

Placemaking, Urban Design and Power Relations in a Local Government Context: the case of Glenorchy, Tasmania



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Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any tertiary institution, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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Abstract

Redefining local government's role in urban planning to incorporate a number of the principles of sustainability – participation in local affairs and the enhancement of quality of life chief among them – is both complex and dynamic, requiring Council staff and elected representatives to be highly skilled and communities to be highly responsive. In short, they must engage. This research investigates how place-making may provide a mechanism for people to work together in multi-disciplinary teams, share power and decision-making, develop skills and be part of processes to plan, design, construct and manage place. Place-making is a powerful expression of communities' capacities to develop sense of belonging, confidence and worth. Focusing on one local government, the City of Glenorchy in the island state of Tasmania, Australia, three questions arise in this research: What is the role of the urban designer in collaborative place-making? What are the functions of municipal governments in such activities, given their central role in the management of settlements at the 'small' or 'local' scale? What might an understanding of the shifting operations of power provide in addressing these other questions, given that many urban designers are employed by local governments to 'serve' local communities in place? Using qualitative research methods, I investigate how elected representatives, Council staff and community members living or working in Glenorchy have addressed such questions. Four methods have been used to enlighten my research and data collection. The first was an interpretive analysis of a wide range of secondary literature. The second was the administration of two surveys, one involving Aldermen, Council staff, City of Glenorchy residents and another administered among participants and organisers involved in an event known as the 2003 Glenorchy Works Festival. The third was the use of in-depth interviews held with organisers of the Festival and included opportunistic conversations with Festival participants. Finally, using auto-ethnographic approaches I documented and reflected upon my own position as an urban designer in a discussion of a number of the place-making projects in which I was involved. My conclusions from these efforts are that place-making can provide a mechanism by which community engagement fosters cooperation among people working together in multi-disciplinary teams, sharing power and decision-making, developing skills and being part of processes to plan, design, construct and manage place. Nevertheless, *one must always be mindful of power-over and its contingent operations through such forms of community engagement.*

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Lastly I wish to thank my family for their support love and commitment knowing I so desperately wanted to achieve this outcome. To my husband who stood by me when the days seemed very dark and when the computer decided to say no, thanks for giving me the confidence and love to keep going.

Learning does not stop but is part of life's journey and everyday I am surprised by how much I learn from observing and listening to others. For me it is a privilege and challenge to work in such a dynamic and passionate field as community planning and urban design.

Kristine Ancher

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Table of Contents

Declaration	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgments	iv
Table of Contents	v
List of Figures, Tables and Plates	viii
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 The journey and its questions	1
1.2 Power place and place-making at the local level	4
1.3 Research design	11
1.4 Background/Foreground	14
1.4.1 Sustainable development and the power of the local	14
1.4.2 Sustainable development Glenorchy style	17
1.4.3 From sustainable development to place-making: key claims	20
Chapter 2 Placing Glenorchy	26
2.1 Introduction	26
2.2 Place and place-making	28
2.3 Focus on Tasmania	34
2.4 Enter Glenorchy	35
2.5 The move from government to governance	39
2.6 From local participation to bilateral agreements	43
Preface to three community conversations	47
Chapter 3 Community Conversation 1	52
3.1 Introduction	52
3.2 Approach	53

3.3	Major findings	56
3.3.1	Community-Council Precinct Program	65
3.3.2	Quality of life ratings for Glenorchy	71
3.4	Place-making – so what?	75
Chapter 4 Community Conversation 2		79
4.1	Introduction	79
4.2	Conversations from the 2003 Works Festival	82
4.3	Festival in Place	84
4.4	Unpacking the Festival	92
4.5	The need for more questions	107
Chapter 5 Community Conversation 3		112
5.1	Introduction	112
5.2	Springfield Gardens Project	114
5.2.1	The Significance of a Perennial Herb	130
5.2.2	A positive partnership experience	131
5.3	Other examples of place-making	137
5.3.1	Montrose Foreshore Community Reserve	137
5.3.2	Goulds Lagoon	140
5.3.3	Hestercombe Road Reserve	144
5.4	The Final Steps	151
Chapter 6 Synthesis, Conclusions or So What?		156
6.1	Summary	156
6.2	Conclusions	163
References		169

List of Figures, Tables and Plates

Figures

1	Summary of methods	13
2	Location map for Glenorchy	24
3	Glenorchy 1864	37
4	Location map for Goodwood	42
5	Overlapping areas of research	48
6	Comparison of special places by target groups	68
7	Elected representatives' responses to place-making initiatives	69
8	Staff responses to place-making initiatives	70
9	Elected representative responses: access to quality of life measures	73
10	Staff responses: access to quality of life measures	74
11	Organisational structure of the 2003 Works Festival	87
12	Final day event locations, 2003 Works Festival	88
13	Final day event program, 2003 Works Festival	92
14	Tea and coke pizza and scones themes	102
15	Project management structure, Springfield Garden	123
16	Concept plan, Springfield Garden	126
17	School continues to win awards	135
18	Response from young people, Hestercombe Road Reserve project	146
19	Development options, Hestercombe Road Reserve survey	150
20	Hestercombe Road Reserve concept plan	152

Tables

1	Objectives of the Resource Management and Planning System	17
2	Socio-economic indicators for areas (SEIFA) (2001) index of disadvantage	40
3	Quantitative questions	54
4	Qualitative questions	54
5	Survey questions, 2003 Works Festival	84
6	2003 Works Festival aims	84
7	2003 Works Festival Advisory Committee	85
8	Community survey questions	118

Plates

All images taken by the author unless otherwise referenced.

1	Artist and Mayor at opening of the steel tree installation, 1995	49
2	Artworks on bus shelter	89
3	Council front garden musical activity	90
4	Festival grand parade	90
5	Crowds gather for parade	91
6	Mouse power	93
7	All Transmission Services exhibit	93
8	Palawa exhibition	95
9	Willow workshop	97
10	Placemat exhibition	98
11	Wax card workshop	100
12	Tea & Coke Pizza & Scones participant morning tea	105
13	Mass Hang of Community Art	106

14	Council Reserve West Moonah	115
15	Ovata woodland	116
16	Failed tree planting	116
17	Amalgamated site West Moonah	117
18	Memorandum of understanding	120
19	Student ideas	124
20	Student design	125
21	Blue Devil	130
22	Interpretation panels	136
23	Interpretation shelter for visitors	136
24	Blue screen	139
25	Gazebo opening	139
26	Bird hide Goulds Lagoon	143
27	Residential pressure on lagoon	145

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 *The journey and its questions*

This work starts from the premise that place matters fundamentally to how people are in the world (Relph, 1976) and that place-making can and should engage them actively, positively and equitably for particular ends – namely the creation of convivial, safe and vibrant settlements that underpins healthy and engaged lifestyles. A second premise is that consciously considered strategies and processes of place-making assist socially marginal and disadvantaged groups in particular to determine their own senses of place (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995).

In this work, three questions arise from these assumptions. First, what is the role of the urban designer in collaborative place-making? Second, what are the functions of municipal governments in such activities, given their central role in the management of settlements at the ‘small’ or ‘local’ scale? Third, what might an understanding of the shifting operations of power provide in addressing these other questions, given that many urban designers are employed by local governments to ‘serve’ local communities in place?

In seeking to engage with these three questions, I also draw upon literature from philosophy, environmental studies, planning, cultural studies, community development and human geography. Additionally, the work is empirically *placed*, as it were, between the scenic Mount Wellington Range and equally picturesque Derwent River in the City of Glenorchy, and is a story of Council and community in that place; a matter on which I elaborate in chapter three. Of the six states of Australia, Tasmania is the most disadvantaged and the City of Glenorchy “is the second most disadvantaged in [the greater Hobart] region” (Murray, 2000, p.2). Evidence suggests that, relative to both the total population of the island and the Australian average, social and economic disadvantages in Glenorchy are pronounced (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001). Murray (2000) has argued that these disadvantages are systemic and beyond the sole influence or responsibility of local government to remedy. However, there are strategies which actors in local governments can explore to support their legislative, regulatory and ethical

responsibilities in addressing local cultural change for equitable outcomes, and that enrich the lives of marginal and minority groups. Place-making could be a central strategy for such change.

Why these three questions? Working as a full-time urban designer in the City of Glenorchy on the northern fringe of greater Hobart, the capital city of Tasmania, a sub-national jurisdiction of Australia, and also studying part-time over a number of years, my research unfolded in ways that prompted me to explore theories and practices of place-making and urban design. The first may be described as involving:

... a range of disciplines, including urban design, architecture; landscape architecture, geography and cultural studies, to build communities, interpret values and understand community expectations. It is a critical practice ... [that] attempts to give legitimacy to all forms of knowledge. As such, it does not privilege any single interpretation or professional perspective over the dynamics of the whole place (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995, p.6).

The second has been defined by Sternberg (2000) as enquiry into the human experience that the built environment evokes across private properties or in the public realm; it is a definition supporting place-making as a vehicle for community-Council collaborative process.

This research draws upon fifteen years experience and knowledge gained from working as urban design and recreation planner in the Roads and Recreation Department of the City of Glenorchy Council (hereafter, the Council). There, I implemented many place-making projects, working collaboratively with residents, professional colleagues, external organisations and interested groups. During that time, I found that urban design ambiguously (and possibly problematically) overlaps other disciplines such as architecture, planning, civil engineering and landscape architecture, and has strong long-term links with the social sciences – including community development, geography and sociology. So the urban designer is a facile generalist but must often work in institutional settings in which the ‘silo’ mentality prevails.

Over the course of my employment at the Council, I came to a clearer understanding about the positive role that urban design and place-making can have on a diverse,

multicultural and socially disadvantaged community. Despite the challenges a generalist approach poses (or perhaps that narrow disciplinary perspectives require!) I also found that practising urban designers need to work within a multi-disciplinary framework to be truly effective. By effective, I mean able to integrate across professions and assimilate different ideas into coherent outcomes on-ground. I also came to appreciate that, too often, urban design is aligned to the architectural profession and comes to be dominated by concerns for the aesthetic. This alignment may work to the detriment of the social and political power that could be exercised by urban designers in their work to foster convivial and sustainable communities. As one commentator notes, “Attempting to design a city as one designs a building is clearly misleading and dangerous, because unlike individual buildings, which tend to be objects, cities are highly complex, large-scale, organic entities, and contain a bewildering multiplicity of users” (Inam, 2002, p.38).

In the course of that experience I became sensitive of my own work practices and professional approach, and increasingly critical of entrenched barriers and power mechanisms that reject change within organisational structures such as local government. Initially, my research was firmly centred on developing a place-making framework or guide that would clearly outline the steps required to ‘successfully’ undertake community projects in a collaborative manner where professional barriers and public apathy would be overcome through community involvement and professional enthusiasm.

This aspiration expanded to include insights concerning the significant influences that power and power relations have on rationality or rational decision-making in local government, in particular because of the manifold changes that I was experiencing in that sphere of government, itself subject to so much change – locally and globally – over the period from the mid 1990s to the present (Chapman et al., 1997, Roseland, 2000). These concerns about power and power relations are captured by Flyvbjerg’s Nietzschean question, “What ‘governmental rationalities’ are at work when those who govern govern?” and on the less visible mechanisms of the *modus operandi* of power (Flyvbjerg, 1998, p.6). These rationalities turn out to be relatively independent of who holds power and who governs, and show

themselves to be fundamental. In this way, my research has become a tapestry of themes evolving from the voices of local people's experiences of place intermingled with theory and critical analysis – and especially of power and its contingent operations.

1.2 Power place and place-making at the local level

According to Dovey (1999, p.9) power in human affairs generally involves control 'over' others and comes from the Latin *potere*, 'to be able' – the capacity to achieve some end. Dovey sees as fundamental the distinction between '*power to*' and '*power over*', between power as *capacity* and as a *relationship* between people. Being able to influence, define and control events and circumstances to support one's own interest provides individuals the capacity to act. That capacity which enables imagination to construct and inhabit a better-built environment can be seen as empowerment, which is linked to freedom and autonomy. Dovey sees power as both positive and negative, it can liberate and oppress where *power to* is the primary form of power and linked to empowerment. However one person's empowerment can be another's oppression and *power over* others can be used for their empowerment. The practice of place-making and urban design primarily supports the notion of *power to*, and according to Dovey (1999, p.10) is the human capacity to imagine and create a better-built environment.

As environmental concerns filter into community consciousness a resonance is developing requiring local governments to actively address not only them but the complexities facing communities seeking a positive future. In Agenda 21 Chapter 28.3 urges local authorities to effectively opening those organisations to greater public scrutiny and transparency and to

... enter into a dialogue with its citizens, local organizations and private enterprises and adopt "a local Agenda 21". Through consultation and consensus-building, local authorities would learn from citizens and from local, civic, community, business and industrial organizations and acquire the information needed for formulating the best strategies. The process of consultation would increase household awareness of sustainable development issues. Local authority programmes, policies, laws and regulations to achieve Agenda 21 objectives would be assessed and modified, based on

local programmes adopted. Strategies could also be used in supporting proposals for local, national, regional and international funding (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, 1992, no page).

Local government in particular must now look at the quadruple bottom line and consider social, economic, environment and political consequences of their actions and decision-making. Fundamental to linking these is an understanding of power, power relations and the influences of power for, as Flyvbjerg (1998, p.225) asserts, “power has a rationality that rationality does not know” and even if comprehensive, coherent or innovative projects or government decisions appear rational and democratic they may not be immune from influences of existing deeply imbedded stable power relations. In this way, for urban designers and place-makers to assist communities and local governments in the pursuit of sustainable futures they need, perhaps, to understand the less visible mechanisms of power, the “rationality of power” and the “power of rationality”. Ten propositions about power enunciated by Flyvbjerg (1998) serve as a useful framework or scaffolding by which to understand the relationships among power, place-making and local government – the issues at the centre of this work.

Proposition 1: Power defines reality

The ‘discovery’ of reality involves the rationality of power and the strategies and tactics employed by power in relation to rationality. Power defines what counts as rationality and knowledge, it creates what appears to be reality, and is the principal means by which power exerts itself. In this regard, and in relation to the making of place, Healey (1997, p.240) emphasises that for anyone concerned with transforming governance cultures and innovating new styles, learning to read the specific ‘politics of place’ is a critical skill. This capacity will involve moving beyond the surface of formal politics and informal power games, and into embedded cultural practices, flows of knowledge and values that circulate in political networks that are continually shifting in response to internal and external forces.

Proposition 2: Rationality is context-dependent

Rationality is not independent of context and the context for rationality is power

where rationality is a discourse of power. Rationality penetrated by power renders it meaningless or misleading. This effect can be evinced when politicians, administrators and researchers operate with a concept of rationality in which power is absent and where communication is more typically characterised by non-rational rhetoric and the maintenance of interests than by freedom from domination and consensus seeking. Where delivery is typified by “eloquence, hidden control, rationalisation, charisma, using dependency relations between participants rather than through rational arguments about the matters at hand” (Flyvbjerg, 1998, p.228). This proposition is anticipated in work by Fisher (in (Healey, 1997, p.241), who refers to the “pervasive struggle in the terrain of governance between pluralist democratic tendencies and those associated with techno-corporate tendencies”. The former seek to acknowledge a wide number of stakeholders form of knowledge and values while the latter seek to keep control using technical analysis and management as suitable tools. Understanding these tensions and contexts is then the key to critical place-political analyses.

Proposition 3: Rationalisation presented as rationality is a principal strategy in the exercise of power

A characteristic feature of the rationality of power is the freedom to interpret and use “rationality” and “real rationality” to enable power to define reality. It is here that only part of the story is provided to the public and the most important elements of that story are hidden or obscure as part of the will to retain ‘power over’. The possibility to challenge many rationalisations seldom occurs because they are impenetrable or lead to confrontation and destabilization of decision-making processes and the will to truth. It is often the case, for example, that developments that drive the priorities of capital accumulation are presented to the public as positive improvements to local or regional economies and therefore as rational developments, when their effects may be the displacement of existing and functional networks of social and economic capital. Protestation from those thus affected is dismissed as irrational in the rationalisations provided by the proponents.

According to Dovey (1999, p.10) to define power *over* as a “zero-sum game” for the built environment “where space is a finite resource and design is a cake slicing

operation” does not consider how the “exercise of power *over* can diminish or increase the total power to as resource”. This shows how the practice of power in the built environment is not a zero sum game where “every loss in power is another’s gain”.

Proposition 4: The greater the power, the less the rationality

An effect of power is the ability to define reality; the greater the power the greater the freedom. In democratic societies, rational argument is one of the few forms of power the powerless still possess. It is thus counter-intuitive but nevertheless the case that the absence of rational arguments and factual documentation among those with authority to act may, in fact, be a potent signifier of their power and ability to define reality. Here power finds ignorance, deception, self-deception, rationalisations and lies more useful for its purposes than truth and rationality, and is deployed via strategies and tactics of coercion, manipulation, seduction and force (Dovey, 1999). Relph (1976, p.139) adds further to this argument by suggesting that “placelessness is not merely in contest in these present-day landscapes-it is an essential part of them and a product of them” Modern landscapes are not characterised by “profound meanings” and “symbols” but by “rationality and absurdity and its separation from us”.

Proposition 5: Stable power relations are more typical of politics, administration and planning than antagonistic confrontations

Issues shaping politics, administration and planning are defined by stable power relations more than by antagonistic confrontations because those who are in power have more control to cultivate stable power relations in the first place. Confrontation brings unpredictability and invites greater public scrutiny, and can overshadow deeply embedded details of existing power relations; thus it is to be avoided by the production of ‘rational’ argument. In the making of place, urban designers are among the environmental design professionals who are necessarily engaged in political, administrative and planning tasks. No matter how much we might invest in the rhetoric of participatory democracy, we also tend to seek to stabilise power relations in order to achieve certain ends of place-making, in the knowledge that “every time

we plan, design, and/or construct some aspect of worldness, we are replacing and therefore unmaking something else” (Schneekloth, 1998, p.1).

Proposition 6: Power relations are constantly being produced and reproduced

Power relations require constant maintenance, cultivation and reproduction because they are constantly changing; a situation perhaps understood better by members of the business community than politicians, administrators or planners since they have an established aptitude to influence government rationality and capital to invest. In this respect, Burke (1979, p.29) remarks that there are long-held community beliefs that “a small group of influentials control a community’s destiny”, that community power forms in a series of pyramids constituted around specific issues, and that a variety of structures exist within communities and create a diffuse pattern of tacit power that is not easily understood. In this context, urban designers need to understand that “community power and decision making is complex and involves transactions between actors, a changing base of power and influence, and the effect of organised efforts on influencing decisions” (Burke, 1979, p.32).

Proposition 7: The rationality of power has deeper historical roots than the power of rationality

Power’s rationality gains expression in diverse traditions of class and privilege and it predates modernist ideas such as objectivity and neutrality which are central to institutional investments in rationality, especially through the technologies of government. Modernity and democracy are parts of power, not end points; they do not free individuals from being governed, and often “technical expertise is employed to ‘rationalize’ a decision that has already been taken on political grounds” (Murdoch, 2006, p.147). As Klosterman (1996, pp.162-3) observes of such technical expertise, “planners [and, one might argue, urban designers as well] are required to serve as advocates for society’s neediest members, who are systematically excluded from the group bargaining process”. Yet both professions continue to serve the interests of society’s wealthiest and most powerful members, even when situations arise that are in tension with their values.

Proposition 8: In open confrontation, rationality yields to power

Power-knowledge and rationality-power relations exist everywhere but where power relations take the form of open, antagonistic confrontations, power-to-power relations dominate over power-knowledge and rationality-power relations. Truth and a respect for the valued perspectives of others are the first casualties. In open confrontation, the use of naked power is more effective than any appeal to objectivity, facts, knowledge or rationality. Rationality yields to power in open, antagonistic confrontation because it is here that naked power can be exercised most freely. In response to such dilemmas, Healey (1996, pp.252-3) argues the case for the invention of new democratic processes that move beyond learning and listening and respectful argumentation, and lead into “the development of skills in translation, constructive critique and collective invention where respectful action realises the potential of planning that is understood collectively and intersubjectively”. In this way planning and urban design can focus on restructuring the control of economies and encourage living together differently while respectfully recognising diverse forms of disadvantage and removing the need for open confrontation.

Proposition 9: Rationality-power relations are more characteristic of stable power relations than of confrontations

Decisions that come from rationality-power relations may be rationally informed and thus gain more legitimacy and consensus than ‘decisions’ based on naked power-power confrontations. ‘Stable’ here does not necessarily imply an equally balanced power relation. Stability does not imply justice and may be no more than a working consensus with unequal relations of dominance with the use of rational or quasi-rational argument. In the context of stable power relations, rational considerations play a role. In such vein, Beauregard (1996, p.228) proposes that planning needs to be a “countervailing power to capital by establishing a base within the community and exploiting its institutional position within the state”. By adopting a “mediative” position between capital, labour and the state planners can “enhance political debate around the processes and outcomes of urban development”. Planners should openly participate more rather than remaining stuck in the role of expert and being distant from controversy. The same observations hold for urban design and place-making.

Proposition 10: The power of rationality is embedded in stable power relations rather than in confrontations

Confrontations are part of the rationality of power because rationality yields to power in open, antagonistic confrontation. The force of reason or power of rationality is weak or nonexistent, and only able to gain maximum effect in stable power relations that support negotiation and consensus seeking. The power of rationality can be maintained insofar as power relations are kept civil. Modern democratic governments are formally and legally based on rational argument and constrained to work within the framework of stable power relations even when dealing with antagonistic interest groups. Special interest groups have more freedom to use and benefit from naked power play than democratically elected governments. This difference in the mode of operation of government and private power can result in unequal relationships between governmental rationality and private power, and between formal and *Realpolitik*. It also illuminates a general weakness of democracy in the short-run struggle over specific policies and outcome. The power of rationality emerges in the absence of confrontation and naked power makes rationality appear as a relatively fragile phenomenon; the power of rationality is weak. To secure the power of reasoned argument long-term strategies and tactics constricting the space for the exercise of power in social and political affairs is required. Rationality, knowledge and truth are closely associated.

“The problem of truth,” says Foucault, is “the most general of political problems.” The task of speaking the truth is “endless,” according to Foucault, who adds “no power can avoid the obligation to respect this task in all its complexity, unless it imposes silence and servitude.” Herein lies the power of rationality (Flyvbjerg, 1998, p.234).

Working in local government in urban design and place-making, the challenge involves active participation and discourse in a world of unequal power relations where power is scattered among a plurality of organisations and interests, but concentrated least among citizens. In this vein, Davidoff (1996, p.312) criticises the fact that citizen organisations do not (and are not permitted to) play more of a role in formulating plans or proposing ideas that are appropriate to their goals. Yet, it might be argued that modern society should reflect community participation *as the norm* in

an enlightened democracy; still, many attempts at formalised citizen participation are revealed to be no more inclusive nor real than the totalitarian shows of loyalty to the state by citizen parades.

1.3 *Research design*

Using qualitative research methods and, in particular, a phenomenological approach, I investigate the social world of community members living and working in the Council. Seamon (2000) defines phenomenology as the exploration of things or experiences as people perceive them and it is noteworthy that Flyvbjerg (1998, Chapter 2) describes his work on rationality and power as an in-depth case study that is ethnographic and phenomenological.

Any object, event, situation or experience that a person can see, hear, touch, smell, taste, feel, intuit, know, understand or live through is a legitimate topic for phenomenological investigation. The aim of such inquiry is to use description as a foundation to constitute underlying commonalities that mark the core of the phenomena. Phenomenology is one style of qualitative inquiry involving first a particular conceptual and methodological foundation with two broad assumptions that person and world are intimately connected, and second a commitment to radical empiricism (Seamon, 2000) where the researcher seeks to be open to phenomena and reveal them interpretively through direct involvement and understanding. The approach can be called empirical and is also identified as radical since understanding arises directly from personal sensibility and awareness. In this work, I am indebted to insights from phenomenology, and use qualitative research methods such as surveys, interviews and observations to analyse a number of place-making projects and events, synthesising findings from that analysis with international literature and reflections on my own practice and experience.

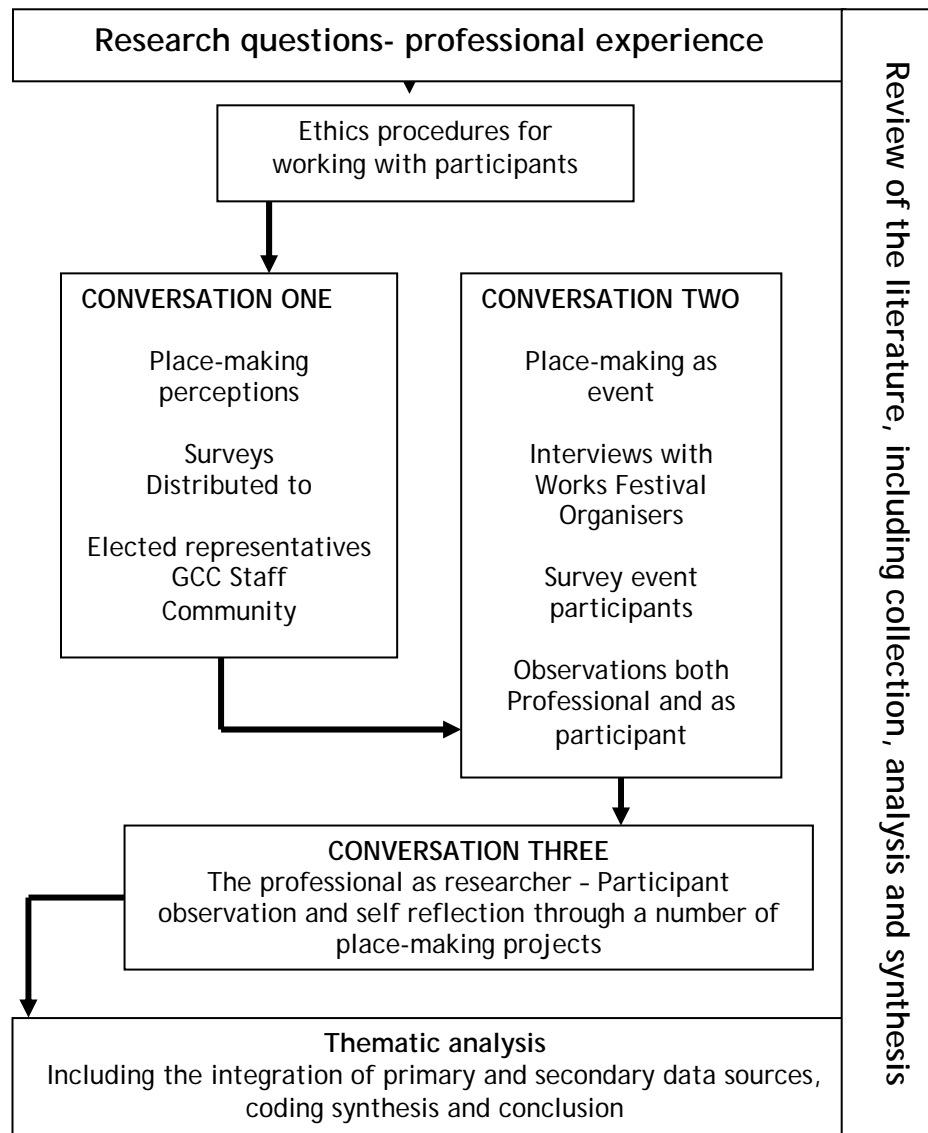
According to Winchester (2000, p.4), “the two fundamental questions tackled by qualitative researchers are concerned either with social structures or with individual experiences” which are interconnected and difficult to disentangle. As such, qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the subject matter and attempting to make sense of, or interpret,

phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p.2). A naturalistic approach infers that the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the research setting but observes naturally occurring events, relationships and interactions. It is “non-manipulative, unobtrusive, and non-controlling” with an emphasis on an openness that allows outcomes or findings to unfold naturally (Patton, 1990, p.40). The qualitative research process thus enables methods alternative to quantification and positivism by which to document people’s experiences and relationships, and it may include the first-hand experiences of the researcher as narrator and participant observer.

Intensive in style and approach, qualitative methods typically produce a wealth of detailed information about much smaller numbers of people and cases than are the subject of quantitative research methods and, as a consequence, this form of inquiry provides understandings about situations studied and cases described. Generalisations do not derive from the outcomes of the research but comparisons and insights may inform other and similar situations. In this abductive work, the intention is to use qualitative research methods to inform the reader about the significance of everyday and ordinary events occurring in a local government area that have the potential to influence the health and well-being of a community and address social disadvantage. It reflects upon current practice in local government, power relations, the importance of place and place attachment, and the need to give voice to those who reside in the borderlands: “the voices of the multicultural city, of those who have been marginalised, displaced, oppressed or dominated” (Sandercock, 1998b, p.110). It also seeks to understand and explore the ordinary and everyday, and to show the importance of meanings that people attach to their experiences of Glenorchy.

Three methods have been used to enlighten my research and data collection (Figure 1). First, I undertook the interpretive analysis of a wide range of secondary literature accessed via the Internet, academic databases and library resources. That literature included scholarly refereed papers, books, unpublished theses and reports drawn from a number of disciplines. My analysis of primary documents focused on Council reports, newspaper articles, internal papers, public documents and plans.

Figure 1 Summary of methods



Second, after gaining approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee of Tasmania, (No H6344; 18/10/2001) I administered two surveys. One was about Council's place-making activities and respondents' understandings of the meaning and scope of place-making, and was conducted among Aldermen, Council staff and City of Glenorchy residents. That first survey forms the empirical basis of chapter three, entitled *Community Conversation One*. The other survey was administered among participants and organisers involved in the 2003 Glenorchy *Works Festival*, a

biennial Council event for the community of Glenorchy to encourage creative developments – film, music, installations, and processions – that actively respond to and constitute place through art. I also undertook a number of in-depth interviews with organisers of the Festival and several opportunistic conversations with Festival participants, in order to better understand the nuances of their experiences that surveys did not elicit. Findings from that work are reported in chapter four, Community Conversation Two.

Third, I am not an outsider “gazing, perhaps voyeuristically at those defined as other” (Winchester, 2000, p.20) but a central actor and research participant, questioning my approach and understanding as well as seeking informed debate and responses from others who are directly affected by decision-making and the operation of power in the Council. Therefore, I used auto-ethnographic approaches to document and reflect upon my own position as urban designer, and these explorations are elaborated upon in chapter five, Community Conversation Three, in a discussion of a number of the place-making projects in which I was involved. In that work, I draw upon my own labours as a professional place-maker engaged in community consultation and facilitation bringing to life people’s stories and everyday experiences, and celebrating the ordinary and everyday in a disadvantaged community. My conclusions from these efforts are summarised in chapter six.

1.4 Background/Foreground

1.4.1 Sustainable development and the power of the local

In Rio de Janeiro in June 1992 at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), a unique plan called Agenda 21 was placed before the world’s national governments for their assent. It called for the formation of global sustainable development partnerships that included a series of actions to encouraged individuals to engage and contribute at the local level – to formulate local Agenda 21 or LA21 strategies. It was recognised by national government signatories to Agenda 21 that many environmental challenges have their origins locally (even where they are embedded in global processes such as production and consumption cycles of market capitalism) and that, to have any chance to address serious ecological,

economic and social problems arising from local and global systems of exchange, it was vital to encourage local governments worldwide to promote environmental, economic and social sustainability strategies into meaningful *local* actions for *local* communities. A central objective of the Conference was to encourage individuals, communities and institutions to participate fully in strategies and practices of local governance because such participation was seen as intrinsic to sustainable development, the definition of which was drawn from the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987, p.43). Often truncated in its quotation, “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”, the full definition actually stresses that such development should prioritise the alleviation of poverty and work within social and technological limitations, neither of which have been emphasised to great effect.

The LA21 framework provided to local governments throughout the world was intended to be a hook upon which to hang local policies, strategies and actions to engage local communities and work with them in resource management promoting sustainable strategies. A particular strength of LA21 is that it “encourages the involvement of people in determining the nature of sustainable development locally rather than just relying on improved planning processes” (Neil et al., 2002, p.12).

Australia’s political system comprises three tiers of government: a national or federal government, six state and two territory governments, and municipal or local governments that are ‘creatures’ of state legislation and have no constitutional standing. Australia became a signatory to Agenda 21 in 1992 at the UN Conference in Rio de Janeiro and committed to have all local governments design and implement LA21 strategies by 1996. By 2000, less than one third had done so; in Tasmania only two of 29 local governments had made progress (Stratford and Jaskolski, 2004, p.313). One reason for the relative failure of successive Australian federal governments to embrace the Agenda 21 processes is that there is widespread uncertainty about the meaning, scope and practical value of the term (Neil et al., 2002, p.iii), resulting in low rates of success or implementation when compared to other countries around the world.

Among local governments, LA21 is also often erroneously perceived as a narrowly environmental concern rather than as a ‘whole of Council and community’ focus also embracing economic, social and cultural dimensions. In that light, Neil *et al.* (2002) argue that, to be effective, LA21 should be incorporated into existing statutory requirements such as Local Government Acts, other state and local planning legislation, federal and state environmental protection legislation, environmental monitoring and state of the environment reporting. A key finding from their report into LA21 for the Australian Government agency, Environment Australia, found that for the framework to be more widely adopted across Australia, a fundamental requirement would be greater commitment to partnerships and tripartite agreements involving all three spheres of government. Certainly, it has been my own experience that increasing public participation and community involvement is necessary to develop successful partnerships across the three tiers of government, business, industry and community groups, and that these partnerships require strong local government leadership. A local government that encourages public discourse and engagement also needs a high level of skill and leadership from its elected representatives and staff, and an agreed commitment to share power and decision-making with the stakeholders so engaged. In order to succeed, elected representatives and senior management must ensure that strategic, corporate and operational processes reflect this new approach if they are committed to widespread public participation and involvement. Such appears to have been provided in South Australia. There, State and local governments have developed partnerships that play a key role in fostering cooperation and co-ordination (Neil *et al.*, 2002). Support is provided by a recognised LA21 partnership, with 50 percent of councils committed to LA21. This ‘buy-in’ is notable given remarks by then Senior Policy Advisor to the Municipal Association of Victoria, Peter Lyon, who told Neil and his colleagues that only 176 (30 percent) of Australia’s 620 general purpose councils were involved in LA21, compared to around 90 percent in the UK and almost 100 percent in Sweden – two countries where governments have instituted strong national campaigns.

Local councils that support LA21 do so if there are champions or leaders within the organisation who have the position, power and support to encourage organisational change towards sustainability. Too often local councils are moribund and distrustful

of ideas linked with environmental or green thinking; this perhaps is more evident in Tasmania where green politics have been highly divisive (Hay, 2000). The successful integration of LA21 into the mainstream practices of local government is more likely when methods and processes that contain the sustainability principles of community engagement, social equity building and social capital networks are infused in council procedures and processes, and where support for principles of sustainability exists between state and local governments. Such integration is evident when reviewing the situation of other state governments around Australia, with the South Australia, Queensland and Victorian Governments possessing strong links through policy and processes in support of LA21 and encouraging their local government networks to do the same.

1.4.2 Sustainable development Glenorchy style

The adoption of LA21 among municipal governments in Tasmania has been well behind that in the other states and territories. In no small measure this delay arose because of the reform of local government during a period of significant fiscal crisis during the 1990s, which resulted in the amalgamation of 47 municipalities into 29. In part, it was apparently the result of a lack of capacity to fully appreciate the complexities and demands of LA21 – in particular, the requirement that core Council business be integrative and the fact that Councils sometimes connect in no more than token manner with their constituents (Stratford, in review).

However, some progress occurred at the same time when successive Labor-Green and then Liberal State Governments developed and implemented the Resource Management and Planning System (RMPS), a suite of eight core pieces of legislation in which are enshrined the principles of sustainable development as agreed internationally (Table 1).

Table 1 Objective of the Resource Management and Planning System

PART 1 - Objectives of the Resource Management and Planning System of Tasmania

1. The objectives of the resource management and planning system of Tasmania are –
 - (a) to promote the sustainable development of natural and physical resources and the maintenance of ecological processes and genetic diversity; and
 - (b) to provide for the fair, orderly and sustainable use and development of air, land and water; and

- (c) to encourage public involvement in resource management and planning; and
 - (d) to facilitate economic development in accordance with the objectives set out in paragraphs (a), (b) and (c); and
 - (e) to promote the sharing of responsibility for resource management and planning between the different spheres of Government, the community and industry in the State.
2. In clause 1(a), "sustainable development" means managing the use, development and protection of natural and physical resources in a way, or at a rate, which enables people and communities to provide for their social, economic and cultural well-being and for their health and safety while –
- (a) sustaining the potential of natural and physical resources to meet the reasonably foreseeable needs of future generations; and
 - (b) safeguarding the life-supporting capacity of air, water, soil and ecosystems; and
 - (c) avoiding, remedying or mitigating any adverse effects of activities on the environment.

PART 2 - Objectives of the Planning Process Established by this Act

The objectives of the planning process established by this Act are, in support of the objectives set out in Part 1 of this Schedule –

- (a) to require sound strategic planning and co-ordinated action by State and local government; and
- (b) to establish a system of planning instruments to be the principal way of setting objectives, policies and controls for the use, development and protection of land; and
- (c) to ensure that the effects on the environment are considered and provide for explicit consideration of social and economic effects when decisions are made about the use and development of land; and
- (d) to require land use and development planning and policy to be easily integrated with environmental, social, economic, conservation and resource management policies at State, regional and municipal levels; and
- (e) to provide for the consolidation of approvals for land use or development and related matters, and to co-ordinate planning approvals with related approvals; and
- (f) to secure a pleasant, efficient and safe working, living and recreational environment for all Tasmanians and visitors to Tasmania; and
- (g) to conserve those buildings, areas or other places which are of scientific, aesthetic, architectural or historical interest, or otherwise of special cultural value; and
- (h) to protect public infrastructure and other assets and enable the orderly provision and co-ordination of public utilities and other facilities for the benefit of the community; and
- (i) to provide a planning framework which fully considers land capability (Parliament of Tasmania, 1993a).

At the same time “the Commonwealth Government was funding the Australian Local Government Association (ALGA) to develop an Integrated Local Area Planning (ILAP) tool to improve the overall performance of local government in the areas of strategic planning, organisational reform and improved intergovernmental relations” (Neil et al., 2002, p.12). ILAPs are a key means by which to engage local communities in place-making and advance sustainable development, and Council was greatly influenced by the idea of integrated local area planning and moved into

developing its Community Plan¹ and Community-Council Model² under the leadership of the-then Mayor, Alderman Terry Martin, and his General Manager, Mr David Lovell. The result was an imperfect community-Council model established in April 2000 wherein the municipality was divided into twelve precincts managed by precinct groups that were established as special committees of Council under the terms of Section 24 of the *Local Government Act, 1993* (Parliament of Tasmania, 1993b), and charged with the task of increasing community participation in local governance and works (City of Glenorchy, nd-b).

However, while the basic values of sustainable development overtly inform the community-Council program (Team Glenorchy, 2005, p.10), my experience is that Council was largely unable to move beyond rhetoric into prolonged and integrative on-ground action geared to change the status quo. Consequently the opportunity to make the most of LA21 and its potential to address environmental degradation and social and economic disadvantage in Glenorchy was lost. It is perhaps noteworthy that “many local government organisations appear to have deeply embedded decision-making cultures that are unsympathetic to open and constant community input” (Porter et al., 2002, p.4).

At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that Glenorchy’s communities did not, in fact, lobby their local government to address the disadvantages they experience; this is often the case with the marginalised, as Sibley (1995, p.76) observes:

In the routines of daily life, most people are not conscious of domination and the socio-spatial system is reproduced with little challenge. There are some groups for whom exclusion is a part of their daily experience, who will be highly sensitive to alien environments, but their spaces of control are too small to interrupt the reproduction of

¹ I participated in consultation processes with Glenorchy’s communities to develop the first Community-Plan that involved, over five months approximately 60 public meetings with 600 participants. The plan was developed in support of the Community Precinct Program that now stands in place of an LA21 process, but is not known as such because of widespread suspicion about the term in local government STRATFORD, E., ARMSTRONG, D. & JASKOLSKI, M. (2003) Relational spaces and the geopolitics of community participation in two Tasmanian local governments - a case for agonistic pluralism? *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 28, 461-72..

² The Community-Council Model or Precinct Model was presented to the AGM in December 1996, a Council department was established in 1998 and precinct boundaries were developed by a steering committee and came in to being in June 1999. A framework was endorsed in December 1998 and a constitution and guidelines were implemented in 1999. In 2003-4 the constitution was replaced by a Charter, Statement of Purpose and Operating Guidelines for the Program in response to recommendations in a consultant report on the Program in 2003.

socio-spatial relations in the interest of hegemonic power.

Such marginalisation was evident in a review of the community-Council model commissioned by the Council in 2004 (Community Focus and Blanch Consulting, 2003). The review established that there was only a three percent participation rate in community precinct meetings but that community members were highly supportive of the precinct model. This result suggests that the bulk of the community was secure in the knowledge that ‘someone else’ was taking responsibility for local governance and works, and engagement oriented to social and spatial change was minimal. In the meantime, it was largely ‘business as usual’ in Council’s strategic and operational systems, and staff (myself included) simply progressed projects with the gloss of consultation, even where there was a strong philosophical or political commitment to participation as a principle and an approach of governance.

1.4.3 From sustainable development to place-making: key claims

As an urban designer and planner I am persuaded that community engagement enables people to tell their experiences and stories of place, and convinced that design and built form are vehicles for place-making as a collaborative translation and transformation of ‘mere’ space to something that embraces centres of felt value (Tuan, 1974). In this sense, urban design and planning are ‘inside’ the phenomenological approach, which offers innovative ways to learn from, understand and influence people-environment relationships (Seamon, 2000). It is useful in reconciling tensions between feeling and thinking, and between first-hand and lived experience and second-hand conceptual accounts of that experience; this is because we all engage in place-making daily, because “the making and sustaining of place is about living-about places, meanings, knowledges and actions” (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995, p.18).

Place-making is also an inclusive design process engaging all those who seek to have a role or wish to participate in the process, and it provides the professional with opportunities to learn from ordinary people about the commonplace and the everyday, since these are foundational to significant and meaningful places. According to Schneekloth and Shibley (1995), the practice of place-making is

transformative. If poorly conceived or imposed it can result in the incremental impoverishment of people and places. If positively planned and executed it can significantly influence community cohesion, social capital (trust, reciprocity and the creation of meaningful networks) and physical improvements. It should be neither overlooked nor underestimated.

When do citizens become involved in place-making? It is most likely when they themselves are affected by changes impinging on their everyday and ordinary lives and experiences. It may involve the clearing of nearby bushland, a change of use of a local businesses or the development of residential units that take away privacy or views. A sense of loss or anger and a strong desire to have a say about what is happening tend to evoke strong and emotional responses. Individuals or groups may contact local councils or local radio stations, or may write letters to newspapers to voice displeasure. These are the usual avenues for appeal. Citizens become engaged because they are affected. Local issues and events in *local places* are the domains where individuals are most likely to have a measure of control or influence (Rydin and Pennington, 2000, Dollery and Dallinger, 2006).

In my experience, a corollary of that insight is that place-making becomes an ally to long-term community engagement and urban planning, and can become second nature to a well informed community. For example, when I first began working for the Council I initiated the sign-posting of neighbourhood parks. In order to provide secure and distinctive signs that would be difficult to vandalise I created 'gateway signs' using a unique lettering style. The result was a timber archway with playful references to the monumental arches that had been constructed around Glenorchy during the 1953 visit by HM Queen Elizabeth II, and one elderly resident telephoned me at Council to say thank you for naming her local park and making it feel special. This response exemplifies the 'ordinary power' and productivity of place-making.

Discussions about sustainable development and place-making are elaborated in greater detail in later chapters, but it is important to note that they inform several key claims that underpin my research. First, in chapter 28 of Agenda 21, local governments are said to be the level of government closest to the people (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, 1992). Therefore, that

position demands of them particular responsibilities to assist diverse members of equally diverse communities to manage change.

Second, the City of Glenorchy is a local government in Tasmania (Figure 2) that has a diverse population in terms of ethnicity, levels of education, or engagement in employment, but is characterised by relative homogeneity in terms of social and economic disadvantage. Therefore, Council has a responsibility to address systemic inequities in the local government area. As evidence of that claim, under the *Local Government Act, 1993, s.20* municipal governments in Tasmania are charged with the following functions and powers:

- to formulate, implement and monitor policies, plans and programmes for the provision of appropriate services and facilities to meet the present and future needs of the community;
- to facilitate and encourage the proper planning and development of the municipal area in the best interests of the community;
- to manage, improve and develop efficiently and effectively the resources of the council; and develop, implement and monitor strategic plans for the development and management of the municipal area; and
- to provide for the health safety and welfare of the community, promote the interests of the community and provide for the peace, order and good government of the municipal area.

In performing its functions, the council may do any one or more of the following either within or outside its municipal area:

- develop, implement and monitor programmes to ensure adequate levels of its accountability to the community;
- develop, implement and monitor effective management systems;
- develop, implement and monitor procedures for effective consultation between the council and the community; and

- inform the community of its activities and provide reasonable opportunities for involvement in those activities and any other thing necessary or convenient.

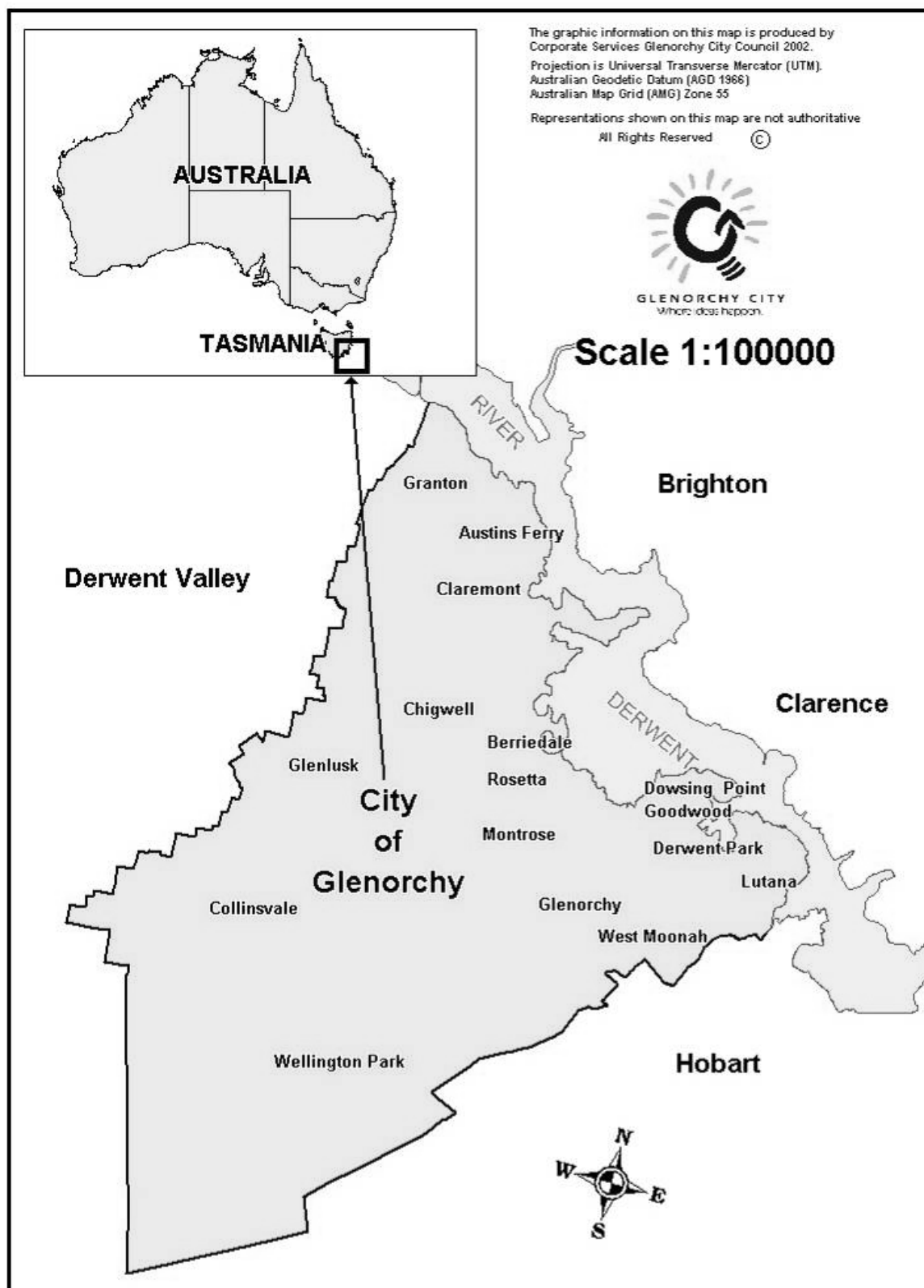
Third, an approach to fulfil this compound responsibility is to build community capacities in self-determination through strong and meaningful forms of participation in local governance, since these are prerequisites of sustainable communities. In the literature on sustainable communities these attributes are thought to be especially important in addressing disadvantage, and particularly that which is intergenerational (Armstrong and Stratford, 2004, Hancock, 1996, Jaskolski, 2001, Roseland, 2000, United Nations, 2002).

Fourth, sustainable communities are based on place-making: from discussions to plans, activities and events, and the maintenance, monitoring and evaluation of on-ground works and their outcomes. Such place-making is not merely the ‘Disneyfication’ or homogenisation of space in response to the pressures of market capitalism, but is sensitive to a sense of (trust in) place that is unique to the locale(s) in question (Cox, 1995, Dovey, 1999, Dryzek, 2000, Flyvbjerg, 1998, Leitmann, 1999, Sandercock, 1998b). Local distinctiveness becomes a signature of place-making so defined.

Fifth, the engagement of the members of the City of Glenorchy in place-making is a crucial early step in encouraging them to take responsibility for themselves and become more self-reliant in local environs. The stakes are high, the place unique.

Sixth, none of the claims made above abrogates local governments of their legislative, regulatory and ethical responsibilities, but it is the case that they have significant discretion in the interpretation and administration of those responsibilities. One of the net effects of that discretion can be the inappropriate dilution and devolution of responsibility to communities, whose members may have neither the capacity nor the inclination or duty to take them on (Putnam, 2000, Saul, 1997).

Figure 2 Location map for Glenorchy (City of Glenorchy, 2002b)



Last, acknowledging the ‘problems of government’ noted above (Flyvbjerg, 1998), place-making is an especially useful strategy in building community capacity, because it is highly localised and targeted; oriented to material outcomes that are tangible and that simultaneously provide practical skills; and stimulate opportunities to explore potential (Boreskie, 1995, Carmona et al., 2003, Dovey, 1999, Healey, 1997, Hough, 2007, Madden, 2000, Marcus and Francis, 1998, Relph, 1976, Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995, Tuan, 1974, Whyte, 1980). In areas of socioeconomic disadvantage, such opportunities may be critical in the quality of life outcomes for individuals and communities.

Chapter 2 Placing Glenorchy

2.1 Introduction

At the beginning of the twentieth century ten percent of the world was urban. According to Leitmann (1999, p.4) about half the world's people live in cities or towns, form the “engines of national and regional economic growth” and are major consumers of resources and generators of waste. As Hough (2004) suggests, daily existence is spent in surroundings that are designed to conceal the processes that sustain life. Many urban communities are insulated against the real impacts of individual and institutional decision-making and actions upon local environments and ultimately upon the planet; many more are over-exposed to hazardous wastes, poverty and crushing inequities. It has been argued that both the over- and under-privileged are disconnected from place and that symptoms of dis-placement and placelessness are rife (Casey, 2001, Relph, 1976). Diminished trust is one such symptom.

Trust is a small word with significant impact. It is essential for social well-being and without it there is increasing need for rules and regulations, enforcement and investment in law and order (Australia Government Productivity Commission, 2003, Bullen and Onyx, 1998, Cox, 1995, Fukuyama, 1995, Hough, 2007, Innes and Booher, 2004, Marris, 1998, Putnam, 2000, Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995, Seamon, 2000). Lack of trust can be measured by how people retreat into their homes – fearing the outside world, crime and minimising social interaction. Streets and neighbourhoods become lonely, isolated and dangerous places. At the same time, because of diminished trust, citizens look to others – and most especially to governments – to address the symptoms of alienation and anomie, among them anti social behaviour, traffic and crime.

Leitmann (1999, p.20) also regards cities as part of the solution to social, environmental and economic problems affecting quality of life and ecosystem integrity: “the concentration of money, brains and organisation in cities also results in a higher effective demand for environmental quality and can lead to pressure on government and the private sector for remedial and preventive action”. Thus, where

trust is present the challenges of sustainability to which Leitmann refers can be addressed, because citizens and governments understand that participation and partnerships are crucial. Local governments have an opportunity to lead the way in this work because they are constitutionally charged with such tasks among local communities, their citizens, businesses and organisations.

Mechanisms for local government and local community partnerships and participation require forms of social capital beyond trust: social networks forming the norms of reciprocity not least among them (Bullen and Onyx, 1998, Cox, 1995, Putnam, 2000). These networks of reciprocity exist best where people who know and do things are able and willing to share knowledge and make decisions for mutual benefits. The importance of mutuality is evident in relationships that develop throughout a community and, for example, where “voluntary organisations thrive as they appear to be associated with positive qualities such as innovation, flexibility, loyalty and horizontal bonding linkages” (McQueen and Lyons, 2001, p.4). In disadvantaged communities, where some people may feel powerless or disenfranchised in relation to decision-making and action, these ‘mutual organisations’ especially provide a sense of personal control, connectedness and ownership that would otherwise be missing. “Mutual organisations enhance a community’s capacity to organise... [and] provide connections and membership by definition can be used as an indicator of social agency” (McQueen and Lyons, 2001, p.4). Such symptoms of trust – social networks, reciprocity, shared means and ends for mutual benefit – are elements of civil society more generally. In the 1995 Boyer Lectures³ Cox (1995, pp.1-2) defined civil society as a state in which “we trust each other and face our futures optimistically ... [and] recognise the supreme importance of social connections which include plenty of robust goodwill to sustain difference and debate”. She drew attention of the threat to a more civilised future by the dominance of *homo economicus* in public policy, and argued that it produced destructive levels of self interest and competing individualism, eroding strong democracies and a healthy separation between the state and class interests (Cox, 1995, Flyvbjerg, 1998, Friedmann, 1998, Fukuyama, 1995, Marris, 1998,

³ The Boyer Lectures are a series of radio lectures that began in 1959 then called the Australian Broadcasting Commission Lectures. In 1961 the name was changed in honour of the late Sir Richard Boyer, chairman of the ABC during whose chairmanship of the ABC the lectures were conceived.

Sandercock, 1998b). She suggested that alternative paths were possible: an emphasis on quality of life and life satisfaction indicators rather than on economic indicators; better governance systems and processes to value trust, reciprocity, mutuality, co-operation, social fabric and social capital; a repositioning of time as a precious resource. Noting that being time-poor is the modern epidemic of western societies around the world, and acknowledging that time is required for public engagement, Cox (1995, p.4) argued that pressures on work and family erode opportunities for people to be active in civil society, and for her this problem was particularly important to address, because “citizens must take some responsibility for changing what we do not like”. For most citizens, it is at the local level, in local places and through local governmental systems and structures that any such engagement in change will occur.

In the rest of this chapter I take up these issues with reference to place and place-making and urban design, and contextualise these general issues by describing first the place that is Glenorchy and second the governmental structures that inform place-making there.

2.2 *Place and place-making*

In understanding place, Cresswell (2004) provides a clear and accessible argument that the word place is not ‘a specialized piece of academic terminology ... but a word we use daily in the English speaking world’. He suggests the most straightforward and common definition of place is ‘a meaningful location’. Most places have a concrete form – are material things but they can also be mobile. A ship on a voyage becomes special for those involved, sharing the experience travelling from one port to another and forming social relationships. Cresswell also draws on work done in 1987 by the political geographer, John Agnew, who outlined three fundamental aspects of place location, locale and sense of place. Location defines the specific place, locale on the other hand is the material setting for social relationships or ‘the actual shape of a place within which people conduct their lives as individuals’ and sense of place reflects the subjective and emotional attachment people have to place.

Cresswell (2004) also argues that due consideration be given to *space and place*,

where space is more abstract and *place and landscape* where landscape is an intensely visual idea where the viewer is outside of it. He suggests that spaces have areas and volumes, and places have spaces between them but can be altered because of the human capacity to attribute meaning. Naming is one method that can transform space into place via investments in meaning and attachment, and from naming one can then see the world and parts of it as a rich and complicated interplay of people and environment, as place and not just abstract understandings of space using so-called facts or figures. 'Place is not simply something to be observed, researched and written about but is itself part of the way we see, research and write' (Cresswell, 2004). Place is a way-of-being and deeply metaphysical.

In his work on the components of urban form, Lynch (1988, p.1) explores place from an understanding of site and setting or 'site planning', and argues that professionals engaged in processes of development of place are responsible morally and aesthetically to make places that "enhance everyday life-which liberate their inhabitants and give them a sense of the world they live in". He contrasts traditional site planning with the "shallow, careless and ugly" planning carried on throughout the world, suggesting that the built environment reflects not only "a lack of skill, but also the stubborn structural problems of our society ... political, economic and institutional". One such problem has been the disconnection between processes of decision-making *for* place and the needs and aspirations of those *in* place. As a consequence,

... in the exclusive newness of suburban developments, leisure centres, fast food outlets, shopping malls, international airports and geometric office blocks, people are treated less as autonomous beings than as pets – they are housed, exercised, fed, cajoled, moved and used ... for their own welfare (Relph, 1981, p.16).

For commentators such as Relph, a patronising dominance over development has characterised formal institutional approaches to planning of cities and suburbs, which are littered with buildings, precincts and public places that alienate rather than engage or celebrate people and their daily activities. Yet, public places are the stages for public life and "where cities and neighbourhoods have thriving public spaces, residents have a strong sense of community; conversely, when they are lacking, they

may feel less connected to each other” (Madden, 2000, p.14). It is in the public realm where local government can facilitate reconnecting people and place; where this change process is accompanied by an understanding of the importance of place and the development of *quality places* rather than an acceptance of unfettered development.

A need to improve urban environmental quality in the nineteenth century led to the development of the public health movement from which modern urban government and city planning have their origins. Ecological concerns were introduced into urban planning by Geddes in Scotland at the beginning of the twentieth century while Howard supported the concept of garden cities to reduce the pace of urbanisation, create healthier living environments and produce better citizens (Leitmann, 1999, p.29).

Howard’s ideas in particular influenced British new town development, the American greenbelt towns in the 1930s and shaped the residential environment of many Australians. Howard sought to advance the garden city model as a vehicle for “a better and brighter civilization” (Freestone, 1989, p.1) a social revolution, but what materialised was not a decentralised cooperative society but low density residential planning and urban environment improvements. The garden city movement in Australia

...was essentially residential with detached family cottages, generous nature strips, front gardens, and tree lined streets (Freestone, 1989, p.3).

Aptly described by John Sulman in 1921 as having

...characteristics which differentiate them from ordinary town or suburb, are the allocation of special quarters or sites for each kind of building, the absence of congestion of dwellings and their better arrangement, the ample provision of parks, playgrounds, and open spaces, the planting of trees and grass of part of the width of the roads where not required for traffic and the provision of greater opportunities for social intercourse (Freestone, 1989, p.87).

Although the movement did not radically change the face of urban Australia, some fine examples of developments remain in the mainland suburbs of Haberfield and

Daceyville in Sydney. One of the finest examples of a garden city development in the City of Glenorchy was Cadbury's Claremont estate (1921), an industrial utopian development that was based on a model suburban community at Bourneville in England. It was a small estate with twenty houses to support the factory; further houses were built over the period from 1940 to 1950, and another eighty in 1971. Other examples in the City of Glenorchy include Lutana village (1917), the West Moonah Springfield Gardens subdivision design of 1917, and the Goodwood public housing estate (mid 1940s). It took another 30 years for the design to be realised and houses built.

In diverse disciplines over several decades, urban historians and ecologists and geographers, among them Mumford, McHarg, Lynch and Odum continued to develop discussion on the urban/nature balance, reinforcing the development of cities that included a greater understanding of urban environments and ecological systems (Leitmann, 1999, p.34). Urban ecology has greater urgency now with climate change imperatives requiring individual citizens to develop responsibility towards an understanding of practicable sustainability in cities in which they live emphasising resource-conserving urbanism, ecological design principles, bringing together of urban and environmental perspectives.

Community engagement through principles of urban design can assist in developing community responsibility and practical action in support of sustainable city development. Urban design that includes facilitation processes can bring together the necessary professional disciplines required to collaborate and solve many urban environmental issues. Llewelyn-Davies (2000, p.14) has formulated a guide of key urban design characteristic and by using these as a base from which to work it is possible to see how urban design as the lead profession can encourages a multi-disciplinary approach providing a strong foundation for active place-making. The key characteristics that form the base of any urban design considerations are:

Places for People: For places to be well-used and well-loved they must be safe, comfortable varied and attractive. They also need to be distinctive, and offer variety, choice and fun. Vibrant places offer opportunities for meeting people; playing in the street and watching the world go by.

Enrich the Existing: New developments should enrich the qualities of existing urban places. This means encouraging a distinctive response that arises from and complements its setting. This applies at every scale – the region, the city, the town, the neighbourhood, and the street.

Make Connections: Places need to be easy to get to and be integrated physically and visually with their surroundings. This requires attention to how to get around by foot, bicycle, public transport and the car – and in that order.

Work with the Landscape: Places that strike a balance between the natural and man made environment and utilise each site's intrinsic resources – the climate, landform and ecology – to maximise energy conservation and amenity.

Mixed Uses and Forms: Stimulating, enjoyable and convenient places meet a variety of demands from the widest possible range of users, amenities and social groups. They also weave together different building forms, uses, tenures and densities.

Manage the Investment: For projects to be developable and well cared for they must be economically viable, well managed and maintained. This means understanding the market considerations of developers, ensuring long-term commitment from the community and the local authority, defining appropriate delivery mechanisms and seeing this as part of the design process.

Design for Change: New development needs to be flexible enough to respond to future changes in use, lifestyle and demography. This means designing for energy and resource efficiency; creating flexibility in the use of property, public spaces and the service infrastructure and introducing new approaches to transportation, traffic management and parking (Llewelyn-Davies, 2000, p.14).

Each of these key points involves input from different professional disciplines as well as members of disparate communities, other levels of government and other organisations. This collaborative approach begins the process of finding ways for adherents to different disciplines to work together to understand and solve the many urban environmental problems such as infrastructure, natural systems affected by urban development, interactions between people, poverty and the urban environment, relationships between state and civil society, health and well-being of communities, transport and access, housing affordability, education and quality of life.

Place-making, then, is the key to the vitality of public places (areas, locations and

spaces). It helps to ground the principles of sustainable development and contribute to civil society. In particular, it can provide opportunities for 'voices from the borderlands' (Sandercock, 1998b, p.180) to be included, supporting the marginalised and disadvantaged, and empowering specific social groups in decision-making. It can draw together environmental responsibility, social equity and economic viability in programs and processes to (re) create places with local meaning and distinct identity.

Local government and communities thus engaged have the opportunity to come together and respond thoughtfully and respectfully to their place. They can influence and change current emphases on consumerism and economic rationalism, and move to practise considered and well-informed decision-making, responsible planning and place-making on a daily basis. Planning controls mainly deal with new development; place-making processes enable the retrofitting of places to respond to community needs, change and future aspirations. Community visioning (Waller, 2003, Ames, 1998, Communities Scotland, 2007) a place-making tool that focuses on rebuilding and regenerating communities through the development of a shared future vision is a process where community members come together aided by facilitation to imagine their desired future and then work out actions to achieve that future.

Community visioning to engage community uses a number of techniques, they include charrettes, workshops, surveys, public meetings, community tours, publications, and special events. All of these help to inform the planning process and harness community talent, knowledge and experience in support of future planning and actions, much of which is captured in urban design (Adams, 1994, Carmona et al., 2003, Churchus and Coley, 2004, Hough, 2004, Inam, 2002, Leitmann, 1999, Polis, 1994).

A thorough understanding of context is crucial to developing places with meaning and ensuring the development of positive and cohesive communities. Context can be defined as the character and setting of a place, natural and cultural history, settlement patterns, buildings and spaces, location and major transport routes and finally ecology and archaeology. Context also includes people, individuals living in and around a designated place, how people in community are organised and what opportunities are available for them to engage in development of place or place-

making. As Flyvbjerg notes “rationality is *context-dependent*, the context of rationality is power, and power blurs the dividing line between rationality and rationalisation” (1998, p.227; emphasis added). Furthermore it is vital to understand how power relations are constantly being produced and reproduced and the ways in which local governments support stable power relations in order to maintain power and existing power relations.

2.3 Focus on Tasmania

Tasmania is an island state of some 68,332 square kilometres. Its entire population is less than half a million, well below the definition of the world’s average city (Leitmann, 1999, p.6) and its many small settlements are distributed around the State in three distinct regions, the North West, North and South. Respectively, the settlements of Burnie, Launceston and greater Hobart are the *de facto* ‘capitals’ of these regions. Hobart is, in fact, the official state capital as well. Tasmania is also the most economically marginal member of the Australian federation, and Tasmanians are reportedly ill at ease with the growing disparity between rich and poor and the gap is increasing. Australian Council of Social Services (ACOSS) research reported in the *Sunday Tasmanian* newspaper (Bevilacqua, 2006, p.7) suggests that 77 percent of Australians believe the gap is widening; among Tasmanians it was 87 percent. That research concluded that around two million Australians were living in poverty and that the “nation was marked by areas of wealth and others of concentrated disadvantage” (Bevilacqua, 2006). Australian Bureau of Statistics released in July 2006 showing that almost sixty percent of Australian household wealth was owned by the richest twenty percent, while the bottom twenty percent owned just one percent reinforces these findings. Duncan (2006, p.13) adds to this picture of relative deprivation by reference to the ‘State of the States 2006’ report, which attributes Tasmania’s ‘wooden spoon’ or bottom position to:

Poor results in social and economic policies ... Tasmania comes last in social and economic policy (where we rank last in all five areas apart from industry assistance) and second last in environmental policy. Our welfare and transport services, water sanitation and environment and fixed capital formation, employment and gross state product are the worst in Australia (Duncan, 2006, p.13).

In such light, it is arguable that there is a growing need to resurrect trust, reciprocity and mutuality and reinforce them in public policy (Bullen and Onyx, 1998, Cox, 1995). Local governments may be positioned to address such needs through sustainability programs. Attempting to open discussion on this matter, in March 2006 the Local Government Association of Tasmania distributed to its 29 member Councils a discussion paper entitled *Local Government Sustainability* (Garcia, 2006). The paper attempted to define local government sustainability, with a strong emphasis on financial sustainability, regional cooperation and the potential utility of joint authorities. Yet as Dollery *et al.* (2006, p.18) suggest “financial sustainability represents only a single dimension of overall council sustainability and ... the abstract and ephemeral concept of overall sustainability makes it hard to define with any degree of precision”. The discussion paper also raised concerns about increasing community expectations and the lack of skills and key personnel across core disciplines that test the capacity of councils to meet their statutory obligations, concerns that are common among local governments in Australia more generally, and that touch upon local democracy, local government capacity, sense of leadership, local economic development, and sense of place. The City of Glenorchy is not immune to these diverse challenges.

2.4 Enter Glenorchy

The British invaded Van Diemens Land in 1803/4, and Hobart and Launceston were quickly founded as major settlements. By 1848, they had become independent municipalities. With increasing growth they were rapidly expanding and so, in 1858, the Tasmanian Parliament passed an Act allowing regional areas to form a municipality if fifty owners or occupiers of land presented a petition to Parliament. Municipality status would be accepted if a counter petition was not presented within two months of the application. European settlers had begun to clear land around

Glenorchy in 1804 because of the availability of fresh water and arable land. Its settlement patterns differed from its more powerful neighbour, Hobart, from the beginning: the latter having higher population density and smaller lot size such that in 1850 it numbered around 20,000 people housed in 2,500 dwellings according to the 1841 Census. In contrast Alexander (1986, p.38) noted in the same year Glenorchy had 200 dwellings with 61 farms with one third [or the two hundred households] owning or renting farms.

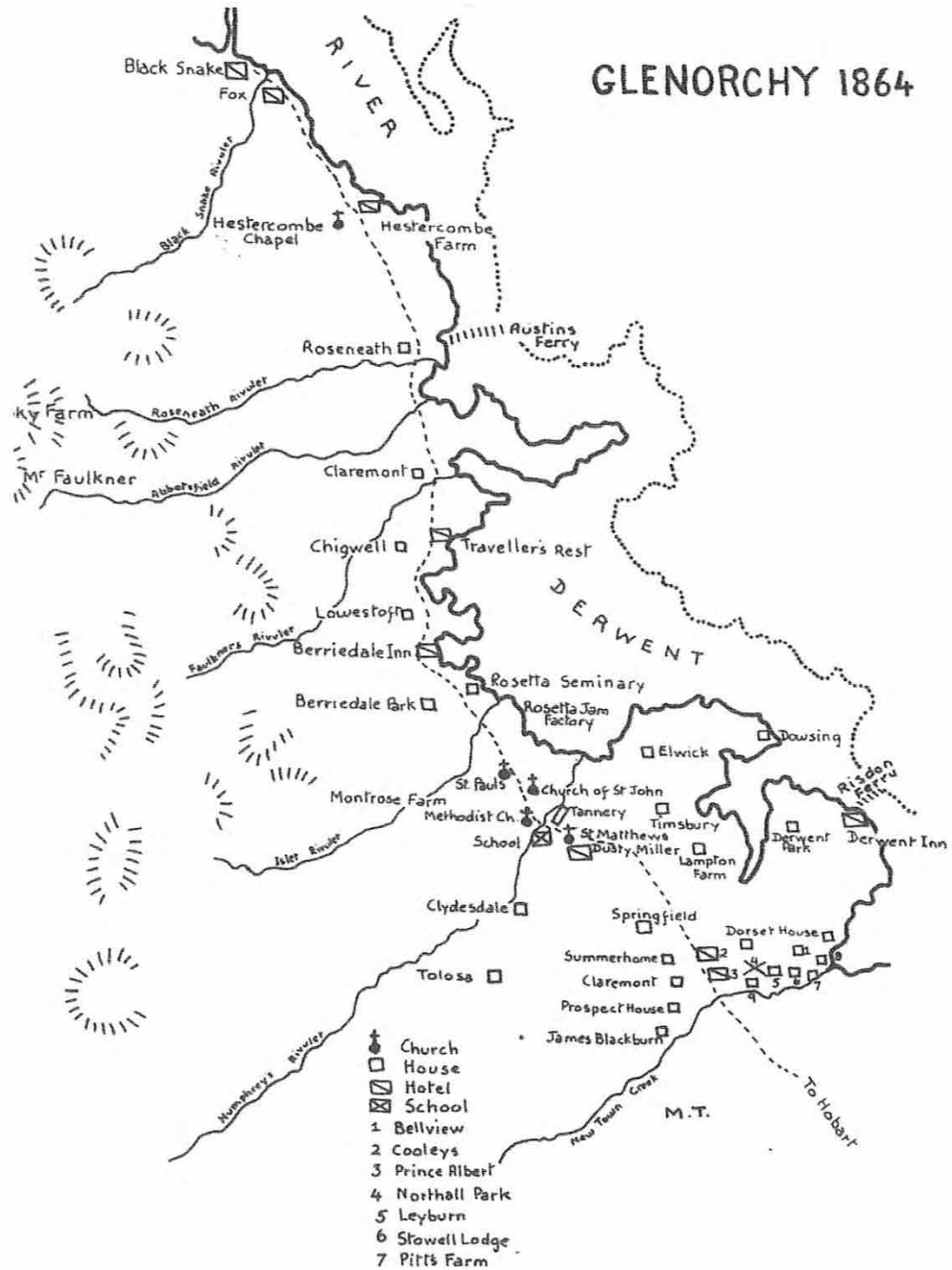
Thus it was not until 4 April 1864 that Glenorchy was proclaimed a rural municipality (Figure 3) of 46 sq miles with a population of 1300 (Alexander, 1986, p.50). With Colonial Government support, in the 1890s Council constructed its Chambers on Main Road. Its identity as a community of agricultural workers continued until after the Second World War when industrial expansion and immigration increased such that it was seen as the industrial region of southern Tasmania. By the end of the century it had developed into a thriving export region with a strong local identity.

Glenorchy people were divided into three classes: the upper, landowning class, the middle class and the working class. The Tasmanian Post Office Directory of 1890 lists inhabitants of Glenorchy and their occupations showing that about 10% of the population owned most of the wealth and provided most of the jobs including running the municipal council. Most of these families kept within their own social circle and seldom mixed with local people. They went to Hobart for social and cultural activities (Alexander, 1986, p.107).

Glenorchy's settlement pattern follows along the main north-south transport route from Hobart to the Midlands and on to Launceston. Main Road Glenorchy provided a picturesque journey along the edge of the Derwent River meandering inland sometimes to link the major settlement nodes of Moonah, Glenorchy and Claremont. Its topography is dominated by undulating alluvial flood plains with linear settlement patterns along the long river frontage of the Derwent River up into the foothills of the Wellington Range. Seven rivulets flow from the mountain to the River, four of which (Islet, Abbotsfield, Roseneath and Blacksnake) are likely to dry up in summer. Three continuously running streams, the New Town Rivulet, Humphreys Rivulet and Sorell Creek, create distinct physical forms and local sense of place. In addition,

Humphreys Rivulet was the site of the main administrative settlement of Glenorchy and New Town Rivulet forms the southern boundary with the City of Hobart.

Figure 3 Glenorchy 1864 (Alexander, 1986, p.51)



The estuary with which Glenorchy is situated is a drowned river valley about 60km

long, framed by two mountain ranges, the Wellington Range on the western shore and the Meehan Range on the eastern shore. Both ranges provide backdrops of wooded hills giving Glenorchy an intense visual setting and long distance vistas. This landscape provides a microclimate that creates the illusion of disappearing or shifting mountains with mist and fogs occasionally descending onto the river for short time frames followed by changeable winds that then re-establish the landforms to their original locations. This changing light and seasonal change on the river or on the mountains provide the people of Glenorchy with a strong affective landscape link.

As Glenorchy prospered, there was a push towards city status from the 1950s. City status is a statement of importance in a regional context meaning ‘we have arrived’ (Jeffery, 2004). With Glenorchy’s physical and symbolic location in the shadow of Hobart, it became politically and economically important for its representatives to continue to position the region as a desirable residential, commercial and industrial hub. In 1953, Glenorchy made a first approach to the Tasmanian Parliament seeking city status but was unable to advance the situation. Over the next decade, Council encouraged community pride and spirit with civic programs. Noteworthy among them were two nascent place-making projects, the ‘Geranium City’ campaign, which involved regular geranium planting bees, and the ‘Glenorchy Junior Council’ movement among young people, aimed at waste minimisation, tree planting and nature strip improvements.

Then in 1962 amendments to the *Local Government Act, 1906*, providing for the creation of new Tasmanian cities meant that the application for city status could proceed. Collinsvale, Moonah and Glenorchy were amalgamated into a new City of Glenorchy, which was finally proclaimed on 24th October 1964.

According to Alexander (1986, p.344)

By 1964 Glenorchy had a population of nearly 40,000, good sporting amenities, modern housing developments and shopping centres, expanding industry and ample employment, many schools, both State and private, efficient water and sewerage schemes, and its own newspaper ... the atmosphere was one of action and expansion.

One of the first decisions that Council made was to pass a confidence-filled and forward-looking motion for the ‘establishment and maintenance of all facilities and amenities’ necessary for a progressive area and for the benefit of ‘all citizens’. However, during the second half of the twentieth century fundamental social and economic changes to metropolitan and regional communities in Australia that were well beyond the control of local government were to prove that confidence misplaced. Particularly from the 1980s, they changed the social and economic landscape of Glenorchy from one dominated by a manufacturing and industrial economy to one that included a growing service and information economy (Baum et al., 2000), and resulted in significant disruptions to employment, education, social welfare and environmental conditions. This change is worth elaborating.

2.5 The move from government to governance

In terms of structural change, Glenorchy fared poorly over the decade 1986 to 1996, with declines in employment, increases in unemployment and only a small increase in the proportion of high-income households. Its occupational structure was characterised by employment in ‘in-person service worker’ and ‘routine production worker’ occupations, with significant numbers employed in transformative, distributive and social service industries (Baum et al., 2000, p.57).

Then, in 1996 the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2000) ranked areas throughout Australia using a measure of ‘relative disadvantage’ based on population census data. Known as the Social-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA), it included data on the greater Hobart Statistical Division. The SEIFA represents a single measure to summarise a number of socio-economic variables derived from collected census data but did not include all social conditions. Measurements were based on low income, low educational attainment, high unemployment, jobs in relatively unskilled occupations and variables reflecting disadvantage. Geographical areas with the highest disadvantage were found to have high proportions of low income families, high unemployment, low educational qualifications, and low skilled occupations and many households renting public housing. Compared to a national average of 1000, ABS data show that Tasmania registers higher relative disadvantage of 974, and Glenorchy was the second most disadvantaged region in the State. High levels of

unemployment, a lack of skills and education appropriate to new employment opportunities, and low investment in Glenorchy exacerbated dependence upon Australian Government income assistance and people struggled to adapt to the new economic regime.

By the 2001 ABS Census of Population and Housing, Glenorchy was ranked second lowest in the SEIFA for the greater Hobart Statistical Division (Table 2).

Table 2 Socio-economic indicators for areas (SEIFA) (2001) index of disadvantage

Local government areas in the Greater Hobart Statistical Division index of disadvantage	
Brighton (Municipality)	829.52
Glenorchy (City)	927.84
Sorell (Municipality)	955.60
Clarence (City)	1,001.28
Kingborough (Municipality)	1,050.24
Hobart (Capital City)	1,065.76
Source Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001	

Until the 1990s, like most other local governments around Australia, Glenorchy's core business was oriented to 'roads, rates and rubbish'. Subject to shifts in thinking about government more generally – shifts that have realigned government as just one player in the diverse tasks of (multilateral, multi-stakeholder, participatory) governance – during the 1990s, Council attempted to adopt a broad role to address the changes facing the community of Glenorchy and was influenced in this work by the then Mayor, a left or Labor-aligned candidate named Terry Martin. One of Martin's primary actions in the early 1990s was to invest public money into quality of life projects in consultation with residents of Goodwood, one of a number of suburbs especially disadvantaged by socio-economic changes (Zwart, 2003) and, perhaps ironically, one of the few suburbs in Hobart that had been designed in the 1920s according to Garden City principles derived from the ideas of Ebenezer Howard (Freestone, 1989).

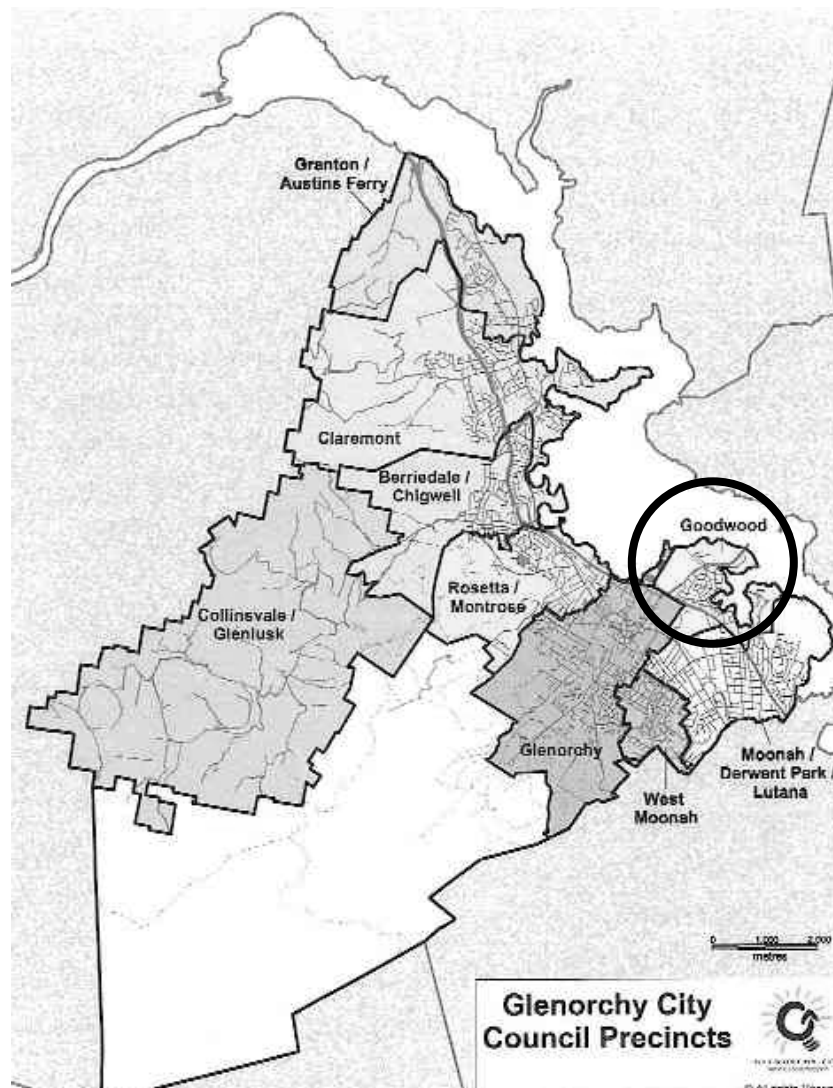
I was the urban design consultant on that project. It was an innovative process, becoming a pilot project to test how effectively local government could work with

local business and residential community members in developing a range of strategies and plans for a local area's future. A community liaison committee laboured with Council and appropriate State Government representatives to prepare a staged implementation strategy to ensure community dialogue and worked with members of the Goodwood community to undertake local place-making actions related to traffic calming, tree planting and foreshore redevelopment. The committee met on a regular basis reviewing design concepts and working on issues and priorities. Developing community confidence and skills and providing a safe environment for open discussion in a neighbourhood of high unemployment and low skills, investing in capital works projects proved to be a catalyst for social and economic change for Goodwood and continues today (Smith, 2001, Fukuyama, 1995, Bullen and Onyx, 1998, Rydin and Pennington, 2000, Putnam, 2000, McQueen and Lyons, 2001, Roseland, 2000). Figure 4 shows the location of Goodwood in relation to the municipal boundary and other precinct areas as established through the development of the community precinct model.

Results in Goodwood encouraged Council to focus significant resources and efforts on the potential of local community partnerships (Armstrong and Stratford, 2004, Mackey, no date). Under the banner 'A Role for Everyone' Council promoted a new community-Council participation model, the history is worth elaborating upon.

In 1995, Council sponsored the Community Services Manager, Lindy Mackey and General Manager, David Lovell to undertake a study tour and attend a local democracy conference in Denver, Colorado, to gather information on successful citizen participation programs. The American terminology 'citizen participation' was changed to the Council-preferred term 'community participation' which, according to Mayor Martin (Glenorchy City Council, 1998b) more "accurately reflected what was intended in Australian terms". In doing this Mayor Martin may have weakened the process from the beginning unconsciously by this action, for with the notion of citizen comes responsibility and commitment.

Figure 4 Location map for Goodwood (City of Glenorchy, 2000)



An idea to greatly increase community participation in municipal matters was adopted in principle by Council in November 1996 and outlined to the community at the Council annual general meeting in the December. Council then implemented organisational restructuring to support the program. The new framework was finally adopted in August 1998. Council aimed to involve all property owners, residents and workers in decisions that affect their local area by removing the old Ward system of aldermanic districts and dividing the City into areas called community Precincts (Zwart, 2003, p.142). Precinct committees composed of residents and property owners were formed for the purpose of sharing information and ideas with Council

and community. Operational from 1999, Committees were charged with identifying and prioritising local needs, and with supporting Council's strategic planning and budget processes. Elected Aldermen and staff were assigned to Precincts as observers to encourage the development of positive relationships between Council and the broader community; the former could not serve on committees in precincts where they were resident.

Aldermanic support for the community-Council program was not universal and discontent increased as the costs to implement the program became public knowledge as being 0.5 percent of Council's total operating budget in 2002-3 (Zwart, 2003). No other figures are publicly available. The development of Council into a service delivery, "consultative and deliberative organisation rather than one focused on a traditional approach caused tensions in Council and three conservatively aligned Aldermen (one-quarter of the total) were openly more against the new consultative approach" (Zwart, 2003, p.141). In turn, members of the Council staff were undecided, with some unsupportive of the new system, arguing that it added new hurdles to already complex and under-resourced internal administrative processes. They perceived the community in general as ill-informed and precinct committees more particularly as interfering in professional work practices, and some raised concerns with management that the process had been ill conceived and arbitrarily formed.

Others were concerned that the precinct process had been constituted with little regard to Glenorchy's sense of place or community. Most appear to have lacked interest or awareness in the changes to local government around the world – changes often responding to Agenda 21 and ones that motivated the Mayor and senior staff in the first place (Armstrong and Stratford, 2004, Stratford, 2007).

2.6 From local participation to bilateral agreements

Governments are finding it increasingly difficult to operate in a highly complex and rapidly changing world. No longer is it possible to work independently; governments must be collaborative, involving diverse stakeholders to manage dynamic and turbulent environments. More is being asked of stakeholders and actors at all levels

of government and in Australia increasing costs and responsibilities have forced all levels of government to collaborate and formulate strategies. In some jurisdictions forced amalgamations have been seen as one solution, and in particular this step was to be the undoing of the government of the day in Tasmania.

In 1992, the Tasmanian Labor Government reduced the number of Councils from 47 to 29 as part of drastic measures to deal with near-bankruptcy. Glenorchy retained its status as a city and its boundaries were unchanged. In 1998, a second round of amalgamations was proposed by the Liberal Government which had succeeded it, the aim being to reduce the number to between eleven and fifteen, a recommendation based on a report to the State Government by a former federal minister, Peter Nixon (Sansom, 2002, p.5). He had been commissioned to provide recommendations about how Tasmanians could revitalise an economy that had hit 'rock bottom', and local government reforms were one among a suite of radical restructuring ideas that he presented. His argument was that smaller, more efficient government could activate positive incentives for private investment and stimulate the economy. This agenda enraged the community and following a successful legal challenge to the process by Devonport City, Central Highlands and Southern Midlands Councils which argued that the regulations drawn up to establish the new councils were illegal as they referred to councils which did not exist (Haward and Zwart, 2000, pp.42-43), a new Labor State Government was elected on a number of counter-promises, one of which was to work in partnership with local government to achieve the necessary reforms without resorting to amalgamations.

A new way of thinking emerged in Tasmania under the charismatic leadership of Premier Jim Bacon, who was an advocate of deliberative democracy. The Bacon Government sought to engage the community in finding solutions to Tasmania's economic and social problems through four major community consultative programs: a 2020 visioning strategy known as *Tasmania Together*, that included a series of Industry Audits, wide-ranging Community Forums, and Local Government Partnerships (see: <http://www.premier.tas.gov.au/publications/BaconLegacy.pdf>). Partnerships were intended to produce transparent, accountable, comprehensive and cooperative working relationships between State and local governments that

addressed diverse social, environmental and economic issues of mutual interest or concern. Significantly, Bacon assumed the local government portfolio and began to develop comprehensive partnership agreements with local governments throughout the State.

Glenorchy signed its first partnership agreement with the State Government on 19 October 2000. Having already instigated the community-Council model, the Council was well placed to work closely with the State and was successful in attracting substantial financial resources from the Agreement; circa AU\$3 million dollars of it as investment into the local economy and \$2 million dollars from the transfer of State Government property to Council (Martin, 2004).

Then, under the Partnership Agreement, in 2003 Council developed its Social Plan – in part as a five-year review of the community-Council framework. The Plan sought to: (a) provide a profile of the community in terms of its social characteristics; (b) identify the range, level and capacity of social service delivery in Glenorchy; (c) identify and quantify social needs within the Glenorchy community; (d) build upon the Community Plan process and to develop action plans to guide social planning; and (e) ensure that future service provision and priority setting equated with identified needs, community preferences, and gaps in services, social characteristics, demographic trends, and current and future policy trends.

Conducted as part of the preparation for the Plan, an audit of the municipality's population confirmed that Glenorchy continues to have a higher than average proportion of resident one-parent families, a relatively high number of special purpose group homes for people with disabilities, and around 10 percent of the State's total public housing stock, with the rate of home ownership for Glenorchy lower than for Tasmania as a whole. Educational retention rates are below the State average and fewer of its residents than that average think that educational qualifications are important. Most people in Glenorchy are also employed in jobs of relatively modest remuneration, especially in clerical, sales and service roles. The audit undertaken in 2001 by Myriad Consultants also revealed that many of those surveyed did not have the confidence to influence community issues, felt powerless to address social problems, and were less likely to be involved in local issues than

Tasmanians in general (Combes and Essex, 2003). However, that work also established that a significant proportion (85 percent of 405 residents; a sample error of no more than five percent) of residents like living in Glenorchy and value the blend of residential, commercial and industrial activities in the City; enjoy the ease of access and accessibility it has; appreciate the physical environment of parks, reserves and playgrounds; and acknowledge the wide range of social and community services available to them.

Despite these positive evaluations the Plan failed to stress the importance to social outcomes of the place itself (outcomes such as health, well-being, and sense of place; sense of shared identity, trust and reciprocity; and care for the environment). Indeed, activities for making the city more liveable for residents, visitors and workers are mentioned so obliquely it is difficult to extract any useful meaning from the Plan. Given how highly *the place* is valued, given how residents experience is one of relative deprivation and marginality, and given how little confidence they have to participate in decision-making about that place, *their place*, might not place-making become a powerful community capacity and community engagement and tool? It is to that matter that I now turn.

Preface to three community conversations

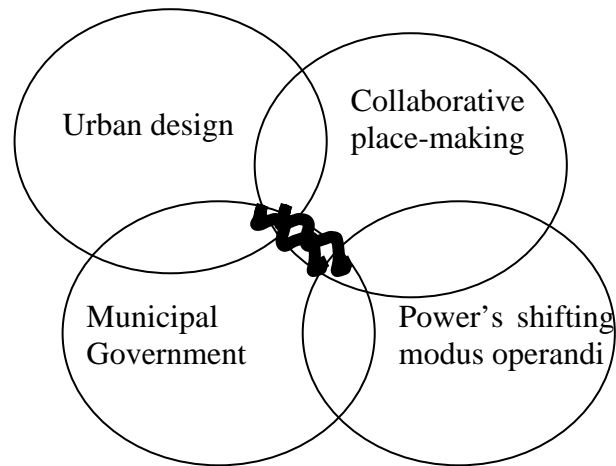
A vision for a place should be defined by people who live and work around it, rather than professionals or government entities ... every community has numerous people whose ideas can evolve into a 'vision' for a place ... Essential to the process...is the professional's role in facilitating its implementation (Madden, 2000, p.55).

Can there be passion in work? Can there be creativity in local government? Who is appointed or seeks to ask questions about Council actions, priorities or current practices and their consequence? What is the level of understanding about place-making and its contribution to improving community facilities or engaging community in open dialogue about their concerns and desires? How is consensus reached? Where does power reside? These are just some of the subsidiary questions that arise from my research question, what are the functions of municipal governments in collaborative place-making, given their central role in the management of settlements at the 'small' or 'local' scale?

I did not come to this research project with 'relatively defined and stable areas of interest, theory and research methods as a member of the planning interpretive community' (Bradshaw and Stratford, 2000, p.39), but was influenced by architectural training, urban design experience in local government, and experience working with local communities. Each assisted in the refinement of my research questions and selection of method and, to ensure transparency, it is appropriate for the reader to be conversant with my position. I am the collector and analyst of data in this work, certainly, but I am also *inside* the work, having been immersed in the day to day routines of the City of Glenorchy Council as an urban designer and planner. This day-to-day work becomes another piece of thread strengthening the research fabric, since my position informs and fortifies the conversations about place-making that I present in chapters three, four and five.

My research is located in the area that overlaps the local government spheres of influence in which urban design and planning practitioners work with community (Figure 5).

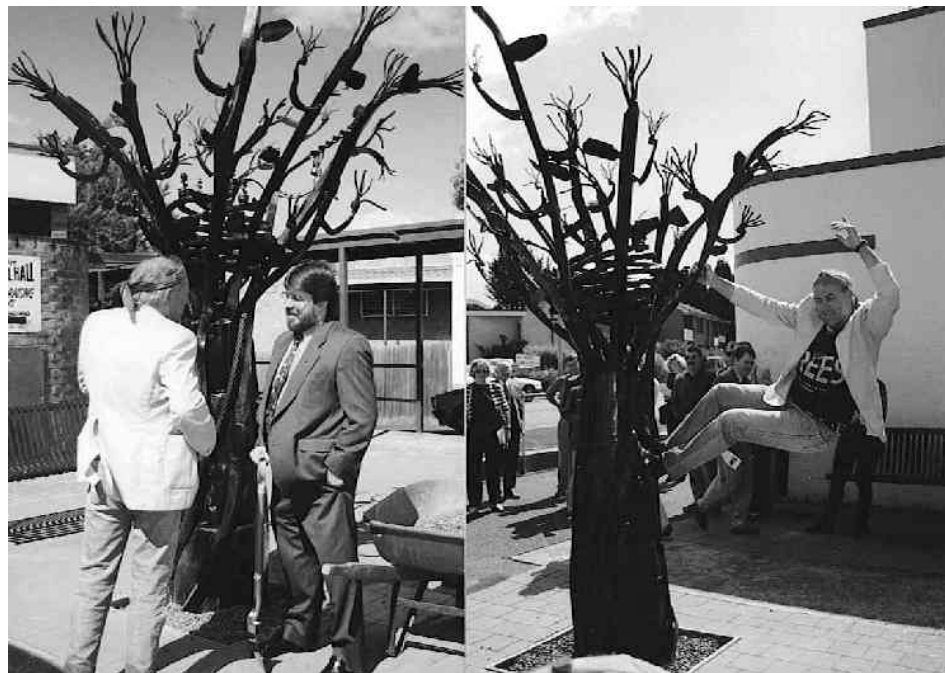
Figure 5 Overlapping areas of research



Can there be passion in work? I regard my role as a local government employee, a privilege; a position that is professionally bound to guarantee the implementation of sound practices that enrich, inform and facilitate positive change in partnership with members of local communities and their elected representatives. My professional role at the Council was to implement on ground works from an annual capital works budget encompassing urban design and recreation planning. It was a position that included strategic projects fulfilling obligations as set out in Council's strategic and operational plans. The position advised Council on the direction of current and future projects, involved community engagement in open and transparent discussions about perceived benefits from the implementation of projects. Like Flyvbjerg (1998, p.226), I found that "power procures the knowledge which supports its purposes, while ignores or suppresses that does not serve it". When needing to justify my actions I sought knowledge that supported my efforts, where knowledge came to me that detracted from my directions I can say with hindsight that I was less inclined to promote it: not that this happened often, but it made me aware of the hidden relations between knowledge and power, the influence knowledge can exert on power and how "power determines what counts as knowledge" just as "what kind of interpretation attains authority as the dominant interpretation" (Flyvbjerg, 1998, p.226). It was therefore pertinent to enquire into the knowledge held about Glenorchy by elected representatives, staff and community members. After all they had power – albeit in very different ways – but how informed was their knowledge?

Can there be creativity in local government? My experience has been that working in local government with local communities is a most creative experience. Everyday there are different opportunities for employees to undertake creative problem solving. For example I was once involved in a project to plant mature street trees outside the public toilet and memorial hall in Main Street, Claremont, a site distinguished by being austere and in need of landscaping to provide increased amenity shade and shelter. Twice council staff had to replace the trees after vandals damaged them and staff had become disillusioned with the whole process. Understanding their position I proposed that we commission a sculptured steel tree made from recycled materials. This provided an opportunity for Council to make a significant statement about a public space, the healing potential of art, and the ongoing cost of vandalism to the community. Sculptor and artist Steven Palmer was given the brief; to create a metal tree large (Plate 1) enough to withstand assault, artistically sensitive and accepted by local residents. The sculpture made national headlines – including the front page of the Hobart *Mercury* newspaper – and resulted in many enquiries to me about outcomes and process.

Plate 1 Artist and Mayor at opening of the steel tree installation, 1995



Who is appointed or seeks to ask questions about local government actions, priorities or current practices and their consequence? Perhaps this is a community role that reflects a healthy and democratically engaged society. In Tasmania, local government is very accessible and highly reactive to individual criticism and comment. Many citizens do not realise the power and influence that can be affected through letters or emails to their representatives. It is often the case that neither conflict nor criticisms are viewed as signs of a healthy democracy, but as electoral risks in need of containment and rapid resolution. Reflecting on this trend, I concur with Flyvbjerg (1998, p.6) when he suggests that there is evidence that “social conflicts themselves produce the valuable ties that hold modern democratic societies together and provide such ties with the strength and cohesion they need; that social conflicts are themselves pillars of democratic society”. Council management and elected representatives, to me, seek to uphold the existing hegemony and tend to contain and resolve public issues, using rhetoric more often than action. Furthermore, Council’s public relations work would suggest that consensus is reached through community participation and information sharing, and the history outlined in chapter two would uphold that suggestion, but my experience suggests that this is consensus acquired within highly controlled and monitored situations.

Given my professional jaundice with the systems of government with which I was working, but wanting to use research opportunities to seek alternatives to them that might enhance place-making for disadvantaged communities, I chose to explore how to design meaningful community participation in local place-making and research current place-making activities and initiatives evident in Glenorchy.

My conversations about place-making in chapters three four and five contain my research journey and are summarised in the following paragraphs.

Chapter three is entitled *Community Conversation One*, and it is a summary of a survey distributed to Council’s elected representatives, Council staff in the working in community development and roads and recreation departments, and residents who attended monthly precinct meetings. All these groups are actively involved in the practice of place-making, the ongoing labour of people that makes, transforms, and cares for places (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995). Members of the target groups were

those who had responsible positions and were decision makers. The aims and approach are outlined and results collated into three main theme areas with three sub themes. My research sought to establish levels of appreciation and understanding of place-making, their commonalities and differences.

Chapter four, *Community Conversation Two*, interrogates the 2003 *Works Festival* in Glenorchy. This festival was Council initiated biennial event that began in 2000. Using in-depth interviews with organisers, short participant surveys, and participant observations cross referenced with secondary sources I unpack the festival to establish how well it performed as a useful place-making tool and community building exercise while revealing the power relations that evolved supporting Flyvbjerg's (1998) argument that the greater the power the greater opportunity to define reality.

Chapter Five, entitled *Community Conversation Three*, explores a major place-making project that I facilitated as urban design coordinator at Council. It provides further evidence to support my belief that local governments have a particular responsibility to assist their community in managing change. Essential for Glenorchy is the need to address systemic inequities through place-making and building community capacity, confidence and redefining its image and sense of place.

Chapter 3 Community Conversation 1

Collectively, a city's abundant small spaces have a major impact on the quality of life ... if we learn to take advantage of our small urban spaces ... design new ones well ... fix up old ones; we will keep our streets alive. We may even encourage more people to use them, and to smile about it (William K Reilly, President: The Conservation Foundation cited in (Whyte, 1980, p.7).

3.1 Introduction

The institution of local government is representative of the public interest. Situations do arise where knowledge is (used to support) power, and one can argue that this is acceptable if the public interest is being served, but who is the arbiter and where does power reside for making that final decision? Flyvbjerg (1998, p.225) argues that particular "elected representatives and staff are revealed to be deeply embedded in the hidden exercise of power and the protection of special interests".

Engaging with three groups, Council elected representatives, Council staff and residents, enabled me to assess their understanding and interest in place-making and the shifting operations of power among them. Members of the three groups were asked to complete a survey on place-making, and were selected because of their relationships to place. Voting citizens of local government areas choose elected representatives to lead manage and make decisions on behalf of the totality of the community in those areas. Those decisions can have far-reaching impacts on the development of places, their heritage, form and environment. Therefore decisions made by elected representatives can enhance or diminish the quality, connectivity and sense of place experienced by visitors and members of local communities, and is critical to place-making.

Members of staff at Council formed the second group, since they are active and involved in place-making either by developing place relationships through programs or physical development projects. Their activities revolve around design, decision-making and place-making, and render them answerable to the community they serve. Residents participating in this research included only those actively engaged in governance in the municipality as a result of their participating in the community-

Council precinct model and Precinct committees in particular. Comments from residents can only be view as those from a focus group due to the small sample size and are included on that basis.

The aims of the survey distributed to the elected representatives, staff in the community development and engineering departments of Council and residents attending precinct meetings were to (1) evaluate the meaning of place-making to people working and living in Glenorchy, (2) establish the relevance of completed projects to those affected by place-making, (3) understand the levels of place attachment exhibited by the three target groups, (4) investigate the potential role of place-making as a collaborative process that can engage socially disadvantaged communities and finally (5) understand where power circulates and how power relations exist in the management of settlements at the 'small' or 'local' scale. These five aims are explored in various ways through this chapter and then explicitly addressed in its final pages.

3.2 Approach

Survey research includes any measurement procedures that involve asking questions to respondents and informal recording through short paper feedback forms, surveys and intensive in-depth interviews (Trochim, 2001, p.108). The survey results provide threads of information, opinions from elected representatives, valuable insights from staff and a selection of passionate responses from residents and, when finally analysed, showed significant consonance – especially between representatives and residents.

Surveys allow participants time and privacy to read and consider the questions and formulate their answers, but they have limitations – for example, little or no capacity for further clarification. Accepting this shortcoming, the approach taken involved analysis of the data collected, reading and rereading the material to establish themes. Coding of responses to establish commonalities and differences that emerged from the three target groups followed this process. Graphs were made in answer to some questions allowing further interpretation. In protecting the confidentiality and anonymity of all participants no names or personal information was recorded and all

were informed about the research by covering letter accompanying the survey questions. Consent was given by default by those who returned the survey.

A pilot survey comprising 21 questions, including short closed-response quantitative questions, and open-response qualitative questions seeking more in-depth reflections, was administered with an elected representative and a staff member from Council. The two surveys were returned with positive feedback from both participants, and constructive comments resulted in minor editing. The survey took 45 minutes to complete and the questions were described as “deep and searching and not easy to answer quickly or lightly”. In response to their feedback, changes were made to provide more space and some questions were clarified to improve comprehension. The final survey comprised the full 21 questions, nine of them quantitative and 12 qualitative, and these are shown in Tables 3 and 4.

Table 3 Quantitative questions

1. Age	Years
2. Gender	Male Female
3. First generation Australian	Yes No
4. If yes, country of birth	Mother Father
5. Australian born	Yes No
6. If no, country of birth
7. Are you a naturalised Australian citizen	Yes No
8. How long have you lived or worked in Glenorchy?	
9. Are you an elected representative?	

Table 4 Qualitative questions

10. In your opinion what makes Glenorchy a good place to live?
11. What aspects of your neighbourhood and your community enhance or diminish the experience of living in Glenorchy?
12. In considering the phrase “people make the place or the place makes the people” what is your opinion about the influences of place on a person?
13. Has **living** or **working** in Glenorchy shaped you as a person? Describe in what way?
14. “The individual distinctiveness of a place therefore lies not so much in its exact physical forms and arrangements as **in the meanings accorded to it by a community of concerned people**, and the continuity of these meanings from generation to generation.” (Relph, E. 1981, *Rational Landscapes and Humanistic Geography*, p. 172) Do you agree/disagree and what does this statement say to you?
15. Is the term ‘**place-making**’ an idea you feel comfortable with? Describe what it means to you.

16. Are you aware of any **place-making projects** undertaken by Glenorchy City Council over the last ten years? If so can you describe three of them?
17. The Council has adopted a **community participation** style of governing. This is where the community is encouraged to participate through the precinct model, in decision-making regarding a range of community issues by attending local monthly meetings advertised in the Glenorchy Gazette. (a) Are you aware of the process? (b) Describe how you have made use of this opportunity? (c) Describe why you have not been able to participate in the program? (d) Do you have feelings of empowerment through the process? (e) Describe your experiences with the process?
18. Can you describe any strong feelings you have for '**special places**' in Glenorchy? List some of them. Select three and describe them more fully...
19. Can you think of any 'quality of life' projects that would **strengthen and inspire** Glenorchy's **sense of place**?
20. How would you rate your access in Glenorchy to the following quality of life measures? (Education, public safety, the environment, health, social environment, government and politics, culture and recreation mobility/accessibility/transport, infrastructure.) Options given for rating were low, medium and high.
21. Please add any other comments you may wish to make below.

In total, 190 surveys were distributed: 12 (one to each elected representative, of which 11 were returned); 22 to staff in the community development and engineering departments of Council (from which 10 responses were derived); and 165 to the 12 precinct committees. Precinct officers handed out the surveys to those residents attending the monthly precinct meetings, and I was invited to address them and outline the research project. In some instances the surveys were completed at the end of a meeting and handed to me; others were left unanswered or completed and posted to me at Council. One resident requested an electronic copy and completed it online. Despite these efforts to increase the community's involvement in the survey, only 13 responses were completed and so these responses will be treated as information received from a focus group suggesting that their comments are not considered as representative but provided as general interest. Thirty-four responses comprise the total but the consonance among them is noteworthy and, in combination with other sources of data introduced in chapters four and five, they provide useful insights into the research questions as posed in chapter one.

Once the data were collected and collated key words and themes were extracted and coded, the similarities and differences between and among the three groups were

then linked to theory. Some questions remained unanswered and this non-response may have been influenced by political activity and tensions occurring at the time within the organisation and having impact upon both staff and elected representatives. After the survey was completed some of the elected representatives began actively to promote the disbanding of the precinct model. In no way was the survey associated with this situation but it may provide a reason as to why some of the questions about the precinct model and its influences were marked with 'no response'. Similarly some staff members may have decided not answer some questions due to the political atmosphere at the time, whereas residents involved in the precinct process provided confident responses.

Analysis revealed that over half of the respondents were middle aged, between 41 years to 60 years while a quarter were between 20-40 years and the same were aged between 61-80 years. Nearly two-thirds were male. The vast majority identified as Australian born. Two-thirds of the target groups had worked or lived in Glenorchy for more than 15 years while just over one-third had lived or had been working in Glenorchy for less than 15 years. In summary therefore the views obtained represent views from a group of middle aged Australians having a long term association either living or working in Glenorchy, and that does reflect – in general terms – the larger population of the municipality.

3.3 *Major findings*

Analysis of the survey resulted in the identification of three meta-themes of relevance to the research questions in chapter one. The first was the importance of place and place attachment and their effects on social capital. The second was the physical importance of the built environment to health and well-being. The third was the utility of place-making as a mechanism to enhance capacity building.

In what follows I first address how each group responded to the questions posed in the survey instrument. I then turn to an examination of their perceptions and understandings of three particular matters – the community precinct model, special and iconic places common to all, and quality of life ratings in relation to place. Extracts from survey responses are coded by question number, target group (ER, S

and R) and number in group (for example *Q1 ER 2* is question 1 for an elected representative numbered 2 for purposes of de-identification).

Elected representatives valued the relationships that were developing between the people and Council, and expressed the view that Glenorchy people were generally genuine and responsive. Glenorchy's people and their close affinity with the city are among the reasons why it is a good place in which to live. They added that the sense of community and the willingness and readiness of citizens to be involved in community activities typified Glenorchy's community spirit: "The real sense of community. The real sense of belonging. A sense of empowerment" (*Q1 ER 10*).

This spirit was strongly expressed by most elected representatives. For example,

I believe the 'down to earth' behaviour of Glenorchy people who are focussed on providing a better live for their children and who are not captured by trendy elements which exist outside of Glenorchy. In other words, the simple lifestyle of my community creates a rewarding quality of life' (*Q2 ER 7*).

Glenorchy's physical attributes, its position between river and mountain, the beauty, views and spaciousness, are another key to elected representatives' sense of place. It has a unique sense of strength and beauty. It is physically beautiful with many recreational facilities, parks and gardens sandwiched between mountain and river.

Glenorchy was also seen as offering "all services and desires" with a mix of commercial, industrial and residential areas dispersed with recreational opportunities. People living there had access to "all the essentials of a modern city". One elected representative stressed the point that Glenorchy contained diverse ethnic groups, including indigenous Australians and new African and Laotian migrants who had positively influenced the community and municipality. One response in particular suggested that:

The rich amalgamation of people and cultures has had a major impact on my attitudes to life in the city, and the correct prioritising of community needs and how to achieve them for the good of Glenorchy as a whole (*Q4 ER 8*).

The comparative affordability of housing in Glenorchy was valued by most elected

representatives, with access to a wide range of services from shopping to government and recreational linking these themes. A lack of parking fees ensured that Glenorchy provided excellent services for people with disabilities, children and the aged, with easily accessible transport.

Among elected representatives there was a strong sense of community pride and tradition, and these values demonstrate why Glenorchy was a good place to live. One respondent put that sentiment in the following terms:

Glenorchy's people, and their close affinity with the City, are the overwhelming reasons why Glenorchy is a good place to live. The sense of community and the willingness of Glenorchy citizens to involve themselves in community activities is what Glenorchy is all about. Glenorchy is a physically beautiful city with its many recreational facilities, parks and gardens sandwiched between the mountain and river (Q1 ER 8).

Residential areas of social disadvantage, vandalism, low levels of educational attainment and fear of crime were seen by half of the elected representatives as affecting the overall community and a lack of connectedness between people living in their neighbourhoods and supportive environments. Crime levels and fear of crime especially home invasions were noted:

Street vagrants, street kids, alcoholics, druggies and homeless men. Crime level. Unacceptable unemployment level. Lack of economic and suitable infrastructure for operating some particular types of businesses. Too many community service programs for the minority that should be provided by other charitable agencies or government departments (Q2 ER 9).

Under the leadership of Mayor Martin, Council had worked hard to address the fear of crime within the community, working closely with local police and organising a number of strategies to address community safety, share information and build community confidence. Accordingly, most elected representatives noted the importance of addressing issues that could diminish the fear of crime in Glenorchy.

Although the municipality's setting between the mountain and river enhances a sense of well-being in Glenorchy, some elected representatives suggested that additional efforts were warranted by residents to lift the profile of the city by caring more for private property. One noted how Glenorchy's tarnished reputation could be

addressed by such actions, and most agreed that living in a safe, clean, tidy and attractive place imparts “feelings of pride, self worth and happiness” and was to be encouraged of residents.

I would like the city to be more ‘beautiful’ through the use of more landscaping (Q2 ER 7).

It is my view that the beautification of Glenorchy has not been seriously addressed and must become a priority (Q 21 ER 11).

Many responses linked vandalism to unemployment and a concomitant lack of care for the municipality’s environs. Poorly maintained buildings in industrial areas seemed to attract anti-social behaviour, the costs of mitigating its material expression in vandalism nevertheless prompting no explicit concern about increasing costs even though mitigation funds could be redirected from future capital works projects.

In the literature strong links are made between the quality of the built environment and levels of community positiveness, good health and economic prosperity (Brown, 1992; Butterworth, 2000; Carmona, 2003; Hough, 1990; Madden, 2004; Marcus, 1998; Schneekloth, 1995; Whyte, 1980). The form and function of a city create fluctuating tensions that arise from attempts to establish a dynamic balance between built form and citizen activities. The viability of the city is measured by the resilience and adaptability of the community to accommodate and incorporate change. Brown (1992) implies there are three main channels that carry these interchanges; the social support system, the market economy and community organisation. Brown further defines community organisation as the outcome of a complex set of regulatory agencies that include parental discipline through to the criminal justice system. While elected representatives raised the need for physical improvements to enhance the built environment, including more beautification projects within the City and more greenery to help change the negative perceptions of Glenorchy they also expressed an understanding about the strength and tenacity of the community. A strong sense of place and pride in place was evident from all responses. Asking whether people make the place or the place makes the people signifying that a positive environment can influence social behaviour and assist levels of positiveness, health and well-being, one elected representative responded by saying

I think the people make the place. Place is important ... it influences the way we feel. Living in a safe, clean, tidy and attractive place gives you the feeling of pride, self worth and happiness. It also helps to decrease vandalism and damage (Q3 ER 4).

All responded positively to place-making actions that resulted in building community capacity and connectivity. They expressed a strong sense of belonging to the municipality and there was genuine affinity with the place and its people. Significant emphasis was placed upon relationships with local citizens, and upon the privilege inherent in being chosen to speak on behalf of the community and to develop programs and capital works projects that promote Glenorchy as a positive place. The majority of responses used terms such as “real sense of community” or “real sense of belonging” as if to gesture to high stocks of social capital, depth and resilience.

For some elected representatives, place-making processes were like home making, the objective being to create places that appeal, encourage a sense of belonging and a sense of being valued and respected.

I like the diversity of the city, not only people but environment. It has a unique sense of strength and beauty (Q1 ER 3).

In this respect, elected representatives wanted to be appreciated for good decision-making and expanding infrastructure within the city that would create a better physical and non-physical environment. It was important to most that the physical form and social networks in Glenorchy created a positive image and nurtured a distinctive identity. Most of their responses reflected the outstanding setting of Glenorchy, a linear city following the line of the river and mountain slopes. Its people were seen as equally distinctive, with a working class history flavoured by migration adding to the cultural identity that forms Glenorchy. The strong sense of community and the willingness to be involved are local characteristics most highly valued.

Half of Council staff surveyed did not live in Glenorchy, yet most agreed that living in Glenorchy provided affordable housing, good services, and free car parking in the commercial areas with little need to travel into nearby Hobart. Occasionally, staff responded with critical comments to questions on place suggesting that “many

people living in Glenorchy appeared to exist on welfare, the culture of the city has deteriorated and people don't seem to respect others or themselves". As one staff member observed:

I no longer live in Glenorchy, however still work here. My memory from childhood pictures, a great place and environment for play, friends and schooling (Cadbury Estate). I remember mostly 'family units' from 'working class' background, normally adult male having paid employment. Life seemed pretty good in Glenorchy then. My perspective today however is different, whether it is perception of reality, I don't believe it is a good place to live. The culture of the city has deteriorated. I see more people on welfare than in paid jobs. People here don't seem to respect others or themselves ... to finish on a good note Glenorchy provides some good services. Shopping, recreation facilities e.g. bike track (Q1 S 1).

Most agreed that Council was willing to provide comprehensive services in Glenorchy and the initiatives taken had resulted in the transformation of Glenorchy into a better place to live. All major services are available but one comment suggested the culture had deteriorated with more people on welfare than in paid jobs. The majority of staff appeared to support the developing community-Council relationship, and suggested that it was a positive demonstration where consultation and participation empowered the community making it a good place for citizens. Relatedly, staff with experience in community liaison of some description valued the community spirit which they felt in their interactions with residents. The sense of community was important and was expressed in terms of a sense of pride, community loyalty and cohesion. In contrast, it was only a minority of staff who noted the values of the natural environment or physical settings of Glenorchy, such as peaceful suburbs and locales, and water front access.

Not surprisingly, staff tended to emphasise the importance of services. Access to shopping, affordable housing and work opportunities were highly valued. As one respondent suggested,

Glenorchy has the complete package, so to speak, sporting facilities, entertainment venues, general recreation, shopping and industry (Q1 S 7).

Of the nearly two-thirds of staff who valued the municipality's focus on service, most staff agreed that such service provision occurred in a relatively harmonious setting with minimum "conflict and intrusion". However, concerns about low levels of educational attainment, comparatively high levels of anti-social behaviour and vandalism to Council assets featured strongly in most staff responses on questions related to the built environment, health and well-being. A number observed that people seemed neither to care about nor respect public spaces and places. Glenorchy was seen by some as a place whose residents "thrive on being negative":

A person's lifestyle is impacted upon by the surroundings they are placed in. A positive infrastructure surrounding a person tends to have a positive impact, a negative one has the potential to have a negative impact (Q3 S 7).

Most responses emphasised the point that place has an influence upon how a person thinks and acts, and that physical settings shape the characteristics and outlook of any community:

The influence of a place on a person can significantly increase or decrease a sense of connectedness to a community and all associated positives/negatives flow-on behaviours (Q3 S 5).

People and lifestyles are affected by the surroundings in which they live and many staff responses supported the notion that a positive infrastructure will create a positive impact on local citizens. Conversely a negative one has the potential to have a negative impact. Over time, some staff suggested that people are shaped by the value and heritage of community as well as by physical location and geographical characteristics.

Place also influences how people think and act, and staff were aware that place-making needs to ensure that community infrastructure is accessible and appropriately reflects a community's diverse heritage, values, work, recreation, socio-economic status and lifestyles. Being exposed to a diverse cross-section of cultures, races and ages through community consultation processes has developed greater understanding and empathy among some staff.

One of the city's greatest attributes is its foreshore areas. Parks, reserves and foreshore walks and cycle ways will enhance Glenorchy's allurement (image) as a recreational location (Q12 S 9).

However, a number also revealed a narrow comprehension of the term place-making and yet many of them were responsible for place-making decisions, in positions of power and able to influence place-making opportunities now and in the future. For some the ease of access to shopping and schools for those without transport was valued, as was access to Council and other Government services, parking and sporting facilities. Access to a wide range of commercial, government and recreational services were highly valued, so was Council's active community approach.

Council was generally seen by the resident focus group as responding to diverse community needs rather than being limited in its concerns to roads and sewerage, and the opportunity for engagement afforded by the precinct system was also noted. Most agreed housing affordability was an advantage of living in Glenorchy. In the words of one resident:

It's a suburb with everything, i.e. work, transport, facilities, recreation without excessive charges for public services no parking or water meters (Q1 R 9).

Ethnic diversity and community tolerance were also valued by residents, and some commented upon the relaxed community atmosphere provided by church, school and Council facilities, where people were seen to be special and friendly. The physical settings of the municipality, its diverse locales and environments, climate and views were all valued. As one riverbank dweller noted,

I work here and do not like wasting time travelling to work. I also love the river Derwent. Living on the water is like living in heaven for me (Q1 R 11).

Resident respondents appear to clearly understand the relationships among the built environment, health and well-being. In particular, the importance of good neighbours and opportunities for engagement provided by social activities promoted by Council and local organisations were seen by the majority as positive and highly valued.

Most remarked on the number and location of parks and open spaces in the

municipality, although a number also noted the negative effects of anti-social behaviour in such places. Most also voiced some criticism about the lack of street and garden trees and some lamented the vandalism which had occurred to those trees that had been planted by Council in public spaces. Certainly, Glenorchy's streets are sparsely vegetated, although the recent popularisation of garden shows on television has prompted some changes in domestic gardening in the municipality, such that private residences are beginning to green the local streetscapes. Certainly, too, Glenorchy is well-serviced with open spaces and playgrounds but many are tree-less. Some felt there was still much to do:

The apathy in the area reduces my experience of living here. People only seem to get involved in something if there is a negative they can complain about rather than a positive they can do something about (Q2 R 11).

Many responses tended to support the idea that people make the place and that place has an impact on social responsibilities towards others living nearby.

If a place shows that there is pride in its keeping then people may be more respectful of the place and help to keep the pride. On the other hand if a place is run-down and ill kept then people have the potential to mirror that feeling and therefore contribute to its downward spiral. Places need to have positive feelings – wonderful to be in (Q3 R 13).

Many saw Glenorchy as a place with strong ties to family and neighbours and friends, and valued the social networks that reinforce community capacity among “friendly people” and “good and caring neighbours”. A number of responses did point to the negative elements of living in Glenorchy and apathy, low educational attainment levels, litter, graffiti and vandalism were seen to diminish liveability. Relatedly, residents also supported place-making as a mechanism that encouraged the community to create and discuss openly ideas for mutual community benefit positively impact on the built environment. Their responses suggested that place-making projects in the public realm were seen to enhance local suburbs and they valued the community-Council model because it involved people in decision-making.

We take an interest in our city through precincts and try to follow up on projects to beautify our city (Q7 R 11).

Many also recognised business centre revitalisation projects, open space and park development as place-making projects that provided quality of life improvements for the wider community. Many respondents valued community development through design discussions embedded in Council's participative processes.

3.3.1 Community-Council Precinct Program

In responding to questions about the precinct program a majority of elected representatives saw their future roles as being involved and being accessible to the community. Half were supportive of the community-Council model. When asked about levels of citizen empowerment achieved through participation, their responses were evenly divided with some openly critical and:

not particularly impressed with the current community precinct model [and] would like it to be more effective in achieving tangible outcomes ... as opposed to simply being community consultation process for Council (Q8d ER 5).

Few staff responded to questions about participation, perhaps thinking that the question was directed at residents or perhaps being concerned that their responses to another member of staff may be overly revealing of opinions not favoured by official Council policy supporting the precinct experiment. Their responses generally supported the notion of community empowerment but inferred that precinct members should be encouraged to leave the technical aspects of any decisions to the experts that Council employs:

At times it has been a useful public consultation tool (Q8b S 2).

Many of the precincts are moving towards developing and managing their own community improving projects (Q8b S 3).

It [the precinct system] didn't make use of me (Q8b S 10).

Some expressed concern about the haste with which the program had been implemented and observed that it had generated increased workloads and an increase in community complaints. The precincts were in their infancy when the survey was undertaken but when asked about the possibility of Council encouraging more community participation using place-making processes staff made the following

comments that suggest a degree of discontent with representativeness and interference with professional work practices:

... only a small section of the community are represented ... (older retirees), so any outcomes from the community participation process may be biased towards a certain line of thinking (Q8e S 2).

Community participation can give the public a false sense of power over matters that require sound engineering or expert engineering judgement (Q8e S 8).

Among the residents many responses indicated support for attending meetings and taking an active part in precinct projects - but most were not interested in participation of that kind:

...there are a few good people in the precinct committees however and I prefer to stay off their patch and leave it up to them (Q8c S 1).

Some felt that Council had become captive to a noisy majority that would jeopardise its capacity to plan effectively for the future. Conversely, or those who did participate, there were initial feelings of empowerment and a view that the precinct system should be more and not less community driven, but these descended into feelings of frustration as residents engaged in precincts experienced delays in the implementation of decisions and poor feedback mechanisms about such delays. Some had (erroneously) assumed the new consultative model was a vehicle for swift handling of complaints.

Figure 6 summarises responses across the three target groups to questions 7 and 9, and specifically respondent lists of places in Glenorchy that are special to them and their levels of awareness of place-making initiatives undertaken by the City of Glenorchy over the ten years prior to the survey's administration. All residents and elected representatives valued Glenorchy's location and its connection with the environment. Place-making initiatives were valued when it could be demonstrated that they would increase opportunities for social engagement, conviviality, community health and well-being and local economic prosperity offering an opportunity for community engagement.

Tellingly, when asked what they saw as special places, staff nominated no sites at all. Again, this silence may have a number of explanations. It may, in fact, mean that staff have a strong sense of what might be possible in Glenorchy but see no manifestation of best-practice place-making in reality. It may be reluctance to discuss places with the employee charged with place-making projects in the first place. It may also be that they tended to try and maintain a critical distance from emotional investments in places in which they work, and saw the question as one they were literally unable to answer.

Figures 7 and 8 reveal target group responses to place-making initiatives in Glenorchy. All target groups supported investment in foreshore parkland redevelopments and business centre revitalisation projects. Elected representatives and residents had very similar responses, supportive of open space recreational developments, centre revitalisation projects. Shopping centre developments were held in high regard as special places. As privately owned and operated perceived public spaces this response suggests an opportunity for further research.

The survey provided positive confirmation by elected representatives and residents of the need for ongoing investment into Glenorchy's recreational infrastructure, local parks and foreshore reserves and natural areas. The range of community organisations and social networks also valued by these two groups reflects the importance of social capital as a necessary element that binds communities together reinforcing cohesiveness and social well-being (Australia Government Productivity Commission, 2003, Fukuyama, 1995, McQueen and Lyons, 2001, Putnam, 2000, Rydin, 1999, Rydin and Pennington, 2000).

Figure 6 Comparison of special places by target groups

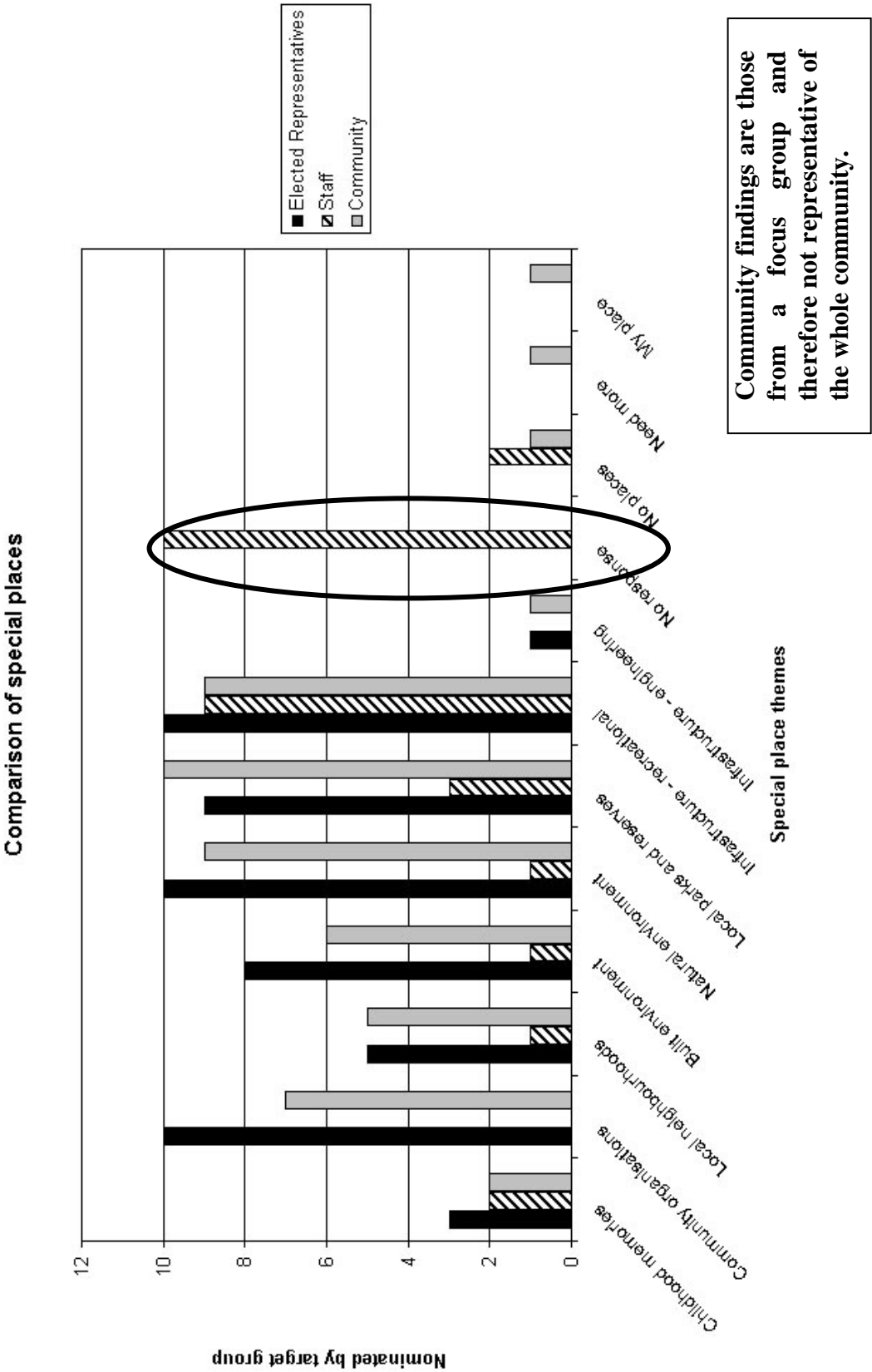


Figure 7 Elected representatives' responses to place-making initiatives

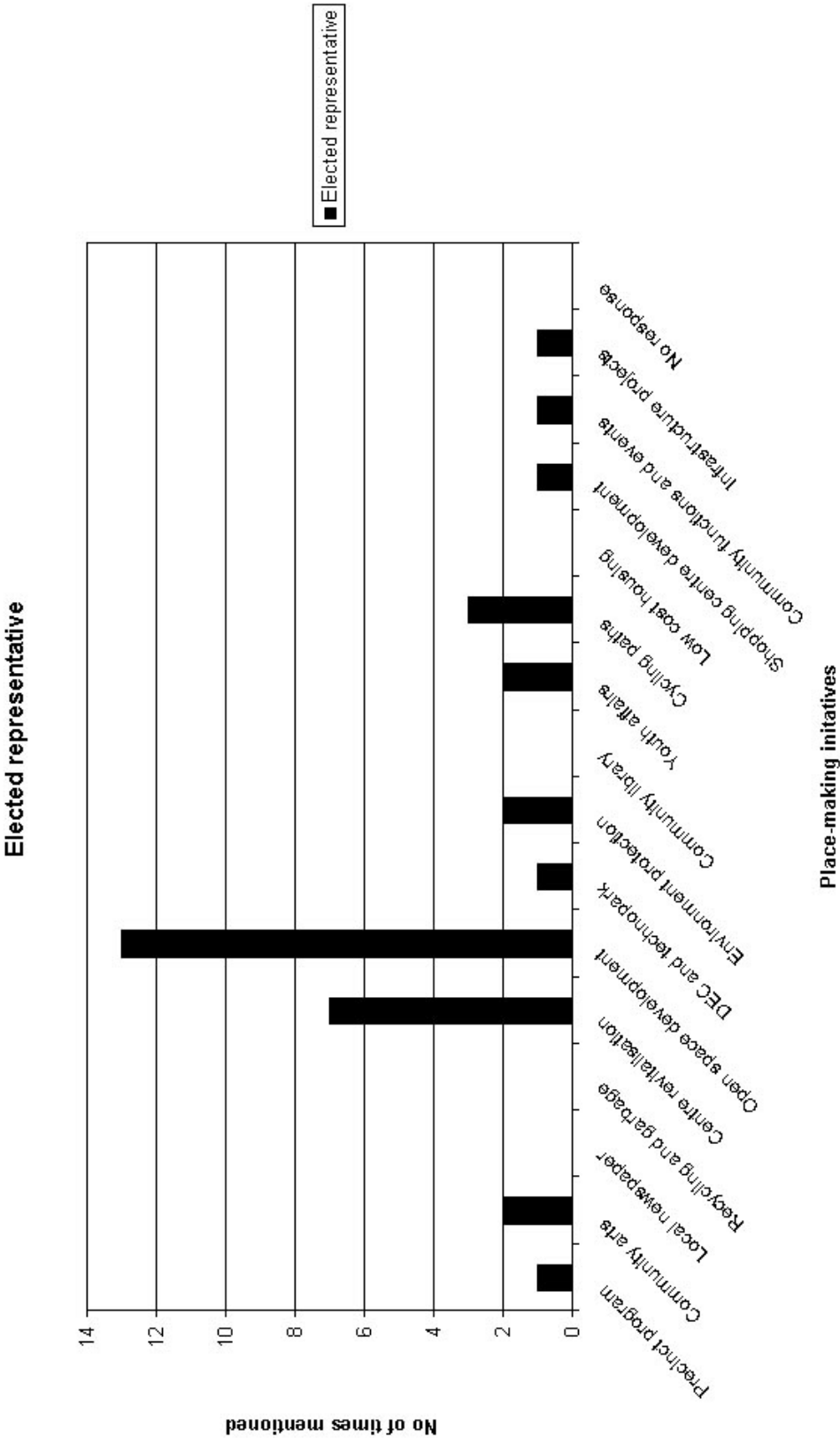
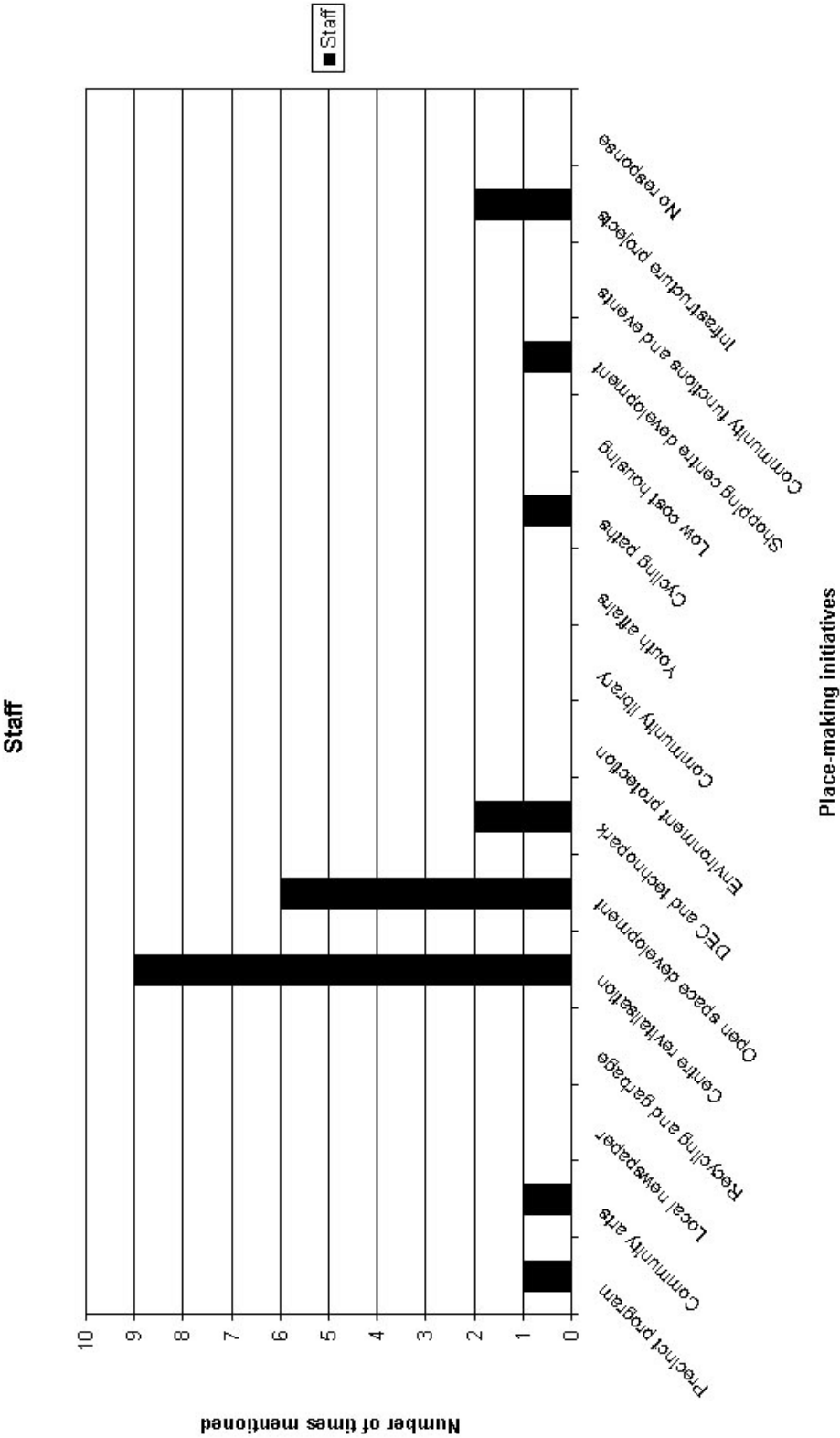


Figure 8 Staff responses to place-making initiatives



3.3.2 Quality of life ratings for Glenorchy

The final two survey questions on quality of life projects and measures encouraged respondents to explore their own visions for future social, environmental and economic development opportunities that would improve the overall quality of life in Glenorchy (Inam, 2002, Mackey, no date, Martin, 2004, Massey, 2000 Quinn, 2005 #348). Elected representatives continued to support quality of life projects that involved physical improvements to Glenorchy's central business district, suggesting that development of the city centre lawns and bus-mall space, including St Matthew's church would create a vibrant urban space. Quality of life projects were interpreted as those which would encourage social interaction and conviviality, and their responses validated the need to develop more places that would attract people to stay and spend time. Elected representatives supported future developments that would make Glenorchy's central business district a place attracting a variety of uses, people and activities.

Staff favoured quality of life projects that would strengthen and inspire the ongoing development of Glenorchy's sense of place through continued foreshore parkland developments and cycle ways, reinforcing Glenorchy's image as a premier recreational destination.

I believe that projects based on the correct philosophy work best, that is the community work together with a facilitator to determine their vision for the community (not imposed by outsiders) and then in partnership strategies are undertaken towards the vision. This is also how the Bridgewater BURP⁴ and Ravenswood 'Walk Tall Project' operates. Community owned and empowered (Q10 S 10).

⁴ BURP refers to Bridgewater and Gagebrook Urban Renewal Project, a community program to improve quality of life in the very socially disadvantaged suburbs of Bridgewater and Gagebrook north of Glenorchy in the adjoining municipality of Brighton. It emphasised personal responsibility and local projects for local people. Its founder Cris [correct spelling] Fitzpatrick worked tirelessly to make the area a better place to live before her untimely death in the early 2000s from cancer. Ravenswood is a public housing suburb in Launceston in Tasmania's north.

Residents felt that development programs which promoted greater civic pride and volunteerism would help strengthen Glenorchy's quality of life. They recognised the importance of streetscape and facility improvements highlighting the need for more street trees, riverside walks, and cycle tracks. Encouraging youth involvement in the life of the city more artworks, sculptures, buskers, street markets were important public activities raised by residents.

Start thinking of ourselves as special ... when I questioned the architectural value of our new cinema. I was told by Council staff you can't have a Rolls Royce development for the price of a mini. We deserve better and better does not always cost more. If we're only worth 'mini' we'll always feel disgruntled (Q10 R 8).

Using eight standard quality of life indicators, education, public safety, environment, health, social environment, government and politics, culture and recreation and finally mobility/accessibility/ transport/infrastructure, participants were also asked to rate their access to these in Glenorchy (Figures 9 and 10).

Elected representatives expressed satisfaction with their access to many of the quality of life indicators, but agreed with the resident focus group that the social environment was less than satisfactory. Staff rated their access for all quality of life indicators in the medium range with access/mobility, transport/infrastructure rating the highest level in the high category and all aspects rating high in the medium category except for education that appeared significantly lower.

Resident responses to quality of life indicators showed satisfaction with, in order of priority, access to (1) environment and mobility/accessibility transport/infrastructure followed by (2) education, health, public safety, culture and recreation; government and politics with access to the (3) social environment measuring the lowest rating.

Figure 9 Elected representative responses: access to quality of life measures

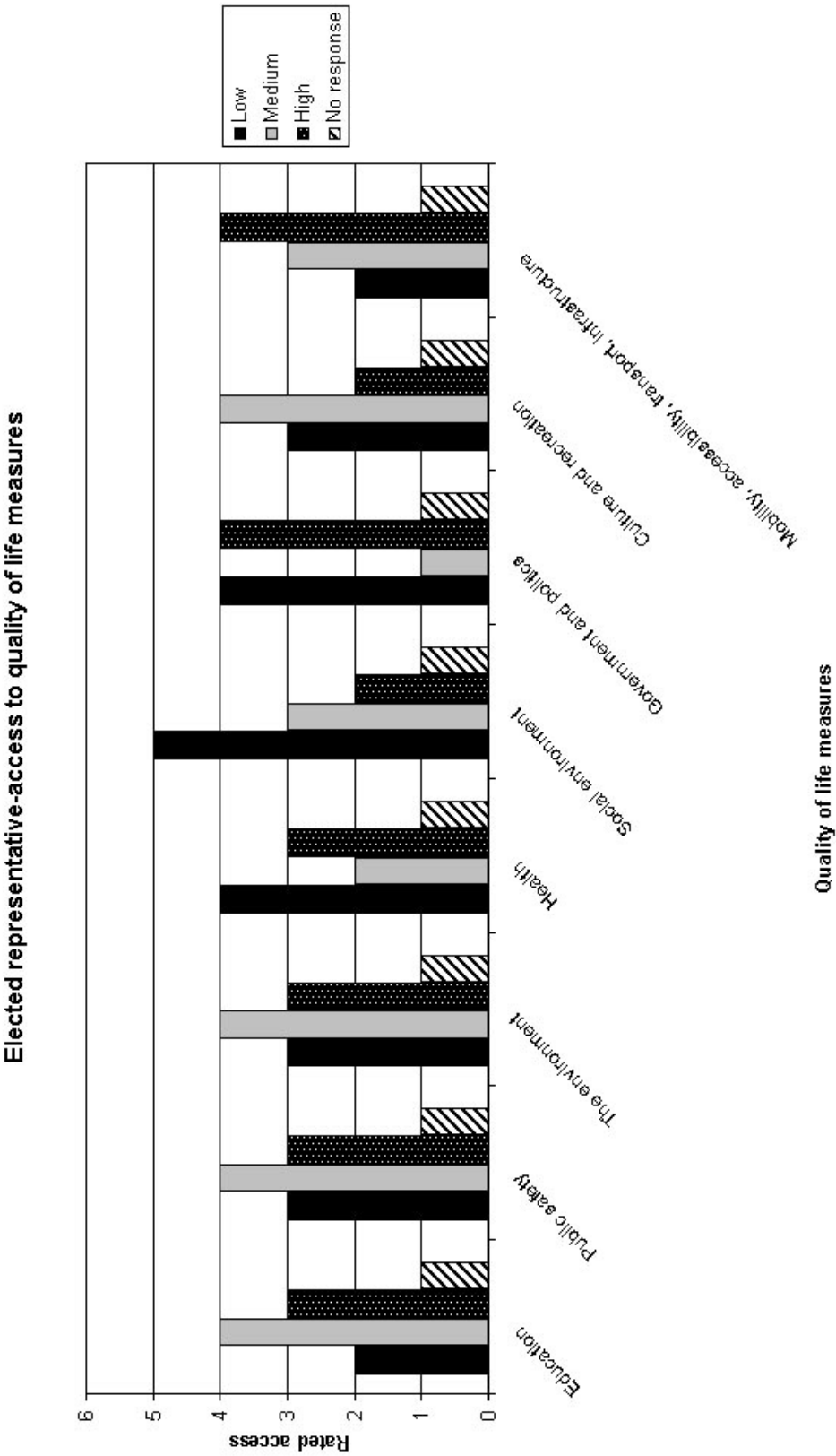
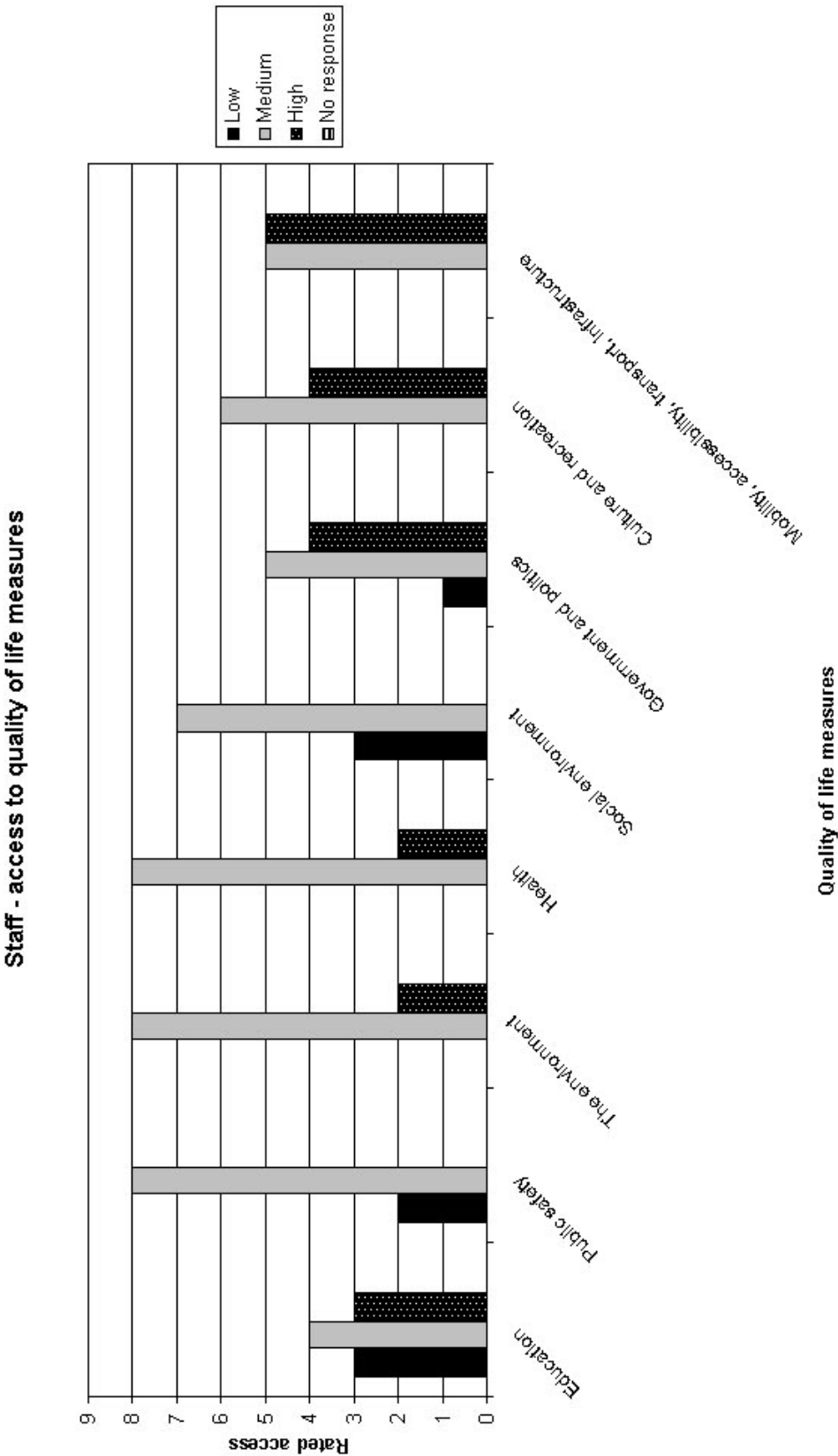


Figure 10 Staff responses: access to quality of life measures



3.4 Place-making – so what?

In terms of the specifics of place-making, the aim of the survey was to (1) evaluate the meaning of place-making to people working and living in Glenorchy, (2) establish the relevance of completed projects to those affected by place-making, (3) understand the levels of place attachment exhibited by the three target groups, (4) investigate the potential role of place-making as a collaborative process that can engage socially disadvantaged communities and finally (5) understand where power circulates and how power relations exist in the management of settlements at the ‘small’ or ‘local’ scale.

Responses provided insight into the perceptions of people from three distinct groups who were associated with decision-making about places in Glenorchy although it is recognised that resident responses were not representative of community views. Whether as initiators, designers, decision makers or recipients of place-making initiatives, levels of understanding and connectivity were not dependent upon roles or position.

A community responsible for making and maintaining a place involves those who live and work there regulating and directing development and change. Local government is ideally situated to lead this process and facilitate an open and convivial theatre of participation invoking place-making tools rather than patriarchal and manipulative levels of control through the exercise of bureaucratic urban planning rules. Individuals have a responsibility to ensure their local government engages with diverse communities ensuring minority groups are given voice and that their needs and aspirations are heard.

Various final insights may be synthesised from the findings.

The meaning of place-making to people working and living in Glenorchy

I found that all three target group responses understood the meaning of place-making and value in ongoing development of a local identity, reinforcing community pride,

and supporting new and existing social networks. For all respondents the affordability, sense of community, natural setting and accessibility of Glenorchy were important factors in choosing to live or work there. Community pride was believed to be strong and although social issues were of concern, there was a positive will to work together with Council to bring about positive change.

The relevance of completed projects to those affected by place-making

All members of the target groups valued the importance of public investment in quality of life projects or place-making believing that improvements to the built environment and protection of natural systems reflect upon that community. There was wide support for improved recreational facilities, streetscapes, revitalised business and shopping areas and for the development of places and spaces that would support social interaction for all community members.

Adding meaning to places and developing a community identity are place-making outcomes. Individual place-making projects can satisfy the multitude of needs and wishes that come with a diverse community. Ongoing place-making projects are able to reflect changing community attitudes, interests and requirements embodying the belief that a community of people can work together to achieve a better quality of life. The scope for citizen initiated place-making is currently in its infancy in Glenorchy but the level of understanding for place-making as a collaborative community process appears to have widespread support.

Many of the place-making projects undertaken by Council over the last ten to fifteen years had been positively received by the target groups with elected representatives seeking more projects and greater community involvement. There was agreement that community capacity building and social cohesion could be expanded through positive place-making in Glenorchy.

Levels of place attachment exhibited by the three target groups

Survey results showed a strong affinity and connection to Glenorchy more because of the people, services and geographical locality rather than notions of built form or liveable streets. Glenorchy was an affordable convenient place in which to live and

do business for many. The most challenging outcome was the unconnectedness of staff to Glenorchy from a personal place perspective. This response suggested that perhaps people working in Glenorchy had not developed a sense of belonging or attachment to place. This lack of attachment could be interpreted in several ways: first, staff could have assumed that the question about special places was not relevant to them; second, there was no emotional connection to a place that was not their home territory; third, the political climate at the time influenced their decision to remain indifferent.

A large number of staff working in the roads and recreation department was involved in the survey. They were skilled technical people with power and influence concerning the shaping and development of place within Glenorchy. Some supported greater community participation in their work but the majority either did not respond to the questions or made suggestions that it was a good mechanism to distribute Council information. There was a strong comment that the community should leave the technical aspects of any decision to the experts' Council employs. As Flyvbjerg (1998, p.229) found in his research, one of the privileges of power, and an integral part of its rationality, is the freedom to define reality. When this freedom is constrained the absence of rational argument and factual documentation to support certain actions may be more important indicators of power than arguments and documentation produced. Staff was not comfortable with sharing knowledge and power, the process was seen as undermining their position as well as lengthening the process for little benefit.

The potential role of place-making as a collaborative process that can engage socially disadvantaged communities

Survey results only partially provided supporting evidence for this. Both staff responses and resident responses did however provide comments to suggest that in their experience both as initiators of projects and as people involved in consultative processes, community empowerment and skill development were important as well as project goals and final built forms.

Where power circulates and how power relations exist in the management of settlements at the 'small' or 'local' scale

A top-down approach continues to be the dominant hegemony for Glenorchy Council, in spite of the precinct model and is more likely to result in providing unsuccessful public spaces. Community led place-making should evolve from community defined issues in public spaces so that the project becomes relevant for those concerned. Working locally on a myriad of issues from transport to beautification is best done collectively, and to be effective those involved in generating knowledge (Council staff, design consultants), posing issues, implementing plans or evaluating results must be situated within the local social and political environment. Local area planning and retrofitting projects that add value and connectivity to people and their places is at the heart of community led place-making.

* * * * *

In a democracy, actions are based on the idea of a personal interest requirement (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995, p.14) meaning that if a group or person has a direct and personal interest then ethically and logically they should be included in discussions and subsequent actions. Often this logic is used to exclude, and those with power, secure in stable power relations decide who is to be included and excluded. The open invitation to Glenorchy residents to participate in the community-Council precinct model attempts to expand community discourse but has failed to fully capture its potential. The process remains managed and controlled by Council staff and limited by isolated departmental structures evident in Council that protect the dominant hegemony and ensure stable power relationships are maintained.

The next chapter interrogates the 2003 Works Festival held in Glenorchy, as a place-making event. Promoted by Council to be an inclusive and collaborative process aimed at engaging the broader community through the arts I unpack the festival to establish how well it performed.

Chapter 4 Community Conversation 2

Activities are the basic building blocks of a place. They are the reasons people come the first time and why they return. They can also make a place special or unique. When there is nothing to do there, a place will be empty and unused and that generally means that something is wrong (Madden, 2000, p.19).

4.1 *Introduction*

Festivals can be extraordinary events that celebrate culture, place and people. They provide the opportunity for creative expression, exhibitionism, cultural exchange and importantly the chance for people to have fun. A special atmosphere is created, streets are closed, and citizens gather to watch and be watched, people smile and are convivial. Proud parents watch children perform; friends and strangers meet, artists perform and community members are drawn together by the moments of celebration. This phenomenon has been happening more recently in urban centres and towns worldwide over the past fifteen years and reasons behind the proliferation may lie in a series of interrelated factors. Among them, Quinn (2005, p.928) describes changing approaches to urban management, structural changes in economic production, and the use of culture as a means of restructuring wealth and job creation and the unsettling effects of globalisation.

There is a drive for those who govern contemporary cities to reposition their sites using festivals as a vehicle to establish distinctive qualities and to differentiate them from other places, thereby securing investment interest for long-term economic gain. Urban restructuring and regeneration are occurring worldwide as older cities cease being centres of manufacturing and production, and find new roles and capital investment with the purpose of marketing themselves as new attractive places and creating place distinctiveness. Quinn (2005, p.929) explains that “current literature is divided on whether the strategy of marketing and place distinctiveness may be counter-productive as festivals globally are becoming formulaic themselves and devoid of any real place connection”.

Other perspectives on culture-led urban regeneration argue that the reproduction of sameness need not be the outcome. Local particularities can be cultivated to counter

the globalising influences of cultural production in city arenas. Structuring festivals so that they connect with globalisation processes but are not overwhelmed by them, requires a deeper consideration of the social and cultural particularities of the cities in question. A study by Bailey and his colleagues in 2004 and cited by Quinn (2005) poses the idea that the future for festivals may be located in the area of cultural planning and developed with the aim of engaging with the lives of those people who live in the city rather than being about regenerating the city itself.

In Tasmania, evidence to support the latter argument is seen in the success of *10 Days on the Island* in Tasmania, which celebrates islandness and diversity; the *Hobart Summer Festival*, which celebrates the completion of the *Sydney to Hobart Yacht Race*; Launceston's *Summer Festival*, focused on Tasmania's quality food and wine production; and the *Hobart Winter Festival*, celebrating Hobart's cooler climate and close association with Antarctica. Tasmania's *Living Writers Week* markets Tasmania as the place for writers to live and work using entrepreneurial displays; book launches readings and restaurant meals with writers as guest speakers extolling the virtues of a new Tasmanian enterprise. Finally the bi-biennial *Wooden Boat Festival* has launched Hobart as the home of the nation's largest exhibition of wooden boats on a three-day weekend in February

Behind these major festivals are high levels of investment, government support and professional planning and management. They are more than a sprinkling of culture added to physical regeneration projects; they are big business marketing Tasmania globally attracting visitors, reclaiming public spaces and encouraging local participation.

Council's interest in arts and cultural development began on a modest scale in the 1960s when the Moonah's business community lobbied Council to provide support for annual Christmas parades. By the 1970s, this effort expanded to include *Carols by Candlelight* in Glenorchy's regional Tolosa Park. By the early 1990s, activities included a concert series located in the Derwent Regional Library, a regional event known as *Symphony Under the Stars* with the acclaimed Tasmanian Symphony Orchestra and providing a Proms-like concert on a summer evening from the sound shell in Tolosa Park. Patrons are encouraged to bring wine and food and picnic on

the grassy slope listening to the orchestra. In 1994, a *Year of the Family* festival was held in Tolosa Park where an installation remains comprised of decorated pavers and hand painted tree sculptures as a result of artists working with community on the day.

When Hobart City Council ceased support for the *North Hobart Multicultural Festival*⁵ in the later 1990s, Council encouraged its relocation to Moonah, changing its focus and name in 1997, to the *Gum Tree Festival*; it operated for three years. It was later revamped into the *Festival of Humour* coordinated by local businesses but with limited Council support.

By far the biggest festival event for Glenorchy has been the *Works Festival*. An interview with Council's Arts and Cultural Development Officer, Jenny Gorringer (2006) provided me with the following background information

... the idea for a festival in Glenorchy originally came about in the form of a theatrical event in Tolosa Park. The event was supposed to link three generations (Grandmothers Mothers and Daughters) called 'Doing Us Proud' and [to] celebrate identity and diversity within Glenorchy ... originally the project was coordinated by the Moonah Art Centre Arts & Cultural Development Officers [in] partnership with Theatre Director Richard Bladel who then was appointed as the Union Arts Officer at Union Tasmania. ... The project direction changed ... from the first draft as a theatre proposal and then a Circus event ... [eventually becoming] The Works Festival which looked at the relationship of industry, employment, unemployment in the area of Glenorchy.

When the theatrical proposal was dropped, \$4,000 had been invested in developing a circus event and producing a publication that in the end were never used. In 2000 the *Works Festival* finally materialized. It was designed to celebrate Glenorchy's industrial and working class heritage, work relationships, involving the employed and unemployed in Glenorchy.

Unions Tasmania supported the new festival concept and was willing to provide financial support making sponsorship from local industries more likely. Gorringer told me that "The idea was seen as a true representation of Glenorchy's past and

⁵ The North Hobart Multi Cultural Festival was an initiative of local business in the North Hobart shopping strip and has since metamorphosed into the annual Greek Festival coordinated by the Greek community adjacent their club in Federal Street, North Hobart.

continued to evolve into a festival that suggested a positive future through animating the community, celebrating diversity and being inclusive” (2006, personal comm.). The first *Works Festival* had an inauspicious beginning. It occurred in Main Road Glenorchy, outside the Council offices on a wet Sunday in May. It was to have a film component and street parade but was totally washed out.

Council keen to provide a more comprehensive event in 2003 formed a second partnership with a multi art form arts company that had experience and the ability to provide a total focus on community cultural development, namely Kickstart Arts Inc (KSC). The main goal of the festival was “becoming a major biennial event in southern Tasmania” (City of Glenorchy, 2002c, p.7).

4.2 Conversations from the 2003 Works Festival

My aim in reviewing the 2003 *Works Festival* was to establish if (1) the festival contributed to place-making in Glenorchy, (2) facilitated the expression of diverse cultural identities, (3) raised Glenorchy’s image or profile in the Tasmanian Festival context, and finally (4) was used as a city marketing tool emphasising sociability, playfulness, joviality and community. As Quinn (2005) suggests, in reality festivals only provide a ready made set of positive images that reconstruct a less than perfect city image and that this is often the real outcome of many urban city festivals. Quinn argues that city managers often use festivals as a quick-fix solution to image problems especially in depressed, problem-ridden, post-industrial cities where they have been shown to successfully transform such cities into attractive and culturally interesting service-driven places. Would this be the situation in Glenorchy?

Quinn (2005) refers to and interprets work by Charles Landry, known for his creative cities ideas, and concludes that the crude interests of the local economy and of the city as a whole do not always coincide. There is often a failure to appreciate that image campaigns with little grounding in local needs and aspirations can backfire. Genuine festivals must be rooted on society, in real life and art festivals artistically responsible evolving in tandem with the changing artistic needs felt by diverse resident and visitor community groups within a place. Quinn also notes that research through the 1990s suggests that growing interest in festivity during that decade is

linked to its use as a social strategy to combat the growing alienation and insecurity felt in public space. Historically, festivals are mechanisms used by place-based communities to express identity, celebrate communal values and strengthen bonds but when utilised by governments as image makers or economic quick fixes to encourage consumption, festival goers are reduced to being customers rather than participants.

How would I categorise the 2003 *Works Festival*? Was it a genuine festival representing people and place? Did it succeed as a place-making event for participants? Did the festival reveal less visible mechanisms of power? To find out, I used a number of methods to review the festival and seek answers to my questions.

The 2003 *Works Festival* was held over nine days in May, culminating with a street parade. Overall there were 31 events programmed over the nine days with 15 major events. Planning and organising, project development, consultation, artistic appointments and funding applications occurred over the preceding 18 months. My research generated 19 complete participant surveys at different festival events; three in-depth interviews with festival organisers (the artistic director and two co-producers) once the festival was over and a number of discussions held with Council's Arts and Community Development Officer. Observations, photographs and notes from my attendance at many events provided opportunities to be absorbed into the cultural setting and experience it as participant observer. Analysis also included secondary sources from Council reports and newspaper articles.

When administering the survey, participants were given an information sheet to read informing them of my position at Council and outlining the research project. No personal information was required and the process remained anonymous. Using multiple methods of qualitative enquiry (Patton, 1990, Trochim, 2001) I attended weekday, evening and weekend events in order to undertake place-making research. Of the fifteen major events I was able to attend seven as an observer taking photos and making notes involved in workshops and events, immersing myself into the festival and undertaking 'in-place' participant surveys. The survey questions follow (Table 5).

Table 5 Survey questions, 2003 Works Festival

1. What is your age range? (Circle) 0-12,13-18,19-30, 51-60, 61-70, over 70
2. Gender Male Female
3. Which suburb do you live in?
4. How did you find out about the festival?
5. Have you enjoyed the event? Expand on why?
6. Did you think you think the festival says something about (please tick)
Glenorchy as a community
Glenorchy as a place to live or
Glenorchy as a place to work? If so how?
7. Should the festival run each year or every second year or not at all?
Outline your reasons why?

As Patton (1987) argues there are no simple formulae nor clear-cut rules about how to undertake a credible, high quality analysis. The task is to do one's best, to make sense out of things returning to the data over and over again to see if the constructs, categories, explanations, and interpretations make sense and if they really reflect the nature of the phenomena. Creativity, intellectual rigor, perseverance, insight-are the intangibles that allow qualitative enquiry to move beyond routine scientific procedures.

4.3 Festival in Place

The 2003 *Works Festival* was a collaborative event produced by Council and Kickstart Arts Inc (KSC) with an externally appointed Artistic Director, Ian Pidd. It was promoted as a unique and extraordinary multi arts festival celebrating the diversity of greater Glenorchy, its people, its industry, its environment, its artists, its communities and its culture. Festival aims (Table 6) were noted by Roach (Roach, 2003, p.2) and are outlined below:

Table 6 2003 Works Festival aims (Roach, 2003)

1. A celebration of identity and of diversity within the Glenorchy municipality
2. To build relationships between diverse groups within the community.
3. To positively impact on the well-being and health of community members.
4. To bring people from all reaches of Glenorchy together to express themselves developing a greater sense of cultural awareness, understanding, belonging and involvement.
5. To develop and present a quality arts festival which as its prime task is to involve the communities and individuals in direct participatory ways.
6. To invite the industries of Glenorchy to engage in the celebration of this rich culture and work along side those who live in Glenorchy.

Planning began in March 2001 with the establishment of the community advisory committee appointed with the following roles: (a) to provide input and guide the development and implementation of the festival, (b) to ensure the process of development and implementation develops and to maintain links with the diverse Glenorchy communities, and (c) to provide representation and expertise from arts workers, community organisations and the broader community to develop and implement the festival and finally ensure that the festival works within the scope and directions established by Council's Arts and Cultural Plan.

Membership of the Advisory Committee included elected representatives, Council staff representatives, and members from community organisations, business groups, other community organisations, the Tasmanian Department of Education and industry (Table 7).

Table 7 2003 Works Festival Advisory Committee (Roach, 2003)

Two elected Council representatives
 Glenorchy Visitor Task Force
 Glenorchy Better Business Association
 Moonah Promotions
 Glenorchy Central Precinct
 Moonah Arts Centre Arts and Cultural Development Officer
 Education Department
 Cosmos Disability Service
 Multicultural Council of Tasmania
 Glenorchy Youth Task Force representative
 Aboriginal Community Representative
 Artists
 Migrant Resource Centre
 Pasminco (Previously EZ Company and latterly becoming known as Zinifex)

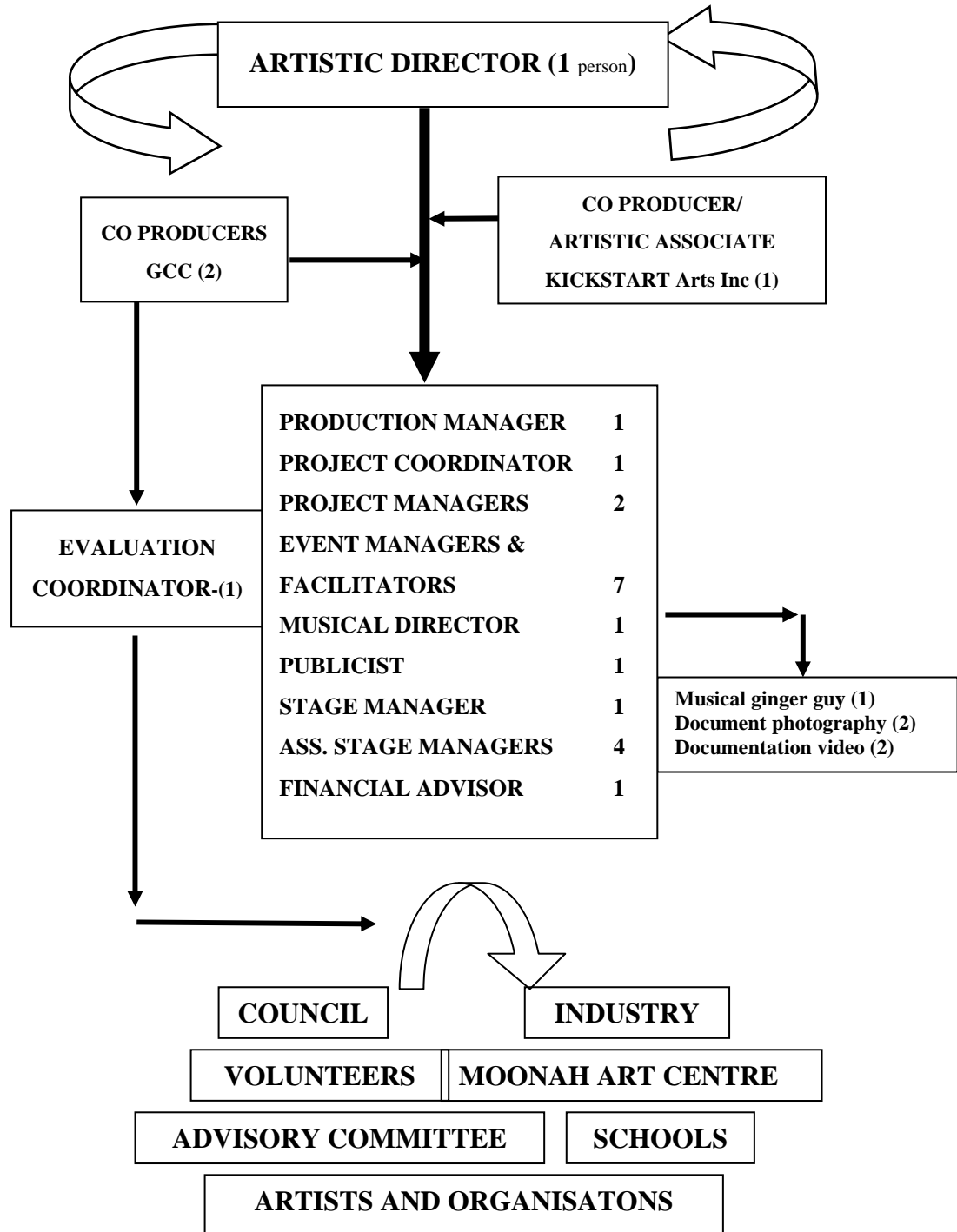
The committee's role was broad and able to provide the festival organising committee with local knowledge, local resources and arts specific feedback. Having Council representatives and staff provided an understanding of local government processes, which were reinforced and adhered to by the festival arts team. This group undertook initial planning and developed projects, applied for funding and consulted with artists and interested stakeholders.

The budget for the 2003 festival was \$290,980, an increase of \$179,107 when compared to the 2000 festival budget of \$111,873. It was professionally organised

with 74 paid Arts worker positions, making it one of the few fully commissioned festivals anywhere in the world (Roach, 2003). Management and professional artists were employed to work side by side volunteers and participating community groups. The festival organisational structure included the Artistic Director and two Co-Producers (one from Council and the other representing Kickstart Arts Inc who was also the Artistic Associate). There was a production manager, project coordinator, a number of event coordinators or facilitators, musical director, publicist, stage manager and six assistant stage managers and a financial advisor. A total of twenty nine people were involved in the management structure which is outlined in Figure 11.

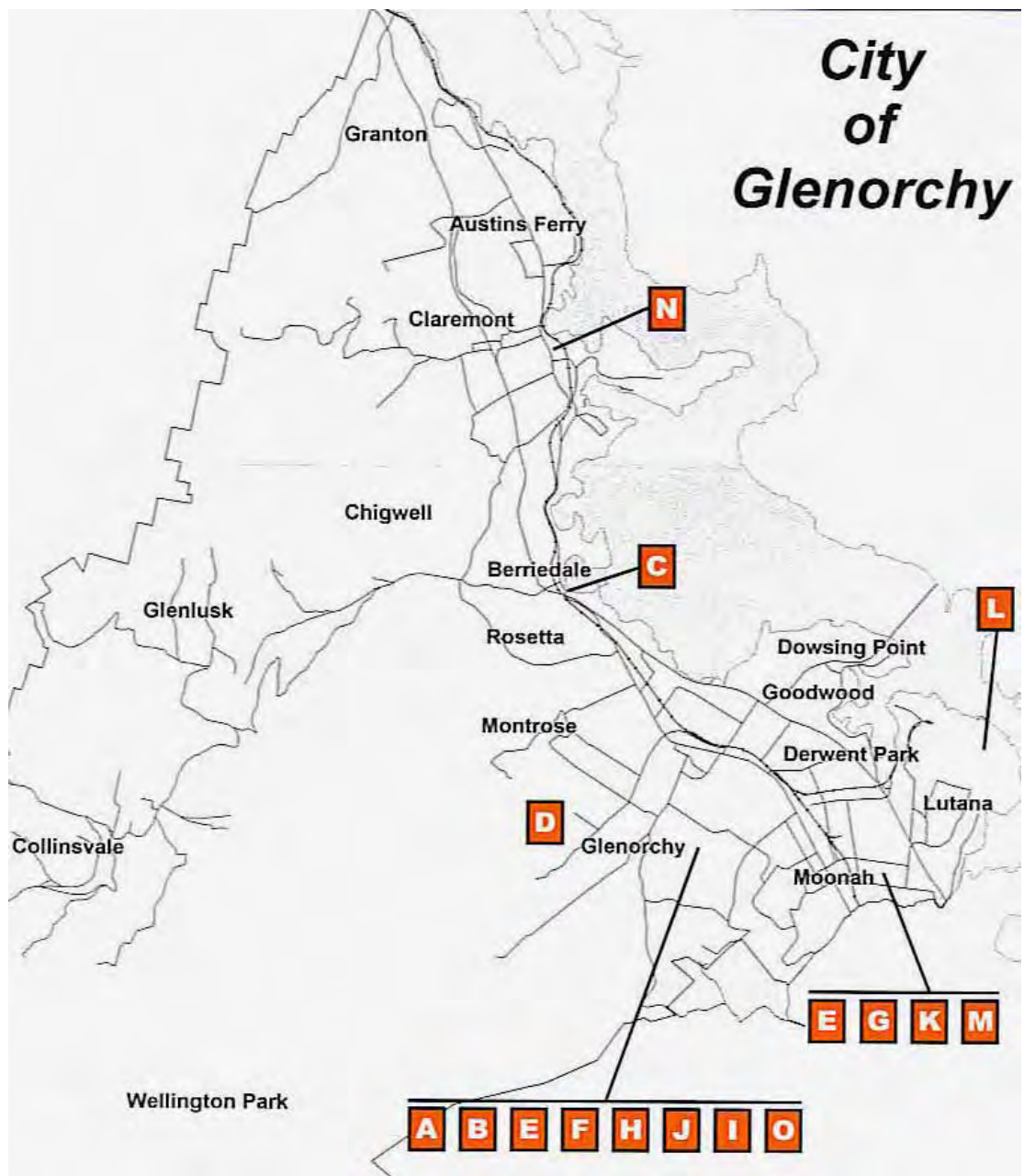
Grants and sponsorship were crucial in financing the engagement of over forty professional artists and musicians to work with industry, schools, retail, cultural, welfare and health organisations in the three months before the festival. Some community groups were allotted spaces in which they could carry out their contribution as was the case with Aurora's wax card making workshop, an organisation supporting people with disabilities located in Glenorchy. Others involved artists working in schools with students to develop a variety of art works in different mediums that would come together at the festival. Various visual art projects were developed: sculpture, video, animation, film, music, performance art and exhibitions. Much of the art making for the festival occurred in four months preceding the event, coinciding with the first school term and school artist-in-resident programs linked the festival program. Signs were erected at a number of strategic locations around the city alerting residents to the event.

Figure 11 Organisational structure of the 2003 Works Festival



A quality of the festival was that it was not based totally in the central business area of Glenorchy, instead events were hosted in the Glenorchy suburbs of Lutana, Moonah, Claremont, Collinsvale, and Berriedale as seen in the following (Figure 12) taken from the event program.

Figure 12 Final day event locations, 2003 Works Festival



Final day activities were drawn back into Glenorchy's central business and commercial centre with temporary street closures in and around the Council's main office building where numerous activities and exhibitions were located (Plates 2-3). The grand finale of the festival was the street parade (Plates 4-5).

Plate 2 Art works exhibited on the bus shelters



Plate 3 Council front garden musical activities



Plate 4 grand parade.



Plate 5 crowds gather to support the parade



Council's Cultural Development Policy 1998 (City of Glenorchy, 1998a), Cultural Plan 2002 (City of Glenorchy, 2002a), Strategic Plan 2002-2007 (City of Glenorchy, 2002c) and *Community Plan – A Blue Print for the Future* (City of Glenorchy, nd-a) all contain community development goals and objectives that support the use of the arts, festivals and events to enhance community cultural development. Although the term place-making is not used in any of the documents the intent and descriptive statements qualify as definitions of place-making. For example in the preamble of Council's Cultural Development Policy the following statement is made:

Distinctive and vibrant local cultures contribute positively to quality of life by building local pride and identity, developing a sense of place and promoting greater understanding and tolerance in our diverse community (Glenorchy City Council, 1998a).

Fundamental to place-making is building ongoing relationships and nurturing those relationships between groups of people and their place. By investing in this cultural

highly participatory event, Council is attempting to build community relationships throughout the municipality. The promotional material invites community engagement by presenting, participating or watching (Figure 13) and explains that the event "... is art where you live, by and for your community. And all of it is free."

Figure 13 program 2003 Works Festival



4.4 Unpacking the Festival

The opening event in St Matthews Church, an exhibition called Community Spirits involved three artists, Chantale Delrue, Gwen Egg and Geoff Allan who worked with local business, volunteers and school groups to construct various art and sound installations using different media styles. The focus was around spiritual practice exhibiting religious and non religious responses including the building of shrines, frescos, totem sticks, sound scapes and social commentaries.

I visited the exhibition to find banners on the walls and installations both on the floor and tables providing an eclectic experience. Approaching the church with no previous knowledge I searched for clues from the exhibition and festival title. There was a religious tone and strong indigenous participation, with a particularly strong exhibit from All Transmission Services a motor transmission company.

This business had taken the opportunity to work with an artist as mentor who visited

the workplace on a number of occasions. The result was a mouse powered transmission system. This piece (Plates 6-7) was highly creative, providing a fine example of arts at work in industrial Glenorchy. It was a literal translation of the festivals working title, achieving a lyrical presentation that embodied the original concept of the Works festival. It was perhaps for me one of the best art works in the exhibition.

Plate 6 detail of mouse power



Plate 7 All Transmission Services exhibit, 2003 Works Festival



The exhibit reflected the essence of the festival concept, designed to celebrate Glenorchy's industrial and working class heritage, work relationships, involving the employed and unemployed in Glenorchy and reinforced Objective 3.3.2 (m) from the Council's cultural plan where it states that

Develop partnerships with industry in Glenorchy to celebrate the City's industrial culture and heritage through mechanisms such as 'The Works' (Glenorchy City Council, 2002).

The festival idea linking Glenorchy's industrial culture and working heritage provided an opportunity to create a distinctive exhibition. It was disappointing not to see more examples from workplaces taking up the challenge.

Seeking responses to the exhibition and its impact, I randomly interviewed two visitors, one described the opening day as being a pleasing event with St Matthews full of people providing great atmosphere that was very emotive and nostalgic. The other respondent was enjoying the festival saying that it brought people together and was a great way of building community.

Together with the celebration of industrial culture and industrial heritage, the festival included themes, to celebrate diversity and identity. This was strongly represented by an exhibition and open day at Palawa. Palawa is the name used for Tasmanian indigenous peoples. Palawa Aboriginal Corporation provides educational services in respect of not just technical aspects of Aboriginal arts and crafts but using arts and crafts to achieve awareness of aboriginal culture and contemporary history for aboriginal people and the wider community (Palawa Aboriginal Corporation, no date).

This presentation was held in the Palawa Centre, Berriedale (Plate 8). Arriving a few minutes before midday when the session was programmed to begin I noted that there were very few participants. Glenorchy has the highest population of Aboriginal and Torres Strait islander persons living within Southern Tasmania and the second highest within the state according to Glenorchy's Social Plan 2003 (Combes and Essex, 2003). With nearly four percent of Glenorchy's resident population

identifying as having Aboriginal and Torres Strait islander origin it was an opportunity for Aboriginal descendents and non-Aboriginal community members to share in reconciliation activities and develop an informed knowledge of local Aboriginal culture and traditions.

Plate 8 participants watching the video



The presentation consisted of a short talk and an exhibition of contemporary aboriginal culture and a short film on mutton birding. The film entitled *Mutton Birding, a Continuous Journey*, was produced by video artist Fiona Richardson and featured a group of Tasmanian Aboriginals on their annual mutton birding trip with a moving sequence that revisited and reinforced the potency of traditional ways (Moss, 2003). Prior to the film viewing a short talk was given about the history of Tasmanian Aboriginal culture by one of the local aboriginal elders. The presentation, displays and film provided those attending with a greater awareness and understanding of indigenous traditional skills, including mutton birding, basket weaving and making of shell necklaces.

After the film participants were invited to sample traditional foods such as sea snails, mutton bird and damper. The sea snails had been gathered by some of the women

and their families from the coast late on the previous Friday night and, while we watched, were freshly barbecued. Recognising the shells from my childhood I realised that I had never thought of them as a food source. It was a privilege and rewarding experience to attend this workshop and feast.

Taking the opportunity to interview a young boy at Palawa I found that he too enjoyed the film and food and when asked if the festival reinforced place-making in Glenorchy he thought that Palawa strengthened Glenorchy's sense of community and that the opportunity was there for anyone, aboriginal or non aboriginal to come and learn about the 'stuff'. Talking with some of the Palawa organisers, it was clear that they were visibly disappointed by low attendances.

I observed Jed Gillian's willow workshop on returning to central Glenorchy. This program was an extension of a current program being held at the Moonah Art Centre (MAC) which had drawn participants from the greater Hobart region. Most festival participants on the day were current workshop attendees. MAC is the focus of Glenorchy City Council's Community Arts & Cultural Development Program and has been operating since 1992. Significant growth in events and programming has occurred over this period resulting in the MAC having a significant role in greater Hobart's art scene with many programs and events highly regarded.

Interviews with people attending this event revealed the success of this activity was based upon the desire to actively participate and learn new skills. One participant commented that she enjoyed the event because she loved to make things and had never worked before in this way with willow wood. Other participants responded saying that the festival provided them with the opportunity to be out and doing things that they would not normally do and gave them the chance to make new friends. Some came to participate, undaunted by inclement weather. Although workshop numbers were low, I observed that there were more organisers and volunteers than participants. Those working on their creations said that at other times during the day workshops had been full and fun even with the rain (Plate 9).

Plate 9 participants working with willow



On Tuesday evening Place Mats at the MAC was opened by the Festival's Artistic Director Ian Pidd with artist John Vella who had been working on a State-wide project with six participating schools (Claremont College, Guilford Young College, New Norfolk High School, Hobart College, Launceston Church Grammar School and Scotch Oakburn College). The opening attracted a small but enthusiastic group of people, mainly students and their families, Council staff and a few art goers.

In the program, this event was described as a witty and intriguing visual arts installation. It explored the sociology and archaeology of young people's domestic space by re-creating them using carpet squares cut to represent their own domestic floor plans. These were then exhibited in the Moonah Arts Centre where on opening night the gathering was informed about the exhibition by John Vella (Plate 10).

Some additional aids used included journals and photographs which further informed the exercise and creative journey. For most students the process of exhibiting their

pieces and having a public opening was new and positive. For those who came to observe and gain some insight the experience seemed both challenging and curious.

Plate 10 participants at the placemats exhibition



I interviewed three participants at the exhibition, eliciting responses to the opening and other festival events. One respondent thought the collaboration with students was extremely interesting, with another suggesting that the Moonah Art Centre had provided great support to community art in Glenorchy; it was described as a great space and encouraging schools to participate more in creative arts was seen as important. The exhibition provided the standard art experiences where the viewer interprets ideas, meanings and messages from inanimate objects. The event, although billed as part of the festival, appeared to be unconnected and was possibly coincidental with the festival's timing. This observation is supported by comments from participants interviewed who did not know about festival being held in Glenorchy; a significant responses from a contributing student artist, stated that she did not realise the work was a part of the festival, since it was a state wide Department of Education artist-in-residence program.

My observations are: the exhibition was not a successful place-making event but a filler for the program. It was housed at the Art Centre for the week of the festival coinciding with the festival timetable. Further observations made from talking with those attending Place Mats were that most did so out of duty and connection while exhibitors enjoyed the challenge and prominence of being on show with many family supporters providing the audience. As an observer I found the exhibition disappointing it seemed to be an exhibition of the artist's intellectual journey into art theory and not really supportive of the festival aims or objectives reinforcing my earlier comment that the event appears to have been primarily coincidental.

Inclusiveness was an important aspect of the festival with a number of disability groups and services participating in organising and displaying their artistic skills. Visiting the Aurora wax card-making event held in the Derwent Regional Library proved a valuable experience as researcher and participant. A table was set up in the open reading area of the library, unfortunately there was no particular signage or distinguishing markers to suggest the group working around the table was connected to the festival. It was only through the printed program that this relationship was acknowledged.

A display of wax cards and active workshop coordinator encouraged library visitors to join in card making with Aurora clients and carers (Plate 11). The process involved melting special wax crayons onto the surface of an iron and then placing the heat onto the pre-cut card. A distinct skill in mixing the colours and deftly moving the heated iron to create shapes and colours was required. It was not arbitrary but controlled and decisive. Those carrying out their skill with carers beside showed great pleasure from displaying their art works to the community who ventured past as well as their skills. Interviewing participants and carers revealed that both were delighted at having the opportunity to be included and active in a public place. There should be more events like this as it draws people out and gets them interested, commented a carer. Carers strongly voiced the opinion that more activities were needed for their clients offering opportunity for mutual participation in the public realm, so other members of the community could experience first hand the challenges and rewards people with disabilities faced.

Plate 11 workshop coordinator encouraging participation



The Tea and Coke, Pizza and Scones festival event transformed a picture theatre within the local cinema complex into an interactive live performance with audience participation hosted by Playback Theatre, an idea developed by Jonathan Fox in 1975 in the Mid Hudson Valley of New York.

The event title was intriguing and obviously appealed to the community and was one of the few events that required booking due to limited seating in the theatre space. Secondary school students were invited creating an intergenerational audience. The final numbers disappointed organisers as many confirmed attendees did not come creating an age imbalance and a half full theatre.

Tea and Coke, Pizza and Scones was facilitated by a local theatre group and officially publicised as a transformational event in which older and younger folk explore life, the universe and everything through Playback Theatre. It was to be a journey about how image distorts perceptions and generates myths and a discovery of the commonalities between generations. The audience was ushered to seats in the theatre by Council staff and I observed that the older members sat to one side and younger people to the opposite position.

Attending as observer I began making notes with some preconceived thoughts that this looked like being a missed opportunity. As people began to respond to questions from the facilitator I changed my mind. Playback is a unique

...form of improvised theatre, presented by a team of professional actors and a musician. A performance is led by a conductor, who provides the opportunity for the audience to share their stories and experiences. The actors and musician then re-enact stories, using a variety of improvisational forms. The power of theatre to move and entertain is welded to the immediacy and vitality of group and personal experiences. Playback may be humorous, poignant or exciting all in the same performance. It is a mirror to the experiences of the audience (Melbourne Playback Theatre, 1981).

Initial facilitator questions were designed to loosen up the group, but it was difficult to get people talking so questions were asked with one word answers to melt the stoic atmosphere of the room. The following notes were taken down in response to questions asked.

What words describe living in Glenorchy for you?

Beautiful; Enriched – very lucky to live in Glenorchy, Glenorchy City Council is the best council in Australia; Confident safe to live where I live, beautiful; Shopping – lots of shops, movies; My mountain – Mt Wellington – from my place I see the mountain; Eating – junk food- Hungry Jacks; Home – fretted from Chigwell when I was away for ten years. Living in a rural area felt isolated when I went home; Golf course in Glenorchy; Organisations in Glenorchy – exciting organisations; Happy community – school – fun meeting new people; Busy, involved; In 1946 thought it was a terrible place; Transport – good – Bus mall central hub of transport; Scarred by groups of people who bump you say things, rude words.

What is the most important thing about being part of a community?

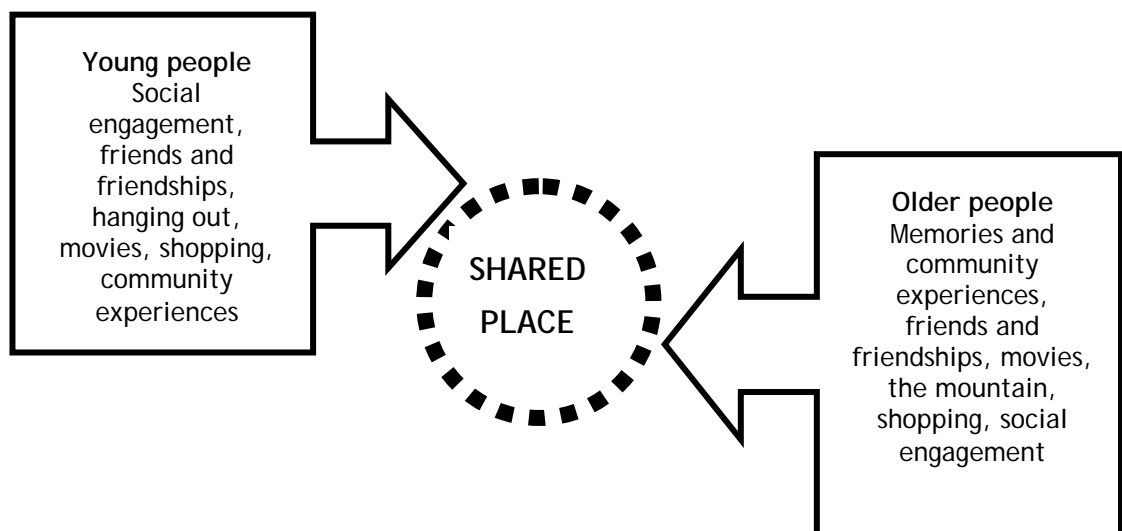
Knowing that no matter for your disability, elderly never need to be alone; Living in Glenorchy is secure. There is something for everybody never need to be lonely always someone there; Most important thing for me is working as a school girl-working in Northgate-important that I have a way of earning money.

Playback actors began to act out the words and create visual interpretations. The stage was darkened and actors all in black; facial expressions and body movements were the only tools used to bring meaning to the words or situations described by the

audience. This minimal approach focused the audience and allowed a level of comfort and ease to develop across the theatre. In seeing personal comments acted out, individual were drawn into the activity as a sense of confidence grew. The audience relaxed. It was a very powerful process to observe.

Figure 14 abridges the themes and stories that evolved; the shared experiences of living in Glenorchy; both the younger and older generations supported wholeheartedly living in Glenorchy; both shared enjoyment at shopping in Northgate. Stories from older people were about what Glenorchy used to be like and how it was much changed. Shared stories of what it is like to be young-fun hanging out with friends. Older people told stories from their youth of meeting up with friends in Glenorchy and the young talked about their current enjoyments of hanging out with friends. The theatre group giving power and meaning to spoken ideas acted these themes.

Figure 14 Tea and coke pizza and scones themes



Individuals told stories about going to the cinema – older people talked about what the cinema used to be like when they were young, catching trams, having a drink at Regina's milk bar, rolling jaffas down the aisles. Young people told of their experiences of enjoying trips to the cinema with friends or families and how parents had similar jaffa stories. Everyone seemed to have a comment on food in Glenorchy, with the young especially supportive of the fast food available, how it was a

convenient place to live, good shopping easy to get around, good parking and generally friendly atmosphere.

Some older people talked about Glenorchy in the 1940s and 1950s, relating how there was poor sewerage or roadways in many areas. The night cart was remembered and some of the younger audience had no idea what this was and looked with amazement when the explanation followed. One young person shared the experience of feeling frightened when walking down the street and being intimidated by groups of other young people, which seemed to surprise some of the older participants, breaking down intergenerational barriers.

Both groups agreed that there was a great sense of community in Glenorchy and that there were lots of different groups to join and lots of activities and things to be involved in the community. There were many positive comments about services such as the health centre and Council, although these were mainly from the older generation. Mountain views from people's homes were highly valued as was the connection to the bush. In general Glenorchy local environs were valued highly by older participants.

Three main stories were selected and presented by the actors providing a powerful connection between all those seated in the theatre.

Story 1 involved a young girl who spoke about her father, and going to the movies with him during which time he related stories of rolling jaffas down the aisle when he was a lad.

Story 2 was told by a young woman about her relationship with her elderly Aunt and how she had been a positive influence in her life. She had shown her a great deal of love and care and helped her to secure a job in a butcher's shop. Her Aunt had since died and her link working now in the butcher's shop kept her memory of her Aunt and what she did for her alive today. (This story was told with such affection it had an overwhelming impact upon the audience reinforced by the Playback actors providing a powerful performance.)

Story 3 was a story from an older woman about a practical joke her husband played on the Chinese market gardener that had a vegetable patch in Glenorchy. She told about how she met her future husband and that they had stayed married for a very long time.

The stories themselves were not profound; rather it was the process that was of importance. A safe place for listening and talking had been provided so two generations could feel comfortable in telling their stories.

When the facilitator posed questions about being part of a community, it became clear that people had found new confidence to speak. Later the audience was asked to change seat positions and converse with someone they did not know; this resulted in the young mixing with older participants listening and sharing personal stories; this was building trust. Greater confidence and trust in the process grew and conversations continued with noticeable rising noise levels.

From the hum of conversation in the theatre I observed that the barriers between generations had been lifted. Seeing this transformation allowed my initial doubts about the project to evaporate. I noted how this method could assist in a variety of local government consultation processes. It facilitated information sharing, helped to establish community values, developed mutual respect and was successful in breaking down intergenerational barriers through the simple art of story telling.

The performance executed by professional actors explored the power of local story-telling about place and the value of listening. The setting, performance and gathering of disparate groups into a safe dialogic space or safe place for discourse was successful, and that is consonant with findings from other studies elsewhere (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995). Observing the attitude of the audience over the two-hour period and watching the atmosphere change as it moved towards conclusion reinforced the power of this process. The voices kept talking and the conversations kept bubbling as morning tea was provided outside the theatre with plates, glasses, cups and saucers clinking over tea and coke, pizza and scones (Plate 12).

Plate 12 participants enjoying refreshments (GCC image 2003)



The final day of the festival was held on a Sunday and provided me with the opportunity to walk around a number of exhibitions before the street parade finale. The first involved the State-owned bus company Metro working with Cosmos Recreation Services, a community organisation that assists people with an intellectual disability to participate in recreation and leisure activities. The exhibition celebrated the significance of the blue bus ticket, an ordinary object that provides to people with disabilities a sense of independence. Art pieces by Cosmos representatives were hung on public bus shelters, creating an exhibition in central Glenorchy. The works portrayed individual stories about independence and travel. Cosmos Recreation Services also invited the broader community to make and mark clay tickets for a later firing.

Able-bodied people may take for granted the freedom to move around independently but many people with disabilities are dependent upon others for their access to everyday activities and the blue bus ticket for some is a significant symbol, a key to freedom and independence.

The second exhibition I visited was titled, *Mass Hang of Community Art*, where artists and community members were offered space in shop fronts to hang their

artworks. It was a good idea that did not achieve its intended goal. Wandering up and down Main St Glenorchy looking for the art pieces was the first challenge, many shopkeepers did not participate and so finding the exhibits was difficult. When finally the size quality of the art works failed to impress (Plate 13). It was a great idea that did not realise its potential.

Plate 13 an example of Mass Hang of Community Art



Thirdly, the novel in a day event involved a number of prominent guest writers seated at a laptop computer on a raised platform in the centre of Northgate shopping centre. While visitors to the centre went about their business, guest writers composed their section of the novel, in full view of everyone in the shopping centre forecourt. Many prominent people including the Federal government member Duncan Kerr participated in the event. I was unable to locate a copy of the completed piece and make the assumption that this event also failed to fully achieve its potential.

Main Road Glenorchy was closed on the final day of the festival to enable the street parade. Offering to take photographs for Council's media officer I positioned myself and waited for the parade to begin. The street was empty and small groups of

supporters began to line both sides of the road. Promoted as ‘An Eclectic Parade’ offering an inclusive celebratory event the word *eclectic* was well chosen. The crowd numbers were disappointing and it became evident that the impact of the date clashing with Mother’s Day was substantially more than anticipated by festival organisers.

The street parade began with a police car and groups of people representing different sections of the community walking behind, some in colourful clothes, members of the Glenorchy Brass Band resplendent with their uniforms and instruments were followed by large gaps. Sculptures from the *Recovery Shop Sculpture Slam* event were held high as were some of the banners from the St Matthews *Community Spirits* exhibition. The crowd appeared to consist of family supporters, Council staff and Aldermen. The parade was thin and over after forty minutes leaving spectators to reflect on what they had seen and experienced.

This festival was financially well supported much more than the previous Works festival in 2000. Hundreds of people had participated over the preceding months, and seventy four paid artists had been involved working in different locations throughout Glenorchy where was the *finale*, the celebration of a job well done, what was I missing as observer and researcher?

4.5 The need for more questions

Following the festival in-depth interviews were held with the principal organisers, the artistic director and two co producers. The organisational structure of the festival had not been as successful as anticipated and the employment of seventy four artists and art workers required further clarity. Seeking clarification of people’s roles, lines of accountability and decision-making processes it was important to speak with the primary organisers.

Having experienced the festival and observed a number of events as researcher and participant there were unresolved issues I needed to understand such as a lack of focus, promotion and coordination of events, partnership expectations, programming and the low attendance numbers. My observation were corroborated by a consultants

evaluation report on the festival recommending the theme of the festival be redefined to ensure the focus of the event is clear to all including clear direction and guidance about expectations for partnerships, artistic programming and promotion of the event (Roach, 2003, p.20).

In my interview with the artistic director, he confirmed his role was to “match creative projects to the greater aims of the event” and to support artists, “as well as sourcing artists finding partners and participants...working with groups [developing] processes that are effective” (Pidd, 2003). In contrast to the 2000 festival where theatre was the central idea the 2003 festival attempted to create a diversity of projects, art forms and events. He suggested community art is sometimes seen as a put-down phrase meaning ‘diluted art’ but this festival allowed artists to develop processes resulting in empowering of the artist through their involvement in the process and implementation; this effectively created an artistic process that was not paternalistic.

Pidd (2003) explained that many artists developed processes without guiding infrastructure and the reporting processes were poorly developed making lines of communication difficult or non-existent. The artistic director further stated that the problem with the festival was that there was no infrastructure, and for the festival to survive and be successful a permanent part time artistic director to coordinate future projects would be necessary. The festival was a major source of employment for many struggling artists in southern Tasmania and the process of engaging artists working in the community during the time preceding the festival helped towards facilitating an arts culture in Glenorchy.

Channels of communication to the Advisory Committee and Council were blurred or non-existent and the role of that committee failed to support the festival and its organisation. On paper it looked as though Council’s investment was being carefully monitored but in reality this was far from the truth.

Festival co-producer Richardson (2003) stated in interview that “we relied on volunteers ... there were not enough ... not enough staff, secretary support or administrative support”. This observation is supported by Roach (2003) in the

festival evaluation report also criticised the management structure and process. She observed that for festivals to be successful it was critical to have a well organised structure and process in the future and recommended this area be reviewed and strengthened for future festivals.

For Council to continue to host a biennial festival continuity in planning and focus to maximise the momentum created by the two previous festivals was required. Substantial funding and a dedicated staff with distinct roles and responsibilities were vital for future festivals. Council was the appropriate body to assume ongoing responsibility for and management of the festival primarily because Council understood the necessary protocols required for planning, programming and implementing community events but perhaps greater use in future of Council's Arts and Cultural Development officers. The failure to fully utilise the skills and networks already established by the MAC seemed to be an obvious recommendation that was not suggested in Roach's evaluation report.

The 2003 *Works Festival* provided a challenge for all those who were associated with organising the event, for those responsible for developing partnerships and for those who experienced and participated in the many diverse art projects.

Did the festival contribute to place-making in Glenorchy?

According to Quinn (2005) festivals have the potential to transform depressed, problem-ridden, post-industrial cities into attractive culturally interesting places if they are well-managed and well-supported. Festivals can make a kind of contribution to place-making that is qualitatively different from on-ground improvements derived from urban design interventions. They are more ephemeral and, because of that (and a sense that they are therefore extra-ordinary) have the potential to capture the hearts and minds of a community, building community confidence and skills.

Was the festival an expression of Glenorchy's diverse cultural identity?

My observations and interviews suggest involvement of diverse and culturally ethnic groups were involved but at a very shallow level. Participation was seen as having fulfilled this obligation, and it was not taken any further. This was poorly executed

evidenced by the low participation numbers at some of the culturally diverse events.

Was Glenorchy's image or profile raised in the context of festivals?

The low attendance numbers at many of the events and in particular on the final day would suggest that the future of the *Works Festival* as a premier event may not continue in the same form and with the same funding allocation. Value for money was not an outcome that Council could promote as it did not capture community expectations as shown by low attendances.

Genuine art festivals are artistically responsible to respond to the artistic needs of the community by initiating projects and activities that express local identity, celebrate communal values and strengthen bonds. If used by governments as image makers or economic quick fixes to encourage consumption, festivals will not fulfil the outcomes or expected goals and reduce those who attend to being customers rather than participants.

Did the festival reveal less visible mechanisms of power?

The 2003 *Works Festival* was well funded and supported by what appeared to be a well structured advisory committee with a Council appointed staff member as artistic co producer. Yet Council failed to recognise hidden power mechanisms and tensions that developed due to a lack of clarity of roles and responsibilities, individual power struggles and artistic egos (Gorringer, 2006). There were also hidden tensions and power struggles within Council staff concerning various appointments to coordinating positions resulting in several appointments that failed to deliver (Richardson, 2003).

According to Gorringer (2006) the 2003 *Works Festival* exposed some existing power relations within the Hobart art world. The festival enabled a wide distribution of employment opportunities for struggling artists and exposed a broad range of people to artistic experiences. However management of the process by Council was inadequate according to Gorringer (2006) with internal staff tensions exposed that were based on power and knowledge. Experienced Council arts workers were overlooked in providing more strategic roles.

The next chapter explores a number of place-making projects initiated and undertaken by the author. These projects support my belief that local governments have a particular responsibility to assist their community in managing change and provide evidence to suggest that place-making can be successful in building community confidence and provide a useful tool to address systemic inequities. It is through partnerships, defining community image and identity and working collaboratively with local community groups' professionals and local governments can best improve, protect and manage place.

Chapter 5 Community Conversation 3

If they are well used, public spaces wear out, and that is good. Anything that people use and love eventually needs to be replaced or repaired. Demands on a place change and being open to the needs for change, having the management flexibility to enact that change, is what builds great public spaces (Madden, 2000, p.77).

5.1 *Introduction*

It is my belief that design awareness is not only for the elite or professional design specialists but should be integrated into an everyday appreciation of the world. Design processes involve discussions between a designer and client or user. Therefore urban design should involve many discussions with multiple users and other professional disciplines occupied with making places. Collaborative design and planning processes with local communities, organisations and stakeholders can assist in the creation of a shared understanding and awareness of local issues. This understanding then informs the design process and is more likely to achieve widespread community support for the resulting changes or design outcomes.

Local community participation during formative design stages can assist a design process by sharing local knowledge and information. Urban design, planners and allied professionals can be introduced to people's diverse experiences of the built and natural environment in settlements, exploring their emotional attachments, diverse perspectives and understandings of place. Within local government's organisational structure planners and other professionals so engaged could have the opportunity to share their knowledge and experience with other professionals from community development, engineering and environmental health. They could develop multi-disciplinary teams and generate chances for the cross-fertilisation of ideas and problem-solving approaches in the public realm. Unfortunately many local government organisations do not maintain this model but are aligned through professional barriers and managerial interests into independent department structures – silos.

This is where place-making facilitated by urban design professionals might influence change. Urban design processes can bring together multi-disciplinary teams to work

on projects in the public realm and support a wider appreciation and experience of the natural and built urban environment. The urban designer's task is shaping settlements' physical features at scales larger than a single building or a single plot of land and to support basic human needs, for convivial, supportive, diverse, inspiring, sustainable and safe communities in which to live.

Using auto-ethnographic approaches this chapter documents and reflects upon my position as urban designer, for the City of Glenorchy, a place formed by history and market forces with some planning; a place socially disadvantaged, visually incoherent and physically fragmented. My reflections are elaborated in one in-depth case study of the Springfield Gardens Community Recreation project, its management, development and completion. Further and briefer reference is then made to other collaborative place-making projects, namely the Montrose Foreshore Community Reserve, Gould's Lagoon and Hestercombe Reserve, selected because they also exemplify the ways in which place-making is part of a rationality of power that need not also be antagonistic and that can build social capital for sustainability outcomes among marginalised communities.

This chapter has three aims to (1) evaluate the role of the urban designer in a collaborative place-making project, (2) explore how municipal governments can positively influence local partnerships, and (3) trace certain effects of the shifting operations of power in relation to community, Council and State government partnerships and interested stakeholders.

Springfield Gardens Community Recreation Project was a unique project that captured the energy of a local school community, neighbours, local business and State government department staff who, with leadership provided by a small group of dedicated place-makers, enabled substantial funds to be invested in quality of life projects at a disadvantaged school and neighbourhood. What evolved over a six year period was an outstanding community recreational facility, protection of a significant urban woodland and increase in community confidence for the Glenorchy residential suburb of West Moonah.

5.2 *Springfield Gardens Project*

A community's vision is generally very realistic and practical, yet also filled with innovative ideas; this is because the input is much broader than if is the vision were to be generated by just one individual, profession, or city agency (Madden, 2000, p.57).

The West Moonah Precinct is predominantly residential with a land area of around one hundred and eighty hectares and a density of 20.68 people per hectare (ABS, 2001). The portion of West Moonah known as Springfield Gardens was designed by Walter Scott Griffiths in 1917. Elegant on paper, the plan involved major development costs and was seen as a factor contributing to why so few garden subdivisions materialised in greater Hobart (Freestone, 1989). Actual development of the area dates from the 1950s when Glenorchy after WWII experienced a stable population.

More recently, West Moonah had begun to develop into the steeper slopes. With increased housing a demand for improved community recreation areas of sufficient size to support active sport and recreation was beginning to have an impact at Council. I was engaged in developing a number of small pocket parks for passive recreation being improved with new facilities, interpretation and landscaping. Pressure was mounting to develop Council's open space in Devines Road, a bush block adjacent the school and the only area remotely available for active recreation. The school, which took its name from the original subdivision, was built and opened in 1960. The image (Plate 16) was taken after completion of the first stage of the project.

In 1998, the principal of Springfield Gardens Primary School, made contact with Council to discuss concerns about the rising vandalism costs the school was experiencing. Council, a major neighbour to the school owned a large piece of undeveloped land that – when combined with the school grounds – created an area in excess of thirty acres. The combined number of neighbours of the two parcels of land was one hundred and ten. The properties were mainly residential, with some privately owned but the majority comprised of public low income housing.

Council had long-standing plans to develop its land into a community and sporting oval. My first site visit provided clear evidence that this decision had been made with little regard to the site and its topography, reflecting a poor appreciation of the considerable cross falls existing on the site and the presence of significant vegetation, information that later exerted considerable influence on the project. Plates 14-16 show the sloping Council land adjacent the school oval, adjacent public housing, significant remnant vegetation earmarked for removal to make way for a public oval and previous tree planting attempts by the school.

Plate 14 West Moonah reserve earmarked for a future oval.



Plate 15 shrubby Ovata woodland earmarked for removal



Plate 16 failed tree planting attempt before the project began



Tasmanian Government Education Department policy encouraged schools to lower

operating costs and increase efficiencies by subdividing residential parcels of land from school land; this minimised maintenance costs with sixty percent of land sale revenue returned to the school and State Government treasury appropriating the balance. This practice had begun under the leadership of the previous school principal resulting in housing encroaching upon the western boundary. Plate 17 shows the extend of school land and the area sub divided off for housing, the common boundary between Council and Education Department property and an overall view of the amalgamated sites. It was taken in 1999 after stage one was completed and shows the arboretum and walking trail passing through the Ovata woodland. The informal amalgamation of recreational land was made possible by a new principal with a new approach.

Plate 17 Amalgamated site West Moonah (City of Glenorchy, 1999)



In *Schools Today* (1998, pp.14-16) the new principal, Bob Phillips, is described as a

man of vision and imagination, the sort of person who sees difficulties as a challenge and seeks to turn them into opportunities. Once appointed to Springfield Gardens Primary School he became aware that vandalism was limiting the school's opportunity to develop good quality recreational spaces and other school improvements thus restraining the school's quality of education. At a meeting with Mayor Terry Martin it was agreed that contact was to be made with Council staff and that was where the story of my substantial involvement with the school and local community begins.

The first meeting I organised was with the principal and involved walking around the school looking at possibilities, constraints and establishing possible first steps. We both had a similar collective vision of what could be, and were compatible in our thinking and approach. Developing mutual respect we agreed to make the vision a reality and develop a plan in consultation with the local resident, business and professional communities. By broadening our consultation process we felt that this provide strength to the project and increase our chances of financial support and ultimately would success. We envisaged a slow process, allowing for collaborative consultation with me as urban designer guiding participants. The first year would be spent planning and developing support and concepts. There was an opportunity to develop a recreational facility for the school and local community with a range of partnerships open to community suggestions needs and desires.

A consultative and participative methodology was chosen including surveys, community workshops, on site discussions with students, classroom activities, presentations and exhibitions with feedback sheets. The surveys were distributed to all the neighbours bordering both sites, by grade six students (Table 8).

Table 8 Community survey questions.

1. Please circle age groups represented in your household
0-5, 6-12, 13-16, 17-20,
21-30, 31-40, 41-50, 60-over.
2. Outline your recreation and leisure interests and hobbies.
3. What would you like to see developed on the Council reserve that would accommodate your individual and family recreation and leisure needs?
4. Would you like to attend local theatre productions, musical evenings or workshops at the school at night if these activities were provided?
5. Would you use the school library if it was made available?

6. Are there any other facilities or activities the school could make available for the community?
7. Are you or any member of your household currently a member of any club?
I.e. fitness, gym, tennis, swimming, sporting club?
8. Other comments.

The information gathered provided information about levels of physical activity in the neighbourhood, the age range and number of local children within close proximity to the school. The results supported the new principal's vision to develop Springfield Primary School along the lines of a community school where facilities could be accessed out of school hours especially the library and oval.

Most responses supported the development of public recreation space that could be shared by the school and community seeking designated areas to walk on all weather surfaces, places to fly kites, community playground, bird watching sites and more trees. Many responses supported access to productions and computer workshop activities as long as they were cheap courses as many were on low incomes.

On two consecutive Saturdays, at the beginning of term two community workshops were held where a robust open and lively discussion prevailed. As an information gathering process to inform the development of a scheme these workshops were invaluable and fuelled community speculation for the development of a positive community school and parkland. A Memorandum of Understanding (Plate 18) was signed by Council, the Department of Education and the school agreeing to combine resources in the development of the site as a facility for the wider community.

Plate 18 memorandum of understanding

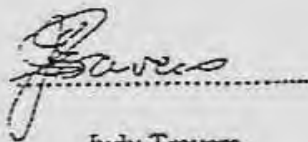
Memorandum of Understanding

On the 6th April 1998 Glenorchy City Council supported a recommendation to develop a Memorandum of Understanding between Glenorchy City Council and Springfield Gardens Primary School.

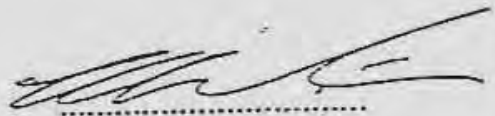
The school and council will seek to cooperate to enhance recreational and community facilities within the area and make them available to all members of the community.

Council, through the Property Management Department, will provide professional support to the school and develop a Strategic Plan and five-year Operational Plan, for the Devines Road Reserve and Springfield Gardens Primary School grounds.

Signed



Judy Travers
Derwent District
Superintendent



Terry Marin
Alderman T.L. Martin
Mayor



Bob Phillips
Springfield Gardens
Primary School Principal

18th May 1998

At this stage there was no plan or concept design, only a vision that the site had potential and, by working together, positive outcomes could be achieved. Political support from the Mayor was evidenced in a newspaper article about the project when it was announced and he said,

Glenorchy Council was active in getting behind the concept of involving schools more in the life of the community...an early, positive supportive and creative relationship between the school and the community gives those kids the outlook, interests and motivation to contribute to the community in which they will live (Martin, 1998, p.6).

Council and the school were facing a number of issues that could not be solved easily. For Council, the site was a continual problem with rubbish mounting up around the boundary fences, dumped car bodies and anti social behaviour of illegal vehicular access, burnouts and fires. For the school the isolated nature of school buildings encouraged vandalism (Phillips, 1998). Property theft, broken windows and broken equipment was a weekly event that greeted the School community on Monday mornings (Phillips, 1998). School morale was low. The total area had the qualities of a neglected place that attracted antisocial and careless behaviour by neighbours.

Residential development in West Moonah was visibly increasing as the bushland on the hill above the school was cleared for new homes. This development, combined with West Moonah's natural steep topography and demand for larger houses or units on smaller lots, increased demand for recreational facilities. The Springfield project was well timed for Council and the School.

The first year of the project involved substantial planning and consultation. Finance was required for any project work and so grant applications were submitted for on-ground works to commence in following years. Successful funding was linked with Council's capital works program, strategic and operational plans thereby pooling limited resources and ensuring the memorandum of understanding was woven into Council's decision-making structure.

Teachers involved students in classroom discussions seeking ideas and involvement in the process. Ideas were shared with parents through school newsletters. This had

the impact of developing ownership and allowing a wide range of ideas and creative thoughts to percolate throughout the school community. The following excerpt is from the Springfield Gardens Primary School Newsletter (undated).

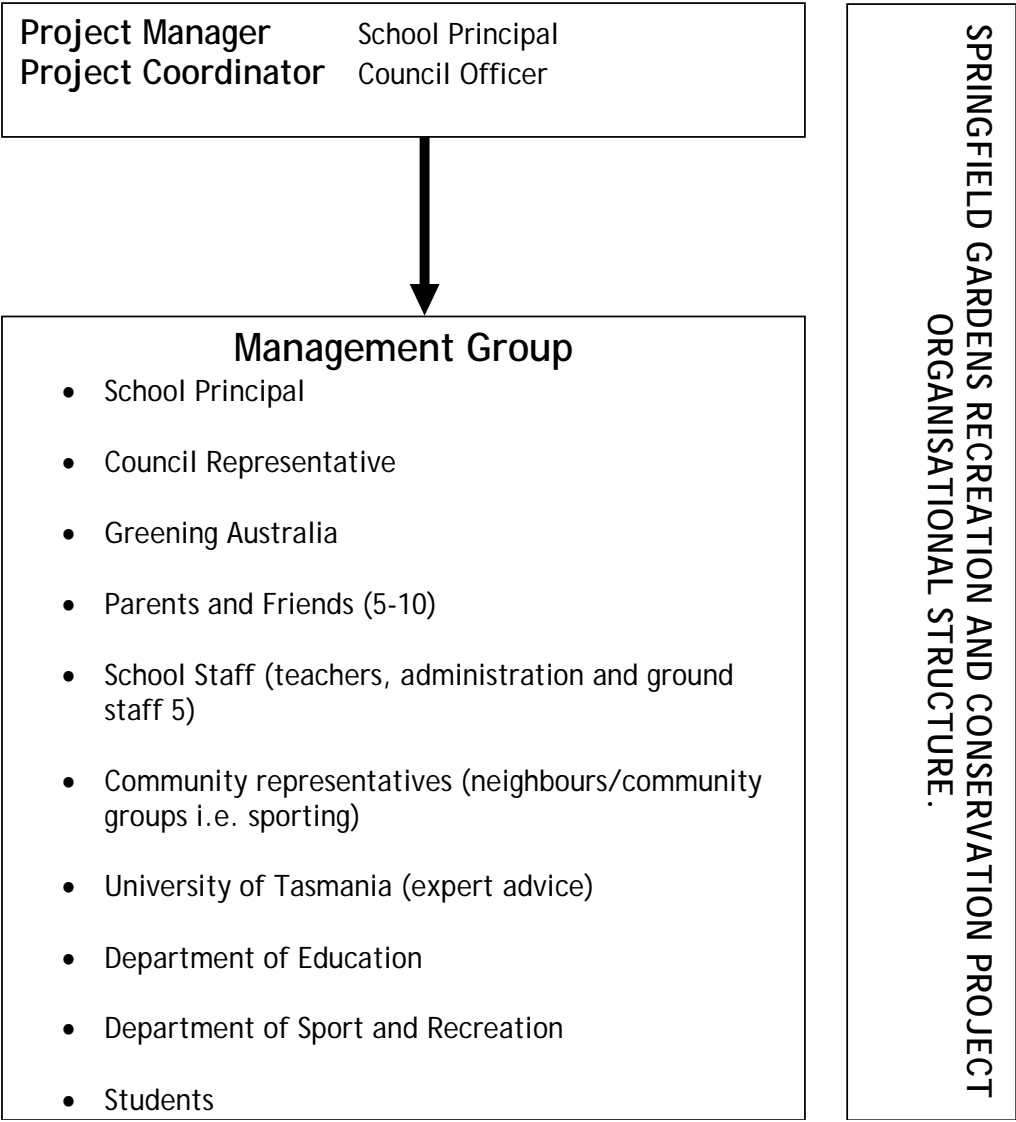
“Natalie thinks that we should have a swimming pool for the hot days...Matthew thinks there should be a fitness area around the oval sho people can work out. John thinks we should have a mini golf course because most kids haven’t played mini golf. Rebecca thinks we should have a barbecue area behind the south campus section. Samantha thinks we should have a tree farm, an amphitheatre, fitness track and a roller blading area.”

The School’s Parents and Friends Association was involved by nominating a representative to the project’s management committee formed to oversee the project. The management committee helped to foster external support from government departments and specialist areas and included a number of teachers from the school. Regular meetings were held and minuted by the school principal. Members of the committee were:

Principal	Bob Phillips
Project Coordinator	Kristine Ancher
School reps	Lynne Hanlon, Anne Grela, Jenny Young Heather Parker, Marguerite Ross, Ruth Morton, Janine Dodge, Rosalie Navikus
Parents and Friends	Donna Eastwood
Education Department	Tony Woodward
Greening Australia	Nel Smit
University of Tasmania	Neil Davidson
Office of Sport and Recreation	Kath Fulton
Community Representative	David Kane, Charlie Williams

Figure 15 summarises the committee structure, which was established to stimulate widespread support encouraging the development of many enthusiastic partners. This involvement was of great assistance when making funding submissions and seeking grants.

Figure 15 Project management structure, Springfield Gardens

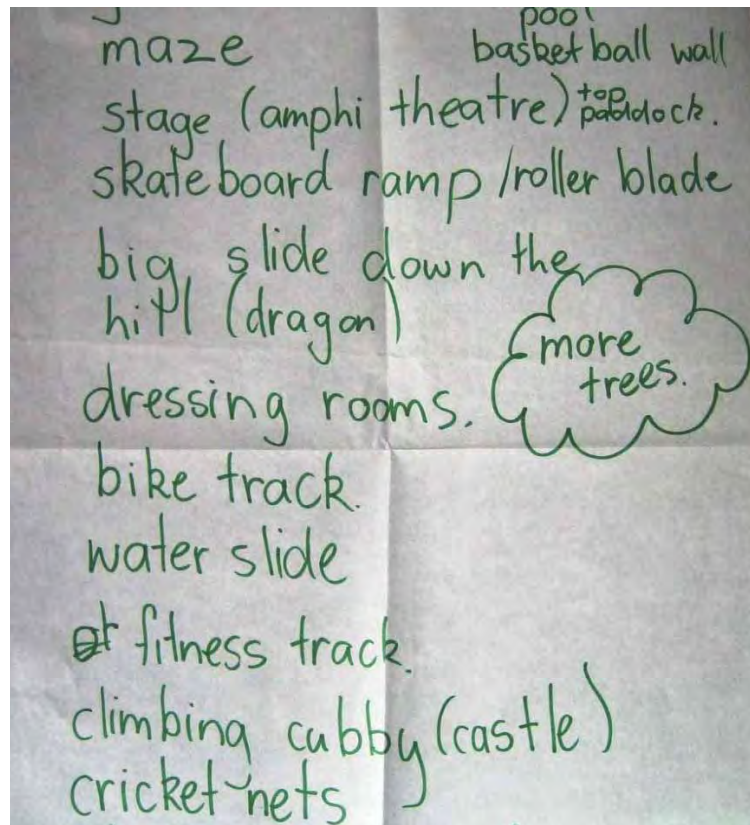


Community workshops and consultations provided information that developed into a concept plan and resolved the size of the land available from the partnership between the school and Council. The design process interpreted community ideas and opportunities into the final design. Within the first few months I observed that the school was humming with anticipation and energy that seemed to evolve from the broad involvement and communication processes. According to the principal, Bob Phillips, vandalism had eased significantly, dropping from \$13,000 in May 1998 to

\$400 in May 1999 freeing up substantial funds to support project initiatives within the school. These savings provided the opportunity to develop small projects and increase community and school confidence that change was occurring, the project was alive and on track.

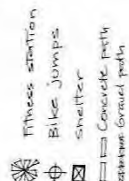
Walking around the school playground during lunchtimes I was able to engage in conversations with interested children, discussing and noting their ideas for future reference. I also took part in classroom discussions and in some cases teachers were using the project to extend their classroom activities (Plate 19).

Plate 19 ideas put forward by students



Jenny Young, a grade 5 teacher, organised her class to inspect a number of playgrounds in the greater Hobart municipality. Students wrote reports assessing the playgrounds as a classroom exercise rating them on their play value and success as design solutions. They also were asked to design or select suitable equipment for the school's new playground. I was invited by the class to listen to their presentations, view results from their work and provide feedback to the students. They were

Figure 16 Concept plan, Springfield Gardens (City of Glenorchy, 1998b)



We agreed that the plan would incorporate both long-term visions and short and long-term goals to maintain local support and enthusiasm. This plan formed the basis of all grant submissions, and was open and flexible to change and unforeseen opportunities. As external funding became available project goals would then be achieved in priority order. In this respect, Madden (2000, p.69) provides evidence that “small changes in public spaces help to garner support along the way”, and indicate that someone is looking after the place and creating a clear message that this community cares. This message can be a powerful tool and proved to be the case as the project evolved.

At the school a teacher, Andrew Gait, had organised his class to cleaning up rubbish and debris in the grassy Swamp Gum *Ovata* forest/woodland remnant on Council land. Realising this species and site supported the swift parrot, listed on the State’s threatened species list, Gait was *showing by doing*, encouraging students to be more aware of the environment and informing Council of their poor management and maintenance procedures. Rubbish dumping on the site at the time was accepted as what people did, car bodies were often dumped and local neighbours tossed unwanted garbage over the fence. Council managed the site reactively, when notified full scale rubbish removal was instigated until the next time. As Gait’s enthusiasm increased he applied for a grant to undertake vegetation mapping on the remnant woodland. He was aware that the site could be developed into a valuable teaching resource and hoped to inform the community and Council about the sites’ botanical qualities. Gait’s funding application was successful and forced Council to enact litter laws. With ‘Adopt-a-Patch’ State Government funding, students at the school were able to produce a compact disc with PowerPoint presentations on the intrinsic natural values they recognised in the remnant bushland. Under the leadership of Phillips, environmental education was woven into the curriculum seamlessly so that it became an everyday part of learning (Phillips, 1998).

To inform neighbours about the redevelopment project and inform them that it was no longer acceptable to use adjoining land as a tip site I created a brochure with the proposed plan and vision for the amalgamated site. It was hand delivered by grade 6 students and informed residents that those people who continued to litter would be

fined. The overall message was positive and informative, signifying to everyone that Council's land was no longer a forgotten place but one held in high regard by a large number of people in the local community.

A second school project initiated by Gait and funded by an application to the Australian Government's Natural Heritage Trust enabled the school community to engage consultants to undertake vegetation mapping and prepare a report. In December 1999, the *Botanical Survey and Management Recommendations* report, prepared by Rae Glazik, Vegetation Management Officer for Tasmanian Conservation Trust, was completed. I was able to use the report findings to gain successful funding applications that supported the implementation of the plan for the amalgamated site.

By the end of the first year of the project seven significant aims had been realised. First was the development of a partnership between Glenorchy City Council and Springfield Gardens Primary School and the local business and residential community. Second, the consultative process was completed and had raised local and business awareness about the project and its goals. Third, was the historic signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between the School, Council and Education Department District Superintendent resulting in the fourth achievement, the finalisation of a common vision for the project and formation of the Springfield Gardens Community Recreation Management Committee.

The fifth outcome involved a tree planting ceremony by the Mayor at the school and presentation to the school of a framed aerial photograph. Sixth was the preparation of a number of grants seeking Federal, State and Local Government funding and the completion of a Botanical Survey of the woodland area. Last, the realisation of support from local business with funding and in-kind donations from Aurora, Hazell Bros, Delishus Cuisine, Rosetto Tiles, Win TV, Walsh's and Cannon Business Machines broadening community interest in the project.

The project succeeded in developing multiple partners, enhancing community pride and involvement. The school grounds and adjoining Council reserve represented a twelve hectare oasis in the midst of dense housing. The location nestled into the

slopes of Mount Wellington provided spectacular views to the mountain and over the municipality of Glenorchy and the Derwent River.

By the second and third years of the project a number of recreation elements had been constructed that encouraged community activity on the site. The first of these was the development of an all-weather walking track, improved landscaping, upgraded oval and playground facilities for all ages, and a community 'Go Go Golf' course (modified golf using a soft rubber ball). Some of the school buildings were renovated and refurbished to encourage adult learning classes at night, after-school child-care and meeting rooms with access to public conveniences for sports clubs using the newly renovated oval.

The Principal encouraged safe bicycle routes to school to be developed and provided lockable cycle storage for students to encourage this action. A community garden was developed and plans created for a school orchard. The success of our funding applications allowed the project to gain momentum. Along the way the project received numerous awards locally and nationally and it was promoted by the State Government as a model for other schools and local government areas. The first significant award was from the Federal Government, an Enterprising Communities Award part of the Commonwealth Government's Enterprise Education in Schools Programme 1998, the recreational trail received a highly commended award in the 1999 Heart Foundation Local Government Awards, National Awards, and was State winner in the Heart Foundation Local Government Awards 1999, for and 'Outstanding Recreation Facility'. Springfield Gardens Primary School was recognised as "making an important contribution to the development of an enterprising culture" in its local community (Kemp, 1998, np).

An artist in residence worked in the school on a number of sculptural projects and I implemented a tile making project to fire and decorate ceramic tiles involving teachers who ensured all students were represented. The tiles were inserted into the walking trail alongside tiles from supporting businesses and organisations.

5.2.1 The Significance of a Perennial Herb

A significant outcome of the botanical survey of Council land adjoining the school site was the recognition, first, of a threatened species, a perennial herb *Eryngium ovinum*, or 'Blue Devil' (Plate 21). This plant was classified as vulnerable and had not been located on the western shores of the Derwent River for fifty years and, second, of a significant stand of grassy Swamp Gum *Ovata* forest/woodland. It was one of the few remaining bush blocks left in the area according to Glazik (1999) and its preservation was paramount, since the plant community was considered an endangered forest community type. The substantial population of the endangered Blue Devil and the rich range of plant species in the remnant had created a stable and highly complex system worthy of preservation.

Plate 21 Blue Devil (Rolf Klap 2000)



Opportunities expanded when it was established that the woodland contained a threatened species that was stable and significant. It was a key marketing tool for joint funding applications and promotion of the site. Interest rose and support for maintenance and management became an issue for Council. Botanists inspecting the site found the unplanned maintenance over the preceding years has left a surprising

level of botanical diversity especially of wildflowers, grasses and orchids as well as the Blue Devil. The *Ovata* woodland was significant because the understorey vegetation was diverse and intact.

A new partnership developed with the University of Tasmania to establish an arboretum and interpretation shelter, adding to the visitor experience and providing an opportunity to further enhance the site as a regional learning facility. An arboretum of Tasmanian Eucalypts was developed with seed donated by the University and a planting layout devised by Dr Neil Davidson. The project was located on the northeastern part of the site where previous attempts by the school to regenerate the landscaped had failed due to vandalism. Three species were not planted as they may have hybridised with the *Ovata*/Swamp Gum but their tree nameplates were located near the interpretation shelter so that botany students would have the full list of native Tasmanian Eucalypts. The development of the arboretum received wide support and as it has grown and become more established it has developed into a valued teaching resource. Throughout the five years of the project communication between the school, Council and community was reinforced by stories in the Parents and Friends newsletters, flyers about milestones achieved, and letter drops throughout the neighbourhood about what was happening in the school and services available for the community to use.

5.2.2 A positive partnership experience

The original aims of the project sought involvement from the school community in developing a recreation plan that could respond to the needs and aspirations of the teachers, students and community in partnership with other levels of government and the business community. As Council's Urban Design coordinator I found the project successful in working to curb senseless vandalism as a ninety percent reduction in vandalism was experienced in the first year (Phillips, 1998). Redirected funds became available to expand programs and develop recreational opportunities. By developing a working partnership between Council and the school to share resources I was in the position to develop a wider range of recreational opportunities for local community members. Better quality equipment was affordable now with the redirection of funds and by pooling resources.

Community and school pride increased as Springfield Gardens Community Recreation Project was realised.

Developing an open-door attitude at the school encouraged greater community ownership of the school and many sets of eyes increased surveillance and public safety. Increased use of the walking trail changed community behaviour and anti social acts became the exception rather than the norm.

As a resource for learning the woodlands became an Adopt a Patch program with the school developing a wide range of teaching opportunities and active participation in bushland weeding and regeneration. *Adopt a Patch* was a project coordinated by Greening Australia and funded by the Australian Natural Heritage Fund involving fifty Tasmanian schools. After securing permission from the land owner, if not part of school property, the local school assumes responsibility for a bushland area of natural vegetation to learn about the existing plant species, local issues and management practices. Once funding ceased the *Adopt a Patch* program appears to have folded and was not continued by subsequent State Governments or the Education Department. Local schools, however, depending upon school philosophy and leadership, have in some cases continued similar programs seeking their own funding avenues.

For Springfield Gardens school students made short film presentations about the weeds and rubbish and joined with Council's outside staff in cleaning up the site. The residential community partnership flourished as the image and profile of the school and its surrounding environment increased (Briggs, 2004). At the onset of the project I felt it was important to establish a management framework to reinforce the independence of the project and ensure future staff changes at the school or Council would not see the momentum of the project slow but keep contact with the local community and business.

The success of the project reinforces an idea that Sandercock (1998a) has advanced: that urban planning is really a *social* science or a *policy* science. It is the integration of design and planning of the built environment, where the social and political environment enriches our understanding of urban design, building and community

development. Indeed, the literature reinforces the link between the built environment and individual and collective well-being (Bently et al., 1985, Brown, 1994, Carmona et al., 2003, Hough, 2007, Inam, 2002, Leitmann, 1999, Llewelyn-Davies, 2000).

This project began with an idea and a meeting with a few significant people who were in agreement. It was then discussed with many people who either provided links to others or assisted with their skills and enthusiasm finally becoming partners in the process. Each student at the school was encouraged to participate, by creating a tile that was laid in the concrete walking trail. The process was inclusive and democratic, where teams came together to work on projects and where small achievements were acknowledged. As Council's urban design coordinator I provided a guiding position in partnership with the school principal. The management structure has supported the ongoing nature of the project to achieve its goals. Many celebrations were organised whenever a significant milestone was achieved, such as a successful grant or completion of a small project.

The strategies and tactics used throughout the process were based upon knowledge and rationality, arguments for funding were supported by important findings such as the significant bushland and threatened species, or the recreational trail supported by increasing residential development and a lack of useable recreational open space. Both the Principal and I had an understanding of the political environment and the need to establish relationships with decision makers in the Education Department and Council. The Memorandum of Understanding between the Mayor, Regional Director of Education and the Principal raised the profile of the project and allowed it to develop its own momentum and support.

This project created its own status and power and, as Flyvbjerg (1998) suggests, power delimits and creates real physical, economic, ecological and social realities. Finding the significant threatened species and the diversity among understorey plants in the woodland and achieving a number of awards allowed the project to develop a position of power. With increasing scientific evidence supporting that position the project became a reality. Power relations cultivated by diverse communities of interest involving businesses, Government departments and non-government organisations developed multiple relations of power that the project was *able to*

utilise positively. These relations exhibited many of the elements of social capital referred to earlier as crucial to empowered place-making also provided funding, promotional and political opportunities that enabled many who were so engaged to profit from the relationship. *Developing an aptitude to influence was one of the project's more successful strategies or tactics.*

According to Phillips (1998) as the project developed the school exhibited positive energy as everyone enjoyed the attention given to the school by the media, politicians, local residents and the three levels of government. The Council and school were asked by other Principals to address seminars at their schools, and new links and partnerships began to form throughout the municipality. The resident community actively participated by using the walking track providing a higher level of natural surveillance helping to ensure low levels of vandalism. The police recorded increased levels of reporting which was also the case at Council regarding unauthorised motor cycle use, anti-social behaviour and vandalism.

A positive learning experience at the school was realised by the *Ovata* woodland providing a safe easily accessible area for outdoor environmental, science and English studies. The interpretation shelter informed visitors to the site about the significance of the area. Ongoing maintenance and management of the site under the guidance of the plans developed by Greening Australia informed Council of its responsibility to the site. Members of the community enjoyed a first class recreational facility within walking distance that was accessible, safe, and provided a wide range of opportunities for active and passive play. Developing a community playground demonstrated how by working together Council, the community and the school could pool recreation funding to provide a better standard of equipment for school and community use where resource sharing enabled a quality solution.

As the West Moonah community matured and was nurtured by the process, the school also changed from being a place with low esteem to one that is highly motivated and successful. The school recently won an award in the School Network section of the 2006 Medibank Active Towns Award (Figure 17).

Figure 17 school continues to win awards (Medibank Active Towns Award 2006)

Most Innovative School Award Winner - Springfield Gardens Primary School

English as a Second Language Students to Little Athletics Program

Springfield Gardens Primary School has taken on a leadership role in connecting newly arrived ESL (English as a Second Language) students and their families to the Hobart Athletics Club. The school wanted to provide experiences for children who were selected to represent their school in Little Athletics, but were often disqualified because they were unfamiliar with the routines at competitive levels. The Program provided ESL families with transport, subsidised fees and an interpreter on Saturday mornings. Initially it was thought between 15 and 20 students might attend, but by the fourth week, over 40 students had attended and the program required additional funding. By the end of the 2005-06 Little Athletics season, over 73 students had tried Little Athletics and 54 had enrolled.



An area of conflict that did arise during the project concerned the protection of the significant woodland of shrubby *Ovata* and the establishment of the eucalyptus arboretum. Conflict arose between the State Government's Threatened Species Unit and the University of Tasmania's School of Plant Science's staff over a professional difference of opinion. Two site meetings were held between Council, the school, University scholars and members of the Threatened Species Unit. Each group presented its professional opinion and collectively the decision was made about the importance and significance of each argument. Consensus and agreement was achieved from the site meeting resulting in minor changes to the planting layout and species selection. The newly planted eucalypt tree rows would not extend into the woodland and a buffer would be created between the arboretum and the *Ovata* species. To avoid cross-pollination with black gums and thereby weakening the genetic base; three eucalypt species thought to do this would not be planted. The reasons for this decision would be added in the interpretation and the trees would be noted using tree plates located around the interpretation shelter. This rationale is alluded to in the interpretation panels, where justification is provided for why the three species were not planted (Plates 22-23).

Plate 22 interpretation panels adjacent the arboretum



Plate 23 interpretation shelter at the site for visitors



5.3 *Other examples of place-making*

5.3.1 Montrose Foreshore Community Reserve

The 1996 Glenorchy City Council Strategic Plan established a five-year plan that identified a framework for setting the preferred future direction for the city. This document included a vision statement, policy statement and mission statement with action plans for all program areas within Council. The then Property Management Program realised the need to develop a recreation policy and strategy if the goals and objectives in the Strategic plan were to be realised. Consultants were appointed and the recreation strategy was completed in December 1996 with a number of principles and goals, in particular, the need to prepare master plans for upgrading and redevelopment of major community parks within the municipality. A target of three plans per year over five years was established. I was asked to develop these and one of the first plans undertaken was for a linear reserve at Montrose.

The reserve is located adjacent to the Brooker Highway, a four-lane development that annexed from the municipality a number of suburbs creating a barrier that over time resulted in community amnesia concerning the recreational opportunities available along the Derwent River municipal boundary. The area was noted in Council's recreation strategy as a community park, an important community asset that when improved would increase both active and passive community recreation. I consulted with local stakeholders including the adjacent Rosetta High school, two special schools, residents and members of the Montrose Sailing and Glenorchy Rowing Clubs. Council did not have an accessible playground in the municipality so I ensured this would be considered after discussions with two special schools for the disabled.

I arranged a number of informal interviews and undertook observations at the special schools to assist my understanding and appreciation of playground needs and limitations to inform my selection of suitable playground equipment. Further interviews were held with Rosetta High's Principal, Graham Speight and when

Council developed the community precincts, they too become involved in project development (See Chapter 2).

Council agreed to an overall master plan that would guide development and supported my applying for external funding and internal project bids from Council's annual capital works. I formulated the plan to include social, passive and culturally oriented recreational opportunities with a cycle path, informal park, interpretation, accessible playground, public toilet upgrade, shelters, electric barbeques, outdoor exercise site, and redeveloped visitor information shelter.

The project began slowly relying on funds through Council capital works. It was the successful Federal government funding application that supported the construction of a two metre wide concrete walking and cycling path. As Council's urban design coordinator further opportunities came from discussions with local Rotary clubs, Derwent Regional Education office and the newly formed Montrose Precinct group working with the local high school. Discussions established support for four major projects as part of the reserve redevelopment. They included the 1999 Young Peoples Sculpture Park, the 2005 Rotary Centenary Gazebo and two interpretation projects undertaken with the local community Precinct group and Rosetta High school.

Schneekloth (1995, p.9) asserts "as professional place makers, we intervene in a layered and complex world" and for this to be successful it is necessary that an understanding about that place is realised and relationships are developed between all involved. Place-making is about understanding experiences and interpreting that place, acting responsibly knowing that it takes courage to proceed.

The collaborative projects completed at Montrose continue to develop community ownership and pride in this local place. Collaborative place-making efforts and community stories have been told using different media and diverse art pieces, providing new facilities and projects for local visitors and park users. Many are becoming local landmarks and icons in the Glenorchy landscape. The park is recognised as a major site for community activities large and small, including the Glenorchy regatta, fun runs, exhibitions, community celebrations and private gatherings. It has become a much loved place for residents and visitors (Plate 24-25).

Plate 24 the Blue Screen in the Grove Young People's sculpture park



Plate 25 Montrose Rotary Gazebo official opening



5.3.2 Goulds Lagoon

Located close to the northern perimeter of the municipality are the suburbs of Austins Ferry and Granton. They form the rural residential areas of the City of Glenorchy. Goulds Lagoon was proclaimed a wildlife sanctuary in 1938 is a declared nature conservation wetland area.

A range of birds visit the lagoon resting, feeding and nesting. The site is listed as significant in the 2001 *Australian Directory of Important Wetlands* where sixty native bird species, including seventeen rare and twelve endangered species have been recorded visiting the area. At any time a range of birds can be seen including; Black Swan (*Cygnus atratus*), Chestnut Teal (*Anus castanea*), Tasmanian Native Hen (*Gallinula mortierii*), Eurasian Coot (*Fulica atra*) and Pacific Black Duck (*Anus superciliosa*). Two migratory birds are known to visit the site, the Cattle Egret (*Bubulcus ibis*) and the Great Egret (*Egretta alba*). Visiting over winter from China and Japan they are protected under the Japanese and Australian Migratory Bird Agreement and Chinese and Australian Migratory Bird Agreement (Commonwealth of Australia. Department of Foreign Affairs, 1974 [1981], Commonwealth of Australia. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 1986, 1988).

The lagoon is home to four frog species: they are the Brown Froglet (*Crinia tasmaniensis*), Spotted Marsh Frog (*Limnodynastes tasmaniensis*), the Eastern banjo Frog (*Limnodynastes dumerili insularis*) and the Brown tree frog (*Litoria ewingi*) and their calls are quite distinctive especially the Eastern banjo Frog which sounds like a banjo. By 1991, residential development began to have an adverse impact on the lagoon. A buffer zone and storm water filtration had been introduced to protect water quality in the lagoon but the strategic importance of the site failed to impress local and State government decision makers at the time and more subdivisions developed.

I felt this area was under threat and in danger of being overlooked as significant by Council and community if much needed resources were not directed to Goulds Lagoon. A 1992 federally-funded Local Government capital works program enabled a funding opportunity. A successful application enabled the Goulds Lagoon project to begin. A major element involved the development of a school and community

awareness program, weed eradication, revegetation and construction of a bird hide and interpretation facility. An education kit was to be developed to encourage and assist school visits to the site. Appropriate work sheets were designed for preschool, primary school and for lower secondary schools linked into the curriculum through consultation with a number of science teachers. This place-making project became an intervention into the community to enhance and protect the special qualities of the lagoon and raise support for its ongoing protection. The community was informed through the *Glenorchy Gazette* and *Mercury* newspapers about the project, taking the form of media releases and feel-good human interest stories. The design process included consultations with other Council staff and State Government's Parks and Wildlife officers, who shared joint management and maintenance of the wetland.

This project raised community awareness and support for the environmental protection of the lagoon. An important element of the project was my engagement of a graphic designer to consult with science teachers at local schools and produce an education kit in support of the existing curriculum. Visiting school groups and distribution of the Goulds Lagoon education kit to all schools within the municipality significantly raised the importance of the site environmentally and socially and galvanised local community support to protect the area. Under the *Water Watch in Schools* program water quality testing kits were used and readings taken to monitor the health of the lagoon. These readings were presented to Council for record keeping. The significance of the place was increased by sensitive development of a bird hide and interpretation. The worksheets developed especially for school groups encouraged an increase in school group visitation and developed a greater respect for the area helping to reinforce Goulds Lagoon as a special place.

The Bagdad Field and Game organisation had been involved in constructing and maintaining nesting boxes in the lagoon for a number of years and after consulting with them they agreed to support the expanded environmental program. Early in the project I became aware of overhead power lines that were located in the flight path of swans causing a high number of deaths due to entanglement. Council had also received a number of written requests from the community seeking action. I wrote to the Hydro Electricity Commission, the government department involved, seeking

support to place the lines underground. Having initially denied our request they later had a change of direction seeking to re-brand their public profile towards a green and clean image. Out of the blue I received a letter of notification that they had finally agreed and would be locating the offending lines underground. They requested that Council support them in a media event on the site where local state and federal members of government were invited to mingle with local residents celebrating the removal and relocation.

Continued residential development around the lagoon was diminishing the local environment and concerns were being raised by residents about siltation, water quality and algal bloom from increased stormwater runoff. Friends of Goulds Lagoon, a resident action group formed in an attempt to direct Council's attention to these issues. Other concerns were raised in meetings I conducted with the group included the impact of domestic animals on local wildlife, feral animals such as rabbits and cats, weed infestation, rubbish and litter and traffic along Main Road where the speed limit exceeded that which seemed reasonable for this significant area. Members of this group later became active members of the Austins Ferry/Grantton community precinct group. The bird hide (Plate 26) and interpretation continues to provide visitors to the site with information about the local environment and the significance of the wetland to birds that migrate there from the northern hemisphere. Residents now campaigned strongly for speed limits to be lowered but have been unable to change the dominant thinking of the State government department charged with that responsibility. In May 2002 the State Government introduces a state-wide residential speed of 50kph but refused to change the speed limit along Main Road. The majority of Main Road passing through Glenorchy is 60kph and it appears that decision-makers refuse ongoing community and Council requests to lower the 80kph zone nearby the lagoon for "fear of inconveniencing truck drivers" (Prodanovic, 2004).

Plate 26 bird hide on Goulds lagoon



Residents now campaigned strongly for speed limits to be lowered but have been unable to change the dominant thinking of the State government department charged with that responsibility. In May 2002 the State Government introduces a state-wide residential speed of 50kph but refused to change the speed limit along Main Road. The majority of Main Road passing through Glenorchy is 60kph and it appears that decision-makers refuse ongoing community and Council requests to lower the 80kph zone nearby the lagoon for “fear of inconveniencing truck drivers” (Prodanovic, 2004). The transport industry obviously had well established power relations (Flyvbjerg, 1998) that could not be swayed by the power of rational arguments put forward by Council or the community. Swans continue to be killed when they are raising their young on the road adjacent the lagoon where the speed zone continues to be 80kmh. After consultation with community and a State Government officer from the Nature Conservation Branch of State Government, Council has made several attempts to protect the birds by erecting a mesh fence and refraining from mowing the verge grasses which are attractive to the swans. The recent death of a young motorist has also failed to change government policy. Another project linked to the Lagoon was the development of Hestercombe Reserve into a community park.

5.3.3 Hestercombe Road Reserve

When land adjacent to Goulds Lagoon wetlands was subdivided it provided an attractive low cost semi-rural residential location with north-facing sloping sites, vistas to the Derwent River, all within close proximity to schools and shops. A buffer zone provided by Hestercombe Road Reserve was undeveloped and treeless land zoned for public open space. It was a large area and designated as both buffer zone and with future development into a community park as an option.

Planning approval for subdivisions around the lagoon was conditional requiring several stormwater filtration systems to remove runoff pollutants entering the lagoon. One in the centre of Hestercombe Reserve was a serpentine shape which was landscaped with native grasses and rocks to form riffles and mini water falls to aerate and clean the moving water. The idea was sound but the implementation and ongoing maintenance lacked enforcement. This resulted in silting of the stormwater filtration system, weed infestation and many complaints from new residents. It was an expensive procedure for Council to manage. Resident complaints resulted in the installation of a childproof fence around the three stormwater filtration ponds including the one in the reserve. The fences made maintenance even more difficult.

In 2002-3 Council, realising a growing need was developing for open space facilities due to the expanding residential growth (Plate 27) and in response to its own recreation strategies, allocated funds to develop the reserve. As the Council's urban design coordinator I was given the project. The first step was to undertake a number of site visits recording the site and its relationship to the lagoon.

Later I undertook a community consultation program involving a site meeting and resident survey. Realising most of the residents were not at home during the day and to ensure a high level of participation I arranged the site meeting on a Saturday morning for interested residents. Prior to the site meeting I compiled the survey and hand delivered it to each of the one hundred and forty households. My contact details were provided so any residents who could not attend could still participate in ways that suited them. Broad community involvement was a high priority for me to ensure the project would be owned by the community. As (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995,

p.9) states professional place-makers are “required to uncover aspects of that world of which they and we may not be aware, or may not be interested in sharing”. Arriving at the reserve for the weekend site meeting a number of residents voiced strong desires for facilities that would support the families and people with disabilities living in the neighbourhood. It was important to retain the special qualities of the place and provide a landscaped buffer zone to the lagoon.

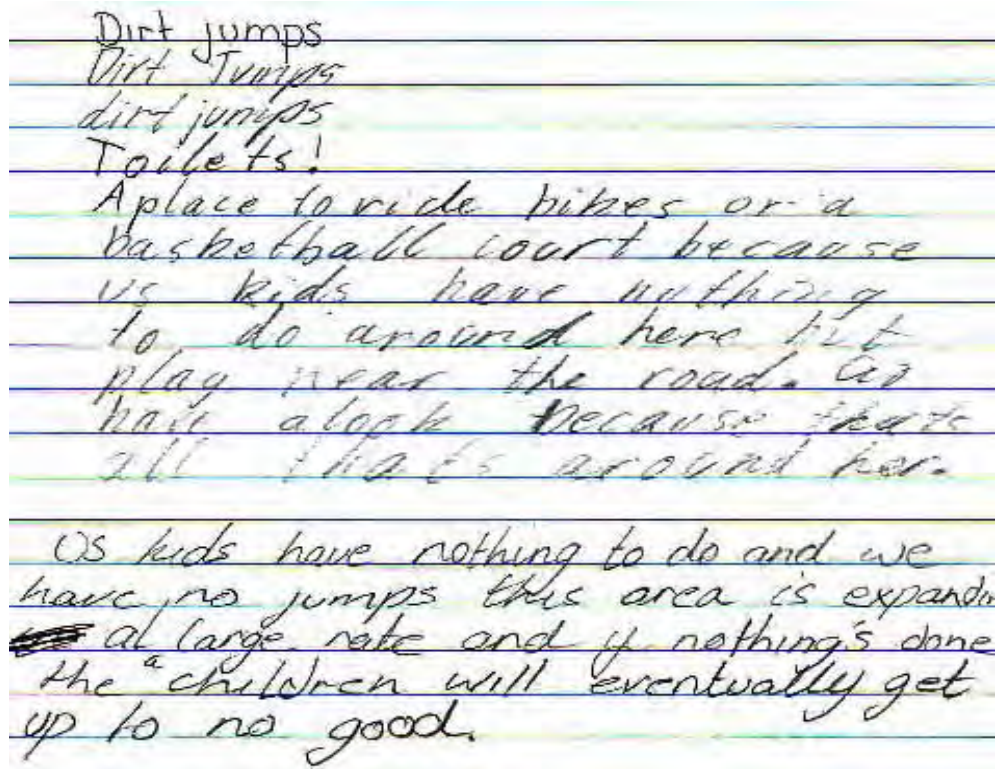
Plate 27 residential pressure on the lagoon



The gathering desired that the peace and tranquillity of the area be retained. Of equal importance were the needs of young people, and the desire to provide a space that was *their place*. Comments from young people are best summarised by the follow written responses (Figure 18) sent to Council by a resident who engaged with a group of young people using the undeveloped space one afternoon. Sixty six percent of the community responded to the large community survey letter drop providing a high level of engagement and provided me with knowledge and information about resident hopes regarding recreational needs and protection of the lagoon. A further twelve interested residents nominated to collaborate in the design process. I

developed a concept plan and distributed widely through the community seeking a full response from the appointed twelve.

Figure 18 Responses from young people, Hestercombe Road Reserve project



During my consultations with residents about the development, many voiced concerns about traffic, community safety, safe play areas and hoons using the local streets to burn off. Conflicting thoughts and values arose when residents suggested that they wanted to preserve the tranquil setting of the reserve and support the native habitat and nesting opportunities the lagoon provided but also desired some interventions to provide facilities for children and families. In particular they supported the idea of creating a meeting place for young people and play areas and informal but developed areas where people might actively socialise with neighbours. This feeling came through strongly when I spoke individually with residents who valued living close to the lagoon and its environs appreciating community needs for some sensitive development in the reserve for recreational opportunities. A particular concern was to remove children from playing on the streets where they were at ever-increasing risk from high speed traffic.

I developed a concept plan mindful of community aspirations and concerns; the plan was then distributed for public information while I continued to refine the design with the nominated twelve residents. Over time some members began to dramatically change their original thoughts as the process moved closer to resolution. I became aware of the impact of the strategies and tactics being pursued by one particular household.

As part of the consultation process I provided an officer from the State Government's Resource Management and Conservation a copy of the proposed plan. This department co managed the area with Council. The officer, a wildlife biologist responded with concern "While I can understand the need for facilities, is it not possible to site them somewhere else in the subdivision?" (Blackhall, 2003).

The letter also pointed out that "at the time of subdivision, this agency expressed concern about the nearness of houses to the lagoon" and Council's response was to zone the area Public Open Space thereby providing a buffer ensuring no residential buildings could be erected in that area. What the State Government officer did not take into consideration was that the site as zoned clearly supported reserve and park activities. In hindsight perhaps the Council might have been more environmentally aware and zoned this area differently and removed the road from the edge of the lagoon. Here in lies another story of power and rationality that cannot be covered in this work.

The letter argues the negative impact a children's playground in the reserve might have, suggesting it would defeat the purpose of the site as a buffer zone to the lagoon. The site at the time was treeless, flat and featureless apart from the failed silt trap in the centre. The officer provided support for passive recreation including footpaths, interpretation signs but not seating, play equipment or sculptures. This information was circulated to the small group. I made the observation that no comment was made by the officer concerning the impact upon bird life and habitat of increasing traffic on the two roads bounding the lagoon and current speed limits up to 80 kph.

Local community debate about the proposed concept was manipulated by one household living opposite the reserve. Receiving notification of Council's intention they voiced their opposition to any development within the park. In an undated letter the following statements were made

...to assist you in understanding some of our comments I would advise that I am a retired Police Officer with 40 years experience...rising to the rank of Superintendent.

...in the past five years...I have personally chased off Vandals, shooters, Rabbit and bird hunters with dogs. Dirt motor bike riders that use the area as a race track and hoons in cars using the reserve as a dirt track. Over the past two years things have been relatively quiet as I suspect that information has spread that I am here and prepared to chase them off or call the necessary authority.

We strongly object to unsightly swings play units spring animals Public shelters and barbecues, all of the aforesaid merely encourage Louts, Vandals, Drug addicts and other undesirables who indulge in activities that leave behind all manner of debris including used syringes, used condoms and a multitude of other rubbish including empty liquor containers. All of this not to mention noise pollution during the peace of the easy with hosts of noisy children, and at night with the arrival of cars, motorcycles an drunken youths yelling and fighting and indulging in other unpleasant activities. (Roffe and Roffe, 2003).

A deliberate fear campaign began to undermine initial community support and resulted in the community dividing. Power using what Dovey (Dovey, 1999, p.10) calls coercion, manipulation, dominance or intimidation was invoked. Roffe, a retired police officer, held a position in the community of considerable authority and exercised a form of power *over* based upon unquestioned recognition and compliance. The strategy and tactic he employed was to use his legitimate and recognised *experience* and all knowing *authority* in the interest of public safety and hijack the terms of reference of any discussion. Children were noisy, and polluting the peace of the day, upgrading the park would bring drunken youths to indulge in anti social behaviour. Having a person with such authority and experience dominate public debate was able to divide and limit reasonable discourse and as Dovey (1999, p.12) suggests was given greater impetus because we tend to "recognize authority as legitimate because it is seen to serve a larger interest ... the public interest".

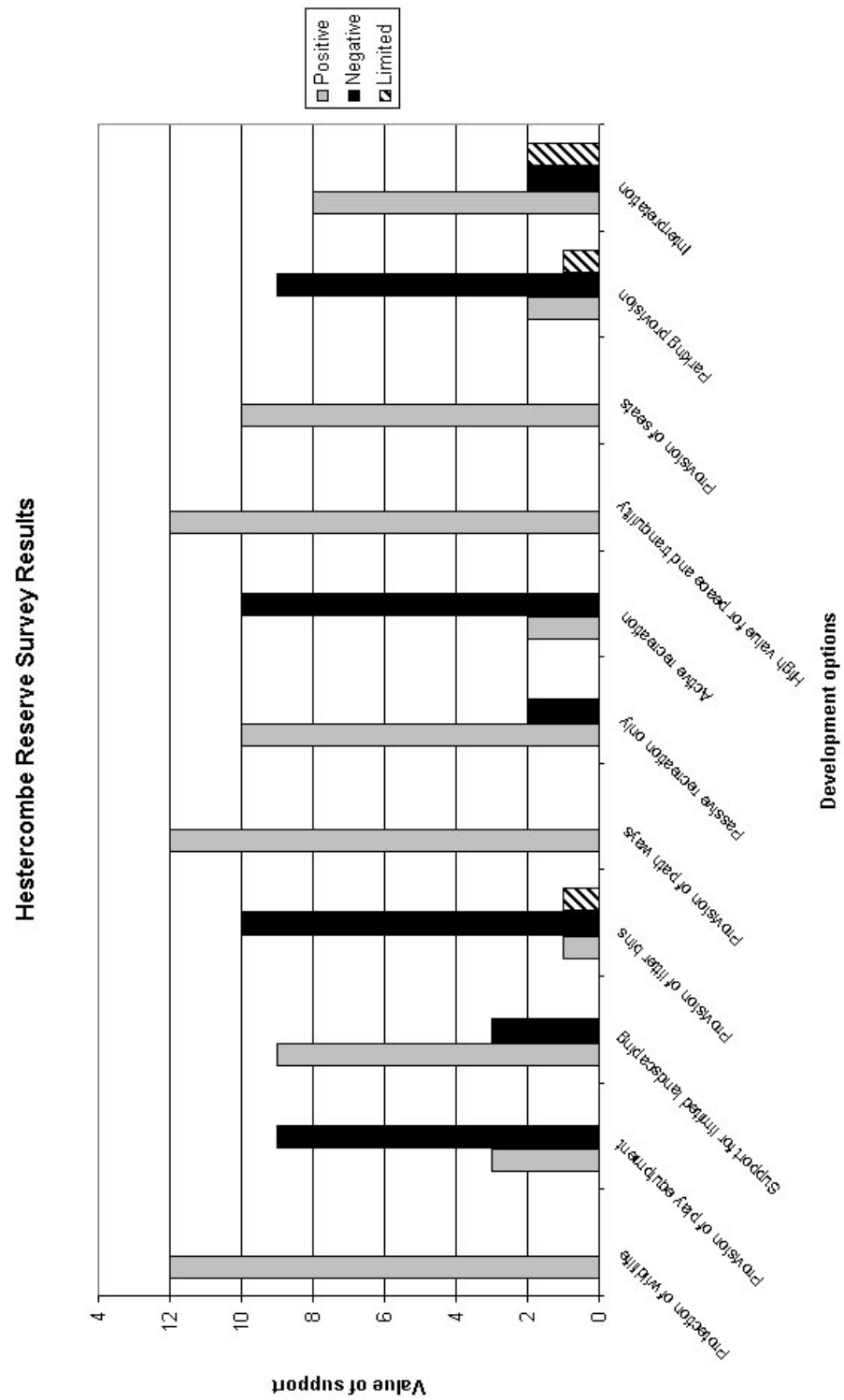
During final consultation with residents agreement was reached with unanimous support for wildlife protection, provision of pathways and retention of the perceived peace and tranquillity. A well-designed area for a playground had little support but all supported the construction of a path in the reserve to assist local disabled residents whose greatest need was somewhere close to visit with independence. The circular path would allow this, but there would be no shelter or shade, soft sound sculptures or coloured art works, interpretation or play equipment to engage them or any of the neighbourhood children as these were not endorsed. Feedback (Figure 19) informed the final revision of the design which was now compromised and influenced by the power of one.

The successful fear campaign resulted in development of the reserve limited to minimal tree planting, some seating and a circular path, a passive recreational reserve, open and empty. According to Flyvbjerg (1998) power has a rationality that rationality does not know. Knowledge was power and regard for the retired police inspector by the community who extolled substantial knowledge of the criminal mind created a context that rational thinking and arguments could not overcome.

Rationality had become infused with *power-over*, rendering it powerless. My attempts to broaden the debate were distorted with the final plan given “manipulated consent by ignorant participants” (Dovey, 1999, p.11) thus removing free choice and rationality. In a way the community was seduced by a powerful individual wielding his image and construction of an imagined future that would be negative.

The Hestercombe Road project was comprehensive and coherent, sensitive to the needs of a rapidly growing residential area and a significant site that could allow the development of an innovative play experience with sensitively designed environmental art works and interpretation. The project envisaged would inform and support the fragile nature of the wetland. The process of consultation had been rational and democratic gaining support from the community, involving them collaboratively throughout the design process, however during the process when ideas met reality the “play of Machiavellian princes, Nietzschean will to power” (Flyvbjerg, 1998, p.225) came very close to destroying the project. The success of the fear campaign was instrumental in limiting the final outcomes.

Figure 19 Development options, Hestercombe Road Reserve survey



Occupants of new residential suburbs ordinarily might welcome the development of and environmentally sensitive designed space for children, young people and families to gather, especially when the location is within walking distance to most new homes and was earmarked by Council's own strategic plan and community surveys. Funding was provided, the community engaged in place-making and fully consulted and informed. This site was special and important not only to the local community but within the whole region.

When work began on the agreed concept (Figure 22) Council's outdoor staff became the target of abuse by those unhappy with the final decision. Many young people used the park and voiced disappointment at Council failing them and their needs. Residents who supported sensitive facility development were philosophical about the outcome suggesting that in the future more families may move into the area and change the balance of power allowing a second review of community needs and the park environment.

5.4 The Final Steps

Design in the public realm occurs in two broad areas; one involves design elements both artificial and natural in which human activity and behaviour occurs, and the second is the process of communal decision-making by governments and the market place which constitutes the process of design (Lang, 2005). The first involves elements, products and outcomes of design, and the second involves the political and power relationships that exist in all facets of the design process. Both involve awareness and understanding of human behaviours, which are not always predictable or rational but are always context-dependent when related to power (Flyvbjerg, 1998). My work as an urban designer has led me to believe that human settlements constitute both public and private domains; they can be semi-public and semi-private but are not always clear-cut – a situation reinforced by the range of human activity and behaviours that occur in response to places. In this light, it is important, perhaps, to consider the processes of design as assisting communities in making places at varying scales and in response to differing needs. These then become 'designed' everyday places that evolve with meaning and relevance to the people who use them daily guided by professional knowledge and skill.

Species List Landscaping

- Pea
- Lomandra longifolia
- Correa alba
- Correa decumbens
- Acacia sophorae
- Callistemon citrinus
- Callistemon pallidus
- Callistemon viminalis
- Allocasuarina
- Eucalyptus pulehiola
- Eucalyptus globulus
- Eucalyptus laurantis
- Anoplophora costalis

PRELIMINARY

HESTERCOMBE ROAD RESERVE
 Preliminary Concept
 Glenorchy City Council
 Roads and Recreation - Property
 Scale: 1:500 Date: May 2003
 K. Archer

Each project outlined in this chapter was developed using key principles of urban design. First, places are for people, and that it is vital to enrich the existing and to make connections both physically and visually. Second, it is necessary to work with landscape, striking a balance between the natural and constructed and ensure that designed places meet the variety of needs of users. Third, amenities and social groups are interlinked through aesthetic building forms. Fourth, good places that encourage use are highly desirable and therefore economically viable and attract further investment, making them useful for sustainability outcomes that are more-than-economic. Fifth, fundamental to good urban design is an understanding about the management of community assets and their life cycles. Finally, design must be accessible, flexible and sustainable and able to respond to future changes in use, lifestyle and demography.

In all of these projects, my role was to facilitate community place-making. Each project was different with different locations, considerations and outcomes but contained a common thread to ensure the making of authentic places (Healey, 1997, Relph, 1976) with people in a collaborative and sustainable way. The generalist profession of urban design, located in institutional settings where ‘silo’ management structure prevails, has the capacity to overlap and build connections to other design professions. Urban design is well placed in this role. Often the process can be frustrating but my experience suggests this can be overcome by instigating multidisciplinary project teams and a high level of community involvement.

These few examples show how effective municipal governments can be in positively influencing local partnerships through social investment in community. By recognising that places are for people and that place matters, place-making and urban design can be broadened to involve other professionals in partnerships that move towards sustainable communities. During the Montrose Young Peoples sculpture park development an artwork – the *blue screen* – was designed by an “at risk” student who after completing the project went on to study at tertiary level. This process exemplified an effective intervention in support of the proposition that place-making partnerships and projects can succeed as processes where positive outcomes and personal growth happen.

It is vital to develop an appreciation and understanding of, the shifting operations of power in relation to community when working in the public realm. Government represents the people and public servants are charged to support public interest. Too often well positioned special interests groups with deeply embedded stable power relations determine what counts as knowledge and therefore place hidden pressure on decision making processes.

As Flyvbjerg (1998, p.226) maintains “modernity and democracy are practical attempts at regulating power and domination. To advance the principles of sustainability and develop practical outcomes professional place-makers need to understand this delicate balance. My thesis and research suggests mechanisms to support this must include explicit commitment by local government to the adoption of LA21 processes. To reiterate important ideas from Chapter 28 and its basis for action:

28.1. Because so many of the problems and solutions being addressed by Agenda 21 have their roots in local activities, the participation and cooperation of local authorities will be a determining factor in fulfilling its objectives. Local authorities construct, operate and maintain economic, social and environmental infrastructure, oversee planning processes, establish local environmental policies and regulations, and assist in implementing national and sub national environmental policies. As the level of governance closest to the people, they play a vital role in educating, mobilizing and responding to the public to promote sustainable development (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, 1992, no page).

Support for a re-emergent civil society that is active in community place-making is a vital ingredient in establishing a sense of place through authentic processes. This idea is aptly summarised by Nairn cited by (Relph, 1976):

It seems a commonplace that almost everyone is born with the need for identification with his surroundings and a relationship to them – with the need to be in a recognisable place. So sense of place is not a fine art extra, it is something we cannot afford to do without (p.63)

A sense of identity with place is necessary for people’s development of a sense of reality. This sense exists according to (Relph, 1976, p.63) in a “full range of awareness from simple recognition for orientation, through the capacity to

respond empathetically to the identities of different places, to a profound association with places as cornerstones of human existence and individual identity”.

Chapter 6 Placing Glenorchy

If people want to shape the world around them, in their community and at work, it can only be as active citizens working collectively through a democratised state and civil society to create a difference and a better world ... The good society must now come before the free market (Bound, 2006, np).

6.1 *Summary*

In this work my focus has been firmly centred on how place-making can provide a mechanism where community engagement is about people working together in multi-disciplinary teams, sharing power and decision-making, developing skills and being part of processes to plan, design, construct and manage place. Place matters fundamentally to how people are in the world and an authentic sense of place according to Relph (1976, p.65) “is above all that of being inside and belonging to *your* place both as an individual and as a member of a community, and to know this without reflecting upon it”. Community place-making provides the opportunity to engage people actively, positively and equitably, and add value and meaning to local places. It can empower and change lives and long-held perceptions that might otherwise undermine quality of life. Place-making can assist socially marginalised and disadvantaged people to take steps to engage with each other and with place, especially when place-making projects are located in ‘home range’, and encourage collaboration for the material realisation of shared designs and visions.

In general terms my investigations have, I think, provided evidence to support the idea that urban design as a generalist profession might inform and enrich local government’s mandate to advance the principles of sustainability through on-ground works that are ecologically sensitive, build social capital and are mindful of the need to distribute the good effects of economic benefits. Not insignificantly, this ‘utility’ of the urban designer in local government derives from an embedded professional ethos to work in a collaborative manner, around professional barriers, and challenge public apathy through commitment to community engagement and multi-disciplined teamwork. Perhaps most importantly, it is arguable that urban design predisposes those who practise it to be sensitive to *place as a crucial and fluid site and*

assemblage through which social relations are engendered, through which trust, reciprocity and networks come into being, and through which the labours of sustainable development may reap dividends for a more equitably experienced and shared quality of life. Notwithstanding the possibilities that adhere to the profession, and to professional urban design practice in local government, it has also been established in this work (in ways that augment and reinforce findings elsewhere on the same themes) that an awareness of overt and tacit power relations and their impacts on rational decision-making in local government is critical to the skills so practised (Sandercock, 1998a, Sarkissian and Forester, 2003, Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995).

At the level of the ordinary and everyday, people are engaged in relations of power and co-produce what counts as rationality and knowledge – and therefore what counts as reality, and it often seems the case that power (as power-over) finds ignorance, coercion, manipulation and self-deception more useful for its purposes than truth (Dovey, 1999, Flyvbjerg, 1998). Yet, reality defined by power-over must be seen as a partial reality – albeit a prominently circulated one – that *says more about power relations in politics administration and planning in government than it does about positive power relations* that may be mobilised in local communities.

This approach is one about the ‘grass roots’, and requires multilateral conversations among diverse stakeholders, development of learning cultures and open consultative experiences that may often be located in the borderlands among disadvantaged and marginalised people (Sandercock, 1998b, Sarkissian and Forester, 2003) to break down artificial barriers and enable provision of ‘dialogic space’ (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995, p.7) for collaborative place-making.

In more specific terms, my investigations have provided insights into one particular place, the City of Glenorchy. The survey involving elected representatives, professional staff and community members underscored the importance of place, place attachment, social capital and the meaning of place-making among key stakeholders at a time when experiments began in participatory governance through the community-Council partnership. It became clear from the findings, and from an examination of adjunct literature, reports and other research findings on that

experiment – that the municipality fulfils many basic needs for its community, was well provided for in terms of affordable housing stock, and able to attract and provide a wide range of publicly and privately owned services.

There was agreement among respondents that, on the whole, Glenorchy presents as a reasonably cohesive community. Yet, respondents from each target group also suggested that the quality of life in Glenorchy had diminished over time, citing growing examples of social disadvantage, vandalism, low education levels and fear of crime. In addition, elected representatives and residents raised the need for physical improvements to enhance the built environment, including more beautification projects within the City and more greenery to help change negative perceptions of Glenorchy.

Where places exhibit community pride they are seen as positive and wonderful to be in. Place is important ... it influences the way we feel. Living in a safe, clean, tidy and attractive place gives you the feeling of pride, self worth and happiness. It also helps to decrease vandalism and damage. (Q3 ER 4)

All three target groups understood the meaning of place-making and the value or importance in engendering local identity and pride but, *the processes that place-making warrants were less well understood*. This lack was especially significant in responses among staff employed in technical and engineering work. Yet, these are the municipality's professional place-makers. They have the authority and technical expertise to influence elected representatives to sanction substantive and significant change. Many seemed unpersuaded of the benefits of collaboration with communities in ways that went beyond traditional 'decide and inform'. Using methods to embrace fully participatory techniques have been shown to build social capital and community capacity. A reluctance to engage was made more telling by the fact that staff was unable or unwilling to nominate places that were special for them in Glenorchy, the very location in which they spend a large proportion of their time and effort.

The apparent unwillingness of various staff to engage in novel ways with the community was also in marked contrast to calls among stakeholders from the latter target group for the community-Council precinct model to be less controlled by Council, but it was in sympathy with a minority of elected representatives who had

concluded that the precinct model was imposed by Council on a community whose members had neither the skills nor confidence to participate in the ways originally envisaged. At no time did respondents suggest that, given the socio-demographic characteristics of the City, less emphasis on the quasi-governmental processes of the precinct model, and more emphasis on highly practical, hands-on and overt place-making projects may have had a greater chance at addressing social disadvantage and skill development simultaneously. Is this, perhaps, an instantiation of power's rationality and a generalised reluctance to move beyond the rhetorical rationality of arguments for the benefits of collaborative governance and actually share power and take (calculable) risks to improve quality of life through place transformation?

What of the 2003 *Works Festival*? As a more modest project it did not demand systemic change, but did it contribute to place-making in Glenorchy? My research reveals that it was an idea that needed – but did not properly receive – human and financial resources to be successful for such ends. The notion to create a festival that celebrates Glenorchy's historic working class roots in place was fitting for a post-industrial region with high unemployment, social disadvantage and a tarnished image. It had the potential to encourage expressions of local identity, communal values. Develop social and place-based bonds of affiliation. For the many artists and participants making art works, films and performances the festival was a positive participatory experience. The employment of artists to work in schools and with community groups was a rich and positive outcome. Many local people became involved in a diverse range of projects as volunteers, learning new skills and developing new social connections. Engagement among school communities and festival personnel helped to increase participation levels and continuing these partnerships is integral to future festivals. The festival also contributed to place-making by encouraging local people to tell their stories using diverse media appealing to a wide range of community members. Although the final day attracted fewer than anticipated participants, numerous flow-on projects from the festival have occurred. A second phase of Tea and Coke: Pizza and Scones resulted in the development of a series of post cards; community films made for the 2003 Works festival were again shown in 2004 at a local cinema. Young people involved in various projects have obtained paid work and new skills. The MAC has exhibited the

Recovery Travelling Sculpture Project and a sculpture garden has been set up at the Recovery Centre (Glenorchy Tip). In 2005 the Passport to Happiness performance was performed at several locations and the Rock for Diversity concert produced a compact disk that was launched in October 2003.

My reflections and auto-ethnographic work placed me in positions where I found place-making with community personally confronting, challenging and rewarding. No two situations or projects are ever the same but more a cycle of continual learning. A commitment to exposing deeply-embedded and stabilised power relations is a fundamental element for systemic change to occur and is especially significant for Glenorchy. Might place-making provide the vehicle to facilitate change?

The Springfield Gardens Community Recreation Project and partnership provided a working example of place-making, environmental sustainability, community and individual empowerment and new community facilities. By developing multiple partnerships that excluded no-one, this project enhanced school and community pride, shared resources and limited the impact of hidden power. In creating a management structure that invited representation from government and industry the project utilised existing power relations to enhance opportunities for external funding. Increasing the profile of the school and the project within the community was improved by finding a significance threatened species on the site.

Adopting the concept of intergovernmental partnerships and formulating the memorandum of understanding at the beginning of the project, at a time when State and Local Government partnerships were being trialled by the new Labor Government increased its profile becoming a positive example of a partnership process. The project integrated design of the built environment with the social and political environment and as such expanded understanding of urban design, facility development and community capacity development. The incoming principal's significant decision not to seek short term economic benefits to the school and government provided the project with sustainable outcomes beneficial to local residents, students and future generations.

This long term thinking and commitment to citizen participation and involvement in decision-making characterised the project from the outset.

Diverse communities of interest developed multiple relations of power that the project was *able to utilise* positively. Most importantly these relations enabled many who were so engaged to profit from the relationship. *Developing an aptitude to influence was one of the project's more successful strategies or tactics.*

Montrose Foreshore Community Project evolved as a master planning processes initiated by Council's strategic vision. The development of partnerships and community stakeholder involvement with those with special needs and interest in the development of the site allowed the collaborative master plan to evolved and be realised through external funding sources.

Glenorchy has a number of river frontage parcels of land zoned as public open space. Many of these were dislocated when the Brooker Highway dissected the Glenorchy community from their earlier association with the Derwent River. The strategic vision developed for Council involved the preparation of a series of master plans for these waterfront reserves to encourage community use. This project was a place-making journey where professional place-makers “intervene in a layered and complex world” (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995) transforming and developing positive relationships.

As a collaborative place-making process the development of Montrose Foreshore Reserve empowered many of the participants with varied outcomes. The community and precinct groups worked with high school students and teachers developing richer social networks while they formed mutual respect and a significant appreciation of their local place. As research for storyboards unfolded the special qualities of Montrose Foreshore Reserve and its history emerged for all to value. As the urban designer involved I was able to assist the community and Council in providing a positive outcome realising that my role was to guide, share knowledge and act responsibly and wisely.

Fearing Goulds Lagoon and its local environs were at risk I was positioned strategically to apply for grants to assist in the formulation of an intervention

package that included a school and community awareness program, weed eradication, revegetation and construction of a bird hide and interpretation. It became a Council initiated place-making and place-discovering exercise. Council had made a number of previous ill considered planning decisions allowing the subdivision of land for residential development adjacent to this significant wetland, home of migratory birds, with little consultation or research. Most city dwellers today live separated from nature and natural systems but development in and around Goulds Lagoon provided an opportunity to show the importance of our connectivity to natural systems and the need to protect wetland areas from the outputs of residential development. This relationship was recognised early in the subdivision process by Council necessitating stormwater treatment before water was able to enter the lagoon but no other community education or awareness programs had been prepared.

The development of an education kit was specifically linked to the lagoon, with school groups encouraged to undertake water testing activities. Education pamphlets were part of “an ongoing process of learning and public involvement in the maintenance of ecological health in special places” (Hough, 2004, p.258). If communities are to understand and comprehend a basic tenet of sustainability that we are not “simply observers of natural processes” but require the same interventions to sustain our infrastructure in cities as are required in nature, opportunities within cities need to be exposed to assist this education process. Hough (2004, p.259) argues that “forces that have created compelling and beautiful scenery, are just the same as those that sustain life in the cities”. Making links between protected areas and the way people live in cities and suburbs can provide important opportunities for interpreting natural processes. In particular Hough (2004) suggests an approach that appears to succeed is where “learning with school communities through involvement in the arts and establishing direct links with urban park systems” is encouraged. Both of these were significant elements of the Goulds Lagoon project. This coherent and innovative project was not immune to the influences of deeply embedded stable power relations and provided two examples of the “power of rationality” revealing as Dovey (1999, p.10) suggests “the practice of power in the built environment is not a zero sum game where every loss in power is another’s gain”.

Linked to Goulds Lagoon was the proposed development of Hestercombe Road Reserve. As the urban design coordinator I established a connection with the local community to develop the local reserve. This project turned out to be a place-making process with all the hallmarks of a situation where rationality became infused with power-*over*, rendering it power-less. The Hestercombe Road project was comprehensive and coherent, sensitive to the needs of a rapidly growing residential area and a significant site that could allow the development of an innovative play experience with sensitively designed environmental art works and interpretation. The project envisaged would inform and support the fragile nature of the wetland. The process of consultation had been rational and democratic gaining support from the community, involving them collaboratively throughout the design process. However what began as a positive community participative place-making project disintegrated into a will to power. Not all place-making projects will have the desired outcomes. They can fail due to open confrontations where “rationality yields to power” (Flyvbjerg, 1998, p.232) and this project was an example of how this can occur. The success of the fear campaign was instrumental in limiting the final outcomes.

6.2 Conclusions

To my original three questions I now return. First, what is the role of the urban designer in collaborative place-making? I believe that an urban designer working in local government has the opportunity to foster active participation and discourse in a world of unequal power relations where the concentration is least among citizens but scattered among a plurality of organisations and interests. In carrying out this research I have located the role of the urban designer in the overlapping space that connects power’s shifting *modus operandi* and municipal government, collaborative place-making and urban design. Central to my work has been Flyvbjerg’s (1998) ten propositions about power and developing an understanding about the way power defines what counts as rationality and knowledge. For anyone concerned with transforming governance cultures and innovating ideas, reading both the place and the politics *insitu* is a critical skill. Understanding the tensions and contexts in which communication is characterised by non-rational language, significant effort is placed in the maintenance of interests rather than a freedom from domination.

Consensus seeking is key to critical place-political analyses.

Glenorchy is an area of significant disadvantage where the voices have been institutionalised into the community-Council precinct model and accepted as *the community voice*, an unfortunate outcome from Council's experiment with deliberative democracy. Many residents are not engaged and do not participate in the process. They have not been supported to make the giant step to overcome their inability to find their voice. Justification is made in support of the program, which is achieving little in addressing the systemic issues intrinsic to many living in Glenorchy and will continue to undermine the ability of urban design and collaborative place-making in community to achieve such transformations.

Flyvbjerg argues the greater the power, the less the rationality and that rational argument is one of the few forms of power the powerless still possess and yet, the absence of rational arguments and factual documentation among those with authority to act may, in fact, be a potent signifier of their power and ability to define reality. The financial cost of the program is not available for public scrutiny and the Council's own review of the adequacy of the system found low levels of resident participation. The open invitation to Glenorchy residents to participate in the community-Council precinct model attempts to expand community discourse but has failed to fully reveal its potential. The role of the urban designer using the mechanisms available through collaborative place-making can assist members of community in meaningful participation.

Collaborative place-making projects relevant to residents in local suburbs can transform and engage communities and evidence in support was provided especially in the Springfield Garden, Montrose Community Park and Goulds Lagoon projects. Guided by collaborative place-making each project in its own way supported local people and empowered them to transform the image and reality of those places from the negative into a positive.

Elements within each project and facilitated by me as the urban design coordinator assisted communities to understand natural processes and provide local links with nature that are so often removed from our daily existences. If local governments are

committed to moving towards the development of sustainable communities, collaborative place-making might support this move using place-making projects that encourage direct links and connections with natural processes that are close to home and part of our everyday experience.

Second, what are the functions of municipal governments in such activities, given their central role in the management of settlements at the 'small' or 'local' scale?

A significant role for municipal government is to increase public participation and community involvement. It is necessary to develop successful partnerships across the three tiers of government, also business, industry and community groups. These partnerships require strong local government leadership. A high level of skill and guidance from elected representatives and staff, and an agreed commitment to share power and decision-making with the stakeholders so engaged is necessary if local government is to encourage authentic public discourse and engagement. Municipal governments' strategic, corporate and operational processes must reflect this new approach if they are committed to widespread public participation and involvement.

The rationality of power has deeper historical roots than the power of rationality (Flyvbjerg, 1998) and these lie in the diverse traditions of class and privilege. Glenorchy is often described as a "working class" area, where traditions of deliberative democracy and discourse do not sit comfortably within the community.

There are some groups for whom exclusion is a part of their daily experience, who will be highly sensitive to alien environments, but their spaces of control are too small to interrupt the reproduction of socio-spatial relations in the interest of hegemonic power. (Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995, p.76)

I believe for Glenorchy to have any chance to address serious ecological, economic and social problems arising from local and global systems of exchange, it is vital for Council to promote environmental, economic and social sustainability strategies into meaningful *local* actions for *local* communities.

I observed the impact of Glenorchy Council's decision to integrate local area planning as formulated in its Community Plan and community-Council model rather than adopting Agenda 21 and I believe that this choice has resulted in an imperfect

community-Council model. While the basic values of sustainable development overtly inform the community-Council model (Team Glenorchy, 2005, p.10), my experience was that Council was largely unable to move beyond rhetoric into prolonged and integrative on-ground action needed to change the status quo.

When a number of Aldermen publicly confronted the authenticity and effectiveness of the community-Council model, “actions were adopted that would most effectively defeat the adversary in the specific situation” (Flyvbjerg, 1998, p.232) rather than providing an open and transparent rational discourse. This reinforces Flyvbjerg’s proposition that in open confrontation, rationality yields to power reinforcing mechanism of hidden power relations that seem typical in organisations such as local government, administration and planning. Renewed calls for the abolition of the community-Council model are still being made by some Aldermen to create an open discussion as reported by Waterhouse (2007a, p.16) in the *Mercury* newspaper where it is stated that “...after the Council had thrown more than \$4 million at the system to try to get residents to participate in the precincts, it had proved to be a costly disaster”. A council report revealed “that most [Aldermen] had but all given up on the most expensive community consultation programme introduced by any council in Tasmania” (Waterhouse, 2007). Community disquiet appears to be growing with comments from Triffett (2007b) surfacing in letters to the editor adding substance to Aldermanic concerns:

I attended my local meeting and was mostly ignored. The meeting seemed more about three or four individuals expressing their thoughts on every topic that came up. Thinking this was a one-off, I attended the next meeting and the same happened...I don’t believe this model is the best way to get community involvement and feedback ... the council doesn’t know how to consult with the community ... please do not waste our rates on this folly.

The presence of “premodern relations of power” (Flyvbjerg, 1998, p.230), that include traditions of class and privilege continue to be firmly entrenched in social institutions so that they become institutionalised in modern organisational structures involved with government and industry. In the Australian context I believe this should also include wealth and position. When premodern relations of power are challenged by open confrontation, it results in wide media coverage as happened

with these dissenting Aldermen. Unfortunately both the debate and the issues were lost in the media milieu. Focus was directed toward the confrontation and personalities of those involved rather than knowledge or facts. This created an incomplete picture of events reinforcing Flyvbjerg's (1998) assertion that in open confrontation rationality yields to power.

Third, what might an understanding of the shifting operations of power provide in addressing these other questions, given that many urban designers are employed by local governments to 'serve' local communities in place?

Many decisions are made about places by decision makers who have little knowledge or acquaintance with the life of the municipality's streets and open spaces and the people who live and work there. Design used in a defensive manner, can result in a lack of trust and fear and can become a truism for a place. However, designing places with an understanding about how they ought to work, making them attractive so as to ensure a high level of use and introducing natural surveillance, will make places safe secure and reflect a sense of belonging. This level of professional understanding would flow from the inclusion of an urban designer employed by local governments to serve local communities in place.

Everyone needs to feel that they are part of a community and that they are not excluded. As an urban designer working in the public realm I have found it useful to try and negotiate the shifting operations of power. Seeking solutions capable of uncovering [an] informal, hidden power relations where decisions are made concerning policies and plans of interest to the business community, negotiated and enacted before others have the opportunity to participate.

During my working experience I have observed important decisions being privately made by elite politicians – highly placed public servants and business community leaders who then disguise this process using 'political spin' and 'rhetoric' packaged into consultative processes that are no more inclusive than authoritarian decision-making practices. In the process they relegate professional and technical expertise to the backroom and render elected bodies of government and political committees little other than rubber stamping organisations for privately negotiated decisions.

In the final analysis, my research has revealed that place-making mechanisms may provide an alternative to such scenarios, especially when *how power is exercised* becomes more transparent to community. Such transparency is likely to clarify *real* and *local* relationships between rationality and power at the grass roots level and may lead to higher levels of social capital, trust, engagement, conviviality and sustainability of and in place.

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