

Brisbane's urbanism: looking for an identity. What can we learn from Inala.

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Abstract

This paper draws on the Inala case study to develop guidelines to incorporate place identity considerations in contemporary Brisbane's urbanism. We critically analyse the emergence of the New World City marketing strategy and the New City Centre Master Plan associated to it. Our conclusion is that a balance between economic objectives (positioning Brisbane as key player in the Asia-Pacific) and the development of an authentic identity (through public involvement) still needs to be achieved. We provide recommendations at the end of the paper.

Introduction

Urban planning in Queensland is known as having been shaped by a pro-development culture. This translates strongly in the design of Brisbane's public spaces which we argue still suffer from an 'identity crisis' despite recent initiatives (e.g., Brisbane City Council's City Centre Master Plan, 2012; New City Plan, 2013) that are clear attempts to foster public consultation on how to generate a sense of place and to confer a more urban identity to the Brisbane CBD. This appears as a key element for the development of an enhanced identity for Brisbane that would also contribute to its status as a 'New World City'. In this paper we argue that instead of developing or (re)developing urban areas according to the latest commercial trend some guidance should be provided to preserve the identity of Brisbane and also to create a sense of belonging based on the history of specific places. Our point is that planning professionals should create "places" (or support the recognition and enhancement of existing places) and not simply "spaces". Based on the lessons learned from the case of Inala we propose guidelines to inform the planning practice and to create a sense of place in the broader Brisbane context. We argue that this will lead to a more authentic version of place, in line with place theorists. Ultimately the paper concludes on directions to develop a Brisbane urbanism in the context of an emerging city, inclusive of its past but also looking towards the future as a 'new world city'.

From a theoretical point of view, the paper is based on the concepts of place and sense of place. Places are composed of three interrelated components that give meanings to place: the physical setting, activity and meaning. For example Relph (1976) referring to Lynch (1960) associates the identity of a place with the ability to evoke human senses through qualities that make it distinctive from other places. We also draw on Augé's (1995) work examining the plethora of 'non-places' that he argues characterise many modern cities, and the antithesis of this, the creation of authentic place.

We use the case study of the Brisbane suburb of Inala, located in the suburban outer southwest and characterised by public housing and a proportionately large population of migrant and Indigenous communities, to examine place-making in Brisbane. We utilise ethnography to examine residents' attachment to and identification with place, as well as the

Greenop & Darchen, Brisbane's Urbanism: looking for an identity, 49th ISOCARP Congress 2013 demographic, socio-economic and other quantitative aspects of place that characterise Inala. We combine these factors with an examination of the urban planning of the suburb and changes to this over time, to discuss how an authentic, resilient and sustainable place requires a combination of community, government and individuals to develop and maintain this authenticity.

Based on this case, we present recommendations to achieve a balance between positioning Brisbane as key player in the Asia-Pacific and creating a sense of place. Creating a sense of place has been developed incrementally over time, and often involving initiatives driven from within the Inala community itself, rather than through a broad strategic process, but we examine how planning and other bureaucratic regimes have affected place-making in this location.

One of the strategies that we wish to put forward is the importance of acknowledging the history of a place and the cultures of its people when developing place-making strategies. First we define place-making strategies as applied by planning professionals and then we develop an alternative approach - based on the case of Inala - to enhance the symbolic value of urban spaces.

As Brisbane and South East Queensland works to plan for its increasing population, and the development of existing places to increase their cohesiveness and social capital (e.g., Logan and developing areas such as Springfield) issues of community identity, sustainability and inclusiveness become increasingly important for planners and policy makers. We argue that a community-centred, identity-focussed approach is an important consideration in this developing debate.

Theory: towards a distinction between place and non-place

There is a large corpus of works in urban planning focusing on the urban form and sense of place. Our aim here is not to present an exhaustive list of works but to explain how the dichotomy of place/non-place is informing our analysis of both Inala and recent initiatives to improve city and regenerate Brisbane's City Centre. While place theory is extensive, within Australia there are few examples of the examination of places based on these theories, resulting in what we argue is a disconnected approach to place-making by urban designers, planners and the state. We seek to inform the ways in which city places can be successfully made, remade and maintained through a more thorough understanding of what constitutes authentic place, informed by both the literature and the short case studies that we undertake.

Kevin Lynch (1960) has identified criteria to evaluate the performance of urban environments: 1. Vitality; 2. Sense; 3. Fit; 4. Access; 5. Control; 6. Efficiency and justice. Kevin Lynch (1960, p. 6) defines "the identity of place simply as that it provides its individuality and distinction from other places and serves as a basis for its recognition as a separable entity."

Place theorists recognise that places are not only comprised of their physical and experiential qualities in the present, but of their associations with people, events and histories. The classic geographic definition of place by Agnew states that place is comprised of location, locale and sense of place (Agnew 1987, 28); locale is defined as the setting which allows for social interactions to occur, and sense of place as the emotional

Greenop & Darchen, Brisbane's Urbanism: looking for an identity, 49th ISOCARP Congress 2013 associations bound up with place. Similarly, geographer David Harvey, stresses that not only the physical, but the social is important in place; places are socially constructed and made meaningful through social processes (Harvey 1993, p. 5). To this we want to stress the importance of the recognition of locale and sense of place in the creation or regeneration of places, and discuss how these aspects of place are challenged by planning that considers perhaps too fully the physical aspects of place rather than the entirety of place.

To demonstrate that this holistic approach to place is not new, but nevertheless essential, we draw here on the work of Gehl (2010) and, much earlier, Jacobs (1961) and consider their planning proposals in the context of place. Current place-making strategies can be considered as a reaction to the consequences of modernist planning and the modernist movement in architecture, which many critics claimed created standardised places that lacked character and history. While we do not agree that all modernism falls into this category, the criticism of character-less places and what is lacking is important to consider. Jan Gehl's (2010) idea of "life between buildings" and his broader approach of the "human dimension" that according to him has been an overlooked aspect of urban planning, are obvious reaction to the diminishing urban street life, here Gehl (2010) refers to Jane Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961). Jacobs (1961) - cited by Gehl (2010, p. 3) - pointed out that the increase of car traffic and the urban planning ideology of modernism that separates the uses of the city into separate zones would put an end to city life. Gehl (2010, p. 6) sees "the human dimension" as a necessary new planning dimension: "urban planners and architects must reinforce pedestrianism as an integrated city policy to develop lively, safe, sustainable and healthy cities." Gehl (2010, p. 6) insists on: "strengthening the social function of city space as a meeting place that contributes toward the aim of social sustainability and an open and democratic society." Both Gehl and Jacobs before him argue for a recognition of place-creating that accounts for the various aspects of place, the physical, social and emotional.

We can also cite Jane Jacobs and her idea of "vitality of neighborhoods" that has been reused lately in the Creative City approach to urban planning (See Darchen, 2013). Jane Jacobs insisted that specific components should be part of a neighborhood: diversity of social groups, public spaces, etc.

French anthropologist Marc Augé further criticises both modernist and post-modernist place making, dubbing many locations in the era of supermodernity as "non-places". According to Augé (1995) these non-places: "designate...two complementary but distinct realities: spaces formed in relation to certain ends (transport, transit, commerce, leisure) and the relations that individuals have with these spaces" in opposition to "anthropological places" that create the social. Non-places are places of transience like international airports; motels and highways, they are generic places that according to Augé (1995, p. 94): "create solitary contractuality".

Augé (1995) explains that the distinction between places and non-places derives from the opposition between Place and Space. According to Augé: "the term 'space' is more abstract in itself than the term 'place' whose usage refers to an event (which has taken place), a myth (said to have taken place) or a history (high places)" (1995, p. 82).

In this paper we use the distinction between places and non-places that we find more explicit. When applied to planning we believe that Global urbanism replicating similar urban projects from one place to another contributes to the development of non-places. On that point Haila (2006, p. 285) refers to the operation of global actors to create an international image for the city. She refers to Zukin (1992): "the worldly superstars, including developers, architects and private-sector financial institutions" design the landscape in all global cities"; thus contributing to the development of "non-places".

Situating 'place identity' within social sustainability

Within place theory, the concept of place identity is particularly useful when analysing the ways in which places are used and in what regard they are held by their community. We also use the more recently developed concept of social sustainability to examine places, and situate place identity within this concept in order to link place theory and place-making.

Place identity is a difficult concept to define, but geographers, planners and architects all stress the importance of the links between people and place, and the ways in which places can contribute to the identity of users, and determine their identity in terms of the activities, associations and histories developed in place. Place identity is sometimes discussed as a component or synonym of 'sense of place' and we draw on both place identity and sense of place here to get to the heart of what matters about place, for people.

Relph describes how the "physical appearance, activities and meanings are the raw materials of the identity of places." (1976, p. 48) In the emerging literature on social sustainability, a 'sense of place' is one component that contributes to socially sustainable communities. According to Dempsey et al. (2011), indicators for socially sustainable communities are as follows:

- Interactions with other residents and social networks;
- Participation on collective community activities;
- Pride or sense of place;
- Residential stability (low turnover of residents);
- Security (lack of crime and disorder).

Furthermore, Davenport and Anderson (2005) explain that places "play a vital role in developing and maintaining self and group identity of the people; place identity is also defined as "the way in which a place informs the identity of a person or people." (Proshansky et al., 1995). The notion of place identity or sense of place is also closely linked to the concept of place attachment. Shamsudin and Ujang (2008, p. 400) define "place attachment" as a form of bonding between the person and a setting, while Hildago and Hernandez stress the desire to stay close to a place as being key to attachment (2001, p. 274).

In previous work we made the point that place identity could be threatened by regeneration initiatives with the example of the Fortitude Valley renewal plan (Darchen and Ladouceur, 2013). Historically, social sustainability has not been a strong component of urban planning in Queensland and certainly not a strong focus of previous renewal initiatives (Darchen and Ladouceur, 2013). However, regeneration plans are now increasingly recognising the

Greenop & Darchen, Brisbane's Urbanism: looking for an identity, 49th ISOCARP Congress 2013 impacts of regeneration initiatives on local communities, social sustainability is starting to be a key component of planning and urban transport initiatives (e.g., Gold Coast rapid transit corridor Master Plan includes a strong component on social sustainability issues) (Interview 1).

In this paper we are making the point that place-making strategies should go further than renovating places to attract new residents and new business activities. Place-making strategies should recognise the history of places to foster a sense of belonging and place identity. In that regard, Newman and Jennings (2008, p. 146) propose strategies to foster a sense of place:

- Protecting important existing elements of their natural and cultural heritage;
- Designing to make historical and current social and ecological processes more visible;
- Using cultural practices and the arts to nurture and deepen a sense of place;
- Discovering city "songlines".

We argue that the creation of an authentic places should be the key goal of urban strategies and improvements. The theories of place making that encompass identity, history, sustainability and community are all indicated as essential to such an authenticity. We now discuss the importance of the increasingly recognised role of Australian Aboriginal communities and their place histories and sense of place in the post colonial Australian city.

Authentic places: starting with Aboriginal place

The importance of place to Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities is well known and urban Aboriginal populations are no different. Place, in the specific concept of *country* that embodies a person's links to history, spirituality, family and identity is central to many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's lives into the contemporary era (see for example Sutton, 1995, 2003). While anthropologists have explained *country* in various ways, from the architectural perspective architect and academic Kevin O'Brien explains *country*:

"Country is an aboriginal Idea. It is an Idea that binds groupings of aboriginal people to the place of their ancestors, past, current and future. It understands that every moment of the land, sea and sky, its particle, its prospects and its prompts, enables life." (O'Brien 2012)

For many Aboriginal people their historical forced exclusion from *country* and places of importance does not necessarily reduce their connection or commitment to places that are now the sites of cities such as Brisbane. Native title claims over urban areas such as Perth (Bennell v Western Australia [2006] FCA 1243) (National Native Title Tribunal 2006) and Brisbane are testament to Aboriginal people's commitment to connect with and be acknowledged as ongoing owners of their *country* (National Native Title Tribunal 2013, 2013a).

Clashes between forces of gentrification within urban areas, and both the attachments and the difficulties that Aboriginal people face within cities are not easy to resolve. The differing goals of different stakeholder groups, often based on the variation in sense of place or place identity, can result in resistance to place changes, and loss of an existing place identity can occur when urban development does not include principles of social sustainability. Shaw's examination of Redfern, an important location for urban Aboriginal people in Sydney, and

Greenop & Darchen, Brisbane's Urbanism: looking for an identity, 49th ISOCARP Congress 2013 the recent gentrification of the suburb, in *Cities of Whiteness* (2007) shines an important light on the need for authenticity and realistic goals in place-making activities. For Aboriginal people within urban areas of Australia, especially capital cities, there is a danger of a second wave of 'colonisation' of place occurring which once more excludes, marginalises or ignores the needs of urban Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, when socially sustainable processes are not considered. While the fields of anthropology, cultural studies and history have considered their colonial legacy, the disciplines of architecture and planning have barely acknowledged their roles in the exclusion, isolation, segregation and oppression of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia.

Recognition of Aboriginal prior ownership of and special places within cities has occurred at various levels from the production of guidebooks, such as *The Melbourne Dreaming: a guide to the Aboriginal Places of Melbourne* (Eidelson 1997) and *Aboriginal Sydney* (Hinkson and Harris 2001, 2010), but no such guide or comprehensive account of Brisbane's existing or historical Aboriginal places exists.

Historian Peter Read (2000) argues that for many non-Aboriginal people, and especially Anglo-Australians, there is a need to come to terms with the underlying and continuing importance of Aboriginal history and origins within our cities. His account of finding 'belonging' within his favourite Sydney childhood places, through deep engagement with Aboriginal traditional owners, establishes acknowledgement of traditional custodianship of city places as his preferred way of connecting to place authentically, but also demands connection with traditional owners in ways that could become onerous rather than engaging.

O'Brien's ongoing *Finding Country* (2006-current) project challenged designers to imagine the city half emptied of its population and what could be revealed in such a removal, such as the underlying *country* of Aboriginal owners and their continuing connections. Brit Andresen and Mara Francis' running up entry for the Australian CAPITheticAL competition (2013) which posited a model for a renewed Australian capital city based on their *Sedimentary City* concept which recognises multiple layers of history, including the 'First City' being the Indigenous history and use of an area (Andresen and Francis, 2013). O'Brien, and Andresen and Francis' imagined or potential futures attempt to determine a more authentic vision for place that, returning to place theory, encompass not only physical but social and cultural aspects of place .

These approaches, we argue, contribute to an authentic (if hypothetical) approach to urban placemaking that acknowledges both the traditional ownership of cities by their Aboriginal custodians, and the urban forms that embody memories an existing places identities for Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islanders and more recent arrivals.

We argue that a sense of place identity cannot be created from top-down processes but must include elements of history, an understanding of place meaning and the layers of meaning that exist for places, including different ethnic and cultural groups, as well as for different ages or users.

Research question and methods

Greenop & Darchen, Brisbane's Urbanism: looking for an identity, 49th ISOCARP Congress 2013

Following our literature review our research question is as follows: "How can we achieve a balance between creating an authentic sense of place through planning strategies and positioning Brisbane as a key player in the Asia-Pacific region". We discuss in the conclusion if these objective are compatible or mutually exclusive. We consider the case study of Inala as an example of the development overtime of an authentic sense of place, we thus explore this case study to provide recommendations for the orientation of Brisbane's urbanism. To inform the current situation of both the orientation of Brisbane's urbanism and the influence of the New World City marketing campaign we performed semi-directed interviews with key informants (see list at the end of the paper).

The Inala research was conducted during an extended period of fieldwork for Greenop's PhD research (2013). Both formal research interviews and and informal participant observation was conducted between 2007 and 2012. Research began with 'initial interviews' which were unpaid and short, to determine the suitability and interest of the participant to undertake an 'in-depth interview' which was paid and of a longer duration. These were sometimes recorded, but at the request of participants, not always. Approximately 40 in-depth interviews were conducted with sometimes more than one participant per interview. From this initial research an increasing amount of participant observation was undertaken with participants who were willing to engage in the research on a long-term and highly involved manner. This is in line with ethnographic methods common in anthropology (Spradley 1979). Fieldwork notes, videos, photographs and reflection allowed for the development of the thick description of ethnography and this was tested through seeking contrary views from within the community.

Limitations on this method have been widely discussed (e.g., Stewart 1998), but nevertheless it allows for greater insights into the how and why of place relationships than less subjective methods such as surveys. This method allows us to explore people's direct experiences of place, and their developing sense of place over time. It answers the call by place theorists such as Lewicka (2011) for further detail not just on what places and people-place relationships are, but how they are formed and what effect the physical environment may have upon these relationships.

Brisbane's identity: the emerging city?

Brisbane still suffers an identity crisis compared to the dominant metropolises that are Melbourne and Sydney. Brisbane has a reputation within Australia as lacking an urban tradition, the identity of Brisbane is still very much one of a suburban, low density city (Fulton, 2011), with even locals at times referring to it as still a 'big country town' dominated by a suburban identity. The conception of Brisbane as 'backward' and suburban, in need of an urban identity seems to still drive the response in urban strategies today. The trend is to reverse this suburban identity into an urban identity, Urban Renewal Brisbane (URB) in the document *The making of a New World City, 1991-2012* states that planning and renewal initiatives are closely linked to the objective of promoting Brisbane as the 'New World City'. In this process of transforming the identity of Brisbane from a suburban 'big country town' into a metropolis, the work of (URB) is presented as being central (Brisbane City Council, 2013). This process of identity change is best embodied in the 2007 City Centre Master Plan (CCMP) with key innovations being promoted: 1. Revitalisation of laneways and small places; 2. Development of an architectural language inspired by sustainable subtropical

Greenop & Darchen, Brisbane's Urbanism: looking for an identity, 49th ISOCARP Congress 2013 design; 3. development of distinct commercial precincts and knowledge clusters in the CBD; 4. Deliver catalytic demonstration projects (BCC, 2013).

The message of URB in the document "The making of a new world city, 1991-2012" is clear: planning incentives starting in the 1990s with the Building Better Cities program are closely related to the objective of building an urban identity for Brisbane that is also international: *"Brisbane is the 'Gen Y' of international cities: youthful, progressive and confident, home to Australia's premier live music scene, the nation's largest gallery of Modern Art and one of the most important centres for digital games design outside the USA. Brisbane is the nation's gateway to the Asia-Pacific markets and 'knowledge now accounts for much of the city's exports."* (BCC, 2013, p. 8-9).

This focus on the new, rather than any aspects of Brisbane's history, we argue may be caused by the crisis of identity surrounding the image of Queensland under the Joh Bjelke-Petersen era, during which political freedom, cultural diversity, Aboriginal rights and many other aspects of social progress were oppressed. We argue that the dating of the beginning of Brisbane as a new world city from 1991 is no coincidence in terms of the socio-political history of Queensland. The corrupt Bjelke-Petersen government was ousted in 1987 and the Fitzgerald Inquiry into political and police corruption was conducted from 1987-1989, clearing the way for an era of political renewal in Queensland. In 1988 the World Expo was held in Brisbane bringing a new focus on the importance of engagement with domestic and global ideas, the arts, tourism and creativity. 1991 marked the beginning of the Labour Lord Mayorship of Jim Soorley, who oversaw planning changes such as the focus on Brisbane's river as a place of entertainment and recreation rather than industry, and saw the city open to new ideas such as outdoor dining, and densification and the movements to social justice initiatives such as the city taking a role in assistance for homeless people. In parallel, the reforming State governments of the National Party Premiers Mike Ahern and Russell Cooper saw the relaxation of laws on rights to protest and an end to the voting gerrymander. Federal recognition of Aboriginal rights to land through Native Title were also being established (following the Mabo no 2 v State of Queensland decision in the High Court in 1992) (High Court of Australia 1992). In short this was an era of unprecedented political, social and urban renewal in Queensland, and the new world city idea reflects this ongoing process of modernisation in the state.

There is strong push currently to develop a more forward-thinking identity for Brisbane (Interview Brisbane Marketing, June 7th 2013). This process started in November 2007 and was an 18 month long process, 36 000 interviews were conducted with business but also community groups (should have the stakeholders involved); the idea behind the redefinition of Brisbane's identity as new world city resolves around the acronym LEADS (Lifestyle obsessed, Environmentally friendly, Asia Pacific gateway, Digitally connected, Socially inclusive). Furthermore, we were able to learn more about the slogan: "Australia's New World City" (see figure below).

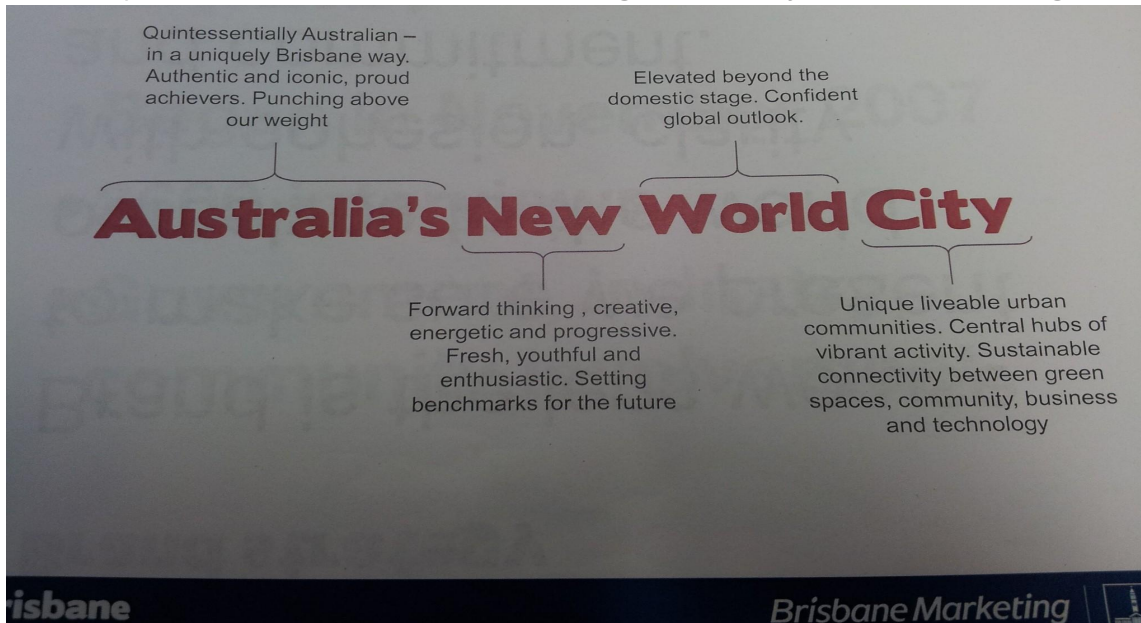


Figure 1. Brisbane's New World City Marketing Strategy

Source: Brisbane Marketing

“Australia’s” refers to the following: *Quintessentially Australian - In a uniquely Brisbane way. Authentic and Iconic, proud achievers. Punching above our weight.* “New” refers to: *Forward thinking, creative, energetic and progressive. Fresh, youthful and enthusiastic;* ‘World’ refers to: *Elevated beyond domestic stage. Confident. Global outlook;* ‘City’ refers to: *Unique liveable urban communities. Central hubs of vibrant activity. Sustainable connectivity...*

According to our interviewee, the evolution of Brisbane’s identity has a starting point with World Expo “Leisure in the era of technology” of 1988 which is considered as a cultural turning point in Brisbane’s history. The marketing campaign started in November 2007 and was an 18 months process; it included participation from different institutions, the industry and community involvement through a total of 36 000 interviews (Brisbane marketing); the campaign was then outsourced to private consultants. According to our interviewee, the marketing strategy is constantly evolving but the brand message is based on the following points:

- An emerging global city;
- Innovating on what’s important from the past to set the tone for our future;
- Ranked the second best city in Asia for foreign investment;
- Named a ‘Gamma World City’ (gaining sense of confidence and desire to look to the future);
- Recognised for being friendly, tolerant, clean, green, sustainable, vibrant, youthful, energetic and creative.

The branding of Brisbane is very much orientated towards the positioning of Brisbane as a major economic player in Asia-Pacific (e.g., attraction of Chinese students to study in Brisbane). Brisbane is constantly working on the positioning of Brisbane on the international scale and as a major player (e.g., host of the next G20). Our interviewee recognised that the emphasis was not on celebrating the past even though the branding of Brisbane as a major tourist and cultural destination is part of the strategy (Interview 2). But the past is not very present in the development of Brisbane’s new identity as a “World city”. The communication

Greenop & Darchen, Brisbane's Urbanism: looking for an identity, 49th ISOCARP Congress 2013

branch of Brisbane City Council (BCC) recognises that the "New World City" strategy is very much a Brisbane Marketing product although the strategy also reflects strongly the views of the Lord Mayor (Interview 3). According to our interviewee there are two component to the "New World City" concept: 1. Brisbane is a place where it is easy to do business; 2. Brisbane is place where people like to live. The second component translates into planning strategies in the New City Master Plan: the aim is to create 'urban hubs' where people can live, work and play (Interview 3). Community consultation has been a priority in the New City Master Plan, innovative methods (use of social media, creation of a social hub via internet) have been implemented to foster public consultation (Interview 3). For example Brisbane Urban Renewal organised the Ideas Fiesta Festival to encourage community input on the New City Centre Master Plan (Interview 3). The New City Masterplan includes key priorities: "Making it easier to do business in Brisbane"; "Protecting Brisbane's past and guiding future architecture", etc. (Brisbane City Council, 2013). However, through our interviews the building of a more urban identity is mainly based on making Brisbane a nice place to live and a place where it's easy to do business in the making of Brisbane's identity, the recognition of the past is rather limited and not viewed as a strong asset in building the New World City identity (our interviews).

The approach to Brisbane's identity in the new world city concept is very much driven by an idea of newness and a reinvention, or rebranding of Brisbane's identity, rather than an approach that includes its historical and cultural traditions. Brisbane's Indigenous heritage, which includes one of the largest Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander populations in Australia, is not a key aspect of the creation of the New World City image, despite the cultural capital embedded in Australia's broader image of being home to the "world's most ancient living culture" (Tourism Australia 2013). We argue here that the future development of the new world city concept for Brisbane, that begins to include historical and social aspects of the city's history will encourage the development of a more complete and authentic place identity for Queensland. This, we argue, will result in a strategy that more successfully connects with Brisbane's residents and their place experiences, place identity and sense of place, which are key elements of socially sustainable planning practices (Dempsey et al., 2011).

We examine the slower and more community centred place identity and sense of place within the Brisbane suburb of Inala, created through both community-led and council funded projects that combine a sense of place with a desire to maintain or remake places according to the aspirations of local residents. We use this example of a suburb in Brisbane's outer south-west to discuss the development of a sense of place over decades, that is now being seen increasingly as multicultural, authentic and desirable. We argue that the Brisbane as an 'emerging city' should combine a strong role in the Asia-Pacific from an economic point of view but also be a place where local residents (from different cultural backgrounds) can have an input in the evolution of the city. This is why we find the case study of Inala as aspirational.

Inala: authentic place-making over decades

Greenop's study of Inala's Aboriginal community and their diverse and culturally based placed attachment formed part of her ethnographic study with members of the Aboriginal community within Inala (Greenop, 2013). What we argue that such attachment, sense of

Greenop & Darchen, Brisbane's Urbanism: looking for an identity, 49th ISOCARP Congress 2013
place and authenticity of place is achieved in Inala through the work of both locals and the state in creating places that operate to enhance community while acknowledging history.

Inala was developed as a housing commission suburb from the 1950s and soon became home to post World War II European migrants, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families and non-Indigenous populations, all drawn in on the basis of housing need. Further changes in the demographics have included a large Vietnamese population and other more recent migrants including Polynesian and African families. While the compulsion to move into Inala was and often still is based on state housing, the stability of residence of many families indicates an ongoing place attachment, and the formation of supportive communities that allow residents to maintain their cultural values.

Local initiatives, such as community pre-schools, cultural groups and sporting teams, and support for these projects by the state and commercial interests, such as the Stylin'UP Indigenous Youth Festival supported by Brisbane City Council provide a deepening sense of place in Inala, based on these activities and the history that gathers around their continuation over time. The Stylin'UP motto: "Pride in self, pride in community, pride in culture" (Stylin'Up 2013) emphasises the place-based links developed through such programs which operate as a community driven, state-supported development of sense of place. Other enterprises in Inala, such as businesses that provide culturally specific foods, clothing and goods from Vietnam and the Pacific Islands, highlight the commercial opportunities that are being developed through such residential communities that maintain their stability over time.

While Inala has been in past decade the subject of the derision typically meted out to state housing suburbs, in more recent times the authenticity of cultures and the maintenance of tradition has been seen as valuable cultural capital that those in the more 'ordinary' nearby suburbs seek to acquire. While the exoticisation of place and formation of notions of the other for cultural consumption are far from the aim of place-making, the desire to see the patina of history and local forms of living based on a resident population are played out in these more recent recognitions of Inala's suburban places:

"Stepping through the back door...[of Inala Civic Centre] I found another world. A square surrounded by Asian grocers, eateries, fish shops and butchers, while in the centre men gathered to chat and play mahjong" (Brisbane News 2011, 11). Some comments from the neighbouring suburb of Forest Lake, a 'lifestyle community' created by developer Delfin in the 1990s and set on the shores of a large artificial lake, have raised concerns over the difference between Inala and Forest Lake stating that "[Inala] has wonderful community groups...Local community leader Rob Scott said Inala had greater community co-operation than Forest Lake. 'The design of Forest Lake has taken away from people's sense of ownership of the area because (developer) Delfin has done everything,' Mr Scott said. 'Now that Delfin has pulled out, the people of Forest Lake have to take up the slack and encourage community interaction'... 'Because Inala is a low socio-economic community, the people interact because they need to get council and State Government support for local initiatives and projects for the betterment of their area.'" (South-West News, 2008).

In short this description outlines the sense of place of Inala as superior to Forest Lake, based on the involvement of community groups in decisions and planning within the community. While not alleviating the socioeconomic disadvantage that Inala faces, this

Greenop & Darchen, Brisbane's Urbanism: looking for an identity, 49th ISOCARP Congress 2013 approach seems to be envied by at least some neighbours in Forest Lake who sense the danger of becoming a non-place where the developer 'has done everything'. Further components of social sustainability are part of Inala's original planning including walkable local shops, schools, churches and playgrounds which formed important neighbourhoods hubs within the broader community. The street pattern of grids and a hierarchy of roads that is highly navigable and suitable for bus-based public transport is in contrast to the culs-de-sac approach of more modern suburbs, in which privacy and car-based transport are emphasised, but many argue leads to isolation and disconnected communities (Lucy and Phillips 2006).

Within Inala many developments that have contributed to the high levels of social capital within the community began as community projects that then attracted state support. The Inala Indigenous preschool Wandarra is an example, valued by many members of the indigenous community in Inala, that demonstrates that community development in terms of education, publically accessible facilities and community controlled organisations contribute to sense of place, just as much as more obvious urban facilities such as open spaces, cafes and entertainment precincts.

The place identity of some of Inala's residents attests to the historical and continuing development of its sense of place. One resident stated that despite moving to Inala only to access public housing, "Inala is home now, for life" (Greenop, 2013 p.144). This place attachment leads to stability in place, created in part by the support of a culturally specific community, and aligns with the components of social sustainability outlined by Dempsey et al. (2011).

Here are the key points from the Inala case study that we find relevant to inform the planning practice in Brisbane:

- Place identity is related to the valuing of urban amenity for people of all ages, including social, educational, sporting and cultural facilities
- Place identity builds up over time (over decades) based on activities and experiences that occur in place
- High levels of social capital and place identity are interconnected
- Strong place identity leads to socially sustainable communities (low turnover of residents enables investment in local activities, fosters the development of a sense of place and contributes to consolidation of social networks and sense of belonging)

Conclusion

The current version of the new world city for Brisbane offers a version of place that is developing, and requires further components of history and community interaction to fulfill its potential in creating an authentic, and meaningful place for both marketing purposes that aligns with residents' understandings of and aspirations for place. The occupation of the city as derived from the LEADS themes indicates a city based on being exceptional, rather than facilitating a life for its citizens. The imagery of the new world city also indicates spaces of entertainment, consumption, socialization and celebration, urban hubs where we can "live work and play" but to what extent does it reflect people's aspirations and needs to refer to Gehl's (2010) concept of "Planning for people". The everyday activities of work, school, caring for families (of all ages), shopping and interacting with people in ordinary ways are not yet put forward as making part of the city's future, despite their being the bulk of one's

Greenop & Darchen, Brisbane's Urbanism: looking for an identity, 49th ISOCARP Congress 2013 experiences and critical to most people's quality of life. Acknowledging the Indigenous, migrant and political context of places within the city, will connect with both an authentic version of Brisbane as understood by its residents, and also encourage their contribution to further development of places through community engagement with planning processes. In other words the New World City and its associated Brisbane's urbanism might work in an oversimplified reality where the complexity of Australian contemporary society is eluded. Key issues that needs to be addressed are : recognition of increasing migrant population in Brisbane; recognition of aboriginal past in developing a sense of place. An encouraging sign is the willingness to foster public consultation but it is not likely to be sufficient to resolve the tensions around the recognition of Brisbane's darkest history, this would require more political commitment. At the moment, resolving this issue appears as secondary compared to positioning Brisbane on the Asia-Pacific map from an economic perspective. To answer our research question, creating authentic places and consolidate Brisbane's economic competitiveness are not incompatible but currently the second objectives is achieved at the expense of the first objective.

Recommendations

Based on the case studies and literature discussed above, we make a number of recommendations to the ongoing work of the Brisbane New World City marketing campaign and the planning strategies associated to it.

1. Consultations with community regarding the urban planning and place-making within Brisbane should be ongoing and genuinely seek to implement community needs and goals. Community based, 'bottom-up' approaches are required to properly engage communities with place at the neighborhood scale and should be included alongside 'top-down', strategic policies concerning the city as whole.
2. The approach should acknowledge and take account of the process of creating place identity, which develops over time. People's experiences of place, events and ongoing relationship with a place will affect their place identity or sense of place, hence not only physical strategies but social, economic and cultural considerations need to be incorporated into urban plans.
3. Evaluation of the place-making effects of the strategies should be conducted over time to 'check in' with communities and stakeholder groups ranging from resident to businesses which are affected by changes made to particular areas. This will feed into experiences of place that can reinforce place identity, and ensure that place authenticity can be developed and carried by local communities.
4. Strategies should allow for the development of place authenticity through room to localise and tailor planning approaches to specific place-based needs and goals. The creation of places that genuinely reflect the diversity and specifics of Brisbane's cultural communities, including an acknowledgement of their histories, will strengthen the New World City aims of Brisbane being a unique and vibrant cultural location.

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