

URBAN REGENERATION: AUSTRALIAN CASE STUDY INSIGHTS FOR CITIES UNDER GROWTH PRESSURE¹

SIMON HUSTON²

SEBASTIEN DARCHEN³

The University of Queensland

Abstract

Historically, government imperatives and the vagaries of resource markets strongly influenced settlement patterns in Australia. Often, the urban legacy of these twin forces is sub-optimal, characterised by ugly buildings, strip retail or sprawl. Densification is no panacea. Despite visual blight and flooding, Ipswich in Queensland has grown rapidly in recent years. Cheap land and affordable housing confer commercial advantage but constrain urban refinement. Here, we sketch the backdrop to Ipswich's cycles of growth, decline and resurgence. Then, within a sustainability framework, we investigate Ipswich City Heart, one of the largest regional development projects in Australia. The project's first stage, Icon, is an office and retail project, leased to the Queensland Government. It makes a bold statement of confidence in the cities future, underpinned by regional resources. Nevertheless, retrofitting of inhospitable legacy built environments is insufficient. Integrated sustainable development calls for authentic community consultation and sustained cost-effective programs to tackle health, education, skills and public transport deficiencies.

Keywords: regional cities, growth management, sustainable urban regeneration, hydrocarbon reserves, place-making, community engagement.

Acknowledgements

We gratefully acknowledge the expertise and contribution made by Professor Robert Bush (Healthy Communities Research Centre, The University of Queensland, Ipswich), Professor Richard Reed (Deakin University) and John Adams and Daniel Keenan (Ipswich City Council) as well as Urbis (Brisbane).

¹ Copyright for this paper resides with *International Journal of Housing Markets and Analysis*

Accepted for publication on 15 April 2013 (IJHMA-01-2013-0005.R1)

² Simon Huston is a property lecturer at The University of Queensland Business School.

³ Sebastien Darchen is a lecturer in Planning at The School of Geography, Planning and Environmental Management, The University of Queensland.

1. Introduction: regional regeneration pressures

In past couple of decades, provincial cities have exploded (UN-HABITAT 2012). Often, local governments struggle to manage this growth. Institutional limitations, unresolved policy conflicts at different spatial scale, lack of funding and theoretical argument stymies planning effort for local 'resilience' (Davoudi 2013). In Australia, regional urban growth is tamer than in, for example, China or India but no less significant. Since 2006, the Australian population has grown by 8.3% but the mineral states of Queensland and Western Australia grew by, respectively, 11% and 14.3% (ABS 2013). In Western Australia, the Royalties for the Regions is betting that new towns like Karratha can wean miners off sojourns to Bali and settle them regionally. On Australia's eastern seaboard, hydrocarbon reserves underpin urban growth in South Eastern Queensland. Cockatoo Coal Ltd, for example, currently holds 3,800km² of coal projects in the Surat Basin (Proactive Investors 2013). Gladstone is city where the pace of development is straining environmental and urban planning systems and sparking indigenous resistance (Rollo 2013). Local governments in Australian have long struggled to upgrade urban planning systems capabilities in line with discoveries of geological bounty. During the gold rush of the 1850s, to satisfy runaway property demand, Melbourne imported refabricated houses from Singapore. .

Today in Australia, coal, petroleum or gas deposits put pressure on regional planning regimes and housing markets. The influence of the hydrocarbon reserves in the Surat Basin and Galilee Basins extends to adjacent regional cities and beyond to state capital premium hotspots. In South East Queensland, hydrocarbon lures heavy traffic up and down the Warrego Highway. In recent times, migration has inflated Ipswich LGA population from 140,182 in 2006 to 166,904 by 2011 (ABS, 2013). This startling 19% growth exceeds even that of Western Australia. Most of these migrants are not professionals, but tradespeople in line with the blue-collar history of the city. In Ipswich, only 13.6% are employed in the professions compared to the national 21.3%, (ABS, 2013). In poorly configured cities, surging migration can overwhelm the planning and housing systems and provoke ill-considered developmental responses. A problem arises, then, in articulating the appropriate planning response to mineral-induced growth pressures. To flesh out these issues, we now turn to Ipswich, Queensland

Historically, mineral deposits of coal and limestone attracted European interest. Ipswich is at the navigable fluvial limit of the Bremer River for cheap mineral transport. As pastoral land opened up on the Darling Downs, agricultural industries flourished and Ipswich was considered for Queensland's state capital. Later, the railways expanded and by the middle of the 20th century Ipswich was Queensland's largest coal producer. However, traditional industries folded in the 1970s and Ipswich declined economically and socially (Jansen *et al.*, 2012). Symbolically, the burning of Reids Department Store in 1985 put a nail in Ipswich's coffin so to speak. Its ill-considered Kern replacement, accentuated by suburban retail leakage, sealed its retail decline until recently. Stigma, enclaves of poverty and the visual blight bequeathed by ill-considered legacy development still constrain Ipswich's property values compared to Brisbane (see Figure 1). .

[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]

But relative housing affordability draws immigrants into Ipswich. In fact, since 2002, migration to South-east Queensland drove growth in Ipswich. Other contributing factors were the expansion of Amberley and \$2.8 billion spent upgrading the Ipswich Motorway and, more recently, hydrocarbon prospecting in the western hinterland of Ipswich (see maps in Figures 2 and 3),.

[INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE]

[INSERT FIGURE 3 HERE]

Floods in 2011 and 2013 muted market activity but have not tamed longer-term growth prospects. The establishment UQ Ipswich, the Bremer River Park and Icon are milestones in Ipswich's regeneration journey. Springfield's Orion is a mixed blessing for Ipswich's CBD. In short, Ipswich is a resurgent second-tier regional city, digesting hydrocarbon, infrastructure and population-induced growth, constrained by some past urban design mistakes and pockets of entrenched social deprivation. It, therefore, represents the ideal case study to investigate the research problem:

'How can regional cities best regenerate under growth pressure?'

2. Methodology

An answer to the research question proceeds in two steps. First, we distil theoretical regeneration guiding principles from relevant urban planning literature and, second, we investigate a recent development in Ipswich to see if the project contributes to the broader urban place-making. Our analysis of social issues is limited. For the case study, we focus on the Icon project. Our sources of evidence include official planning documents at the local and regional scales, site observation and ‘expert’ documented verbal opinions⁴. Expert opinion was expressed in semi-directed interviews with urban planners involved with the Icon Project. More formal sources were enriched by insight drawn from a decade of unstructured discussions in the local community.

In short our analysis is based on evidence from:

- Observation on site of conditions, regeneration and interactions
- Planning and media documents on Ipswich or regional economics
- Opinions of key informants in regeneration lectures¹ and with semi-directed interviews
- Informal discussion in the community over an extended period.

3. Towards a regeneration framework

Having raised the problem of regional growth management, sketched the backdrop to Ipswich and outlined our approach, we now navigate the urban regeneration literature looking for some systematic guidance to frame our investigation. Roberts (2000) identifies five regeneration approaches. As stated by Colantonio and Dixon (2010, 55): “urban regeneration conjures up different meanings to different people and can range from large-scale activities promoting economic growth through to neighbourhood intervention to improve the quality of life.” Roberts (2000, p. 17) defines urban regeneration as: “a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change.” Roberts (2000, p. 14) differentiates the renewal, redevelopment and regeneration models according to: 1. Key actors and stakeholders; 2. Spatial level of activity; 3. Economic focus; 4. Social content; 5. Physical emphasis; and 6. Environmental approach.

[INSERT TABLE 1 HERE]

In addition to models identified by Roberts (2000), Colantonio and Dixon (2011, p. 8) state that the literature on urban regeneration is organised around different narratives, 6 in total:

- Property-led physical approach (Dixon & Marston, 2003). For example a major retail-led scheme is expected to have multiplier effects in the local economy.
- Business-driven approach, which highlights the importance of business investment as a driver for urban regeneration (Porter, 1995).
- Urban form and design perspective. This approach emphasises the relationship between Sustainable Development (SD) and urban form (Burton *et al.*, 1997).
- Culture-led regeneration or cultural industries approach. Creative industries are seen as catalysts for regeneration (Florida, 2004).
- Health and well-being perspective this approach highlights the role of urban design on neighbourhood health and liveability (Barton *et al.*, 2003).
- Community-based and social economy. This approach is based on the involvement of the community in decision-making.

⁴ Transcribed during ‘PLAN3000/REDE3203 (PLAN-MAKING or INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PROJECT course 2012 at the University of Queensland, St Lucia, Brisbane, Australia).

The 'creative city' notion pushes culture and social dynamics in regeneration (Evans, 2005; Edensor *et al.*, 2009, Colantonio, 2010). A central concern requires preservation of authentic identity. Colantonio and Dixon (2011, p. 4) emphasise 'city competitiveness' or 'urban renaissance'

- Innovation in processes and products;
- Economic diversity;
- Skilled people;
- Connectivity and communications;
- Place quality;
- Strategic capacity.

After the 1990s, in Europe, Barcelona inspired neighbourhood-based mixed regeneration projects which included local job creation programs. Until then, infrastructure and the physical regeneration dominated (Elkington 1997; Roberts 2000; Hediger, 2000; Franke *et al.* 2007). Despite lip-service to a 'triple bottom line', economic and environmental planning concerns still dominate regeneration (Woodcraft *et al.*, 2011). Hemphill *et al.* (2009) stress the importance of 'social capital' and 'social cohesion' so that the social needs of people are met without compromising the community's future. Specifically, it has the following components:

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

For Polese and Stern (2000) social sustainability is 'development (and/or growth) that is compatible with harmonious evolution of civil society, fostering an environment conducive to the compatible cohabitation of culturally and socially diverse groups while at the same time encouraging social integration, with improvements in the quality of life for all segments of the population. Locally, in Ipswich the Murri court system and other 'on-track' initiatives offer some hope for aboriginal people to re-connect with their culture. Community capacity building is about meaningful connections (Bush and Connors 2010). Today, the evaluation of social sustainability is routine for major infrastructure projects. For example, World Bank (2004) Operating Principle 4.12 mandates careful consideration of community impacts but, in a competitive market, developers cannot finance social engineering.

Ill-defined urban system boundaries and timeframes remains a persistent regeneration problem. Indubitably, social engineering boundaries spill beyond the construction site itself. . But, even if agreement is forthcoming on desirable social outcomes, none is likely on the optimal mechanisms to deliver them. .

Pacione (1982) advocates expert opinion to decide of a list of relevant criteria in a given context. Hemphill *et al.* (2002, p.712) rank criteria as follows:

1. Transport and mobility
2. Economy and work
3. Community benefits
4. Buildings and land use
5. Resource use.

Overall, regeneration proponents should consider physical and social outcomes as illustrated in Table 2. In terms of delivery mechanisms, regeneration projects should blend 'top-down' (expert inspiration) with bottom-up local subsidiarity (community involvement) to check arrogance, autocracy or corruption. .

[INSERT TABLE 2 HERE]

Investors, who finance urban regeneration, look for security and adequate returns to compensate them for risk exposure. In practice effective housing demand is underpinned by demographic growth, jobs and incomes derived from work. In practice, this means regeneration proposals which are:

- Institutionally and legally robust
- Inherently attractive and competitively-priced for the market
- De-risked by government support, infrastructure or strong growth prospects.

Developers and their financiers look for well-structured projects which offer competitive product naturally, to assess risk players consider likely future infrastructure or service upgrades.

In summary, search for a regeneration 'blueprint' to evaluate regeneration projects encountered a contested and evolving field with no simplistic resolution. Nevertheless, from the literature consulted, we highlight four domains to evaluate regeneration projects, in the broad sense. In addressing criteria in the domains, proponents and regional city planners can formulate or assess urban regeneration projects to cope with growth pressure. The framework for urban regeneration involves process and outcome considerations:

- Urban planning and governance [process]
- Economic viability [outcome]
- Place making [outcome]
- Regional resilience [transport and ecology outcomes]
- Community [process and outcomes]

4. Icon evaluation

In the empirical phase of the research, we use the regeneration framework to evaluate our selected case study, looking to answer the research question of '*How can regional cities best regenerate under growth pressure?*' For practical reasons of time and resource constraints, we limit our evaluation to the first three criteria of urban planning and governance [process], economic viability [outcome] and place making [outcome]. Whilst the evidence for our evaluation is limited to discussion with planners and urban design, site visits and peripatetic secondary sources, its analysis provides some useful regeneration insights and outlines a fruitful pathway for future research.

Urban planning governance

Ipswich City Council purports to use six strategic documents, including the Integrated Strategy and Action Plan 2008, Ipswich Master Plan 2010 and the Ipswich Regional Centre Strategy 2007 developed together the Queensland Government. However, Ipswich City Heart is the most significant project driving change. For Keenan (2012), '*Icon is the first part of a very big vision for Ipswich*'. The environmental and social credentials of the integrated structure are much vaunted with the promise that it will attract new tenants to the Ipswich CBD. According to our interview with Urbis, the process appears as top-down approach involving limited public engagement. Given this type of local governance, we can compare the regeneration strategy to the property-led regeneration model. This model does not imply necessarily that all aspects of urban regeneration are covered; in particular the objective of redefining the identity of the area and resolve issues associated to the social stigma that Ipswich has experience is not resolved with this model.

Property economics/investment

Ipswich must compete against, for example, the Gold Coast, Springfield or other alternative commercial, retail and residential offerings in the South East Queensland Region. Under competitive pressures, Mayor Paul Pisasale has announced plans for a giant wave pool which, although not on the same outlandish scale, mirrors Dubai's entertainment strategy (Pierce 2012). But Ipswich will find it hard to out-compete the natural advantages of coastal locations. Nevertheless it does have some compelling selling points for businesses and residents:

- Plentiful land and cheap land
- Flexible planning regime (although as mentioned this is a double-edged sword)

- Affordable housing stock
- Good road transport links to Brisbane, Toowoomba and the Gold Coast underpinned by the Ipswich Motorway upgrade
- High population growth
- Hydrocarbon resources in its hinterland
- Expanding Amberley air force base

In the minds of some investors, Ipswich's affordability and industrial advantages place it in a down market segment. Ipswich requires significant political will and financial support to escape its second-fiddle role as provider of subsistence accommodation for Brisbane. Barriers preventing regeneration 'break-out' for Ipswich are a low-quality urban form legacy and working-class or dependent social-economic profile. The first can only be transformed with large up-front costs while the second curtails incomes and hence expected investment income streams. Ipswich found a partial remedy in the massive expansion of Springfield and other sundry new estates to its East. Unfortunately, these estates with their new shopping centre, Orion Springfield, further dilute the appeal of and sap purchasing power from retail activity in Ipswich CBD. Hence, notwithstanding peripatetic festivals, Ipswich Mall is deserted on a Saturday afternoon. The other nail in the sustainable regeneration coffin for Ipswich CBD is Riverlink Shopping Centre in Bremer, in North Ipswich. Locals are attracted by the no-frills and cheap shops available in Riverlink's. In fact, it is now branded 'the regions newest shopping destination' and 'Ipswich's favourite place to shop' (Riverlink 2012). Whilst most of the general public seems content with low-end consumerism, anecdotal remarks overheard by the authors suggest its limitation ('it's boring' or there is nothing to do' etc.). In short, Riverview is a short-term palliative to stem the retail haemorrhaging but, in the longer-term, it has accentuated the challenge of Ipswich CBD regeneration.

Challenges notwithstanding, currently, Ipswich CBD regeneration strategy involves:

- Maintaining a relatively high-profile public relations posture
- Developing an opportunistic planning framework with catalyst projects and flexible planning codes without usage restrictions
- The, aptly named Icon, demonstration project

Each of the strategic prongs carries some dangers for investors. First, the public relations posturing, as illustrated by the 'wave pool' appears indiscriminate. Industrial expansion of waste processing facilities is at odds with the wave pool lifestyle message and certainly has raised some understandable health concerns for local residential investors. The indiscriminate growth message is supported by a flexible planning framework. However, lax planning can signal strategic drift, if not desperation. Second, flexible planning codes undermine spatial monopolies, essential to drive commercial value. What prevents competitors setting up shop next door and poaching market share? Finally, the emphasis on high profile projects, such as Icon, carries two risks. First, it may fail commercially much like the residential Aspire building. Second, artificially protected by a government lease, Icon could disrupt established trade although, presumably, not on the scale seen when Meyer Centre opened in Brisbane's Queen Street.

Place-making (*CBD urban form*)

The CBD in Ipswich has undergone significant change since the mid 1980's. Ipswich CBD has a history of key developments which have either prevented development within the CBD or drawn opportunities and business away from the CBD and into surrounding centres. The example of Riverlink has been provided above, along with Springfield as another example. In particular, Springfield is still experiencing growth and the provisions of additional services through the Area Development Plan (ADP) as part of the master-planning process through Ipswich City Council. "*The ADP supports Council's vision for the region and key features comprises an additional major supermarket of 5,500 square metres, around 600 additional car parks, new mini major, new tavern and approximately 40 new specialty stores*". (Source: www.orionspringfield.com.au/development)

These key drivers impacting on the Ipswich CBD are detailed in Table 3 below and derive from "PLAN 3000" Lecture, including guest Danny Keenan of Ipswich City Council.

[INSERT TABLE 3 HERE]

[INSERT TABLE 4 HERE]

Place-making (Icon project)

Icon Ipswich has been identified as “...the development that will revitalise and redefine Ipswich’s CBD, (as it represents everything that makes this city great - community, industry, history and pride...”

(Source: <http://iconipswich.com.au/vision-plans/>).

Furthermore, Icon offers a breath of fresh air and aims to:

- Trigger gentrification and improvement of businesses, services and clientele within the Ipswich CBD
- Showcase development which aims to enhance the image and amenity of Ipswich and
- Provide opportunities for future continued development.

(Source: <http://iconipswich.com.au/vision-plans/>)

Icon has been developed and wholly owned by Leighton Properties and Ipswich City Properties and offers mixed-use residential, commercial and business complex located in two towers within the Ipswich CBD. Tower 1 construction commenced in December 2011 and is due for completion in Q4 of 2013. Tower 2 construction will commence late 2012 and is due for completion in Q2 of 2014. (<http://iconipswich.com.au/vision-plans/>).

As outlined in media release “A Project that’s already making headlines”, the proposed Icon Tower 2 will be an integral part of the greater Icon Ipswich master plan – delivering an eight-storey, A-Grade commercial tower with 10,400sqm in office space and 2,000sqm in ground-floor retail, including an internal retail mall. It will also include three levels of basement car parking comprising 177 new car park spaces.

(Source: <http://iconipswich.com.au/updates/media-releases/>)

In a snapshot, Icon:

- Supports redevelopment of commercial area, healthcare, affordable real estate
- Offers a reasonable expectation for profit
- Signals to the market the potential of Ipswich as a ‘demonstration project’ or ‘catalytic’ project
- Upgrades visual amenity (Icon Tower 2 will integrate with Ipswich mall and will have a “green roof”
Demonstrates the benefits of staged development
- Provides high quality architecture and activation of urban spaces within the Ipswich CBD.

Icon is an example of a development strategy which incorporates the vision for Ipswich and responds to the needs of the community and the business environment within the Ipswich CBD. The Ipswich CBD has a history of key drivers and milestones, which have prevented the CBD from blossoming to its full potential.

Based on our research, The Icon project offers an incomplete solution to Ipswich regeneration. The Icon project could belong anywhere in the SEQ region within a medium density area. Stronger community participation could help clarify Ipswich’s unique point of difference (e.g. heritage; affordability of land; population growth; service and logistics growth; etc.).

5. Conclusion

Globally, many regional cities face unprecedented growth pressures. Jobs induced by rapid industrialisation or resource exploitation naturally attract migrants. Tardy or mismanaged regeneration responses to pressure are unsatisfactory. We seek solutions in the literature and propose a regeneration model with five domains. Project assessment criteria built on them involve process and outcome considerations. The suggested domains are: governance, economy, urban form, and transport resilience and community engagement. Essentially, we inject governance into a triple bottom sustainability framework and split the environmental domain into its regional logistic and local-scale (place-making) elements. Next, in the empirical phase of the study, we investigated a case study and, based on three framework domains; offer four regeneration insights for wider consideration.

First, each city's situation is unique so we proffer no simplistic development formula. Externally, the form and function of each city within its region varies. Internally, cities, including Ipswich, are spatially fragmented. Enclaves of privilege contrast with lingering pockets of entrenched deprivation.

Second, urban regeneration extends temporally and spatially beyond the project site boundaries or deadlines. Diminished property-driven regeneration neglects the social dimensions to sustainable housing or relegates it to an afterthought but community participation is insufficient. Government needs to seed or drive (directly or via incentives) substantive social transformation. At this wider scale, government, not developers, is responsible for long-term education, health, environmental, economic and social policies around security, sense identity and belonging. *Ceteris paribus*, projects supported with credible community social development are less risky.

Fourth, competing for investment funds, local government can rush project vetting and dilute design quality. A balance is required between short-term growth pressures and the risk of bequeathing a disjointed and visually blighted urban legacy. Continued suburban strip retail or out of town mall proliferation challenge the viability of Ipswich's CBD. But, containment via the proliferation of multiple plans and qangos is unhelpful.

Icon certainly lifts confidence for Ipswich investors, battered by the collapse of Aspire and general post-GFC downturn. But, the fate of its property market is more closely linked to the vicissitudes of mineral prices, Chinese fiscal and Reserve Bank monetary policy. The Icon tale enchants but, from the wider collective perspective, modern buildings are insufficient for sustainable regeneration. To attract talent and retain skills government must substantively address a broad mix of more intractable urban and social problems, such as chronic health, lagging state school performance, substance abuse and crime. Integrated social development requires building community health capacity while fast rail investment counters oil vulnerability. Perhaps it is fanciful to expect, dormitory cities to transmute overnight into entrepreneurial hubs. But, boosted by defence expansion, infrastructure upgrades and the upsurge in hydrocarbon prospecting in its hinterland, Ipswich continues to evolve from a gritty industrial town into a balanced retail and administrative centre.

6. References

- Australian Bureau of Statistics (2013). Ipswich LGA census community profile, accessed at http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/quickstat/LGA33960?opendocument&navpos=220 on 22 January 2013.
- Barton, H; Grant, M & Guise, R. (2003). *Shaping neighbourhoods: A guide for health, sustainability and vitality* (London: Spon).
- Blythe, A. (2002). *A Retailing History of Ipswich CBD from the mid-1970s to 2003*. Ipswich City Council and The University of Queensland, accessed at www.ipswich.qld.gov.au/.../scholarship_report_1_retail_history.pdf on 18th January 2013.
- Burton, E; Jenks, M & William, K. (1997). *The compact city: A sustainable form?* (London: Routledge).
- Bush, R. & Connors, P. (2010). *Project Report: Back on Track: An Evaluation*. Prepared in collaboration with Children of the Dreaming for the Primary Healthcare Partnership Council. Healthy Communities Research Centre, The University of Queensland.
- Colantonio, A. and Dixon, T. (2011) *Urban Regeneration & Social Sustainability*. Best Practice from European Cities. Oxford: Wiley and Blackwell.
- Colantonio A. (2010) 'Urban Social Sustainability Themes and Assessment Methods'. Proceedings of the ICE - *Urban Design and Planning*. 163 (2), 79–88.
- Davoudi, Simin (2012) 'Resilience: A Bridging Concept or a dead end?' *Planning theory & practice* 13(2) 299–307.
- Dempsey, N; Bramley, G; Power, S & C. Brown (2011). 'The social dimension of sustainable development: Defining Urban Social Sustainability'. *Sustainable Development*, 19, pp. 289-300.
- Dixon, T. & Marston, A. (2003) *The role of UK retailing in urban regeneration*. Reading, College of Estate Management.
- Dower, J. & Bush, R. (2003) *Critical Success Factors in Community Capacity Building*. Centre for Primary Health Care, The University of Queensland
- Edensor, T., Leslie, D., Millington, S. & Rantisi, N. (2009). *Spaces of Vernacular Creativity*. London, Routledge.
- Elkington, J (1997). *Cannibals with forks: The triple bottom line of 21st century business*. Oxford, Capstone.
- Evans, G. (2005) Measure for measure: evaluating the evidence of culture's contribution to regeneration, *Urban Studies*, 42 (5/6), pp. 959-983.
- Florida, R. (2004). *The rise of the creative class*. NY: Basic Books.
- Franke, T; Strauss, W-C; Reimann, B. & Beckmann, KJ (2007) *Integrated Urban Development – A prerequisite for Urban sustainability in Europe*. (Berlin: German Institute of Urban Affairs).
- Hediger, W. (2000). Sustainable development and social welfare. *Ecological Economics*, 32 (3), pp. 481-492.
- Hemphill, L, Berry, J. and McGreal, S. 2004. 'An indicator-based approach to measuring sustainable urban regeneration performance: Part 1, conceptual foundations and methodological framework'. *Urban Studies*, 41, 4, pp. 725-755.
- Jansen, J; Cuthill, M. and D Hafner (2012). 'Defining Identity in the Face of Rapid Urban Growth: Changing Times in a Regional Australian City', *Urban Policy and Research*, 30:2, 161-174

- Keenan, D. (2012) Ipswich City Council guest lecturer at PLAN 3000 Course, The University of Queensland, Brisbane August 2012
- Pacione, M. (1982). "The use of objective and subjective measures of life quality in human geography", *Progress in Human Geography*, 6, pp. 493-514.
- Pierce, J. (2012) 'The Gold Coast is locked in a race for Australia's first surfing wave pool - with Ipswich'. The Courier Mail online edition of August 21, 2012, accessed at <http://www.couriermail.com.au/news/queensland/ipswich-takes-on-gold-coast-in-chase-for-wave-pool/story-e6freoof-1226454413462> on 04 April 2013.
- Polese, M. and Stern, R (Eds). (2000). *The social sustainability of cities: Diversity and the management of change*. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press).
- Porter, M. (1995). 'The competitive advantage of the inner city'. *Harvard Business Review*, May-June, pp. 55-71.
- Proactive Investors (2013), accessed at <http://www.proactiveinvestors.com.au/sponsors/288/cockatoo-coal-0288.html> on 23 January 2013.
- Riverlink (2012), accessed at <http://www.riverlink.net.au/> on 24 Sept 2012.
- Roberts, P.(2000) 'The evolution, definition and purpose of urban regeneration', in: P. Roberts & Sykes, H. (Eds.) *Urban Regeneration. A Handbook*, pp. 9-36 (London: Routledge).
- Rollo, W. (2013). 'Indigenous group plans class action against CSG industry' ABC New online, accessed at <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-04-05/indigenous-group-plans-class-action-against-csg-industry/4611120> on 05 April 2013.
- UN Habitat (2012) *State of the World's Cities 2012/2013 Prosperity of Cities* (Series title), accessed at <http://www.unhabitat.org/pmss/listItemDetails.aspx?publicationID=3387> on 18 January 2013.
- Woodcraft, S.; Hackett, T. and Caistor-Arendar, L. (2011). *Design for Social Sustainability. A Framework for Creating Thriving New Communities*. www.youngfoundation.org
- World Bank. (2004) *Involuntary Resettlement Sourcebook Planning and Implementation in Development Projects*. The World Bank, Washington, DC 20433 ,accessed on 27 Sept 2012 at <http://www4.worldbank.org/afr/ssatp/Resources/HTML/Gender-RG/Source%20%20documents%5CTool%20Kits%20&%20Guides%5CDesigning%20Projects/TLPRO10%20invol%20resettlementsourcebookWB.pdf>

Appendix: Charts and figures

Tables

Table 1. The evolution of urban regeneration

Period/policy type	1950s Reconstruction	1960s Revitalisation	1970s Renewal	1980s Redevelopment	1990s Regeneration
Strategy	Reconstruction of older areas based on a master plan	Continuation of the 1950s. Attempts at rehabilitation.	In-situ renewal and neighbourhood schemes.	Flagship projects	Comprehensive practice and integrated treatments
Key actors	National and local government. Developers and contractors	Greater balance between public and private sector.	Private sector. Decentralisation in local government.	Private sector special agencies. Growth of partnerships	Partnership.
Scale	Local and site levels.	Regional level is emerging	Regional and local levels	Site	Reintroduction of strategic perspective: regional level
Economic focus	Public sector	Growing influence of private investment	Resource constraints. Growth of private investment.	Private sector dominant.	Greater balance between public, private funding.
Social	Improvement of living standards	Social and welfare improvement	Community based action. Greater empowerment.	Community self-help with selective state support.	Emphasis on the role of the community.
Physical emphasis	Replacement of inner area and peripheral development	Continuation of the 1950s with rehabilitation of existing areas	Extensive renewal of older urban areas	New development 'flagship schemes'	Heritage and retention
Environment	Landscaping and greening.	Selective improvements	Environmental improvement	Concern for a wider approach to environment	Development of a wider idea of environmental sustainability

Source: Roberts, 2000, p. 14.

Table 2: Social sustainability: contributory factors identified in literature review

Non-physical factors	Physical factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education and training • Social justice: inter-and intra-generational • Reasonable distribution of income for social • Residential stability (vs. turnover) to foster social capital via interactions • Sense of community and belonging cohesion • Participation and local democracy • Health, quality of life • Safety • Mixed-tenure • Employment • Cultural traditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urbanity • Attractive public realm • Decent housing • Local environmental quality and amenity • Accessibility (e.g., to local services/employment/green space) • Sustainable urban design • Walkable neighbourhood

Source: Dempsey et al., 2011

Table 3: Key drivers, timing and associated impacts on Ipswich CBD

Key driver	Timing	Impact
Fire in the centre of Ipswich	1985	This provided a catalyst to re-build Ipswich CBD Properties were bought and demolished
Open air and partly enclosed shopping centre under ownership	Late 1980's	The owners bought company in "fire sale" – centre owned by off-shore company, and the CBD died.
<p>Indooroopilly Shopping Town</p> <p>This western suburbs regional shopping centre has provided a drawcard and another 'pull' mechanism away from Ipswich CBD. Indooroopilly is a multi-storey shopping centre, which is currently undergoing a \$450 million expansion and redevelopment in 2012. It currently integrates cinemas and a Brisbane City Council library. <i>"Eureka Funds Management worked with Brisbane City Council and State Government agencies over a number of years to finalise the approved plans"</i></p> <p>(Source: http://www.indooroopillyshopping.com.au/redevelopment/index.php?id=35)</p> <p>The current expansion will mean that Indooroopilly will become even more appealing, offering a new and attractive shopping experience, so less reason to visit Ipswich.</p>	Up until the late 20 th Century	Both shopping centre developments (Indooroopilly and Riverlink) drew people away from the Ipswich city centre.
<p>Redbank Plaza.</p> <p><i>"Redbank Plaza is a multi-level, fully enclosed shopping centre, situated 28 kilometres south of Brisbane and 10kms east of the Ipswich CBD".</i> Source: (http://www.redbankplaza.com.au/default.asp?PageID=83)</p>	Up until the late 20 th Century	Both shopping centre developments (Indooroopilly and Riverlink) drew people away from the Ipswich city centre.

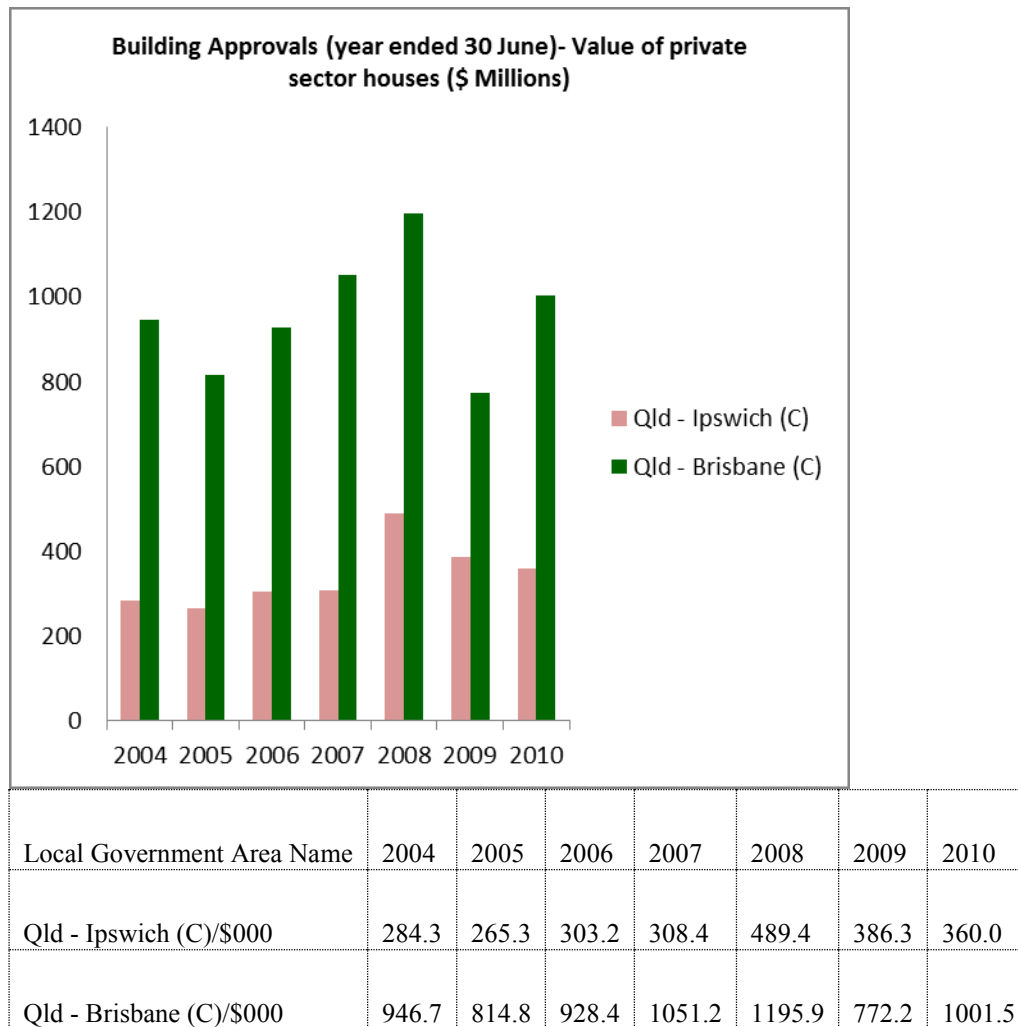
Table 4: Ipswich CBD SWOT analysis

Strengths	Weaknesses	Opportunities	Threats
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cheap and plentiful land • Some flat topography • CBD heritage presence within the • Ipswich Motorway • Flexible planning scheme • Working age demographic • Projected rapid population growth • Tertiary education and • Industrial employment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Logistics - decades of underinvestment in passenger rail services Ipswich – Brisbane train line • Half of CBD floods • Negative crime, shopping and status stigma • Blighted or poorly designed building stock • Lack of high paid employment • Social disadvantage (education under-achievement, poverty and endemic chronic disease) • Main roads bisect pedestrian pathways • Very poor streetscape design (lack of shade, trees and active frontages) • No central green spaces • Limited nightlife • Poor CPTED casual surveillance • Extensive graffiti 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition and limited response to rail issue • Growth in service and logistic sectors • Educational expansion • Population growth • Heritage • Cheap land • Diversification diversifying • Links to surrounding centres (Springfield, Ebenezer and Ripley Valley) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inadequate resources to design and managed long-term growth sustainably • Failure to attract quality investment • Excessive population growth and continued anthropogenic environmental degradation • Legacy of disconnected and poorly designed precincts/buildings without cohesion or architectural merit • Over-burdensome/ misguided restrictions • Loss of heritage • Dilution of retail spend to out-of-town malls • Failure to attract and retain educated talent • Prolonged economic downturn • Negative reputation sticks because educational and other deprivation fundamentals unresolved • Oil vulnerability

Source: Site observation, planning documents, media, expert views expressed as external guest lecturers or on site visits (UQ PLAN3000/REDE32020, conducted 2012).

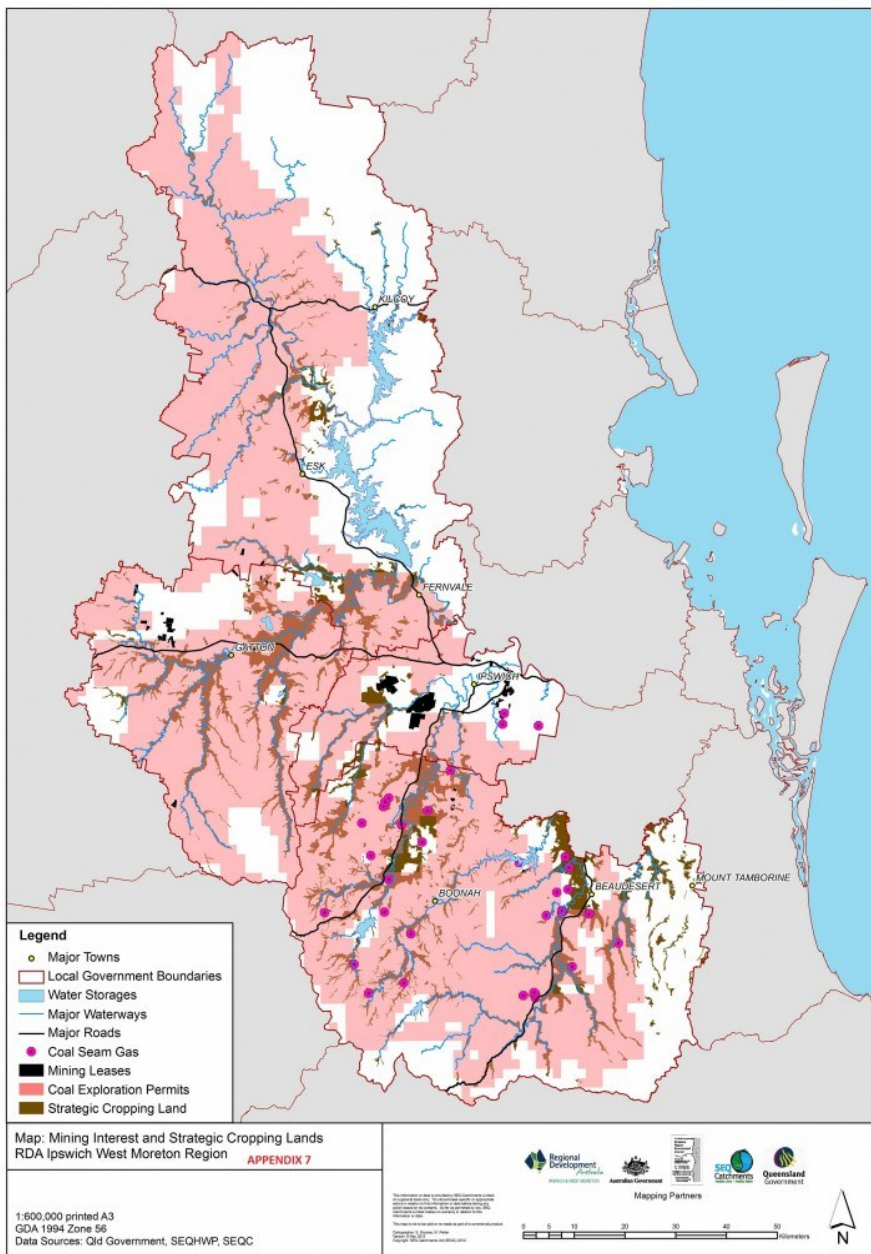
Figures

Figure 1: Comparing Brisbane and Ipswich residential property markets: value of building approvals



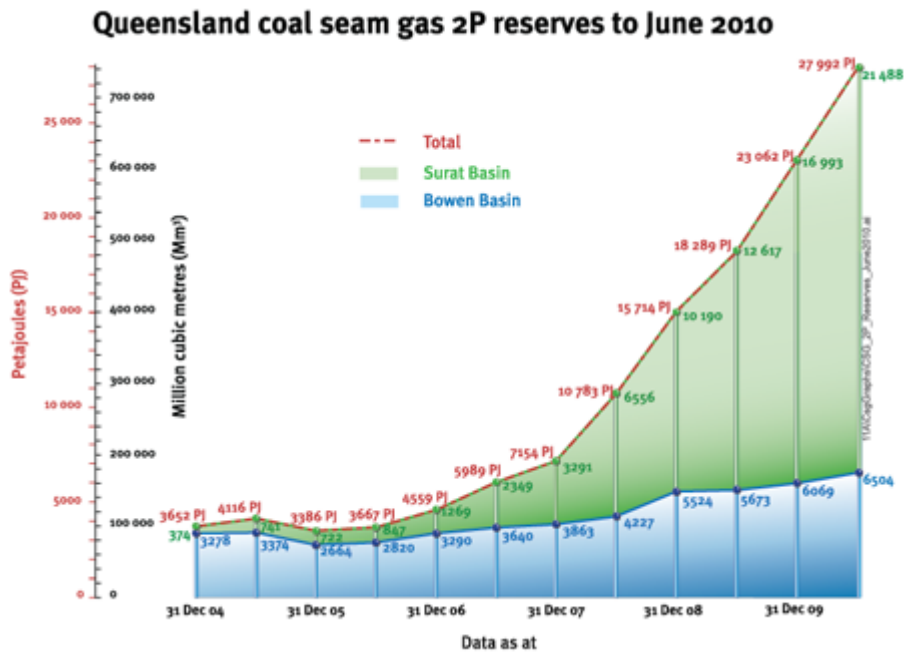
Source: ABS (2013) Catalogue 1379.0.55.001 - National Regional Profile, 2006 to 2010, released 02/04/2012, accessed <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@nrf/webpages/Compare+Regions+2006-2010?OpenDocument>.

Figure 2: Map illustrating the cast study regions its role as a conduit for regional hydrocarbon mining interests.



Source: Regional Development Australia, accessed at <http://www.rdaiwm.org.au/regional-data/mining-interests-and-strategic-cropping-lands-4/>

Figure 3: Hydrocarbon regeneration driver: the expansion of regional coal seam gas in



Source: <http://mines.industry.qld.gov.au/mining/production.htm>, accessed on n 23 January 2013.

