

(Leunig, 1983)

People, Places and Culture

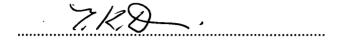
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Declaration

The material in this project is original except where due acknowledgement is given and has not been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma.



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Acron	yms
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
BNDP	Bundaleer Neighbourhood Development Plan
CBD	Central Business District
LUPAA	Land Use Planning and Approvals Act 1993
NESB	Non English Speaking Background
RMPS	Resource Management and Planning System
RSL	Returned and Services League of Australia
TPU	Tasmanian Pensioners Union

Key Definitions

Community: A social group of any size whose members reside in a

specific locality, share government, and have a common cultural and historical heritage (Stein, 1975).

Culture: The sum total of ways of living built up by a group of

human beings, which is transmitted from one

generation to another (Stein, 1975).

Multiculturalism: A concept emphasising the right of all Australians,

whatever their origins, to preserve and express their

cultural heritage (Forster 1995).

Place: The portion of space occupied by person or thing

(Stein, 1975).

Preface

The issues presented in this project have been considered by commentators on planning for at least half a century in the context of discussion surrounding the relationship between physical planning and cultural values. As early as 1946, United States activist and social commentator Saul Alinsky in *Reveille For Radicals* wrote of the interrelatedness of the social and the physical, and the need for processes which gave people a voice and power within community decision making. (Alinsky, 1969).

Jane Jacobs was highly critical of the internationalist approach to the design of cities. Writing in 1961, in *The Life and Death of Great American Cities*, she discounted the reliance on the experts, the planners, and focused instead on the reality of people's experience of cities. She concluded that how people live should be the focus of decision making and not how planners think the city should work. She stated that decisions needed to be based on the understanding of the social background of people without generalising and making assumptions (Jacobs, 1961).

In 1965, Paul Davidoff called for

'... a practice that openly invites political and social values to be examined and debated. Acceptance of this position means the rejection of prescriptions for planning which would have the planner act solely as a technician.' (Davidoff, 1965).

Herbert Gans in his book, *People and Plans* wrote of the failure of planning, in particular its two major fallacies:

1. That the physical environment was a major determinant of society and culture; and

2. that only an environment based on professional planning principles could deliver the good life (Gans, 1968).

During this period, in Great Britain, the Committee on Public Participation in Planning was developing its report, *People and Planning*. At its focus was community involvement in planning, concluding that

'People should be able to say what kind of community they want and how it should develop: and should be able to do so in a way that is positive and first hand.' (Committee on Public Participation in Planning, 1969).

In the 1970s theorists such as Foglesong offered Marxist approaches to planning, raising questions such as the relationship between planners, class interests and the state as well as the contradictions between capitalism and planning (Sandercock, 1998). Leonie Sandercock comments '...the most significant contribution of Marxist approaches to planning history is the focus on class, and the deconstruction of the idea of 'the public interest'.' (1998).

During the 1970s and 80s, Amos Rapoport was offering an anthropological approach to planning and environmental design decision making. He states 'the nature of the group which is being considered in planning and design cannot be assumed but needs to be discovered' (Rapoport, 1980). He suggests that in order to understand the relationship between people and their environment, one must get beyond material aspects of the environment and understand the nature of culture (1980). It is necessary to gain a knowledge of ideals, imagery and values to better understand cultural landscapes as well as to design appropriate settings (Rapoport, 1977).

Concurrent to this was the feminist debate and contribution to planning theory. Feminist planning theory is very much a socially based model,

which focuses on processes and approaches as opposed to detailing the physical shape or form of settlement. Feminist planning theory asserts

'... an arrangement of space in which the domination of men over women was written into the architecture, urban design, and form of the city..... not recognising that their (women's) needs in the city were different from those of men, based as they were primarily around the home, neighbourhood and caring for children and the elderly.' (Sandercock, 1998).

Feminist theory brings difference very much into the fore of the debate. As do more recent discussions of the potential impact of multiculturalism on planning by commentators such as Sandercock and Qadeer in the 1990's.

It is an appropriate time to reassess how decisions are made for communities. A journey has been undertaken in the above discussions which initially recognised the importance of the people on whose behalf decisions were being made and pointed out the inability of the expert to ever be in a position to adequately make such decisions. Also the notion that it may be undesirable to make decisions for others without first identifying the values, assumptions and power base which underpins those decisions. The debate then moved towards an examination of that power base and with this, the recognition of who does or does not benefit from decisions.

The question of 'difference' is now on the agenda. The fact that people are not the same as each other and have divergent needs and interests must be an important consideration in decision making. Difference is not just a characteristic of the 'other', the minority in our community but is a true characteristic of whole communities and as such should be addressed in decision making for the benefit of all.

Chapter 1. Introduction

Objective of the Project

This project investigates the links between people, places and culture. Should greater links be facilitated between people and the places they inhabit using their cultural values and background as the mechanism? Recognising the existing diversity within Australia's population, the aim is to develop processes which acknowledge and identify difference, allowing for its incorporation into decision making and therefore into outcomes in terms of places for people.

The project utilises a case study to examine the existing situation and to identify the potential benefits to communities of developing and facilitating place - culture links in a purposeful and deliberate way. Planning has historically made decisions based on similarities and not taken into consideration difference. This project will offer direction as to how planning can facilitate links between people, places and their culture for the ultimate benefit of communities.

This chapter offers an overview of the premise of the project and the context from which it arises. It will, for the purposes of the project, define significant terminology critical to the investigation and understanding of the aim of the project.

Context - Australia 1999

Australia in 1999 is a nation inhabited by communities who represent a huge diversity of cultural values, lifestyle choices and experience. This diverse population base has been evolving and contributing to the development of the nation throughout its history.

In recognising Australia's cultural diversity we should not make the common error of focusing only on multiculturalism and the presence of migrants in this country. The traditional ownership of this land by the Aboriginal people, their dispossession by European invasion over two hundred years ago and their ongoing existence as a people with their own distinct culture must also be acknowledged.

Included in any description of diversity should be the recognition of individual ability and the impact on lifestyle choices and way of life. People with differing abilities, both intellectually and physically, with their own particular needs, right to quality of life and access should be acknowledged as valued contributors to the growth and development of society.

The origins of this country were formed by the collection together of diverse peoples - the forced transportation of convicts, soldiers, free settlers and administrators. Class, wealth, education, land of origin, roles and expectations were all diverse - was there ever in actuality an homogenous nation of Australia? Or has this perception of homogeneity been perpetuated by the dominant social class, a continuation from the country's days as a colony of the British empire?

The Diversity of Suburbia - Glenorchy, Tasmania

What is the situation in 1999? This project presents Glenorchy in the northern suburbs of Hobart as an example of an Australian suburb. The municipality of Glenorchy is Tasmania's fourth largest city and home to over 43,000 people. Glenorchy lies on the west bank of the Derwent River and is framed by the Mount Wellington Ranges. The area, on the whole, comprises a mix of residential, commercial and industrial land uses.

Table 1 shows the diversity present in Glenorchy as gathered by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) in the 1996 Census.

Characteristics		
Glenorchy	Number	Percentage
from ABS 1996 Census data		%
Glenorchy population	43,065	100
Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander	1,335	3.1
People born overseas	4,484	10.4
People with a parent born overseas	3,789	8.7
People whose family include up to one	8,223	19.1
generation born overseas		
People who speak a language other than	2,564	5.6%
English at home		
People aged 5 and over who are not fluent in	374	0.9
English		
Number of countries represented as birthplace	greater than 29	
Number of languages other than English	greater than 23	
spoken at home		
Number of religions identified as being	greater than 22	
practised		

Table 1. Cultural diversity present in Glenorchy community from 1996 ABS Census data.

These figures illustrate diversity in cultural backgrounds despite the fact that Tasmania has not seen the same influx of overseas born of many mainland states, particularly New South Wales and Victoria. Even though only 5.6% of the Glenorchy population speak a language other than English at home, within that 5.6% there is a great diversity of languages spoken, over twenty three. An interesting contrast to this is Greater Dandenong, in metropolitan Melbourne, where 38% of the population are from non-English speaking backgrounds, more than one percent of those speak sixteen languages other than English at home (Sandercock and Kliger, 1997). This demonstrates significant cultural diversity within the population of Glenorchy. What these figures do not show us is the history of migration, the arrivals of three or four generations ago, whose culture and heritage still bear strong influence on today's lifestyles, choices and values.

Continuing with the example of Glenorchy in 1999 - what are some of its social characteristics? Table 2 illustrates data also taken from the 1996 ABS Census data.

Common within the Glenorchy community are perceptions of insecurity, concern of risk to personal safety and personal belongings from crime. A Safer Communities Survey, conducted by Glenorchy City Council early in 1999, surveyed 400 residents in order to understand key issues, concerns and expectations of residents on community safety and crime prevention. The survey found that around seven in ten residents thought the level of community safety in Glenorchy was serious, half of those believed it was worse than two years ago.

Social Characteristics	Number/	Percentage
Glenorchy	Characteristic	%
from ABS 1996 Census data		
Median age	35 years	
Median individual income	\$200 - \$299 per week	
Median household income	\$500 - \$699 per week	
People who had left school by age 16	9,779	28
People aged 15 - 24 years	5,979	13.9
People aged 60 and over	8,221	19.1
Individuals aged 15 years and over who earn	18,072	53.2
under \$300 per week		
People unemployed	2,096	11.0
Those unemployed who are aged between 15	702	33
- 24 years		
Total households	16,970	
Household: couple with children	5,132	30.2
Household: couple with no children	4,067	24.0
Household: one parent with children	2,128	12.5
Household: more than two families	122	0.7
Household: other family	196	1.2
Lone person household	4,807	28.3
Group household	515	3.0

Table 2. Glenorchy social characteristics from 1996 ABS Census data.

Just over half of those surveyed considered the problem in Glenorchy to be about the same as anywhere else (Glenorchy Gazette, March 1999). Fears about safety appeared to come mainly from what people saw and perceived rather than actual first hand experience of threat and damage. Respondents stated their concerns originated from:

- What they saw in the shopping centres and malls (32%);
- Family experience (25%);
- The experience of friends and neighbours (22%);
- Media exposure (18%). (Glenorchy Gazette, March 1999)

Glenorchy shares the high unemployment rate of Tasmania, particularly severe amongst young people. It has a low income base and significant proportion of single parent families as well as individuals living alone and an aging population (ABS, 1997). Resulting from this is perceived conflict between sectors of the community, large gaps between the 'haves and the have nots', increasing perceptions of difference and conflict between the young and the old, a lack of respect for private property, public space and the environment generally. This is the changing face of Australia, particularly from the post war 'baby boom' years of economic growth and the nuclear family.

Links between people, culture and place

All of this points to difference and growing contrasts in lifestyles within our community. Should we expect to see such variety reflected in our cities and suburbs? Does the city or the suburb in its form and evolution respond to this diversity, or is development and change in the physical landscape a manifestation of particular and often narrow interest groups, for example property investors? Are there links between the physical form of places and the culture of the people who inhabit those places?

To fully respond to this query, some of the terms being used need to be clarified. What is culture and what constitutes place?

Culture

Culture is 'the sum total of ways of living built up by a group of human beings, which is transmitted from one generation to another' (Stein, 1975). Drawing from this, the broad definition of culture used in this project is, the way people live.

If we look at contemporary, suburban Australians in 1999 and compare them to contemporary Kalahari bushmen, what is it that separates us? It is the *way* both groups of people live. The food we eat, the clothes we wear, the buildings we inhabit, the songs we sing etc, these ingredients form the culture of each of these vastly contrasting communities.

The elements of culture

What are the elements which form the basis of a culture? These are the elements, which in whatever form or differing shape they appear are shared by both the Kalahari bushmen and by suburban Australians. These elements are common to all people on the planet, however, it is the way the elements manifest themselves that are different, and this forms the basis of shared cultures between groups of people.

These elements can be divided into four major areas defined as the components of daily life:

Components of Daily Life	Description
1. Life tasks	child rearing and caringemployment (or employment seeking)education
2. Food and resource gathering	shoppingproducing crops etc
3. Housing and shelter	maintaining the home
4. Recreation/ religion/ leisure	 entertainment spiritual pursuits, church etc sport holidays

Table 3.The elements of culture

Integral to all of these components and to the resulting culture are influencing factors such as the social opportunities inherent in these activities; the distances needed to cover and the transportation utilised; the landscape, environment and climatic conditions in which these tasks are performed as well as other factors such as economic status, health, access to facilities etc.

Culture is an expression of self, as well as an expression of the identity and values of social groups or communities. Culture is that which differentiates one community of people from another, ie how they dress to the type of food they eat or the language they speak.

Place

The other term requiring clarification, is place. A place can be defined as any particular part of space with reference to its occupant. The parts of space which people inhabit - any city, town, street, shopping area, set of houses, residences, buildings etc. Place encompasses the shapes and arrangement of the physical parts of the space or area, ie the built forms, the spaces between them, the visual aspect, the landscape which surrounds and the landform upon which the parts sit.

The relationship between people and places

In discussing culture and place, the relationship between the parts and between the occupants, the people themselves is of particular interest.

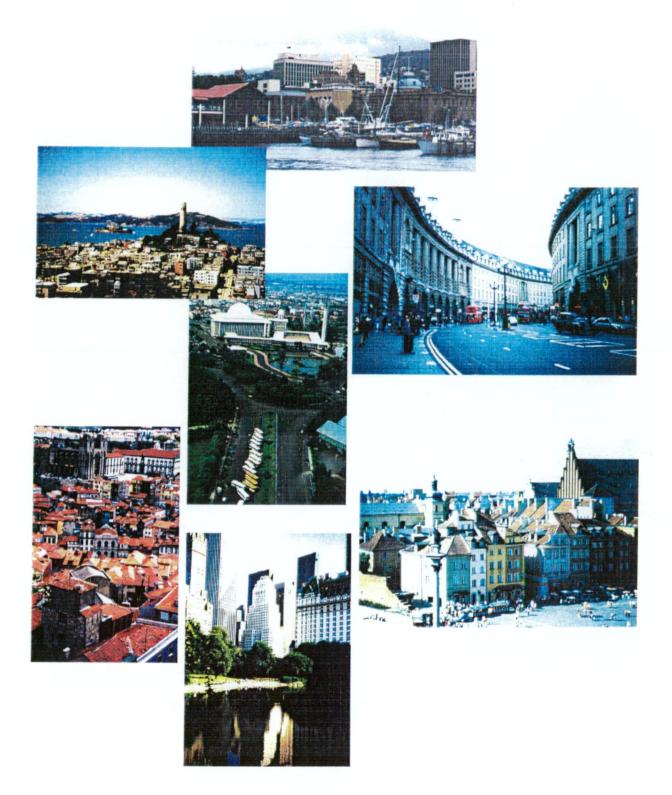
Amos Rapoport states that a place or environment

'...can be seen as a series of relationships between things and things, things and people, and people and people. These relationships are orderly, ie., they have a pattern and a structure - the environment is not a random assemblage of things and people any more than culture is a random assemblage of behaviours and beliefs' (Rapoport, 1980).

If places and environments are not random, then the outcomes must be influenced or structured by something external. Historically one of the strongest influencing forces has been culture, the choices individuals, communities and societies make about how they undertake the tasks of daily life. If we examine the physical form of cities, towns and places the world over, differences are marked and obvious between them, as illustrated in Figure 1. Relph states

'The relationships between community and place is indeed a very powerful one in which each reinforces the identity of the other, and in which the landscape is very much an expression of communally held beliefs and values of interpersonal involvements' (Relph, 1976).

Figure 1. Cities of contrast, (over page, c/w from top), Hobart, Australia, 1989; London, England, 1992, Warsaw, Poland, 1992; New York, USA, 1992, Porto, Portugal, 1992; Jakarta, Indonesia, 1986 (Bruce et al; 1986), San Francisco, USA, 1992.



New Zealand Maori culture provides an example of continuing and vital links between culture and place. The 'marae' is the place where '... life and death merge, where the living give great honour to the dead', it is a place of kinship, friendship, love, spirituality and the life force (Turner et al, 1996). The marae, if translated literally, is the open area in front of the meeting house, the *whare hui*, shown in Figure 2, and is also loosely described as the buildings themselves (Turner et al, 1996). The marae is the centre of Maori communities, integral to its role in the culture of the community are both the people and the place as well as the generations who went before and those yet to come.



Figure 2. Maori marae (Turner et al, 1996)

In today's age of global transport, communications and information technology, differences between places have been lessened. As well, there is the role of the 'expert' who has taken the decision making and choices about how to do many of the larger tasks of life, ie designing and building shelter, out of the hands of the average person. A stereotypical culture has been assumed, implied or imposed, thus resulting in a lack of individuality and ignoring the differences that are within.

Planning

Planning is based on achieving outcomes that work towards the greater good, public interests are balanced against the individual interest. As such planning decisions reinforce the perceived dominant culture. It could be argued that the focus of planning as practised, ie development control, is on process and not on how the outcomes impact on people at an individual level. Planning schemes based on zoning make assumptions about people and places, suggesting all places are similar and grouping alike activities together without questioning what might be the particular needs of the communities in question.

Planning reinforcing the status quo

Sandercock and Kliger in their recent research on the Victorian planning system examined the problems being faced by new migrants who practise religions not traditional in Australia such as Buddhism and Islam.

'We encountered a number of instances in which permission was denied to a request to use a suburban house as the site of a small Buddhist temple; in which a suburban location was deemed unsuitable ... on the grounds of noise, traffic and parking;' (1997).

The result, directed by planners, was to acquire land in an industrial zone on the periphery to build their facilities. The role of the house of worship in the community's daily lives was ignored, transport issues were not addressed and the needs of the elderly and infirm, amongst others were not considered. Sandercock and Kliger raise food for thought,

'...is the planning system, through its residential zoning regulations, an (albeit unintentionally) ally of residents' prejudice? is there any discretion within the planning system for dealing with (racially motivated complaints) before they become legal appeals?' (1997).

Focus on physical planning

Planning as structured and undertaken in Australia typically has a strong focus on physical needs and land uses and is separated from those whose role and focus is on social and community issues. The concerns of minority communities such as newly arrived migrants, Aboriginal communities, people with disabilities etc are the concern of other, separate departments of councils and state government organisations. As a result, issues of difference are not considered but issues of conformity dominate. There is an assumption that planning as practised is 'culturally neutral (doesn't discriminate)' (Sandercock & Kliger, 1997). This project questions whether planning as practised in Australia reinforces dominance and forced conformity over the embracing of the difference and diversity.

Conclusion

Contemporary Australia is comprised of a diversity of cultures, backgrounds, lifestyles, experiences and abilities. It is this diversity that defines the nation. No longer is it appropriate to define us only through our similarities, it is both the similarities and differences that are important.

Culture can be defined as the way we live, how we as a nation of individuals and communities perform the tasks of life. What then is the relationship between our culture and the places we inhabit? Planning has historically made decisions based on similarities and not taken into consideration difference. This project seeks to determine the relationship between people, places and culture and how planning can facilitate this link for the ultimate benefit of communities.

Chapter 2: Theory

Introduction

In order to be truly responsive to the divergent needs of contemporary communities there is a prerequisite to recognise the existing diversity in people's ways of life and to identify and understand their different cultures. The traditional approach of the 'expert' planner making decisions for an almost anonymous community is no longer valid. Can we continue to justify allowing the community to remain anonymous or to be collected into the one large expanse which is assumed to have the same needs?

This chapter highlights debate currently occurring in planning theory as the profession heads towards the twenty first century. Much of the relevant discussion focuses on meeting the needs of a diverse society in an age of rapid technological change bringing with it the shrinking of global distance and dissolving of boundaries. Key points and their relation to this paper's aim are discussed. Through this the potential role of planning in facilitating the links between the cultures of communities and the physical form of places is highlighted.

The Landscape of Postmodernity

Ways of knowing

Leonie Sandercock responds to multiculturalism in Australia and what she terms '... the landscape of postmodernity, which is a landscape of/marked by difference' (1998). In her book *Towards Cosmopolis*, she

calls for planners to take on new ways of knowing which acknowledge difference and diverse experiences:

'Without discarding these scientific and technical ways of knowing, we need to acknowledge, as well, the many other ways of knowing that exist; to understand their importance to culturally diverse populations; and to discern which ways of knowing are most useful in what circumstances.' (Sandercock, 1998).

Sandercock goes on to list six different ways of knowing which she believes are not taught in planning schools but which are vital in working with the diversity present in modern communities. Ways of knowing:-

- 1. through dialogue;
- 2. from experience;
- 3. through gaining local knowledge of the specific and concrete;
- 4. through learning to read symbolic, non-verbal evidence;
- 5. through contemplation;
- 6. through action planning.

Inclusive planning

It is Sandercock's belief that planning traditionally has privileged those with money and power who are articulate in the ways of the governing class - Anglo Saxon males. It is time to practise a more inclusive process which acknowledges different skills and cultural traits, one that does not rely on everyone being at the same level and with a false belief that everyone is equal. This inclusive planning must also ensure the effective representation of diverse social groups in decision making and acknowledge the pretence that planning is or could ever be a-political and value neutral.

Sandercock expresses the desire for planning to read past the physical

needs of communities and to inquire after and recognise the importance of memory, desires and what she terms the spirit or sacred as valid and vital components of a healthy society. This would offer opportunities for the culture of people to be communicated via the shape and form of places.

Multiculturalism

People-centred planning

Qadeer (1997) offers practical insights into the Canadian experience of responding to the issues raised by multiculturalism in planning systems. He calls for people-centred approaches as opposed to the property-centred approach of urban planning and returns to Davidoff's 1965 concept of pluralistic planning as one that comes close to accommodating multiculturalism: 'In pluralistic planning, performance measures for policies and standards aim for the equal satisfaction of the needs and preference of diverse groups.' (Qadeer, 1997).

Participation and representation

He too, reinforces the call for inclusionary planning processes, participation and representation of diverse groups on planning committees as well as for cultural and racial differences to be reflected in planning policies and acknowledged as a basis for equitable treatment. This truly refutes the traditional planning approach of everyone as equal under the law and the 'majority rules' notion of planning.

Principles of planning

Qadeer's premise is that multiculturalism has resulted in the diversity in communities and as such is the impetus for changes in planning systems. It is from this position that he presents a 'ladder of general principles of planning', detailed in Table 4, which offers principles useful to consider in the wider context of this project.

	Principles of Planning
7.	A multicultural vision of the development strategy for a city or region
6.	Cultural and racial differences reflected in planning policies and acknowledged as bases for equitable treatment
5.	Provision of specific public facilities and services for ethnic communities
4.	Special District designation for ethnic neighbourhoods and business enclaves
3.	Accommodation of diverse needs through amendments and exceptions, case by case
2.	Inclusionary Planning Process - participation by and representation of multicultural groups on planning committees
1.	Facilitating access by diverse communities to the planning department

Table 4. Qadeer's 'Ladder of principles of planning' (Qadeer, 1997).

Beyond multiculturalism to diversity

As distinct from Qadeer it is my premise that diversity goes much beyond multiculturalism, which is indeed one important component of the picture, but that difference is a true characteristic of contemporary communities, difference in all its guises - age, ability, culture, gender, lifestyle. A multicultural community should not be the only reason to consider the diverse needs of a community in planning, and those from a diverse cultural background should not be the only ones to benefit from such consideration.

Collaboration and Communication

In her book *Collaborative Planning*, Patsy Healey describes a change from the 'modern' period of shared objectives to the contemporary 'fragmented post modern' time of lifestyle diversity and the celebration of difference. The challenge, she says, is to reconcile the individualisation of cultural identity with the recognition of commonality between individuals with different frames of reference as well as different interests, in ways which do not trap us in modes of thought and practice which suppress our individual capacity to flourish (Healey, 1997).

Collaborative planning

She presents collaborative planning as a process of 'interactive collective reasoning through language', which if it is to meet the challenges of this age of diversity needs to:

- recognise that knowledge is socially constructed;
- recognise and acknowledge cultural reference points;
- evaluate the assumptions within systems and practices;
- recognise diverse interests and expectations;
- recognise the many forms of language and communication;
- recognise power and dominance;
- desire to spread ownership of knowledge and reasoning;
- build shared systems of meaning.

Governance processes

Healey goes on to present five distinct areas which she states should be attributes within the systematic design of governance processes. These are summarised below.

Governance processes should:

- 1. Recognise the range and variety of stakeholders concerned with changes to local and urban environments, their networks, cultural reference points, systems of meaning and the complex power relations which may exist within and between them.
- Acknowledge that much of the work of governance occurs outside the formal agencies of government and from this seek to spread power from government but without creating unequal power bases.
- 3. Open up opportunities for informal invention and for local initiatives, enable and facilitate, encourage diversity in routines and styles of organising. Cultivate a 'framing' relation rather than a linear connection between policy principles and the flow of action.
- 4. Foster the inclusion of all members of political communities while acknowledging their cultural diversity, recognising that this involves complex issues of power relations, ways of thinking and ways of organising.
- 5. Be continually and openly accountable throughout processes with information and reasons behind decisions as well as requirements for critical review and challenge.

Strategic Principles of Cultural Development

Tasmanian cultural theorist, Andrew Lohrey approaches the relationship of culture to place from a different perspective. He has developed what he terms principles of cultural development from the starting point that the 'cultural gives rise to the physical'. It is these principles, he states, which ensure the ongoing growth of a healthy and open culture, one that is vibrant and multilayered (Lohrey, 1999).

Strategic Principles of Cultural Development:-

- Harmonious social interaction
- Diversity
- Meaningful narratives
- Self reflection
- Honouring the past
- Building on strengths
- Accessibility

Cultural Impact Statement

Lohrey's premise is that if these principles are then applied to a place, the degree to which the place contributes to the development of an open, vibrant, diverse and healthy culture can be assessed. Lohrey suggests the strategy of using his principles practically to measure the potential of future developments using a 'Cultural Impact Statement' as part of the development appraisal process when assessing future developments. Table 5 presents this Cultural Impact Statement.

Strategic Principles	Yes	No	Neutral
Harmonious social interaction - the degree to which the			
development encourages or offers the potential for			
diverse, social interaction.			
Diversity - the degree to which the development promotes			
diversity of spaces, reflects the diversity of the community			
and acknowledges difference.			
Meaningful narratives - the degree to which the			
development offers interpretation of stories, history, opens			
dialogue, using signs, presentation etc.			
Self reflection - the degree to which the development			
undertakes or offers self reflective processes explicitly			
rather than implicitly, ie using the arts and creative			
expression.			
Honouring the past - does the development honour the			
location's historic and cultural past, without destroying its			
meaning or significance.			
Building on strengths - does the development build on the			
existing strengths of the place, ie its cultural strengths,			
landscape, urban design, environmental, visual, artistic etc.			
Accessibility - does the development ensure that the			
cultural elements are accessible to everyone in the			
community.			

Table 5. Cultural Impact Statement (Lohrey, 1999).

Lohrey's suggestion offers great food for thought, particularly as it starts to offer practical directions and a means by which to measure or assess places in terms of their success in building rich cultural links between places and people.

The values and assumptions held and made by planners are critical in their ability to assess the achievement of the Strategic Principles of Cultural Development. Each principle is open to interpretation as to its meaning and level of success. The Strategic Principles need to be deliberately applied widely or diverse groups will be ignored and the dominant culture and values will continue to have precedence. As Sandercock points out, current planning education does not prepare planners with the skills to adequately assess the achievement of these Strategic Principles across the diversity existing in contemporary communities.

The Cultural Impact Statement does not offer an easy solution which can just be added, in isolation, to the development process. Currently, development processes make no attempt to achieve these Strategic Principles so it would be measuring success without intention. However, if used in conjunction with approaches as suggested by the other theorists and thereby undertaking a more holistic approach, these Strategic Principles could certainly be useful.

An Holistic Approach

If we take the directions of these theorists, Sandercock, Qadeer, Healey and Lohrey, three major areas are presented which should be addressed in an holistic approach to planning that combines physical and social planning in order to meet the needs of a diverse community. It is these areas which should form the basis of a process which aims to facilitate links between people, places and culture. They are:

1. Assumptions/ 'Neutrality'/ Culture

• Identify the pre-existing assumptions held by the planner with

regard to the community, the place, the process etc;

- Refute the premise that the process or the planner, themself is or ever can be value neutral, and from this point identify those values that underpin any decision making;
- Ensure a process which undertakes to identify, recognise, involve and reflect the diverse cultures of the community throughout the process.

2. Communication/ Consultation/ Decision Making

- Build relationships, acknowledge and facilitate the involvement and work of external community agencies and organisations;
- Acknowledge and utilise a variety of methods and processes of consultation and communication which recognise differing cultural ways of knowing, validate desires and aspirations, myth, history and ritual;
- Ensure and facilitate effective representation of the diversity of the community within all levels of ongoing decision making.

3. Administrative/ Internal Processes/ External Influences

- Ensure a diversity of backgrounds and skills within the planning profession and decision makers;
- Utilise a proactive system as opposed to passive: find out who is affected by a decision prior to making that decision and/or waiting until they come to you;
- Develop performance measures which aim for the equal satisfaction of the needs and preferences of diverse groups;
- Define principles of cultural development, recognise such principles as legitimate benchmarks in the functioning of places and utilise them in processes of development and physical

planning;

• Ensure accountability throughout whole process, undertake review, analysis and evaluation.

The fourth area that arises out of the literature concerns the outcomes in terms of the places and spaces which should be envisaged and strived for.

4. Places / Spaces

- Places to become a vehicle and medium for the cultural expression of communities, reflecting the values, desires, aspirations etc of local people;
- Facilitate places of encounter for all members of the community;
- Develop shared visions and resulting strategies for the development of diverse and inclusive cities and places.

Interrelatedness of the components

These four components are interrelated. If the first, Assumptions/ Neutrality/ Culture, are not addressed, the second, Communication/ Consultation/ Decision Making cannot be achieved with integrity. The second, Communication/ Consultation/ Decision Making cannot be undertaken without the skills base suggested within the third area Administrative/Internal Processes/ External Influences. The desired characteristics of the outcomes, Places / Spaces are built on the interrelation of all the preceding three components, the building blocks upon which information is gathered, relationships built, sensitivity and understanding of cultural difference and needs growing. The desired outcomes in terms of places and spaces for a diverse community cannot be achieved without addressing each of the areas.

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn together the discourse of theorists whose work raises issues in relation to the premise of this project. All share the view that as we move toward the 21st century, planners and planning must, in order to be truly responsive to what is a very diverse and multifaceted community,

- consider its dynamic and evolving society;
- reassess the outdated assumptions upon which planning is currently based;
- identify the values underpinning its processes and decision making;
- reassess its methods and outcomes.

In examining the work of each theorist, I have drawn together their opinions and recommendations in order to offer a basis for an holistic approach to planning which will facilitate links between people, their culture and the places where they live, work and play. The four key components of the approach, all interrelated and impacting on the outcomes in terms of outcomes for the community, are:

- 1. Assumptions/ Neutrality/ Culture
- 2. Communication/ Consultation/ Decision Making
- 3. Administrative/Internal Processes/ External Influences
- 4. Places / Spaces

It is these four key components that will be used as a basis for evaluation of the case study in this project. The use of these components will also be demonstrated in the recommendations arising from this project.

Chapter 3. Practice

Introduction

Is there a gap between the goals of planning and the reality that exists in the physical outcomes on the ground, in the suburbs, shopping centres, parks and gardens? No one would question that planning processes are undertaken and designed for the ultimate benefit of the whole community. But the measurement of stated goals against outcomes in terms of the actual impact on an individual's everyday life is rarely undertaken.

This chapter introduces and examines local government processes and practice and how they address or take into consideration the aim of this project. Two planning schemes and government legislation will be examined and discussed with regard to how planning schemes achieve one of the stated objectives of the legislation.

A recent approach to the development of a plan for a local area will be examined. The Bundaleer Neighbourhood Development Plan (BNDP) offers an example of an approach to the development of a plan for a local area which attempts to identify the culture of a local community and incorporate this information into decision making about the area's future.

From Rhetoric to Reality

In 1994, a package of legislation known as the Resource Management and Planning System of Tasmania, (RMPS) was established. Its aim is to achieve sustainable outcomes from the use or development of the State's natural and physical resources (Department of Primary Industries, Water

and Environment, 1999). The first objective of the RMPS, as detailed in the Land Use Planning and Approvals Act 1993 (LUPAA), is 'to promote the sustainable development of natural and physical resources and the maintenance of ecological processes and genetic diversity;'.

'Sustainable development' is further defined as:

'... 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 ...' (Government of Tasmania, 1993).

It is the definition of sustainable development that I wish to focus on and in particular the aim of enabling people and communities to provide for their cultural well-being. How well does the system measure the effectiveness of the achievement of this aim? Or is it even concerned with its measurement or evaluation? Rather, is there general acceptance of such statements as 'feel good' or 'motherhood' statements which in the real world are ideals and not real objectives that can be assessed and measured in the planning process?

Implementation

Within the planning process and within council structures there is a gap between the rhetoric of the stated objectives of the RMPS and the reality of what results on the ground, in places. Further to this is the gap between those areas of council which deal with community issues which are brought under the terms 'social and cultural well-being' and those who deal with the physical issues of planning, engineering and infrastructure.

Sandercock and Kliger's research into three Victorian councils and how multiculturalism is dealt with in their planning processes brought this remark from a strategic planner:

'Diversity is seen by planners as the stuff that those people down the other end of the building (human services) deal with. Thus, you need to make a journey of how you move from that culture [of the organisation] of it being someone else's responsibility, to getting it [diversity] ingrained into the culture of groups like the planning and development team.' (1997)

It is almost a 'never the twain shall meet' scenario which appears will continue unless deliberate efforts are made to integrate the processes at organisational levels rather than relying on individuals to initiate the change. Although positive, change initiated by individuals will continue to be short term unless it is taken up across the organisation at a policy then procedural level.

It has been the separation of physical planning and social planning in organisational structures and priorities which has allowed social goals to be neglected in the physical planning process. Back in 1965 Paul Davidoff expressed his concern that the

'... city planning profession's historic concern with the physical environment has warped its ability to see physical structures and land as servants to those who use them. Physical relations and conditions have no meaning or quality apart from the way they serve their users.' (Davidoff, 1965)

This may appear a dated way of expressing this view, particularly the notion of the land as servant to people, when seen from within the contemporary emphasis on the environment and protecting its ability to sustain future generations. However, the valid point Davidoff is making is that the basis for planning decisions should be the benefit of people and their resulting quality of life. It is these aims that LUPAA espouses in its

objectives and which have to some extent become rhetoric and whose achievement is not being actively reinforced in outcomes.

Further, there is the complete avoidance of cultural planning as a valid pursuit in many councils. Or if undertaken, it is often in a separate area of council and not integrated within a strategic planning context that encompasses physical, social, environmental, economic and cultural goals. Are the achievement of cultural and social goals an after thought rather than one of the initial aims as laid out by LUPAA? How often are developments or physical initiatives such as streetscape projects, subdivisions and the new car yard on the corner evaluated in terms of how it is 'enabling people and communities to provide for their social and cultural well-being'? Does this ever happen during the planning stage or even after the results are on the ground?

Planning Schemes

The issue goes even further than mere separation of physical and social planning but to non attention to such aims as cultural well-being because of a genuine lack of understanding of the terminology and how to achieve those objectives. But to be fair, how can you achieve social and cultural objectives without addressing them in the processes and frameworks which are established to progress the achievement of such objectives - planning schemes?

In a perusal of the City of Hobart Planning Scheme 1982, the only mention of culture or cultural activities is in relation to either the preservation of existing heritage, ie buildings or sites of 'cultural significance' or in reference to areas where 'cultural and community uses' should be maintained and encouraged. The school of thought here is one that detaches culture as a single and particular activity or thing which is

apart from everyday life, a hobby, a recreational pursuit, something that you undertake at a particular time and place and not an integral part of who we are and how we live. Culture is seen as an activity that must be given its own category as a land use and not something that colours the way all of us as individuals and in communities make use of places in every aspect of our daily lives.

The Glenorchy Planning Scheme 1993 on the other hand does refer to culture in relation to its streets and public areas. Table 6 details the clauses and where they are found in the document. It appears that Glenorchy is recognising that culture is part of human social interaction and as such takes place in areas where people meet and congregate such as road reserves and public spaces in commercial areas. However, it is still seen as a separate or specific activity which has its own particular time and space and not an integral component of the way in which we undertake the tasks of daily life.

Category	Clause	
3.2. General Intent of the	(f) to provide public facilities, Streetscape enhancement	
Commercial Zones	Works, services and cultural improvements to support community use of the commercial centre;	
3.10. Streetscape, Amenity and Safety	(e) to provide where possible spaces for community interaction which incorporate street furniture, lighting, Landscaping and public facilities of cultural or civic value;	
7.12. Roads	3. Notwithstanding the provisions of this Scheme nothing shall prevent the use of a Road reserve for the occasional cultural and/or community activity.	

Table 6. References to culture, Glenorchy Planning Scheme 1993

If we return to LUPAA and the statement of providing for cultural well-being, the intention there is more about the well being of our everyday lives than simply ensuring that there are places where particular cultural activities can take place. It would appear that a fundamental shift in thinking needs to occur which recognises cultural activity and its relationship to people's use of space as valid components of the daily life of individuals and communities. Following from this is the setting of realistic and achievable objectives and directives within planning schemes which will ensure that developments respect and facilitate individual's and communities' cultural relationships with places.

Debate and discourse need to occur in order to both evaluate the attainment of cultural well-being but also to define criteria and performance indicators that will allow for measurement of success. There is also the problem of the diversity of culture itself:

'There is a need to recognise complexity within communities, as no single person represents all members of a particular cultural

group.... there needs to be an appreciation - a wider horizon of what is a culturally diverse view of planning. Groups aren't homogenous.' (Sandercock & Kliger, 1997)

However complex the issues may be, ignoring them and hoping that perhaps they might be addressed coincidently rather than by design, is not an approach that is worthy of the responsibility planners have to communities and to their potential quality of life as we begin a new century.

An Approach - The Bundaleer Neighbourhood Development Plan

The Bundaleer Neighbourhood Development Plan (BNDP) offers an example of an approach to the development of a plan for a local area which attempts to identify the cultures of a local community and incorporate this information into decision making about the area's future. Prepared in 1997 in collaboration with the Bundaleer community and in liaison with the New South Wales Department of Housing and Wollongong City Council, it also offers an example of previous decision making, planning and outcomes which were based on incorrect assumptions about the community and were as a result not working for the community. Bundaleer was described as

'... badly designed and fails to provide an adequate living environment for low income families. There is general consensus that the quality of life has deteriorated over the years. Community service providers see the area as unsafe, unattractive and generally lacking the criteria for social sustainability.' (Rice & Ewald Architects et al, 1997)

In 1983 the public housing estate was developed in accordance with Radburn principles of urban design in Warrawong in south east New South Wales. The design emphasised pedestrian usage, communal open space areas, limited vehicle access and housing orientated to open space rather than the street. The area's street layout and design can be seen in Figure 3.



Figure 3. Aerial view of Bundaleer, 1997 (Rice & Ewald Architects et al, 1997)

The project report states:

'The original planning documents for the area while being accurate in their projections of the number of residents and age distribution made serious errors in their estimations of household income, family type, participation in the work force and car ownership.' (Rice & Ewald Architects et al, 1997)

Table 7 details the contrast of the original projections and the consequential reality of life in the Bundaleer estate.

Assumption / Projections	Reality
full employment of male work force	high local unemployment
traditional family structure - male bread	high family breakdown rate
winner supporting a two parent family	nearly two thirds of families are single parent
higher incomes	families
	90% of families on incomes less than
	\$20,000
	90% of households dependent on welfare
	benefits
	frequent neighbourhood conflict
	household break ins
	vandalism
	design of area performing badly in relation to
	everyday amenity

Table 7. Assumptions / Projections Versus Reality, Bundaleer (Rice & Ewald Architects et al, 1997)

After initial physical modifications were made to the estate as early as three years after its completion in 1985, Bundaleer continued to function unsatisfactorily as a housing estate for its residents. In 1995 Bundaleer was identified as a priority area for an urban design strategy as part of the Wollongong Strategic Plan developed by the South East Region of the Department of Housing.

The resulting BNDP presents both urban design solutions plus a community planning strategy which supports ongoing community involvement in the revitalisation of the neighbourhood. It was an approach which combined both social and physical planning in recognition of the link between the physical environment and the social issues facing the community. The project team undertook a process of extensive community consultation to ensure '... the recognition of existing street cultures, input from all age groups and active participation from non English speaking households' (Rice & Ewald Architects et al, 1997).

The recommended works resulting from the BNDP are still in train, therefore it is too early to comment on the effectiveness of the process. However, the project does demonstrate a considerable attempt to identify and acknowledge the cultures of a particular community and their impact on both present and future quality usage of a physical place. The recommendations of the plan link both social processes with urban design objectives, recognising that urban design alone cannot resolve broader social issues, for example the recommendation that a community management plan be developed to support community involvement in processes (Rice & Ewald Architects et al, 1997).

The BNDP also offers an example of traditional planning processes and their reliance on importing universal models and the model's consequential inappropriateness to a specific location and culture. The Bundaleer experience is not isolated in Australia, recent redesigns of other Radburn modelled developments have occurred in other states, including Tasmania, with work being undertaken at Rokeby on Hobart's eastern shore.

The Process

The project's report states that the community participation program was designed to allow involvement by residents in identifying issues and working towards solutions. Over 150 households were directly involved in the design process with many residents participating in all community workshops. The following activities were undertaken over a six month period:

- Safety Audit involving the planning team and residents.
- Tenant Interviews informal interviews with residents.
- Street Meetings held in <u>all</u> streets, topics included privacy, traffic, security, image, the houses, neighbours and housing management.
- Pensioner Meeting topics covered as above.
- 'Under one year' and 'Over ten years' Focus Groups each with residents who had recently moved to Bundaleer and residents who had lived in the area for over ten years.
- Young Mums Focus Group held to discuss issues particular to their needs.
- *Kid's Mapping* Bundaleer's young people took photographs of the area using disposable cameras. These were supported by documentation and interviews to record the way young people see their community and how they are using their local environment.
- Residents from different cultures three sets of workshops with interpreters were held with Vietnamese and Turkish residents as well as a workshop with Cook Islander families. Informal interviews were held with Macedonian residents.
- Bundaleer Barbecue all residents invited to a barbecue to review the outcomes of the street meetings and discuss issues with the

planning team.

- Bundaleer Newsletter newsletters were distributed to all households with a plain language description of the project along with dates and contacts for activities.
- *Design Workshops* residents were invited back to workshops to review the results of the street meetings and to work on individual solutions including road design, streetscaping, parking, entry points, frontages and playspace.
- Case Study Site Meetings detailed discussions, site inspections and site sketches were carried out with particular residents.
- Community Service Providers interviews were held with local service providers as well as a Community Service Providers Forum to review outcomes of the project and to discuss directions.
- Community Management Reference Group over 30 street representatives attended a series of meetings to develop strategies for community management during the redevelopment of the neighbourhood.
- Community Review Forum the community reconvened as a group to review final plans and to talk about future directions.
 Issues were raised, solutions discussed and general approval given to the body of work.

In undertaking this consultation process, the planners were recognising that different groups of people and individuals have different cultural experiences and that these form part of, and impact on, their relationship with the place where they live. To understand a place and how it works for its community, each of the different cultural experiences are valid and can contribute to the process of identifying problems and designing improvements. The project team identified the following cultural groups:

- children;
- · young people;
- new parents particularly mothers;
- the diverse groups within the 15% of the population from non English speaking backgrounds; older people particularly pensioners;
- the length of tenancy;
- the experience of living in a particular street as distinct from another.

Study Conclusions

The project team's conclusions clearly acknowledged a strong and interconnected relationship between the way of life of the community, its culture and the physical form of the place:

'The failure of Bundaleer to develop a sustainable community is multifaceted. It is linked to the design of the estate, ... and the lack of physical and cultural links to the surrounding urban fabric.' (Rice & Ewald Architects et al, 1997)

The BNDP's recommendations focused on four main areas and revolved around the key elements which are summarised in Table 8.

Area	Key elements
Streets	a simple, clear system;
	active, safe and comfortable to use and live alongside;
Parks and Public Places	a network of well located and accessible small parks and
	playspace;
The Housing	direct street frontage for each townhouse;
·	front yards and entries present a good show to the street;
	rear yards to become more useable, private and secure;
	dwellings tailored to suit individual accommodation and
	privacy needs;
	lake frontage opportunities.
The Community	community participation in the redevelopment process;
	creation of a forum for community decision making during
	the redevelopment and beyond;
	management of neighbourhood communications and
	disruptions in an effective, culturally appropriate way;
	establishment of improved communications and protocols
	between the community and the Department of Housing.

Table 8. Key recommendations of the Bundaleer Neighbourhood Development Plan (Rice & Ewald Architects et al, 1997)

The recommendations of the BNDP demonstrate the importance for people of reinforcing links between culture and place. If we examine further the comments people made about the existing housing in Bundaleer, they clearly illustrate the conflict between Australian cultural norms and the imposition of Radburn principles into this alien context.

Australian suburbia is still characterised by the 'detached house on the quarter-acre block' (Halkett, 1976). Understanding and appreciation of the suburban block is part of the cultural language shared across the country. The typical Australian house, examples are shown in Figure 4, faces the street, the front door or path to it is the visible entry point for visitors. The house is approached via the street and through the front garden, be it a small tract of greenery along the street or a wide expanse with a driveway along side. Behind the house is the back yard, a place for clothes lines, fowl pens, vegetable gardens and the private activity of the family, a utilitarian part of the home.

Radburn housing orientation breaks the code and norm of Australian suburbia. There was clearly no link between the culture of the Bundaleer community and the form and layout of the houses in the estate. Comments by residents, detailed in Table 9, clearly express their dissatisfaction with the housing in Bundaleer and in doing so identified how the Radburn model breaks their cultural expectations.

Residents' Views - Housing in Bundaleer

- The houses backing onto the creek have service areas facing the street. This makes social
 and practical use difficult.
- · Some housing backing onto the creek is understood as being "back to front".
- Front yards are "too small" and backyards are rarely used due to issues of privacy and security.
- Back fences are too low for privacy.
- The street lacks a 'normal' street address.
- Houses which back onto the park have no privacy in their backyards and rubbish is thrown in by passers by.

Table 9. Residents' comments on housing in Bundaleer (Rice & Ewald Architects et al, 1997)

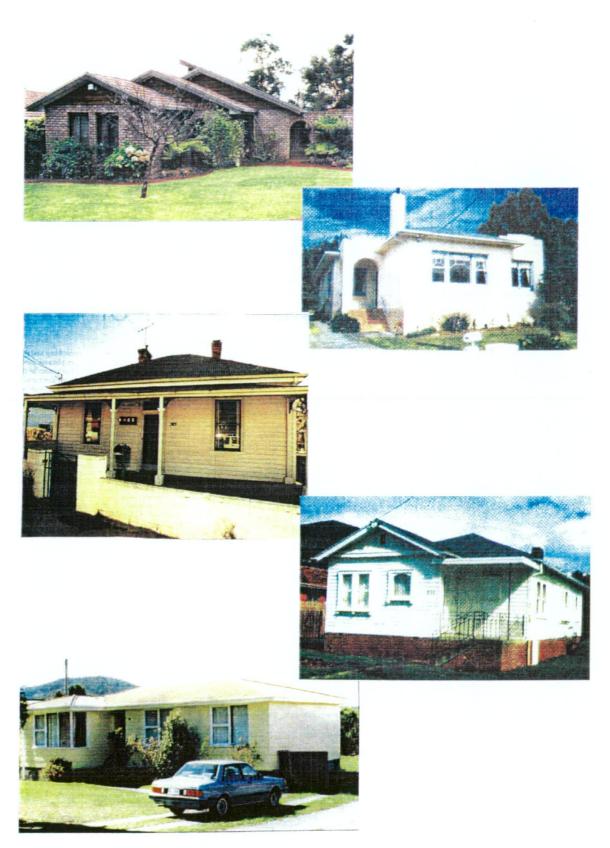


Figure 4. Faces of the Australian home (previous page), (Mercury, 1999)

The Bundaleer example clearly illustrates the problems inherent in the assumptive basis of traditional, particularly modernist planning practices and beliefs. The idea that planning models can be universal - 'one size fits all', irrespective of the context and cultures within the community.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the objective of the RMPS of providing for the cultural well-being of communities. Two planning schemes, Hobart and Glenorchy, were also studied and discussed in terms of how they facilitate the achievement of this objective. The definition of the term, cultural well-being was found to be left open for interpretation and not clearly understood. The objective is not addressed in the studied planning schemes, whose only reference to culture is as a separate activity occurring in a particular place rather than an element of the lifestyle of people that colours their daily lives and their relationship with places.

It was also found that some local government processes and procedures isolate the achievement of cultural and social aims and objectives from the achievement of physical objectives within both a structural and operational sense. This isolation impacts on the achievement of cultural objectives in the planning and development role of council further severing any link between people, their culture and the places where they live.

Bundaleer was presented as an example of modernist planning and decision making based on the assumption and imposition of a universalist

model onto a culture and context that was inappropriate. The Radburn design of Bundaleer proved to be inconsistent with the cultural norms of Australian suburban life and therefore was one of the factors contributing to ongoing dissatisfaction and social problems for the residents of Bundaleer.

The BNDP offered an attempt to address both the social and physical issues facing Bundaleer, using an approach that recognised the relationship between the community's culture and the place. It demonstrated the importance of understanding the many cultures and their relationship to the place in order to appropriately address the issues in any ongoing plan for the future of Bundaleer. The recommendations of the BNDP offered both urban design outcomes as well as a social and community plan for residents to undertake as a community with support from government and community organisations. This approach recognises that urban design initiatives on their own will not solve the broader social and economic problems present within an area such as Bundaleer.

Chapter 4. Case Study: Glenorchy Bus Interchange / War Memorial Park, Glenorchy.

Introduction

Public spaces are shared, communal areas, be they functional, commemorative, celebratory or purely recreational. Everyone should be welcome to utilise and enjoy public space. How does the diversity of community cultures manifest itself in public areas? What impact does this diversity have on the way spaces are used and on users, be they individuals or groups? Can a public area ever be truly equitable in its distribution of a quality experience for each of its different users?

This chapter presents the case study area, the Glenorchy Bus Interchange, War Memorial Park and the surrounding context of the Glenorchy central business district (CBD). A physical description will be presented, discussion of the role and function of each of the areas will be undertaken and the specific users of the area will be identified, with particular emphasis on the Glenorchy Bus Interchange.

The chapter then focuses on the current situation, the area's dominant users, young people and the specific cultural relationship they have developed with the Glenorchy Bus Interchange. It is in part this relationship and the resulting manifestation of behaviour which brings them into conflict with other users of the space.

The view of the nuisance of young people's behaviour in public places is challenged through a discussion of the rights of young people to express their culture. It is further illustrated that this expression can create a clash of cultures in a public area which results in perceived threat and conflict between different groups of users.

Place Description

The case study area is in the CBD of Glenorchy, it encompasses the spaces that are the Glenorchy Bus Interchange, the War Memorial Park and the surrounding vicinity of Main Road, Glenorchy, shown in Map 1. The two sites are within the major commercial precinct of Glenorchy. The CBD area is mainly a service and retail area and incorporates the large chain and specialty stores in Northgate Shopping Centre and the strip shops of Main Road. A variety of views of the case study area are shown in Figures 5 and 6.

Next to the Bus Interchange is St Matthew's Church, built in 1839, it is one of Glenorchy's oldest surviving buildings and is still in limited use. To the rear of the War Memorial Park are the Glenorchy City Council Offices and Chambers. The Glenorchy Post Office is part of a complex of government offices and services. A first floor overpass links the Council Chambers to the Post Office complex and a paved walkway at ground level provides pedestrian access to Terry Street, the Glenorchy Library, further shopping in Glenorchy Central Shopping Centre and car parking areas.

Map 1. Glenorchy CBD with Case Study Area shaded (over page).

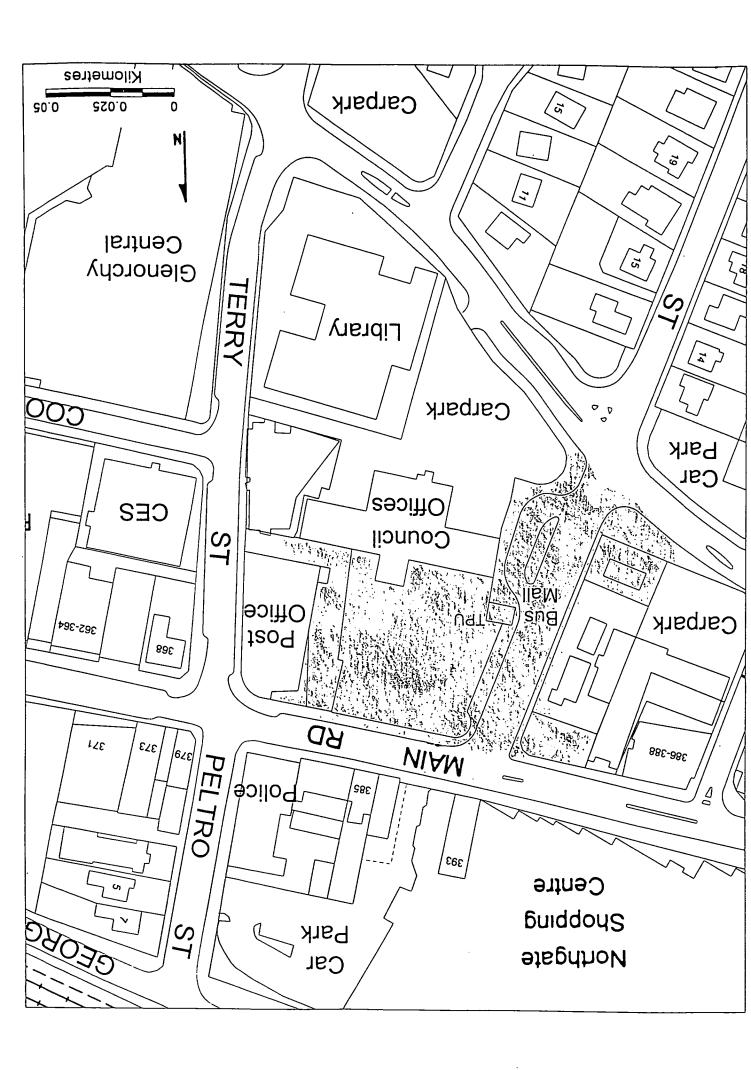








Figure 5. The Case Study Area, Glenorchy Bus Interchange & War Memorial Park, 1999

The Glenorchy Bus Interchange is formed by a mall within Tolosa Street with vehicle access limited to buses and taxis. Open design bus shelters provide refuge from weather, seating and bus timetable information, there are also accessible unisex public toilets and public telephones.

War Memorial Park

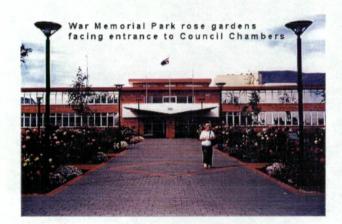
The War Memorial Park was dedicated in 1958 on the site of the first Council Chambers. It provides a formal front to the Council Chambers and houses a number of war and other memorials including rose gardens, fountain, plaques, planting, flag poles and cenotaph.

Buildings in the Park include a community kiosk adjacent to the Post Office and a low rise, red brick building currently housing the Glenorchy branch of the Tasmanian Pensioners Union (TPU). This building, originally built as part of the electric tramway services which concluded its northern suburban route at Tolosa Street, predates the current Council Chambers which were opened in 1963.

Figure 6. War Memorial Park and Glenorchy Bus Interchange, 1998 - 9, (over page)

People, Places and Culture









The fountain was built in 1995 as part of Australia Remembers World War II commemorations. Its wall creates a solid edge along and onto Main Road and is a dominant feature in the Park and in the landscape. In the Park, directly adjacent to the high usage areas and shelters of the Bus Interchange, are the bulk of the war memorials. A wall encloses a young Lone Pine tree propagated from seed collected at Gallipoli and displays numerous plaques relocated from older memorials now removed from the Park.

The Cenotaph is listed in the Glenorchy Heritage Register. The area around it has been designed as a meeting place, used amongst other things, for Anzac Day celebrations. It is a multipurpose space with power outlets enabling lighting and sound amplification for functions.

Role and Function

Glenorchy Bus Interchange

The Glenorchy Bus Interchange is the major junction of buses for Metro Tasmania in the northern suburbs. It provides pick up and transfer points for destinations throughout Hobart. This role as a public transport terminus is a critical one. Within metropolitan Hobart, buses are the only form of public transport available apart from commercial and therefore more expensive taxis.

War Memorial Park

The War Memorial Park is Glenorchy City Council's central commemorative public area, it is the only specific public recreational space in the CBD of Glenorchy. However, in calling the Park a recreational area,

the uses it can be put to, particularly active recreation are limited and controlled. Unlike other parks and recreational areas in Glenorchy, under the *Glenorchy Planning Scheme* 1992 it is zoned Central Commercial and not Public Open Space and Designated Gardens.

Due to their functions and overlapping uses, both of these spaces, the Glenorchy Bus Interchange and the War Memorial Park, are required to be shared by a great diversity of people, Figure 7. The Park offers a passive recreational area, a commemorative focus as well as a thoroughfare to the Council Chambers, Glenorchy Central Shopping Centre and other government offices.

It is this close juxtaposition and multipurpose role, which require both of these spaces to do more than merely coexist. The two spaces are really one space in the minds of users and commuters. Particularly at peak periods the Park provides comfortable spaces for commuters to wait for their buses. Yet in their development and ongoing management, the two spaces have been managed, until recent times, as two separate entities almost despite each other. What has resulted is the barricading and battening down of elements in the Park and the ongoing perception of the Bus Interchange and its main users, young people, as a continuing threat and the enemy.

Users of the Spaces

Young people form 50% of Metro Tasmania's passengers. Metro Tasmania estimates that 2,000 students would go through the Bus Interchange on their way home from school. Concession card holders form the next largest segment of Metro Tasmania's customers, 25 - 30% (Pers. Com., Sim, 1998). Concession card holders consist of elderly pensioners, the

unemployed, people with disabilities and those on welfare benefits.

Using ABS 1996 Census data, 33% of the unemployed people in the Glenorchy area are aged between 15 - 24 years. Taking into consideration that those using the Bus Interchange would come from all over the metropolitan area and not only the Glenorchy area, we can surmise that a significant number would fall into the category of young people: secondary school students, college students, university and TAFE students, as well as workers and the unemployed who fall within that age group. If one examines this usage purely in terms of the diversity present within these population groups the cultural mix becomes obvious and the potential for conflicts between priorities, behaviour, energy levels, ability and so on is huge.

Current Situation - A Clash of Cultures

The case study area illustrates the tensions and conflict which can be generated by diverse sections of the community sharing functional spaces. It particularly demonstrates the manifestation of the culture of young people in shared public spaces and how these cultural attributes are perceived to be threatening to other sections of the community.

In 1998 a Youth Image Forum was conducted by Glenorchy City Council in order to discuss some of the major issues concerning the image of young people in Glenorchy. What was clear from this forum is that conflict exists between groups of people using the Bus Interchange in particular and that young people are considered to be the main cause of this conflict. Table 10 summarises the areas that were felt to be of concern at the Bus Interchange, the War Memorial Park and the CBD.





Figure 7. Public space is required to be shared by a great diversity of people and their activities, War Memorial Park & Glenorchy Bus Interchange, 1999.

What are the major issues facing Metro, business and Council in Glenorchy?

- The numbers of young people congregating causing people to feel threatened.
- Appearance of young people.
- Inappropriate behaviour, such as kicking of footballs.
- · Unacceptable language.
- Intimidation, threatening behaviour perceived or real.
- Assault.
- · Spitting.
- · Vandalism and property damage.
- · Alcohol consumption and drug taking.
- People currently do not feel safe, everyone has a right to feel safe and have respect in our community, including young people.
- Recognition of the rights of all groups in the community to use public space.
- Clashes between the different values of different groups.
- The safety of Metro drivers and passengers.
- Skateboards as a safety hazard.
- Young people trying to get on the bus for free and the harassment of elderly for money.
- · Interference with vehicles.
- Pushing to get on the bus, especially when there are elderly people.
- Glenorchy has an image of not being a safe place to shop etc. People think young people are to blame. This gives a bad impressions for customers.
- Open space for everyone but competing needs may injure elderly people using the space.

Table 10. Glenorchy Youth Task Force - Youth Image Forum 1998

The Safer Communities Survey undertaken early in 1999 reinforces the fact that the public's perception of the Bus Interchange is as not safe and illustrates it as a site of conflict between different groups. The Survey found that people felt 'least safe in ... public areas such as malls and public transport (42%)' of the 400 residents surveyed (Glenorchy Gazette, March, 1999). People identified the following as the major social problems contributing to crime in the area:

- Unemployment;
- Boredom;
- Drugs;
- A lack of discipline from parents and at school;
- The leniency of the courts;
- Low self-esteem
- A general lack of respect for others. (Glenorchy Gazette, March, 1999).

These points could also easily appear in a list detailing the issues affecting young people in today's society. The Survey's results reinforce the commonly held view of young people and their culture as nuisance, perpetrators of crime and instrumental in the perceived lack of safety in public areas.

Young People

For the purposes of this project young people will be defined as those between 12 and 25 years of age. The *Youth Spaces Consultation Project* undertaken by Launceston City Council in 1997 shares this definition following from its use by governments when defining young people for administrative purposes. However, the project report states,

'In reality, there is little point beyond administrative convenience in such a basis for defining young people, as in various contexts of public space, young people are usually so named or labelled because of cultural and social attributes, as well as their general appearance as 'young'.' (Brockdorff & Walker, 1997)

In the same way too, this project is concerned with cultural attributes more so than fixing categories based on age limits. Cultural groupings are subjectively formed and are based on perceptions and feelings which are shared between people and/or that which is perceived to distinguish or separate people from one another. Therefore, it is the informal, visual and behavioural cultural patterns that separate young people from other sectors within the community that will be focused on for the purposes of this project.

A Place to be Seen

In discussing the Bus Interchange and the War Memorial Park as a site of conflict between young people and the other groups in the community, the alternative view should also be posed. That of its role as a site chosen by the young people themselves for the expression of their culture. The Bus Interchange has developed as a meeting place or 'hang out' for young people, particularly after school. Of those 2,000 young people who commute through the Bus Interchange on a daily basis after school, between 250 - 300 congregate there instead of continuing their journey on another bus or moving on after getting off their bus. According to Glenorchy City Council's Youth Development Officer, Ross Park

'The Bus Interchange is a meeting place - young people will meet 'their crowd' weekdays between 3.00 - 4.30pm, it is a place to catch up and check out what is going on. There are set times when the kids meet, they have to be seen to be there. It is a real meeting place, a place to socialise.' (Pers. Com., Park, 1998)

It is in part this element of congregation of large numbers of young people that causes insecurities amongst other users. Young people 'en masse' are boisterous, loud, active, carry bulky school bags, interact with each other in groups rather than one to one, show off and behave in attention seeking ways which are often perceived to be anti social or alienating by those

not part of the group. This is all part of the culture of young people. The Youth Spaces Consultation Project quotes Crane et al from Young People and Major Centres: The Development of Principles for Design Planning and Management Guidelines in Brisbane City summing up the situation occurring in the Glenorchy Bus Interchange:

'Young people are highly visible in public spaces, and often attract negative attention on the basis of their dress or non Anglo appearance. They are frequently stopped by and 'harassed' by police, security guards, and are often seen as a 'problem' particularly when they congregate in groups in public spaces.' (1997)



Figure 8. Young people form the majority of people utilising the Glenorchy Bus Interchange, 1999.

The Rights of Young People

However, there are other important issues which need to be taken into consideration in any discussion about young people, their culture and their use of public spaces. There is the question of the rights of young people, these are the same as for any other member of society.

'What then, of the *rights of young people* to assemble, to congregate in public, to determine the content of their own practices without undue interference. The idea that young people are people who have basic rights ... must be upheld.' (Brockdorff & Walker, 1997)

Ross Park believes young people as a segment in the community have strong attitudes and expectations imposed upon them and their behaviour by others in the community (Pers. Com., Park, 1998). The other consideration in all of this is the fact that young people, as with any other cultural group in the community, should not be considered homogenous and therefore generalised. Within the collection of individuals who meet the criteria of young people there is much variety, as with the rest of society - all with their own taste in music, dress, food and lifestyle.

On the one hand there are stronger expectations imposed on young people's behaviour of which they are unlikely to meet than on other less visible sections within society but there is also greater generalisation within these expectations.

'In fact, young people have probably attracted more public criticism than almost any other social group, with both academic and popular analyses of their behaviour, lifestyles and leisure pursuits resulting in their definition as 'a major social problem'. '(Brockdorff & Walker, 1997)

The use of the Bus Interchange as a meeting place and 'hang out' by young people adds another dimension to the role of the Bus Interchange in the Glenorchy CBD and poses a number of questions which should be considered in any future decision making about the area. What other spaces are there in Glenorchy which could or should fulfil this purpose? Is it something in the physical nature of the space that is attractive to young people? Or is it the area's central location and very function that has

created this aspect? Can specific spaces be set aside for young people and for that matter for other cultural groups in the community? How could this be facilitated? Is it more appropriate for such meeting places to naturally develop under the control or direction of the cultural group itself? Is it a legitimate function of the Bus Interchange and if so should it be managed?

All of these questions are valid, when it is understood that the Bus Interchange now has another role apart from that of a public transport terminus. However, in the management of the area this is not considered a valid part of the role of the Bus Interchange and is therefore not addressed. In not addressing these questions, the culture of a section of the community, young people, and their consequential relationship with this particular place, which also happens to be a Bus Interchange, is ignored.

Conclusion

The case study offered by the Glenorchy Bus Interchange/ War Memorial Park provides an example of a multiple use public area in a commercial district which is functional, commemorative and recreational. It also gives an example of a strong link and relationship which exists between a particular cultural group, young people, and a physical place, the Bus Interchange, thus illustrating the premise of this project, that links exist between the culture of communities and the places they inhabit.

The case study also demonstrates what can eventuate when the diversity of users, their particular cultures and resulting relationships with place are not considered in the planning and decision making about public areas. What has resulted in the case study area is real conflict between sections of the community, dominance by a particular cultural group and the potential enforced alienation and disregard of the rights of a cultural

group within this public space. It is not enough for physical spaces to merely be provided without considering who is to utilise them, in all their diversity, and how these divergent groups will coexist as they share the space.

Chapter 5. History of Development - A Tale of the Car

Introduction

The twentieth century has seen the motor vehicle bring about great change in the design and layout out of cities and towns. In Australia it has accentuated the growth of the suburbs and a suburban lifestyle. The suburban lifestyle is one of cluster housing, cul de sacs and shopping centre complexes surrounded by car parking. A world dominated and made convenient for us all by the accessibility of individual car ownership. Here we are reminded that the case study area, Glenorchy CBD is no different.

This chapter begins with a brief introduction to the history of the physical development of the Glenorchy CBD. From this broader picture the chapter then focuses on the impact of cars and the resulting focus of decision making on traffic planning and road systems. It argues that the dominance of traffic and road systems has created a fractured whole of isolated and disconnected places which ignore the needs of 'car-less' people.

The chapter then returns to the major premise and the example of young people's relation to public space. The focus on cars and transport has resulted in a lack of appropriate spaces for the community to express and share their culture, as a consequence young people have 'made do' in an existing space. However this causes conflict with other users of this functional space.

History of Development - Glenorchy CBD

The Settlement of Glenorchy

This area of Glenorchy began as a settlement along the main highway servicing travellers en route north from Hobart to Launceston. The surrounding region developed into a farming and primary producing area, then gained a major industrial focus after the evolution of hydro electricity in Tasmania brought the production of a cheaper source of power. Along side this grew the residential settlement from small farming communities to the present suburbia, much of which was public housing, offering continuing generations of Australians the opportunity to have their '... own bit of ground ...' (Twopeny, 1883).

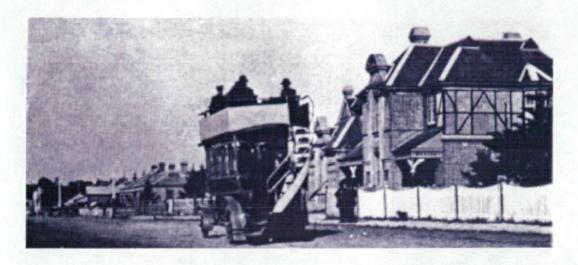


Figure 9. Original Council Chambers built in 1890, Main Road, Glenorchy (Cresswell, 1964)

The blocks between Elwick Road and Humphrey Rivulet primarily had a retail and service focus. The present site of the War Memorial Park housed the first Council Chambers of the Glenorchy Municipality from 1890. With the rapid growth and development of the area, particularly post World War I and to the early 1960s, the retail locus of the area was

maintained and flourished, however the physical development of this central business area occurred in a somewhat piecemeal way. In 1964, problems considered due to a lack of planning were identified in the shopping area in Main Road Glenorchy. The area was described thus:

'... an elongated double row of old fashioned to ultra-modern shop frontages, the council and many local retailers consider that extensive modernisation - including greatly increased off-street parking facilities - will encourage the growing trend of the population to shop within the municipality instead of travelling through to the larger departmental stores of the adjoining capital.' (Cresswell, 1964)

Glenorchy CBD 1999

These lines could easily describe the Glenorchy CBD in 1999 some 35 years later. Many older style shop frontages remain along Main Road, alongside the modern complex that is the Northgate Shopping Centre. These are combined with the heritage presence of St Matthew's Church and the 1960s Council Chambers in a garden setting alongside the contemporary Post Office complex which also overlooks more older style strip shops. Also still current is the promotion of Glenorchy as the place to shop over the Hobart central shopping area with the main advantage of the provision of substantial long term free parking.

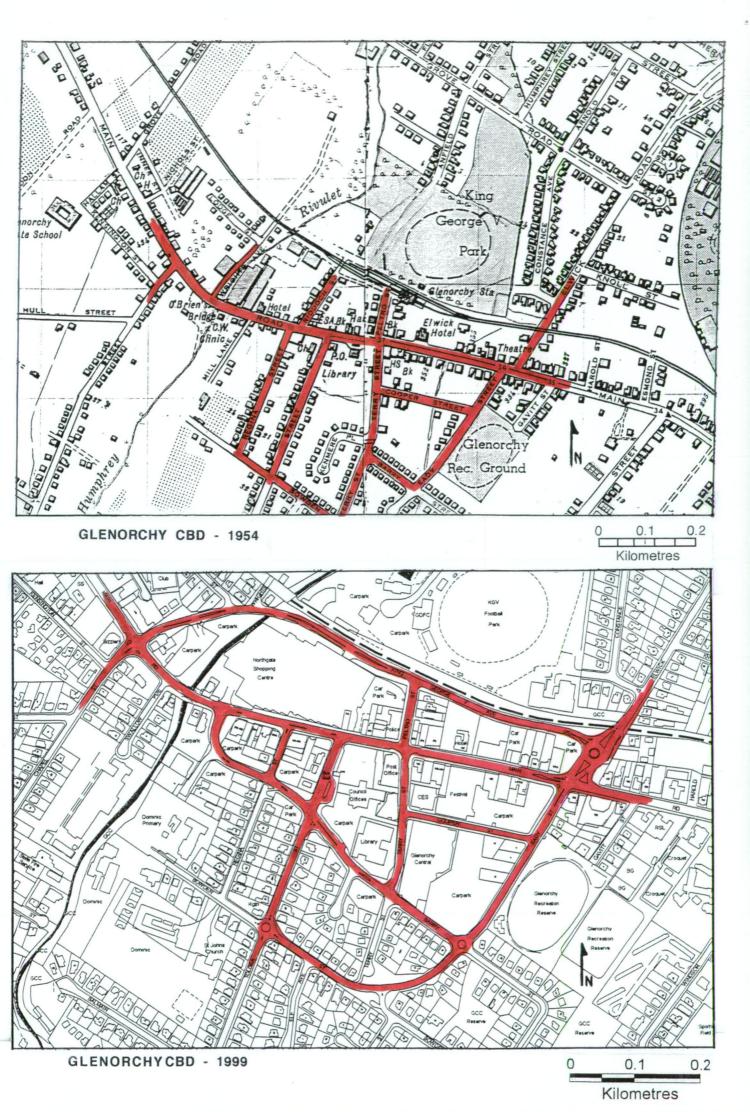
The desire to offer large amounts of car parking as expressed in 1964 did eventuate with the CBD now ringed by a sea of asphalt and car parking as well as the substantial undercover parking provided at Northgate Shopping Centre. The diversity of the built form in Glenorchy should be one of its attractions, but currently that diversity suffers from being disconnected and the collection of places is difficult to be seen as a

whole. The dominance of the traffic and road system, particularly the constant flow of vehicles along Main Road, fractures the continuity of the CBD.

The Culture of the Car

The development of Glenorchy like many other suburban areas in Australian cities wholeheartedly embraced the culture of the motor vehicle. In 1960 the electric tram, which had serviced the northern suburbs along Main Road to Tolosa Street since 1931, ceased to operate in favour of buses. Also during this decade suburban passenger rail services were phased out. The motor vehicle is now the dominant force in the physical place that is the Glenorchy CBD. The following illustrates the attempts to exert control over the problems resulting from this domination which have been planned and trialed over many years.

Map 2. Highlighted areas show the changes in road systems in the Glenorchy CBD between 1954 and currently in 1999, (over page). Glenorchy CBD map, 1954 (Department of Lands & Surveys, 1954)



Managing the traffic

In 1964, A Century in Glenorchy detailed the Council's plan to widen Main Road at its most congested points - the Moonah and Glenorchy shopping centres and to develop a ring road which would carry more through traffic on the western side of Main Road. Certainly Main Road has been widened over time and attempts to offer traffic alternate routes through Glenorchy have been offered over the years. Map 2 illustrates the case study area in 1954 and its current status in 1999 showing interventions undertaken to address the traffic issues.

In 1965, the *Hobart Area Transportation Study* and again in 1970, the *Hobart Transportation Revision* identified traffic congestion along Main Road as a major problem which needed addressing.

'The 1970 Revision found the Glenorchy road system to be deficient in many respects. Of primary concern was the severe congestion on Main Road in the shopping areas of Moonah and Glenorchy.' (Department of Public Works, 1970)

The plan went on to suggest that the Glenorchy shopping centre be bypassed in two ways:

- 1. By the construction of a new road running parallel to the east of Main Road along side the railway line.
- 2. By the development of a road connecting Chapel and Tolosa Streets to the proposed new Elwick connector via Windsor Street. (Department of Public Works, 1970)

These measures would mean there would be no need for traffic, other than that bound for the Glenorchy shopping centre, to use Main Road. It was further suggested that this would allow for Main Road to be developed into a shopping mall. Option 1 was acted upon, resulting

in the construction of King George V Avenue, running parallel to the railway line between Elwick Road and meeting Chapel Street at Main Road. However, no shopping or pedestrian mall has eventuated.

King George V Avenue does offer traffic an alternate route to Main Road, however its focus seems to be one of directing traffic to various car parking areas, particularly that of Northgate Shopping Centre. Its success as a bypass, reducing traffic in Main Road, is given what she suggests is a conservative estimate of approximately 10% by Glenorchy City Council's Traffic Engineer, Sigrid Sanderson (Pers. Com., 1999).

When asked whether the roundabout at Elwick Road, Figure 10, with the restriction it imposes on through traffic for motorists travelling north south, creates confusion and adds to a feeling of dominating road systems and the alienation of the pedestrian. Sanderson suggests the concept is good, however, the implementation is incorrect. Her solution would be to put the difficulty in front of the motorist at the northern end, where King George V Avenue meets Main Road, thus the motorist faces the decision when they begin their journey through as opposed to when they complete it (Pers. Com., Sanderson, 1999). The size and physical presence of the roundabout is a dominating fixture for the pedestrian, add to this the confusion of those travelling through the intersection who find they must turn left and go around the roundabout to do so and the outcome is a system alienating for both driver and pedestrian. A system which has forgotten the person in the equation.

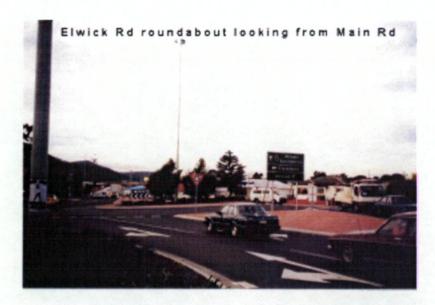


Figure 10. Elwick Road roundabout, a dominant fixture in the landscape, 1999

There appears to have been little progress in solving these problems as traffic congestion continues to be a major area of concern along Main Road. January 1999 sees the announcement of yet another major study into traffic movement in Glenorchy taking place early in the year. This study will '…concentrate on traffic movement through the municipality with a major focus on arterial and collector roads such as Main Road (and) Tolosa Street …' (Glenorchy Gazette, Jan., 1999).

Cars Rule - Ok?

Despite the issues that were already clearly evident and identified as far back as 1964, the Council continued to encourage the dominance of the car:

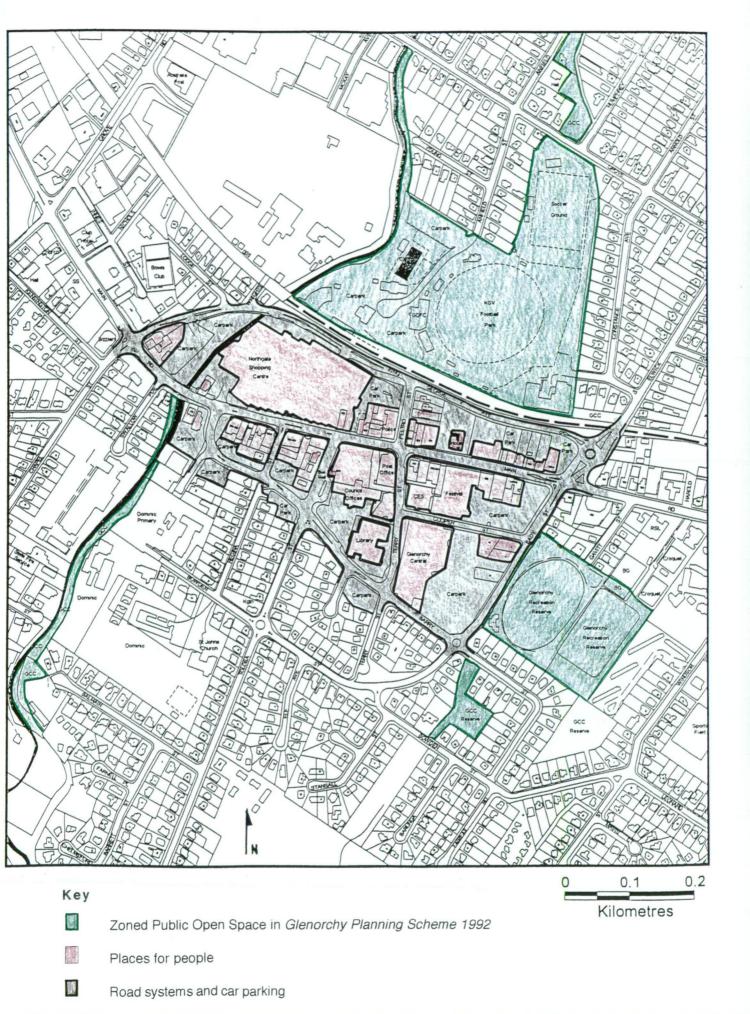
'The ever increasing use of the motor car has prompted a reexamination of the major shopping areas at Moonah and Glenorchy. Shopping facilities here will become more and more important with the growth of population and the council's plan provides for upwards of 1,000 off-street car spaces, with pedestrian malls serving grouped shopping precincts on either side of Main Road.' (Cresswell, 1964)

The result of this plan can be seen in the series of isolated spaces that make up the CBD. Each isolated space offers people a variety of functions all housed in what could be described as 'islands' within a sea of traffic passages, the roads, as shown in Map 3. Each island is isolated in many ways from the other islands, with pathways leading through or over traffic areas, by either roads or large tracts of car parking and even the space of the Bus Interchange. These islands are Glenorchy's public areas, places for people to congregate and undertake the components of daily life shopping, work, worship and social activities. There is a distinct lack of public space, as can be seen also in Map 3, which does not have the car as its focus. It is the car and traffic facilities that have caused this isolation of the spaces, the creation of islands and the disintegration of the area as a whole, united entity.

Places for 'Car-less' People

Land use, social and economic planning in Glenorchy have followed on from traffic planning rather than being focuses for decision making and development. One of the results from this and particularly the area which concerns this project is that in this equation the 'car-less' people have been forgotten. Car-less people are people not in a vehicle.

Map 3. Glenorchy CBD, isolated people places surrounded by a sea of traffic passages with little designated public open space, (over page)



In the CBD of Glenorchy can be seen the results of an area designed with the requirements of cars and motor vehicles as the first and major priority. Pedestrians and the creation of places designed specifically for people are the after thought rather than the initial motivation. The disintegration of the space as a whole and the creation of isolated spaces is the result of the dominance of roads, road systems and car parking. Despite an awareness of the issues, dating back at least thirty years, the ability or real desire to overcome these problems has eluded the decision makers.

The Hobart CBD

In recent years we have seen Hobart City Council attempt to address this issue of car dominance in its CBD and focus on the amenity of people in a car-less state. Pedestrians have been given priority in the city centre footpaths have been widened, seating areas and meeting places created as well as pedestrian crossings of roads encouraged at points where there are no traffic lights. To cater for the pedestrian, traffic movement has slowed down and been discouraged. City bypass roads are clearly marked and their usage is shown to have an advantage over the city's slower pace. People travelling to the city in cars have access to at least six major car parks, four of these high rise multi space parking lots. Traffic from each approach to the city is directed to these areas which ring the major city blocks.



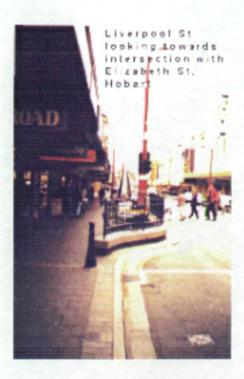


Figure 11. The contrast between the focus on cars in Glenorchy and the focus on pedestrians in Liverpool St., Hobart, 1999

The success of this integrated approach by Hobart City Council can be seen in the footpath cafes operating in Liverpool Street, enabled by traffic barriers and the widening of the footpath, Figure 11. The cafe scene is flourishing despite the two lanes of adjacent traffic and two lanes of road side parallel parking. It is the vehicles that are the intruders on this scene as they crawl along the narrow path designated for them. The contrast in Main Road, Glenorchy is clear, traffic dominates and the footpaths are merely that, a pathway between one place and another not an area offering any amenity or interest to entice those on foot to stay and linger.

The question arises of why would you want to linger? But similarly you could at one stage have asked the same question about lingering on a sunny afternoon at Salamanca Place with coffee and newspaper or as mentioned before in Liverpool Street at either a cafe or a fast food outlet on the other side of the road. The major difference is in the amenity of the

spaces and the surrounds, the same sunny afternoon is present in all three places. A shift in thinking, in perception and in culture is required to refocus the management of the Glenorchy CBD away from a traffic emphasis to a priority on the potential experience of the car-less person.

Young People - Creating Their Own Place

Traffic planning has dominated the Glenorchy CBD's development, possibly with the hope that its focus will bring real economic gains to the area, a belief not isolated to Glenorchy. However, in this instance the result is fractured areas, car dominance and a real lack of places which meet the needs of people purely as people, the cultural needs of people.

The social and cultural needs of people

Transportation is one of the means which allow people to undertake the tasks of life and therefore the car is a huge part of the Australian culture. However, it is but one part of our culture, and the lifestyle and the culture of people suffers when not all of its parts are considered in the equation. The social needs of people are required to be met: opportunities to meet, to socialise, to create and share community, to participate in a diverse range of recreational activities, to celebrate, to watch and be watched. Jane Jacobs back in 1961 voiced the opinion that

'Streets and their sidewalks, the main public places of a city, are its most vital organs. ... If a city's streets look interesting, the city looks interesting, if they look dull, the city looks dull.' (Jacobs, 1961)

The CBD area of Glenorchy offers roads for vehicles and not streets for people, ignoring their potential for housing other activities and through this enhancing the life of the area. It is not enough, as Glenorchy has done, to denote roads as merely pathways and areas in between destinations for both vehicles and car-less people, what has resulted is 'dull', uninviting streets which lack any reason to linger.

The community's centre?

The area has evolved through the communal generation of activities which enable people to carry out the components of daily life as were detailed in Chapter 1. It is a centre of activity and resources for a geographic community and as such is part of the expression of the way that community lives, of its culture. But in the evolution of the physical space of this community centre, the balance of the equation has been skewed by the lopsided focus of its development, the dominance and lead held by the motor vehicle.

The CBD of Glenorchy is a very fractured area, its public spaces do not have a natural coexistence with each other. If we were to seek to find the natural 'heart' of the area it would be difficult to locate. Ideally it would be a public area, a shared space, and not a commercial area. Since the development of the Northgate Shopping Centre, many would argue that the heart or focus of the CBD has moved there. This would not be unlike many other commercial districts Australia wide, where the commercial focus has also become the social and cultural focus of an area. There is also the point that different groups have different focal points of congregation.

What impact does this have? The major public space is in actuality both a private and controlled space. Glenorchy demonstrates this factor, young people are often in conflict with the management of the retail shopping centre. Indeed, in previous years court action has been taken to enforce the banning of particular individuals from the shopping centre. It seems

young people have chosen not to make Northgate their focus, but have moved over the road to the Bus Interchange.

The result, young people are making do, creating their own meeting place and area to 'be and be seen' in the utilitarian and functional Bus Interchange. Young people have, for the want of a better area and despite its potential problems chosen a place to express their culture, their way of life. It is this expression of their culture in a functional place, required to be shared by many and the large numbers of young people involved, that has created the clash of cultures which is a major concern for many other groups in the community.

Conclusion

Throughout the physical evolution of the Glenorchy CBD it has developed with its primary focus as one of facilitating the amenity and usage of the motor vehicle. Consequently traffic and road systems dominate and fracture the area. This domination has been progressed by the lack of any other forms of transport to the area for at least fifty years. Attempts to manage and control traffic through the area have been undertaken, however the area can be described as a number of isolated islands in a sea of traffic passages, with little sense of a unified whole.

The car-less people have been forgotten, places specifically designed for people appear to have been the after thought rather than the primary focus. A shift in thinking is required to refocus the planning and development of the area away from the needs of vehicles to the quality experience of people.

People, Places and Culture

It is in part this lack of thought to the creation of culturally appropriate places for people which has led to the current situation, that of young people creating their own place for the expression of their culture in the Bus Interchange. For the want of another place designed to meet their needs, they have created their own, thus causing conflict with others in a space which by its function must be shared by the whole diversity of the community.

Chapter 6. Process of Development

Introduction

This chapter examines the process of development of the two major areas within the case study, the Glenorchy Bus Interchange and the War Memorial Park. Process and outcomes will be scrutinised utilising the previously identified components, as presented in Chapter 2:-

- 1. Assumptions/ Neutrality / Culture;
- 2. Communication/ Consultation / Decision Making;
- 3. Administrative/ Internal Processes / External Influences.

These components are the key factors in processes whose aim is to link people through their culture to places to produce more responsive and meaningful community owned and shared places. This chapter will demonstrate outcomes in terms of places that have a limited relationship to the specific cultural needs of those that utilise them. It also shows a dominance of one cultural group over another thereby causing conflict and insecurity amongst those using the spaces.

These characteristics are the result of the lack of consideration and understanding of the diversity of potential users and their specific cultures in the planning and development of the two areas. The conclusion is drawn that in the process of development and in ongoing management, assumptive decision making has occurred on behalf of the community, with little consideration given to the validity and basis of those assumptions.

The Process: Glenorchy Bus Interchange 1993 - 1999

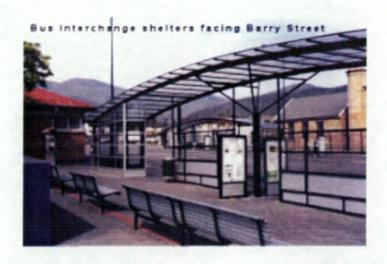


Figure 12. The open design of the shelters in the Glenorchy Bus Interchange, 1999

Planning and Development

In 1993 Metro Tasmania received funding from the Federal Government to rationalise the system of bus stops in Glenorchy. Metro did not wish to own the planned bus station and requested Glenorchy City Council work with them to achieve the best outcomes. A committee involving Metro and senior management at Council was convened to oversee the location and development of a bus interchange in the Glenorchy CBD. External consultants were employed to design the facility under the direction of the joint Metro and Council overseeing committee. There was no community consultation undertaken apart from that involved in the sale of properties for the purpose of the construction of the Bus Interchange. Table 11 outlines Council's concerns as stated during the development of the Bus Interchange.

Bus Interchange	Consideration
Integration of facility with	i) the existing space - adjacent to historic church and council open space;ii) the future town square. (NB. This development did not
Location and design of	Potential for use of facilities by people other than bus
shelters, seating, toilets, kiosk, information facility.	passengers to be considered.
Detailing, finishes eg	Paving, bollards, fencing (eg church), signage;
Maintenance of views	- of church from Main Road and open space - to mountain.
Commuter parking	
Scope for growth if and when patronage increases.	

Table 11. Factors to be considered in the development of the Glenorchy Bus Interchange, (Glenorchy City Council, File 01997)

The functions of the Bus Interchange were detailed as:

- to provide shelter, from rain, sun, wind;
- to provide information for passengers;
- to provide refuse disposal bins;
- to provide seating for passengers.

Its desirable attributes were described as:

- 1. Attractive appearance;
- 2. Easy to fabricate;
- 3. Easy to clean;
- 4. Durability;
- 5. Longevity;
- 6. Structural strength;
- 7. Easy to maintain;
- 8. Inexpensive;

People, Places and Culture

- 9. Easy to erect;
- 10. Easy to dismantle;
- 11. Easy to transport. (Glenorchy City Council, File 01997)

Operation

The Glenorchy Bus Interchange was opened in March 1994. However, once it began operation, it became apparent, that it was inadequate to the tasks for which it was built. In 1995 an Access Report was presented to Council detailing the problems people with disabilities had utilising the Bus Interchange. The facility did comply with the Australian Standards at the time, however, 'the Standards were not good enough' (Pers. Com., Giblin, 1998). At this time a significant number of concerns were also being raised by the community to Council with regard to safety, vandalism, access and well being issues.

A Safety Audit of the CBD area was also undertaken by Council in 1995, which included the Bus Interchange and involved a wide cross section of community participants. The Safety Audit found the following areas of concern at the Bus Interchange:

- a lack of adequate lighting;
- problems with only one exit/entrance in the shelters;
- no disability access telephone;
- lack of both seats and shelter;
- buses stopping too close to shelters for safety. (Glenorchy City Council, File 01997)

Review

A working party was established in 1995 to look at issues relating to the operation of the Bus Interchange and the adjacent public toilets. In contrast to the original committee convened to oversee the development, this working party was comprised of Council staff at operational levels, as well as senior management and included community service focus areas of Council such as youth, aged, disability and crime prevention. The working party also included representatives from Metro, Glenorchy Police and an architect.

In 1996, the working party commissioned external consultants to undertake a review of the 'Tolosa Street Bus Station' in the form of a study and community consultation. The review's objective was to seek a wide input from various stakeholders to identify and address the issues of concern relative to ongoing operation of the bus station (Acer Wargon Chapman, 1996). It highlighted a number of design and layout issues which were to some extent addressed by modifications to the bus shelters and toilet facility undertaken in 1997. Of particular interest to this project are the review's comments relating to social issues:

- A perception of an unsafe environment within the shelters, from threatening behaviour, violence, concerns with smokers, too many passengers within the shelters and lack of access to the shelters by disabled persons.
- The bus interchange becoming the focus for an increasing intensity of social problems related to exchanges between school groups from different colleges and other youth groups.
- Reports of bad language, aggressive behaviour, physical assault,
 anti social behaviour, alcohol and drug issues.

• Vandalism of bus timetables and a high degree of vandalism of the toilets (Acer Wargon Chapman, 1996).

The report notes that these issues are in part a reflection of the uninspiring streetscape of the bus interchange and to some degree a reflection of wider community values and social problems which are focused on the interchange and not a direct cause of it. It also notes that this situation is not isolated to the Glenorchy Bus Interchange, but occurs at similar facilities in Hobart such as the Elizabeth Street and Rosny Bus Interchanges. (Acer Wargon Chapman, 1996).

Behavioural Problems

As mentioned previously, 1997 saw modifications to both the bus shelters and the toilet block to address many of the physical design and layout issues highlighted by the review. However, in 1998 the debate continued, it moved from design solutions to surveillance options such as the introduction of security cameras to address behavioural problems. Security guards were also trialled at particular times both during the day and night as a measure to curb incidents. The problem was clearly seen to be young people's behaviour, with Council circulating a letter to principals of schools whose students utilise the Bus Interchange each morning and afternoon. The letter detailed the complaints received by Council:

- bus shelter seats covered in spit
- seats and pavers covered in sticky liquids
- graffiti on seats and walls
- litter
- lack of respect for local people and staff working in the area

- lack of respect for the trees planted in the park
- bad language, smoking and general offensive behaviour. (Glenorchy City Council, File 01997).

Late in 1998, Council convened a staff committee to examine roles and responsibilities in relation to the ongoing management of the Bus Interchange and War Memorial Park. The outcomes arising from this committee are not yet available, but its formation demonstrates the continuing nature of the issues for the area.

The Process: War Memorial Park 1994 - 1999



Figure 13. The redeveloped War Memorial Park, 1999.

A facelift and modernisation

In 1994, resulting from the redevelopment of the Glenorchy Post Office, and independent of the bus interchange development, plans were under way for a major facelift of the War Memorial Park, Figure 13. The design of the redevelopment was undertaken by an external consultant and

overseen at officer level as opposed to senior management. The decision to redevelop was considered cost efficient in terms of watering, deterring vandalism and to modernise the gardens. It was also perceived that the community wished to retain their green space, particularly the roses (Pers. Com., Ancher, 1998).

The objectives of the redevelopment were stated as:

- to provide pedestrian links between the bus station, Post Office, Glenorchy Central and Northgate;
- to integrate the bus station with the gardens as a whole;
- to make it an area that people will use and want to be a people place;
- to retain the essential character of the existing garden and building;
- to be low maintenance yet maintain a high quality standard;
- to nurture a spirit of place for Glenorchy Residents reflecting community values. (Glenorchy City Council, File 02292).

In the redevelopment, Council wished to retain the roses and replicate what existed, as well as modernising the gardens through the installation of a watering system, providing space for the RSL to commemorate Anzac Day, providing electricals for events, ensuring risk management and offering opportunities for people to use the gardens by installing seats etc (Pers. Com., Ancher, 1998). Plans detailing the proposed designs were displayed for public comment in 1994. The design finally implemented was not that which was on display. The site plan for the redevelopment is shown in Figure 14.

Figure 14. Site plan of the redevelopment of War Memorial Park, 1994. Scale reduced from original to 1:571. (over page) (Glenorchy City Council)

anderage Development and Maint Armacure consumerts and correspondent Car parking and vehicle access at the front of the Council Chambers were removed. War memorials were consolidated and refurbished and the World War I memorial, Lone Pine tree from Gallipoli was erected. The community kiosk was installed. The Australia Remembers Commemorative Fountain was designed to give a hard edge to the walkway and provide an end to the park, it also aimed to reduce traffic noise through the soft noise provided by the water (Pers. Com., Ancher, 1998). The renovated War Memorial Park was opened in 1995.

Results

The fountain was initially found to be very confronting by members of the community, it was the subject of both complaints and vandalism. The Lone Pine has been relandscaped three times since its installation due to vandalism (Pers. Com., Ancher, 1998). In 1998 a fence and gate were erected around the Lone Pine to counter potential damage to the tree, Figure 16. Miscellaneous plantings throughout the park have continued since its opening in 1995.

Analysis

The following discussion aims to offer an analysis of the above processes in terms of their consideration of the key components of the Holistic Approach detailed in Chapter 2. In order to meet the needs of diverse communities, this approach aims to facilitate links between people, places and culture.

Interrelatedness of the Components

In examining the case study's process of development, it is important to note that nothing can be considered in isolation from the surrounding context of the area but also that no decision or outcome is isolated or unrelated. Any sequence of actions and decisions are interrelated. However, what is evident in examining the case study is the isolation of different parts of the process from each other and from the surrounding context. Each of the developments was undertaken as a separate and distinct process without recognition of shared boundaries, shared roles, overlapping uses and any relationship between the two spaces. It is in 1999, that there is the first attempt to undertake the ongoing management of the two sites jointly with the establishment of a council committee as opposed to reactive responses to tackle specific issues.

Assumptions/ Neutrality/ Culture

'Reflecting community values'

The development processes began with two major assumptions:

- 1. That all of the community shared the same needs, wants and desires from the outcomes of the proposed developments;
- 2. That the decision makers knew and understood those needs, wants and desires without seeking this information specifically from the community.

One of the objectives of the redevelopment of the War Memorial Park was 'reflecting community values'. Given the lack of any process which sought to find out, clarify and understand the values of the community, the only values that could be said to be reflected were those of the decision makers themselves. The process demonstrates, as with LUPAA and the

planning schemes discussed in Chapter 3, the use of rhetoric without translating the meaning of stated objectives into the physical outcomes.

Accommodating diversity

The result of this form of decision making is that the two areas are seen as being everything to everybody. 'Council is inviting all the diverse uses, but it cannot accommodate all of these diverse uses' (Pers. Com., Eastley, 1998). The spaces are required to accommodate great diversity in activity and functions - a public transport station, recreation area, commemorative spaces, walkway, civic space, performance space etc - but they are not able to fulfil all of these roles without some conflict.

As a public space it should accommodate everyone with equity - the very young, children, young people, families, people with disabilities, elderly, workers, unemployed, students, etc. None of these categories even begin to describe the differences between people within groups ie the elderly are not all one homogenous group with the same needs and desires. As with any space offering such diversity in usage some conflict will occur, however, in this instance it is perceived that it is one group in particular who are the cause of the conflict, young people. Assumptions dominate this belief as well as a notion that 'one size will fit all'.

There is also the assumption that everyone shares an understanding of values that are particularly important to some cultural groups, eg the values encompassed by the war memorials. Shared understandings do not just happen, they must be articulated and nurtured, this is particularly the case with bringing ongoing empathy to the experience of wars and events that took place over fifty years ago.

Processes which bring different groups together to articulate their visions and ideas about shared places could go some way towards building understandings of experiences and the importance of memory between diverse groups. There is a need to develop approaches which recognise and embrace the diversity present in the community and from this actively seek to understand each difference and respond to it in some way.

A 'people place'

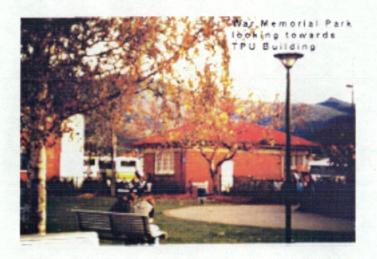


Figure 15. War Memorial Park, after school, 1999

The objectives for the Park state the desire for it to be a 'people place' and yet when a cultural group have chosen the adjacent space of the Bus Interchange as their meeting place they are openly discouraged and seen to be the cause of major problems. Ross Park comments,

'If the area is safe when lots of people are around, but not safe when there are lots of young people around and not safe when there is no one there, then what are they saying?' (Pers. Com., 1998)

It is a place for people if only they act in accordance with the norms of the dominant cultural group and especially not too many at once. It seems young people break the rules by converging in too great a number. This is not to excuse anti social, threatening and aggressive behaviour, but it is a minority who do behave in this way:

'When there are lots of young people, it is probably only 2 - 3% who are challenging the environment, their peers and adults, who then make people feel unsafe.' (Pers. Com., Park, 1998)

Strategies are needed to address the 2 - 3% which do not interfere with the 98% who are not taking part in such behaviour. Currently approaches target the entirety of young people who use the area, as demonstrated by the letter to schools whose students use the Bus Interchange and the surveillance response.

Information required to challenge assumptions

The above discussion illustrates that assumptive decision making continued from the original basis for the development and into the ongoing management of the area. To challenge these assumptions information is needed from the community itself. Information which goes beyond statistics such as census data to that which identifies, recognises, involves and reflects those who make up the community. This information must be gained directly from the community.

It is difficult to know if Council had sought information from the community, particularly young people, on which to base decision making. Would the young people have articulated the attraction of the Bus Interchange as a meeting place? Probably not in those terms; however, a clearer understanding of the need for specific spaces with particular characteristics for young people and for other cultural groups may have resulted. Following from the development of those spaces there would be

less demand placed on the case study area to meet such a wide range of demands from the community.

Communication/ Consultation/ Decision Making

Involvement in decision making

As stated earlier, the process was fragmented and parts were undertaken in an isolated manner. Little attempt was made to involve other agencies in any decision making apart from the two perceived main players, Metro and Council. Other sources of information and expertise which may have informed the decision making were not identified or utilised. In terms of Council's internal structure, the process was very top heavy and did not seek input in any formal way from officers at a more operational level, in particular those in the community and social services areas of the organisation.

In looking back on the process, participants made the following comments. Tony Sim of Metro states 'there was a lack of understanding which caused problems, they met 'a brick wall' between Council and Metro' (Pers. Com., Sim, 1998). Council's perspective on the process was stated as 'Metro had a very narrow vision for the space - their primary concern was for bus stops' (Pers. Com., Giblin, 1998). The process did not commence with a shared understanding of agreed outcomes from the participant's perspective, let alone any attempt to identify the pre-existing assumptions each was working with in terms of the community, the place, the process etc.

Who are the stakeholders who can inform the process?

As well as identifying the assumptions brought to a process there is a need to identify the unavailable information, to be accessed from elsewhere. This knowledge may be gained from other professionals, service providers and community organisations but it also may come from less formal groups such as the young people themselves and elderly or disabled users of public transport. If ongoing relationships have been built and structures established which ensure and facilitate effective representation of all sectors of the community the accessing of information becomes a natural part of the process. In 1998 the Council established a Community Participation Program which is a positive step towards ensuring some of the problems discussed here can be resolved in future processes.

Following the establishment of the Bus Interchange and the recognition of major concerns with its functioning, Council undertook significant consultation with targeted groups in the community. For example, Council's existing Access Committee whose objective is addressing physical access issues for people with disabilities in Glenorchy. A Safety Audit of the area was also undertaken which involved a participatory experience and an on site examination of the area to assess issues of safety for those utilising the facilities.

Administration/ Internal Processes/ External Influences Isolated decision making

Isolated decision making has continued in attempts to address issues which have arisen in the usage of the spaces. Given their juxtaposition, size and the fact that Council manages both areas, it would be logical to

undertake their development and ongoing management in conjunction despite their different functions.

Internal Processes

A comment regarding Council's management of the Park has been 'There is a tendency for Council to over react. The current approach is a band aid approach, trees are planted to stop ball games' (Pers. Com., Eastley, 1998). Council's approach could be characterised as reactionary and ad hoc. Sensitive areas are barricaded and fenced to combat damage and trees have been planted to restrict movement and activity, Figure 16.



Figure 16. World War I Memorial, War Memorial Park, 1999.

The youth and safety areas of Council are working to address issues through a long term community owned approach through community based committee structures. However, the physical planning and works areas of Council are separated from this process and are not involved. Thus, what follows in the physical approach is a focus on combating the

issues with physical and design responses such as planting further trees and barricading the war memorials. Yet it is acknowledged that this does not offer the answer,

'The space should be able to cope with a diversity of uses and users but this needs to happen with mutual respect, this is lost at the moment, but design cannot facilitate this, it is a social problem.' (Pers. Com., Ancher, 1998)

In a response to vandalism of the war memorials an information leaflet was produced, designed to inform people about each memorial's significance and history. Although its motivation and intention was positive, it is questionable whether this literal approach is the most accessible way to inform young people and if it will impact on the behaviour of the few who are vandalising the memorials. Again we come back to the recognition that there are diverse ways of seeing and understanding, the bureaucratic way may be the one we are most used to, but does it achieve the best results for the greatest number of people?

Application of the Cultural Impact Statement

A way to test both Lohrey's previously presented Cultural Development Principles and to measure the case study's achievement of them is to utilise the Cultural Impact Statement and apply it to the area. This is shown in Table 12. Immediately it becomes clear that its application is very much open to interpretation. The yes/no answers do little justice to the questions which are difficult to quantify. Also demonstrated is the lack of any integration of the responses to each of the components.

People, Places and Culture

Strategic Principles	Comments
Harmonious social interaction - the degree to	On the surface the area offers equal access to all diverse groups. There is currently
which the development encourages or offers	a dominance by one group which is impacting on the ability to achieve this principle.
the potential for diverse, social interaction.	
Diversity - the degree to which the	The Park offers a recreational space not otherwise available in the CBD. Because of
development promotes diversity of spaces,	this, diverse usage is invited but the size and context of the area cannot
reflects the diversity of the community and	accommodate this usage. This highlights the lack of diverse recreational spaces
acknowledges difference.	available in the CBD area particularly spaces targeted to specific groups, eg.
	children's playground for both young and older children, active recreational areas for
	young people and others.
	Elements in the area that relate to specific communities are limited in the main to war
	memorials which reflect a small and distinct sector of the community.
	The Bus Interchange has undertaken to meet the needs of people with disabilities
	through the addressing of access issues.
Meaningful narratives - the degree to which	The war memorials offer recognition of history, however, significant work could be
the development offers interpretation of	undertaken to take presentation to the next level of a more accessible narrative for
stories, history, opens dialogue, using signs,	those not part of that history.
presentation etc.	There is significant material already present on which to build narrative and offer
	interpretation of history - rose garden, TPU building, St Matthew's Church as well as
	the opportunity to use community as opposed to place to build narrative elements
	from.
Self reflection - the degree to which the	Self reflective processes are currently implicit rather than explicit.

People, Places and Culture

development undertakes or offers self	Facilities within the Park for performance and functions offer opportunities for
reflective processes explicitly rather than	expression of community values and self reflection. Access to these facilities by
implicitly, ie using the arts and creative	wide range of community needs to encouraged and facilitated.
expression.	
Honouring the past - does the development	Through preservation of the rose gardens, St Matthew's Church, TPU building, and
honour the location's historic and cultural past,	the pepper tree, the area has made significant attempts to honour the location's
without destroying its meaning or significance.	historic and cultural past. More could be done to enhance meaning and
	interpretation of these elements to new generations and communities from diverse
	backgrounds.
	The history prior to the white settlement of Tasmania is not acknowledged or
	recognised. Aboriginal history and prior ownership of the land should be
	acknowledged as a legitimate part of the history of this community. Sites of conflict
	can be commemorated as well as sites of victory.
Building on strengths - does the development	Open design and use of transparent materials in Bus Interchange preserves links
build on the existing strengths of the place, ie	and views to both Mount Wellington and St Matthew's Church, building on
its cultural strengths, landscape, urban design,	strengths of location and its elements.
environmental, visual, artistic etc.	
Accessibility - does the development ensure	The cultural elements as discussed, are accessible to everyone, however, through
that the cultural elements are accessible to	attention to presenting interpretation and narratives accessibility would be
everyone in the community.	enhanced.

Table 12. Cultural Impact Statement as applied to the case study area.

Lack of activity

Finally, external factors which impact on the situation in the case study area should be considered. A major issue is the perception of safety, particularly for those utilising the Bus Interchange at night, as the findings of the recent Safer Communities Survey attest (Glenorchy Gazette, March 1999). The lack of activity occurring in the CBD after hours brings low numbers of people to the area and results in little or no surveillance and isolated spaces. '6pm everything in Glenorchy shuts except Macdonald's and the pizza place, Macdonald's shuts at 7pm, then only the pizza place is open' (Pers. Com., Park, 1998).



Figure 17. The blank walls and opaque windows of the TPU building, Glenorchy Bus Interchange, 1999

It is not only after business hours that the lack of activity is a concern, the *Review of the Tolosa Street Bus Station* makes the point, '... the location of the bus station in this instance is one with little immediate interaction

with its adjacent land uses (eg Rosny, Elizabeth Street both have shops abutting them)' (Acer Wargon Chapman, 1996). The blank walls and opaque windows of the TPU building, although occupied creates a barricaded, blind outlook to the Bus Interchange discouraging interaction and reinforcing the isolation from surroundings, Figure 17. Currently St Matthew's Church is utilised once a month and periodically for services such as funerals. Greater utilisation of this building on a regular basis and by the broader community would bring more activity to the area.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented a summary of the processes undertaken by the Council in the development of both spaces in the case study, the Glenorchy Bus Interchange and the War Memorial Park. An analysis of the process was offered using the key components of the Holistic Approach:

- 1. Assumptions/ Neutrality/ Culture
- 2. Communication/ Consultation/ Decision Making
- 3. Administrative/ Internal Processes / External Influences.

The analysis found that assumptions regarding community needs and desires were used to direct initial decision making and the ongoing management of the areas. This has resulted in a lack of consideration of the diverse users, the overlapping uses and multi functional nature of the area as well as the fact that due to the size of the space it is unable to cope. All of these factors contribute to the resulting conflict between different groups. Strategies are needed to address specific behaviours, responses to the issues which do not stereotype groups and their behaviour. These strategies should be not purely reactionary in response to incidents but ongoing and adaptable over time.

There was a lack of consultation with the community and no information was sought from broader community sources. Ongoing processes need to be established in which to undertake research and consultation. Council has continued in its isolated and ad hoc approach to management of the areas, as well as in its response to the issues arising out of the utilisation of them by the community. There has been a recognition of the issues as social problems, but the approach has continued to be one of design and physical intervention to solve the problems, this to date has been an inadequate approach.

Council's approach to the issues arising out of the area have contributed to the perception of young people as nuisances and perpetrators of conflict. The ad hoc and reactive approach to the problems such as surveillance, security guards and barricading of vulnerable elements promotes an 'us and them', adversary relationship and does not consider all aspects of the issues in an holistic way. Until this is attempted and all stakeholders, including young people are ensured a place in processes, the results cannot be expected to succeed.

Chapter 7. Towards the Incorporation of Culture

Introduction

This final chapter begins by reviewing the project. It will then unite the theory with the issues raised by the case study, presenting a number of conclusions which have been drawn from the project. The conclusions concern the underlying premises and paradigms of planning and decision making for communities, and the processes undertaken in decision making and implementation. There is a need for a shift in planning and decision making models and paradigms in order to ensure that outcomes meet the needs of contemporary diverse communities.

An Holistic Approach - Process Chart is presented which has been developed from the consideration of the conclusions drawn from the case study and from the issues raised by the examination of theory and current practice highlighted in this project. The chart utilises the previously presented components of an holistic approach to planning that combines physical and social planning in order to meet the needs of diverse communities. It has attempted to integrate the strategies of the holistic approach into the framework of the Tasmanian RMPS.

Finally the chapter returns to the case study example of the Glenorchy Bus Interchange, War Memorial Park and surrounding context of the Glenorchy CBD. Specific recommendations are presented which are aimed at enabling the area to function appropriately for the diversity of the community and to

lessen the dominance of one particular cultural group on the area. The recommendations offer immediate direction and opportunities to build stronger place/ culture relationships within this particular environment and to address areas of concern raised by this project.

Summary of Project

This project has explored issues of identity and culture in contemporary suburban Australia, with an investigation of the links between people, places and culture. Chapter 1 introduced the premise and context of the project and defined critical terminology. Culture was defined broadly, as the way communities perform the tasks of life or how people live.

Chapter 2 reviewed current theory, which questions the validity of modernist planning principles and its assumptions, contrasting this with post modernist values that recognise and celebrate diversity and difference, with the suggestion that these values need to be incorporated into planning practice and decision making. From this an holistic approach was presented which has as its aim the combination of physical and social planning in order to meet the needs of diverse communities.

Chapter 3 examined legislation, planning practice and processes revealing the gap that exists between stated objectives, their implementation and outcomes. The gap between objectives and implementation was seen to be exacerbated by the administrative structures of local government still serving the modernist agenda. The Bundaleer Neighbourhood Development Plan was then considered as an approach which actively sought to understand and utilise the diversity of a community's cultures in processes and outcomes, integrating social and physical planning for the benefit of the community. It

also recognised that design intervention alone cannot address social issues for communities.

Chapter 4 introduced the case study example of the Glenorchy Bus Interchange, War Memorial Park and surrounding context of the Glenorchy CBD. It was used as an example of a central public space required to be functional, recreational and commemorative in its utilisation by the diversity of the community. However, it was revealed that the area was dominated by one particular cultural group, young people. The domination by this particular cultural group was commonly perceived to be to the detriment of both the space and other users.

The chapter highlighted that the space had become a meeting place for young people and as such was a legitimate expression of their culture in a public place. However, in the ongoing management of the area and relationship of the different elements this was not recognised as part of the role of the spaces. Major issues in the current functioning of the site were raised, including that people were feeling unsafe, vandalism was evident and individuals demonstrated intimidating behaviour. The rights of young people, their visibility as a cultural group, the resulting expectations placed on their behaviour as well as the danger of treating all young people as an homogenous group and the factors which may have contributed to their adopting part of the area as their meeting place were offered in the consideration of the issues occurring at the case study area.

Following from this, Chapter 5 reviewed the area's history to reveal the ongoing focus and dominance of road and traffic systems in the decision making. The results of this emphasis include the isolation of public spaces; their connections fractured by traffic passages; a lack of consideration of the

needs of people when not in cars; places for people an after thought rather than one of the main aims. All of this contributing to a lack of options in public spaces, resulting in the dominance by a specific group in the absence of any other choices in spaces which may meet their needs.

In Chapter 6, the processes of development and management of the case study area were scrutinised to reveal assumptive decision making led by the values of the decision makers as opposed to that of the community. Little or no consultation was undertaken to ascertain community needs and desires regarding the spaces or to form a shared vision for the development of these important community spaces. Council structures and processes were themselves isolated and restricted from the expertise held within the organisation as well as that existing in the community. Stated aims and objectives were unable to become reality due to the isolated and uninformed decision making processes which had led the outcomes.

Conclusions

Some conclusions are drawn from the consideration of the issues highlighted by this project. They are offered in two areas, paradigm and process, recognising the focus on the premise of planning and decision making or the focus on the process of planning, the way decisions are made and implemented.

The Planning Paradigm

 Communities are not homogenous and planners cannot assume to know or understand community needs purely by the fact of their professional expertise. Recognition and consideration of diversity within the community should be the starting point of every process.

- Decision makers need to be aware of and take into consideration their own values, assumptions and stereotyping which they bring to a process and which influences their thinking.
- Modernist planning principles have traditionally based decision making on a 'one size fits all' basis, the needs of the perceived majority overwhelming the considerations of minority groups within the community. Such processes ignore culture and difference and can no longer meet the needs of diverse contemporary societies.
- Planning as practised has too narrow a definition and focus, that of the
 physical and built form and development control. This focus, when
 combined with the often fragmented and isolated structures within public
 agencies, has allowed planning to ignore the social focus of its objectives
 and consequentially its outcomes.
- Planners and decision makers should not rely only on hearing the dominant voices in a community. There is a need to recognise and acknowledge the existence of lobby groups, vested interests and political agendas impacting on outcomes whilst actively seeking to identify and hear the views of the other lone and unrepresented voices.
- A community's culture can never be considered to be static and therefore
 can never be assumed to be understood at any given point in time.
 Processes of consultation and representation need to be ongoing and
 integral to decision making, as opposed to one off events, such as when
 developing the strategic plan.
- The nature of assumptive processes and decision making limits both outcomes and options for future development and the adaptation of places to accommodate community diversity.

- There is a need for decision making, processes and outcomes to be flexible and adaptive in order to meet the continuing change and progress of the cultural life of communities.
- Shared understandings between all sectors of the community, structures both formal and informal and other diverse groups within the community, organisations and public agencies cannot be assumed to exist and therefore need to be developed and nurtured.
- Relationships and shared understandings within public agencies between staff, elected representatives and their different functions need to be developed, nurtured and articulated.
- Public agencies are part of communities; relationships need to be built
 which facilitate shared vision and understandings. This will ensure
 accurate information can be gleaned and representation achieved from
 diverse groups.

The Planning Process

- Cultural well-being as a goal is not understood and therefore not actively being addressed in processes of implementation and in outcomes, despite being part of the definition of 'sustainable development' in the objectives of the RMPS. (Appendix 1 offers a definition of cultural well-being).
- The development application and approval process needs to reflect the goal of cultural well-being. Guidelines should be developed offering direction and methods of achieving this goal and how its achievement may be assessed.
- The cultural needs of people are not being considered in processes and outcomes, decisions are closed, fixed and immutable.

- Physical objectives and outcomes tend to dominate over the consideration and integration of social and cultural objectives and outcomes.
- Structures and processes can exacerbate the isolation of social and physical outcomes through the separation of these functions in organisational structures, which also leads to expertise and knowledge within the organisation not being utilised.
- Expertise and knowledge held within the community, by both organisations and individuals is often not sought and understood therefore it is not utilised and considered in planning and decision making.
- Physical outcomes, ie the physical completion of developments are often
 considered to be the end of the process and the expectation is for it all to
 'work' at that point. Ongoing management, monitoring and evaluation of
 outcomes should be considered as part of every process. This will reduce
 the occurrence of reactionary and ad hoc decision making.
- Design intervention and outcomes by themselves cannot be expected to solve broader social issues.
- Unexpected outcomes are not necessarily problems and therefore unwanted, ie young people using the Bus Interchange as a meeting place.
 Do not be restrictive in expected outcomes of places, leave options open thereby not discouraging or prohibiting 'new' activities that may arise as a legitimate expression of culture.
- The surrounding context of an area is an integral component required to be considered in any planning and decision making regarding an area, no place exists in isolation from its surroundings.
- Elements of history displayed or commemorated in public spaces are culturally based. In this community of diverse cultures it cannot be

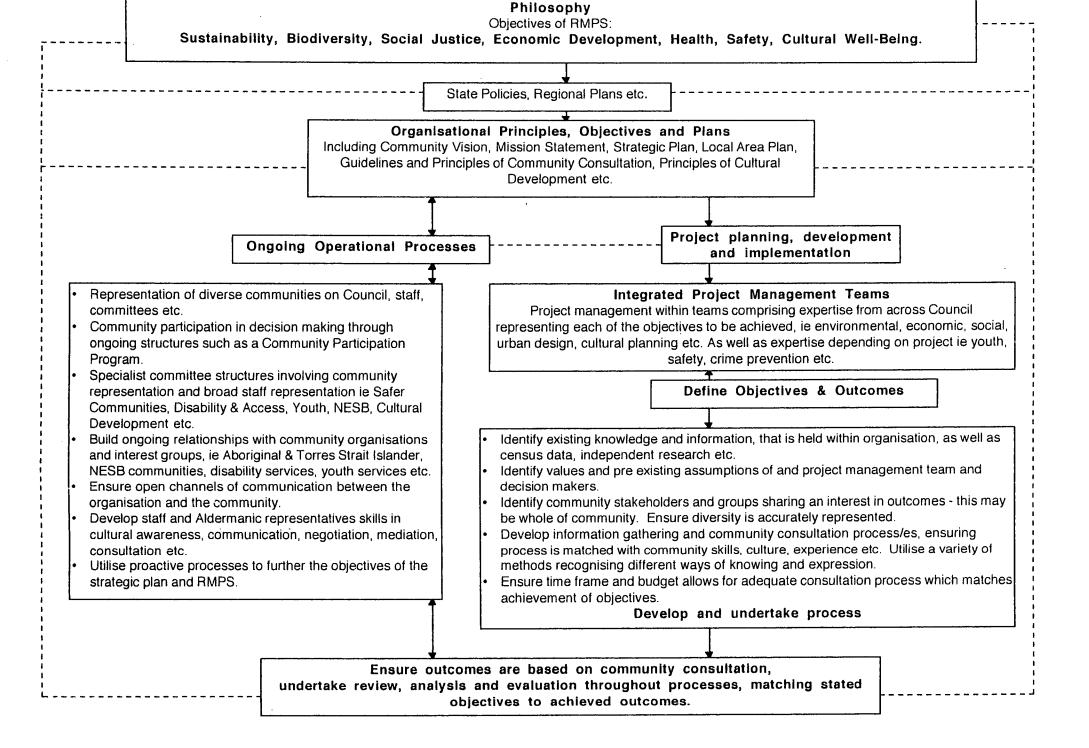
assumed that everyone will automatically share that history or understanding. Narratives need to be articulated and promoted with the aim of building a shared understanding or recognition of the experience of others.

- Sectors or groups in the community should not be stereotyped and characterised by a minority's behaviour or characteristics, ie a small number of young people have been vandalising, therefore all young people take part in destructive behaviours.
- Time needs to be factored into processes to ensure accurate information can be gathered from the community and to ensure real involvement in processes, implementation and evaluation.
- Group processes need to ensure time is allocated for participants to reach a point of shared understanding from which to commence.
- There is a need for strategies to be developed which address broad social problems, such strategies should be built from a shared understanding and with public agency and community ownership of both the problem and the strategy.
- Lack of diverse spaces offering activities throughout the day and evening in areas and their surroundings, limit the motivation and opportunities to visit a place. This contributes to the isolation of spaces and reduces the well being of people utilising them due to their insecurity.

An Holistic Approach - Process Chart

In Chapter 2, an Holistic Approach was presented that offered strategies which add the consideration of social objectives to a physical planning decision making process. Figure 18, presents an Holistic Approach - Process Chart which integrates the strategies presented in the Holistic Approach within the framework of the Tasmanian planning system and the context of local government structures and operations. The Holistic Approach - Process Chart is a derived from 'The Planning System' process offered by Graham and Pitts in *Good Practice Guidelines for Coastal Planning* (1998).

Figure 18. Holistic Approach - Process Chart (over page)



Recommendations for Case Study Area - Glenorchy Bus Interchange, War Memorial Park, Glenorchy.

The following suggestions focus on enabling the case study area to function appropriately for the broadest diversity of the community, lessening the dominance of one particular cultural group on those who utilise it and building links between people and the area through their culture and its expression. The recommendations recognise that design and physical outcomes are not able to provide a solution on their own.

Aims

- to increase the diversity and amount of activities occurring in the immediate vicinity of the area;
- increase ownership, pride and respect of the environment and elements through building links between people and the place;
- decrease the pressure caused by the numbers of people who congregate in the area at specific times of the day;
- decrease the pressure on sensitive elements within the area;
- involve a broad range of groups in future and ongoing decision making, as well as in the development and implementation of outcomes;
- increase ongoing surveillance and community ownership through increased activities, particularly on weekends and after hours, offering opportunities and reasons to visit;

 use the skills of artists to develop accessible narratives within the physical fabric of the place which enables the building of relationships between people and the place through the expression of culture.

Recommendations

The following are suggestions which offer immediate opportunities to build stronger place/ culture relationships within this particular environment and to address areas of concern raised by this project.

Activities / Spaces

Recommendation - change the focus of activity of the TPU building. Find other, more appropriate and suitable central premises for the TPU. Renovate the building and open it up to create a relationship with its surrounding context, ensuring visibility both into and out of the building. Facilitate both weekend and after hours access through a commercial function. Options include the creation of a sheltered waiting room within the building; the operation of a Metro ticket and information service area incorporating newspaper, refreshment sales and other commercial operations; the placement of an electronic banking facility on an external wall of the building.

Recommendation - investigate the use of St Matthew's Church as a community cultural centre functioning seven days a week and after hours, involving all sectors of the diverse community in its activities and operations. This could involve renovation of the existing building and the development of a larger surrounding complex which incorporates the Church whilst maintaining its integrity. Extensive community

research and analysis should be undertaken to ensure facilities are appropriate to community needs and desires. Community involvement and participation in processes will develop ownership of the facility. The activities of the TPU could be housed in the larger complex ensuring the continuing central location of their services and activities.

Recommendation - encourage a greater diversity of activity and trading hours along Main Road, for example evening restaurants, shop-top accommodation etc.

Recommendation - investigate the possibility of moving the Sunday Market currently held in the Northgate undercover car park onto the Main Road and War Memorial Park, between the block of Peltro Street and Regina Street.

Recommendation - encourage and facilitate diverse activities on footpaths along Main Road, eg busking, street stalls, seats and tables, restaurant eating areas, pavement art, sculpture etc.

Recommendation - encourage and facilitate diverse activities, both generated by Council and the community in the Park eg performance, children's activities, family days, youth activities etc.

Physical / Design

Recommendation - relocate the war memorials to the southern side of the War Memorial Park, adjacent to the Post Office complex, thereby reducing the pressure on these elements by physically separating them from the Bus Interchange and the congregation of large numbers of people.

Recommendation - develop community arts projects which involve targeted sectors of the community to enhance and beautify areas of the Bus Interchange, Park and Main Road area. For example, young people design and install decorative elements as part of the redevelopment of the TPU building, with expertise and direction from appropriate artists.

Recommendation - develop a unique children's playground with separate sections for very young and older children, as part of the redevelopment of St Matthew's Church. Involve the community and artists working together to develop the unique elements.

Process / Administrative

Recommendation - broaden the zoning of the area from current zoning, Commercial, to allow for development of a range of opportunities and to meet the special needs arising from the conflicting uses and public space implications. This would offer direction to address the specific characteristics of the area that are currently not being addressed.

Recommendation - involve planning, urban design and physical works staff of Council in Council's community committees, currently the Safer Communities Committee, Youth Task Force and Access Committees to broaden the focus and input of these committees.

Recommendation - investigate the needs and wants of young people for public space provision in the Glenorchy CBD area, particularly in terms of active recreation and specific activities undertaken by young people. Ensure consultation with and involvement of young people in the process and decision making.

Cultural / Social

Recommendation - promote the history of place through avenues such as the Glenorchy Gazette using stories of individuals, the rose garden, the Aboriginal use of the land. Ensuring both tales of local conflict are aired as well as stories of victory in foreign wars.

Recommendation - use the history of St Matthew's Church and the community's stories and experience of place as a focal point and theme to inform the design of the redevelopment. These elements should be incorporated as narrative within the physical fabric of the building.

Recommendation - offer opportunities for artists to work within the process of the redevelopment of the St Matthew's Church centre in order to develop unique responses to place, community and history. Ensure artist involvement is integral to the project as opposed to an add on after decisions have been made.

Conclusion

This project has investigated links between people, places and culture. It offers direction to public agencies on how to facilitate links between people and the places they inhabit using cultural values. It recognises the diversity of contemporary communities and offers processes which acknowledge and identify these differences so that they can be incorporated into decision making with the outcome being the development of places for people.

The result of undertaking such processes can only benefit communities in all their diversity. Decision making should be based upon community needs and not upon the assumptions of the decision makers. Resulting places will reflect the communities that live, work and play in them. Expressions of culture, identity and history within places will add interest and layers of meaning to the experience of place. Community ownership and pride in local places could potentially be increased as well as the ability to create unique and distinctive places which may offer economic benefits to local areas.

The project's focus on suburbia emphasises the importance of local areas in the lives of communities. For it is in these places that people carry out their day to day lives, where their culture is expressed at its most basic level, through the way they live. Through building and facilitating relationships between people, their culture and places, planning can work towards ensuring that places are better able to meet the needs of people in all aspects of their daily lives.

Appendix 1 Cultural well-being

Definition of cultural well-being

Cultural well-being describes the ability of a group of people or community to freely and sustainably express their culture and identity within their daily lives and environment.

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