nuclear Science and Technology Organisation) fine particle Aerosol Sampling project. The project monitors and characterises particles at Mascot through the collection of filter samples taken twice a week (Botany Bay Council, 2007). The particles recorded are becoming smaller and affect human health and visible air quality.

Cities for Climate Protection (CCP) – Botany Bay Council

Botany Bay Council joined the CCP program in 2001. Currently, it is completing milestone 3, and the LAP has been in draft for over six months. The other councils examined in this article have recorded superior CCP progress in a shorter timeframes.

There are many reasons for Botany Bay's slow progress with CCP. Firstly, the Council is very small: the amount of office staff is limited. For instance, there is one environmental scientist who reports to the Director of Assets and Management. This person is responsible for many other tasks including review of development applications regarding environmental issues. This is a significant task, as the Council has significant industrial areas and contaminated sites that require careful management. Secondly, and perhaps consequently, there has been a high staff changeover rate.

Resources at Botany Bay Council are very tight, and although the council is debt free, to undertake a significant project could result in an unmanageable debt. The Water Savings action plan has recently been completed in full, and Council states that this has taken priority over completion of the CCP milestone 3 report.

Milestones

1. Establish an inventory

Council has committed to a reduction goal of 20 per cent by 2012 from the baseline year of 1999/2000 for the corporate sector, and 20 per cent by 2012 from 1996 levels for the community sector.

4. Set goals

Some actions to be implemented from the LAP include development of an internal working group, retrofitting lights with fluorescents, installing light sensors, training internal staff, managing energy efficiency in the Aquatic Centre, trialling fuels and developing a bike plan.

5. Action plan

Currently being drafted.

Implementation

Botany Bay is to also review its current environmental instruments in order to comply with the new standard instrument set by the State Government.

The Botany Bay Local Environmental Plan includes a specific section on the greenhouse effect and global warming — the first to be encountered in these case studies. Clause 22 of the LEP stipulates that applications for significant developments submit documents addressing global warming, water pollution, energy consumption and groundwater contamination wherever applicable. Developers are also to take into account any possible adverse effects on the development itself as a result of climate change due to the greenhouse effect (Botany Bay Council, 1995).

Botany Bay adopted an Energy Efficiency DCP in 2000. This plan was developed in the context of previous initiatives such as the SSROC Greenhouse Strategy 1992 and the Energy Efficient Development discussion paper 1993 (Botany Bay Council, 2000).

The objectives of the current DCP are to:

- improve energy and water efficiency of all residential, commercial and industrial development
- reduce greenhouse gas emissions and conserve non-renewable energy sources
- promote residential, commercial and industrial developments that are more comfortable to live/work in and cost less to run, and
- provide means by which the development community can uniformly and effectively implement and demonstrate compliance with the objectives of the LEP (1995), in particular clause 22.

Adaptation

The Council seems to be waiting upon certainties before taking any significant action. There has not been any significant adaptation action to date. There have been discussions on risk of land, and on significant risks relating to sea level rise and flooding (any amount of sea level rise can potentially cover the whole LGA).

Local Council Case Study 4: Rockdale Council

Coastal Rockdale City Council is 12km south of Sydney's CBD. The LGA covers 30 square kilometres. Rockdale has a population of approximately 92,000 (ABS, 2006d).

The Rockdale LGA is growing at a rate of approximately four per cent per year (ABS, 2006d). The majority of the area is residential, encompassing both low-density housing and higher density areas along the railway corridor. However, industry is also a significant emitter of greenhouse gases. In Rockdale, much of the LGA is very low lying and vulnerable, comprising foreshore and bushland. A rise in the water table will have a significant effect; also a rise in sea level will immerse proportions of the LGA. Land is increasingly flood prone, decreasing house prices and creating issues around damage liability.

The council has been active with climate change policy development, including participation in the Greenfleet program, implementation of a Solid-Fuel-Heater-Buy-Back Program, creation of the Environmental Policy in 2003 and consequent adoption of the Environmental Plan. Rockdale has also adopted the CCP program. A political declaration was completed in 1999, just one year after the program's inception. As part of CCP Plus, Council embarked on the Greenhouse Purchasing program in 2006 and the Sustainable Transport program in 2007.

Rockdale Council's current management plan is for 2008/09-2010/11. Rockdale's vision for the natural environment is for "an ecologically sustainable city which protects and enhances its natural environment". There is evidence that the council is committed to environmental sustainability. The strategic direction outlined in the city's succinct vision statement provides focus for managing environmental quality. The management plan points to the Environmental Policy (2003) as the backbone of environmental decision-making. It led to the production of the Environmental Plan: a key tool for reporting to the community on the progress and direction of environmental initiatives. The plan was produced in 2003 and underwent review in 2006.

Rockdale's State of the Environment Report contains seven themes. "Atmosphere" is marked by an absence of objectives or goals. Pressures from community and corporate activities include:

- 70 per cent of residents use cars for at least part of their journeys to work
- local air quality is affected by pollution from the M5 east motorway
- significant emissions come from the industry sector, and
- adjacent land use by the Port Botany expansion and Sydney Airport Master Plan creates emissions and other stresses.

(Rockdale Council, 2007b)

Rockdale joined the CCP program in 1999 and has recorded significant progress. The Council achieved milestone 5 in 2005 and graduated from the program shortly after. The management plan identifies involvement in the CCP program as a demonstration of Rockdale's seriousness about environmental matters. It is clear that CCP provided leverage for action, and that through it various other environmental initiatives were made possible.

Cities for Climate Protection (CCP) Milestones – Rockdale Council

1. Establish an inventory

Significant corporate sector emissions are from street lighting and buildings. Significant community sector emissions are from industrial and residential activity.

2. Set goals

Rockdale has committed to a reduction goal of 20 per cent by 2010 from the baseline year of 1995 for the corporate sector, and 20 per cent by 2010 from 1995 levels for the community sector.

3. Action plan

A local action plan was produced. Completed projects therein include:

Corporate actions

- reduction of greenhouse gas emissions from office equipment including retrofitting the council administration building with fluorescent lamps, monitoring equipment and acquiring LG Flatron monitors with star ratings,
- retrofitting council streetlights: replacement of 10,000 20 watt lights with 360 mercury vapour lights, and
- updating Council's fleet to 4-cylinder vehicles and trialling alternate fuel vehicles.

Community actions

- energy conservation workshops to increase residents' awareness of energy efficient practices in the home,
- newsletters, website and displays encouraging energy efficient appliances and water heating, and renewable green power,
- information provided to local commercial and industrial businesses regarding energy audit guidelines and use of green power, and
- facilitation of more bicycle storage areas in parks and shopping centres, encouraging cycling as a realistic transportation option.

A full list of completed projects is contained in the SOE report and Environmental Plan.

Rockdale has progressed to CCP Plus. Since 2005 it has participated in two further projects, Greenhouse Purchasing and Sustainable Transport.

Greenhouse purchasing

Rockdale joined the Greenhouse Purchasing project in 2005. The plan requires review of existing council policies and practices by staff from the supply and environmental departments. A staff survey was also conducted.

Rockdale's Greenhouse Purchasing action plan identifies its key issues as:

- updating the environmental policy and the environmental purchasing policy
- greenhouse purchasing criteria to be considered for tenders
- ensuring suppliers meet greenhouse purchasing criteria
- ensuring staff make informed decisions regarding sustainable purchasing through checklists, tracking systems and the like, and
- educating staff through workshops and regular updates.

(Rockdale Council, 2006)

It is clear that Rockdale has a good platform for purchasing policies, and even though implementation has been minimal, staff have already been considering greenhouse issues in purchasing decisions.

Sustainable transport

Rockdale's Sustainable Transport action plan states the following key goals:

- to integrate sustainable transport objectives and principles into all priority strategic planning projects
- to encourage an integrated approach to sustainable transport issues across Council departments
- to actively promote alternative transport modes to both staff and the community, and

- to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by the council vehicle fleet.
(Rockdale Council, 2007c)

In the past, Rockdale Council has had problems with lack of community awareness, lack of strategy/plan coordination, and limited influence on the State Government regarding sustainable transport. More recently, these issues have been partially addressed through the Council's environmental policy, its management plan and its fleet policy, and through strategic planning via the Transport Traffic Plan.

Implementation

Environmental policy

The Rockdale City Council Environmental Policy was developed and adopted in 2003 to achieve ESD through council decision-making processes. The policy specifies that council staff must:

- comply with all applicable laws, regulations and standards, and apply additional standards that minimise environmental impacts resulting from operations or services
- communicate openly with the community about environmental issues
- ensure that environmental and social costs are considered when evaluating services provided by and to Council
- ensure that employees, local community and suppliers of goods and services are aware of their environmental responsibilities in relation to council business
- establish programs to protect the environment, and
- provide employees and external parties with the necessary resources in order to comply with the requirements of Council's Environment Policy.

(Rockdale Council, 2003a)

The Environmental Plan is a key strategic document outlining the need for protection of the atmosphere globally, regionally and locally. Locally, carbon monoxide, sulphur dioxide, lead and other toxins are highlighted as key pollutants. The Environmental Plan outlines the need for ESD and cites an array of documents produced locally and regionally. Actions, listed in table format, span issues, action to be taken, departments responsible, performance indicators and completion timeframes. Categories in this table are designed to ensure uniformity with the 2006 SOE report.

The council is developing a new LEP, consistent with the NSW Government standard instrument. This plan aims to incorporate the targets of the Sydney Metropolitan Strategy. A new clause will deal with flood height and flood prone land. It is unclear how other environmental objectives will be incorporated.

Council has identified a high proportion of emissions from private automobiles. In 2004, Rockdale Council developed a draft Transport and Parking DCP setting controls for car parking provision in developments and encouraging alternative travel modes. Another DCP is currently being adopted to ensure

that new development takes into account freight, car, cycling, walking and public transport. The plan aims to improve social inclusion, widen transport choices and reduce greenhouse emissions.

Adaptation

Preston (2008) states that Rockdale Council has a low adaptive capacity for climate change. There is a high degree of sensitivity due to its geographic position, topography and coastline. Given the circumstances, there is a great need to take stock of adaptation in this LGA.

Council seems to be aware of the concept of adaptation. There is regard for addressing risk management and liability issues involving the community. The management plan contains an objective for adaptation to climate change: “to develop mechanisms to enable Council to adapt to climate change” (Rockdale Council, 2007a), and a deadline to achieve it: June 2009.

Climate Change modelling in Manly Council has revealed that a one per cent sea level rise will result in the immersion of a significant amount of Manly’s LGA. This flood model represents the higher end of realistic predicted emissions, and demonstrates the potential impacts sea level rise will have on a specific area. There is no such tool in use at Rockdale Council.

Comparative study of climate change mitigation and adaptation strategies

There is a difference in environmental policy between the examined coastal councils and the non-coastal councils. Inland Burwood and Ashfield Councils have undertaken moderate climate change action.

In the non-coastal LGAs, a notable feature of the study is that councils appear to be motivated by issues involving their citizens’ health, rather than the wider global fight to address climate change.

The two coastal councils are very low lying and vulnerable to sea level rise and storm activity. Awareness of this issue is expressed in both councils’ documents, but actions have been limited. Rockdale has incorporated an adaptation objective into the management plan, and an adaptation plan is currently being produced. There is no evidence that Botany Bay is undertaking adaptive actions.

The most prominent difference between the actions of all these councils is their relative progress with CCP. Rockdale is very advanced, while Botany Bay has been very slow in progress, and Ashfield and Burwood have progressed at a moderate rate.

Climate change prevention and adaptation in Southern Nevada

As mentioned before, this research is partly an outcome of two month long visit in 2011 at the University of Nevada Las Vegas (UNLV) as research scholar with the Water Resources and Environmental Engineering Department of the University. During that visit this scholar interviewed city and

regional planners, transport planners and engineers, sustainability related staff and administrators at the Mountain Brooking Institute, UNLV, City of Las Vegas, City of Henderson, and RTC (Regional Transport Commission) of Southern Nevada. This author attended a number of sustainability seminars, workshops, presentations and exhibitions at UNLV and in Greater LV. A number of reports were also collected during the above mentioned interviews, and attendances. In addition this author extensively travelled on the RTC public transport for observations.

City of Las Vegas

At the City of Las Vegas, the Sustainability Officer and Deputy Director Planning were interviewed. The two officials highlighted the liveability improvement initiatives of the city. They cited Downtown Centennial Plan, 10 feet sidewalks and five feet tree lined amenity zones buffering the pedestrians from traffic. As far as climate change is concerned, the city took a half-hearted measure which has been described below. However, not much progress could be made on this initiative. What the city of Las Vegas does have on sustainability is the claim/motto that, “sustainability is more than just being green – it is a way to ensure that current and future generations will enjoy the quality of life we have all worked so hard to achieve”. The city has taken the following actions to back up its commitment to be “beyond green”:

Las Vegas City Council Adopted a Sustainable Community Strategy having three components: city operations, city codes and policies, and community involvement.

City operations: goals included, working to reduce the city’s carbon footprint by 10 per cent in 2011, 20 per cent by 2020, and 30 per cent by 2030. Also, to reduce the city’s electricity use by five per cent per unit by 2011.

City codes, regulations and policies: goals included, adopting an energy code that is 30 per cent more efficient than the current code by 2011. Also, to work with the Green Building Council to revise the Green Building Program to include more mandates and incentives.

Community involvement: goals included having a fully implemented residential solar rebate program by 2009. Also, to provide incentives for residents to take part in home energy audits by 2009.

Greenhouse gas emissions reduction

The city of Las Vegas had a brief brush with action on climate change. In 2007, the city of Las Vegas had joined the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI) Local Governments for Sustainability Campaign. The Local Governments for Sustainability Campaign incorporates a five-milestone structure that participating local governments work through: (1) establish a emission baseline; (2) set a reduction target for emissions; (3) develop a local action plan to achieve the emission reduction target; (4) implement the local action plan; and (5) measure the emission reduction results.

The city is still on phase 1 – establishing a baseline. The baseline is established by conducting an analysis of the city’s greenhouse gas emissions. The city began conducting these studies in August 2007, beginning with city facilities and buildings. The city of Las Vegas uses ICLEI’s Clean Air and Climate

Protection (CACP) 2009 software to complete its greenhouse gas emissions analysis of city operations. CACP software serves as a one-stop emissions management tool for calculating and tracking the city's greenhouse gas emissions and criteria air pollutants associated with electricity, fuel use, and waste disposal.

Climate Protection Resolution (US Conf. of Mayors): The city of Las Vegas works with businesses, organisations, government agencies and consumers to reduce emissions of the greenhouse gases that contribute to global climate change. On August 2, 2006, the City Council signed the Climate Protection Resolution.

Alternative Fuels Program for city owned vehicles

The city of Las Vegas has been member of the U.S. Department of Energy's Clean Cities Program since October 1993. It entered the program with 50 fuel flexible vehicles. The city has gradually expanded its Alternative Fuels Program. The program has converted 90 per cent of city's non-emergency fleet, approximately 1350 vehicles. The alternative fuels used in the program are Compress Natural Gas (CNG), Biodiesel (B20) blend, Oxy gasoline and hydrogen. The city also uses Hybrid vehicles (<http://www.lasvegasnevada.gov/sustaininglasvegas/16078.htm>)

Urban forestry initiative i.e. planting

The city regularly participates in Arbor Day activities and is currently planting new trees under the Nevada Nursery Greening Project.

Trails

The city develops trails throughout the area that provide recreation opportunities, promote health and fitness, enhance economic opportunities, serve as a buffer and contribute to the conservation of natural resources.

Complete streets

Complete streets are pedestrian friendly streets that allow for multiple modes of transportation, including cars, bicycles and transit. The city is upgrading streets in the community to make them more sustainable.

City of Henderson

In discussion with the City of Henderson it again came out that climate change is a dirty word. The officials of this wealthy city can only present their climate change related concerns and initiatives wrapped in the efficiency and green sustainable 'feel good' covers. The city houses the trendy parts of the city and has worked with the developers on providing new urbanist type residential development. The city has greened the bus stops by planting

bushes around the stops, in actively replacing street light globe with more efficient varieties, and is promoting active living by maintaining a number of nature trails that can be used for walking or bicycling.

Increase energy efficiency

The City of Henderson received a large state rebate for a facility retrofit program. The rebate helped to fund LED lighting fixtures in City Hall, the Convention Centre and Civic Plaza parking lots. These highly efficient fixtures feature two-level motion sensors, one that brightens when a vehicle approaches and one that lowers to standby when the vehicle passes, reducing annual energy costs.

Weatherization and HOME Rehab Programs: Over 500 income-qualified home owners received \$1.3 million in assistance to make energy-efficient improvements and reduce their energy costs. Common retrofits include insulation, reduce air leakage, repair or replace heating and air conditioning (HVAC) systems, replace refrigerators and perform general health and safety inspections.

Green buildings and sustainable urban design

Henderson was one of the fastest-growing cities in the USA for two decades till the global financial crisis. A vast majority of Henderson's housing stock was built after 1990. The city's first energy code, the 1989 Model Energy Code, was adopted in 1992. Henderson thus claims to largely have been built with energy efficiency in mind.

Public buildings in the city are being extended and built with higher energy efficiency criteria. The Detention Centre that recently completed expansion was remodelled, incorporating cost-saving upgrades for energy efficiency and water conservation, including energy efficient lighting, highly-efficient air conditioning and heating equipment and drought tolerant landscaping.

Also the Heritage Park Aquatics Facility and Senior Centre were designed and constructed to meet high standards of energy efficiency, water conservation, occupant safety and comfort. In 2011, the City had applied for Gold Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) certification from the U.S. Green Building Council.

RTC Regional Transport Commission of Southern Nevada

The Regional Transportation Commission of Southern Nevada (RTC) is responsible for providing a safe, convenient and effective regional transportation system for its two million residents and 39 million visitors. The RTC is both a transit authority and the transportation planning agency for Southern Nevada. The RTC functions as the Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO) for the region. It is responsible for overseeing the transportation planning process and for directing funding generated from various local, state and federal sources for transportation purposes.

This author interviewed transport planners at RTC as well as participated (as an observer) in one of the stakeholders' meetings on sustainability initiatives for the future of transport in Southern Nevada.

In the interview with the transport planners at the RTC it came out that the Commission is not engaged in any direct climate change abatement or greenhouse gas reduction scheme even though "reduce greenhouse gas carbon footprint" is one of its long-range goals. It is concerned about the sustainability in general terms and has a number of initiatives in place for the same. In addition to the specific green programs it deems its bus service as a contribution to sustainability as well. Some of its initiatives are listed below:

Sustainability policy

The RTC has the sustainability goals listed below. Climate change abatement is not one of its sustainability policy goals. Description of the sustainability programs that follows the goals list provides a flavour of the nature of the measures taken for sustainability in Southern Nevada region:

- implement transportation systems that improve air quality in Southern Nevada
- develop fully-integrated transit mode options
- integrate the transit system geographically
- secure funding for expansion, operation and maintenance of the transit system and routes, and
- enhance public awareness and support of the regional transportation system.

Bus Rapid Transit (RTC)

- The RTC is currently working on building a rapid transit system that will connect downtown Las Vegas, the Las Vegas Convention Centre, the Strip, Henderson and North Las Vegas.

The Electric Bike Share (E-Bike) (RTC)

The new Electric Bike Share Program is for government staff who need to get around downtown. RTC promotes the E-Bikes as state of the art in sustainable transportation that can help the environment through reduced air pollution and traffic congestion.

RTC claims that the sunny and dry climate makes Las Vegas a suitable place for cycling, particularly for short trips. The RTC tested the concept through a pilot program in summer 2010 with the cooperation of other government agencies. RTC hopes to make the program available to public soon (<http://www.rtcnv.com/cycling/ebike.cfm>)

Public transportation improvements

RTC has a network of bus service of which Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) line is light rail style limited stop fast service. RTC is planning to extend that service to several key corridors and by constructing stations and other amenities in mixed traffic operations where dedicated lanes cannot be created.

Bonneville Transfer Centre

RTC has built the BTC which houses Las Vegas Valley's transit services, including park and ride express routes. It has a commuter cycling station which has the capability of accommodating up to 120 bicycles. The bike station is a first for Las Vegas. It has other amenities such as restrooms with showers, 24-hour access and a bicycle repair shop and service area.

LEED Gold Certified Green Buildings

As a partner with the community, the RTC has designed and delivered a building that is also environmentally friendly. To achieve LEED Gold, it was required to have adopted certified building water reclamation, use of recycled materials, energy-efficient cooling systems, and architectural practices such as the right building position and shade systems.

Bikes and buses

All RTC transit vehicles are fitted with bicycle racks. RTC transit carries more than 55,000 bikes on buses per month. This author in his two months of heavy RTC bus use observed frequent use of the bicycle racks fitted in front of all buses.

Westcliffe transit centre park and ride

The Westcliffe Transit Centre is located near Summerlin Parkway. It has been provided with 'sustainable features' including more than 140 parking and ride spaces, a climate-controlled transit centre and water efficient landscaping.

Facilities

RTC Facilities Department has made following sustainable improvements: intelligent illumination systems have been installed in RTC buildings. These systems automatically switch off the lights when the rooms are not in use. The RTC facilities is also exploring use of LED exterior lighting on their premises again to save energy.

The RTC has implemented a no idle program with operating vendors, performing timely maintenance and repairs, including adjusting and maintaining proper tyre pressure. These measures save fuel.

Conclusion and recommendations

As far as Sydney NSW is concerned it was found that transport emissions are by far the biggest contributors toward overall emissions in the community sector. This needs to be acknowledged and addressed. There has been little pressure on councils to act, from the State Government or from the community. There is a need to review urban design and environmental planning instruments to encourage alternate forms of transport. The situation in Southern Nevada is no different. Like Sydney most sustainability measures are in-house applied to the buildings they hold and the staff they employ. While the local authorities in both regions have made efforts to reduce their environmental footprints, they have not been vocal/forceful when it comes to communities' impact on the environment in general and climate change in particular.

In Sydney, NSW motivations for climate change action and joining CCP have largely been tied up with asset management and insurance premiums. Councils are taking economic precautions rather than addressing climate change. Councils are meanwhile becoming more vulnerable as a result of climate change impacts, and are likely to experience an increase in lawsuits.

Terms such as *sustainability* and *ecologically sustainable development* are over-used in policy documents and reporting, or used vaguely. It is recommended that councils research and employ more specific and accurate terminologies. That is true for both NSW and Southern Nevada. A lot of the advertisement of green credentials in S. Nevada pointed to sloganeering and marketing more than substance on sustainability/green credentials.

In NSW coastal councils seem to be more aware of climate change impacts and adaptation than non-coastal councils, as they are under more immediate threat.

In interviews in Southern Nevada (Las Vegas) it came out that individuals and agencies are dismissive of peak oil and climate change. One of the interviewees asserted that Las Vegas is already sustainable due to limitations on its expansion. The same person implied peak oil is myth and climate change a hoax.

In S. Nevada planning and sustainability officials at various agencies admitted climate change is not an easy topic to broach. They have to tackle it indirectly portraying it to be an efficiency measure or a green/quality of life issue in general.

It was observed in S. Nevada that it was a unified opinion that the solution to any sustainability problems has to be technological and has to be delivered by private enterprise. This inclination can be seen in the sustainability measure outlined by various authorities such as Green Building initiatives.

In both regions there are talks about how much greenhouse gas emission has been avoided and will be avoided. However no mention is made of how much it should be or what difference has the carbon savings and environmental measures have practically made.

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Session 2	
10. New Zealand's Research Assessment Exercise: Implications for Planning Education. Claire Freeman University of Otago	<i>New Zealand has this year released the results of its third round of the 2012 Performance Based Research Exercise. In this exercise all academic staff in tertiary institutions are required to submit a research portfolio for evaluation, some 6300 staff submitted a portfolio. Individuals are classed as A, B, C, or R (research inactive). Each tertiary institution and their nominated academic units (departments, schools, institutes) receives research ratings based on three main elements - the quality evaluation (based on staff research portfolios) research degree completions and external research income. The scores achieved</i>

	<i>determine the amount of research income provided to the various tertiary institutions, universities receive some 97.4 per cent with two universities receiving 50 per cent of the income. Scores for staff research portfolios are determined by twelve subject area panels. Planning falls under the Engineering Technology and Architecture panel. The average score from the portfolios for architecture, design, planning, surveying subject area placed this subject area as 36th out of 42 areas with the top three performers in order being pure and applied mathematics, human geography and physics. In this paper I reflect on what 10 years of the PBRF system and in particular the latest round of results means for planning education and the position of planning in the university system and consider why the system in its current form appears to undervalue planning education and research.</i>
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11. Planning Practitioners to Emulate: Role Models from Glasgow, Melbourne and Toronto. John T Johnson <i>Royal Melbourne Institute Technology</i>	<i>This paper seeks to bring research and teaching together through listening to and learning from progressive practitioners, the aim being to bring progressive practitioners into the classroom, and, if not available, to at least have their stories available for students to hear and reflect upon. Six interviews with planners – two each from Glasgow, Melbourne and Toronto – are the paper’s source material.</i>
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Planning Practitioners to Emulate: Role Models from Glasgow, Melbourne and Toronto

Key Words: *Planning practice, Glasgow, Melbourne, Toronto, teaching methods*

Introduction

Urban and regional planning is normally taught at universities as a professional discipline, its program structure subject to accreditation by its professional body, in Australia’s case, the Planning Institute of Australia (PIA). There can be a tension between PIA in its endeavours to ensure graduates are work ready and meet professional standards, and universities whose primary responsibility is to educate: to widen students’ horizons, to challenge their pre-conceptions and to develop their critical facilities. This tension can be both creative and destructive. It can be destructive in the sense that students perceive the academics who teach them are divorced from practice – they crave ‘real planning’ drawn more heavily from the practical and technical expertise of professional planners. The question this raises is: how can urban and regional planning programs find a balance between nurturing a student’s curiosity, their conceptual and critical thinking with a command of basic professional skills so that they are work ready, attaining a balance that academics, students, employers and the professional body are all happy with? At RMIT for the last 30 years, formal work placements have provided the space to address political, economic and social literacies, so finding a degree of balance. However, some more practically-minded students only flourish when they reach the work placement stage, often stating they learnt more in the 60 day placement than the previous three years in

classrooms.⁵ In more recent times, more emphasis has been given to project-based learning centred on students working to a brief, the outcome being professional standard reports. Such projects are often developed with full-time practitioners who act as teachers, mentors and assessors as the students work through the various stages of the project.

To further refine this 'balance', this paper reports on research by an academic planner's⁶ discussions with 'seasoned' practitioners. It is set within a politico-economic context, one alert to the rise of neo-liberal underpinning to government and professional practices since the 1980s.

Interviews with planners in Glasgow, Melbourne and Toronto are the empirical basis of this paper. Many were first interviewed in 2005-2006 and again in 2011-2012. This paper draws on 2011 interviews with two Glaswegian planners and two Torontonians and 2012 interviews with two Melbourne planners. To some degree these were arbitrarily chosen as many others have rich stories to tell. The six chosen though, it is felt, making telling points for designers of urban and regional planning programs to reflect upon.

The interviews sought to have practitioners reflect on their own upbringings, their values and what they consider the purposes, successes and failures of their professional lives.

Discussion is also based on the degree to which the six interviewees contribute to effective spatial planning as defined in Table 4.

From urban management to urban entrepreneurship

State involvement in the management of national economies significantly increased after the shock of the Great War and the ensuing 1930s world-wide Depression, best exemplified in John Maynard Keynes' calls (1936) for state intervention in national economic management and government-funded social and health services – the Welfare State – most fully developed in Britain, and copied to a degree in Australia. In the long, post-World War II boom state governments recognised the importance of having metropolitan plans for their state capitals to regulate rapid suburban growth. The Cumberland Plan for Greater Sydney and the Hepburn-Stephenson Plan for Greater Perth were products of this time. Pahl (1975) speaks of the planners behind such plans as being urban managers or gatekeepers: public servants with the power to shape how cities might grow and so decide what development proposals are approved.

The subsequent failure of Keynesian-inspired government policies to combat 'stagflation' in the 1970s – the unanticipated parallel rises in the rates of inflation and unemployment attendant upon rising energy prices and the breaking of international exchange nexuses – gave air to Frederick von Hayek's alternative prognosis to the 1930s Depression, one that championed free markets as being the impetus behind economic growth and the guardian of personal freedoms (2001).

⁵ Graduates of ten or more years standing put the more nuanced view: while at the time they felt they lacked certain technical skills going into the full-time workforce, they now appreciate the importance of the more conceptual and critical elements of their university education as they take on senior management roles.

⁶ The author, long ago, was a qualified building project manager so has some experience of the rough and tumble of the 'real world'.

His neo-liberal policies of deregulation, privatisation and lower taxes, appealing to individual self-reliance, were lauded as reversing the downward spiral of welfare capitalism and enabling nations and cities that adopted such policies to forge ahead of their competitors. In this environment, planners once thought of as urban managers were better described as urban entrepreneurs (Harvey 1989), their role rather than being to control development, was to actively encourage development. Metropolitan plans were to be place marketing rather than place making documents, designed to attract footloose inward investment.

The metropolitan plan for Melbourne under the Kennett State Government (1992-99), Living Suburbs (1995) is a good example of a place marketing document. It had little specificity, the prime redevelopment site, Docklands, being exempt from normal planning controls to encourage inward investment. Sandercock (2005) speaks of Australian cities competing for inward investment but paying scant attention to neighbourhoods negatively affected by economic restructuring.

Policy settings	Neo-liberal characteristics	Possible planning outcomes	Third-way characteristics	Possible planning outcomes
Social relationships	Individual self-help	Private housing, schools and health care, etc. encouraged	Community self-help	Modest government (re-) investment in community services. Planners work with community groups
Role of government	Smaller government	Contracting out of planning functions whenever possible	More focused, better integrated government functions	Spatial integration of government departments' policy and budget priorities
Social policy	Basic social policies that encourage self-help	Plans designed to primarily protect private property rights	Selective social policies targeted at those marginal to the formal economy	Competitive, but more socially-inclusive city plans
Planning regulations	Deregulation	Plans with fewer directives. Simplified planning regulations. Use of benchmarks.	Some re-regulation	Plans that give more certainty to investors and more direction to local government
Public-private Relationships	Privatisation	Developer-led development	Public-private partnerships	Developers gain input into major public infrastructure projects. Rise of the Intermediate sector
Taxes	Lower taxes	Limited provision of public services in urban growth areas. More private provision	Lower but 'better' targeted taxes	Developer Contributions to social infrastructure in new suburbs
Central-Local	Downloading central	As central governments	Marginally better	Local governments given

government relationships	government responsibilities	download, local governments contract out of selected services including building and planning	funded, but more accountable local government	greater planning discretion but financially more accountable
Spatial focus	Place marketing	Focus on large downtown projects built to attract global capital. Planners as urban entrepreneurs.	Place Making	Limited government funds to select socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods to enable local people help themselves. Planners as facilitators
Professional relationships	Accountability	Greater accountability to corporate management and property interests	Accountability alongside cooperation	Planners work with other professions on matters of mutual interest

Source: Jackson 2013

Table 1: Policy settings and possible planning outcomes

At the turn of the century there was both academic and political responses (Giddens 1998, 2000) to the perceived failure of both welfare state and neo-liberal free market regimes, responses based on ‘third way’ thinking, one that regarded governments as less a controller (welfare state) or silent partner (neo-liberalism) but more as a guiding hand, once removed from interfering with people’s welfare and business activities.

As to whether third way thinking was a clear break from neo-liberalism or not as regards to planning practices is briefly discussed next.

Neo-liberal and third way thinking in planning

Peck and Tickell (2002) argued the aggressive ‘rolled-back’ phase of neo-liberalism of the 1980s, designed to break the back of the old welfare state and exemplified by Margaret Thatcher’s Government in the United Kingdom (1979-90), was replaced by a more subtle ‘roll out’ phase in the 1990s, referred to above as third way thinking. In their view it was not a clear break. While continuing the neo-liberal emphasis on self-reliance, third-way thinkers disagreed citing the state had an important role in enabling individuals, particularly those from less privileged backgrounds and places, to become self-reliant (Giddens 1998, 2000). As noted, it is a way of thinking most associated with Tony Blair’s Government in the UK (1997-2007). Blair borrowed some of his ideas from the Hawke/Keating Government (1983-1996) in Australia (Pierson and Castles 2002). In turn third-way thinking was reworked in Victoria by the Bracks Labor Government (1999-2007). Here serious attempts were made to link economic and social policy goals via the ‘social investment’ state (Perkins et al., 2004), one underpinned by a more substantive and directional metropolitan plan than Living Suburbs, Melbourne 2030 (2002).

Table 1 is an attempt to distinguish the characteristics of how planning might be practised under neo-liberal and third way regimes. It provides a yardstick to judge the behaviours and action of planners and other related professions. It is briefly referred to in discussion, below.

Beyond simple categories

The two-way division of Table 1 provides a basic though over-simplified framework against which to judge planners' interview responses. It is built upon in this section.

Sager (2009) recognises conflicting professional purposes, so ambiguities. He speaks of planners being torn between their sense of personal and professional responsibility for "shaping and reshaping the places we collectively live in", ones reinforced when at university but then challenged by the neo-liberal realities of the workplace, as exemplified by the adoption of New Public Management (NPM) in government workplaces. NPM represents the transfer of private business methods designed to increase efficiency and productivity to government agencies. As noted earlier, many former government services have now been contracted out allowing private planning consultants to do the strategic and statutory planning work previously done by public sector planners.

Steele (2009) argues planning work is now a mix of public and private responsibilities. She speaks of hybrid roles "beyond modernist binaries" (p. 192). This she argues can potentially create "in between spaces" that allow planners to challenge dominant norms and power structures. Others, according to Steele, believe such hybrid roles simply reinforcing neo-liberal hegemony.

Following Steele, this paper explores whether planners reinforce or resist now dominant neo-liberal thinking in public life. As professionals are they free to profess? As public servants do they continue to serve their fellow citizens or do they now focus more on facilitating private development?

Most pertinent to this paper, what lessons are there for academics educating future planners for the work force?

Comparative studies

The wider context for this research is a comparative study of planning practices in Glasgow, Melbourne and Toronto, all former commercial and industrial outposts of the British Empire, all subject to Westminster-style government and with similar professional codes of practice, but having very different post-World War II economic and demographic fortunes (Table 2).

	Glasgow	Melbourne	Toronto
1901	761,712	510,580	208,040
1951	1,089,555	1,330,800	1,117,470
2001*	1,200,000	3,162,000	5,221,000
2031	c. 1,200,000	4,900,000	7,450,000

Sources: Victorian Year Books; City of Toronto Archives; the General Register Office, Scotland.

*Within the continuous built-up area

Table 2: Metropolitan population growth and projections

Likewise despite all being jurisdictions based on the Westminster system of government, there are significant differences in the three cities' planning systems that should be noted (Table 3).

Commonalities	Differences
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cities in countries heirs to the Westminster system of government • Planning power sits primarily at the sub-federal level, local governments dealing with planning applications • In 2005 all three cities' governments appreciated the need to re-invest in metropolitan planning to better attract inward investment <u>and</u> for social inclusion • Scotland, Victoria and Ontario all have land-use planning departments, distinct from Transport, Housing and Environment • Major local government reform and amalgamation occurred in the 1990s when neo-liberal governments were in power • Planning is divided into policy making and development management at local government level • Dissatisfied applicants can appeal to independent tribunals • All three metropolises have urban regeneration projects • The 1970s, a decade of political, social and environmental change across the Western world, were formative years for many of the planners interviewed. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Toronto and Glasgow plans are set within metropolitan regional frameworks; Melbourne is not • The central city councils vary significantly in size: Toronto: 2.5 million and increasing; Glasgow: 581,000 and steady; Melbourne 67,000 and increasing • Outside the City of Toronto there are upper and lower tier councils, social and housing policy being an upper tier responsibility, physical planning a lower tier responsibility • Glasgow councils owns large areas of derelict but centrally located, so desirable land so giving its planners bargaining power with developers, power lacking in Melbourne and Toronto • Privatisation of government functions is most advanced in Victoria: much strategic planning work and 'overspill' statutory planning work is contracted out • The City of Toronto has a long tradition of neighbourhood-level planning practice tied to significant, ongoing community engagement. Glasgow's forward planners' role is to ensure strategic plan intentions are reflected in developer-led master plans. Melbourne has neither tradition.

Source: Jackson 2013

Table 3: Institutional frameworks within which the interviewed planners work

The simple point is every city and its planning arrangements are unique. Neo-liberalism while a world-wide phenomenon manifests itself in different ways in different places. Brenner and Theodore (2002) – and more recently Boyle et al. (2008) in reference to Glasgow – speak of “actually existing neo-liberalism”, that is, how neo-liberalism and its variants having embedded themselves in many governments' policies and actions, penetrate down into the thinking and practices of ordinary people – their sense of what is normal and what is socially permissible. Here the focus is on the thinking and practices of planners. Such penetration is not simple and direct however. It is 'path dependent', meaning the degree of penetration actually achieved is conditioned and reshaped by the particular histories and institutional arrangements of specific places, in this case, Glasgow, Melbourne and Toronto. The simple typology of Table 1 hides as much as it reveals.

Consideration in this paper is given to the activity of planners working in selected parts of the three metropolises: those most likely to be most negatively affected by changes wrought in today's more open global economy. Arguably it is here the work of planners is more vital in minimising negative economic and social impacts. Table 4, in effect, provides a yardstick to judge the effectiveness of the work of planners working in such areas.

<i>Places</i>	<i>By metropolitan location</i>
<i>Most negatively affected by changes in the global economy</i>	<p>Inner city areas shunned by gentrification.</p> <p>Post-war industrial suburbs of derelict factories and rundown social infrastructure, with concentrations of under-employed and retired workers.</p> <p>Fringe suburbs with minimal social infrastructure built for marginal home buyers working elsewhere, hence car dependent living.</p>
<i>Possible planning responses</i>	<p>Protection of remaining inner-city rental housing. A proportion of new housing construction to be social housing. Mixed use development encouraged. Well-located possible redevelopment sites in public ownership to remain so: e.g. 'surplus' school sites to be re-used for community purposes. Derelict waterfront or similar sites not to taken from the democratic planning system for fast-track or exclusive development.</p> <p>Post-war industrial suburbs: The encouragement of brownfield over greenfield development. Strategically-located employment lands to be protected from rezoning for warehouse or other low-intensity, low-job-yielding land uses; upgrading/adapting social infrastructure to support older residents and incoming younger households; encouragement of public transit feeders to existing public transit corridors; competitions to be run to model socially sustainable developments. Emphasis on public space planning in rundown shopping centres or malls being redeveloped for mixed or other uses.</p> <p>Fringe suburbs: Integration of public transit and land use planning. New suburbs designed and resourced to have timely built-in social infrastructure, public transport and local employment destinations. Scope for density bonuses and transferable development rights. Firm growth boundaries to encourage developers to build at higher densities or to consider brownfield sites in old industrial suburbs instead.</p> <p>Metropolitan-wide: Metropolitan plans should have long gestation periods, community input being most significant at the inception and sub-metropolitan drafting stages. This legitimates putting limitations on third party rights to challenge 'planning for social inclusion' applications.</p>

	<p>Cluster and connect principles to be followed; mixed-tenure housing and community hubs to be linked by public transit.</p> <p>Future urban regeneration projects: if housing based, to be strategically located to link to the employment areas, and to blend with surrounding neighbourhoods to foster shared use of infrastructure; if employment based to be tied to existing public transport links and surrounding labour markets. No out-of-town retail parks.</p> <p>Community development professions, dealing with immediate to short-term issues, and planners, with medium to long-term issues, should find common language and where their agendas coincide, work together.</p>
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A modification on Jackson 2013

Table 4: Towards more effective spatial planning

Finally the timing of the interviews is noted. The interviews occurred in 2011-2012 after the global financial crisis of 2008, one that had a differential spatial impact across the western world. Countries like Canada and Australia, economically tied to the burgeoning Chinese economy, suffered far less than Scotland, home to two major banks that suffered major collapses. What was common to all three jurisdictions, more specifically was the replacement of third way influenced governments by more conservative governments seeking to reduce their financial exposure involving further cut backs to their public services. In all three cities some of the planners were interviewed under the cloud of their possible redundancy or having significant changes made to their roles. This would surely test their resolve to stand up for their beliefs.

The Interviews

Glasgow

Two women in their late forties were interviewed: Mabel works at Glasgow City Council, Lorna works in an adjoining council, South Lanarkshire, a former centre of coal mining and ironworks.

Mabel is a forward planner of long standing working on the Clydeside: the river itself, the old docks and shipyards and the surrounding housing, now areas of de-industrialisation and dereliction. Forward planners in Glasgow once had a central role in ensuring that council plans' intentions were actually implemented by developers. This involved constant liaison with all possible stakeholders in both possible and actual planning proposals, from community groups and local employers through to the developers themselves. With reductions to Glasgow City Council's staff over the years, the fact that the 'value adding' of this role cannot be quantified, and so easily justified to the Scottish Government, has meant their numbers have been drastically cut back and their function taken over by planners responsible for approving submitted applications, a more technocratic, even tick-the-box function.

Mabel: Some of our role is now being done by development controllers. Instead of them just dealing with planning applications they are also dealing with master planning even though they have had no training.

Interviewer: *So your job has been to get things up to the master planning stage?*

Mabel: Yes.... *There is no understanding of that at all within the current, emergent management.*

Mabel's role as one of the last forward planners is uncertain. Just one example of the value of this work is given here. Along the north bank of the Clyde just downstream of the CBD are a number of housing areas linked to the old shipyards, now mostly silent. To provide community services including employment training for young people, a number of Community and Training hubs have been built. The one in Yoker was opened in 2005 and is managed by local people, providing an array of training programs. Mabel was instrumental in its establishment, the local managers ready to acknowledge her importance to them and the people who use their services. The Scotstoun Centre was opened in 2011 and at its formal opening the leader of the Council singled out key people behind the project for praise. Mabel was mentioned as the key liaison person, the person who ensured all stakeholders were in touch with each other. It was her knowledge of the area and its people, and of government and of local business that was a key to the success of both the Yoker and Scotstoun projects – a planner who quietly and effectively worked with and on behalf of her fellow citizens.

Mabel: (With consultants) *you do not get the added value that I and other forward planners built up – the strength of knowledge and the strength of relationships with your community bodies... The Scotstoun Community Facility is an example of that: the community delivered that, they went out to find the money, we helped them where we could... that element of added value is not there any more. It is measurable if you are bringing in funding but it is not measurable in terms of all the other things you are giving the community – the community builds up a strength of capacity: “we can do this, it is scary but we can actually do this.”*

Lorna is a strategic planner. She expects proper planning process to be adhered to and has little time for planners who fall in with developers:

Basically on new estates the developers have managed to wriggle out of a lot of things such as affordable housing provision and community facilities... the new Council Plan (underpinned by) the housing choices policy and the presence of an affordable needs survey should enable a better understanding of exactly what is expected of developers... In addition the (development control) planners must follow the guidelines set within the master plans and the local plan and stop making deals with developers which undermines the whole system.

Her greatest success is working with local schools and school children. They were heavily involved in the development of the Council's strategic plan and have produced and acted in videos explaining the complexities of the new Scottish planning system to other citizens.

Glasgow and surrounding councils have demolished most of their primary schools and secondary schools to rebuild on adjacent sites, selling off the old sites for higher-density, low-rise housing or other socially productive uses:

I did not expect it to work. In most cases the kids are delighted with their schools – communities too. We have freed up land that allowed us to put quite a lot of affordable housing near schools... As part of the whole package of housing and schooling, the developer comes in and says: “we have got this plot of land here, we want to put 140 flats on it”. We come back and say: “we do not need 140 flats, we need 64 houses and a set proportion of it affordable.” And the developer says: “Smashing, we will get onto it.”

Both women have a formidable presence and are resolute in their practice that has created problems for them, Mabel's sense of self-worth now being worn down by uncertainties around her impending redeployment. Like other Glaswegian planners interviewed, both are people focused; both, though denying any political allegiance, are social justice focussed. As highly experienced planners they, in partnership with politicians, other professionals and local people are delivering vital social infrastructure to some of Glasgow and region's most disadvantaged localities. This perspective was common across all Glaswegian interviewees even those of a more technical bent.

Toronto

Two equally seasoned planners from metropolitan Toronto are selected here. While Mabel and Lorna had worked as council planners in the Glasgow region all their professional lives, Bob and Jack have moved between the public and private sectors and are examples of Steele's hybrid planners. Interestingly both have written, or are writing books with little to do with planning.

Bob works at the Municipality of Milton, on Toronto fringe. It is one of the metropolis's last greenfield areas recently connected to the main sewer and with a fast train connection to the CBD. It is one of North America's fastest growing residential areas. Bob takes a very entrepreneurial approach to his work:

Milton is very well run financially – as the mayor says, we run it like a farm, we don't pay any one until the crop is in the barn

Discussion centred for a time on public-private partnerships.

Interviewer: *Who actually is taking the risk?*

Bob: It is the private sector... we have here one of the last pro-development councils... we allow density transfers...we allow, recognising the developers have to make a profit, three times the number of units they would normally build on a greenfield site... developers are now offering four storey lock-ups, next to townhouses, next to stack houses, next to singles. And they are selling these things out... to 20 year something, single professionals ... the developers are so desperate to develop here. We have a good rapport. I head up the financial negotiating team.

Supermarkets open their doors before sub-divisions are filled with dwellings. Employers organise their own bus services in conjunction with Milton to pick up and drop off employees working at sites close to the 401 Freeway.

A firm growth boundary, high immigration rates and a buoyant economy underpin this hectic, high density development at the fringe, one, to a significant degree, managed by Milton's mayor and his planner.

Jack was once the City of Toronto's main strategic planner who now runs his own consultancy specialising, amongst other things, on advising municipalities on how to set up developer contribution systems. As Bob is an entrepreneur working in the public sector, so Jack is a public servant

working as a consultant. Like Bob, he thinks the current metropolitan strategy is working with developers not pushing to extend the urban growth boundary, happy enough to adjust their products to new markets:

In terms of planning there is planning and there is development. In planning not a lot has changed... intensification, transit-orientated development... in terms of development there are two problems, one is transit infrastructure is inadequate – that is a Provincial financial issue... it is a crisis... the other development issue, even though it is higher density, it is not that which encourages higher interaction at street level...

The lessons of Jane Jacobs⁷ in her home city have not been learnt.

That said, as chief planning consultant for the Regent Park public housing redevelopment immediately east of the CBD, Jack spoke of ensuring a mid-range supermarket and banking services were the first commercial services built, a signal previously-shunned Regent Park was part of Toronto, and the new Timmy Horton coffee shop being the meeting place for many of the recently-arrived migrant groups to the area. That though is the exception in Toronto, several planners speaking enviously of Melbourne's rejuvenated laneways:

When it comes to building we have no clue and have not done a good job... at municipal level planners lose sight of what their job is, which is to protect the public interest as far as I am concerned.

He spoke of developers leading the way:

It is in their interest to do this to sell. They are coming up with this all on their own.

Planners in Toronto are not necessarily the 'good guys', developers, 'the bad guys'.

Melbourne

Two younger planners are selected here. Both work at council level, as it happens the same council, Whittlesea on Melbourne's northern edge. Both were educated at RMIT, like three others interviewed, at a time when the program was consciously designed to "to address political, economic and social literacies", a time when the program was not accredited by PIA.

Whittlesea has a reputation in Melbourne of being one of its most progressive councils at least in planning terms. This has meant, amongst other things, most of its research work is done in-house which in turn means it attracts and hold staff who want challenging local government-based work.

The Council has decided to underwrite a planning team of up to 20 to deal just with post-WWII industrial suburbs (see Table 4), a team that brings together and seeks to integrate various planning specialities and one that has worked assiduously with various migrant communities.

⁷ (1961). The death and life of great American cities.

Marcia: *We drive the agenda and inform others and the State Government rather than wait for things to happen or be told what to do... a lot of the initiative comes from the officers.*

The Epping Central Structure Plan is the current flagship project, one integrated into the Council's Business Plan so it is built into the agendas of all the line managers. It was researched in house and centres on creating greater 'housing diversity', that is higher-density development in certain areas, generally near public transport. Council encourages developers to build four and five bedroom houses for large nuclear and extended families, often typical of new migrant families. The Plan is backed by the councillors but "the test will be whether the community accepts it".

Marcia: *In February (2013) there will be a big effort. We are engaging Co-Design (a new, not-for profit, innovative group of young Melbourne architects and planners who take on challenging projects around the world) to visualise what it will mean to our communities and make sure they understand it. Councillors support it but they are not sure the community will.*

The real test will be when an unhappy community lobbies its councillor to stop a block of units being built on their narrow street that has no room for more cars, especially if an election is due.

Ewan like Marcia grew up in a working-class family in the suburbs. He is first a musician, so his frustration as a planner can be played out elsewhere. He had a flourishing career at state level but prefers the degree of autonomy and relative lack of political interference he has at Whittlesea. He is realistic and works within the confines of what is possible:

With regard to planning's humanistic connections, it is really important for planners not to be utopian... because you exist within hierarchical structures where there are other things at play. You will never convince a developer to do something for social reasons – it is not their core business. You have to say: well, if I want to make some real social gains in this project I have to have a clear understanding on the commerciality of the project, to understand what makes them tick so I know what is important to them and I will give it to them if they can deliver net community benefit. It has to be about leverage.

Ewan was asked about how he makes deals. There were faint echoes here of Bob from Milton. He began by talking about the lessons learnt from the various failures in previous suburban developments in Whittlesea and the ongoing failure of State Governments to stand by a firm Urban Growth Boundary as a first step in intensifying residential development. This meant that the Council and its planners have had to take the lead, again:

To curtail outward growth, we need to create an incentive, to put land on the fringe in government ownership. This is a worked example I want to go through with you (rustling of various plans follows). We are continuing to sprawl out ... here, here and here... depressing really. Worsened with politicians pushed by the Property Council and the Urban Development Institute for more broad-acre residential development... So we have worked out a response after a long gestation that is coming to fruition. That is, here is the Urban Growth Boundary (more rustling paper) ... and we say to this landowner who owns 130 hectares: "we will advocate to move the UGB to put this 22 hectares in the urban residential zone if you will sign a legal agreement with council saying the remaining 108, the hills, is given to Council as parkland..."

Interviewer: *But if he hangs on for another ten years he gets a better bargain.*

Ewan: *Potentially yes.*

Interviewer: *Any takers?*

Ewan: *Yes.*

Interviewer: *Give an example.*

Ewan does, a fully worked example, followed by another, Quarry Hills, a conservation reserve, Whittlesea's own creation, that runs over the Ordovician and Silurian sandstone and siltstone hills that abut the flat Quaternary basalt lava flows to the west. Here new houses will front, not back as in earlier estate layouts, onto the reserve so residents can walk out and up the hills. They will have a sense of place, one conceived and generated by Whittlesea's planners.

Ewan: *When people stand there they will understand why development stopped here: there is a bloody hill in the way. They will realise the reserve is their resource: "I can take my kids and dog up there". That's the future of planning. We talked earlier about being hemmed in by regulations and political situations. It all depends on how willing you are to use imagination and push the boundaries of what is allowable.*

Discussion

The common theme of the six planners is nothing new: urban and regional planning is primarily about people. What is interesting is these six, as with most of the others interviewed, believe this and act upon it and give evidence to back their claims. They are not blinded by the rules and procedures that planners have to work within. While having differing views about developers and consultants, the Glaswegians being most averse, there is recognition that if planners are clear and resolute in what they want, and are prepared to negotiate, then mutually agreeable outcomes are possible. Financial literacy and negotiation skills are necessary though.

To a teacher weighed down by endless demands of corporatist university managers and students focused on acquiring what they think are the necessary skills needed to secure professional work, this is heartening.

Referring to the brief review of some of the relevant planning theory literature, the seasoned planners of Glasgow and Toronto seem resistant to neoliberalism as expressed in Table 1. As professionals the Glaswegian planners see themselves as public servants there to serve their fellow citizens. This is not always the case in Toronto: Bob's prime mode of operation is finding financially-based, mutual accommodation with large private developers who dominate the property market in Toronto's fringes. The younger Melbourne planners, children of the Thatcher-Reagan years, would probably say, they neither resist nor reinforce but just work with land and property owners and developers to achieve the council's pre-determined and carefully thought through goals. The Welfare State mindset of the more seasoned planners is not part of their experience.

Sager's sense of planners being torn between their sense of personal and professional responsibility for "shaping and reshaping the places we collectively live in", one challenged by the neo-liberal realities of the workplace, is mostly keenly felt by Mabel at Glasgow City Council, one unresolved at the time of interview.

Steele's notion of hybrid planners is useful too especially when thinking about the Toronto planners. Unlike Glasgow and more like Melbourne, there is regular, unremarked movement between public and private planning practice, some consultants, like Jack, choosing only to work for public sector clients. Bob though appeared to be a one-off case in Toronto. Indeed no outer suburban council planner in Melbourne has that degree of autonomy in negotiating with developers. Bob, however, certainly would bristle at the inference that as a re-inforcer of neo-liberal values he was working against householder interests in Milton. To him they coincide.

As to the value of this research for teaching purposes, the experiences of the two younger Melbourne planners in trying to deliver in difficult situations – rapidly growing fringe estates with few public transport and other social infrastructure resources and post-war industrial areas stocked largely with three-bedroom detached houses – would resonant with current undergraduate students. Both the planners and many of the students grew up in these areas. The planners are at an age that current students can easily imagine themselves being at in years to come. The possibilities of project-based learning and mentoring opportunities are endless. For example, Marcia spoke of her lack of self-confidence and her inability to speak publicly before coming to RMIT, how that was overcome there and how her job now hinges on public speaking and persuasion. One would hope the importance of political, economic and sociological literacy to inform planning practice, of the practical value of planning theory would also rub off.

Both Marcia and Ewan graduated at a time when the RMIT was not PIA accredited, this being the choice of the RMIT teaching staff at the time (there being no corporate managers to placate then). One speculates on the real educational value of accreditation in urban and regional planning given the number of RMIT graduates from this era, now in influential positions across Australia and overseas, alert to the central social purpose of planning practice.

Table 1 as benchmark to gauge practice is not fully tested here but it could be used when all interviews are fully unpacked and analysed. Most planners discussed here would fit more easily under third-way rather than neo-liberal classification.

Table 4 provides a benchmark against which to judge the ability of planners to realise 'more effective spatial planning'.

Mabel was most certainly addressing the economic and social issues in inner-city areas shunned by gentrification, as was Lorna in South Lanarkshire, in her efforts to assist in the upgrading/adapting of schools in post-war industrial suburbs

The Whittlesea planners were addressing as best they could the earlier provision and re-provision of social infrastructure in fringe and post-war industrial suburbs respectively but with limited success, of which they are very conscious of and frustrated by. For example, while land had been set aside for higher density residential development next to proposed railway stations, so seeking the 'integration of public transit and land use planning' (Table 4), the distant likelihood of such stations ever being built has meant developer pressure for standard low-density housing could not be resisted.

Despite the encouraging stories of these local government planners, there is limited evidence of more effective spatial planning in Melbourne.

This is in contrast with Toronto where there has been a firm growth boundary for a decade resulting in very few greenfield sites being left for development. Residential developers are now building at densities unheard of in the fringe areas of Melbourne to market acceptance. Some have transferred their attention to medium and high rise development at designated suburban activity nodes across the metropolis and within or close to the city's core. Political will in devising a metropolitan plan with specific intentions that are being held to, to which councils have bought in, seems to be the difference between Ontario and Victoria, both governed by Liberal parties. The next step for Ontario is substantial transit funding for beyond 2014, the missing element behind metropolitan Toronto's planning strategy.

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Session 2

<p>12. Experiential learning in Planning schools, toolkits and training</p> <p>Claudia Baldwin, Johanna Rosier and research team <i>University of the Sunshine Coast</i></p>	<p><i>Workshop</i></p>
<p>13. Interdisciplinary Teaching and Learning: Preparing built environment and health professionals for interdisciplinary and integrative 21st Century practice.</p> <p>Susan Thompson <i>University of New South Wales</i></p>	<p><i>The 21st Century demands interdisciplinary ways-of-working in order to tackle the complex and integrated issues confronting the globe's people and environment. To prepare professionals for this challenging scenario, education needs to be built on interdisciplinary models of learning and teaching. In this paper we discuss how we developed a new course to do this for senior university students from the built environment and health related disciplines. Called 'Healthy Planning', the curriculum embodies the substantive body of scholarship that demonstrates the complex relationships between city form, urban planning and contemporary chronic disease. We explain the teaching modes, classroom activities and assessment regimes in the course showing how they embody interdisciplinary international and local research, policy and practice. The paper examines the success of 'Healthy Planning' in facilitating interdisciplinary learning as a way of preparing professional practitioners for the challenges of the 21st Century. Our experiences can be used by other educationalists in formulating interdisciplinary courses that are responsive to the joined up ways-of-working demanded by the current age.</i></p>

Interdisciplinary Teaching and Learning: Preparing built environment and health professionals for interdisciplinary and integrative 21st Century practice

Keywords: *Teaching practice, student learning, interdisciplinary*

Introduction

An evolving and substantive body of interdisciplinary scholarship argues that city form, urban planning and current health patterns are inextricably entwined (DiPietro, 2012; Dannenberg, Frumkin, and Jackson, 2011; Kent, Thompson, and Jalaludin, 2011; Corburn, 2010; Frumkin, Frank, and Jackson, 2004; Barton and Tsourou, 2000). The health profession is increasingly concerned about rising rates of chronic disease such as cancer, heart disease, diabetes, asthma and depression. Medical interventions are limited in tackling such conditions because they are related to a variety of complex factors

associated with the way we live in cities (Dixon and Broom, 2007). Sprawling suburban environments with their characteristic low residential densities, car dependency and separation of home and work, are increasingly linked to behaviour patterns that contribute to poor physical and mental health (DiPietro, 2012; Dannenberg et al., 2011; Kent et al., 2011; Corburn, 2010; Barton and Tsourou, 2000). As understandings about these issues develop, there is growing recognition of the urgent need for built environment and health professionals to work together to facilitate environments that support healthy behaviour (Dannenberg et al., 2011; Kent et al., 2011; Botchwey et al., 2009). The education of urban planners, architects, landscape designers and health practitioners must include this area of scholarship, as well as training in interdisciplinary ways-of-working.

These imperatives motivated us to develop a new course Healthy Planning at the University of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia. This course sought to engage an interdisciplinary framework of teaching and learning to promote critical understanding among a diverse group of university students. In devising the curriculum we used the burgeoning research on health and environmental planning, together with best practice examples. From an interdisciplinary educational philosophical base, we incorporated appropriate teaching modes and assessment regimes. Here we detail the resulting course structure and how students from the built environment and health disciplines evaluated their educational experience, including how their learning will influence their future professional practice. The paper concludes with reflections on how interdisciplinary learning was facilitated and ideas for future course development. The lessons learnt can be used by others in their development of interdisciplinary curricula for students who must engage with inter-connected ways of working in the 21st Century.

Interdisciplinary models of education: inspiration for teaching and learning strategies

The growing interest in creating holistic solutions to population health problems in an urbanised 21st Century has refined efforts in multi-disciplinary and interdisciplinary education. Multi-disciplinary education involves the coordination of two or more disciplines to consider multi-faceted problems (Youngblood, 2007; Geisler, 2002). It is the *integration and synthesis* of the tools and knowledge of two or more disciplinary perspectives into a comprehensive understanding that separates interdisciplinary from multi-disciplinary education (Stone, Bollard, and Harbor, 2009; Youngblood, 2007; Sill, 2001).

While acknowledging that scholars debate the merits of these two approaches, we adopted an interdisciplinary teaching model as ‘best fit’ for our educational objectives in devising the Healthy Planning course. This decision was based on a consideration of educational outcomes common to interdisciplinary teaching (see Table 1). Student centred learning, with an emphasis on mutual respect and relationship building, together with the use of assessment tasks aimed at bringing learners from diverse backgrounds together (Boix Mansilla and Duraisingh, 2008; Newell, 1994), were further interdisciplinary educational principles upon which we built. The teacher as facilitator and advanced learner, working with a broad range of interesting content, complemented our interdisciplinary educational approach.

Type	Characteristics	Educational outcomes
Informed disciplinary	Courses and teaching instruction informed by other disciplines	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awareness of perspectives other than one's own • Ability to evaluate expert-opinion • Sensitivity to disciplinary biases • Synthesis or integration of key concepts
Synthetic interdisciplinarity	Courses and teaching instruction link disciplines; disciplines retain distinct identities	
Transdisciplinarity	Courses and teaching instruction cross and mute disciplines	
Conceptual interdisciplinarity	Courses and teaching instruction without a compelling disciplinary focus	

Source: Lattuca et al. 2004 and Sill 2001

Table 1: Types of Interdisciplinary Teaching

From Table 1 it is clear that an interdisciplinary model of education can advance students' understanding of complex world issues. Learners are challenged to consider how their perspectives need to change, as well as how to synthesise their knowledge of different disciplines (Spelt, Biemans, Tobi, Luning, and Mulder, 2009; Boix Mansilla and Duraisingh, 2008). Students begin to integrate diverse information and transfer this knowledge to other issues. In relation to health and planning, Botchwey et al. (2009) argue that interdisciplinary courses that bring students from both health and urban planning disciplines together are a key strategy for improving understanding of the issues, as well as opening up communication between two very different professional groups. Such courses provide opportunities for students and teachers to holistically understand and promote supportive environments for health.

Armed with these understandings we set out to develop a new course for our senior undergraduate students taking degrees in the built environment and health related disciplines. We now discuss how we designed the curriculum before presenting the results of several years of detailed student evaluations of the course curriculum and interdisciplinary learning.

Healthy Planning: developing the new course

Preparation for the new course bringing health and urban planning together started in earnest in 2006 as more and more research linking human health to contemporary city living emerged. As urban planning teachers, we considered it essential to bring our students up to speed in this area. But this needed to be done in a way that equipped them to work effectively in interdisciplinary ways alongside health professionals, other built environment practitioners and community members. Accordingly, we explored different methods of delivering such a course – both in terms of its content (up-to-date, practical and research based) and teaching methods (interactive and student centred) – and came up with the idea of an interdisciplinary approach appropriate for both built environment and medical students.

Targeted to senior university students, Healthy Planning was initially held over six days of intensive teaching, and has more recently been adapted to a series of shorter classes run for a full semester. The first two days provide an overview of current theory and research focusing on the relationship between urban environments and current health issues facing modern society. Built environment (that is, town planning, landscape design, and

architecture) and health students (inclusive of medical and public health trainees) are introduced to each other from day one. Individual reflection is encouraged through the use of a personal healthy behaviour audit (see details below). An all-day field trip, where different suburban environments are observed and assessed for their support of healthy lifestyles, bridges the academic and professional practice content. The latter half of the course demonstrates the relevance of the theory and research understandings through a real-life healthy planning neighbourhood audit. Students undertake this comprehensive activity in small interdisciplinary groups, presenting their findings as the grand finale to the class.

Course objectives

Healthy Planning is built upon a set of overarching teaching and learning objectives that emphasise the interdisciplinary nature of the subject material, ways of working together and professional competency preparation. Key course objectives are summarised in Table 2.

Objective 'theme'	Detail within specific objectives
Content understandings and knowledge (interdisciplinary nature of the subject material)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge of major health problems that face urban populations today • Understanding relationship between urban planning, city form and contemporary human health problems • Knowledge of environmental factors which dissuade city dwellers from engaging in healthy life styles
Interdisciplinary ways of working and interacting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appreciation of the different ways of working and language that health and built environment practitioners use • Ability to work cooperatively and effectively in mixed health and built environment groups on a 'healthy planning' project
Development of professional competency in specific 'healthy planning' skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to enhance city dwellers' opportunities for physical activity and social interaction for well-being • Hands-on experience with a detailed healthy planning audit instrument

Table 2: Course objectives

Teaching modes

Teaching modes in Healthy Planning are designed to achieve the course objectives. They encompass formal lectures given by academic researchers and practitioners – from both health and planning – together with experiential class exercises, field work and student presentations. The assessment tasks, undertaken in interdisciplinary groups and individually, demonstrate how the theory underpins practice, as well as the relevance of interdisciplinary approaches in achieving healthy cities. In all activities, both in and out of class, students are encouraged to interact with each other, discuss their ideas and reflect on how healthy planning concepts translate to their professional contexts. Personal reflections are also sought in class discussions and

assessment tasks.

International and Australian interdisciplinary schemas, which bring health and planning together, were used in determining appropriate course content and continue to drive further course development. At a theoretical level, we initially drew on the social determinants of health (Wilkinson and Marmot, 2003) and the 'ecological model' of planning and health (Sallis et al., 2006). This material is now augmented by recent comprehensive texts such as "Making Healthy Spaces" (Dannenberg et al., 2011) and "Toward the Healthy City: People, places, and the politics of urban planning" (Corburn, 2009). A locally based comprehensive literature review (Kent et al., 2011) is another new resource that enables us to better place the international research within an Australian context. The CHESS principles for healthy environments – connected, healthy eating, safe and sustainable (Thompson and McCue, 2008), together with guidelines developed by health professionals in the Hunter New England region of NSW (Wells et al., 2007) are also presented. Other local practice-based resources were of assistance in crafting the curriculum and continue to provide excellent foundational understandings for students. The Australian National Heart Foundation's "Healthy by Design" is utilised to illustrate how urban planners can modify the environment to be more supportive of community well-being, particularly encouraging increased physical activity and social interaction (National Heart Foundation, 2004). At a state level, we have relied heavily on the New South Wales Premier's Council for Active Living – both its printed and web-based resources. More recently, the "Healthy Urban Development Checklist" (NSW Department of Health, 2009) has provided a rich source of theoretically linked research for policy making and practice.

While the emphasis is on interdisciplinary learning and sharing, it is worth noting that one half day of the course was taught as two separate sessions. This is necessary to ensure that new knowledge is successfully imparted. The built environment students undertake a formal class on the public health system and the medical students attend lectures on urban planning processes. Content knowledge is further supported by students' navigations through our comprehensive listing of international and local web sites providing coverage of theoretical and practical healthy planning issues. This is supplemented with a reader comprising seminal articles for use in completing assignments and future professional development.

Assessment tasks

A variety of individual and group assessment tasks complements the formal in-class teaching (see Table 3). Each assignment has specific goals, marking criteria and linked directly to the course objectives. These details, together with instructions for undertaking each task, are fully and formally articulated in supplementary teaching materials. Learning about research into healthy planning and best practice examples is reinforced in the assessments, along with interdisciplinary ways of working. The latter is particularly important and from the first day of instruction, students are assigned to mixed disciplinary groups. The groups consist of at least one member representing each the town planning, health related and design disciplines. Within their groups, students share personal and disciplinary perspectives of healthy planning, discuss thematic course issues and conduct their Healthy Neighbourhood Audit (HNA).

Task description⁸	Process and assessment value	Course objectives and key learning outcomes
Personal healthy behaviour audit – reflections and diary entries on daily activities – food consumption, socialisation, transport and physical activity – that impact on health. Consideration of one’s home, work, study and recreation environments.	Individual task 20 per cent of assessment	Content knowledge Personal awareness of health related behaviour and impact of environmental conditions Reflective ability
HNA – undertaken in assigned interdisciplinary groups, using a comprehensive instrument designed for the course. Audit area is in nearby suburb comprising mixed residential and commercial development, transport, recreational and educational facilities. Different characteristics of locality observed – street network, land uses, food access, public amenities, safety and social interactions. Audit incorporates consideration of perspective of young family; person with a disability; teenager; elderly person – how does environment support health of this demographic? Task includes evaluation of audit instrument – ease of use; suggested improvements. Presentation to the class on audit findings - involves oral and pictorial components (e.g. PowerPoint) and class discussion, initiated by presenting group.	Group field work, synthesis of findings and formal presentation 30 per cent of assessment	Content understandings and knowledge Interdisciplinary ways of working Professional competency in ‘healthy planning’ skills
Term paper exploring relationship between urban environment and health. Critical evaluation of relationship to policy and practice in urban planning or health. Suggestions for improving interdisciplinary engagement. Use of course reader and web sites mandatory.	Individual task Choice of topics 35 per cent of assessment	Content understandings and knowledge Professional competency in ‘healthy planning’ skills
Reading summaries and critical reflections on key ‘healthy planning’ texts compiled in a course reader	Individual; limited choice of readings; 15 per cent of assessment	Content understandings and knowledge

Table 3: Assessment tasks

⁸ Task descriptions are very brief here – full details of these, together with all other course materials, can be obtained from the paper’s authors.

Evaluating the Healthy Planning course

At the UNSW every course taught as part of an academic degree is formally evaluated. From the first time that Healthy Planning was offered, we were keen to closely monitor how students from different scholarly backgrounds experienced the different aspects of the course. In this part of the paper we discuss the results of evaluations conducted with student cohorts over three years of classes. The data reported here has been analysed from quantitative and qualitative responses to a short end-of-class survey. This is mandatory for all students who complete the course. Questions focus on learning experiences – what worked well and areas for improvement – as well as asking students to reflect on the relevance of their learning for professional practice. Students also make suggestions for how course content and approach can be improved. The analysis of responses reveals considerable agreement about different aspects of interdisciplinary learning. It also provides broader insights for educators bridging the disciplines of built environment and health.

Course content and process

Students from both built environment and health related disciplines were very positive about their learning experience, commenting favourably about course content and process. A majority of respondents (between 90 and 100 per cent) either ‘strongly agreed’ or ‘agreed’ that the course aims were clear. Further, there was consensus that the course was effective in developing cognitive skills such as critical analysis and problem solving. Students appreciated the interdisciplinary nature of the curriculum and the emphasis placed on practical applications of theory (especially the field trip and HNA). The assessment methods and tasks were also considered highly appropriate by all respondents. As teachers, we were gratified that most considered the course to be well organised and the learning outcomes, clearly articulated. One student summed up the general feeling thus: “It’s a new course! New challenges that are really interesting and will apply to many professions well into the future”.

There was some concern about the intensity of lecture sessions, with a few students (less than ten per cent) finding that they did not allow sufficient time for interaction between class participants. They recommended more time was needed to build understandings between planning and health. One student suggested that the course incorporate “perhaps fewer lectures and more general class discussion about issues, particularly in the first couple of days”.

In relation to the course assessment tasks, we requested participants to specifically evaluate the HNA. They appreciated the prospect to “look in detail and understand how people live in other areas – and discuss how to improve their lives”. Through its comprehensive questions, the HNA provoked introspection and critical thinking. As one student noted, the HNA was “good at getting us thinking about the complexity of healthy planning issues”. Another commented that the ability to be critical “is a crucial aspect in designing better places”. Planning students were particularly impressed with the HNA and could see its practical applicability: “I believe people practising in the built environment should be encouraged to conduct more of them”.

Opportunities for interdisciplinary connections and collaboration

The town planning students rated the mixture of collaboration between, and knowledge gained from other disciplines, as the best aspects of the course. In particular, the HNA provided an avenue for active sharing and learning between group members. As one planner said, “the interaction between our group members worked well and was helped by having at least one person from every discipline”. The different disciplines referred to here by the planning student include architecture, landscape architecture, public health and medicine. There was agreement that it was beneficial to hear the opinions of classmates doing different degrees and for some this was “one of the first times I have been in class with students from other courses”. Another said, “the course showed me the need to work with a range of people with different expertise so the best possible healthy planning outcome can be achieved”.

Generally, the health related students expressed enthusiasm for the interdisciplinary focus, and the ability to learn about and engage in discussions regarding the built environment’s influence on population health and well-being. One medical student commented, “It is a real eye opener to recognise the contribution of the built/urban environment on health. Especially I was amazed by how this can potentially be manipulated to improve health outcomes for the whole community. I really enjoyed the integrated group project. The planners were very supportive and I have learnt much off them”. And another, “It has given [me] a detailed appreciation of the effects of the environment in promoting and/or inhibiting physical activity and food choices - and decisions which may be made unconsciously...”.

Health students also explicitly mentioned in-class interactions, the separate session on planning processes, the personal behaviour audit and the HNA as very helpful. One shared, “As a medical student in the new medical course, we have been continuously hammered by the concept of teamwork and interdisciplinary teams but this is the first time I’ve had an opportunity to work on a true team that involves individuals from very diverse backgrounds and expertise”. While the course provided opportunities for insight into different perspectives, the health based students requested more time to share viewpoints. They felt that some of the lecture material overlapped and as such could have been reduced, resulting in more time for group discussions.

From our perspective as educators, it is interesting to note that learning for the planners tended to focus on how they envisage importing healthy planning knowledge into their work rather than shifting their disciplinary focus to engage directly in cross-disciplinary ways. Nevertheless, the data reveal that in his or her own way, each student became familiar with and drew upon the concepts of the built environment and health disciplines to understand how both inter-relate. For example, with the HNA, the integrated teams examined the broader health cues when analysing their specific neighbourhoods. They developed a consensus on what constitutes a healthy neighbourhood for a particular population such as a family group or elderly community member. As such, their assimilation of the notions of healthy planning and group consensus on what constitutes a ‘healthy neighbourhood’ suggest that interdisciplinary learnings were occurring. The creation of a new way of looking at their disciplines, whether built environment or health, is a move towards adopting an interdisciplinary perspective (Spelt et al., 2009; Boix Mansilla and Duraisingh, 2008).

Potential for professional work

There was enthusiasm from all students about the potential that the Health Planning course afforded them for their future professional lives. For those

already engaged in the work force, there was excitement about informing colleagues about their newly acquired knowledge and ways of working, with several students proposing concrete examples of how they would transform healthy planning concepts into reality. Medical undergraduates reported a shift in their understandings and a “new-found respect for the health outcomes of urban planning”.

Built environment students declared inspiration to bring their newly acquired perspective to their work. One offered, “I will be more dedicated and passionate about my personal responsibility to society and how I can try to make positive changes in the built environment”. With this inspiration and excitement comes an appreciation of healthy living and a strong desire to incorporate supportive environments to encourage healthy practices. An architecture student said, “The Healthy Planning course has opened a new perspective of designing and approaching my future professional career. I think it will help me to aspire to change or influence people’s lives in a positive way. Healthy planning was not something I thought about during my design or personal lifestyle much previous to this course”. Inputting healthy living as a “new layer into my design process” and “implementing design interventions that consider making people active” were other suggestions from designers.

The urban planners were very enthusiastic about embracing a health and well-being perspective in their work. There were lots of ideas about how this might be done. One said, “I feel I have gained an increased awareness and insight into issues associated with healthy planning, providing me with a different perspective when assessing a development; analysing an urban environment; which will assist me in my professional practice”. Another proffered, “It is clear that interdisciplinary interaction is an important component of advancing good planning outcomes. I won’t hesitate to talk to people from other professions to inform planning work”. The planners, many of whom are working in a part time capacity in the industry, could readily see practical applications. One said, “I will assess development applications with a healthy planning perspective; encourage healthy fresh produce, walkability, bike-ability and public transport”. Planners, well acquainted with the environmental sustainability agenda, were able to see the link between this and human health when presented with the co-benefits framework for health from action on climate change (The Lancet, 2009). As one said, “...when policy making and implementing plans I will look for outcomes that are both environmentally sustainable and health sustainable”.

Finally, the health students offered specific suggestions for implementing healthy planning principles in their work. One said, “In future practice, I will be aware of the relationship between urban planning and form, and the health of patients. When advising patients to make lifestyle choices, I will do so knowing that patients being in certain areas will be restricted by their physical environment, and what aspects of their life they can change”. Another stated, “I will raise awareness of the importance of the local environment, both to other doctors and to patients. I would even research areas myself to better be able to make healthy suggestions and recommendations”. And another, “I have interests in maybe participating in some planning projects, where I can share my medical knowledge. Furthermore, I think it is a great way for medical practitioners to take a proactive approach to improve their patients’ and community’s health”.

Suggestions for course improvement

As mentioned in the discussion above, in the context of a high level of satisfaction about course content, structure and teaching modes, participants offered useful suggestions for improving Healthy Planning. A recurring theme was a desire to have more time to engage with fellow students outside of formal lecture sessions. Conflicting feedback was evident with some students wanting extra content knowledge (for example, about specific health

problems and urban planning processes) while others said that they found the lectures too intense, opting for more group and field work based activities. This may have been associated with differing degrees of familiarity with varied teaching modes. One of the health students commented that he had never been on a field trip and requested guidance as to how he should approach the exercise, whereas such activities are part and parcel of built environment degrees.

As educators, our awareness of disparate levels of familiarity with different teaching and learning situations has been sharpened by these comments. We have added greater structure to the field trip and have increased the time given to informal student interaction. We have enhanced health related content knowledge by incorporating more medical information with the participation of an academic colleague from the University's Medical Faculty.

Creating a model of interdisciplinary teaching and learning

In designing, implementing and evaluating the Healthy Planning course, we have created a model of interdisciplinary teaching and learning. In doing so we drew from each of the different types of interdisciplinary teaching outlined in Table 1. Our approach can be used to devise different educational offerings that meet similar interdisciplinary challenges in preparing professionals for the 21st Century. As detailed throughout this paper, students were united under an interdisciplinary banner to provide an awareness of perspectives other than their own in a respectful disciplinary context. Biggs calls this a "web of consistency" (Biggs, 2012, p. 45). Our course involved a medley of activities and assessments critical to advancing a broader view of the interaction between human disease, lifestyle challenges and the built and natural environments. Such activities collectively challenged students' abilities to evaluate opinions, acknowledge their sensitivities to disciplinary biases and synthesise key concepts. The specifics of our course can be translated for other disciplinary requirements to meet interdisciplinary learning and experiential educational objectives.

Healthy Planning is building a foundation for future health and planning practitioners who must engage with complex and integrative ways-of-working in the 21st Century to reverse the rising rates of chronic disease. We have developed student abilities to analyse and address the challenges of adverse planning policies and inappropriate development practices as they contribute to poor physical and mental health. These skills are fundamental to turning around escalating health budgets. Armed with these new perspectives and enhanced abilities, these future professionals will be well equipped to both contribute to, and understand the ongoing need for research to underpin policy and practice for healthy built environments (DiPetro, 2012). The same principles can be applied in other educational contexts that demand similar approaches.

Continuing challenges for healthy planning education

The delivery of interdisciplinary education presents challenges for the teacher and student. While the Healthy Planning course has been successful for many participants, there remain issues in ensuring that the learning experience is effective for everyone. To equip built environment and health professionals to work together demands of the teacher an appreciation of both curriculum content and educational delivery challenges.

Content challenges centre around different levels of understanding, familiarity and experiences of key concepts across the disciplines. This can result in some students being confused, while others may feel bored or restless going over material they know well. Contingencies need to be in place to deal with disparate knowledge levels.

Educational delivery challenges frequently emerge where there are differing degrees of familiarity with varied teaching modes (Biggs, 2012). Some students may feel more at home in a formal lecture situation than on a field trip or working in student centred groups. Patience is required to make sure expectations are clarified and that course objectives are clearly articulated and linked to teaching strategies. The evidence needed to understand the impact of the built environment on human health comes from different research traditions across the physical/medical and social sciences. Accordingly, students have to be given an appreciation of a suite of research approaches including quantitative and qualitative, randomized trials and case studies, field work and observations of people/place interactions. Process challenges are also evident, particularly fostering the ability to work in respectful relationship across different disciplines. In the case of Healthy Planning the HNA group work provides a rich opportunity to do this.

There are also potential institutional barriers to interdisciplinary education. Funding and administrative responsibilities, together with shared course development, organisation and leadership, may well have to be negotiated and in some settings, might prove difficult to resolve (Holley, 2009). Academics need to be supported by their respective professional bodies in a joint commitment to dismantling educational silo-thinking and outdated modus operandi. This is critical in the 21st Century given the complex problems that today's and tomorrow's professionals face – clearly it is our responsibility to lead and advocate for educational models that will deliver suitably skilled and aware professionals.

Conclusion

Healthy planning is a rapidly growing area of interdisciplinary teaching and learning. There is no doubt that urban planners and health professionals *must* work together to address this complex and difficult issue. This is the case in other disciplinary contexts. We firmly believe that this begins in the class room. As shown in this paper, an interdisciplinary approach in designing and teaching our Healthy Planning course affords a good model for other educators to adopt. Students have expressed overwhelming appreciation for the interdisciplinary educational context and the focus on practical, real-life applications. And while there are challenges working with diverse knowledge bases, research traditions and varying levels of familiarity with different teaching modes, our students report being inspired and excited about the possibilities for taking healthy planning into their future professional lives. Such inspiration can be picked up by other educationalists in preparing young professionals to embrace the complex world that is emerging in the 21st Century.

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