

URBAN CULTURES

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PAPER 1: the cultural context



“culture is one of the most complicated concepts in the English Language”

Raymond Williams (1976)

Introduction: This Discussion Paper provides an exploration of how to interpret the concept of ‘Culture’ in an urban planning context. It also considers the sub-categories of Cultural Practices; Cultural Expression; Cultural Heritage; Cultural Identity; Cultural Diversity; and Cultural Capital.

The Concept

As a starting point in analysing the meaning of “Culture” it is worth noting that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) uses the Edward Tylor definition of culture, that: ‘*Culture ‘is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by [a human] as a member of society*’ (Tylor, E.1958: 1). I would suggest that based on that definition it can be readily argued that ‘Culture’ as “that complex whole” is a critical factor in relation to the planning and design of the built environment from the perspective that ‘Culture’ influences not only the ‘look and feel’ of a place, but it also it addresses the social behaviours and ways of life of the local community, and from the perspective of how inherent cultural values influence the planning and designing of the built environment, public places and shared spaces.

But first we will explore more about how the word ‘Culture’ has been interpreted, analysed, and explained by a range of cultural theorists, and thinkers across a range of disciplines. Culture is a word that British academic, Raymond Williams has described as one of the most difficult words in the English language to define, and it is often used to cover every aspect of our lives, the arts and / or our working environment. In relation to the positive influences of the arts, Swedish academic, Erin Cory and her colleagues, writing in their article *Translocality and Translocal Subjectivities: A Research Overview Across the Fields of Migration*, remind us that:

Williams (1981) emphasizes the close link between the idea of the avant-garde and urban development. Artistic avant-gardes are primarily metropolitan and shaped by immigrants shar[ing] no common language but that of the metropolis, and therefore prone to break with given sign-systems, instead through creative linkages contributing to the pluralism upon which the metropolis supposedly thrives. (Cory, E. et al. 2020:9)

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While there are many examples of avant-garde artists impacting on the urban environment, especially as interpreters of our urban condition, I believe it is also important to keep in mind two critical issues, firstly that while 'Culture' can be seen as how a society or place expresses importance and meaning, and what collectively matters to a place and its people, it is greatly influenced by the context of its history, geographic location, and its topography. Secondly, it is important to remember that a city's 'Culture' is not static as it transforms over time in response to the changes in the demographics and the physical fabric of the city. As Cory also reminds us, *"Cultures unfold, proliferate, spread. They consist of relationships and are dependent on mediation, which adds a vital force or directionality, an energy that may be further cultivated. And therefore "any study of culture has to address and find ways to 'capture' also the tension between continuity and change, and between wider social patterns and specific forms of expression. (Cory, E. et al. 2020:9)* This adaption and adoption of the new and existing cultural context is the basis of the "fusion" concept, bringing together a diversity of cultural ways of seeing and experiencing the evolving urban environment.

A review of literature addressing the concept of 'Culture' in the urban context, provides a very wide range of different interpretations, including the notion of the 'Culture of Cities' vis a vis 'Cultural Cities'. The concept of 'Culture of Cities' is referring to a 'complex whole' as exemplified by and informing the work of UNESCO's *Human Centred Cities* program (2016). The notion of 'Cultural Cities', as highlighted by the annual '*European Capital of Culture*' initiative of the European Commission which encompasses cultural expression and cultural activities such as the arts and cultural assets both as tangible and intangible heritage. As Andrew Pratt notes in his 2010 article *Creative cities: Tensions within and between social, cultural and economic development. A critical reading of the UK experience*, the European Capital of Culture became a very popular way to showcase the cultural offering of European cities, so much so that the UK has now adopted the concept and initiated the UK City of Culture program.

This notion of 'Cultural Cities' can be seen in the context of Australian Local Government, my research into the ways that the term 'Culture' is used in metropolitan Council urban planning strategies found, the focus was on the interchangeable use of 'Culture' and 'Art', especially regarding 'Cultural' vis a vis 'Arts' facilities and infrastructure (Brecknock 2021).

Culture can also be associated with the notion of being 'Cultured'. Indeed, as Ken Robinson reminded us, in *Out of Our Minds: Learning to be Creative (2001)*, that since the 18th century the notion of 'Culture' has become associated with the *'process of intellectual or social refinement. It's in this sense that a person might be described as being cultured'* (2001: 167).

When the focus is on 'Culture' as peoples' ways of life I would suggest that it is of importance to understand a community's 'cultural frames of reference', for example US Anthropologist John Ogbu, proposes that: *'Culture is a people's way of life. It has five components: (a) Customary ways of behaving; (b) Codes or assumptions; (c) Artefacts; (d) Institutions; and (e) Social structures.'* (1995: 192). The notion of a community's 'cultural frames of reference' is a useful approach when developing Cultural Literacy as each frame can inform a set of criteria to assist in the assessment of desired and / or delivered outcomes as part of the planning and design process.

In a similar vein to Ogbu, Professor Martyn Barrett in *Intercultural competence: A distinctive hallmark of interculturalism?* addresses the difficulty of defining 'Culture' by proposing three aspects of 'Culture', these being material, social and subjective cultural frames, which he describes as:

'Material culture consists of the physical artefacts which are used by the members of a human group (e.g., food, clothing, housing, goods, tools, artistic products, etc.); social culture consists of the shared

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institutions of the group (e.g., the language, religion, laws, rules of social conduct, family structure, labour patterns, folklore, cultural icons, etc.); and subjective culture consists of the shared knowledge, beliefs, collective memories, identities, attitudes, values and practices which group members use as a common frame of reference for thinking about, making sense of and relating to the world. (Barrett, M. 2013: 3)

Another interpretation comes from Joerg Knieling and Frank Othengrafen who propose that the levels of culture could be broken down into three groupings: Artifacts; Espoused Beliefs and Values; and Underlying Assumptions.

Barrett also reminds us that '*individuals may inhabit highly specific cultural positionings*' such as associated with family, organisations, peer groups, religious and sporting groups etc. These multiple cultural positions are infinitely variable and flexible depending on time, place, and circumstances all of which makes the concept of 'Culture' difficult to define in association with a community and or place and clearly makes the concept of Planning Culturally challenging. Ed Wensing suggests that in the Australian context: *The critical challenge facing contemporary planning processes and professional planners is to dismantle a practice that has allowed one culture to exert its dominance and authority over another, building in its place a relationship based on mutual respect, with the potential to enrich and strengthen Australia's national life* (2012: 270). Therefore, the challenge of building a respectful and mutually beneficial relationship between mainstream planning and the planning perspective of First Nations People must be explored to Plan Culturally.

Further to these propositions, Simone Abram in *Culture? and Planning?* (2016) suggests that culture is not an 'innocent term' rather its usage provides insights into the users view of the world and the environment and society within which they live. She argues that the *key problem is the tendency to see culture as a thing, or a set of attributes, something concrete that can be measured, compared, and manipulated.* (2016: 654). This she suggests can lead to culture being used in contexts that do not always align with the rationalities of contemporary urban planning, whereas it should be seen as a reflective approach to understanding peoples' perspectives on the world around them so that we can plan accordingly.

To address some of the problems identified by Abram refers to above, I suggest that Culture might be perceived and applied in an urban planning context by considering such concepts such as Cultural Practices; Cultural Expression; and Cultural Heritage. And Cultural Identity; Cultural Diversity; and Cultural Capital.

Cultural Practices

Cultural practices relate to the individual and / or community beliefs, values and behaviours that define a person as part of a cultural group or groups.

Examples of Cultural Practices of relevance to urban planning and design include but are not limited to:

Values: Shared values and beliefs are the glue that binds a cultural group and provide communities with a common framework within which to confront daily life and the associated challenges. Values and beliefs are particularly important to be aware of when planners are undertaking community consultation to encode and decode relevant information in a culturally sensitive way. This is critically important when engaging with First Nations communities regarding planning matters. It is also important to acknowledge that not all values are the sole domain of a belief group, there are many widely held values that bridge and define contemporary societies. Likewise, diverse values in a community can also be, at times, conflicting and divisive especially when confronting proposed urban development plans. Which raise serious challenges for urban planners and designers and reinforces the need for culturally literate professionals.

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Behaviours: Include a wide range of cultural facets that affect or daily lives, such as the body language and the concept of personal space which varies widely from culture to culture and is an important consideration when planning space and infrastructure.

Edward T. Hall explored these concepts in his book *The Hidden Dimension* (1990) in which he writes about 'Culture as Communication' and describes:

...how people from different cultures not only speak different languages but, what is possibly more important, inhabit different sensory worlds. Selective screening of sensory data admits some things while filtering out others, so that the experience as it is perceived through one set of culturally patterned sensory screens is quite different from the experience perceived through another. (Hall 1990:2)

Ways of life: One only has to travel to different parts of the world to see how different cultures have evolved their ways of life through the influence of cultural values and response to the climate and environment. These lifestyle variations are reflected in the built environment through the way that people live their lives in public or private, for example in Morocco the buildings are inward facing with living areas in the centre of the building or on the rooftops. While in Spain people lead gregarious lives in public places, enjoying communal dining in the cool of the evening.

The built environment has been adapted by local communities to reflect their values and behaviours, but migrating people face the challenge of how to adapt their way of life to new and often vastly different public and private built form. In my Intercultural City research in the London Borough of Lewisham I saw first-hand how challenging adjusting to a London city environment was to migrant groups from the West Indies, Vietnam, and Somalia. The challenges related to both adjusting to behaviours in public space and how to adapt the residential building stock to meet their traditional ways of life.

Cultural Expression

Cultural expression is a key element in the look and feel of a place through society's use of art, architecture, design, and cultural symbols. In his *Writings on Cities* Henri Lefebvre reminds us that in addition to the critical role that architecture plays, we must also not forget:

... that gardens, parks, and landscapes were part of urban life as much as the fine arts, or that landscapes around cities were the works of art of those cities. for example, the Tuscan landscapes around Florence, inseparable from its architecture, plays an immense role in Renaissance arts. Leaving aside representation, ornamentation and decoration, art can become 'praxis' and 'poiesis' on a social scale: the art of living in the city as work of art. (Lefebvre 1996:173)

By drawing the distinction between praxis and poiesis in art practices raises an important consideration in relation to cultural expression and urban development. Praxis typically highlights arts practice as an intrinsic activity of inherent personal artistic satisfaction. Sometimes referred to as Arts for Arts sake! Whereas creating art and design as a poiesis motivated artistic action because of extrinsic motivation such as placemaking through public art is highly relevant in contemporary urban development activity.

Examples of Cultural Expression of relevance to urban planning and design include but are not limited to:

Architectural styles/symbolism: This includes relevant architectural forms and detailing that are symbolic of local cultural traditions and behaviours. It may also take the form of urban design detailing such as street furniture and symbolic structures and elements as found in ethnic enclaves such as Chinatown or Little India.

The role of art in placemaking

In Australia there has been a strong movement supporting the integration of artworks into urban environments, either as part of the revitalisation of existing streetscapes or as a planned element of urban development projects. Much has been written about the benefits and commissioning processes for 'public art', however in this section I want to focus on terminology. Labels such as 'Public Art', 'Art in Public Places', 'Urban Art' and 'Street Art' have been used, often interchangeably, without providing any clarity regarding the context. For example, in the 1995 book *Places not Spaces – Placemaking in Australia* edited by Tamara Winikoff, under the heading 'Art in Public Places' states that:

Public art could be regarded as the social and aesthetic puts of a society, expressing its values, beliefs and dreams. Until relatively recent times, art and craft were integral to the structure and embellishment of public buildings and spaces, but post war austerity and international modernism reduced the role of art to one which has been described as "brooches on buildings". However, currently there is an international revival of art in public places both integrated into the design and structure or as discrete entities within a space. (1995:71)

As can be seen from the quote above 'Art in Public Places' and 'Public Art' are used interchangeably and without clarification. Therefore, I provide my thoughts below on how I believe each of those terms should best be used.

Art in Public Places: The traditional placement of an art object such as an artwork on a building or large sculpture in a public space. Such artworks are likely the result to praxis focused art practice, may not be 'site specific' or commissioned specifically for that site. (perhaps justifying the derogatory terms such as a "brooch on the building" or a "Turd in the Plaza")

Public Art or Urban Art: Usually refers to an artwork commissioned specifically for a public place and the artwork will most likely be of a site-specific nature and the result of poesis art practice. Public art has become standard practice within placemaking projects across Australia with artists working in collaboration with urban designers and local communities. There are many critics of 'Public Art' who believe it has become commercialised and little more than urban decoration, and storytelling elements. In my opinion the artistic merit of the artwork is entirely dictated by the vision and skills of each individual artist involved in interpreting the project brief.

Street Art: Refers to the art practice of large-scale paintings on city buildings or other civic/commercial infrastructure that has evolved beyond graffiti or tagging. Whereas graffiti, tagging and gorilla art were traditionally done illegally, the current street art movement are typically created with the permission of the building owner and local authorities. Indeed, many cities around the world have initiated Street Art Festivals and / or annual street art commissioning programs often with the goal of encouraging high volume of photos being taken and posted on social media a way of promoting the city.

Kyle Chakya in his 2004 book *Filterworld: How Algorithms Flattened Culture* observed that:

While street art was originally a gorilla activity, Instagram walls were spots designed for people to stop and take photos in front of, to post on Instagram. And as visitors posted those photos online and ideally tagged the business or location, the photos became a kind of decentralized online billboard, a form of free advertising and digital word of mouth. The Instagram walls perpetuate themselves.

Cultural Heritage

UNESCO (2024) defines cultural heritage as including:

... artefacts, monuments, a group of buildings and sites, museums that have a diversity of values including symbolic, historic, artistic, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological, scientific and social significance. It includes tangible heritage (movable, immobile and underwater), intangible cultural heritage (ICH) embedded into cultural, and natural heritage artefacts, sites or monuments.

As outlined above cultural heritage falls into three categories: 'Tangible', 'Intangible' and 'Natural Cultural Heritage'. Of the three, Tangible Cultural Heritage is the most likely category that urban planning projects would focus on when considering existing cultural heritage that needs to be addressed in planning and design considerations. Tangible cultural heritage is generally split into two groups; firstly, urban planning professionals would primarily consider the 'immovable' heritage which includes buildings, large industrial installations, residential projects or other historic places and some monuments. Secondly, some of the local 'moveable' heritage includes documents, moveable artworks, and other artifacts, would be worth considered during the site analysis phase.

Cultural heritage can be defined as the legacy of cultural property that a group or society have inherited from the past. Where the cultural heritage property is valued by groups and societies, they are where possible, maintained and preserved for the benefit of future generations. Therefore, making decisions as to which objects, monuments or natural environments are preserved involves ongoing research and about how a society reads its past and present. For example, the current debate in many western countries, especially those with colonial pasts, about the appropriateness of retaining some monuments and statuary relating to involvement in actions such as human slave trading.

Key to evaluating local cultural heritage is that its tangible and intangible objects are symbolic of the local community's identity and natural surroundings. They have valuable stories to tell about what the community values and what they wish to preserve as part of their sense of community. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that in our culturally diverse world, heritage is a highly contested concept, especially in countries such as Australia and Aotearoa - New Zealand. This is especially the case in terms of places of cultural significance, the Sacred Natural Sites Initiative (SNSI), defining sacred natural sites as *areas of rich and diverse nature having special spiritual significance to individuals and communities*.

In terms of urban planning, both intangible and tangible heritage can provide valuable local context to any urban development/redevelopment planning and design. Dobrosława Wiktor-Mach, in *Cultural Resources and the Idea of the Creative City*, reminds us that when considering a city's heritage as a cultural resource:

Questions emerge such as: How can cultural heritage be dealt with to increase a city's attractiveness for residents and tourists? How can cultural heritage contribute to the process of developing or strengthening a city's unique identity? What kind of space-related attractions are favoured by various groups of knowledge workers and artists (the creative class)? How should a city that needs diversity for its development, as the creative city theory posits, approach space? How to cater for diverse groups and diverse needs? How to engage those groups in heritage conservation or renewal? How to make people feel they are part of the "urban ecosystem," for which they are responsible? (Wiktor-Mach, D. 2013:459)

Cultural Identity

"Cultural identity applies to all cultural references through which individuals or groups define or express themselves and by which they wish to be recognised: cultural identity embraces the liberties inherent to human dignity and brings together, in a permanent process, cultural diversity, the particular and the universal, memory and aspiration". UNESCO Declaration of Cultural Rights (1996)

The notion of 'Cultural Identity' and urban planning is not always a simple one, as exemplified by highly contested places and spaces in cities such as Berlin and Belfast where there have been, and indeed in Belfast's case continue to be, major political and social divides between the city's communities which find expression in the sense of place and cultural expression through protest street art and memorials (Brian Ladd, 1957 & William Neill, 2004). As Neill reminds us in his 2004 book *Urban Planning and Cultural Identity*, that culture is a key ingredient of "Identity", whether it is an individual identity or the identity of a people and their cities. Building on this concept Turkish-American philosopher, Seyla Benhabib in her 2000 article, *Democracy and Identity*, proposed that:

Culture in the context within which we need to situate the self, for it is only by virtue of the interpretations, orientations and values provided by culture that we can formulate our identities, say 'who we are' and 'where we are coming from' (Benhabib, S. 2000: 18)

In his 2006 book *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*, Robert Bevan explores this issue in considerable detail through examples from around the globe, such as the Hindu extremists destroying the Bari mosque in 1992 and the Buddhas of Bamiyan blown up by the Taliban in 2001. Bevan writes that invading forces, practice *the destruction of cultural artifacts of an enemy people or nation as a means of dominating, terrorizing, dividing or eradicating it altogether.* (Bevan, R. 2006:8)

UNESCO acknowledge this is a serious global challenge to Cultural Identity:

Armed conflicts have always had a devastating effect on culture including the intentional destruction of people's collective memories and the tarnishing of symbols representing their cultural identities. In recent decades, culture has been increasingly targeted as a means of erasing people's ties to their communities, cities, and nations. Similar targeted acts of destruction are undertaken to erase cultural diversity and pluralism and to deny victims their cultural rights and fundamental freedoms. (UNESCO 2018:11)

Included in the notion of armed conflict are terrorist attacks, such as the destruction of the World Trade Centre twin towers, which to Americans, represented bold statements of their national identity as a modern capitalist democracy and world power. In his 2005 book *"The Edifice Complex: The Architecture of Power"* Deyan Sudjic explores the origins and symbolism and destruction of the World Trade Centre in New York and postulates that it was: *a literal acceptance of the iconic power of architecture, and an attempt to destabilize that power even more forcefully through erasure.* (2005:14)

The destruction of Cultural Identity during wars has been weaponised as a means of subjugating a people, as the current Russian invasion of Ukraine is demonstrating, with cultural heritage buildings becoming targets of missile attacks etc. UNESCO has estimated that by June 2022 152 cultural sites had been either totally destroyed or partially damaged. Likewise, the 2023 invasion of Gaza by Israel has resulted in massive destruction of Palestinian culture and heritage with the Omari mosque, Gaza's oldest mosque, destroyed by Israeli airstrikes. St Porphyrius church, the oldest church in Gaza, also dating back to the fifth century and

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believed to be the third oldest church in the world, was damaged along with more than 100 other heritage sites in Gaza, reported to have been damaged or levelled, including a 2,000-year-old Roman cemetery and the Rafah Museum, which was dedicated to the region's long and mixed religious and architectural heritage. Of course, it is not just the destruction of significant cultural heritage sites, there is also the massive 'domicide', that is the deliberate destruction of home, that is happening across Gaza. As Ammar Azzouz from Oxford University reminds us:

But, home here doesn't only mean the physical, tangible built environment of people's homes and properties, it also refers to people's sense of belonging and identity. We are seeing in many conflicts and wars across the world that alongside the destruction of architecture, people's sense of dignity and belonging is also being targeted. There is a link between genocide and domicile: genocide refers to the killing of people and domicile to the erasure of their presence and their material culture. (2023)

In a 2024 Guardian news article titled *What does it mean to erase a people – a nation, culture, identity? In Gaza, we are beginning to find out*, columnist Nesrine Malik discussed the impacts of armed conflict and its destructive power on cultural identity and wrote that the Gaza conflict shows that:

This is what it would look like, to erase a people. In short, to void the architecture of belonging that we all take so much for granted so that, no matter how many Gazans survive, there is, over time, less and less to bind them together into a valid whole. This is what it would look like, when you deprive them of telling their story, of producing their art, of sharing in music, song and poetry, and of a foundational history that lives in their landmarks, mosques, churches, and even in their graves.

To address the aftermath of world conflicts and the destruction of cultural urban fabric, UNESCO published a Position Paper in 2018 titled *Culture in City Reconstruction and Recovery (CURE)* that provides a framework of operational guidance for policymakers and practitioners confronting the planning, financing, and implementation phases of post-crisis interventions for city reconstruction and recovery.

The CURE Framework and its seven guiding principles reflect the shared commitment of the World Bank and UNESCO to place culture at the forefront of the reconstruction and recovery of cities in post-conflict, post-disaster, and urban distress situations.

The following key messages summarize this joint undertaking:

- *Culture plays a key role in post-crisis reconstruction and recovery processes.*
- *Culture should be acknowledged as the foundation that integrates people-centred and place-based policies.*
- *Effective city reconstruction and recovery programs require that culture be mainstreamed across the damage and needs assessment and scoping, setting policy and strategy, financing, and implementation phases.*

By integrating culture into sustainable urban development policies that address the impact of urban crises, the CURE Framework aims to help make cities more inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable. (UNESCO 2018:9)

The Position Paper acknowledges that the city is a "Cultural Construct", and that "Culture" is the foundation upon which to connect people and place in a reconstruction process.

In the Australian context, addressing the notion of identity of First Nations people and especially in relation to the questions 'who we are' and 'where we are from' leads to exploring the relationship to 'country'. As Daphne Habibis et al. remind us: *Indigenous identity and culture are not simply add-ons that can be adapted to and adjusted at will but are engrained in lifestyles, habits and social connections. Their significance extends beyond cultural preference to issues of wellbeing and economic survival through principles such as mutual reciprocity.* (Habibs, D. et al 2012:17) These issues of identity present a major challenge for contemporary urban planners and designers and continue to arise throughout the sections on Urban Place and Urban Practice.

Thinking about the complex cultural identity of the Australian population with its First Nations People, the decades of British colonisers and subsequent waves of migration from Europe and Asia, Australian poet, David Malouf reminds us that "A land can bear any number of cultures laid one above another or set side by side" (1998) in today's context we might acknowledge that these imported cultures are built upon a foundation of 60 thousand years of First Nations culture. In a similar vein, and highlighting the contribution of migrants, Blair Ruble. et al state that:

The city can be viewed as historical layers, some that have disappeared and others that are still shaping space and identity. New migrant populations continue to add to these layers, altering the historical and physical form of the city and transforming the city into a space of hybridity. (2008: 9)

In the early 1900s renown British urban thinker Patrick Geddes suggested that:

"We must excavate the layers of our city downwards, into its earliest past...and thence we must read them upwards, visualising as we go." We need to be able to fold and integrate the complex, histories, textures and memories of our urban environments and their populations into the planning process. We need to do some cultural mapping – tracing people's memories and visions and values – before we start the planning."

I have previously written about the concept of 'Cultural Layering' (Brecknock 2006:89) highlighting the challenges that cultural layering presents for urban planners and designers as it calls for a high level of cultural literacy and meaningful Intercultural dialogue, especially in a country such as Australia where we have multiple layers built on a foundation of thousands of years of First Nations 'Culture' and spiritual association to 'Country'. Indeed, Ed Wensing reminds us that: *The failure of colonial Australia to recognise Aboriginal people's connection to country, coupled with Aboriginal law and custom about who has authority to know about country, has produced a strong inclination among Aboriginal people to withhold information about significant sites from state agencies.* (Wensing, E. 2012: 263). While this reluctance to share information is very understandable, it does create a situation that can make it difficult for built environment professionals who are genuinely seeking to be informed and make culturally sensitive planning and design decisions.

Cultural Identity can be considered to encompass a wide range of cultural behaviours that define a group's social and spiritual everyday needs, their values, and beliefs. They represent shared pattern of behaviours in daily life that are mostly unconscious. It is, however, important to acknowledge that early patterns of colonisation and now globalisation have applied great pressure to many previously held cultural belief systems and group values. From an urban planning perspective this flattening of cultural differences can also be seen in the increasingly "International" style of architecture and urban infrastructure around the world, particularly in the growing economies of countries like China that are building new cities at an unprecedented rate, with little evidence of cultural identity.

Cultural Diversity

When considering Cultural Diversity, I believe that it is firstly important to recognise that, throughout history many communities and especially cities have always had diverse populations, although obviously some were more diverse than others. Classic examples of the notion of mercantile hubs where a wide diversity of cultures interacted to trade goods and skills, include the old-world cities, such as Venice and Aleppo, a city, which before being devastated in the current Syrian conflict, was considered one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world and is reported to have been inhabited since the sixth millennium BC. Likewise, Peter Ackroyd reminds us in his (2000) work, *'London: The Biography'*, that Roman Londinium was full of *'administrators, traders, soldiers and slaves from Gaul, Greece, Germany, Italy and North Africa'*. Ackroyd, further writes that by the 10th Century the city's population included Gauls, East Saxons, Mercians, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Franks, Jutes and Angles, *'all mingled and mingling together to form a distinct tribe of "Londoners"'*. Indeed, as stated by the world organization of United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) in Principle 1.1. of the Agenda 21 for Culture:

Cultural diversity is the main heritage of humanity. It is the product of thousands of years of history, the fruit of the collective contribution of all peoples through their languages, imaginations, technologies, practices and creations. Culture takes on different forms, responding to dynamic models of relationship between societies and territories. Cultural diversity is "a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence" (UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, article 3), and is one of the essential elements in the transformation of urban and social reality. (2004: 7)

In contemporary discourse the word 'Culture' appears in many different configurations, for example the term 'Multi-Cultural' is used as a descriptor of culturally diverse populations, whereas the term 'Intercultural' is used to describe the process of engagement or urban planning with and between culturally diverse communities. Jude Bloomfield and Franco Bianchini argue that to be Intercultural is an inclusive approach that encompasses all members of a Culturally diverse society as a *'single diverse public not multiple publics which are organisationally and socially separate'* (2004:39).

Cultural Capital

Cultural capital is the accumulation of knowledge, behaviours, and skills that a person or group can tap into to demonstrate one's cultural and social competence. It is comprised of the material and symbolic goods that a cultural group considers essential to their way of life. In his 1983 essay, *"The Forms of Capital,"* French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu suggested that there are three types of cultural capital: embodied, objectified, and institutionalised capital.

Embodied Cultural Capital: Bourdieu stated that cultural capital exists firstly in an *'embodied state'*, that being the knowledge people acquire over time, through socialization and education. The more they obtain certain forms of embodied cultural capital, say knowledge of community norms, mores, and skills such as table manners, language, and gendered behaviour, the more they become accepted within their community. Bourdieu suggested that people often act out and display embodied cultural capital as they move through the world and interact with others.

Objectified Cultural Capital: Bourdieu also suggests that Cultural capital exists in an *'objectified state'*. This he refers to as the material objects individuals own that might relate to their educational pursuits (books and computers), jobs (tools and equipment), clothing and accessories, the durable goods in their homes (furniture,

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appliances, decorative items), forms of expression (the visual, performing, and literal arts) and even the food they purchase and prepare. These objectified forms of cultural capital tend to signal one's economic class.

Institutionalised Cultural Capital: Bourdieu suggested that cultural capital exists in an '*institutionalized state*'. This he refers to as the ways in which cultural capital is measured, certified, and ranked. Academic qualifications and degrees are prime examples of this, as are job titles, political offices, and social roles like husband, wife, mother, and father.

A further discussion on the importance of Cultural Capital is found in the 2001 book *The Fourth Pillar of Sustainability, Culture's essential role in public planning* by Australian Jon Hawkes, who proposed that "*Cultural Capital is the glue that holds a society together: social capital is the lubricant that allows it to operate smoothly*". (Hawkes, J. 2001:18)

Our public planning procedures need a standard method of assessing the cultural impact of all proposals. If it is accepted that cultural vitality is an essential to sustainable development and healthy society as social equity, environmental responsibility and economic viability and that culture resides in all human endeavour then we need a way to ensure that all public activity is evaluated from a cultural perspective. (Hawkes, J. 2001:32)

The suggestion from Hawkes that planners need a '*standard method of assessing cultural impacts*' will be further explored in theme 3 Cultural Practices. Where the idea of developing Cultural Impact Assessment models for urban planning is considered in the context of established internationally recognised models for environmental and social impact assessments.

Conclusions:

From the perspective of Planning Culturally this paper has a focus on understanding the breadth and depth of culture in relation to the built environment. We started this paper with the Tylor definition of culture, that: '*Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by [a human] as a member of society*'. It is worth coming back to the notion that 'Culture' as "that complex whole" that I would argue influences and should govern every aspect in the planning and design of our cities. the built environment from the perspective that 'Culture' influences not only the 'look and feel' of a place, but it also it addresses the social behaviours and ways of life of the local community, and from the perspective of how inherent cultural values influence the planning and designing of the built environment, public places, and shared spaces.

PAPER 2: the origins of urban culture



“What is the city but the people?”

(William Shakespeare. Coriolanus, Act 3, Scene 1.)

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2024

Introduction: This Discussion Paper provides an exploration of the evolution of urban cultures and the benefits to the city of cultural diversity that brings complexity and different cultural frames of reference to the planning and design of cities.

What is the city but the people?’ A city is a blend of people with all their cultures, complexities and differences, their hopes and fears and psychological make up. A city without people is an empty shell. A people focus looks at the city from within a 360° perspective. This lens helps seeing the needs and priorities of differing groups – the young, the old, women, men, differing ethnicities and origins, abilities and lifestyles. Only when these are aligned do cities work well.

(European Commission, 2019: 34)

This Discussion Paper considers the discourse associated with demographic reality that is the of growing cultural diversity in our urban settlements. Throughout, I will be acknowledging that Australia is recognised as a culturally diverse country with some 300 different cultural backgrounds from the First Australians to the newest arrivals living with a great diversity of cultural frames of reference and therefore ideally needing diverse built-form options. Therefore, this paper will investigate the different ways of understanding cultural diversity in our

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contemporary cities. I will review a range of relevant academic and demographic terminology, to clarify the diverse and at times interchangeable terms. The aim is to better understand how planners and designers can address the diverse cultural needs of evolving communities when delivering built environment outcomes.

In his 1990 book *Community Design and the Culture of Cities* Eduardo Lozano explores the impacts of urban cultures and the resulting evolution of urban settlements and reminds us that “*Cultural factors have always affected urban typologies.*” (1990:62) He discusses the evolution of urban typologies through history influenced by the changing patterns of cultural diversity and associated community values, behaviours and needs and suggests that:

Conditions change, and cultures evolve, and urban typologies become obsolete stereotypes riddled with contradictions of increasing severity.

Therefore:

Designers, as agents of change, and citizens at the forefront of the most progressive sectors of society should recognize the need for new design solutions and bold actions. In order to provide urban solutions that acknowledge the public realm’s needs and concerns. (1990:63)

Additional Discussion Papers can be accessed in the *Urban Places* section of this site where I will explore the impacts of urban diversity on the built environment. In addition, we consider the impacts that globalisation and migration are having on our cities and how the trends are affecting local ‘Culture’ and challenging the way we plan and design for our diverse populations. In the *Urban Practices* Discussion Papers, we will explore the opportunities for planners and designers to understand and work with diverse communities to achieve culturally sensitive outcomes.

The Origins of Urban Cultures

The city has always been the neural centre of freedom, culture, and political and institutional innovation in its broadest sense. The exchange of ideas and experiences, the cultural "mix" that is consubstantial to cities, has meant an enormous positive externality for society as a whole, to the point of Jane Jacobs’ affirmation "The city, the wealth of nations", which perfectly summarises this powerful idea.

(Rausell-Köster et al 2022:2)

Throughout history we can see the evolution of urban cultures from the remote small-scale settlements to today’s mega-cities. Traditionally, rural, and isolated settlements tended to have homogenous shared values and patterns of behaviours; therefore, a homogeneous societal culture is one in which the shared meanings are similar and little variation in beliefs exist; that is, the culture has one dominant way of thinking and acting. Today varying degrees of diversity exists in all nations, but the critical factor is the degree of variation in the shared meanings within the society. Louis Mumford stated that cities have: “*complex entangled histories unfolding over time – they may have sudden beginnings from remote gestations; and they are capable of prolongations as physical organizations through the life-spans of more than one culture.*”

Monoculturalism can manifest as the active preservation of a country’s national culture via the exclusion of external influences. Japan, South and North Korea have traditionally been seen as examples of this form of

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monoculturalism at various times in their history. Further examples can be found in the Gulf States, in Dubai over 80% of the populations are foreign workers. The UAE has established limited opportunities for non- Emiratis to gain citizenship, this can only be acquired through the Rulers' and Crown Princes' Courts, Offices of the Executive Councils and the Cabinet based on the nominations of federal entities.

In the case of these countries, factors such as geographic isolation, historical cultural homogeneity, and or political isolation can be identified as influencing factors. Therefore, as Desirée Campagna & Daniela Angelina Jelinčić (2018) remind us:

Monoculturalism represents the hard stance on a compact and monolithic national culture firmly grounded in 'Volksgeist', the national spirit, which must be clearly outlined and protected from the negative influences of other cultures so as not to become 'entartet' – degenerate. (2018: 50)

By contrast in the south of Europe and particularly around the Mediterranean, the cities have for millennia experienced wave after wave of invading armies, foreign trading and peaceful migration, each wave bringing their own cultural values to stamp onto pre-existing city cultures. For example, the cities of Spain have over time developed their local cultural identities enriched by layer upon layer of cultural identity each with their architectural styles and artifacts. Professor Arzu Çahantimur, writing in *Culture and Identity* (2018) discusses the evolution of city cultures in the context of Turkey. She suggests that the city of Istanbul and its previous incarnations as Byzantium and Constantinople situated on the strategic crossing of the Bosphorus where Europe meets Asia is a classic example of layer upon layer of cultural influences. Referring to the city of İznik, a Turkish city that has been ruled by Roman, Byzantine, Seljuks, and Ottoman civilisations over the centuries, Çahantimur reminds us that:

Because of Turkey's location on important commercial routes like historic spice and silk routes and the advantage of its mild climate and rich soil, Turkey hosted many different civilisations in different times. All these civilisations made their own settlements. However, in time, because of wars and natural disasters, they were wrecked and partially disappeared and became layers that were buried underground. These buried layers of history gradually increased throughout time and turns Anatolian land into a palimpsest structure. (2018:25)

The metaphor of a 'City as Palimpsest' is a powerful concept of stories from successive overwriting of one culture upon another while leaving traces of the previous culture to still show through. In many ancient cities there are tantalising signs of visual elements of earlier civilisations to be found in buildings and public spaces where previous structures were not totally destroyed but built upon or elements repurposed in successive structures. Therefore, as Çahantimur suggests *'the urban tissue becomes the support on which successive waves of actors build, demolish and rebuild their environment, imbuing each change with different uses and meanings, some responding to past phases, others not'*. (Çahantimur, A 2018:5)

The concept of the city as palimpsest and the reading of multiple material and cultural expressions, both visible as well as invisible and yet formative is clear in many European and Middle Eastern cities, however we need to consider its relevance to the Australian city! Clearly in Australia western style urban settlements as we understand them have only existed on this ancient land for just over 200 years, with the first official building in Sydney dating from 1788. However, as Libby Porter proposes in her 2018 article, *"From an urban country to urban Country: confronting the cult of denial in Australian cities"* that in the Australian context:

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All places in Australia, whether urban or otherwise, are Indigenous places. Every inch of glass, steel, concrete and tarmac is dug into and bolted onto Country. Every place that is the subject of analysis and urban intervention is knitted into the fabric of Indigenous law and sociality. (2018: 239)

Unfortunately, in contemporary Australia this concept as proposed by Porter is for some a contested one! There are, however, advances in terms of recognition, acknowledgement, and cultural awareness of the First Nations perspective across the planning and design professions. For example, the 2024 Planning Institute of Australia's National Awards for Excellence in Planning include a "Planning With Country" category. The award description states that: *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander planning may take many forms, but at its core is recognition and respect for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' connection to and responsibilities for managing and Caring for their Country.*

A further example of greater recognition of First Nations culture in urban planning policy activities comes from Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute's (AHURI) National Cities Research Program which states that:

The inclusion of Aboriginal perspectives, knowledge and traditional practices could greatly benefit Australian cities policy and the planning of Australia's urban future. An urban research agenda that is informed by Indigenous perspectives would invite this transformative change and there is a need to understand how this could occur in practice.

The Evolution of Urban Culture

The notion of Urban Cultures has been focused on the city, its institutions, lifestyles and cultural forms that have evolved in each individual city and its population. Therefore, leading to evolving cultures over time with the phases of urban development and population demographical change.

Richard Fox, in his 2022, article *Urban Cultures* for the Encyclopaedia Britannica, proposes that urban cultures denote the predominant cultural role-played by cities and highlights the phases of urban development by the following typologies: the Ritual City; the Administrative City; the Mercantile City; the Industrial City; and the Mass-communications City. Fox argues that we need to understand the different urban cultures pre and post the capitalist world system and suggests that in the pre capitalist world system the '*ritual cities represented the earliest form of urban centre, in which the city served as a centre for the performance of ritual and for the orthogenetic constitution and conservation of the society's traditions. Ritual was the major cultural role of such cities, and through the enactment of ritual in the urban locale, rural regions were bound together by ties of common belief and cultural performance.*'

Fox suggests that the Administrative City tended to feature flamboyant architecture and monumental public works as a demonstration of great wealth and a heterogeneous society based on ethnicity, religion, caste, or race. Whereas the Mercantile City tended to be places of innovation, achievement, freedom, and mobility.

Following the industrial revolution and the growth of the Industrial City. Fox reminds us that '*populations with very different cultural characteristics came together in the city, such as the Irish in the British Midlands or the many ethnic groups that formed the urban American melting pot.*'

The Mass-communications City has greatly influenced the growth of a new middle-class urban culture. Leading to the growth of suburbanization and gentrification, '*two characteristic urban residential patterns of the middle*

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class, become important cultural forms in such cities'. Resulting in a demand for 'new urban spaces (the suburbs) or the renovation of old ones (gentrified inner-cities)' (Fox 2022).

I would argue that today we are not only in an era of mass communication but also mass migration, leading to the Culturally Diverse City, sometime called Multi-ethnic or Multi-cultural City.

Leonie Sandercock, planner and academic with a focus on the relationship between culture and urban planning and author of the highly influential books *Towards Cosmopolis: Planning for Multicultural Cities* (1998) and *Mongrel Cities of the 21st Century* (2003) suggests that there is no going back to a "static or homogeneous urban/regional culture" such as Fox's Ritual and Administrative Cities. Sandercock argues that:

Linked with the destabilizing effects of global economic restructuring and integration, these forces are literally changing the face of cities and regions that are becoming much more culturally diverse.

And therefore:

Multi-ethnic, multi-racial, and multi-populations are becoming a dominant characteristic of cities and region across the globe, and this is causing a profound disturbance to the values, norms and expectations of many people. The multicultural city/region is perceived by many to be much more of a threat than an opportunity. (1998:164)

Sandercock also argues that "Modernist planners have become thieves of memory" erasing all traces of the past in the interests of forward momentum. An argument further developed by Michael Burayidi in the following quote.

Modernist planning in the postwar years did a good job of eliminating the vestiges of cultural identity in urban form and architecture as ethnic enclaves were bulldozed to make way for new development. The current attraction of neotraditional planning is in part a reflection of the rejection of the homogeneity in urban form and architecture that modernist planning produced over the years. In a sense, it is a way of injecting culture back into the built environment and into planning. (Burayidi, M. 2000)

I agree with Michael Burayidi, whose writing has been an important influence on my thinking over the years, that the international modernist movement and the development of an international style that generally excludes local Urban Cultural norms, resulting in a loss of local identity and cultural richness that was found in more traditional and diverse built form. Other writers such as Tanja Glusac have reinforced Burayidi's point about architecture losing 'cultural identity' when she states that:

To date, neither the issues of diversity caused by migration nor the threat of diminishing cultural and regional expression through architecture have been genuinely tackled by the architectural discipline and profession. (Glusac, T. 2015: 228)

While I am generally supportive of Burayidi's statement above, I am not specifically arguing for a neotraditional "New Urbanist" approach to urban planning and design, rather my position is that to achieve human-scaled urban outcomes, built environment professionals should be planning and designing culturally! This I argue can be achieved within a modernist design aesthetic when approached with cultural sensitivity. Therefore, throughout the book I shall refer to "Planning and Designing Culturally" and seek to provide insights into not only "why" we should plan culturally but also provide a framework to inform "how" I believe we can deliver culturally sensitive and relevant outcomes for: our increasingly diverse communities; the planning needs of the First

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Nations People; all within the context of addressing the concept of 'country' within a contemporary planning system.

Canadian cultural development consultant Greg Baeker suggests that we need a cultural approach to many facets of city planning and development to address the cultural needs of local communities and to understand the potential impacts of planning and design decisions. This awareness can support decisions that allow for diverse approaches to the provision of housing stock, retail environments and public space to meet the needs of a culturally diverse community (Ruth Fincher, 2003). I would also suggest that in Australia, many of our cities have developed, as argued by Burayidi, a modernist international style rather than seeking to express a local feel. The city planners and designers have moved beyond the traditional urban planning and design typographies that were greatly informed by the local cultural frames of reference. Frames of reference based on a people's way of life, patterns of behaviour, their institutions and artefacts that should have an important influence on the look and feel of their local built environment, especially in relation to our increasingly culturally diverse populations and deep First Nations heritage.

In terms of evolving urban cultures, planners and designers need to be aware of the demographic changes taking place over time in the city and the various evolving settlement patterns of cultural/ethnic groups. For example, although cultural clusters have obvious advantages for new arrivals to be among other members of the diaspora, it has been argued that clustering of recent migrants in proximity to shops, religious and dedicated community facilities that cater for their cultural needs can lead to 'parallel lives' being lived without opportunities for Intercultural Dialogue with the broader community (Cantle 2008). Cantle observed through his work as Chair of the Equality and Human Rights Commission that:

The inner city 'ghettos', mono-cultural schools, separate employment patterns and distinct faith and cultural associations, are simply seen as part of the natural fabric of many cities. But whilst it is the case that some segregation is due to purely economic factors (which, in itself is problematic), settlement patterns are also reflect preferences of both a positive nature, such as people choosing to live in an area which is supportive of their culture and also, for negative reasons, for example, because people feel unsafe and insecure in different areas. (Cantle, 2008:14)

Over time in cities, we often see shifting patterns of recent migrants clustering in an area until they become more established within the broader community and more financially independent allowing them to move out to new areas. Richard Sennett in *Building and Dwelling: Ethics for the City* (2018) writes about the migrant experience in Sweden where recent adult refugees struggle to settle into the community due to the lack of language skills. He points out that there are issues for the adults in the family as the younger members readily adapt to local language and customs, creating a situation where the *"more integrated the children become, the more dissociated they might feel from the suffering and traumas which brought their parents there in the first place."* I found similar issues when I was undertaking the Intercultural City research in the London Borough of Lewisham within the African and Asian communities where language barriers had created the situation where the parents had to rely on their English-speaking children to act as the family representatives when dealing with local authorities. This resulted in a changed dynamic within the family structure thus undermining parental authority, especially the fathers of the families.

I would also suggest from observations that it is often the children or grandchildren of migrants who make the move from the initial settlement area. It is therefore important that urban planners are familiar with the changing demographics characteristics of their regions of influence.

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The notion of Planning Culturally is my way of addressing these issues of ensuring the vitality and authenticity of local Urban Cultures. This concept is supported by Julian Agyeman, a professor of urban and environmental planning at Tufts University who, proposes that “culturally-competent” planners, landscape architects, architects are needed to create more just places.

Conclusions:

From the perspective of Planning Culturally this paper has raised the challenge of the need for urban planners and designers to not only be aware of the diverse cultural values and behaviours of local communities, but also to develop the skills and cultural literacy skills required to deliver culturally relevant built environment outcomes. This is especially the case in Australia where urban professionals must be sensitive to the First Nations People’s relationship to Country.

PAPER 3: cultural diversity



“The mongrel city is a democratic, culturally pluralist world”

Leonie Sandercock (2003)

Introduction: This Discussion Paper provides an exploration of a range of terminology found in academic discourse on cultural diversity such as, super-diversity, hyper-diversity, multiethnic, multi-cultural and their relevance to planning culturally.

What's in a name? – Unpacking the terminology

In recent writings on migration and urbanism, various terms and concepts have been proposed to illustrate these growing phenomena. Geographer Curtis Roseman and others (1996) used EthniCities to characterize cities with a variety of people having distinctive cultures and origins. Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1990: 7) suggests ethnoscaples to describe “landscapes of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live.” Urban designer Noha Nasser (2004b) uses “Kaleido-scapes” to describe the landscapes of migrant groups as “a hybrid urban morphology that combines local vernaculars with global (or imported) elements.” Borrowing from Salman Rushdie, planning historian Leonie Sandercock (2003: 1) put forward Mongrel Cities to conceptualize the new urban condition “in which difference, otherness, fragmentation, splintering, multiplicity, heterogeneity, diversity, plurality prevail.” (Hou 2013 p4)

First let's attempt to unpack some of the jargon and terminology found in the academic literature relating to the cultural diversity of cities such as found in the quote above from an article by Jeffrey Hou, Professor of Landscape Architecture at the University of Washington, Seattle, USA. Of the various terms referenced above the one that resonates the most in terms of my work is Leonie Sandercock's use of the metaphor of the “*mongrel city*” in her 2003 book *Cosmopolis II Mongrel Cities of the 21st Century*. Leonie Sandercock, in her contribution to the *Intercultural City Reader* (2004), suggested that the *mongrel city* is “a democratic, culturally pluralist world in which strangers can, indeed become neighbors” (2004: 21). Or indeed become “lovers” as it is estimated that one in three marriages registered in Australia are interracial couples. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), as a reflection of the growing intercultural population in Australia, in 2018, about 32 per cent of registered marriages were of partners born in different countries, compared with 18 per cent in 2006.

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In their 2020 article, *Translocality and Translocal Subjectivities: A Research Overview Across the Fields of Migration-, Culture-, and Urban Studies*, Erin Cory, Maria Hellström Reimer and Per Möller suggest that:

Migration is an inevitable aspect of contemporary societal life. Acknowledging this means that migratory issues are of everyone's interest, although they affect certain groups harder than others. (2020: 25)

Before tackling the issues of urban planning and design in the “mongrel city’s” culturally diverse communities it is useful to clarify some of the terminology used in academe and planning practice. Thinking and writing regarding ‘urban diversity’ has led to a wide range of terminology being used, with some being used interchangeably which has in my opinion led to confusion and lack of clarity in the discourse. In this section I will provide an overview of a range of terminology found in academic literature and attempt to provide some analysis and clarification of the terms and their relevance to planning culturally. This will include distinguishing between the terms: super-diversity & hyper-diversity; multiethnic & multi-Cultural.

Key to this discussion is the notion of ‘cultural diversity’, specifically from an urban planning and design perspective. Literature relating to understanding cultural diversity, include contributions from, Michael Burayidi (2000; 2003; 2015), Joost Dessein et al. (2015), Leonie Sandercock (2003) and Ruth Fincher et al. (2014) among others. Fincher for example states that the ‘*increasing ethnic and racial diversity of contemporary cities challenges urban planners who are charged with managing the built environment to promote social order and harmony*’ (2014:5). In terms of ‘social order and harmony’, Ted Cantle, who was the Chair of the 2001 UK Community Cohesion Review Team, reminds us that today with our globalised world and high rates of intranational and international migration, ‘*Multi-Culturalism can simply describe the modern reality of most countries*’ (2012:53).

However, over time Multi-Culturalism has become a contested term which led Leonie Sandercock, an early advocate, to re-evaluate her position and ‘*re-theorize multiculturalism, which I prefer to re-name as interculturalism, as a political and philosophical basis for thinking about how to deal with the challenge of difference in mongrel cities of the 21st century*’ (2004:18). The strengths and weaknesses of multi-culturalism as opposed to Interculturalism has given rise to a debate that Ralph Grillo (2016) suggests ‘*might best be considered as labelling sets of tools for dealing with diversity; some distinctive and specific, others broadly similar, and with much overlap between them*’ (2016: 5). Before addressing the debate between multi-culturalism and Interculturalism I would first like to establish the Australian context.

To understand the nature of Australia’s cultural diversity in this globalised context it is useful to review the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) census statistics (ABS, 2021) which show 30% of the population was born overseas, compared to 1966 when only 18% of the total population was born overseas. The 2021 statistics also show that almost half of the population had one or both parents were born overseas. After England and Aotearoa – New Zealand, the most common countries of birth were China 2.2% and India 1.9%. Overall, the census identified over 300 different cultural groups residing in Australia. A total of 62.5% of Australia’s population growth for this census period came from overseas arrivals, with 67% of Australia’s population living in the capital cities, which are growing, urbanising, and diversifying.

Without doubt the Australian population is increasingly socially and culturally diverse raising the question does this make Australian cities “super” or “hyper” diverse?

Our Culturally Diverse World

Population Characteristics

This section reviews some of the literature around demographics and population characteristics associated with urban diversity. The focus is on naming and characteristics of a population's statistical composition rather than considering people's cultural affiliations and cultural frames of reference. Research has shown that there are a range of variations in terminology associated with the study of urban diversity, sometimes the differences are very clear and sometimes they are subtle and need to be unpacked to appreciate their contribution to the notion of a culturally diverse world.

Before we review the cultural diversity terminology associated with migration between cultures, it is important to acknowledge that in the settler societies of Australia, Aotearoa – New Zealand, the United States and Canada public discourse on Multi-Culturalism is mediated by the settlement histories of each of those countries. A crucial element of cultural and race relations in each of those countries is the historical treatment of Indigenous peoples and their contemporary place and welfare in these societies. As recognised, for example in the Australian context by the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC), discussions on Multi-Culturalism must necessarily include First Nations People and include engagement with issues of reconciliation. However, attempts to bring First Nations issues within the rubric of Multi-Culturalism in a policy context have been controversial. As the issues facing First Nations Australians cannot be compared with those facing Australians of migrant background as it is critical to recognise the unique consideration due to the First Nations Peoples and their relationship to the land.

Multiethnic & / or Multi-Cultural

... one needs to distinguish between multiethnic and multicultural places because “multiethnic” signifies the coexistence of different groups in a shared space, while the ‘multicultural’ refers to the quality and type of cross-cultural interaction which can exist in such multiethnic places.

(Marotta, V. 2007: 41)

Vince Marotta suggests that Multiethnic cities are places where, *old cultural boundaries are dissolving and reinventing themselves in new ways, where urban dwellers adopt multiple and contradictory identities; but they are also places where new urban cultural identities exist, where class and culture intertwine, and where ethical relations can thrive in multicultural places* (2007: 58). Indeed, it can be argued that Culturally diverse places have become a modern reality for many cities due to the level of migration being seen across the world and peoples from diverse cultures seeking permanent settlement in a new country. For sociologist Enzo Colombo the term Multi-Cultural relates to situations in which, *people who hold ‘different’ habits, customs, traditions, languages and/or religions live alongside each other in the same social space, willing to maintain relevant aspects of their own difference and to have it publicly recognized. Usually, the term involves a positive evaluation of cultural diversity and the institutional commitment to its preservation* (2015: 801).

However, the term “Multi-Culturalism” has become associated with policy approaches that recognise the existence of cultural diversity within the community rather than the empirical fact of a demographic mix within the society or specific community. A key criticism of Multi-Culturalism is that it is a *‘feel-good celebration of*

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ethno-cultural diversity' (Will Kymlicka. 2010) and therefore celebrating difference rather than building community. Indeed, Tasan-Kok et al, suggests that Multi-Culturalism is:

'... entrenching social divisions and even for creating the breeding ground for extremism (see Meer and Modood, 2012; Vertovec, 2010). Thus, a broad backlash against multiculturalism has emerged in the public discourse (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010), not only because of the challenge of emphasising differences in society, but also because older models of multiculturalism are challenged by the changing conditions such as the changing nature of global migration, new social formations spanning nation-states and persistently poor immigrant and ethnic minority groups.' (2010:16)

In both the UK and Europe, the term Multi-Culturalism has become challenged and by some considered a failure. In 2015 German Chancellor Angela Merkel stated that in Germany, Multi-Culturalism had failed as it *"leads to parallel societies and therefore remains a life lie"*. (Washington Post, December 14, 2015). Predating the statement by Angela Merkel, in 2008 the Council of Europe published a White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue titled *"Living Together As Equals in Dignity"* which stated that:

Whilst driven by benign intentions, multiculturalism is now seen by many as having fostered communal segregation and mutual incomprehension, as well as having contributed to the undermining of the rights of individuals – and, in particular, women – within minority communities, perceived as if these were single collective actors. The cultural diversity of contemporary societies has to be acknowledged as an empirical fact. However, a recurrent theme of the consultation was that multiculturalism was a policy with which respondents no longer felt at ease. (2008: 19)

Cultural diversity has been part of the Australia population since the early phases of post colonisation, however, the term 'multi-cultural', referring to the culturally diverse community resulting from migration to Australia, was first mentioned in a 1973 speech entitled *A Multi-Cultural Society for the Future*, delivered by Al Grassby, the then Minister for Immigration in the Whitlam Labor Government. This was further reinforced by the Liberal opposition in their 1974 *"The Way Ahead"* publication, which makes reference to the *'need to overcome the complex problems confronting migrants, especially non-English speaking migrants, who already live in the multi-cultural society of today's Australia'* (Koleth, 2010). Since the 1970s, Multi-Culturalism has had political acknowledgement and support at all three levels of Australian government.

The Scanlon Foundation survey mapping social cohesion includes surveying attitudes to immigration, and population issues. The survey asks the question do you agree that *'multiculturalism has been good for Australia'*? Over recent years the level of agreement to this question has been consistently high, with 77% of those surveyed in 2018 agreeing, and rising to 84% in 2020 and rising again to 88% in the 2022 survey.

It is important to note that the survey findings also indicated that while a majority of those surveyed supported the notion that Australians *'should do more to learn'* about the diversity of customs and cultures that migration brings. However, there is also a high proportion of respondents that agree with the view that immigrants *'should change their behaviour to be more like Australians.'*

In 1988 the initial bipartisanship that had characterised the introduction of a Multi-Cultural framework was effectively broken when then Opposition Leader, John Howard, called for the abandonment of the term Multi-Culturalism, and a focus on 'One Australia' that:

‘...respects our cultural diversity and acknowledges that we are drawn from many parts of the world but requires of all of us a loyalty to Australia at all times and to her institutions and her values and her traditions which transcends loyalty to any other set of values anywhere in the world.’ (1988)

It should be noted that John Howard was clearly not including the First Nations people’s ‘values and traditions’ in his ‘One Australia’. Howard continued his objection to the concept of multi-culturalism throughout his time as Prime Minister and even continued to object to the concept in his retirement.

Super-Diversity and / or Hyper-Diversity

Super-diversity has emerged both as a description of empirical phenomena (the proliferation of diversities) and as a normative claim that increased pluralism (both associated with migration as well as wider changes in our understanding of identity categories) requires social scientists and policy makers to develop approaches to register this. (Meer, N. 2014:144)

A review of the diversity literature shows that there is some conjecture regarding the terms super-diversity and hyper-diversity. For example, urban social geographer and planner Tuna Tasan-Kok, and her colleagues remind us, in *Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities a Critical Literature Review* (2014), that due to globalisation, many major cities have in the last decades and are continuing to become more Hyper-diverse than ever. Whereas Anthropologist Steven Vertovec proposes the notion of ‘cities of super-diversity’ (2007). Vertovec states that:

‘Super-diversity’ is proposed as a summary term. Whatever we choose to call it, there is much to be gained by a multidimensional perspective on diversity, both in terms of moving beyond ‘the ethnic group as either the unit of analysis or sole object of study’ (Nina Glick Schiller et al. 2006: 613) and by appreciating the coalescence of factors which condition people’s lives (2007:1026).

On the other hand, Tasan-Kok, et al. (2014) propose that, importantly, cities are not only diverse in ethnic terms as discussed regarding Super-diversity, but that also many differences exist in socio-economic and social circumstances. Hyper-diversity has been proposed as an alternative to super-diversity as it is considered to reflect the broad range of community member’s lifestyles, sexual orientations, political attitudes, and recreational activities among others and acknowledges the complex interactions that are potentially associated with such variables. For example, Tasan-Kok states that, *‘People belonging to the same population or ethnic group may show quite different attitudes, for example with respect to school, work, parents and towards other groups; they may have very different daily and lifetime routines.’* (2014:7) A further contribution to this debate is made by the European Urban Knowledge Network (EUKN) who suggest that the concept of hyper-diversity captures the quantitatively and qualitatively diverse forms of urban diversity that are now emerging in contemporary globalised cities around the world and that hyper-diversity refers to:

... an intense diversification of the population in socio-economic, social and ethnic terms, but also with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities. The concept of hyper-diversity captures the quantitatively and qualitatively diverse forms of urban diversity that are now emerging. (EUKN 2013)

Therefore:

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Individuals who at first sight appear to belong to a fixed group may show different attitudes and behaviours. They may live in the same neighbourhood, but lead very different lives and have access to different opportunities. (EUKN 2013).

While it is important to discuss the reality of diversity in cities globally, in terms of considering diversity from a cultural perspective as proposed in this publication, the EUKN statements above have relevance. As they remind us that there is hyper-diversity within individual culture groups that needs to be considered from the perspective of urban planning and design.

Perhaps the answer to the question, are Australian cities “super” or “hyper” diverse? would be that Australian cities have transitioned through super-diversity to a state of hyper-diversity across the entire population regardless of ethnicity or place of birth. Perhaps the final word on this question of super v hyper is best answered by social anthropologist, Ralph Grillo, when he states:

It should also be recognised that while superdiversity may be envisaged as a state, it is perhaps better conceived as a process, superdiversification. Diversification is happening for complex reasons and at some point what might be thought of as simple diversity ‘becomes’, or is perceived as, or both, superdiversity, or indeed ‘hyperdiversity’. (2016: 43)

In the Australian context, I would suggest that while it can be argued we are very much a hyper-diverse population, the focus on diversity terminology seems locked in the concept of multi-culturalism. Indeed, if we want urban planners to plan culturally it is important that we understand the nature of our cities diversity if we are to address the needs of all citizens, including in this era of heightened migration cross boarder movements of people, such as transnational migration.

Transnationals

Transnational migration is the process by which immigrants forge and sustain relationships that link together their societies of origin and present settlement. (Glick-Schiller et al. 1995: 48)

Building on this definition from Nina Glick-Schiller (1995), Deborah Phillips (2007) has suggested that transnationalism is one of the big issues to be considered and addressed in relationship to immigrant settlement in Western countries, she states that:

“We can no longer assume that minority ethnic families are a localised unit, set on a trajectory of assimilation into the nation state in which they are living. Rather, families are increasingly likely to maintain transnational connections, which complicate the link between place of residence and ideas of local and national belonging” (Phillips, D. 2007: 1142).

Another dimension of a transnational city is that of expatriate workers, this is of relevance in cities such as Dubai, Abu Dhabi and other Gulf States (GCC) where migrant labour has been the foundation of their rapid urban development. In 2022 the World Cup was held in Doha where Qatar government had spent between \$220bn-\$300bn on infrastructure projects built by an estimated migrant workforce of one million involved in construction work. In these cases, the resulting source of migrant employment is providing the means to earn higher wages than in the country of origin and therefore to deploy remittances to families. Sadly, while providing

employment opportunities the countries have not maintained high standards of workplace safety and as a result there are also a high number of fatalities and injuries on these construction sites.

Since the infrastructural development schemes of the GCC nations have been steadily attracting millions of migrants to work in the various industries, services, and institutions being established, the net result is that Qatar and the UAE are currently experiencing the sharpest demographic imbalances in the world, with anywhere between 80 and 90% of the population made up of foreign nationals. (Mirgani, S. 2017:5)

This not only applies to the army of “guest” workers providing manual labour on construction sites in the rapidly growing cities of the world, but it must be recognised that contemporary transnational migration exists worldwide and is also highly differentiated by class, gender, generation, region, religion, and political and economic circumstance of migration within the same migrating ‘nationality’, even within a single transnational city. For example, in addition to the UAE’s construction workers from countries such as Bangladesh and Pakistan there are large numbers of professional expats employed as engineers, architects and project managers on the same building projects. There are also vast numbers of transnational women workers, especially from the Philippines, employed in hospitality and domestic work in wealthy countries who are focused on providing remittance money to support families left behind in their countries of origin. In Australia the transnational seasonal workers will include peoples from the Pacific Islands through the ‘Pacific Australia Labour Mobility’ (PALM) scheme which provides all workers with the same workplace rights and laws as Australian workers, and additional measures are in place to support the wellbeing of workers while they live and work in Australia.

These transnational workers can experience the cultural and physical capital, consumption practices, political organising networks, or lifestyle of the host country. They are also able, due to the advanced means of communication and travel, to maintain transnational connections, ideas, images, technologies, and socio-cultural practices that have historically been associated with their countries of origin. This demonstrates that the notion of transnationalism ‘does not necessarily suggest that state borders have diminished, rather that individuals and networks are traversing these borders on a sustained basis.’ (Michele Lobo et al. 2011: 2).

As Michael Smith. in *Transnational urbanism revisited* reminds us:

Greater access to the means of maintaining contact across space is widespread geographically (i.e., is transnationalised) and also is spread widely across national social-class structures. One result of this diffusion of mobility is that there is now a vastly more complicated pattern of migration and (un/re)settlement of migrants, transmigrants, immigrants and refugees across nation-states than ever before. (2005: 239)

Smith suggests that this co-presence in more than one spatial location, be it a place or country is viewed as occurring in the postmodern ‘now’ rather than, as in earlier times, in sequenced stages of time and place. In part he suggests the current ability to be transnational is due to the widespread availability of and access to advanced means of communication and transport, ranging from affordable air travel, inexpensive phone cards and the ease of money transfers.

Globally there are large numbers of many young students seeking higher education qualification at overseas universities in countries such as Australia. Cory et al refer to this trend when they state that:

Besides conflict-related and work-related migration, there is today also the growing education migration nexus (Robertson 2018:539). For young people, studying abroad is one avenue to cross-border mobility, giving rise to what researchers have described as “mutant mobilities” (Allon et. al. 2008; Robertson 2018), as the initial incentives for dislocation tend to shift over time. Research on student-migrants in Australia

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shows “how specific urban localities, materialities and social practices are involved in the negotiation of the ‘translocal’ self” (Robertson 2018:540). (Cory, E. et al. 2020: 17)

Personal observations from visiting and working in cities that have concentrations of ‘Transnational’ populations demonstrate that there are built environment impacts to be considered when Planning Culturally. An obvious impact is on the nature of workers housing such as single men’s quarters and retail outlets specialising in providing foods and goods from the workers countries of origin and the prevalence of money transfer facilities to assist in sending money home to family. I have also observed the importance of places to gather during time off work, these might be ethnically focused community centres, cafes or clubs and public spaces such as parks and plazas. For example, in Abu Dhabi busloads of construction workers can be seen being dropped off at parklands in the city during their limited free time. In conversation, the workers highlighted the fact that they are sending so much of their wages home that they cannot afford to spend money on their time off work and therefore there is no alternative but to take advantage of the public places to meet their friends and fellow ‘transnationals’.

Conclusions:

From the perspective of Planning Culturally this paper has a focus on a wide range of diversity perspectives and population characteristics. This range of cultural diversity presents real challenges for urban planners and designers as they need to gain awareness of the diverse cultures, their beliefs, values, behaviours, and relationship to the built environment to design culturally relevant urban environments.

PAPER 4: culture & planning



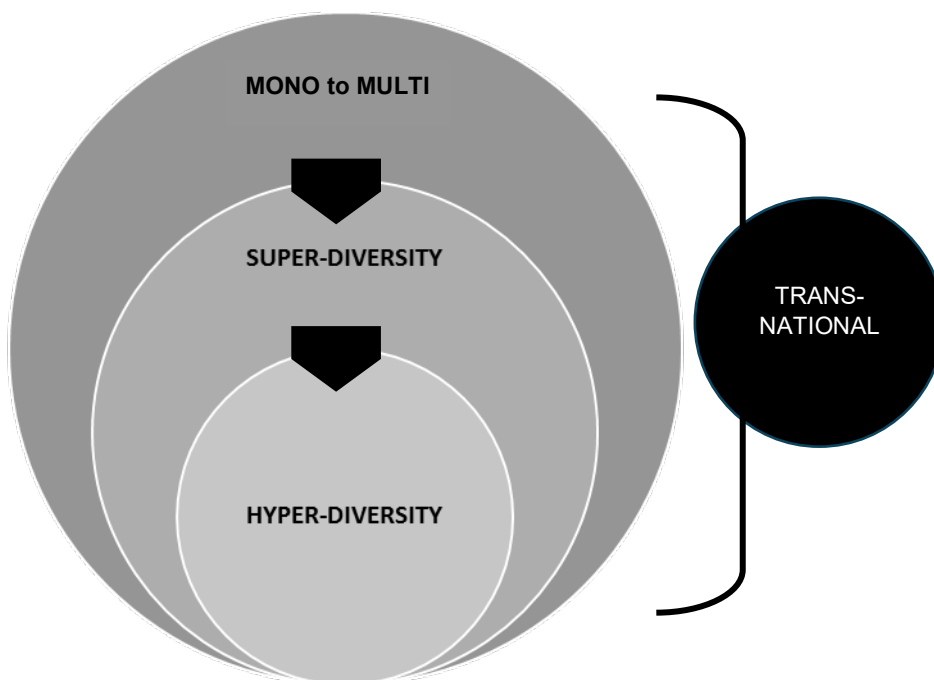
“A human-centred city is a culture-centred space”

UNESCO, 2016

Introduction: The Discussion Paper provides a more detailed exploration of the “Diversity Continuum” to show over time a city may evolve through phases from minimal cultural diversity through to a state of Super or Hyper-Diversity. It also emphasises the importance of being intercultural and engaging in intercultural dialogue.

Population Behavioural Patterns

As has been discussed in the Discussion Paper 3 the discourse associated with cultural diversity has led to a range of terminology to describe the demographic diversity characteristics of a place and community, including but not limited to: Super Diversity and Hyper Diversity; Multi-ethnic and Multi-cultural; and Transnational. I propose that the best way to consider the preceding diversity terminology/classifications in the context of the built environment is to describe them as a series of statistical demographic conditions. Therefore, we can see them as phases of urban diversity conditions which I have describe as a “Diversity Continuum”.



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As shown above, it can be argued that over time a country/city may evolve through phases from minimal cultural diversity through to a state of Super or Hyper-Diversity. The concept of hyper-diversity is not only about ethnic diversity but also in contemporary society it reflects the broad range of variations among community member's lifestyles, sexual orientations, political attitudes, and recreational activities. Tasan-Kok highlights the fact that these hyper-diversity variations exist within cultural groups and therefore as planners and designers it is important not to make assumptions that there is necessarily consensus on lifestyles and patterns of behaviour within any one ethnic population.

If we take the example of Australia's demographic make-up, we have a First Nations population, overlayed by a British colonial past and then ongoing waves of immigration from many different countries and cultures. It is important to remember that the First Nations People were also diverse in culture and language, as the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) remind us:

Australia's Indigenous peoples are two distinct cultural groups made up of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. But there is great diversity within these two broadly described groups exemplified by the over 250 different language groups spread across the nation.

Australia's contemporary diversity is ever expanding as new migrants arrive from across the world. The ABS (2029) estimates that there are at least 278 cultural and ethnic groups resident in Australia with some areas in our major cities such as Melbourne and Sydney reaching Super and or Hyper-Diversity status. It is also important to acknowledge that during the phases of Australia's Diversity Continuum there have been various Trans-national cohorts in Australia, for example those remittance workers from the various South Pacific nations, overseas student population and working backpacker population. We also need to recognise that for many Trans-nationals who might have arrived as temporary workers, many transition over time to become permanent residents and adapt to the culture of the host nation.

From an urban planning perspective, it is important to recognise that whatever the phase of the continuum, there is a need for planners to have cultural literacy skills to deliver culturally relevant planning outcomes for our diverse communities.

Cultural Diversity Policy Context

By the mid-1990s some earlier proponents of Multi-Culturalism such as Australian sociologist Jerzy Zubrzycki, were engaging in 'post-multicultural' theorising by suggesting that 'Multi-Culturalism' should be replaced with 'cultural diversity' as Multi-Culturalism was a 'self-conscious' term that should no longer be necessary and had outlived its purpose. I acknowledge that the term Multi-Culturalism has become a highly contested term, especially in Europe, however from my perspective as a Cultural Planner, I like to draw a distinction between 'Multi-Culturalism' as a policy position and a place being 'culturally diverse' as statement of demographic fact. For many in the Australian population the term multicultural covers everyone who is not mainstream Australian. Therefore, it has become shorthand for the 'other' rather than an acknowledgement that the population is 'culturally diverse' and therefore, multicultural as a population characteristic applies to 'all of us'!

In 2021 I undertook a wide review of Australian local government strategic planning documents to analyse their use of cultural terminology, including 'Multi-Cultural'. This research included a word search for the terms 'Culture', 'Cultures', 'Cultural', 'Culturally' and 'Multi-Cultural'. In the current strategic plans of each Australian state capital city, the findings show that only two of the councils reviewed referred specifically to the term 'Multi-

Cultural' although all eight made references to the notion of 'Cultural Diversity'. Only four have a dedicated Multi-Cultural Strategy or related policy document on their websites. In terms of the metropolitan councils in NSW, Victoria, and South Australia the research initially reviewed the Community and / or Council strategic plans. As a percentage of the five search terms the term 'Multi-Cultural' does not rate highly within this grouping of culturally related concepts. The Victorian data shows the highest number of Multi-Cultural references of the three states. While not directly using the term 'Multi-Cultural' the notion of a Multi-Cultural community was supported using the word 'Cultures', for example to reference a diversity of cultures and in the use of 'Cultural' as in the context of cultural diversity. Of the ten Victorian Council Plans all referred to 'Multi-Cultural' or 'Multi-Culturalism'. Of the ten, one City Council made the highest number of references in its 2017-2021 *Council Plan*, but even then, only totalling four (4) in all. In addition, that council has a *Settlement Action Plan 2019-2023*. The review of the Victorian LGAs Planning Scheme documents found even less references to 'Multi-Cultural' with only 4 of the 10 using the word Multi-Cultural while all did have some references to cultural diversity. Of these the highest number of references were to Multi-Cultural (8) and cultural diversity (11).

In NSW, the review found that only seven (7) of the Community Strategic Plans (CSP) referred to 'Multi-Cultural' or 'Multi-Culturalism'. Of the seven, one City Council made a total of 5 specific references of 'Multi-Cultural' and an additional 6 references to 'cultural diversity' and its importance in building a tolerant and dynamic community. In total across the 10 councils there were 19 references to 'Multi-Cultural' compared to 52 references to 'cultural diversity'. In addition to the CSPs the City of Sydney has a *Cultural Diversity Strategy 2008-2011*.

In South Australia there was the lowest number of references to 'Multi-Cultural' of all three states. The search only found two (2) City Plans (CP) made references to 'Multi-Cultural' while eight (8) councils referred to 'cultural diversity' a total of 41 times. In addition, only one council has an Intercultural Strategic Plan 2017. This plan states that: *The Intercultural Strategic Plan provides directions to enable the City of Salisbury to become a welcoming, cohesive intercultural community in which all people can thrive and flourish*. The concept of being 'Intercultural' was not acknowledged in any of the other LGAs in this study. (Brecknock 2021:7)

Diversity Impacts on Urban Planning

In Australia it is not just the need for planners to be more aware of culturally diverse and/ or interculturalism in planning Australian cities, but the need for awareness of First Nations People's cultural perspectives and needs. This issue has been discussed in the literature from Australian (Sue Jackson et al. 2017) (Libby Porter, 2017; 2018), Aotearoa – New Zealand (Hirini Matunga, 2017), and Canadian (Ryan Walker, 2017) perspectives. The relationship between Aboriginality and urban planning in Australia has been explored by planners who argue for cultural awareness of the Aboriginal relationship to the land and specific cultural frames of reference that need to be considered when planning with and for Aboriginal communities (Jackson et al. 2018) (Porter. 2017; 2018).

Therefore in the context of Australia it is important to acknowledge not only the increasing level of cultural diversity and the recognition and celebration of multiple cultural community identities, but also the more inclusive notion of Interculturalism with its focus on behaviour and interaction between people from different cultural backgrounds. The notion of the 'Intercultural City', with its focus on cities taking advantage of a 'diversity dividend' gained from cross cultural activities leading to greater creativity (Wood, P. and Landry, C. 2008), should be seen as a basis for community cohesion in cities addressing increasing migrant populations (CoE, 2020). In terms of behaviours and settlement experiences of migrant communities we should recognise that people are resilient and resourceful when navigating new environments as discussed under the heading, cross-cultural adaption.

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Aligned with being Intercultural is the contribution that Intercultural Dialogue can make in diverse communities such as the Council of Europe Intercultural City Network's focus on building meaningful dialogue between culturally diverse communities in European cities. In the *Practice* section we explore the practice of intercultural dialogue through the acquisition of Cultural Literacy, Intercultural Knowledge; and Intercultural Competencies as needed to effectively Plan Culturally.

Finally in this section we considered the notion of being Cosmopolitan and its focus on building society by applying universal values that Held (2010) proposed would protect and nurture each person's equal significance within society. In the context of Planning Culturally the Cosmopolitan values and principles provide an ethical basis upon which to build an intercultural city ethos.

In this section we have moved from considering demographics and statistics of cultural diversity to consider the population variations in patterns of behaviour, with a focus on the notion of being intercultural and or cosmopolitan. This will include the opportunities that arise from the diversity dividend associated with increased interaction between people of differing cultural backgrounds and the adaptability of people to change and the shock of the new!

Being Intercultural

"Interculturality" refers to the existence and equitable interaction of diverse cultures and the possibility of generating shared cultural expressions, through dialogue and mutual respect.

UNESCO, *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, (2005:14).

There is an extensive range of academic literature relating to the differences between the notion of Multi-Cultural and Intercultural from contributors such as Ash Amin, Ricardo Zapata-Barrero, Martyn Barrett, Jude Blomfield and Franco Bianchini, Phil Wood and Charles Landry, Ted Cante, Carlotta Fioretti and Marco Cremaschi, Tuna Tasan-Kok, Ralph Grillo, Jeffrey Hou, Nasar Meer and Tariq Modood, and among others. Ricardo Zapata-Barrero suggests that:

In spite of some multiculturalist academics, such as N. Meer and T. Modood (2011), who argue that there are many more similarities than differences between the two paradigms, the two essential differences between interculturalism and multiculturalism, in my view, remain. In both cases, interculturalism presents itself as a framework that tries to challenge the way multiculturalism has always tended to categorize people through origin and nationality, which predetermine certain behaviours and beliefs. In this way, interculturalists will dispute the multicultural assumption that diversity must be interpreted only in terms of origin, nationality and culture. (2015: 5)

My focus is on being Intercultural as an inclusive practice or behaviour, concerned with addressing all members of society in a 'single diverse public not multiple publics which are organisationally and socially separate' (Bloomfield, J. & Bianchini, F. 2004:39). Ted Cante (2001), has been a critic of Meer and Modood and their arguments around the similarity of Multiculturalism and Interculturalism, arguing that multiculturalism leads to the creation of "Parallel Lives". I would support this notion especially in Australia where multiculturalism as a concept led to governments at all three levels generating separate "Multicultural Policies" rather than addressing the need to plan inclusively. Furthermore, Cante postulates that Interculturalism is not just about the recognition

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of difference, as it will develop a dialogue across cultural differences and “contribute to a new vision for learning to live together in a globalised and super-diverse world” (Cantle, T. 2012:2). Cantle also suggests that it is important that:

While it is accepted that ‘race’ is socially and politically constructed and that in biological terms there is but one human race, we must avoid falling into the trap of thinking identities formed by ethnic, faith and other characteristics have a primordial basis. ‘Culture’ should also be regarded as a dynamic concept and it is constantly being and remade, and the way individuals see their identity and the way particular groups and communities represent themselves will change over time (2012:173).

Therefore, meeting the needs of our culturally diverse community and understanding and addressing the first peoples’ association with country presents a major challenge for contemporary planners and as Agyeman & Erickson remind us:

In our view, culture is predicated on difference and on otherness and is a complex, dynamic, and embodied set of realities in which people (re)create identities, meanings, and values. Overlying this are the reality of hybrid or multiple cultural and group affiliations. In this sense, no one person can be reduced to one single or fixed cultural or other form of identity. (2012:359)

This understanding that culture is a dynamic entity is vital in the context of urban planning and design in our highly diverse contemporary world. The concept of Planning Culturally is an attempt to equip built environment professionals with the competencies particularly needed to practice Interculturally. This is especially relevant in contemporary Australia with its highly urbanised and diverse population, overlaid on a living culture reaching back more than 60,000 years. Since the early days of settlement, the evolving cities were dominated by a European world view and the planning systems have largely perpetuated the European approach to planning.

A significant professional experience for me was my involvement as a member of an international consulting team on the 2004-2006 *Intercultural City* project. The project was funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, London (JRF, 2006) and I had the opportunity to work on case studies in England, Aotearoa – New Zealand and Australia. The project’s core premise was that moving beyond Multi-Culturalism to a more inclusive concept of Interculturalism provides the opportunity to create a ‘diversity dividend’ (Phil Wood, 2004) (Phil Wood and Charles Landry, 2008) built on the rich cultural diversity of contemporary urban communities. As Phil Wood and Charles Landry propose, ‘the Intercultural city will be one in which “cultural literacy” is wide-spread so that people can understand and empathize with another’s view of the world’ (2008:250).

During my research, consultation, and project work with diverse cultural groups in Australia, Aotearoa – New Zealand (NZ) and England I have found that the notion of planning Interculturally is a contested idea for some in the migrant and First Nations communities. For some there is strong association with Multiculturalism and its recognition and acceptance of their cultural practices as separate to mainstream society. The danger here is Ted Cantle’s argument that this can lead to “Parallel Lives” as these individual policies and “multicultural groups” have led to enclave thinking, culturally based community infrastructure and service provision. In NZ, the country can be described as both Bi-cultural and Multi-Cultural as there is both the foundational relationship with the Māori community and the increasing cultural diversity, especially from the Pacific Islands and Asian countries. A Māori interviewee believed that setting up an understanding of the bicultural character of Aotearoa – New Zealand is more important than the multicultural because they still haven’t got biculturalism anchored. On the other hand, there were those who expressed negative perceptions of biculturalism as standing in the way of resolving multiculturalism, believing that “Biculturalism separates – it is not a collaborative relationship because

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Pakeha are the decision makers in it.” As a result, there were positive suggestions that being Intercultural could bring the community together. I have seen that there are certain parallels in thinking between the NZ Māori and Australian First Nations People in terms of acceptance of multicultural and Intercultural approaches. The idea of Intercultural dialogue and strategies in relation to First Nations People have been raised in a few documents, for example the 2011 report *Urban social housing for Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders: respecting culture and adapting services* commissioned by the Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute (AHURI). In the report Vivienne Milligan and her team suggest that:

The idea of an ‘intercultural space’ is gaining interest within the anthropology discipline as an arena within which interactions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities are interdependent and can occur under conditions of mutual respect and recognition. In a service delivery context, this concept provides an opportunity to apply the best of the principles of equality, difference and restitution in ways that are negotiated and contextually specific. (2011:32)

And they also suggest that:

The idea of ‘intercultural’ approaches to delivering housing services implies that different solutions involving Indigenous and non-Indigenous organisations, adjusted to local context, may be necessary and appropriate. This is not to ignore the very real issues of power imbalances and the highly disadvantaged situation of many Indigenous Australians. However, the challenge is to move beyond approaches that are simplistic and rigid to find better pathways through complex and relational problems, especially through the use of adaptive policies, and by privileging local capacity and influence to a greater extent. (2011:4)

Another perspective is articulated by Sarah James in her (2012) article, *Indigeneity and the Intercultural City*, in which she states that:

Rather than the prevailing model of multiculturalism with a white cultural core and discrete groups of Indigenous and ethnic Others, an intercultural perspective seeks to reframe diverse groups within the city as equal parts of a heterogeneous, amorphous urban entity.

And:

... the realisation of a more intercultural urban polity is based on the realisation of two rights: the ‘right to difference’ and ‘a right to the city’. (2012:3)

With the comments of Milligan and James in mind my approach to Planning Culturally from an Intercultural perspective to urban planning would ideally allow diverse groups, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, to challenge and change pre-determined notions of what constitutes a city and how it should expand and develop as a place that truly respects the notion of every citizen’s ‘right to difference’ and ‘a right to the city’.

Intercultural Dialogue

Intercultural dialogue is understood as an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals, groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage on the basis of mutual understanding and respect. (Council of Europe. 2008:10)

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Tuna Tasan-Kok et al provide a further contribution to the Multi-Culturalism v Interculturalism debate and the importance of Intercultural dialogue, when they state that:

Different from multiculturalism and its versions, the term 'intercultural' is used to stress cultural dialogue (Amin, 2002:967). Moreover, unlike the 'static and bounded' description of multiculturalism, interculturalism looks at identity as 'dynamic and transitory' (Nathan, 2011; Cantle, 2012). Interculturalism provides an inter-disciplinary (structural and relational) understanding of diversity by addressing conceptual issues like national and global/international drivers of difference; new power and political structures; identity as a dynamic concept; 'race' and recognition of all other forms of difference (Cantle, 2012). These, in combination with the cross-cultural interaction, are seen as essential characteristics of a conceptual framework to address greater diversity. (2014:17)

Martyn Barrett, in *Interculturalism and multiculturalism: similarities and differences* (2013) echoes the Council of Europe's statement when he suggests that:

"Intercultural dialogue" itself may be defined as the open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups that have different cultural affiliations, because of equality. This emphasis on intercultural interaction and dialogue is present in some versions of multiculturalism (such as Parekh's dialogical multiculturalism) but not in all versions. Interculturalism proposes that intercultural dialogue helps people to develop a deeper understanding of cultural beliefs and practices that are different from their own, fosters mutual understanding, increases interpersonal trust, co-operation and participation, and promotes tolerance and mutual respect. In addition, interculturalism proposes that, at the societal level, intercultural dialogue helps to reduce prejudice and stereotypes in public life, facilitates relationships between diverse national, ethnic, linguistic and faith communities, and fosters integration, a sense of common purpose and the cohesion of culturally diverse societies. (2013:26)

Other theorists such as Vince Marotta, Young Yun Kim and Leonie Sandercock have written extensively about Intercultural dialogue. For example, Sandercock reminds us that such dialogue leads to a "*genuine connection with, and respect and space for the cultural*" (Sandercock, L. 1998:164) and Marotta proposes that a communicative planning process can lead to urban outcomes which are less 'rational' and *more in tune with the emotion and feelings of the participants*. (2007:53). Kim proposed the *Integrative communication theory* which argues that communication is essential when entering a new cultural environment and relies on the individual's capability to decode as well as to encode cultural behaviours, symbols and messages leading to Intercultural dialogue. In this context it is important to also acknowledge that some societies and built environments display more openness and warmth to outsiders than others, which can have a significant impact on the experience of Intercultural Dialogue for both the new arrival and host communities.

A valuable resource in terms of Intercultural dialogue and engagement can be found in Academy for Sustainable Communities (ASC) 2006 publication *Planning and Engaging with Intercultural Communities: Building the Knowledge and Skills Base* which provides a practical guide to engagement with culturally diverse communities. In his introduction to the publication Professor Peter Roberts states that:

...it is no longer acceptable to impose a planning solution upon a community, or to assume that all communities are alike and require the same pattern of provision. Rather the challenge now for planning is to capture the rich diversity of communities and to reflect this diversity in Intercultural strategies and actions. (2006:5)

Within the ASC report there are the following three key messages of relevance to the discussion in this book, these are:

- Cultural diversity means more ideas, more options, and more opportunities – the challenge is to realise this 'diversity advantage'.
- Realising diversity advantage means bringing people of different cultures together so they can learn from each other in an 'intercultural' way.
- Good community engagement does more than canvass opinion. Everyone has a story to tell, emotions to express and wisdom to impart and a good practitioner can find and interpret them and turn them into unifying narrative. This requires a skill which professionals ignore at their peril, 'cultural competence'.

The 'diversity advantage', being 'intercultural' and gaining 'cultural competence' will all be explored in more depth in Parts 2 & 3.

Cross-Cultural Adaptation

Cross-cultural adaption refers to the process of internal change in individuals so as to be able to function in an unfamiliar culture. New comers learn to make adjustments in their original cultural habits and are able to attain a level of efficacy in the new environment. The process of adaptive change involves the deculturation of some of the original cultural habits and acculturation of new ones. (Kim, Y. 2001)

Young Yun Kim's *Becoming Intercultural: Integrative Theory of Communication and Cross-Cultural Adaptation* (2001) explains the transformation process that all human beings experience as they move into a new and culturally unfamiliar environment. The concept refers to a process in and through which an individual achieves an increasing level of psychological and functional fitness with respect to the receiving environment. As the individual acquires some of the characteristics of the host culture, he or she may lose some of the characteristics of their original culture, such as language, customs, and rigid original cultural identity (www.wikipedia.org/cultural_assimilation). Kim's theory argues that out of this transformation emerges an 'Intercultural identity.' that is less rigidly bound by group identities. Kim's research especially applies to individuals, such as transnationals, who enter a new culture for varying lengths of time, such as migrant workers, diplomats, and expatriates (Kim, 2001).

In the 2001 book Kim explores the movements of transnational immigrants and refugees from the perspective of the challenges they face as they cross cultural boundaries. She focuses on the often-dynamic factors underpinning their adaptation process. Including both how their individual ethnic and personal backgrounds affected the potential need for 'deculturation', such as unlearning some of the cultural norms of their home cultural behaviours.

Many of the elements discussed have been part of the migration process in the past, where migrants in new settlement countries tried to both keep deep connections with the 'home' country while also seeking to learn about and adapt to life in a new culture and society. In times of limited global transport and communications connectedness there would have been many challenges to keeping these connections. However, as Steven Vertovec reminds us:

In recent years, the extent and degree of transnational engagement has intensified due in large part to changing technologies and reduced telecommunication and travel costs. Enhanced transnationalism is substantially transforming several social, political and economic structures and practices among migrant communities worldwide (Vertovec, S. 2007:1043).

As planners and designers, we need to help meet the needs of these 'transnationals' by generating places that say 'Welcome', are safe and do not descend into cultural enclaves or ghettos.

Being Cosmopolitan

Cosmopolitanism is principally concerned with ways of thinking about how humankind can live in harmony, with allegiance to a moral realm of 'all humanity', rather than thinking about distinctive 'communities' and the differences between groups. The identities associated with diversity therefore carry relatively little meaning as citizens increasingly identify with what is common to all.

(David Held. 2014:32)

It is worth considering the notion of being "Cosmopolitan" and how it relates to the preceding culturally defined terminologies. Political scientist David Held was one of the leading proponents of "cosmopolitanism" with publications such as his (2010) *Cosmopolitanism: ideals and realities*. Tasan-Kok, T. et al (2014) remind us that David Held provides a set of principles that he believes express Cosmopolitan values:

These are principles which can be universally shared and can form the basis for the protection and nurturing of each person's equal significance in 'the moral realm' of humanity. Eight principles are paramount. They are the principles of: (i) equal worth and dignity; (ii) active agency; (iii) personal responsibility and accountability; (iv) consent; (v) collective decision-making about public matters through voting procedures; (vi) inclusiveness and subsidiarity; (vii) avoidance of serious harm; and (viii) sustainability. (2010: 64)

A further contribution to the cosmopolitan conversation comes from Paul James, Professor of Globalization and Cultural Diversity, in his "*Political Philosophies of the Global: A Critical Overview*" (2014) essay argues that:

Cosmopolitanism can be defined as a global politics that, firstly, projects a sociality of common political engagement among all human beings across the globe, and, secondly, suggests that this sociality should be either ethically or organizationally privileged over other forms of sociality. (2014:10)

The Held and James definitions of Cosmopolitanism brings to mind the notion of Universal Design which was developed in 1997 by Ron Mace, founder of the Center for Universal Design at North Carolina State University, and proposes that design should benefit every user. That is, to design environments that work for everyone in terms of accessibility and inclusion as presented in their Universal Design Manual:

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Universal design is a design thinking process that promotes human rights and embraces the concept of inclusion for all. A universal design approach considers the diverse needs and abilities of people throughout the design process. Universal design is non-stigmatising, efficient and sustainable. (2021:1)

I have been told on occasions by Architects that we don't need to design culturally, we just need to apply universal design principles then everyone will be catered for! While the aim of Universal Design is clearly relevant in relation to creating physical environments that provide accessibility for all, it raises the question, does this universality come at the cost of culturally rich built environments? I note that the Universal Design manual lists the goal of '*Cultural appropriateness: respecting and reinforcing cultural values and the social and environmental context of any design project*'. But quite how to achieve a universal design outcome while retaining the unique cultural character of cities around the world might be a significant challenge. I think this is especially true as we are already seeing the effects that modernism/internationalisation has had on reducing the uniqueness of many cities across the world.

It is also worth considering, as Bloomfield and Bianchini remind us "*that consensus on certain universalist values does not require people to give up their beliefs and cultural practices*" (2004:24) but it does require intercultural respect and understanding of those values to achieve true 'cultural appropriateness' as suggested by the UD manual.

So, lets return to why I don't believe Universal Design (UD) is an alternative to Planning Culturally, firstly UD is, I would suggest, primarily addressing the needs of people with a disability that impacts on their ability to move around and or utilise what the city has to offer to ensure they are able to have equal access with their fellow community members. This is an essential goal of a "Just City", and one based primarily on personal capacity regardless of cultural values or behaviours. Therefore, in my mind UD and the other equal access models are vital in urban planning and city management and need to be applied in conjunction with Planning Culturally not instead of!

Picking up on the idea that meeting the urban planning requirements of culturally diverse communities requires a "Planning for Difference" approach, not a UD approach, Michael Burayidi in *Cities & the politics of Difference: Multiculturalism and diversity in urban planning* suggests that although planning for difference is a widely accepted notion:

Many planners remain wedded to such ideals as "serving the public interest," "consistency," and "treating all people equally" when in fact these ideals result in a continuation of inequality and structurally hinder attempts at creating inclusive planning processes. (Burayidi, M .2015:4)

I suggest that there is a strong argument for the notion of Planning Culturally to address the needs and cultural values of a diverse community and the built environment in which they live work and recreate, while at the same time acknowledging that planning and design processes can be adjusted in response to Intercultural sensitivity and knowledge, in some instance it may be unachievable to find an outcome that satisfies all cultural expectations.

Conclusions:

From the perspective of Planning Culturally this paper has a focus on population behavioural patterns such as being Intercultural or cosmopolitan. From an urban planning perspective, it is important to recognise that

whatever the phase of the Diversity Continuum, there is a need for planners to have cultural literacy skills to deliver culturally relevant planning outcomes for our diverse communities. Planners need to be aware of the demographic changes taking place in the city and the various evolving settlement patterns, including cross-cultural adaption practices of individuals and / or cultural/ethnic groups.

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