Defining the Density Debate: Social Representations of Urban Consolidation in Brisbane

Katrina Eve Raynor

Bachelor of Urban and Regional Planning

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

School of Civil Engineering and Built Environment

Faculty of Property and Planning

Queensland University of Technology

2017

Keywords

Urban consolidation, Social Representations Theory, Q-methodology, higher density housing, professionals, residents, perceptions, media analysis, Pragmatic Textual Analysis, Semantic Metaphorical Analysis,

Abstract

This thesis is concerned with understanding the social representations that impact on how stakeholders understand, value and act in relation to urban consolidation. Urban consolidation is a planning policy that aims to increase the density of dwellings and/ or population within an existing urban area. This policy is a substantial departure from previous urban settlement patterns in the case study city of Brisbane and has encouraged an unprecedented influx of higher density housing. Whilst urban consolidation has attracted significant policy support, it is often staunchly opposed by community groups, generates considerable controversy in scholarship and has often failed to be implemented in cities around the world. Given the wide-spread integration of urban consolidation into planning policies throughout Australia, the US, UK, NZ and parts of Western Europe, it is important to understand how this policy is understood, communicated about and implemented by stakeholders. Research suggests that urban consolidation has failed to achieve the sustainability outcomes it purports to deliver, partially due to a lack of stakeholder will, vested interests and conflicting priorities between different groups.

The research methods employed in this thesis include qualitative and quantitative media analysis and Q-methodology to ascertain what social representations about urban consolidation were apparent in the newspaper media and in interviews with planners, developers, residents, peak organisations, architects and local councillors in Brisbane. The media analysis involved Semantic Metaphorical Analysis and Pragmatic Textual Analysis of 440 articles pertaining to urban consolidation published in five Brisbane newspapers between 2007 and 2014. The Q-methodology involved interviews and q-sorting activities with 46 respondents. It interrogated these findings through the lens of Social Representations Theory, a social psychology theory concerned with the creation and circulation of common sense knowledge. The theory features an explicit focus on power, acknowledging the uneven capacity for different groups to promote their own social representations whilst silencing other realities.

This thesis provides empirical, methodological, theoretical contributions to urban research. Empirically, this thesis contributes a key insight into the planning, communication, mediation and delivery of urban consolidation and higher density housing. The study revealed that urban consolidation is a complex topic that involves associated issues of land use conflict, regional population management, investment and property, home and housing affordability, neighbourhood change and urban renewal. There are inherent challenges

associated with the recent increase in development of investor-focused inner-city apartments and the increasing emphasis on exchange value over use value in conceptualisations of housing. Similarly, it revealed significant contention surrounding the environmental, social and economic benefits of urban consolidation and an often-applied false dichotomy between urban consolidation and urban sprawl. The thesis also highlighted the broadly neoliberal perception of development in Brisbane and widely divergent perceptions of appropriate planning regulation and consultation.

The decision to apply a mixed-methods methodology involving three sophisticated methods is a key contribution of this thesis. The ability to compare social representations circulating in society (as identified in the newspaper media) and social representations communicated by individuals (during Q-methodology interviews) greatly increased the breadth and nuance of analysis in this thesis. The focus on a mixed-methods approach using both qualitative and quantitative methods resulted in complementarity and expansionary findings. In addition, the use of methods uncommon within urban studies provides a useful resource for researchers seeking innovative and effective approaches to answering their research questions.

The integration of Social Representations Theory within this thesis represents a significant theoretical contribution to urban research. The theoretical framework developed and applied throughout this thesis provides a useful lens for interrogating how knowledge is co-created, circulated and applied. It also represents an apposite framework for identifying the implications of this knowledge, including an explicit examination of who is privileged and who is silenced in the use and creation of social representations of urban consolidation.

Table of Contents

Keywords **1**
Abstract **2**
Table of Contents **4**
List of Tables **8**
List of Figures **9**
List of Abbreviations **10**
Statement of Original Authorship **11**
List of Published Works **12**
Acknowledgements **13**
Chapter One: Introduction **1**
1.1 Introduction 1
1.2 Research Background 1
1.3 Research Questions 4
1.4 Research Approach 5
1.4.1 Theoretical Framework 5
1.4.2 Methodology and Research Methods 7
1.5 Research Significance 11
1.6 Thesis Structure 13
Chapter Two: Urban Consolidation Literature Review **16**
2.1 Introduction 16
2.2 Urban Consolidation in Context: International Growth Management Policies 16
2.3 Questioning Urban Consolidation Rationales 20
2.4 Conclusion 26
Chapter Three: Stakeholder Perceptions and Representations of Urban Consolidation **27**
3.1 Introduction 27
3.2 Community and Resident Perceptions 27
3.2.1 Current High Density Dwellers 28
3.2.2 Wider Populace 30
3.2.3 Community Opposition 32
3.3 Built Environment Professional Representations of Urban Consolidation 35
3.4 Media Representations 37
3.5 Conclusion 39
Chapter Four: Applying Social Representations Theory to Urban Consolidation **41**
4.1 Introduction 41
4.2 Planning Theory and Knowledge 42

4.2.1 Social Psychology's Contribution to Planning Theory 45
4.3 Social Representations Theory 45
4.4 Social Representations of Urban Consolidation – A Theoretical Framework 58
4.4.1 Presenting the Framework 58
4.5 Conclusion 65
Chapter Five: Research Methodology and Research Methods 67
5.1 Introduction 67
5.2 Research Focus 68
5.2.1 Research Problems 68
5.2.2 Research Questions 69
5.3 Research Methodology 70
5.3.1 Case Study Research 71
5.3.2 Mixed Methods Research 72
5.3.3 Theoretical Justification 73
5.4 Methods and Research Program 74
5.4.1 Overview of Research Method 75
5.4.2 Media Analysis 76
5.4.3 Pragmatic Textual Analysis 79
5.4.4 Semantic Metaphorical Analysis 83
5.4.5 Q-Methodology 85
5.5 Research Ethics 105
5.6 Research Limitations 105
5.7 Tests of Research Quality 106
5.8 Conclusion 110
Chapter Six: Brisbane as a Case Study 111
6.1 Introduction 111
6.2 Australia's Urban Consolidation Experience 111
6.2.1 Historical Overview of Density Debates in Australia 112
6.3 Introducing Brisbane as a Case Study 115
6.4 Conclusion 125
Chapter Seven: Word Clusters in the Media: Social Representations of Urban Consolidation .. 126
7.1 Introduction 126
7.2 The Word Clusters 127
7.3 Social Representations of Urban Consolidation in Brisbane Newspaper Media 132
7.3.1 Cluster A: Planning and Politics 133
7.3.2 Cluster B: Housing and Investment 139
7.3.3 Cluster C: Urban Precincts 145
7.4 Discussion 149

7.5 Conclusion 157
Chapter Eight: Metaphors in the Media: Social Representations of Urban Consolidation 159
8.1 Introduction 159
8.2 Meaning-Making through Metaphors 160
8.3 Metaphor Categories 162
8.3.1 Neighbourhood Change and Densification 162
8.3.2 Population Growth 165
8.3.3 Urban Sprawl 167
8.3.4 Development and Investment 168
8.3.5 Higher Density Living 170
8.4 Discussion 171
8.5 Conclusion 180
Chapter Nine: Social Representations Expressed by Stakeholders: Identifying Social Representations using Q-Methodology 182
9.1 Introduction 182
9.2 Statistical Justification 183
9.3 Five Social Representations of Urban Consolidation 185
9.3.1 Factor One – Free Market Apartment Advocates 191
9.3.2 Factor Two – Community Group Advocates 194
9.3.3 Factor Three – Greenfield Advocates 197
9.3.4 Factor Four – The Cynics 200
9.3.5 Factor Five – The Happy Homeowners 203
9.4 Discussion 206
9.4.1 Divergent Social Representations of Higher Density Housing 209
9.4.2 Divergent Social Representations of 'Good' Urban Form 215
9.4.3 Divergent Social Representations of Planning Regulation 219
9.5 Conclusion 223
Chapter Ten: Discussion 226
10.1 Introduction 226
10.2 Social Representations Within Brisbane's Newspaper Media 226
10.3 Social Representations Expressed by Stakeholders in Brisbane 230
10.4 The Implications of Social Representations of Urban Consolidation in Brisbane 234
10.5 Research Contributions 242
10.5.1 Theoretical Contribution 242
10.5.2 Methodological Contribution 245
10.5.3 Practical Contributions 251
10.6 Recommended Future Research 255
10.7 Conclusion 255

References **257**
Appendix A: Detailed Pragmatic Textual Analysis Process Description **283**
Appendix B: Round One Interview Guides for Residents, Developers and Planners **287**
Appendix C: Q-Methodology Participants **290**
Appendix D: Information and Consent Sheets **291**

List of Tables

Table 1: Examples of what social representations do 51
Table 2: Research questions, objectives and purposes 70
Table 3: Newspaper sample 78
Table 4: The process of Pragmatic Textual Analysis 82
Table 5: Metaphor target and source domains 84
Table 6: Q-methodology terms 87
Table 7: Semi-structured interview participants 92
Table 8: Semi-structured interview topics 93
Table 9: Q-Sort statements 96
Table 10: Sampling and rationale for Q-study participants 100
Table 11: Tests of research quality 110
Table 12: Increases in attached and detached dwellings between 2001 and 2011 117
Table 13: Word Clusters including representative words and phrases 130
Table 14: Similarities between different factors 186
Table 15: Ranking of statements by factor 189
Table 16: PTA, SMA and Q-methodology comparison 248
Table 17: Breakdown of developer participants 290
Table 18: Breakdown of resident participants 290

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map showing Brisbane's location 8
Figure 2: Theoretical framework 60
Figure 3: Research methods overview 76
Figure 4: Number of articles by year and source 78
Figure 5: Q-methodology process 88
Figure 6: Q-study participants 98
Figure 7: Participant response template 102
Figure 8: Map showing Brisbane's location 116
Figure 9: Dwelling approvals 2006 – 2016 118
Figure 10: Word class and cluster dendogram 128
Figure 11: Correspondence Analysis graph 132
Figure 12: Theoretical framework applied to PTA 152
Figure 13: Metaphorical mapping between source and target domains 161
Figure 14: Theoretical framework applied to SMA 173
Figure 15: Scree plot of eigenvalues 184
Figure 16: Factor One respondents 191
Figure 17: Factor Two respondents 194
Figure 18: Factor Three respondents 198
Figure 19: Factor Four respondents 201
Figure 20: Factor Five respondents 203
Figure 21: Theoretical framework applied to Q-methodology 208

List of Abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AHURI	Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute
BCC	Brisbane City Council
DINKS	Double Income No Kids
IRaMuTeq	R interface for Multidimensional Analysis of Texts and Questionnaires (in French)
LGAQ	Local Government Association of Queensland
NZ	New Zealand
NIMBY	Not In My Back Yard
PIA	Planning Institute of Australia
PCA	Property Council of Australia
PTA	Pragmatic Textual Analysis
Qld	Queensland
REIQ	Real Estate Institute of Queensland
SEQ	South East Queensland
SINKS	Single Income No Kids
SMA	Semantic Metaphorical Analysis
SR	Social Representation
SRT	Social Representation Theory
TOD	Transit Oriented Development
UDIA	Urban Development Institute of Australia
ULDA	Urban Land Development Authority
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States

Statement of Original Authorship

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

QUT Verified Signature

Signature:

Date: 31 May 2017

List of Published Works

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles

Raynor, K., Matthews, T., & Mayere, S. (2016). Shaping urban consolidation debates: Social representations in Brisbane newspaper media. *Urban Studies*, 0042098015624385.

Raynor, K., Mayere, S., & Matthews, T. (2017). Do 'city shapers' really support urban consolidation? The case of Brisbane, Australia. *Urban Studies*.

Peer-Reviewed Conference Paper

Raynor, K., Matthews, T., & Mayere, S. (2015). *Defining the density debate in Brisbane: how urban consolidation is represented in the media*. Paper presented at the State of Australian Cities Conference, Gold Coast

Conference Presentations

Raynor, K. (2016). *Social Representations of Children in Higher Density Housing: Enviable, Inevitable or Evil?* Paper presented at the IV World Planning Schools Congress, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Acknowledgements

This is my favourite page of them all. This is where I get to officially enshrine my love, respect, gratitude and affection for all the people who have held my hand through this process.

Firstly, I am grateful to my supervisors Dr Severine Mayere, Dr Tony Matthews and Dr Carl Grodach. Sev and Tony, you were there at the conception of this idea about urban consolidation and have been with me right through to the end. Carl, thank you for your guidance in my final rush towards the finish line. Thank you all for your insight and input. Thank you all for gently nudging me in the right direction and letting me find my own way when that was what I needed. Thank you for supporting both my research and teaching development and for always being in my corner. Truly, I have been lucky.

I am deeply grateful to my compatriots in the trenches of QUT PhD World. To Hannah Stanley, Dr Ruth Potts, Ghazal Amirinejad, Dr Lachlan McClure, Rachel Eberhard, Melissa David and Mark Limb – thank you for your much appreciated support and good humour. I'm also indebted to the inspirational academic and karaoke talents of the Griffith crew of Dr Rachel Cole-Hawthorne, Dr Edward Morgan and Dr Natalie Osborne. Thanks for showing me the light at the end of the tunnel.

To Professor Carolyn Whitzman, thank you for giving me a new home at the University of Melbourne even though I hadn't finished my thesis yet.

Thank you also to my Q-study participants. Your insights and your patience was much appreciated.

I am also eternally grateful to my housemates and sisters, Alexandra Settle and Katie Dawson, for the countless bottles of wine and platters of cheese. Thanks for talking me down whenever I threatened to burn it all and run away to join the circus. To my family who have supported me the whole way – thank you for feeding me, loving me and letting me complain. Mum and Rowan, you are my scaffolding. Thank you for holding me together when I lost a father and gained a doctorate in the same week.

Finally, to Tom, thank you for being my Editor-In-Chief, head cheerleader and safe harbour.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 *Introduction*

This thesis is concerned with one of the most contentious and widely-applied planning policies in Australia: urban consolidation. Urban consolidation is defined as an urban policy concerned with increasing the density of dwellings and/or population within an existing urban area. Higher density housing is defined as all attached dwellings from townhouses through to high-rise apartments. The thesis deliberately avoids a prescriptive definition of medium and high density as the research is concerned with investigating stakeholder and media perceptions and representations rather than imposing pre-defined terms on the study. This thesis uses Brisbane, Australia's third largest city and the capital of Queensland, as a case study. In particular, it focuses on the constellation of beliefs, narratives, images, metaphors, values and tropes applied by stakeholders to communicate about and evaluate urban consolidation and higher density housing.

This focus is a valuable contribution to urban planning scholarship as it helps to highlight the ways in which urban 'problems' and 'solutions' are socially represented by individuals, groups and the media. These representations are based on socially-mediated knowledge and understandings and help to shape the way planning policies and development outcomes are delivered in Brisbane. As such, a nuanced analysis of the way urban consolidation is socially represented can reveal insights into who is privileged in urban debates, which voices are silenced and how various groups structure arguments to support their own interests. This process is particularly evident in social representations pertaining to higher density housing, 'good' urban form and the level of regulation and community consultation necessary in development processes.

1.2 *Research Background*

Policies designed to manage urban growth and concentrate development within existing urban areas are currently being pursued in the UK (Williams, 2004, p. 3), the United States (Dong & Zhu, 2015), Canada (Grant, 2009) and New Zealand (Boon, 2010). In Australia, urban consolidation has been adopted in planning policy in all capital cities (Bunker & Searle, 2009). While it has attracted significant support in planning policy, it remains a contentious issue in

planning scholarship and has inspired substantial debate about its veracity, acceptability and feasibility (Breheny, 1997). It has achieved limited success in meeting its stated aims in Australia (Bunker, 2014) and it often encounters staunch opposition from community groups and local politicians (Cook, Taylor, Hurley, & Colic-Peisker, 2012; Ruming & Houston, 2013). A number of scholars have attributed this lack of success to the vested interests of stakeholders engaged in planning and development (Bunce, 2004; Ford, 2013; Grant, 2009). As Knaap (2000, p. 331) has argued, urban consolidation is predominantly "a political process, the outcome of which depends on the players involved and the relative power and prowess of those players."

These conditions have occurred within the context of scholarly urban debates that often stridently oppose urban consolidation. A lineage of influential authors have shaped Australian scholarship pertaining to urban consolidation. Patrick Troy, in particular, has been a vocal opponent of urban consolidation. In his influential book, *'The perils of urban consolidation: a discussion of Australian housing and urban development policies,'* Troy (1996, p. vi) writes that in promoting urban consolidation "[Commonwealth and State Governments] have defied expressions of social desire, acted King Canute-like to deny the tide of economic forces." Similarly, Hugh Stretton's (1970) '*Ideas for Australian Cities,'* in which he strenuously defends the value of suburbs, has been described as one of the most influential texts in Australian urban studies (Hamnett, 2015). A similar argument can be traced in the work of Paul Mees (2010, p. xi), who argued that the miss-guided idea that compact cities "can provide a substitute for getting policies and planning right… has been wide-spread across the 'Anglosphere' for at least two decades." Brendan Gleeson's critique of density has moved from describing it as "a remarkably blunt instrument and one that risks visiting potentially destructive and disruptive forces upon urban communities" (Dodson & Gleeson, 2007, p. 10) to a critique of the field of research concerned with density as characterised by "spatial fetishism, physical determinism and ecological fallacy" (Gleeson, 2014, p. 83).

Despite prolonged and engaged debate about the built-form outcomes of urban consolidation, there has been a marked lack of consideration of the "social influences that condition the debate about density… [including] the different values, political outlooks and priorities that participants bring to the discussion of density" (Dodson & Gleeson, 2007, p. 1). This thesis seeks to remedy this deficit by explicitly interrogating the values, ideas, narratives, images and priorities expressed in the newspaper media and by key stakeholders in Brisbane. There is a paucity of literature concerned with the representation of urban

consolidation in the media. Similarly, there is little research investigating how residents and built environment professionals interpret and evaluate urban consolidation in Brisbane. This thesis investigates the perspectives of a range of stakeholders impacted by urban consolidation policy and higher density housing in Brisbane. These stakeholders range from residents with no previous formal involvement with planning or development processes to community group leaders, planners, developers, architects, peak organisation representatives and local councillors. These stakeholders do not reflect the full scope of perspectives pertaining to urban consolidation in Brisbane but were chosen to represent a theoretically varied spectrum of opinions.

Research concerned with community perceptions of urban consolidation is most commonly focused on specific examples of opposition to contentious development (Ruming, 2014a). Such research rarely engages with residents that are supportive of or ambivalent about higher density housing and focuses on a localised, narrow topic of debate. The limited literature that engages with professional interpretations of urban consolidation in Australia has found differing definitions and scepticism surrounding its ability to deliver on sustainability outcomes (Sivam, Karuppannan, & Davis, 2012). This gap in the literature is surprising given the power of planners, architects, peak organisations, politicians, residents, community groups and developers to shape and influence urban development. Healey and Barrett (1990, p. 90) note the importance of identifying the "strategies, interests and actions of various agents involved in the development process" while Giddens (1984, p. 17) recommends considering the "ideas and values people hold about what they should build, what they would like to occupy and what kind of environment they seek."

These gaps in the literature present several problems. First, higher density housing and urban consolidation constitutes a significant departure from the existing, predominantly low-density built form in Brisbane and from the dispersed, car-dependent built form that has typified parts of Australia, NZ, the UK and the US since the end of World War II (Filion, 2010). As such, little is known about the ways in which stakeholders interpret, understand, respond to and evaluate urban consolidation. Attempts to increase the density of existing neighbourhoods has often met with staunch community opposition (Ruming, Houston, & Amati, 2011). Particularly in the case of community members, those without a direct experience of higher density housing are likely to engage with density debates tangentially, often relying on the media and existing tropes to interpret urban consolidation policy (Tighe, 2010).

Second, urban policy is often interpreted and re-interpreted by stakeholders and the media in a variety of ways to support vested interests (Jacobs & Pawson, 2015). The ability to shape and interpret the 'reality' of these policies is often a function of power and access to resources (Jacobs, 2015). While urban consolidation is ostensibly promoted to achieve triple bottom-line sustainability, little is known about the ways justifications for densification are actually operationalised, prioritised and interpreted in the delivery of this policy. Much planning literature has noted the capacity for stakeholders to manufacture information and narratives to suit their own ends (Flyvbjerg, 1998). Given that urban consolidation is the predominant planning policy applied within Australia, it is important to reveal how stakeholders and the media understand, manipulate and communicate about the concept.

1.3 *Research Questions*

The problems articulated above are the impetus for the investigations to follow. Put simply, this thesis seeks to interrogate how residents, built environment professionals and the media interpret and communicate about urban consolidation in Brisbane. It is situated within a body of planning literature that acknowledges the power-laden and socially-mediated nature of knowledge and seeks to problematise empirical 'truths' about urban consolidation. The thesis was developed to meet three key research aims. These are; 1) describe the social representations pertaining to urban consolidation circulating in society and expressed by individuals 2) critically analyse the implications of the value-laden social representations of urban consolidation. In meeting the first two research aims, the research will 3) present and justify a useful theoretical framework and novel methodological approach designed to identify and analyse the manifold ways urban consolidation is represented and responded to in Brisbane. The below questions were developed to meet these research aims.

1. How does the newspaper media represent urban consolidation in Brisbane?
2. How do stakeholders collectively define, evaluate, prioritise and communicate about urban consolidation in Brisbane?
3. How do these social representations function to privilege the needs and perspectives of some groups and silence others?

Answering these questions serves both a descriptive and an evaluative function. Question one and two are designed to highlight the "ideas, values and practices" (Moscovici, 1973, p. xiii) associated with urban consolidation in Brisbane. They provide a description of the social representations circulating in society and residing in the minds of key stakeholders

in Brisbane. In this way, it highlights the priorities, fears and hopes of stakeholders and identifies the most salient aspects of this urban policy in the media and urban debates. Answering these questions constitutes a valuable contribution to existing urban consolidation and planning literature and aids in interpreting the ways in which stakeholders perceive of this policy and associated concepts.

However, this thesis moves beyond a purely descriptive analysis. Question three requires a critical reflection on the implications of the ways in which urban consolidation is understood and discussed. Social representations come to constitute reality and therefore serve to delineate possible actions and descriptions. Further, different social representations compete in their claims to reality and so defend, limit and exclude other realities (Howarth, 2006). Different individuals and groups have greater power to reinforce particular social representations. For this reason, it is important to ask how these social representations function to privilege the needs and perspectives of some groups and silence others. Answering this question yields a critical insight into the way urban consolidation is justified and implemented in Brisbane. It also provides a problematised conceptualisation of intensification strategies more generally as it highlights the 'winners' and 'losers' of urban debates and challenges the a-political perception of urban policy.

1.4 *Research Approach*

1.4.1 Theoretical Framework

This thesis is primarily concerned with 'common sense' knowledge or taken for granted assumptions about urban consolidation. It posits that knowledge is never disinterested and the construction of reality is inherently power-laden. The research questions are intrinsically connected to the theoretical framework devised for this thesis and have directly influenced the research approach. The theoretical framework presented in this thesis was developed based on Social Representations Theory (SRT), a theory concerned with knowledge creation and circulation and derived from social psychology (Wagner & Hayes, 2005). The theoretical framework was devised to address the sociological aspects of urban consolidation. Social representations are both "a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world" (Moscovici, 1973, p. xvii). The main aim of SRT is to understand how in today's public spheres, composed of a multitude of subjectivities and meanings, different knowledges are created, contested and transformed

by and for social groups (Howarth, 2006; Jovchelovitch, 2007). These knowledges influence how people discuss, conceptualise and react to certain phenomena like urban consolidation. As such, identifying social representations can aid in understanding the ways urban consolidation is comprehended and acted upon in Brisbane.

This thesis outlines five key aspects of SRT that are particularly pertinent to urban studies. First, SRT elaborates a theory for the way in which individuals and groups assimilate new knowledge. Second, SRT provides a critical theoretical position that explicitly acknowledges the role of power in the creation of social representations and in influencing actions. Third, it allows for an explicit focus on lay knowledge and social perceptions of risk. Fourth, SRT provides a developed theoretical position on both individual and social knowledge creation. Finally, its theoretical treatment of social groups provides insight into the ways information is shared and how it differs across different groups.

The theoretical framework posits two processes that aid in the creation of social representations and the assimilation of new knowledge: anchoring and objectification. These processes are the "contents of communication" (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999, p. 165) or the "communicative mechanisms" (Höijer, 2011, p. 3) used to share and transform common sense understandings of novel phenomena. Anchoring involves the naming and classifying of novel encounters, ideas and things in order to furnish social groups with a basic understanding of a novel concept (Wagner & Hayes, 2005). It is a kind of cultural assimilation that allows new social representations to be 'mapped' to a well-known phenomenon or context (Höijer, 2011). As SRT posits that a phenomenon must be socially represented to become an object for a group, anchoring is a universal prerequisite for cognition. Objectification makes abstract new ideas concrete and functions to saturate the unfamiliar with something easier to understand. It makes the unknown known by transforming it into something tangible (Höijer, 2011). The process of objectification results in the construction of an icon, metaphor or trope that comes to stand for the new phenomenon or idea. This is exemplified in commonly used images such as melting icecaps, stranded polar bears and factories pumping out noxious fumes to denote climate change. Objectification, employed by people trying to understand new forms of information, "ensure core values and norms are stamped onto new events and drive mutations in common sense over time" (Joffe, 2003, p. 63).

The power of social representations lies in their ability to constitute reality (Howarth, 2006). Social representations are not only embedded in social practices but are also constitutive of these practices (Elcheroth, Doise, & Reicher, 2011). They function as self-

fulfilling prophecies in that they create the practices that sustain them (Elcheroth et al., 2011). This is particularly pertinent as different social representations compete and therefore serve to limit, defend and exclude other realities (Howarth, 2006). Howarth (2006) conceptualises this process as the battleground of social representation upon which different groups exercise their power to fight for their own interpretations of a phenomenon. The framework developed and applied in this thesis is explicitly concerned with identifying how social representations legitimise certain knowledges over others and so lead to unequal social relations.

SRT is also a useful lens for identifying lay conceptualisations of a phenomenon. SRT, like much planning literature, rejects the privileging of professional or scientific knowledge and instead supports the notion of multiple truths. In line with SRT, this thesis posits that knowledge is created both through individual cognition and through inter-subjective communication and interaction with the mass media (Campbell & Marshall, 2000; Elcheroth et al., 2011; Howarth, 2006). In this way, it presents a theory for how knowledge circulates through society and how conflict between different groups arises due to different interpretations of phenomena.

1.4.2 Methodology and Research Methods

This thesis uses Brisbane, Australia's third largest city, as a case study. (See Figure 1 for an illustration of Brisbane's location). Brisbane and Queensland (Qld) experienced dramatic and sustained population growth in the decade to 2015. With an average annual growth rate of 2%, Queensland was the second fastest growing state in Australia during this period (Queensland Government Statistician's Office, 2016). In this context and in line with many other cities in the US, Canada, the UK and New Zealand, Brisbane is pursuing policies designed to locate housing in higher density nodes within the existing urban footprint. Brisbane presents an appropriate case study due to the city's unfamiliarity with higher density housing and urban consolidation policy, its unique governance arrangements and the level of hostility some members of the population have shown towards density increases.

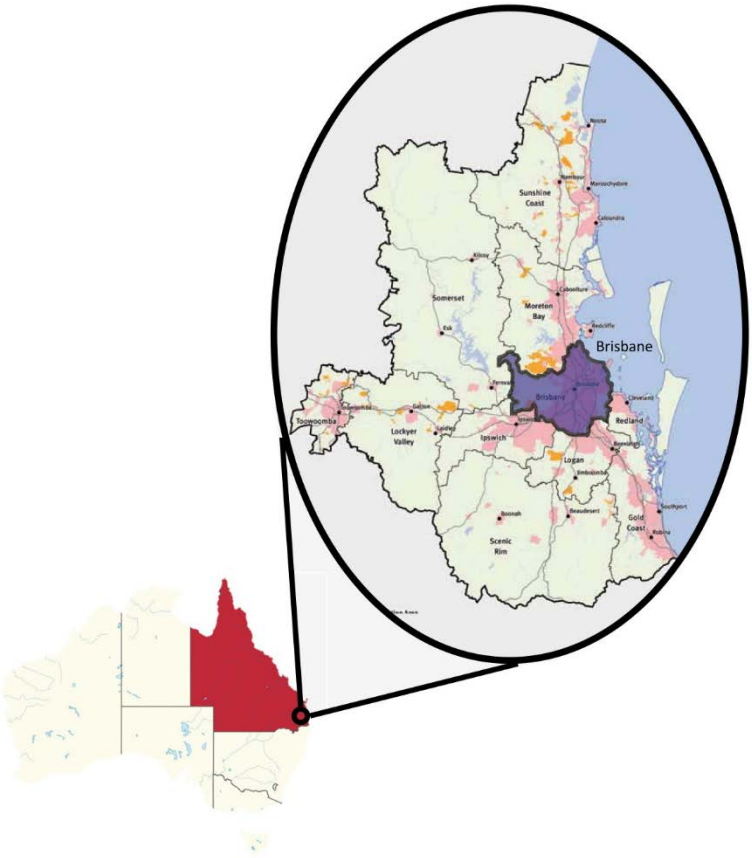


Figure 1: Map showing Brisbane's location

Brisbane has developed with a very low-density, dispersed urban form by international standards (Buys & Miller, 2011; Gillen, 2006). With a population density of 1000 people per km^2, it is lower than Sydney (1900/ km^2), Los Angeles (2400/ km^2) and Toronto (2900/ km^2) (Demographia, 2014). Similarly, Brisbane and the surrounding region of South East Queensland historically developed without any statutory parameters managing regional growth (Michell & Wadley, 2004). The first statutory regional plan was not implemented until 2005 (Peterson, McAlpine, Ward, & Rayner, 2007). As such, residents and built form professionals of Brisbane and SEQ are currently negotiating the urban consolidation in the context of a city and region that has seen relatively unimpeded urban expansion for much of its history.

Brisbane is also unique within Australia due to the significant power and size of the local government. The Brisbane Local Government has jurisdiction over the entire city, allowing the council to assume metropolitan planning power in many cases (Searle, 2010). Searle (2013) suggests that the rapid implementation of higher density housing within Brisbane is partially a function of larger wards containing larger populations and an associated dilution of influence of community groups. Even within this context, Brisbane has shown significant

opposition to urban consolidation and higher density housing. Resident groups such as Concerned Residents Against Milton's Excessive Development (CRAMED) and Brisbane Residents United (BRU) have mounted staunch oppositional campaigns to developments throughout Brisbane (Brisbane Residents United, 2016). Similarly, the Queensland division of the Urban Development Institute of Australia (UDIA) has been vociferous in advocating for continued urban expansion at the city periphery, citing housing affordability and diverse housing choices as key reasons why land supply should be substantially increased (UDIAQld, 2015). At the same time, Bunker (2014) argues that little consolidation has occurred in Brisbane.

The research questions and theoretical framework necessitated a mixed-methods approach designed to identify the complexity of social representations and instances of anchoring and objectification apparent both in society and individual minds. Bauer and Gaskell (1999) advocate exploring both individual cognitions and formal communication using a combination of interviews or questionnaires and mass media contents. They suggest that the triangulation of these data sources serves to encapsulate the entire spectrum of different perspectives. This approach serves to "determine core and peripheral elements of a representation, map contradictions and consistencies and explore the functions of the representation across the different modes and mediums" (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999, p. 171).

As such, the thesis employed three research methods including two media analysis approaches, (Pragmatic Textual Analysis and Semantic Metaphorical Analysis) and a statement-sorting interview activity (Q-methodology). The two media analysis techniques both examined 440 newspaper articles published in five Brisbane newspapers between 2007 and 2014. These newspapers focus on different geographical scales: local (Northside Chronicle and South-East Advertiser), metropolitan (the Brisbane Times) and state-wide (The Courier Mail and The Sunday Mail). The search terms used to find the articles were ["high* density" OR "infill" OR "urban consolidation"].

Pragmatic Textual Analysis (PTA) is a quantitative computer assisted text mining method designed to identify meanings communicated in large text corpus. It has been described as a quantified and detailed form of content analysis (Lahlou, 1996) and combination of textual and statistical analysis (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2005). The technique is designed to reveal 'word clusters' of commonly co-occurring words. Using software called IRaMuTeq, the research identified clusters of words that were semantically similar based on how often they were anchored in a similar context or category. The research method used correspondence analysis to identify five key social representations and their most representative words.

Semantic Metaphorical Analysis (SMA) is a qualitative content analysis technique based on identifying instances of metaphorical anchoring and objectification in texts. The application of a metaphor serves to compare a less familiar phenomenon with a more familiar concept. In so doing, the attributes of the more familiar concept are conferred onto the less familiar phenomenon (Wagner, Elejabarrieta, & Lahnsteiner, 1995). This process serves to objectify and make tangible abstract or unfamiliar ideas. The newspaper corpus was coded for instances of metaphorical anchoring and objectification and these metaphors were placed in themes to reveal trends in the use of metaphors in the newspaper media.

The Q-methodology component of the thesis required 46 participants to sort several Q-statements from 'most agree' to 'least agree' and explain their decisions in a recorded interview. This hybrid qual-quant method employs an inverted factor analysis to group individuals who sorted their Q-statements in a similar fashion (Watts & Stenner, 2012). These groups of clustered individuals shared a social representation characterised by a similar pattern of prioritised statements that form a theory-like construct of urban consolidation. The method also resulted in a rich seam of qualitative interview content that explains and describes the social representations revealed in the Q-study.

The decision to question social representations communicated in the newspaper media is based upon both theoretical and conceptual considerations. SRT places a specific emphasis on the socially-mediated nature of knowledge, advocating the identification of "ideas that reside outside of individual minds" (Joffe, 2003, p. 66). While the ability of the media to substantially impact policy is contested, Moscovici (1976) argues that the media can shape, convey and legitimate a certain view of reality, which in turn influences policy debates, context and decisions. Similarly, as Sochacka, Jolly, and Kavanagh (2011) have argued, media analysis can also result in a better understanding of the social and cultural considerations that may be over-looked by expert-led management of housing. While print newspapers have suffered declining readership rates and a lack of engagement with younger demographics in recent times, they have bolstered their influence through an online presence and remain an important source of local news (Zenor, 2012). Further, newspaper coverage can be considered indicative of other news sources as Australian media platforms maintain significant content sharing deals between newspapers, television and radio news (Brevini, 2015).

Questioning the social representations of residents and built form professionals in Brisbane is an important contribution to extant urban consolidation literature. Q-methodology is concerned with subjective perspectives and combines the nuances of

qualitative interviews with the rigour of statistical analysis (Watts & Stenner, 2012). Not only does this thesis serve to highlight the priorities, perspectives and values of stakeholders with a strong influence in the urban consolidation debate, this thesis also engages with residents with little involvement in urban development processes who are rarely canvassed in urban planning literature. The thesis also takes a gestalt view of urban consolidation perspectives, allowing for an interrogation of the manifold other associated aspects that impact social representations of urban consolidation. Together, understanding the social representations used by individuals and groups in Brisbane provides a more nuanced insight into how stakeholders evaluate this policy and structure their narratives to achieve their own ends.

1.5 *Research Significance*

This thesis is empirically, theoretically, methodologically and practically significant. The following section outlines the various contributions of this thesis to each of these categories.

Empirical: This thesis presents novel empirical insights pertaining to the social representations applied by the media and stakeholders in Brisbane. In particular, the thesis reveals strong contention surrounding the value and nature of higher density housing, ideas of 'good' urban form and the role of planning regulation and community consultation in the development process. The nature of the research approach and theoretical framework avoided analysing urban consolidation in a silo and instead revealed that urban consolidation is associated with regional population growth management, *Local political decision making*, *Housing affordability and home*, *The property market* and *Urban precincts*. Similarly, it is objectified in imagery and metaphors associated with population growth, urban sprawl, neighbourhood change, urban renewal, development and investment and higher density living.

These insights provide a more nuanced insight into how stakeholders perceive, enact and manipulate ideas about urban consolidation in Brisbane. It also illustrates who is silenced and who is privileged in discussions and practices surrounding this policy. In particular, urban consolidation and development largely silences the needs of lower income households, especially those with children. Similarly, the focus on consolidation as an antidote to suburban sprawl is accompanied by little articulation or awareness of the environmental or social benefits of higher density development. Market-lead development with little planning intervention continues to be the expected method of housing delivery.

Theoretical: The theoretical framework devised for this thesis is a valuable contribution to planning literature and an apposite theoretical lens to analyse ideas, values and practices surrounding urban consolidation. The theoretical framework employs SRT to understand the ways different social groups create common sense understandings of a novel phenomenon. SRT has rarely been applied within urban studies. Nonetheless, it presents theoretical clarity for understanding conflict between social groups, reactions to unfamiliar phenomena and the construction of power-laden narratives designed to achieve a particular agenda. In particular, the communicative mechanisms of anchoring and objectification are useful lenses to identify the process of the translation of knowledge and common sense.

Methodological: This thesis employed a mixed-methodology that combined qualitative and quantitative methods to provide a nuanced insight into social representations of urban consolidation in Brisbane. PTA, SMA and Q-methodology are all uncommon within urban studies and an extensive review of literature has revealed no studies that employ all three methods in the same research project. This thesis presents three useful and appropriate research methods to the repertoire of research methods available to urban researchers interested in the construction of social representations or values, ideas and practices more generally. The mixed-methodology research process was designed to be complementary and expansionary. Complementarity is achieved by "measuring overlapping as well as different aspects of a phenomena in order to enrich the understanding of the phenomenon" (Gaber & Gaber, 1997, p. 99). Expansion seeks to extend the "breadth and range of enquiry by using different methods for different inquiry components" (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989, p. 259). The findings recounted in Chapter Seven, Eight and Nine complement and extend each other as social representations identified in the media analysis techniques are often reflected in the Q-methodology findings.

Practical: This thesis offers key lessons for stakeholders concerned with planning cities and neighbourhoods, engaging with the community and designing, influencing and delivering housing. The research outlines a continued antipathy towards higher density housing as a long-term housing choice and recommends intervention to ensure development more directly reflects the needs and aspirations of end-users rather than just investors. It also reveals a growing acceptance of medium density housing and housing diversity by residents, developers, councillors, peak organisations, planners and architects. Further, it reveals a lack of resident consideration of the potential environmental benefits of higher density housing and a pervasive 'othering' of residents living in higher density both within media articles and in government statements. This presents a practical challenge for 'selling'

densification to communities. The analysis also revealed significant confusion and frustration with performance-based planning processes by residents, planners and developers.

1.6 *Thesis Structure*

This thesis responds to the research problems and questions outlined earlier in this chapter. It achieves this in ten chapters that outline the theoretical framework, describe the research methodology, present the research findings and critically analyse the outcomes of the research. The structure of these chapters is provided below.

Chapter Two contains a review of relevant literature pertaining to urban consolidation both internationally and within Australia. It focuses on the overarching justifications employed to advocate urban consolidation policy. It then provides a critical analysis of research concerned with the sustainability and feasibility credentials of urban consolidation.

Chapter Three complements and extends the literature review provided in Chapter Two. It focuses on the acceptability of urban consolidation and provides a critical analysis of research investigating stakeholder perceptions of this urban policy. This chapter is structured to reflect the findings derived from this thesis. As such, it outlines previous research concerned with the perceptions of residents and built form professionals. It also provides insight into the small body of research that has engaged with media representations of urban consolidation.

Chapter Four constitutes the theoretical contribution of this thesis. It situates the thesis within a body of planning theory concerned with the power of language to shape reality and acknowledges the socially constructed nature of knowledge. It presents and justifies the application of SRT, a theory of common sense knowledge derived from social psychology. Following this, Chapter Four describes and justifies the theoretical framework applied throughout this thesis. This novel theoretical framework underpins the analysis of all findings and represents a nuanced approach to understanding the common sense interpretation of urban policies and outcomes.

Chapter Five presents the research methodology and methods employed in this thesis. The methodology reflects the theoretical framework justified in Chapter Four and the research questions outlined earlier in this chapter. This thesis employs three discrete research methods, developed to satisfy the needs of a mixed-methodology. Two methods involved media analysis of 440 newspaper articles published in Brisbane between 2007 and

2014 and one method involved interviews and sorting activities undertaken with 46 stakeholders within Brisbane. Chapter Five describes the steps taken to complete the two media analysis methods (Pragmatic Textual Analysis and Semantic Metaphorical Analysis) and the interviews and sorting activity (Q-methodology). The chapter concludes with a discussion of research quality and provides a justification for the research process devised and applied throughout the thesis.

Chapter Six provides a description and justification of the case study. It begins with a broad summary of Australia's history of urban consolidation implementation and interpretation. Following this, it describes Brisbane, outlining the planning and development, governance and community engagement and advocacy and interest group context of Australia's third largest city. This chapter justifies the choice of Brisbane as an apposite case study for studying stakeholder and media representations of a novel urban policy. It also provides the context for the following three findings chapters.

Chapter Seven is the first of three chapters devoted to discussing and critically analysing the findings derived from the three research methods employed within the thesis. Chapter Seven focuses on the PTA findings. The Chapter discusses the six word classes or social representations identified through a quantitative PTA of word co-occurrences within the newspaper corpus. These social representations are named: *Managing regional population growth*, *Local political decision making*, *Housing affordability and home*, *The property market* and *Urban precincts*. This chapter discusses the implications of these social representations, drawing attention to the priorities revealed through this analysis.

Following on from the quantitative analysis of the newspaper corpus, Chapter Eight provides a qualitative analysis of the metaphors utilised throughout the newspaper reporting of urban consolidation in Brisbane. The SMA provides a nuanced insight into the ways the media communicates and translates ideas, values and practices surrounding urban consolidation. The Chapter focuses on metaphorical descriptions of neighbourhood change and densification, population growth, urban sprawl, development and investment and higher density living.

The final findings chapter, Chapter Nine, recounts and critically analyses the findings from the Q-study. These findings include a quantitative clustering of individuals with shared social representations of urban consolidation. It also includes a qualitative analysis of interview transcripts to provide an in-depth image of urban consolidation perceptions in Brisbane. This analysis reveals five key social representations (SRs) held by clusters of

individuals in different social milieus; *Free market apartment advocates*, *Community group advocates*, *Greenfield advocates*, *The cynics* and *The happy homeowners*. The division in social representations was predominantly caused by differing opinions about higher density housing, 'good' urban form and the role of planning regulation and community consultation.

Chapter Ten represents the culmination of the thesis. It presents overarching research conclusions and discusses key insights derived from the thesis. This chapter concisely responds to the research questions and discusses the theoretical, methodological and practical contributions of this thesis.

Chapter Two: Urban Consolidation Literature Review

2.1 *Introduction*

This chapter is the first of two chapters devoted to highlighting and critically examining the literature pertaining to urban consolidation. The aim of this chapter is to provide an insight into the debates surrounding urban consolidation, focusing predominantly on the rationales used to justify its implementation. After situating urban consolidation policy and delivery within an international context, the chapter will predominantly focus on Australian literature. The literature review begins with a broad discussion of urban consolidation internationally, locating the policy within a historical context of growth management approaches. It will then discuss consolidation literature with a particular focus on studies designed to test the triple bottom line sustainability claims made by proponents of consolidation and the feasibility of delivering this policy in Australian cities. The chapter will conclude with a summary of this literature, commenting on the contradictory and highly context-dependant nature of support for urban consolidation.

The Chapter Two literature review complements and supports the Chapter Three literature review. While Chapter Two focuses on broad debates supporting and contesting urban consolidation, Chapter Three narrows the scope to research investigating perceptions of this urban policy and its acceptability among different stakeholders.

2.2 *Urban Consolidation in Context: International Growth Management Policies*

The desire to manage growth and curtail urban sprawl is neither new nor endemic to Australia. Twentieth century thinking about urban containment was strongly influenced by Ebenezer Howard's 'Garden City' and the associated emphasis on green belts (Nelson & Dawkins, 2004). This idea, originating in England, was a reflection of a desire to curtail rapid and uncontrolled urban growth and was quickly exported to other locations including the US (Amati & Taylor, 2010). Urban consolidation in its current iteration is part of a larger

acknowledgement of the detrimental impacts of unregulated urban growth that has shaped urban debates since the years following World War Two in the UK, North America, Australia, New Zealand and parts of Western Europe (Pollard, 2000).

Since the first urban containment plan was applied in Lexington and Fayette County in Kentucky in 1958, growth management and urban containment have been recurring themes in the rhetoric of North American planning (Pollard, 2000). In 1960 the American sociologist and politician Daniel Patrick Moynihan warned that the American government "can no longer ignore what is happening as the suburbs eat endlessly into the countryside" (Moynihan, 1960 in Pollard, 2000, p. 250). This theme continued through the 1960s, 70s and 80s as a range of growth management approaches were employed with limited success in Northern America (Burchell, Listokin, & Galley, 2000).

In the US, 'Smart Growth' emerged in the mid to late 1990s as the next evolution of the growth management debate (Burchell et al., 2000). Smart growth is fundamentally concerned with promoting compact and contiguous development patterns that can be efficiently served by public services and to preserve open space, agricultural land and environmentally sensitive areas (Nelson & Duncan, 1995). Smart growth policies were implemented in an attempt to control outward movement, revitalise inner-city areas, improve neighbourhood attractiveness and cohesion, encourage sustainable transport usage and preserve natural resources (Burchell et al., 2000). While smart growth retains some of the goals of earlier comprehensive growth management efforts, it is less regulatory, more market oriented and more comprehensive in its approach to addressing barriers to sensible land use and transport policies than previous growth management approaches (Pollard, 2000).

The US has implemented a variety of techniques to encourage smart growth principles. Consequently, it is now a widely-applied planning policy that has been delivered using a range of planning tools. Undertaking an urban containment framework analysis, Nelson and Dawkins (2004) identified four types of containment policy differentiated by weak or strong growth boundaries and policies that restricted or accommodated development. Their work illustrates the difference of objectives, policies, justification and governance structures applied to urban containment initiatives in the US. For example, Massachusetts and Maryland have developed an indirect incentive structure that links greater funding to local governments that apply smart growth policies consistent with state guidelines on sustainability (Hawkins, 2011). Portland, with its international reputation for smart growth policies, has employed a range of strategies including an Urban Growth Boundary and state

planning goals designed to encourage mixed-use, high-density and transit-oriented development (Dong & Gliebe, 2012; Huber & Currie, 2007). In Boston, Massachusetts, smart growth is about providing housing and quality of life for the knowledge industry's key workers (Krueger & Gibbs, 2007).

Canada applies an approach that focuses on creating medium and high density nodes and promoting greater public transport usage (Filion & Kramer, 2011). Canada's history of infrastructure investments focused on car use and multiple interests invested in its transport systems and built environment have served to frustrate attempts to apply smart growth principles (Filion & Kramer, 2011). Despite this, Vancouver is often cited as an international success story for compact city ideals. The Greater Vancouver Regional District has been applying and regulating a nodal strategy and growth boundary since 1975 and has a strong history of tying public transport infrastructure to nodes (Filion & Kramer, 2011). Similarly, New Zealand planning policy reflects international examples. Auckland has recently delineated a Rural Urban Boundary to demarcate urban limits for the next 30 years (Rowe, 2012). The city has also applied several tools to promote 'compact city' principles, such as "amending zoning to allow greater densities to be achieved, using Council-owned property as a catalyst for change, working with the private sector in joint ventures and investigating targeted reduction in development contributions and other financial incentives to stimulate development in the urban areas" (Rowe, 2012, p. 80).

Planning policies in the UK and much of Europe have advocated similar strategies under the banner of "the compact city" using "intensification," "densification" or "consolidation" to increase the density of population in urban areas (Burton, 2000). Differences in demographic and physical contexts have resulted in some variations in the aims and justifications for these policies. In Europe, steadily declining urban populations have resulted in a compact city model focused on maintaining or increasing urban populations and making urban living popular again (Williams, 2004). The UK has a long history of land use planning, with stringent development controls on all urban and rural land since the implementation of the Town and Country Planning Act in 1947 (Millward, 2006). Despite this, traditional urban development patterns have focused on dispersal and suburbanisation. Particularly in the period between 1979 and the early 1990s, the roll-out of neoliberalism was accompanied by a physical rolling out of suburban development at the city outskirts (Holman, Mace, Paccoud, & Sundaresan, 2015). Reflecting international trends, this changed in the mid to late 90s. Tony Blair and New Labour's rise to power in 1997 prompted a shift towards a greater

emphasis on neoliberal social, economic and environmental reforms aimed at revitalising the inner-city (Holman et al., 2015; Williams, 2004).

While policies necessarily differ across different countries and different cities, a few aspects are relatively common experiences internationally. Searle and Filion (2011, p. 11) commented on an "almost systemic" NIMBY (Not in My Backyard) experience in both Australian and Canadian contexts. Research from New Zealand (Vallance, Perkins, & Moore, 2005b) and the US (Lewis & Baldassare, 2010) suggest a similar experience in these countries as well. Similarly, the Australian fixation on the sustainability of the suburban form is reflected in "similar if not identical" debates in North America and parts of Western Europe (Gleeson, 2008, p. 2653). This focus on sustainability has often been challenged in the literature, with many arguing that the sustainability discourse serves to legitimise the vested interests of those supporting inner-city development (Rosol, 2013).The focus on sustainability is reflected across the international discourse surrounding smart growth, urban consolidation and the compact city. While many scholars have focused on the policy's ability to achieve sustainability outcomes, there is a substantial body of research that has argued that sustainability serves as a discursive strategy to legitimise neoliberal agendas (Bunce, 2004; While, Jonas, & Gibbs, 2004).

Neoliberalism, within an urban context, advocates for creating and maintaining private sector investment as a method for producing revenue for the city or reducing its budget outlays. The role of government is to create conditions for economic growth based on the assumption that the social and economic benefits of a robust economy will trickle down from the elites to the general population (Grodach & Ehrenfeucht, 2016). It is associated with a move from managerial to entrepreneurial approaches to city planning (Harvey, 1990). This move involves a greater emphasis on private investment in delivering development goals and the creation of spaces designed for tourism and consumption. It is also associated with gentrification, inner-city revitalisation and the marketing of consumer amenities (Grodach & Ehrenfeucht, 2016)

The roll-out of neoliberalism since the mid 1980's has resulted in a substantial re-imagining of the role and purview of planning (Sager, 2014). Increasingly, the role of planning is to create globally competitive cities and facilitate economic growth (Olesen, 2013; Peck & Tickell, 2002). This has translated into policies designed to concentrate public expenditure on major cities and regions as key sites for economic activity. Similarly, the neoliberal agenda of urban growth, competition and commodification has resulted in inner city revitalisation projects and luxury, inner city housing aimed at consumer citizens (Kern, 2007). In Canada,

Bunce (2004, p. 180) has argued that smart growth's sustainability discourse is merely a "public rationale for the primary municipal goal of increasing Toronto's economic and land-use development through private-sector investment and the attraction of skilled, professional labour to the city."

Urban consolidation, the compact city and smart growth have been positioned as a market-based, or neoliberal, approach to sustainable planning that promotes the devolution of growth management from the state to the market (Krueger & Gibbs, 2008) whilst allowing the state to appear to be taking an active role in conserving and protecting vulnerable land (Bunce, 2004). Internationally this focus on environmentalism and market-lead development has also been attributed with the success of smart growth as it mobilises a broader coalition of government actors, the community and the development industry (Burchell et al., 2000). However, scholars have questioned whether the market-lead approach will successfully produce sustainable outcomes without more government intervention (Krueger & Gibbs, 2008).

2.3 *Questioning Urban Consolidation Rationales*

As previously stated, urban consolidation has attracted significant scholarly debate. Gleeson (2008, p. 2656) has identified a "suburban melodrama" characterised by polarised positions on the benefits of density and an overly deterministic view on the ability of urban form to impact on sustainability. This topic has divided scholars along several lines of inquiry. Among the most cited benefits are "…less car dependency, low emissions, reduced energy consumption, better public transport services, increased overall accessibility, the re-use of infrastructure and previously developed land, the rejuvenation of existing urban areas and urban vitality, a high quality of life, the preservation of green space and a milieu for enhanced business and trading activities" (Thomas & Cousins, 1996, p. 56). However, a large body of research has shown these claims to be wishful thinking and naïve (see de Roo & Miller, 2000 for a summary). Breheny (1997) suggested that urban consolidation is most often challenged based on its veracity, feasibility and acceptability. The veracity claims usually refer to urban consolidation's ability to achieve triple bottom-line sustainability outcomes. Feasibility refers to the capacity for consolidation policies to be physically implemented in cities. Acceptability is concerned with the way urban consolidation is perceived by stakeholders and its popularity across a range of interest groups. The following section will discuss the veracity and feasibility aspects of urban consolidation research. Research pertaining to acceptability forms a key component of this thesis and will be critically analysed in Chapter Three.

Economic Arguments

The economic debate focuses on the efficient use of land and existing infrastructure (Hillier, Yiftachel, & Betham, 1991; Troy, 1996). Proponents of smart growth and urban consolidation cite the benefits of planned growth near current communities that take advantage of existing infrastructure and increased investment in current neighbourhoods (Burchell et al., 2002; Downs, 2005). Research has found that the average cost per lot for infrastructure provision to a greenfield site is much higher than to an infill site (Adrian, 1991; infraPlan, 2013). Research undertaken by Curtin University in 2008 calculated that, for every 1000 dwellings, the infrastructure cost for infill was $309 million while greenfield was $653 million (Trubka, Newman, & Bilsborough, 2008). Proponents of this view also cite the economic and social benefits to society such as increased social capital and economic productivity as a result of better health and closer-knit communities (Adams, 2009).

Initially, increasing population density in the inner city was seen as a way of harnessing existing infrastructure that had become increasingly underutilised as residents of the inner city moved to the suburbs in search of higher quality of life (Dodson, 2012). Despite this, findings on the actual infrastructure cost benefits have been labelled as inconclusive (McLoughlin, 1993), marginal (Cardew, 1989) or non-existent (Troy, 1996). It is widely acknowledged that infrastructure costs differ dramatically based on location-specific factors (infraPlan, 2013). Urban consolidation's promise to make use of spare capacity in underutilised inner urban areas may not be valid (Troy, 1996) given that many existing infrastructure systems are antiquated and operating at or near capacity and require substantial upgrades to cater for additional development (Searle, 2003).

Social Arguments

Social arguments have traditionally been the most contested justification for urban consolidation (Burton, 2000; Hillier et al., 1991) and typically concentrate on social equity, housing affordability and greater housing choice considerations (Ancell & Thompson-Fawcett, 2008; Bunker, Holloway, & Randolph, 2005a). Proponents claim that compact development supports community-oriented social patterns (for example, Katz, Scully, & Bressi, 1994). A study conducted by Elizabeth Burton in the UK in 2000 found that density of urban form has limited relationship with social equity, delivering both positive (increased public transport use, reduced social segregation and better access to facilities) and negative (domestic living space, housing affordability, crime levels and walking/ cycling levels) impacts. In Australia, traditional perceptions of apartments as a temporary housing option more attractive to investors than resident owners (Yates, 2001), coupled with relatively low

security of tenure for private rental (Hulse, Milligan, & Easthope, 2011) has led to high levels of residential churn in higher density housing (Easthope et al., 2014). This is associated with real or perceived lower levels of community in high rise developments.

Urban consolidation, or the associated North American notion of smart growth, has been substantially critiqued as a neoliberal agenda based on competition and commodification (Kern, 2007). Desfor, Keil, Kipfer, and Wekerle (2006) refer to the intensification of Toronto's inner-city as a process of "embourgeoisement" that serves to displace lower income households and usher in a new population of middle-class residents. In Australia, Legacy and Leshinsky (2013) draw attention to the capacity for compact city policies to result in a rise in land values and highlight the impacts of the ensuing gentrification. Urban consolidation is often conceptualised as a result of neoliberal attempts to develop high-value inner-city areas with little consideration of environmental and social outcomes (Bunce, 2004). It becomes a "means through which investment in "valuable" urban space becomes a virtue above all others, even if actual densities do not increase or if increases in density compromise residents' own notions of what constitutes sustainability" (Leffers & Ballamingie, 2013, p. 146)

The impact of urban consolidation on housing affordability has attracted much research and industry debate, particularly in the US, with strong proponents on either side of the discussion (Dawkins & Nelson, 2002; Donovan & Neiman, 1995; Pendall, Puentes, & Martin, 2006). Research and debate is concerned with the relative cost of constructing higher density housing and the impact of urban growth boundaries and other consolidation policies on land and house prices (Gurran, 2008). Development costs per dwelling are higher for higher density housing than detached housing on greenfield sites (Kulish, Richards, & Gillitzer, 2012). This is a function of the cost of labour, materials and access to sites. It is also a function of the structure of the development and finance markets in Brisbane. Unlike greenfield development, infill housing is typified by high barriers to entry and lower levels of competition. The complexity, cost and difficulties of securing finance associated with higher density multiple-dwelling developments has resulted in larger, more sophisticated construction firms dominating this housing sub-market (Coiacetto, 2007). Land development is more complex in the 'commercial' or higher density housing market. This necessitates a more qualified construction work force and more corporate knowledge of development techniques. The requirements often preclude smaller, less established developers from entering the market and further constrain competition in this market (Rowley & Phibbs, 2012). Furthermore, private-sector market targeting strategies have a considerable impact

on housing provision. In Brisbane, Coiacetto (2007) has argued that developer's preference for delivering luxury products has resulted in a deficit of new, lower-end and first-home buyer housing products.

Higher prices are not solely a result of higher construction costs and supply impacts. From a demand perspective, 'good planning' that leads to urban consolidation is often associated with an increase in amenity in densifying areas, increasing demand and causing an increase in house prices (Dawkins & Nelson, 2002). The renewal of inner city areas often coincides with higher value housing markets, reflecting the relative value of high accessibility, efficient service provision, economic vitality and the investment certainty associated with clear planning requirements (Gurran, 2008). This exacerbates the existing gap in prices between inner and outer urban areas. The structure of Australian housing markets means that higher density housing tends to occur in high-value areas in which higher land prices justify the additional expense and risk associated with this land use (Dodson 2010). For this reason, it is argued that infill housing rarely delivers the affordability outcomes it purports to achieve. Despite this, Aurand (2010) found that intensifying neighbourhoods with a greater variety of housing types and residential density delivered both a greater quantity of units affordable to very low-income renters and, at the same time, a greater quantity of units that are not affordable. In Australia, statistical analysis of rapidly densifying suburbs in Adelaide, Perth, Melbourne and Sydney between 2001 and 2006 found an increase in medium density housing did not dramatically change social composition of suburbs. Similarly, house prices moved in concert with surrounding suburbs, neither dampening house prices nor increasing the cost of units (Kupke, Rossini, & McGreal, 2010).

The ability of urban consolidation policies to support housing affordability has also been questioned by industry groups such as the Urban Development Institute of Australia and Property Council of Australia. Such groups argue that planning regulations impose unreasonable costs on developers and obstruct efficient market mechanisms by enforcing excessive regulations, increasing development costs through the higher holding costs and constraining land supply (Oxley, 2008). They argue that removing these regulations and constraints would dramatically reduce house prices in the region (Moran, 2006). A study by Gurran, Ruming, and Randolph (2009) found that planning system complexity and ambiguity is associated with significant costs for housing development in Australia. In particular, opponents argue that Urban Growth Boundaries raise land prices and decrease housing affordability by restricting the amount of land available for development (Buxton & Taylor, 2011).

The literature on the correlation between urban consolidation policies and housing affordability has produced varied accounts, but price increases have been associated with the imposition of growth management provisions in some cases (Addison, Zhang, & Coomes, 2013). Dawkins and Nelson (2002), after reviewing international literature on the impact of urban containment policies on housing prices, found that urban containment programs do affect land prices, and that housing producers do not always respond to higher land prices by increasing the density of development. However, they concluded that price impacts are multifaceted and depend on demand and supply elasticity, local housing markets and the style of policy implementation. Different housing sub-markets function differently, so cheap and ample house at the city fringe will rarely impact the price of housing in well-serviced inner-city locations (Gurran, 2008). Similarly, a rapid increase in land supply can often serve to deflate land prices to the point where landholders decide not to sell until demand pushes prices up again (Gurran, 2008).This results in the perverse outcome of decreased housing supply.

Environmental Arguments

Most empirical research has concerned itself with environmental impacts such as energy, transport emissions, loss of open land natural habitats and resource depletion. Arguments against the strategy have cited higher water and energy consumption (Randolph & Troy, 2008), higher embodied in energy in building construction and usage (Perkins, Hamnett, Pullen, Zito, & Trebilcock, 2009) and the inability to dramatically restrain sprawl (McLoughlin, 1991) as key reasons why it should be avoided.

The body of work linking transport mode choice to built-form has been described as ambiguous and contradictory, illustrating that transport choices are multifaceted and complex (Buys & Miller, 2011). Newman and Kenworthy's much-cited research (Newman & Kenworthy, 1989a; Newman & Kenworthy, 1989b; Newman & Kenworthy, 1996) strongly supports the idea that intensity of land use is significantly and positively correlated with lower petrol consumption. In addition, research has shown that residents of inner-city apartments consume less transport than their suburban counterparts (Perkins et al., 2009). Proponents have also claimed that compact cities use up to 40% less transport energy than sprawling cities (Newton, Newman, Manins, Simpson, & Smith, 1997).

However, according to Mees (2009), the relationship between density and transport behaviour may have been dramatically overstated. Various studies have found that transport policy (Mees, 2009) and the degree of metropolitan centralisation have a far higher impact

on travel mode choice than population densities (Ewing & Cervero, 2010; Hall, 2007; Mees, 2009). This argument is particularly pertinent in Australia where market-led development has resulted in a lack of strategic transit nodes (Bunker & Searle, 2009; Buxton & Tieman, 2005) and little public transport improvement in the middle and outer urban rings with the greatest auto-reliance (Dodson, 2010). Ferreira and Batey (2011) have taken this argument further, positing that compaction strategies in large cities would actually create even more travel demand due to the wide range of opportunities provided by agglomeration and more time spent traveling due to congestion. Overall, research into the relationship between urban form and transport behaviour is highly equivocal and often contradictory (Crane, 2000; Neuman, 2005a)

Feasibility Arguments

The lack of consideration of economic, technical and political feasibility of urban consolidation in Australian cities has been widely criticised (Randolph & Tice, 2013; Searle, 2010). While it has been proposed that Australia's comparatively low density urban form provides significant opportunity for increased infill development (Searle, 2003), substantial barriers have also been identified. The ability of cities to sustain increased population or dwelling densities is constrained by "infrastructure capacity, land capacity, maximum density, loss of economic activity, and market demand" (Searle, 2004, p. 43).

A key barrier is the Australian reliance on cars. Dodson and Gleeson (2007) have suggested that the lack of successful higher density development in Australia is a result of the reluctance of planners to suppress car use in high density environments. This leads to 'vertical sprawl' where people and cars are crammed into the city. A number of scholars have suggested that the structure of Australia's metropolitan regions and property markets will provide an insurmountable barrier to realising the contained, consolidated policies advocated by policy makers. Dodson, Gleeson and Spiller (2012, p121) argue that consolidation policies are challenged by the fact that Australian cities are "differentiated and dispersed rather than neatly multi-nucleated." Similarly, Forster (2006) has suggested that realities of the increasingly complex, dispersed, residentially-differentiated suburban metropolitan areas most Australians live in are so far removed from the containment-consolidation-centres paradigm followed by planning authorities that they may be irreconcilable

Scholars attribute the lack of infill development in Brisbane partially to a lack of market and economic feasibility (Gillen, 2007; Searle, 2010). The cost of developing an infill dwelling

in Brisbane is currently 42% higher than developing in greenfield locations (National Housing Supply Council, 2010), presenting a key economic barrier to South East Queensland's ambitious consolidation targets. In addition, the uncertainty surrounding the delivery of new, higher density housing in areas characterised by low density has discouraged developers (Gillen, 2007). Concerns about physical constraints, lack of suitable sites, fragmented land ownership, community opposition and economic challenges such as lower profit margins, high site, construction and labour costs, infrastructure upgrades and regulatory charges have all been cited as potential barriers (Gillen, 2007; Rowley & Phibbs, 2012)

2.4 *Conclusion*

Chapter Two provided a discussion of growth management and urban consolidation literature, drawing upon international and Australian scholarship. The chapter provided an overview of urban consolidation scholarship, focusing on the sustainability and feasibility debates apparent in urban consolidation literature. The literature indicates that the impact of urban consolidation is highly context-specific. The certainty with which urban consolidation is promoted as a planning policy in Australia and internationally belies the complexity of debates surrounding its implementation. While achieving higher densities has become a core principle in many planning situations (Holman et al., 2015), this chapter has revealed a far more nuanced understanding of the outcomes of this policy.

Chapter Two is the first of two literature review chapters in this thesis. While Chapter Two broadly outlines the contours of urban consolidation literature, Chapter Three narrows the scope to a sub-set of the literature specifically concerned with perceptions and representations of urban consolidation. This literature investigates the acceptability of urban consolidation, an area of research that has received less attention than studies concerned with the veracity or feasibility of this urban policy (Breheny, 1997). Chapter Three builds upon the insights of Chapter Two and together Chapter Two and Three provide a nuanced insight into the extant literature relevant to this study.

Chapter Three: Stakeholder Perceptions and Representations of Urban Consolidation

3.1 *Introduction*

The aim of this chapter is to critically analyse the literature concerned with stakeholder representations and perceptions of urban consolidation. It complements and extends Chapter Two by narrowing the scope of the literature. Chapter Three is concerned with the way urban consolidation is interpreted by a wide range of stakeholders, including the media. The central aim of this literature review is to provide insight into the ways in which residents, built form professionals and the media understand, categorise and construct narratives about urban consolidation. These stakeholders uphold values, beliefs, myths, images and metaphors that constitute the social representations circulating in society and help to inform the ways stakeholders speak about and react to urban consolidation and associated phenomenon. They reveal the 'common sense' knowledge created, disseminated and used by stakeholders when interacting with urban consolidation or higher density housing.

This literature review highlights the wide diversity of knowledges applied by different groups and individuals and identifies the divergence of priorities and interests involved in urban consolidation debates. The literature review begins with a critical analysis of literature concerned with higher density housing residents, localised development disputes and community attitudes about densification processes. Following this, the chapter will discuss professional perspectives of planning and housing strategies. Finally, the chapter will critically engage with literature pertaining to media representations of urban consolidation.

3.2 *Community and Resident Perceptions*

The past few decades of urban consolidation debate have resulted in a welcome proliferation of studies designed to assess public attitudes towards the process of increasing residential density in existing urban areas. However, this field of research has rarely investigated Brisbane. To date, very few studies have addressed the acceptability of urban consolidation in Brisbane (see Buys & Miller, 2012; McCrea & Walters, 2012; Searle, 2010 for

exceptions to this statement). This research is particularly pertinent given the intense controversy that has often accompanied urban consolidation projects both in Australia (Cook, Taylor, & Hurley, 2013; Ruming, 2014b) and internationally (Downs, 2005; Jenks, 2013). According to Downs (2005), while compaction strategies have been praised by environmentalists, planners, some public officials and innovative developers, there has been a marked lack of support from "plain citizens." This fact constitutes a large barrier to the successful implementation and uptake of urban consolidation.

The public are not passive recipients of urban and housing policy and development in Australia and have a democratic right to vote for the political party that best reflects their interests. Elected representatives are influenced by a range of considerations including personal ideology, public interests and private interests (Levine & Forrence, 1990). As such, the voting public has power to help define public interest and shape the context of urban consolidation outcomes. In countries where home-ownership is the dominant tenure home owners represent a significant political force (Ronald, 2008). Similarly, communities can mobilise around particular interests and political messages to impact planning outcomes. Eidelman (2010) argues that this phenomenon occurred in Ontario, Canada where pressure from outer suburban communities resulted in the establishment of a greenbelt devised partially to garner support in key electoral districts. In Melbourne, Taylor (2013) found that communities with greater economic resources and interests were more likely to object to and appeal development, thereby impacting development patterns across the city.

Scholarly research into perceptions of urban consolidation has largely concerned itself with three areas of interest; 1) attitudes and perceptions of current higher density residents; 2) attitudes of the wider populace and potential future consumers of higher density housing and; 3) the mostly negative reactions of communities directly impacted by urban consolidation.

3.2.1 Current High Density Dwellers

Research into the attitudes, attributes and experiences of residents of higher density developments is still relatively scarce (Baker, 2013; Gifford, 2007). While narratives of the 'empty nesters,' 'young professionals' and 'consumer-citizens' expected to choose higher densities are evident in literature (Baker, 2013), the "social context in which this form of housing is delivered, or its likely social outcomes" (Randolph, 2006, p. 475) is relatively unknown. Indeed, recent research conducted in Sydney and Melbourne into who lives in

high density housing has found widely disparate markets for higher density despite almost identical planning policies in these two cities (Randolph & Tice, 2013).

The small pool of research pertaining to residential satisfaction in higher densities has highlighted the contextual nature of residential satisfaction. Research undertaken in the UK found 72% of residents in urban areas were either satisfied or very satisfied with where they lived, in comparison with 85% of suburban dwellers who reported the same levels of satisfaction (Jenks, 2013). However, levels of satisfaction differed greatly across surveyed areas with some urban areas reporting higher satisfaction than suburban areas. In fact, some research has found medium density has the capacity to deliver greater quality of life than low density housing based on multiple factors such as school services, building aesthetics and external conditions (Walton, Murray, & Thomas, 2008). Despite this, it has been widely reported that higher density housing is generally seen as neither a long term housing choice (Buys & Miller, 2012; Howley, 2009; Howley, Scott, & Redmond, 2009), nor an appropriate place to raise a family (Easthope & Tice, 2011).

Scholars have noted several governance and operational challenges inherent to multi-title development (building and land subdivisions that incorporate individual ownership of dwelling and common ownership of shared spaces). These challenges are apparent throughout the phases of multi-title developments from planning and development through to termination of older stock and have the potential to significantly impact on the lived experiences of residents (Easthope et al., 2014). From the beginning, developers have less capacity to determine who will live in the development, resulting in decreased opportunities to address social, environmental and economic factors pertinent to the building's design. Multi title developments also present challenges in terms of governing residents and the negotiation of body corporate rules and the moderation of behaviour such as noise, smoking and pets. These compromises made between residents can be interpreted as constraints on personal freedom and create a need for cooperation (Yip & Forrest, 2002). As strata-titled housing is still relatively scarce in Australia, this represents a stark contrast to traditional notions of home ownership and freedom, autonomy and independence often upheld in Australia.

Research has often reported resident dissatisfaction with caretaker contracts and internal governance as many residents feel they have little control over important issues affecting their quality of life and are subject to bullying from more powerful entities (Fisher & McPhail, 2014). There are also tensions inherent in the negotiation of sinking funds as shared financial responsibility for the maintenance of buildings can cause contention

between investors and owner occupiers with different financial resources and priorities. Finally, shared ownership can cause conflict as the building begins to age and owners come under increased pressure to sell their apartment to allow for redevelopment (Easthope et al., 2014).

Randolph (2006) has also highlighted a fundamental change in the ownership structures of higher density housing, suggesting this will impact on the way it is designed and governed, and ultimately, the lived experiences of those residing within these dwellings. Randolph (2006) argues that the high proportion of higher density housing stock sold to investors will see both a higher proportion of renters living in these dwellings and a housing market increasing targeted at the desires and priorities of investors rather than those residing in the housing stock. Multiple studies have associated higher levels of renting with social churn and a lower sense of community (Easthope et al., 2014; Randolph, 2006). Similarly, the factors that drive investment decisions differ greatly from the factors considered by those residing in dwellings, potentially resulting in the design and location of buildings that do not meet the needs or desires of those living within them.

3.2.2 Wider Populace

Research concerned with community attitudes towards growth management, urban consolidation and higher density housing has predominantly taken the form of housing preference studies, often using surveys to determine characteristics of potential apartment dwellers. Life-cycle is often cited as a key factor in attitudes to consolidation (Jansen, Cuthill, & Hafner, 2012; Lewis & Baldassare, 2010) with young, single people overrepresented in higher density and families with children avoiding it (Heath, 2001; Howley et al., 2009; Jenks, 2013). The relevance of socio-economic status is less obvious with some studies finding the least advantaged are attracted to higher density (Jenks, 2013; Lewis & Baldassare, 2010) while others finding greater levels of affluence associated with this housing choice (Howley et al., 2009). Political ideology (Lewis & Baldassare, 2010) as well as moral intuitions (Lewis, 2013) have both been shown to determine attitudes to urban consolidation (Lewis & Baldassare, 2010). However, studies have shown that acceptance of consolidation policy has little connection to residential housing preferences (Ruming, 2014b). In addition, the public appears to have little awareness of the impacts and implications of sprawl and consolidation (Fischer, 2011) and little knowledge of planning policies (Ruming, 2014b).

There is a widely-held assumption that the quarter-acre block is not only something that all Australians aspire to, but something they deserve in order to achieve the "Australian Dream" (Kellett, 2011). This notion is the product of a long history of suburban development patterns and aspirations in Australia. According to Davison (Forthcoming), the suburb has been associated with the aesthetic, moral, sanitary and social aspirations of the urban middle class since the 1840s. Summarising previous research conducted between 1970 and 1992, Wulff, Healy, and Reynolds (2004) reported an overwhelming Australian preference for homeownership of detached dwellings. This finding was corroborated in 2011 by a Grattan Institute Report that reported the continuing though decreasing preference for detached dwellings (Kelly, Breadon, & Reichl, 2011) and research that suggests that, despite the predicted impacts of demographic shift, small households have not shown a preference for smaller dwellings (Wulff et al., 2004) . These attitudes are deeply embedded in Australia's history of suburban living. Principle reasons cited in the literature for the preference for suburban living include; association with affluence and success; perceptions of safety; privacy; a setting of space, nature and greenery; and ease of automobile use and parking (Smith & Billig, 2012).

Despite this, there has been a documented shift in housing preferences toward more compact living patterns for baby boomers in the US (Myers & Gearin, 2001), a trend that is predicted to be replicated in Australia (Kellett, 2011). In addition, The Grattan Institute found a marked mismatch in desired and available housing, refuting the assumption that all Australians desire a detached house. The report found a deficit in semi-detached housing availability (Kelly et al., 2011). A study conducted in Adelaide in 2010 found the importance placed on large backyards was diminishing with around 30% of residences reporting their yards were too big and over 50% anticipating it would become too large as they aged (Kellett, 2011). While this trend has been associated with a trend towards larger houses which consume more of the available block (Hall, 2010), it could also signal a movement towards preference for higher density and the improved proximity to employment, shopping and entertainment it represents (Buys & Miller, 2012).

Most of this research, while providing useful insights into community attitudes, has been undertaken using reductionist socio-demographic categories and an unquestioning assumption about how communities define and perceive higher density. This is an approach much maligned by post-positivist researchers such as Dryzek (1994) and Durning (1999) who suggest that the positivist emphasis on an objective truth has contributed to poor analysis, especially of complex issues. Bishop (1995) questioned the ongoing, consistent and dramatic

opposition to higher density development in Australia revealed in surveys, suggesting that methodological issues may contribute to these findings. Bishop noted that most housing preference research is conducted in locations experiencing current or imminent change, a fact that may influence respondents to approach answering questions in the context of being fearful of a negative change to their current, pleasant neighbourhood situation. In addition, Bishop (1995) proposed that resident's concerns may be exacerbated by the failings inherent in survey methodology. In particular, communicating what a more 'consolidated' suburb looks like, either using images or written or verbal descriptions requires participants to imagine a real life situation. The mental images that participants draw upon to understand and respond to the question may not seem to be congruent with their existing, well-loved neighbourhood. Many responses may therefore represent generalised avoidance of risks associated with change, territorialism, expectation or stereotyping of possible future residents, or generalised symbolic judgments about what consolidation or increased density really means.

3.2.3 Community Opposition

Community objection to unwanted developments has inspired much academic attention (eg. Alves, 2006; Dear, 1992; Ellis, 2004; Searle, 2007; Snary, 2004). More specifically, there is an increasing body of work relating to opposition to urban consolidation in Australia, mainly focused in Sydney and Melbourne. This is partially due to the substantial conflict and contestation between local residents and development and planning pressures surrounding urban consolidation projects (Ruming et al., 2011; Ruming, 2014b; Searle, 2010). Lewis (1999) has written of a suburban 'back lash' against higher levels of housing density. Similarly, Fincher and Gooder (2007) have recognised the intensity of politics surrounding medium density housing.

Case studies and surveys to date have found, among others, the following reasons for community opposition: the transitory nature of residents, expected loss of house value, loss of privacy or sunlight, loss of character, loss of open space, amenities or greenery, fear of 'ghettos' or undesirable social groups and increased traffic (Ellis, 2004; Fischer & Gokhan, 2011; Kupke et al., 2010; Vallance et al., 2005b). Despite this, numerous studies have proposed that there is significant support for higher density (Jenks, 2013; National Housing Supply Council, 2010; Ruming, 2014b) particularly in already mixed-use neighbourhoods

(Jenks, 2013) and run down areas that would benefit from an injection of capital and improved facilities (McCrea & Walters, 2012).

A range of quantitative methodologies have been employed by other researchers concerned with testing hypotheses about relationships between the land uses, levels of opposition and impacts on development. A study investigating the impact of a range of variables on levels of community opposition found correlations between NIMBY and antigrowth protests and jurisdictions with lower median incomes. The same study reported that streamlined approval processes generated less controversy than the average project, even holding constant the project's size and density (Pendall, 1999). More recently, a study investigating the impact of median house values on levels of planning objections in Melbourne found a strong link between higher house prices and higher levels of planning objection and appeal. The study identified a higher prevalence of planning appeals, both in volume and in proportion to the number of permit applications, in municipalities with higher housing prices. This finding was partially attributed to the greater financial and educational resources available to these communities (Taylor, 2013). This finding was corroborated by an Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute (AHURI) report that combined qualitative interviews with quantitative analysis of the impacts of Third Party Appeal Rights on development to identify Patterns of objection and appeal in Melbourne. This report identified a "wealth and educational effect" with a strong correlation between areas of higher socio-economic status and higher levels of objections to development applications (Cook et al., 2012).

Opposition has alternatively been framed as selfish parochialism and protectionist attitudes (Dear, 1992; Ellis, 2004) and grassroots citizen activism and localised democracy (Ruming et al., 2011). It is often conceptualised as a reaction to the siting of a public good, wherein the bearers of the consequences at the local level receive few of the widely dispersed benefits (Schively, 2007). Research concerned with protectionist attitudes has often been conducted within the NIMBY (Not IN My Back Yard) literature (Ruming & Houston, 2013). According to Gibson (2005), the conventional perspective on local NIMBY movements rests upon a foundational opposition between public authorities who represent rational/civic interest, and local opponents typified by irrational perspectives. This dichotomy serves to delegitimise the arguments of community groups and discourage challenges to what constitutes 'civic interest.' Reducing the argument to a question of *where* to site a land use like higher density housing silences discussions of alternative solutions. Increasingly, more critical treatments of the NIMBY concept have problematised the use of

the term and called for a deconstruction of the assumptions inherent in its use (McClymont & O'Hare, 2008). They argue that a simplified dichotomy between 'civic interest' and 'irrational self-interest' fails to grasp the complex realpolitik of land use debates. Instead there are clusters of interests within the body politic that sometimes compete for resources and sometimes overlap and coordinate their actions (Gibson, 2005). In this context, political actors marshal their symbolic, political, and economic resources and attempt to capture the benefits of a particular mode of development while avoiding its inherent costs and risks (Wexler, 1996).

Community objection to higher density housing has been alternatively researched as a reaction to changes in neighbourhood character (Dovey & Woodcock, 2011; Dovey, Woodcock, & Wood, 2009), disturbance of established power hierarchies (Huxley, 2002), threats to concepts of 'home' or 'place' (Cook et al., 2013; Massey, 1993; Sarkissian, 2012), resistance to the neoliberal discourses that attempt to reconcile entrepreneurial and environmental subjectivities (Leffers & Ballamingie, 2013) and the discourses of third party rights (Cook et al., 2012; Ellis, 2004). Research on NIMBY has found that attitudes are complex and often based on individual ideology, level of trust in government and the extent to which citizens agree with the necessity of the proposed development (Tighe, 2010). Public opinion research has focused on how similar attitudes are formed, arguing that media framing, values and ideology and stereotypes are usually far more influential than information in shaping public opinion (Tighe, 2010). Further, the lack of saliency of housing issues amongst the public (Belden, Shashaty, & Zipperer, 2004) increases the chances of people using cognitive shortcuts such as stereotyping rather than considered decision making to form opinions (Tighe, 2010).

A growing cohort of scholars represent public opposition as a set of discursive and material practices through which meanings are defined and struggled over (Di Masso, Dixon, & Pol, 2011; McCann, 2002). Research has acknowledged the discursive strategies employed by communities in land use conflicts. Ruming (2014b) illustrated the ways local residents in Sydney appropriated certain aspects of the social mix discourse to strengthen their opposition to social housing in their neighbourhoods. This allowed the residents to avoid accusations of opposing social housing residents and associated claims of NIMBYism. Similarly, Huxley (2002) analysed the actions of the resident action group Save Our Suburbs to identify the way discursive representations of 'a home' in 'the suburbs' of 'Melbourne' were deployed to maintain existing power hierarchies in affluent suburbs. In Vancouver, council discursive strategies aimed at making densification hegemonic by explicitly linking it

to sustainability were partially thwarted by community group actions designed to challenge this discursive construction (Rosol, 2013). These studies acknowledge the power residents and communities have to shape urban consolidation and housing debates through the construction of particular narratives and the refutation of privileged narratives.

3.3 *Built Environment Professional Representations of Urban Consolidation*

The perspectives of built environment professionals have received substantial interest in Canada and the US (see Rosol, 2013; O'Connell, 2009; Jepson & Edwards, 2010 for good examples), but have attracted less scholarly attention than community groups and residents in Australian urban consolidation literature. Section 3.3 will critically analyse the body of research that has engaged with built form professionals and also comment on literature pertaining to associated topics such as professional perceptions of planning regulation and higher density housing.

Urban consolidation and higher density housing delivery is governed by planning regulations, delivered by developers and shaped by financial, political, environmental and cultural influences. These factors create tension between city shapers as planners, developers, architects, peak organisations and politicians strive to serve their interests or the interests of the groups they represent. Central areas of contention include attitudes towards levels of regulation, attitudes towards the value of higher density housing and ideas of 'good' urban form (Raynor, Mayere, & Matthews, 2017). While the planning field has produced a vast array of studies investigating the impact of density on social and environmental conditions, the different values, political outlooks and priorities of key participants in the density debate have been largely overlooked (Dodson & Gleeson, 2007).

Research conducted in North America found that planning practitioners hold varying definitions of urban consolidation and are sceptical of its ability to fulfil many of the goals of sustainable development (Jepson & Edwards, 2010). Within Australia, Sivam et al. (2012) surveyed a range of built environment professionals in Adelaide and found that built form and especially the height of buildings, influences the perception of density. There is still a misconception amongst policy-makers and the general public that high density housing automatically means high-rise development (Llewelyn-Davies, 2000).

Interviews with a series of planners, developers and municipal councillors in three cities in Canada revealed several institutional, political, economic and socio-cultural barriers that favour conventional housing typologies (Grant, 2009). This emphasis on continued lower-density housing provision is reflected in research which found planning officials believe developers and real estate interests are the most active opponents of smart growth policies (O'Connell, 2009). This research highlighted the ability of the development industry to resist planning objectives and drew attention to the impact of the attitudes of planners, politicians and developers in shaping the level of commitment to smart growth principles.

Knaap (2000) goes so far as to suggest that urban consolidation is not about achieving sustainability and is instead "a political process, the outcome of which depends on the players involved and the relative power and prowess of those players" (p331). He suggests that urban consolidation reflects a collection of interests – homeowners, environmentalists and the real estate industry – and occurs based on negotiations between these stakeholders. In Melbourne the continuing production of a relatively narrow mix of housing products has been attributed to stakeholder perspectives that favoured market-lead development and a privileging of growth over sustainability, despite overt policy designed to promote sustainable development and consolidation (Ford, 2013). This is reflective of Bunce's (2004) observation that sustainability discourses are largely a legitimising strategy designed to support the primary capital-focused goal of developing inner-city areas.

Specifically related to housing, scholars have acknowledged the power of developers and planners to create and perpetuate notions of conventional housing careers and housing to suit 'acceptable' life stages (Fincher, 2004, 2007). While single family detached dwellings continue to be associated with inward-looking, bounded and family-oriented home places, there is a pervasive discursive construction of high-rise developments being made for childless households more interested in lifestyle than family (Fincher & Gooder, 2007). According to Fincher (2004), Costello (2005), Langlois (2012) and Sivam et al. (2012) planning and development discourses as to the appropriateness of high rise development for families, wealthy households and 'empty nesters' has changed markedly in the decades since the 60s. While high-rise was originally associated with social housing and deviance, it has changed to represent lifestyle-focused luxury housing. According to these sources, the media, historical events and social context have played a key role in mediating these discourses about housing. Sies (2001, p. 319) adds word of mouth and education to this list, suggesting that cities and suburbs are cultural representations and "cognitive landscapes" and only partly specific social and physical environments.

Coiacetto (2007) has noted an increasing ability of residential developers to shape urban social structure through the creation of a wide variety of products designed to meet separate segments of the market. Particularly in Brisbane, this is partially due to a concentration of larger developers, representing increased power for larger players to influence markets, supply, marketing and policy (Coiacetto, 2007). This power to influence, and not just respond to, consumer demand has impacts on the way housing is delivered and therefore it is important to understand how these influential developers conceptualise higher density housing and urban consolidation.

3.4 *Media Representations*

The media plays an influential role in circulating information and shaping which topics gain salience. In this way, it performs a 'bardic function' (Fiske and Hartley, 1978), helping to disseminate particular narratives. The relationship between media consumption, social norms and individual intentions and behaviour is contested, however, "journalism has social effects… can reinforce beliefs… shape opinions… or at the very least [exert] influence" (Richardson, 2008, p. 13). The framing and choice of media stories are neither arbitrary nor representative and are instead filtered to reflect elements like what is deemed newsworthy, how resources are allocated and the kinds of people and organisations routinely used as sources of information (Hay & Israel, 2001; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). For example, wealthy business interests or government departments are more likely to have established relationships with journalists and more resources to bring their perspectives into the media's line of vision (Dreier, 2005).

In using selected accounts, the media constructs 'authorised knowers,' thereby silencing alternative ways of visualising events and allowing specific groups to influence the structure and parameters for thought and debate (Parisi & Holcornb, 1994). These groups may be given the opportunity to shape both problem definition and solution, gaining power from their ability to constrain the realm of possible ways to view a phenomenon (Hay & Israel, 2001). "News organisations are not just passive recipients of a continuous stream of events lapping at their gates" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 114). Instead, they select what is newsworthy, who to interview, when to run a story and how to frame it. This is a bilateral arrangement as newspapers circulate information to the community but are also influenced by their information sources, interest groups, their target audience, government controls and competition with other media suppliers (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Therefore, the

media is a valuable resource for identifying the stories circulated, interpreted and created in society.

The role of the media and the value of media analysis is gaining support in urban planning scholarship. Indeed, scholars have deemed multimedia 'a new frontier' in the urban policy and planning fields (Sandercock & Attili, 2010). Brown-Saracino and Rumpf (2011) found that newspaper articles in seven US cities presented a wide range of perspectives on gentrification. In Canada, Langlois (2012) investigated the media representation of Condos in Toronto newspapers while Costello (2005) conducted a similar study on the representation of higher density housing in Melbourne. Both Langlois (2012) and Costello (2005) have highlighted the power of advertisements and newspaper articles in naturalising certain images of housing types and neighbourhood changes and the value of media analysis in outlining trends in cultural understandings of topics. While there is a body of research that has investigated the portrayal of various housing types and locations in the media, this media analysis has rarely extended to urban consolidation as a planning policy.

Media representations of land use conflict and local politics are significant, not least because they can shape opinions and influence development decisions. They have the capacity to damage developer's reputations and cause delays to development (Scally & Tighe, 2015). They also have the capacity to shape community interpretations of future developments and can serve to legitimise certain reactions to planning policies (Raynor, Matthews, & Mayere, 2015). Raynor et al. (2015) have argued that urban consolidation is represented as a multifaceted issue in Brisbane newspaper media, encompassing topics such as home, investment strategies, regional planning, local politics, urban precincts and public transport. Their research identified myths, narratives, priorities, privileges and silences communicated in the newspaper media, often noting media portrayals that correlated with international studies. In particular, media analysis has identified a discourse of luxury, lifestyle-focused high density housing, ideas of ideal housing consumers, a strong sprawl versus densification dichotomy, and fears associated with population growth and development.

Since the 1990s, the media has increasingly represented high-rise housing as a luxury, life-style oriented housing choice in Australia, the US and Canada (Costello, 2005; Fullagar, Pavlidis, Reid, & Lloyd, 2013; Langlois, 2012). Fincher (2004), Fullagar et al. (2013) and Costello (2005) comment on the gendered, generational and life-style focused delineations applied to 'acceptable' housing choices. Similarly, Jacobs, Kemeny, and Manzi (2003) have written of the legitimisation of homeownership and silencing of tenants in Australian

discourses. Marketing images in Brisbane recreate “an idealised neoliberal space of privileged freedom – safe, sophisticated urbanism” (Fullagar et al., 2013, p. 291). These images were associated with the targeted consumers; anglo-celtic, young or ‘empty nester’ heterosexual couples. The privileging of these groups has come with an associated silencing of ‘inappropriate’ consumers, such as the elderly, non-white cultural groups and children (Fullagar et al., 2013). A similar trend has been noted in the construction of an ‘Asian property invasion’ narrative based on pervasive newspaper rhetoric linking Chinese investment with housing affordability problems in Sydney and Melbourne (Rogers, Lee, & Yan, 2015).

Notions of population management, urban sprawl and growth accommodation are also often canvassed in the media (Jacobs, 2013; Raynor et al., 2015) The media often promotes a conflicting relationship between densification and urban expansion, positioning consolidation as the antidote to detrimental urban sprawl (Raynor et al., 2015). Bunce (2004) argues that this media positioning serves to legitimise intensification as the only plausible policy alternative. This planning policy discussion occurs within a media environment that has placed considerable attention on population growth, framing it as a ‘threat’ to be managed (Jacobs, 2013). Jacobs (2013) argues that debates focusing on population growth and associated challenges of traffic congestion and housing affordability are often a rhetorical strategy designed to hide more deep-seated concerns about immigration and race. He argues that the construction of a ‘threat’ aids politicians in positioning themselves as a powerful, technocratic leader capable of managing the problem.

Numerous studies have highlighted the power of the media to entrench stereotypes about forms of housing and their occupants. Myers et al. (1996, p21), investigating the ways in which civil wars in Bosnia and Rwanda were depicted in the media, implicate the “news media as a central player in the social construction, categorization and defamation of peoples and places.” This defamation often occurs in relation to housing, their occupants and other aspects of urban form. Page (1993, p8) argues that troubled housing estates are “unable to escape the image which is reinforced by selective or sensational reporting in the media.”

3.5 *Conclusion*

This chapter provided a critical insight into the representations and perceptions of key stakeholders involved in the urban consolidation debate. Key stakeholders include current occupants of higher density housing, community members, planners, developers, architects,

peak organisations, local councillors and the media. Scholarship pertaining to the experiences of higher density housing residents provided insights into the benefits of higher density living while also identifying future governance, design and operational issues relevant to apartment living. Similarly, the chapter assessed the reported reasons for opposition to densification processes and presented information about the attitudes of the wider populace in relation to urban consolidation. This included a discussion of the future market for higher density housing and attitudes towards the appropriateness of this housing form as a long-term housing choice. This was complemented by a discussion of the attitudes and beliefs communicated by developers, planners and industry groups including the narratives used to construct housing and urban 'problems.' The chapter concluded with a discussion of media representations of urban consolidation and higher density housing.

Together Chapter Two and Chapter Three constitute the literature review relevant to this thesis. Chapter Two highlighted the equivocal nature of empirical support for urban consolidation policies while Chapter Three addressed the spectrum of perspectives and representations communicated by various stakeholders. Together, these chapters reveal the need for a sociological treatment of urban consolidation that considers the priorities, values, narratives and images of stakeholders impacted by this planning policy. Chapter Four presents and justifies a novel theoretical framework for the interrogation of urban consolidation perspectives in Brisbane. The theoretical framework, based upon Social Representations Theory, aims to address the need for a politicised and value-laden conceptualisation of urban consolidation.

Chapter Four: Applying Social Representations Theory to Urban Consolidation

4.1 *Introduction*

Urban consolidation is an urban planning strategy that is now reflected in the planning policy of every capital city in Australia (Bunker & Searle, 2009). As discussed in Chapter Two and Three, it has inspired contention and varied interpretations of its purpose, validity and outcomes. Issues have been identified with levels of market demand, market feasibility and infrastructure capacity, its ability to meet sustainability objectives and its lack of popularity with existing residents. Much literature has empirically tested the aforementioned aspects, applying findings to advocate various policy and development outcomes. This thesis posits that the empirical and scientific 'facts' produced in much research is important but is often secondary to influential narratives or social representations in influencing the creation of policy, public attitudes and actions of developers, planners and residents. These social representations simply and vividly demonstrate the way things are and should be, often without much reference to scientific concepts of cause and effect.

Chapter Four presents and advocates a theoretical framework designed to provide a nuanced understanding of the debates surrounding urban consolidation. Chapter Four develops the idea that urban consolidation policy and development outcomes are the result of socially constructed ideas about 'good' urban form, socially-mediated attitudes towards higher density housing and common sense understandings of the purpose of planning and development. The chapter will begin by situating this thesis within a body of planning scholarship concerned with knowledge, perceptions and values and the impact of power in knowledge construction. It will then introduce Social Representations Theory (SRT). SRT is a theory derived from social psychology that is primarily concerned with the creation of common sense knowledge. The chapter presents five key aspects of SRT that are particularly suited to urban research. These are; (1) the assimilation of new knowledge through anchoring and objectification, (2) the acknowledgement of power and action, (3) the importance of lay knowledge, (4) the focus on both individual and social knowledge creation, and (5) the importance of social groups. Based on these aspects, Chapter Four concludes with a detailed description of the theoretical framework devised to shape this thesis.

4.2 *Planning Theory and Knowledge*

The purpose, justification and priorities of planning theory and practice have been widely debated in planning scholarship (Campbell, 2002, 2012a; Neuman, 2005b). The practice of planning is often defined by its interventionist nature that requires connecting knowledge to action (Connell, 2010; Davoudi, 2015). Indeed, Fainstein and Campbell (2012, p. 7) suggest that planning is fundamentally "intervention with an intention to alter the existing course of events." The legitimacy of planning is based on the idea that it is a rational process, pursued in the public interest (Rydin, 2003, p. 3). It is based on the assumption that knowledge can be harnessed through planning to affect positive change and create better place-based outcomes than would be achieved otherwise (Campbell, 2012b; Rydin, 2007). This notion is integral to the very existence of planning. According to Alexander (1992, p. 4), planning is justified as the "institutionalised application of rational decision-making to social affairs."

Despite this, the concept of a rational planning process has been substantially refuted (Davoudi, 2006; Fischer, 2003; Hillier, 2002). The application of knowledge to the planning process is neither straightforward nor linear and is often subject to vested interests and influenced by dominant values and beliefs (Albrechts, 2003; Davoudi, 2006; Rydin, 2007). Hillier (2002, p. 4) suggests that "planning cannot achieve empirical reality through the work of planners alone. It is essentially intertwined with a whole range of other participants and their networks, each bringing to the process a variety of discourse types, lifeworlds, values, images, identities and emotions." Similarly, Roy (2006, p. 13) has questioned whether it is possible to disassociate the "innocent professional" from the political regimes in which they work. Land use planning is inextricably bound up in the socio-cultural positions of participants and operates within broader social and cultural contexts (Howe & Langdon, 2002).

In this context, planning should not be viewed as a value-free and a-political process. Planning is "a concrete socio-historical practice which is indivisibly part of social reality and… therefore cannot escape politics" (Albrechts, 2003, p. 251). What constitutes an appropriate intervention and a positive outcome is largely a function of normative ideas and values. These in turn shape what is desirable and important and hence planning objectives and goals (Gunder, 2010). Similarly, planning decisions "cannot be understood separately from the socially constructed, subjective territorial identities, meanings and values of the local people and the planners concerned" (Hillier, 2002, p. 4). These meanings and values may be consciously communicated through the deliberate shaping of storylines (Hajer, 1993b) or rhetoric (Throgmorton, 1996). Alternatively, they may involve the intuitive, embodied

categories which themselves are preconditions of conscious practice (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Multiple studies have identified orthodoxies in Australian policy and public debates. Research has charted the rise and fall of discourses pertaining to social housing (Darcy, 2010), higher density housing (Costello, 2005), managerialism and public housing reform (Marston, 2004), urban development (Shaw, 2013b) and sustainability and the 'smart city' (Rosol, 2013). Batten (1999) presents a cogent argument documenting the discursive construction of the 'mismatch argument' that labelled small households living in larger homes as an inefficient use of resources. More recently, Gurran and Phibbs (2015) and Gurran and Ruming (2015) have drawn attention to the prevalence of a neoliberal anti-regulation discourse promoted and maintained by industry lobby groups and reflected in policy. This is related to the 'housing shortage crisis' narrative used to link land shortages with housing affordability problems. Such an approach is evident in the entrenched discourses privileging homeownership in Australia and maintaining the power of industry groups and homeowners (Jacobs, 2015).

These studies highlight the power of interest groups and individuals to construct and disseminate knowledge as a key strategy in achieving their aims. In this conceptualisation, planning policy is an inherently political process of problem construction, which involves building a convincing narrative, assembling a supportive coalition and formulating desired institutional responses (Jacobs et al., 2003). This literature highlights the fact that terms such as urban consolidation, the compact city and smart growth can be used in malleable ways that support the views of stakeholders with the power and capacity to shape urban futures and define urban problems and potential solutions.

The acknowledgement of narratives and problem-shaping as central to planning activity necessitates a discussion about the ways in which policies are formulated and translated into development outcomes and the power dynamics involved in these processes. Planning theory should aspire to enhance understandings of how planning operates. Further, Alexander (1992) argues that planning theory should also engage with questions of ideology. This is because evaluation of planning success or failure must relate to some perception of actor's differing needs, desires and values. These needs, desires and values are not created in isolation but are generated and given meaning by traditions of belief and practice and are reconstructed by society through collective experience (Foucault, 1980). Some individuals and groups have more power to promote particular images of success. Therefore, "the theory of planning must include some theory of the society in which planning is

institutionalised" (Dyckman, 1969, p. 300) and power relations should be built into the conceptual framework of planning.

Analysis of planning should recognise that the legitimation of planning involves rationality claims (Rydin, 2003). These rationality claims or accepted knowledge are socially constructed and embody assumptions about what is appropriate, logical and important. Further, what comes to constitute 'valid' knowledge is often a function of the vested interests of those in power. As Flyvbjerg (2002) argues, powerful actors often ignore or design knowledge at their own convenience and thereby construct rationality to suit their own purposes. This phenomenon has been acknowledged by multiple scholars (Healey, 1992; Rydin, 2007; Yiftachel, 2001) and investigated using a wide range of methodological and theoretical approaches (Batten, 1999; Flyvbjerg, 2002; Gurran & Phibbs, 2015). In particular, scholars have commented on the way planning practice has privileged 'scientific' and 'expert' knowledge over more experiential, local, intuitive or lay explanations (Healey, 1997; Innes, 1998). In response to this, a large field of research, often conducted within Communicative Planning Theory, has sought the "democratisation of planning practice and the empowerment of discourse communities, forms of reasoning and value systems heretofore excluded from planning practice (McGuirk, 2001, p. 195).

An overarching theoretical theme in the above literature is the idea that knowledge is always socially mediated and is never disinterested. Different social groups and individuals have differing levels of access to the (co)construction of social reality within the public sphere (Jovchelovitch, 1997). This is well-established in social science (Foucault, 1980; Habermas, 1984) and planning scholarship is replete with research concerned with investigating this idea (Flyvbjerg, 2002; McGuirk, 2001). Much of this research has been conducted under the broad epistemological umbrella of social constructionism. A key contention of social constructionism is the notion that our understanding of the social world is not 'given' but produced through a combination of individual cognition and wider structures (Manzi & Jacobs, 2008). This is pertinent to the current study, and urban studies more generally, as it helps to identify how social 'problems' become acknowledged as a consequence of existing power hierarchies, vested interests, pressure group activity, media interest and institutional support (Jacobs et al., 2003). It posits that "to understand actions, practices and institutions, we need to grasp the relevant meanings, the beliefs and practices of the people involved" (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003, p. 1).

4.2.1 Social Psychology's Contribution to Planning Theory

The creation, deployment and dissemination of knowledge and narratives is of central importance to urban studies. In addition, knowledge is created through both individual cognitive processes and social mediation. Despite this, urban research has often shied away from providing an explanatory theory for how this process occurs. Hajer (1993a) explicitly acknowledges the inability to understand why specific actors adhere to particular storylines or explanatory narratives. He suggests instead that empirical research will have to illuminate the specific strategic reasons why actors introduce or support specific metaphorical understandings. Similarly, Rowlands and Gurney (2001) argue that the process through which attitudes, values, behaviours, habits and skills are transmitted through interpersonal interaction and mass media has been largely unexplored in housing and urban literature. Given the importance much planning research places upon agents and their actions, values, knowledge and opinions (Albrechts, 2003; Giddens, 1984; Healey & Barrett, 1990), it is surprising how little attention cognitive processes have received in the planning corpus.

Despite this deeply personal view of planning processes, few scholars have engaged with psychological literature and even fewer have drawn upon social psychology. Planning literature often imports theories from other disciplines. The field has been characterised as having no endogenous body of theory (Sorensen, 1982) while planners have been described as "magpies across the disciplines, picking relevance where they found it" (Hague, 1997, p. 4). Despite this, Churchman (2002) has noted a surprising lack of overlap between urban planning and psychology literature, suggesting that psychology has more commonly aligned itself with architecture when it has concerned itself with the built environment. Social psychology is a study of the interface between individual cognitive processes and social collectivities and institutions. It integrates into the larger discipline of sociology, an area far more familiar to planning scholarship, but provides a nuanced and under-researched insight into thought processes (McCall, 2013). Research concerned with common sense understandings and their ability to naturalise certain actions, decisions and problem definitions has much to gain from the explanatory power of social psychology.

4.3 *Social Representations Theory*

This section of the thesis introduces Social Representations Theory (SRT) and justifies its contribution to planning theory. SRT provides significant value to the study of urban consolidation. SRT is primarily interested in the production of cultural meaning systems and the ways in which knowledge is built and used (Moscovici & Marková, 1998; Oswald &

Efréndira, 2013). The theory was first proposed by French social psychologist, Serge Moscovici, in his seminal study of the social diffusion of psychoanalytic thinking in French media is the 1950s (Moscovici, 1961). Moscovici suggested that the French media responded to the novel scientific notion of psychoanalysis by associating it with more familiar images such as the catholic confessional. He identified the role of culturally-shared images, metaphors and tropes in linking unfamiliar ideas with more familiar concepts in order to facilitate communication and understanding of novel ideas.

A social representation is;

> *"A system of values, ideas and practices with a twofold function; first, to establish an order which will enable individuals to orientate themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history"* (Moscovici, 1973, p. xiii).

The main aim of SRT is to understand how in today's public spheres, composed of a multitude of subjectivities and meanings, different knowledges are created, contested and transformed by and for social groups (Howarth, 2006; Jovchelovitch, 2007). SRT focuses on the ways in which 'scientific' or formalised knowledge is translated into common sense. As ideas move in time and place, they may improve, stay the same or deteriorate in the manner of a Chinese whisper (Bangerter, 2000). Thus, the idea of Social Representations highlights the process of transformation as ideas move in society (Bauer & Gaskell, 2008). SRT provides a set of socio-cognitive processes that contribute to the creation and translation of new knowledge: anchoring and objectification. These processes guide how ideas are interpreted and communicated about by different social milieu. In this way, it intersects with public discourse, exposes how public discourse is constructed and provides a theory for how public attitudes and ideologies are formed.

Social representations are both "a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world" (Moscovici, 1973, p. xvii) and have been conceptualised both as a process and a product. As a social process of communication and discourse, social representation generates and elaborates meanings and social objects. It is a process individuals and groups engage in to understand the world in which they live and in order to create a particular social reality. As a product they constitute structures of knowledge and symbols that are shared with other people in a group or society

and influence how these people discuss, conceptualise and react to a certain phenomena (Wagner et al., 1999). A social representation can therefore be considered as a shared, common sense view of a particular social or environmental phenomenon, particular to specific social networks.

While the potential of SRT to elucidate collective understandings and lay discourses has been acknowledged and explored in rural studies (Duenckmann, 2010; Halfacree, 1993; Halfacree, 1995), environmental concern (Buijs, Arts, Elands, & Lengkeek, 2011; Castro, 2006), renewable energy (Devine-Wright, 2011) and tourism attitudes (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Dickinson & Dickinson, 2006), there is a marked lack of application within urban studies. This is despite Devine-Wright's (2009, p430) assertion that "research informed by social representations theory can investigate how proposed place changes are interpreted [via anchoring and objectification], evaluated [as threat or opportunity] and contested amongst individuals and between individuals and organizations, mindful of the unequal power relations between different actors." Similarly, SRT is particularly valuable in explaining social conflict or reactions to salient issues within a community as it seeks to understand reactions and interpretations of novel phenomena (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003).

The lack of application of SRT to urban studies can be partially explained by the field's focus on discourse analysis. The narrow focus on discourse analysis has deprived the field of other methodologies, objects of study and theoretical lenses available to researchers hoping to build a theory of how planning operates. SRT, derived from social psychology, represents an alternative to discourse analysis and an apposite theory for understanding the creation and circulation of knowledge and its implications for planning issues. Theoretically, discourse analysis concerns itself with language in action, focusing on the discursive objects that people construct in talk and text and their use in achieving certain aims (i.e. framing a problem, prioritising a perspective) (Potter & Edwards, 1999). This focus on discursive strategies of meaning-production ignores the psychological processes that must occur in order for individuals and social groups to make sense of the world (Halfacree, 1993). As Moscovici has argued, people cannot construct socially without first having a shared representation. "Society is too big an animal, too forceful an animal, to be reduced to interpersonal transactions and direct negotiations" (Moscovici & Marková, 1998, p. 406). Social Representations Theory acknowledges the power of language to shape understandings but does not subscribe to the concept of language über alles (Moscovici & Marková, 1998).

While discourse analysis is valid and has yielded a range of valuable insights within urban policy, less attention has been paid to the underlying values, common sense knowledge, beliefs and shared images that influence the construction of these narratives. As Sager (2009) and Kallgren, Reno, and Cialdini (2000) have argued, changing planning processes and policies can cause a tension between everyday working conditions, policy discourses and underlying values, ideas and norms. Similarly, Hubbard (1996b) demonstrated the difference between lay and professional interpretations of building styles and policies. While it is important to analyse the discourses mobilised in the creation and justification of policy, it is also important to investigate how stakeholders interpret, translate and apply these discourses. The personal investment of agents in dominant discourses and the implications of this investment has not received sufficient attention in urban research (Farhat, 2014).

Some urban scholars have acknowledged the value of SRT. Phil Hubbard (1996b) used SRT to explore how entrepreneurial architecture was received by the public and suggested that SRT had particular relevance to geographical research as abstract concepts such as architectural styles or housing types become associated with specific words, images and meanings, through the process of social representations. Another urban study by Milgram and Jodelet (1976) utilised Social Representations to examine how social, cultural and historical meanings of Paris held by various social milieu contribute to their formation of images of it. Devine-Wright and Howes (2010) used SRT to illustrate how various interpretations of off-shore wind power developed and impacted on subsequent land use debates. Finally, Castro and Batel (2008) applied SRT to understand how new legal regulation related to public participation was discursively and actively translated in a neighbourhood planning dispute in Lisbon. This study proposed that alteration of laws and norms does not immediately transform ideas, much less practices. This is partially due to the difficulties inherent in transforming 'prescriptive norms' (what 'ought to be') into 'descriptive norms' (what really happens) (Kallgren et al., 2000). They demonstrate how, although change can only advance from the coordination of norms and actions, society often resists and slows its progress.

Despite the paucity of research that applies SRT in the urban studies field, this thesis argues that there are five aspects of SRT that make it particularly pertinent to the study of urban planning issues and aid in informing more representative policy and questioning taken for granted planning assumptions. These aspects are also pertinent to achieving more representative understandings of planning policy and providing a critical lens to assess policy and the tacit assumptions and privileges embedded within them. SRT is particularly pertinent

to urban studies for five reasons. First, it elaborates a theory for the way in which individuals and groups assimilate new knowledge. Second, SRT provides a critical theoretical position that explicitly acknowledges the role of power in the creation of social representations and in influencing actions. Third, it allows for an explicit focus on lay knowledge and social perceptions of risk. Fourth, SRT provides a developed theoretical position on both individual and social knowledge creation. Finally, its theoretical treatment of social groups provides insight into the ways information is shared and how it differs across different groups. The following sections will elaborate on these 5 points and draw a link between SRT and planning research.

1. The assimilation of new knowledge through anchoring and objectification

SRT is based on the assumption that individuals and groups deal with new phenomena through a process of 'symbolic coping' that involves adopting collective images or representations that are linked to phenomena that are more familiar. Two processes generate SRs: anchoring and objectification. These processes are the contents of communication (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999) and work to make the unfamiliar familiar and integrate novelty into a more understandable format (Wagner et al., 1999). They occur when an unfamiliar phenomenon, such as urban consolidation and rapid densification, threatens the everyday practice of a group and forces group members to adapt practices to create a valid and collectively accepted explanation. This focus on anchoring and objectification highlights the role of human interpretation and social and historical context in the construction of meaning. In this way, the idea of 'nodes', 'Transit Oriented Developments' and 'suburban living areas' are based on complex processes of meaning making that have helped to define what constitutes 'good' urban design. While many studies have focused on the social construction of 'good' urban and housing outcomes, few have proposed a socio-psychological theory for the mechanisms employed to achieve this process.

Anchoring involves the naming and classifying of novel encounters, ideas and things in order to furnish social groups with a basic understanding of a novel concept (Wagner & Hayes, 2005). For example, this is evident in the terminology used in the current climate change debate. Ascribing the term 'climate change,' or previously 'global warming,' to a complex environmental phenomenon allows the populace to discuss and act in relation to the idea without a full understanding of the complex processes and implications of climate change. As SRT posits that a phenomenon must be socially represented to become an object for a group, anchoring is a universal prerequisite for cognition.

Objectification makes tangible abstract new ideas and functions to saturate the unfamiliar with something easier to understand. The process of objectification results in the construction of an icon, metaphor or trope which comes to stand for the new phenomenon or idea (Höijer, 2011). This is exemplified in commonly used images such as melting icecaps, stranded polar bears and factories pumping out noxious fumes to denote climate change. Objectification, employed by people trying to understand new forms of information, "ensure core values and norms are stamped onto new events and drive mutations in common sense over time" (Joffe, 2003, p. 63).

These socio-cognitive processes are a fundamental component of SRT and present an explanation for the way new concepts are integrated into common parlance. They serve to explain how members of a community communicate and explain novel concepts without a complete understanding of the complexity of the idea. These conceptual short cuts allow for the use of collective images and metaphors attached to new housing styles or planning policies even if groups have little personal experience with the topic. They inform the translation of policy and urban conditions by developers, politicians and planners based upon existing stores of images, narratives, tropes and values.

2. The acknowledgement of power and action

Social representations are the knowledge scaffolding that makes it possible to understand 'social facts' that in turn allow people to act, and more importantly, act *together* (Elcheroth et al., 2011). From its inception it has been a theory about the politics of knowledge, social relations and social change (Howarth, Andreouli, & Kessi, 2013). Social Representations are structures of knowledge and symbols that are shared with other people in a group or society and influence how these people discuss, conceptualise and react to a certain phenomena (Wagner et al., 1999). This description suggests that they are not merely descriptive, telling people how things are; they also function to tell people how things should be, and how individuals should behave in order to be consistent with general norms, values and social expectations (Radu & Redien-Collot, 2008). For this reason, they are intrinsically linked to action and can be viewed as an influencing factor in processes of urban development, housing consumption and urban planning. This connection between social representations and action is central to social representation's power.

Social Representations can create, maintain and challenge existing hierarchies and narratives. In posing the question 'what do social representations do?' Howarth (2006) argues that social representations come to constitute our realities. Therefor there is much

at stake in the practice of representation. Social representations have the power to influence actions, understandings and interactions. Similarly, those with greater power have a larger capacity to promote their own social representations or versions of reality.f is adapted from Howarth (2006). It illustrates studies that have used SRT to highlight representations' role in shaping community behaviour and in perpetuating power imbalances in the status quo. As the table illustrates, social representations have the power to subjugate certain groups, impose socially-acceptable behaviours, allow groups to sustain their cultural identity, understand and manage threats and evaluate complex topics. In this way, they are powerful constructs that can perpetuate power imbalances or challenge status-quo understandings.

Examples of what social representations 'do'		
Jodelet 1991	Social representations of madness	Protect community identities against the threat of madness and therefore otherness.
Duveen 2000	Social representations of gender	Reproduce gendered identities and gendered relations to maintain and defend gendered differences in the social order
Far and Markova 1995	Social representations of disability	Elaborate and develop images of 'the disabled' in ways that elicit pity and maintain social inequality
Gervais and Jovchelovitch 1998	Social representations of health	Enable a community to sustain and defend its cultural identity and strengthen possibilities for multicultural communities
Joffe 2002	Social representations of AIDS	Reduce the threat of HIV/AIDS by relating this to 'othered' groups.
Howarth 2002	Social representations of a community	Portray people from the area as criminal, deviant and threatening and maintain social exclusion across communities
Raynor, Mayere and Matthews 2017	Social representations of urban consolidation	Convey shared ideas about who should live in higher density housing, what constitutes 'good' urban form and privilege a neo-liberal view of planning regulation

Table 1: Examples of what social representations do

Adapted from Howarth (2006)

As SR enable dialogue and argumentation, they inform everyday politics and the normative politics of legal, institutional and policy debates (Howarth et al., 2013). They determine what forms of action are thinkable and unthinkable and therefore draw the boundaries of the possible in specific contexts (Elcheroth et al., 2011). In this way, they help to define what constitutes a 'problem' and influence the discussion of potential 'solutions' through the categorisation, labelling and prioritising of the issues in the debate. They achieve this without being explicitly referenced or acknowledged as they are embedded in actions,

discussion and thought processes without conscious consideration. As Bourdieu (1985, p. 731) argued, "the most absolute recognition of legitimacy is nothing other than the apprehension of the everyday world as self-evident."

Representations are directly linked to action – setting its norms and making it possible. This phenomenon has been examined in housing research with Kemeny (1984) arguing that what becomes a 'problem' is, to a considerable extent, contingent on how interest groups compete with each other to gain acceptance of a particular definition while rejecting others. In this way, a social representation could impact on whether stakeholders choose to mount opposition, ignore or support new development (Devine-Wright, 2009). Social representations can also define whether families consider higher density housing as a viable option or dismiss it out of hand. In addition, social representations could result in developers and planners ignoring the needs of families when designing and delivering higher density housing as this household type is not connected to the housing form. This is why social representations can partially explain attitudes, aspirations and judgments about the appropriateness of various housing types for different households. This is evident in the frequent use of the term 'family-housing' as a synonym for detached housing in media and conversation in Australia.

This process is inherently linked to power. The ability to define social representations is not a level playing field – some groups have more access to resources to shape public discourse and therefore have greater influence in the creation and diffusion of representations (Elcheroth et al., 2011). Different social representations compete in their claims to reality and so defend, limit and exclude other realities (Howarth, 2006). Groups with a higher social status are often able to influence the construction of reality or 'the truth' and therefor limit possible actions or policy decisions. This is particularly apparent in media representations of urban consolidation, as the media often privileges perspectives and quotations from well-resourced and powerful sources (Parisi & Holcornb, 1994). Similarly, stakeholders with greater power to shape urban debates, such as the development industry and wealthy homeowners, work to promote and circulate their own versions of reality. In this conceptualisation, the 'winners' of development or planning debates are often those who have the power to construct and convey particular representations over others.

3. The importance of lay knowledge

Social representations are socially elaborated systems of values, ideas and practices that define an object for a social group (Moscovici, 2001). This concept of systems of interrelated

values, ideas and practices is particularly useful when conceptualising the way stakeholders engage with the notion of urban consolidation. Rather than perceiving consolidation as an isolated topic, SRT acknowledges that it is intrinsically linked to ideas about home, ownership, neighbourhood, fairness, control and development. These related topics shape and colour the way urban consolidation is perceived as a risk or an opportunity. Further, these perceptions are not right or wrong but rather a reflection of the different sources of knowledge and representation that different groups utilise to understand a new topic. In this way, SRT provides a mechanism for understanding lay knowledge of a topic and positions this as a social reality as legitimate as professional understandings (Halfacree, 1993).

Just as much planning literature rejects the privileging of technical, scientific knowledge over all other forms of knowledge (Innes, 1998), SRT rejects the idea that everyday behaviour involves a 'scientific' approach to objects, people and events, where understanding is merely information processing (Moscovici, 1984). Rather than focusing on empirical facts or academic 'truth,' SRT takes as its object of study the common sense understandings held by individuals and circulated in society (Halfacree, 1993). It is this aspect of SRT that lends itself to the task of understanding how a wide range of stakeholders interpret urban consolidation.

SRT presents a lens through which to conceptualise community opposition to development. It achieves this by applying the concept of folk knowledge or 'common sense' to the perception of risk. This moves past the much-maligned 'information deficit' model (Joffe, 2003). This model has often been applied in research into community opposition to development, based on the assumption that opposition stems from an ignorance of facts. Within this idea, the uneducated and irrational populace is juxtaposed with the objective and informed scientist or planner (Joffe, 2003). The central premise is that community consideration of the 'hard facts' would result in a reduction of community fears and opposition. However, this approach is increasingly recognised as inappropriate as it fails to consider the social context of risk and presents an overly simplified idea of how predominant attitudes are created (Plough & Sheldon, 1987). Perceptions of the impacts, participants and processes involved in the development process vary greatly even within local debates (Schively, 2007) but little is known about the "nature and relevance of the psycho-sociological basis of public concern" (Snary, 2004, p. 51).

SRT examines the symbolism applied in socially negotiating the 'threat' of higher density housing and urban consolidation. It is a trend related to the reassertion of the legitimacy of local knowledge against the generalising, objective constructions of academic knowledge (Hubbard, 1996b; Jones, 1995). This is in contrast to the highly individualised attitudinal

research typical of urban consolidation research that often draws upon the NIMBY discourse. Authors have advocated a more culturally embedded approach to land use change research that highlights the complex multiplicity of issues, motivations and scales at which public opinion occurs (Ruming et al., 2011).

4. Focus on both individual and social knowledge creation

Social Representation Theory (SRT) has the potential to greatly enhance critical urban research agendas as it acknowledges the subjectivity and socially-mediated nature of knowledge (Buijs, Fischer, Rink, & Young, 2008; Devine-Wright, 2009). The theory aligns with much planning scholarship that recognises the multiplicity of social worlds, rationalities and practices that coexist in urban contexts (Healey, 2002) and places emphasis on how people interpret the world around them (Hubbard, 1996a). It presents an alternative to rational and comprehensive forms of planning that take an a-political approach to the creation of facts. It begins to answer Innes' (1987) call for greater focus on the 'everyday world' and ordinary language and beliefs. By accepting that knowledge is contructed in a community rather than having an independent existence, SRT begins to explain how certain 'facts' become common sense knowledge and some fall out of favour. In doing so, it acknowledges that people build their understanding of public life through subjective responses to experience and reference to explanations and stories often generated by influential individuals and groups. It is this kind of social process that shapes what individuals internalise as beliefs and that creates much of what is taken as knowledge in public settings such as policy debates, hearings and the press.

Scholarship within rural studies (Halfacree, 1993), urban studies (Hubbard, 1996b), tourism (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003) and environmental studies (Buijs et al., 2011; Castro et al., 2010) have claimed that structures of meaning and symbolic significance – whether conceived of as discourse or social representation – should be seen as a social phenomenon (Duenckmann, 2010). SRT differs from many other theories in it's focus on both individual cognition and the social construction of knowledge. The theory was developed in response to traditional US social psychology which upheld an "individualised concept of attitude, which appeared too static and asocial for modern social psychology" (Wagner & Hayes, 2005). Unlike the North American behaviourist tradition, SRT embraces both collective meaning-making and the ability of the individual to generate, interpret and transform knowledge inter-subjectively (Hubbard, 1996b; Oswald & Efréndira, 2013). SRT acknowledges meaning as the result and object of interactive processes such as conversation and interaction with media (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999; Flick, 1998). It is important for SRT studies

to consider both individual perceptions and the concepts circulating in society since "while the social shapes the contents of individual minds, so is the social a product of communication and interaction between individual minds" (Gaskell, 2001, p. 232).

5. The importance of social groups

While cognitive approaches common in psychology often centre on the differences in meanings between *individuals*, SR theory also focuses on relations and differences in meanings between *groups* (Buijs et al., 2011). It is concerned with identifying shared "ways of thinking and talking about things" (Addams, 2000; Ellis, Barry, & Robinson, 2007). Social networks, also known as social milieu, are central to SRT and function as communication systems in which representations are elaborated, circulated and received by at least four and usually more people (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999). They are the contexts in which localised systems of meaning are produced and used by members to make sense of their social world and their position within the world (Jovchelovitch, 2007). Social groups will draw upon familiar images and metaphors based on their historical, cultural and educational status.

This concept finds parallels in the discourse coalitions proposed by Hajer (1993b) or the focus on the role of shared beliefs as the glue of politics proposed by Sabatier (1988). These ideas are premised on the notion that individuals with a similar store of images, metaphors and narratives form coalitions and work to promote their view. SRT provides a theoretical basis and methodological precedent to test this notion, using the term social milieu to define groups with shared images, metaphors, perspectives and experiences. SRT posits that social milieus are loosely defined by common contexts, collective memories and actions. These common experiences serve to colour objectification and anchoring processes as specific social conditions favour the use of specific tropes and metaphors (Jodelet, 1991). Hubbard (1996b) demonstrated this phenomenon when measuring differences in the social representations used to categorise architectural styles between planners and non-planners in Birmingham. Using a multi-sorting procedure that required participants to sort images into self-defined categories, Hubbard (1996b) found that the values, terminology and categories differed significantly between those that had been trained in built environment topics and the general public.

Within SRT, conflict is partially explained by divergent social representations of a phenomenon. These groups will share similar discourses and mental explanations of a particular phenomenon. The development of a shared representation presupposes shared actions by members of a social group, resulting in the delineation of boundaries and an

insider/ outside conception of a topic (Buijs et al., 2011). A social representation includes knowledge of what others believe about a particular object and encourages a perception of insiders and outsiders. At least some part of this shared understanding must be different from outsiders' understanding. Therefore groups mutually provide the background against which each group can be distinguished (Wagner et al., 1999). In this context, urban consolidation conflict is caused by differing meanings, values and perceptions upheld by different social groups.

SRT is particularly pertinent to the study of controversial phenomenon as it acknowledges complexity and contention, both within and between social groups and within individuals. Far from being rigid, one-dimensional constructs, SRs are understood to comprise a hierarchy of values, beliefs, emotions, attitudes, and practices (Abric, 1996). Some are central to an SR and are shared by all in a social group, while others are of a more secondary nature and thus less important to capture the essence of a SR. This conceptualisation explains variations in opinions and perspectives within social groups. While the central core of the representation is marked the system of norms or shared expectations to which the group refers, the peripheral elements provide a certain degree of flexibility for the SR to be adjusted to different contexts (Abric, 1996).

Acknowledging that different groups draw upon different references, experiences and contexts to shape their interpretation of urban policies is a valuable insight in creating more representative planning policies. As Snary (2004) has identified, planners often apply different frames of reference to their evaluation of development proposals than community members. Similarly, different demographic or professional categories are not homogenous groups with consensual perspectives. Identifying the role of social representations in delineating social milieu moves planning studies from researcher-imposed categories to a more nuanced understanding of how perspectives and understandings are shared, articulated and debated.

Criticisms of Social Representations Theory

While SRT has been selected for as the theoretical basis of this thesis, it is not without critique. Scholars have pointed to a) ambiguities in defining social representations, (b) social determinism, (c) cognitive reductionism and (d) the apparent lack of a critical agenda as key issues with the theory (Voelklein & Howarth, 2005). Scholars within the British discursive psychology field have been particularly vocal in their critique of SRT, suggesting it is fragmented and sometimes contradictory and lacks theoretical coherence (Potter &

Edwards, 1999). However, Voelklein and Howarth (2005) suggest this criticism may reflect a lack of understanding on the part of critics and that the complex nature of social representations means they do not suit restrictive definitions. The criticism that a theory of power is not explicit in SRT does not mean that it is not implicit and that SRT studies have not engaged with issues of power (Howarth, 2006). It is a key goal within this thesis to highlight the critical capacity of SRT to elucidate instances of power imbalance and challenge taken for granted assumptions about urban issues.

Another challenge facing English-speaking scholars is the difficulty in obtaining English translations of certain key texts. SRT is predominantly a French research tradition with a large literary base written exclusively in French and sometimes Spanish. Moscovici's seminal text *'La psychanalyse, son image et son public,'* that first established the concept of Social Representations was not translated into English until 2008. This presents pragmatic issues for the study of social representations and helps to explain the relative paucity of Australian and US research that draws upon this research tradition. Despite this, many seminal texts have now been translated into English and studies referencing these texts often translate key points and refer to key insights in English.

4.4 *Social Representations of Urban Consolidation – A Theoretical Framework*

The proceeding sections provided a description and justification of SRT and its application to planning scholarship. The use of a theory derived from social psychology is a useful approach to examining the ways in which planning policies are discussed and understood. The use of SRT represents a significant theoretical contribution to the literature and an opportunity to better understand how cognitive and social elements impact on urban issues. While SRT has not had popular application within planning, it is an apposite theoretical contribution to this research agenda.

This thesis advocates a role for Social Representations Theory (SRT) to aid in the identification, interpretation and analysis of policy and planning understandings that currently exist in society or are emerging with a new policy problem. Derived from social psychology, the theory has the capacity to lend insight to the ways in which planning topics are understood, communicated about and used to justify particular policy approaches, development outcomes and 'common sense' solutions. The importance of embarking on this endeavour was highlighted by Jonas and Wilson (1999, p. 8) in their observation that;

> *"Political agendas always become activated through constellations of representations about people, places, processes that circulate through daily life. People come to understand the world … through significations rather than by interacting with a 'brute reality."*

For this reason, it is pertinent to explore the cultural expectations, taken for granted assumptions and social values expressed and privileged in policy and planning debates.

4.4.1 Presenting the Framework

The theoretical framework applied in this thesis represents an apposite approach to understanding the ways in which urban consolidation is perceived and communicated about in Brisbane. It shaped the creation of the research program and the analysis of findings. The purpose of this theoretical framework is three-fold. First, it applies a social psychological lens to identify the metaphors, tropes, images and ideas associated with urban consolidation and higher density housing. Second, it investigates the *process* of social representation and its capacity to shape actions and expectations and influence policy outcomes and debates. Third, it provides a lens to investigate the way common sense social representations create

'winners and losers' by privileging certain worldviews and silencing others. Identifying these social representations is central to understanding the way urban consolidation is interpreted and evaluated in Brisbane. In explicitly noting the social representation process, the theoretical framework treats urban consolidation as a political topic, shaped by influential narratives, social expectations and historical precedent rather than purely subject to rational decision-making based on objective 'facts.'

The theoretical framework applied in this thesis contributes to the current body of urban consolidation research by presenting a conceptualisation of the ways in which urban consolidation is socially represented and how this manifests in policies, processes and outcomes that disproportionately advantage certain groups whilst silencing others. It aims to contribute to the body of planning theory concerned with understanding taken for granted assumptions, knowledge, and power. As Flyvbjerg (1998, p. 36) argues, "power does not limit itself to defining a specific kind of knowledge, conception, or discourse of reality. Rather, power defines physical, ecological and social reality itself…Power, quite simply, produces that knowledge and that rationality which is conducive to the reality it wants. Conversely, power suppresses that knowledge and rationality for which it has no use."

This theoretical framework provides a lens through which to identify the physical, ecological and social realities perceived and shared in social groups. Further, it presents a theoretical framework for the ways in which new phenomenon are assimilated into common discourse and understanding. In other words, it theorises a mechanism for the production and suppression of knowledge and rationality. This knowledge is then manifested in actions, values, ideas and decisions. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the creation, circulation and silencing of particular knowledges and rationalities is of central importance to planning theory and practice. By explicitly acknowledging the power-laden nature of knowledge, the theoretical framework also serves to problematise taken for granted assumptions about planning policy, housing choices and the functioning of the property development industry.

The theoretical framework is directly applicable to urban consolidation research but is also a useful theoretical lens for investigating common sense knowledge of any new phenomenon. It has been applied to the assessing the social representations of children in higher density housing (Raynor, 2016), and the social representations of urban consolidation revealed through the use of metaphors in the media (Raynor et al., 2015) and through word co-occurrences in the media (Raynor, Matthews, & Mayere, 2016).

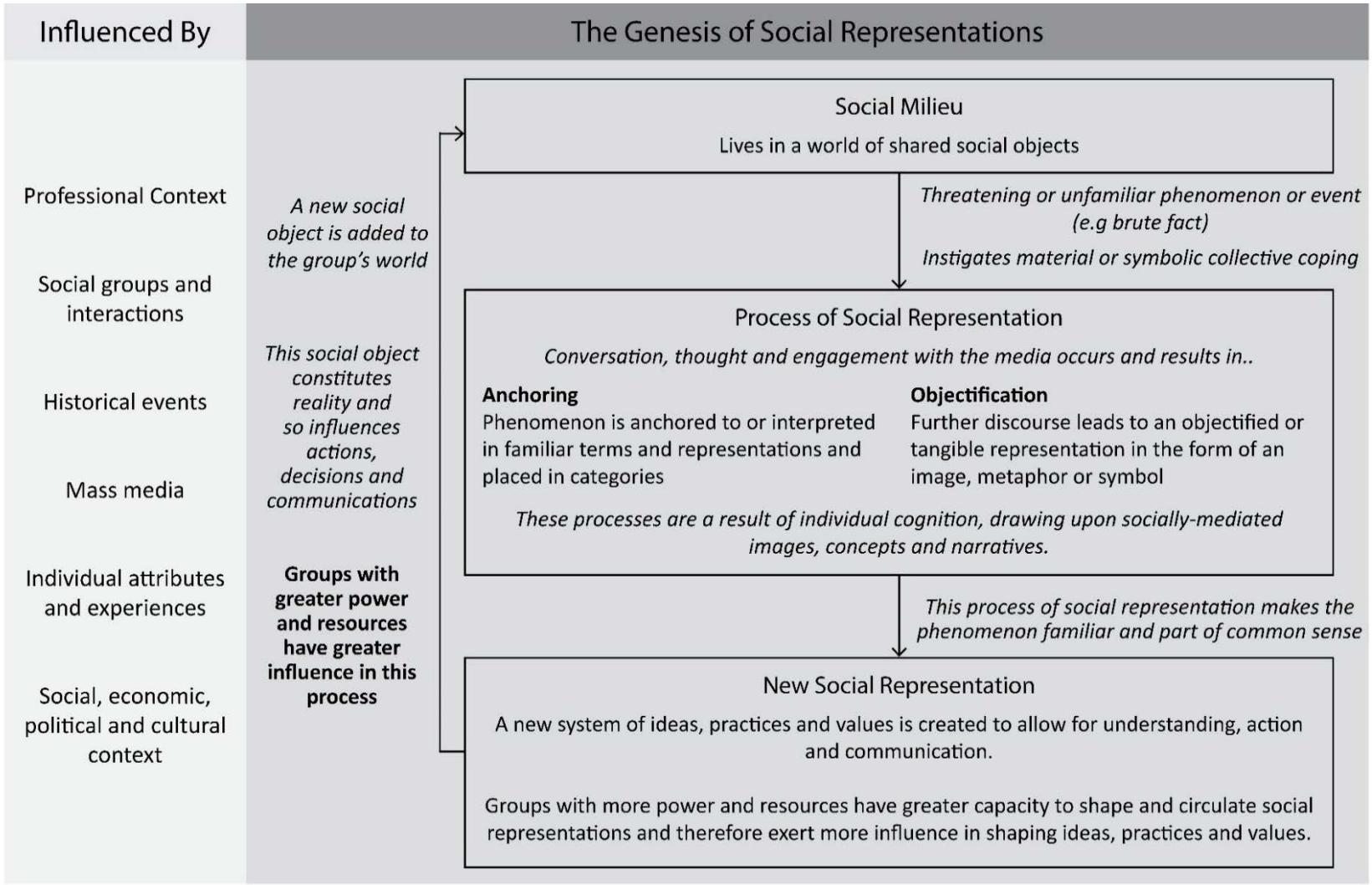


Figure 2: Theoretical framework

Figure 2 graphically depicts the theoretical framework developed and applied in this thesis. Steps include 1) social milieus becoming aware of an unfamiliar or threatening phenomenon 2) collectively socially representing a phenomenon through individual processes of anchoring and objectification based on shared narratives, metaphors, images and beliefs 3) the creation of a new social representation that serves as a system of values, ideas and practices. As depicted in Figure 2, an individual's Social Representation process does not occur in a vacuum. It is influenced by professional context, social groups and interactions, historical events, mass media, individual attributes and experiences and social, economic, political and cultural context. These factors constitute the context in which social representation occurs and can significantly influence outcomes and perceptions. This framework has been adapted from Wagner et al's (1999) schematic depiction of the sociogenesis of social representations focusing on the process and consequences of forming a social representation. Like Wagner et al's (1999) schema, the theoretical framework in Figure 2 depicts the collective elaboration "of a social object (urban consolidation) by the community (social groups) for the purpose of behaving and communicating (purchasing, developing or renting housing, producing housing policy)" (Moscovici, 1963, p. 251). The theoretical framework depicted in Figure 2 illustrates how people understand, explain and articulate the complexity of stimuli and experiences emanating from the social and physical environment in which they are immersed (Halfacree, 1993). The following sections will describe these steps in detail.

1. A social group is confronted with an unfamiliar or threatening phenomenon

The process of social representation occurs when a social group is confronted with an unfamiliar or threatening phenomenon. A social representation emerges whenever a group's identity is threatened and when communicating the novel subverts social rules (Moscovici, 1976). For a topic to become collectively relevant it must be perceived as significant to a large enough proportion of the community. Most of the time this occurs when the mass media creates awareness of a topic through a process of agenda setting (Wagner, 1998). For residents, the introduction of high rise residential buildings into formerly low-density suburbs can be interpreted as a threat to the 'life-world' of the residents dwelling in a changing neighbourhood and so instigated material and symbolic coping. Even those who are not directly impacted by development in their immediate vicinity may feel threatened by changes to their city. In this situation, residents are likely to refer to the symbolic resources of everyday life and public communications. Planners, developers and local councillors also react to a novel set of policy needs and housing forms, however their interpretation may be

coloured by greater familiarity with urban policies, established research traditions and narratives circulated in the development industry. They will draw on the symbolic resources of urban theories and commonly circulated causal explanations within housing systems.

2. The Process of Social Representation

Representations are developed by drawing on and incorporating existing representations of related objects. Through communication, people try to understand new concepts such as 'densification', relating these concepts to already existing representations of more familiar objects (Buijs et al., 2008). The interaction with a new phenomenon inspires a process of social representation wherein individuals and groups seek to understand the world in which they live to create a particular social reality for themselves and for others. The process of social representation is not static and is constantly evolving to reflect cultural, historical and social contexts. Despite this, core social representations change very slowly. This process occurs at various scales, through individual cognition, through interaction and discussion with others and through reference to mass media. The formation of social representations includes anchoring and objectification activities that result in the linking of new concepts to existing ideas and objects to create a shared stock of images, metaphors and explanations (Joffe, 2003).

Shared social representations need not be 'correct.' The accepted imagery is neither a function of 'scientific truth' nor an arbitrary truth but is determined by a group's world of experience (Wagner et al., 1999). It is more important that they be 'easy to think with' and draw upon familiar notions and socially-acceptable narratives. In this way, social representations can reflect 'lay knowledge' or the common-sense narratives accepted within social groups (Halfacree, 1993). As social representations serve to connect historical images and metaphors to contemporary phenomena, explanations tend to persist long after conditions have changed.

This process partially occurs unconsciously as some anchoring and objectification efforts gain salience in social groups and other, less relatable images and categorisations move to the periphery. This process can also be strategic as certain groups mobilise their influence to shape a social reality that privileges certain actions and perspectives and silences others. This has been noted in housing research in the construction of housing 'problems' that denounce the impacts of planning regulation or privilege home ownership and rising house prices over housing affordability (Jacobs 2015).

The act of naming and defining a topic is particularly pertinent when investigating understandings of planning policies like urban consolidation. What becomes a planning problem, to a large extent, is contingent upon how interest groups compete to define reality (Kemeny, 1988). The "power of naming" is extremely influential and often results in the creation of orthodoxy (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 238). The power to name or categorise an entity allows one to define how the world is interpreted. As such, observing the process of naming and classification is central to identifying the power-laden use of language in shaping planning policy debates.

Different social groups will construct and reference different social representations based on their familiarity with different tropes, images and collective experiences. While some underlying ideas will be shared between all members of society, people tend to objectify events and phenomena using images, symbols and metaphors compatible with in-group values that will not be shared with other social groups. Such differences in meanings are due to socially-transmitted knowledge structures shared by groups of people or social milieu. These different social groups will often come into conflict as their values, priorities, attitudes and perspectives towards urban consolidation will conflict with each other.

Acknowledging that different groups will draw upon entirely different systems of values, related to in-group metaphors and narratives is valuable when conceptualising conflict surrounding a contentious policy such as urban consolidation. Perception is shaped by social (ideological, political and economic) structures and different social groups experience the environment in different ways (Hubbard, 1996a). It suggests that attitudes towards higher density housing often draw upon associated ideas such as the importance of space for family, images of 'typical' apartment dwellers, perceptions of 'fair' development processes and delineations between insiders and outsiders. It moves beyond evaluating whether urban consolidation is good or bad to an examination of how it is defined, evaluated and perceived by multiple different stakeholders.

3. Creation of a new Social Representation

A social representation is;

> *"A system of values, ideas and practices with a twofold function; first, to establish an order which will enable individuals to orientate themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for social*

exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history" (Moscovici, 1973, p. pxiii).

As such, they come to constitute reality and influence actions, communications and decisions. Social representations link public policies or social objects to widely accepted ways of understanding the world and to shared moral evaluations of conditions, events and possible solutions to problems. They can provide inspiration for policies and a powerful means to communicate to a broad public and rally support by calling on familiar metaphors and concepts. These social representations provide analogies which help make sense of events and simplify complex realities. They can mediate social change by allowing new policies to carry a familiar meaning, linking novel ideas to existing value systems and collective narratives. They also help to define acceptable actions as they provide a shared rationale to behave in common ways. An example of this is the continuing privileged position of home ownership in Australia, linked to the imagery of the 'Great Australian Dream' and individual autonomy.

Social representations, as the structures that define how a topic is understood and communicated about, necessarily influence actions and interactions. Urban policy, investment decisions and community actions are all a function of how individuals and groups perceive reality. This shared perception allows people to say 'this new situation is actually quite similar to this other familiar situation' and therefore respond in ways that align with existing value systems. Persuasive groups that call on the emotive content, vivid imagery and links to shared values contained within a social representation can generate intense support for certain policies or actions. This partially explains why urban consolidation policy has advocated as a solution to such a wide range of urban ills over time. As various concerns have gained salience over time, ranging from lack of government funds to emerging anxieties about climate change and sustainability and perceptions of a rapidly swelling population, urban consolidation has been linked to prominent and emotive imagery to activate community support.

Social representations are often translated into policy creation and housing and community reaction decisions made by residents and built environment professionals. This thesis suggests that social representations can help to explain why residents oppose higher density in their neighbourhoods, how developers prioritise designs and why community members make certain housing choices. As Martin, McCann, and Purcell (2003, p. 117) have argued, "representation and discourse are increasingly important lenses for urban politics, as these concepts provide a framework for examining the role of values, stories and ideals in

shaping the social world, and reflecting change and conflict." By acknowledging the role of power in the negotiation of naming and classifying social objects and the creation of 'common sense' views of how housing should look and function, the framework seeks to identify dominant and subordinate social representations through reification of different knowledge systems (Howarth, 2006).

The oppositional actions of community members can also be partially explained by the proposed theoretical framework. For residents, it can be conceptualised as a threat to long-held narratives of the virtuous, autonomous, suburban homeowner. There is an established body of literature which explores the social amplification of risk, suggesting that news media, opinion leaders within groups, personal networks and public agencies are all instrumental in generating and transmitting ideas about risk and appropriate reactions to it (Kasperson et al., 1988). This acknowledgement of socially mediated opinions is integral to attitudes to urban consolidation and has parallels with the proposed theoretical framework. For this reason, SRT is particularly pertinent to the investigation of community attitudes to contentious land uses.

This theoretical framework presents a conceptual model for understanding how stakeholders interpret urban consolidation and how these interpretations serve to privilege some groups and silence others. In addition, it posits a process for how common sense knowledge is created and circulated in society. The framework includes a continual feedback loop such that changing practices and economic, social and political conditions influence social representations just as social representations affect and create the conditions in which urban policies, development decisions and community reactions take place.

4.5 *Conclusion*

This Chapter presents the theoretical framework applied throughout this thesis. It began with a discussion of planning theory, situating the thesis within a body of planning literature concerned with the power-laden and socially-mediated nature of knowledge and rationality. After a discussion of planning theory, the chapter highlighted the paucity of psychological perspectives within planning scholarship and discussed the impacts of this omission. The chapter then introduced Social Representations Theory and explained and justified its utility for planning scholarship. In particular, the chapter highlighted the ability for Social Representations Theory to; 1) provide an explanation for the way new knowledge is assimilated by social groups 2) explicitly engage with notions of power and action in planning

and built environment decisions 3) legitimise 'lay' understandings of phenomena 4) acknowledge both individual and social knowledge production and 5) present a theory for the formation and interaction of social groups.

The key contribution was the presentation and justification of the theoretical framework devised for this thesis. This theoretical framework is a substantial contribution to planning literature. The framework presents a theory of how common sense knowledge is created and accepted and how this knowledge is translated into action. The theoretical framework draws attention to the social representations of urban consolidation in Brisbane and explicitly acknowledges the capacity for those social representations to privilege some groups whilst silencing or negating others. This chapter directly influences all following chapters, informing the research methodology, the choice of research methods and the analysis of all research findings. Chapter Five was developed to explicitly reflect the theoretical tenets of Chapter Four as the theoretical and methodological approaches of this thesis are complementary and interconnected.

Chapter Five: Research Methodology and Research Methods

5.1 *Introduction*

The central aim of this thesis is to identify the ways in which urban consolidation is understood and communicated about in Brisbane, and this is reflected in the research methodology and research methods applied in this thesis. This chapter outlines the application of the mixed-methods, single case-study approach to answering the research questions and research aims that structure this thesis. The aim of this is to illustrate the methodological approach to the research questions, establish the appropriateness and robustness of the research design and methods, and document the research process. The research design is influenced by the theoretical framework applied throughout the study and has been developed to capture both social and individual representations of urban consolidation.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the thesis' research focus, outlining the research problems, questions and aims. Following this, the chapter presents the research methodology, providing a justification for the use of a single case-study, the application of a qualitative and quantitative mixed-methods approach and the theoretical appropriateness of the chosen research methods. The next section of Chapter Five recounts and justifies the research program and research methods. The research program consists of three methods: Pragmatic Textual Analysis, Semantic Metaphorical Analysis and Q-methodology. Following a description of the steps taken to execute these research methods the chapter discusses the ethics and limitations of the methods and concludes with an evaluation of the research quality.

5.2 *Research Focus*

5.2.1 Research Problems

Urban consolidation is a planning policy that has been adopted in all capital cities in Australia (Bunker & Searle, 2009). While it has attracted significant support in planning policy, it remains a contentious issue in planning scholarship and has inspired substantial debate about its veracity, acceptability and feasibility (Breheny, 1997). It has achieved limited success in meeting its stated aims in Australia (Bunker, 2014). Gleeson (2014) has criticised Australian urban debates for employing an overly-deterministic understanding of the impacts of density on sustainability. Further, many scholars have alluded to the political nature of consolidation processes, arguing that the limited examples of successful consolidation can be partially explained by the vested interests or priorities of various stakeholders. Bunce (2004) argues that the sustainability narrative attached to urban consolidation has largely served to justify neoliberal goals of inner-city redevelopment. In Australia, the shifting justifications applied to urban consolidation in the decades since the 1960s has led Dodson and Gleeson (2007) to call for a greater examination of density as a sociological concept. They argue that policy has largely been shaped by politics and social context, rather than empirical examination of facts. In this context, understanding the social representations surrounding urban consolidation becomes vitally important to understanding the ways this policy is defined, applied, evaluated and challenged by stakeholders. This situation presents the following research problems:

Empirical problem: While community opposition to specific contentious urban consolidation projects is well documented, less is known about the perspectives of built form professionals and the wider population that does not engage in oppositional activities. Similarly, research has often focused on individual contentious developments rather than investigating the multiple associated elements that influence perceptions of urban consolidation

Theoretical problem: Current research often neglects the socially-mediated and shared nature of perceptions. Similarly, positivist research based on the notion of an objective truth and an a-political research and policy implementation process has obscured the role of power and existing social values in influencing policy decisions. This research begins to answer Innes' (1987) call for greater focus on the 'everyday world' and ordinary language and beliefs. It presents theoretical clarity for understanding conflict between social groups,

reactions to unfamiliar phenomena and the construction of power-laden narratives designed to achieve a particular agenda.

Practical problem: Urban consolidation and higher density housing is a complex issue that involves differing priorities and opinions on a wide range of topics from the meaning of home, to views on legitimacy in development decisions and beliefs about the environmental impacts of sprawl. Researching urban consolidation as an isolated topic does not capture the full scope of perspectives. Research has consistently found that planning officers, developers and the community use different frames of reference to assess the levels of risk associated with land use change (Snary, 2004). In addition, research has noted that planning policies and regulation has led to perverse outcomes as developers and residents mobilise in different ways in response to planning and market mechanisms (Woodcock, Dovey, Wollan, & Robertson, 2011). This creates a need to better understand the motivations, priorities and perceptions of built environment professionals and residents.

5.2.2 Research Questions

As discussed in Chapter One, three key questions shape the research project. These questions have informed the research methods employed in this thesis. They are also intrinsically linked to the theoretical framework devised for this thesis and applied throughout the research project. The research questions have been devised to meet three overarching research aims. These aims are;

- Describe the social representations pertaining to urban consolidation in Brisbane circulating in society and expressed by individuals
- Critically analyse the implications of the value-laden social representations of urban consolidation
- Present and justify a novel theoretical framework designed to identify and analyse the manifold ways urban consolidation is understood and represented in Brisbane

Throughout this thesis, urban consolidation is defined as an urban policy concerned with increasing the density of dwellings and/or population within an existing urban area. Higher density housing is defined as all attached dwellings from townhouses through to high-rise apartments. The thesis deliberately avoids a prescriptive definition of medium and high density as the research is concerned with investigating stakeholder and media perceptions

and representations rather than imposing pre-defined terms on the study. The research questions, with their associated objectives and purposes are outlined below in Table 2.

Question	Objective	Purpose
Q1. How does the newspaper media represent urban consolidation in Brisbane?	Analyse pertinent newspaper articles published in the Courier Mail, Sunday Mail, Brisbane Times, Northside Chronicle and South-East Advertiser to identify key social representations apparent in newspaper coverage.	Provide insight into the hegemonic and contradictory social representations of urban consolidation communicated in the media. Identify clusters of ideas linked to urban consolidation. Identify metaphors and imagery used to describe urban consolidation.
Q2 How do stakeholders define, evaluate, prioritise and communicate about urban consolidation in Brisbane?	Discover which discrete aspects of urban consolidation underlie different social representations and which are the most divisive and consensual elements	Aid in understanding the multiple understandings of urban consolidation shaping dialogue and action in Brisbane. Allow for the identification of often-silenced voices and explanations. Acknowledge the subjective understanding employed by stakeholders. Question hegemonic explanations of urban consolidation and identify the nucleus of causal explanations, narratives, priorities and justifications used by stakeholders to support their positions.
Q3. How do these social representations function to privilege the needs and perspectives of some groups and silence others?	Critically assess the implications of taken for granted assumptions on the functioning of planning processes and the development industry in Brisbane	Ascertain whether certain groups are silenced or under-represented while others hold greater power in the urban consolidation discussion. This lends reflexivity to the policy process and provides insight into the role of power in urban development processes.

Table 2: Research questions, objectives and purposes

5.3 *Research Methodology*

5.3.1 Case Study Research

This research employs a case study approach. The decision to use a case study methodology was based on the highly contingent, contemporary and complex nature of the chosen research questions. According to Yin (2014, p. 16) a case study is an "empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." Gillham (2000, p. 1) further suggests that a case study should take for its unit of analysis a "a) unit of human activity embedded in the real world, b) which can only be studied or understood in context, c) which exists in the here and now and d) that merges in with its context so that precise boundaries are difficult to draw." These definitions highlight the appropriateness of case study research for the current study. Urban consolidation policy is a contemporary phenomenon that interacts with a range of other concepts, events and phenomena and cannot be viewed in isolation. The complexity and contextual nature of stakeholder attitudes towards urban consolidation preclude it from repeated experimentation under controlled conditions and recommends direct observation and engagement with primary sources.

Yin has further proposed that three basic conditions inform all research and help to identify which of the five basic research strategies are most appropriate (experiment, survey, archival analysis, history, case study) (Yin, 2014, p. 9). These conditions consist of; (a) the type of research question posed, (b) the extent of control an investigator has over actual behavioural (sic.) events, and (c) the degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events" (Yin, 2014, p. 9) . Considering these conditions in the context of the present study, a case study approach appears to be the most apposite option because (a) the research questions are explanatory and concerned with how certain phenomena are perceived and constructed, (b) the relevant actors in the research cannot be controlled, and (c) while the research is concerned with both past and current events the focus is on the contemporary situation.

Case study research is also well-suited to the theoretical and epistemological precepts of this research. Case study research acknowledges that social reality is created by people and is complex, dynamic and context-dependent and as such requires a highly nuanced research approach (Mabry, 2008). It is concerned with human perception and investigates how things appear to the participants in the case study. Further, a case study approach is particularly relevant as case studies aim to "provide an analysis of the context and processes which illuminate the theoretical issues being studied" (Hartley, 2004, p. 323). The research questions are concerned with exploring a complex topic rather than testing an existing

theory or hypothesis. Case studies play an important function in generating theory and are rarely begun with a-priori theoretical notions (Gillham, 2000). Only by taking such an approach will the various aspects of the issue (housing provision, urban governance, planning, local democracy, NIMBYism, perceptions of home, attitudes towards population growth and housing markets) — usually analysed in isolation — be able to be brought together to gain greater insight into the way urban consolidation is perceived and evaluated.

5.3.2 Mixed Methods Research

The methodology employed in this research was developed to meet the research aims and questions, satisfy the precepts of SRT and provide a more nuanced understanding of the extant social representations of urban consolidation in Brisbane. This methodology draws upon both qualitative and quantitative research methods to gain a more holistic understanding of the social representations surrounding urban consolidation in Brisbane. It employs a bmixed-methodology to present a nuanced and holistic understanding of the topic of enquiry. Much scholarly attention has been paid to heated debates concerning the relative merits of qualitative versus quantitative research (eg. Bryman, 2004; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Similarly, mixed-methods approaches have attracted much contention from methodological purists who argue that qualitative and quantitative methods draw upon different paradigms and epistemologies and are therefore not compatible (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Despite this, a body of research conceptualises qualitative and quantitative methods as complementary rather than rival camps (Creswell & Clark, 2007). Mixed-methods allow the researcher to study a phenomenon from various angles to gain a better understanding of the complex and contingent reality (Smith 2006). Similarly, understandings of a particular topic can be significantly enhanced by mixed-method research processes that explore convergences in stories generated from alternate paradigms (Kidder & Fine, 1987).

Greene et al. (1989) identified 5 purposes for mixed-method research; triangulation, development, complementarity, expansion and initiation. The purpose of the current mixed-method approach is to achieve both complementarity and expansion. Complementarity is achieved by “measuring overlapping as well as different aspects of a phenomena in order to enrich the understanding of the phenomenon” (Gaber & Gaber, 1997, p. 99). In the present context, this has been achieved by examining both newspaper reportage and perceptions expressed by planners, architects, peak organisations, developers, politicians and residents in Brisbane. Expansion seeks to extend the breadth and range of enquiry by using “different methods for different inquiry components” (Greene et al., 1989, p. 259). In particular,

expansion is designed to apply the images of reality generated by one method to help analyse other sets of images generated by different research methods (Gaber & Gaber, 1997). The research program applied in this thesis used the differing images of reality identified in interviews and media analysis to help build a more holistic view of the way urban consolidation is conceptualised and communicated in Brisbane. In this way, it increased the scope and breadth of the research by including multiple components. It is not the intention of this study to triangulate results to obtain findings that support each other. Instead, it will apply a mixed-methods approach to gain a greater assortment of divergent views.

5.3.3 Theoretical Justification

As elaborated in Chapter Four, this thesis develops and advocates a novel theoretical framework that applies the precepts of Social Representation Theory (SRT) to the study of the multiple understandings of urban consolidation in Brisbane. It answers the theoretical and practical demands of planning scholarship by acknowledging multiple voices and knowledges and by accepting the inherently social and political nature of planning and urban development decisions. The research methods applied in this thesis are well established approaches within SRT and have been chosen to reflect the theoretical framework devised for this research.

SRT does not privilege any particular method, instead advocating a range of potential methods depending upon research attributes (Wagner & Hayes, 2005). Identifying SRs is difficult due to their disembodied, abstract and vaguely delineated structure. They are referenced and acted upon but not directly utilised, making them elusive (Halfacree, 1993). This complexity and subtlety lends itself to mixed method approaches that observe multiple mediums in order to build understanding of the topic at hand (Farr, 1993). Bauer and Gaskell (1999, p. 177) advocate "the use of a combination of field observations, questionnaires, free associations or interviews to explore individual cognitions… and documents or mass media contents for formal communication." They further suggest that triangulation of these data sources serves to identify the spectrum of different perspectives and "determine core and peripheral elements of a representation, map contradictions and consistencies and explore the functions of the representation across the different modes and mediums."

In line with the precepts of SRT, this study investigates both individual perspectives (identified in interviews) and social perspectives (as communicated in the newspaper media). SRT is well suited to media analysis as it offers an approach "for studying how the media and citizens construct societal and political issues colouring our age" (Höijer, 2011, p. 3). SRT and

media analysis has been applied to the study of AIDS (Markova & Wilkie, 1987), biotechnology (Bauer, 2005), climate change (Caillaud, Kalampalikis, & Flick, 2012) and entrepreneurialism (Radu & Redien-Collot, 2008). It presents an opportunity to explore "ideas that reside outside of individual minds" (Joffe, 2003, p. 66) and helps to illustrate the cultural context in which the study is situated. Joffe (2003) has mounted a convincing argument for the use of media analysis as a way of investigating the symbols and meaning systems that from part of people's social existence and experiential world. As SRT is concerned with both individual and social understandings, media analysis functions as an important indicator of local and national political context and can help to shed light on the ideas circulating in the population (Dickinson & Dickinson, 2006).

SRT also provides a theoretical rationale for investigating individual cognitions. This was achieved through the Q-methodology approach that involved interviews and the ranking of statements based on levels of agreement. As Duenckmann (2010) and Moss and Bould (2009) have highlighted, Q-methodology has much to gain from the theoretical framework of SRT. In particular, they share assumptions about the creation of knowledge and the interplay between individual and shared perspectives. Q-methodology allows the researcher to identify patterns shared across individuals and operates on the assumption of 'finite diversity' to assume there will be a limited number of accounts shared amoung individuals (Barry & Proops, 1999). Stephenson (1980, p. 15), who is credited with creating Q-methodology, stated that "subjectivity is rooted in conscire, in the common knowledge known to everyone in the culture." The acknowledgement of groups of individuals sharing a finite number of knowledge structures is well suited to SRT's acknowledgement of the geographically, culturally and historically situated nature of knowledge. It also complements the view that different ways of seeing are often linked to sub-systems of society (Ellis, 2004) or social milieu (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999). For this reason, SRT is well suited to the interpretation of Q-studies.

5.4 *Methods and Research Program*

The following section documents the research methods involved at each stage of the research and provides operational detail of the research program. This includes an overview of the research process, Pragmatic Textual Analysis (PTA), Semantic Metaphorical Analysis (SMA), Q-methodology, research ethics, research limitations and tests of method validity.

5.4.1 Overview of Research Method

As Figure 3 illustrates, this thesis employed a 3-step research program. The research followed a process that aimed for scope and breadth by including multiple components (Greene et al., 1989). It began with both a qualitative and quantitative media analysis designed to gain a greater understanding of "ideas residing outside of individual minds" (Joffe, 2003, p. 66). The media analysis involved coding of 5 newspapers available in Brisbane. These newspaper's distributions and focus are state-wide (The Courier Mail and The Sunday Mail), metropolitan (The Brisbane Times) and local (The South-East Advertiser and the Northside Chronicle). The in-depth study of newspaper media revealed the political and cultural context of urban consolidation debates in Brisbane. It also contributed to the following stage of the research process by providing a range of statements to be included in the Q-study. The Q-study involved 46 interviews with residents, planners, architects, peak organisations, developers and politicians in Brisbane. The media analysis and Q-study were conducted in a semi-sequential manner as the two methods complement each other.

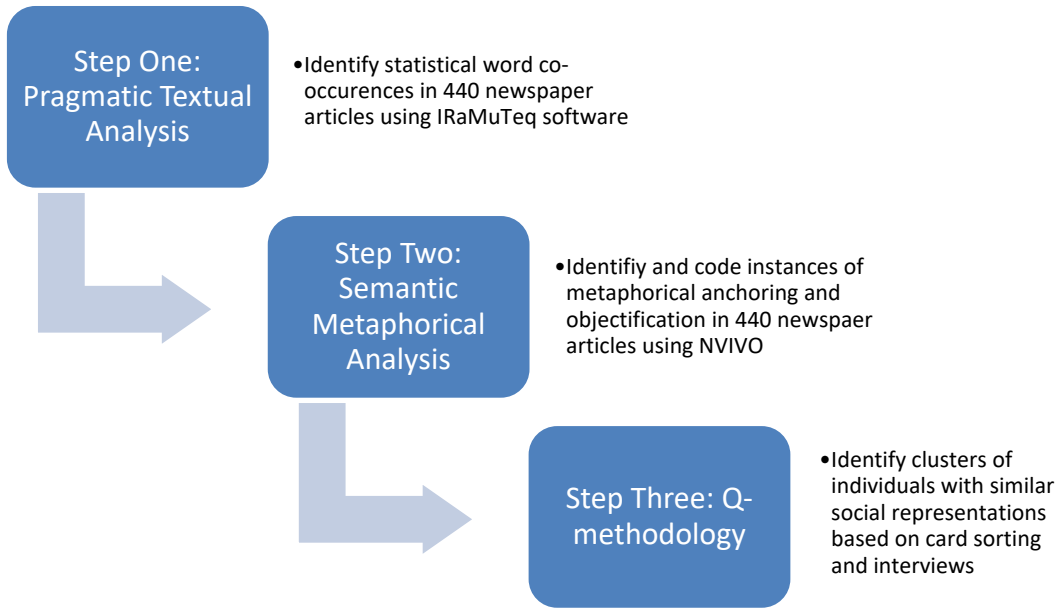


Figure 3: Research methods overview

5.4.2 Media Analysis

Media analysis is both an important component of research undertaken within the SRT framework (Joffe, 2003), and a common method for generating statements in Q-methodology (Rajé, 2007). While the ability of the media to substantially impact policy is contested, it has been posited that the media can shape, convey and legitimise a certain view of reality, which in turn influences policy debates, context and decisions (Moscovici, 1976). McCann (2004) suggests there is a mutually reinforcing relationship between the formulation of policy and the media's representation of the city, development and planning. Further, media analysis helps to illustrate the cultural context in which the study is situated (Sochacka et al., 2011). Media portrayals are an important indicator of local and national political context and public discussion and debate shedding light on the ideas circulating in the population (Dickinson & Dickinson, 2006). Media analysis can result in a better understanding of the social and cultural considerations that may be over-looked by expert-led management of housing (Sochacka et al., 2011).

This thesis aimed to discover how urban consolidation was represented in 440 newspaper articles published between 2007 and 2014. These articles were published in five Brisbane newspapers: The Courier Mail, the Sunday Mail, the Northside Chronicle and South-East Advertiser published by News Corp and The Brisbane Times, published online by Fairfax

Media. While the Courier Mail, Sunday Mail and Brisbane Times are widely circulated within Brisbane and Queensland, the Northside Chronicle and South-East Advertiser are both free local papers with localised readership and a focus on local issues. Local papers can present important insights into stakeholder perceptions as they often communicate a direct challenge to dominant discourses as local actors seek to impose their own values on pertinent issues (Martin, 2000). Local papers are more likely to feature localised issues such as specific development and land use conflicts.

Together, these newspapers are indicative of the majority of newspaper media consumed by readers in Brisbane. Australia is typified by higher levels of media concentration than other developed countries. News Australia Holdings, a subsidiary of News Corporation, controls 70% of the metropolitan daily news market (Harding-Smith, 2011). This is even more apparent in Brisbane where the Courier Mail has held a monopoly status since the late 1980s. Fairfax' online media website, Brisbane Times, is a recent addition to the media landscape. The Courier Mail is a tabloid newspaper and there is no broadsheet alternative in the city (Frew, 2009). See Table 3 for a further break down of newspapers and articles. Articles were collected from the online repository 'Factiva' using the search terms "high* density" OR "urban consolidation" OR "infill". Articles were screened to remove any that were irrelevant (i.e. those referencing *high density* foam). The chosen timeframe encompasses several significant events that impacted on media perspectives and topic salience including the Global Financial Crisis, State government elections in 2009 and 2012, the release of the statutory *South East Queensland Regional Plan 2009-2031* and the release of the *Brisbane City Plan 2014*.

	Readership	Frequency	Area of coverage	Delivery	No of articles
Courier Mail (News Corp)	Average 707,000 per day (combined print and digital)	Daily (Monday-Saturday)	Queensland	Print and online	253
Sunday Mail (News Corp)	Average 927,000 (combined print and digital)	Once weekly (Sundays)	Queensland	Print and online	35
Brisbane Times (Fairfax)	Average 35,065 per day (unique browsers)	Daily (Monday-Sunday)	Principally Brisbane, but available state-wide	Online only	95

Northside Chronicle (News Corp)	Average 68,852 (combined print and digital) per week	Weekly	Brisbane's northern suburbs, Kedron to Carseldine	Print and online	24
South-East Advertiser (News Corp)	54,000 (combined print and digital)	Weekly	Brisbane's south eastern suburbs incl. Carindale, Bulimba and Norman Park	Print and Online	31

Table 3: Newspaper sample

The number of articles that fit within the parameters of this study and met the search terms stated above are illustrated in Figure 4. As the graph demonstrates, The Courier Mail published substantially more articles than the other newspapers. This is mostly a reflection of the larger size and more frequent publication of this newspaper.

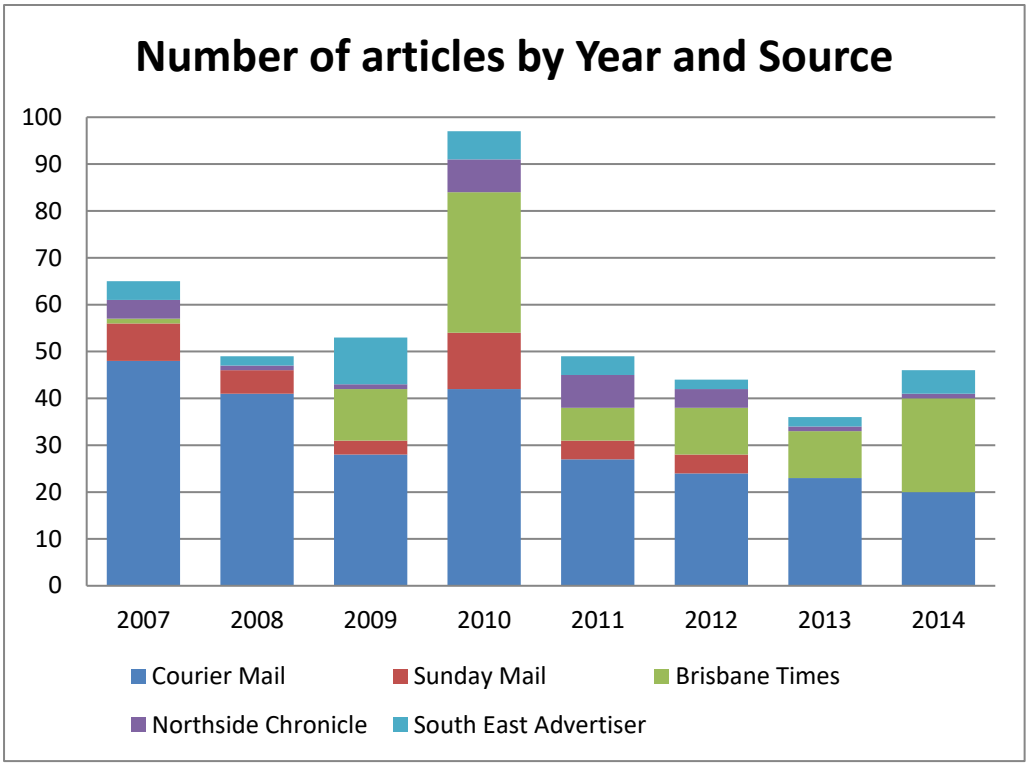


Figure 4: Number of articles by year and source

While print newspapers have suffered declining readership rates and a lack of engagement with younger demographics in recent times, they have bolstered their influence through an online presence and remain an important source of local news (Zenor, 2012). Newspaper coverage of topics is typically more comprehensive than television news. This is due to greater time constraints on television news and the fact that newspaper media can be consumed at the speed and time of the reader's choosing (Druckman, 2005). Australian

media platforms exhibit high levels of concentration with content sharing deals in place between newspapers, television and radio news (Brevini, 2015). For this reason, it is argued that analysis of newspaper coverage can yield a meaningful, if not fully representative, overview of representations of urban consolidation in Brisbane.

The study employed media analysis to gain a greater understanding of the political and cultural context of urban consolidation debates in Brisbane. In keeping with the mixed-method paradigm employed in this research, media analysis took two forms; Pragmatic Textual Analysis (quantitative) and Semantic Metaphorical Analysis (qualitative). Both methods have precedents in SRT and were chosen to contribute different understandings to the research problem. The following sections will elaborate on the methods used to undertake both qualitative and quantitative analysis of the newspaper articles.

5.4.3 Pragmatic Textual Analysis

Pragmatic Textual Analysis (PTA) is a quantitative computer assisted text mining method designed to identify meanings communicated in large text corpora. It has been described as a quantified and detailed form of content analysis (Lahlou, 1996) and combination of textual and statistical analysis (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2005). PTA is used to identify the 'lexical worlds' or word clusters used to describe specific social phenomena and has significant precedent in SRT research (eg. Caillaud et al., 2012; Colucci & Montali, 2008; Gilles et al., 2013). The technique assumes that Social Representations can be considered as a combination of basic nuclei – that is basic traits or concepts that are mentally associated in the subject's mind (Lahlou 1994 as cited in Chartier and Meunier 2011). The method attempts to identify the basic nuclei of social representations characterised by similar lexical traits and communicated in the text of a large corpus. It aims to identify classes of statements in the corpus that can be regarded as expressions of a common core of meaning or the building blocks of the SR (Lahlou, 2003 in Chartier and Meunier 2011). The method assumes that different points of reference produce different ways of talking. Therefore, the use of a specific vocabulary is seen as a source for detecting ways of thinking about an object. The aim of a PTA, therefore, is to distinguish word classes that represent differing forms of discourse or social representations concerning the topic of interest.

The Process

The 440 articles gathered during data collection were analysed using computer assisted PTA. The technique was used to identify social representations within the newspaper articles and findings are provided in Chapter Seven. PTA employs a descending hierarchical classification method to create a hierarchy of word classes. It identifies statistical similarities and differences of words in order to ascertain repetitive language patterns and highlight significant vocabulary (Flick, Foster, & Caillaud, 2015). This study used the software IRaMuTeq (a French acronym for 'R interface for Multidimensional Analysis of Texts and Questionnaires') to undertake this statistical process.

IRaMuTeq is the free-ware version of Alceste, the program developed based on Max Reinert's (1983) concept of descending hierarchical classification. It was initially used in this study due to issues with contacting the company that sells Alceste. However, IRaMuTeq is extremely similar and, in some aspects, superior to Alceste. IRaMuTeq has been developed using the same analytic technique employed within the Alceste software that has been well documented and tested (Smallman, 2015). Despite slight differences in the precise nature of algorithms, IRaMuTeq has been shown to produce results comparable to those of Alceste (Smallman, 2015). IRAMUTEQ also presents additional benefits in the form of graphical representations of findings to aid in data interpretation and communication.

IRaMuTeq integrates a range of sophisticated statistical methods to identify word correlations. It works on the assumption that it is both the words used to describe a topic and the context in which they appear that help to classify content. It applies bivariate associations between words and sets of words to map out "lexical worlds" within a corpus. The program integrates a "complex descending hierarchical classification, combining elements of different statistical methods like segmentation, hierarchical classification and dichotomization based on reciprocal averaging or correspondence analysis and the theory of dynamic clouds" (Hohl, Tsirogianni, & Gerber, 2012, p. 2).

Table 4 summarises the statistical and interpretative processes undertaken as part of this study. A more detailed description is provided in Appendix A: Detailed Pragmatic Textual Analysis Process Description.

1. Data Collection

Corpus Collection

As previously stated, the corpus consisted of 440 newspaper articles derived from five local, metropolitan and state-wide papers circulating in Brisbane (see page 78 for a more detailed description of the articles). The time frame and search terms were designed to collect pertinent articles concerned with higher density housing, infill and urban consolidation in Brisbane. These articles generated a corpus of over 100,000 words, substantially surpassing the 10,000 words deemed necessary to generate a statistically relevant output using Computer Assisted Text Analysis (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2005).

2. Data Modelling

a) Vectorisation

This phase resulted in a mathematical model of the empirical data. The Vectorisation process constructed a vector space from the parts of the corpus. It comprises of two processes: word selection and word weighting.

Word selection involves the lemmatisation of words, i.e. reducing variants of words to their root-forms. In addition, this phase collates nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs (referred to as content words) and removes articles, prepositions, and pronouns (called function words). Very high frequency words and very low frequency words are also filtered out as they are deemed 'uninformative' (Chartier & Meunier, 2011). Word weighting is based on the principles of representativeness and discrimination. Simply, IRaMuTeq places high weighting on words that occur frequently in one part of the corpus and occur less frequently in other parts of the corpus.

b) Similarity calculations

The goal of this step is to associate to each pair of vectorised parts of discourse a value representing their degree of similarity (or difference). The computation of these similarity relations is at the root of the discovery of the SR's classes of meaning. It is based on the Saussurian observation that language is not a collection of names for objects but belongs to a system (Saussure, 1916). Saussure (1916) used the analogy of a game of chess, noting that the value of each piece depends on its position on a chessboard.

This explanation is similar to Firth's (1957, p. 11) insight that "you shall know a word by the company it keeps." In other words, meaning can be analysed by assessing the way people use words in combination with other words in their discourses. Two vectorised parts of discourses that share the same vocabulary (i.e. similar word co-occurrence patterns) are interpreted as semantically close to each other (Chartier & Meunier, 2011).

3. Data Interpretation		
a) Automatic Classification Automatic classification occurs based on the similarity calculations undertaken in the previous step. The IRaMuTeq software creates a semantic map that graphically plots words based on analogy and contrast, with highly correlated words appearing close together. Lahlou gives the following definition to a text classification operation "*The statements are classified by analogy and contrast, on the basis of their lexical content. This gives classes that contain statements. Similar statements are classified together in one class, and as different as possible of the statements of the other classes*." (Lahlou, 1996a, p.77, in Chartier and Meunier 2011). In other words, the automatic classification step groups together the similar parts of discourse and separates the different ones.	b) Content Extraction IRaMuTeq generates a series of salient words and typical statements that can be used to interpret the data. The salient lexical content is the set of words strongly associated with the parts of discourse grouped together in a particular class. The strength of association between each word and its class is expressed by a chi-squared value, and all words exceeding a certain chi- squared value are listed (Hohl et al., 2012). The algorithm used to identify these words places an emphasis on words that occur frequently in a given class but are uncommon in other classes. Therefore, salient words are not merely a function of frequency but are also highly representative and distinctive to a particular class. The typical statements contain multiple salient words and are indicative of the content and style of the word class.	c) Categorisation This final step involves what Lahlou (1996) referred to as 'the art of comprehension.' It requires the researcher to intentionally identify, name and hypothesise about classes based on the statistical clues presented by the analysis. This involves an observation of the salient words identified for the class, and acknowledgement that they are part of the same underlying semantic category. The classes are named and explained based on statistical and graphical outputs and knowledge of the source domain (i.e. media portrayals of urban consolidation). Statistical clues include the salient words, word frequencies and typical statements that all provide insight into representative words and "the company they keep" (Firth, 1957, p. 11). Graphical clues include the IRaMuTeq-generated Correspondence Analysis graph that co-locates associated words and correlates word size with its representativeness within a given word class. The program plots words on a vector space, placing words that occur frequently in all classes near the centre and words that are highly specific to one class at the periphery.

Table 4: The process of Pragmatic Textual Analysis

This process resulted in a sophisticated analysis of word co-occurrences in the newspaper corpus. Results are discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

5.4.4 Semantic Metaphorical Analysis

The Semantic Metaphorical Analysis (SMA) of the newspaper corpus was undertaken to expand, complement and add qualitative depth to the PTA. Findings are presented and analysed in Chapter Eight. The SMA draws upon the SRT concepts of anchoring and objectification to help identify how people build representations of events and phenomenon. In particular, the analysis was concerned with the use of metaphors as a platform for elaborating social representations. The creation of metaphors, images and icons is very similar to the process of creating social representations (Wagner and Hayes 2005). These are employed by people trying to understand new forms of information and serve to "ensure core values and norms are stamped onto new events and drive mutations in common sense over time" (Joffe, 2003, p. 63).

This study focused specifically on the metaphors applied in the newspaper media to achieve objectification and anchoring processes. Metaphors are a communicative mechanism that help to transform ideas into common sense (Höijer, 2011). They can be considered "a device to make something less familiar more familiar [that] impregnates the target with characteristics which originally pertain to the source" (Wagner et al., 1995, p. 675). A metaphor can be considered a tool used by members of society to achieve understanding of an object. Understanding the metaphors utilised in newspaper media provides a useful insight into the values, understandings and priorities applied to urban consolidation and higher density housing in Brisbane. Metaphors make phenomena more familiar by imagining them as something else and may serve ideological and legitimating functions (Hoijer, 2011). Metaphors serve this purpose by associating an abstract concept with an object which is closer to the personal experience of the people seeking to define and understand a less comprehensible concept (Wagner et al., 1995). This process has been identified by several studies that reported the use of metaphors in strengthening social representations. For example, Jodelet (1991, p. 209) found farming communities objectified madness through the use of terms such as "decay," "curdling like butter," and "turning off" like milk.

The Process

The semantic analysis of metaphors appearing in newspaper media drew upon the same 440 newspaper articles utilised in the PTA. Articles were analysed using Semantic Metaphorical Analysis. In line with the precepts of content analysis, text was selected according to explicit rules and subjected to a consistent analysis (Shapiro & Markoff, 1997). All articles were coded in NVIVO to identify instances of metaphorical anchoring and objectification. Lakoff's (1987) conception of a metaphor was used when analysing the text. In this understanding a metaphor exists of three parts: a target domain, a source domain and a relation defined between target and source domain. The source domain is the concrete, more familiar construct. This domain is closer to personal experience than the domain to be understood and is therefore immediately comprehensible to those using it. It relates to a wide-spread experience, is pervasive, well-structured and represents a well-demarcated part of the everyday life of social actors (Lakoff, 1987, p. 278). The target domain is farther from experience, more abstract and therefore is linked to the source domain in order to become more comprehensible. Wagner et al. (1995) argue that target domains become comprehensible through the mapping which links them to the source domain and allows the structure and meaning of the more familiar concept to be 'projected' onto the less familiar concept. This occurs as part of a constructive effort in communication and discourse to establish similarities between source and target domains.

Table 5 provides examples of metaphors that have been identified during this thesis along with the target and source domains that they reference. As the table demonstrates, unfamiliar concepts such as changing suburbs are linked to ideas that are associated with an existing stock of imagery and ideas such as war or ecology.

Coded Metaphor	Target Domain	Source Domain
"suburbs have become battle grounds"	Suburbs experiencing conflict surrounding changing urban form and specific planning applications	Battle or war
"The city is a constantly evolving and expanding organism"	City growth, urban development, population growth, neighbourhood change	Organic growth, ecology
"Neighbourhoods are having their hearts ripped out by higher density development"	Higher density development, population growth, neighbourhood change	Human disease and death, heart break

Table 5: Metaphor target and source domains

All 440 articles were read to identify evidence of metaphors. After these metaphors were coded in NVIVO they were categorised into groups of metaphors that refer to similar aspects of the urban consolidation discussion. A full discussion and analysis of these metaphors is provided in Chapter Eight.

5.4.5 Q-Methodology

Q-methodology complements the media analysis and provides an insight into individually recounted social representations. Findings from this method are provided in Chapter Nine. Q-methodology is a useful method as it provides a scientific approach to the study of human subjectivity and inter-subjectivity, representing an attempt to combine the qualitative study of attitudes with the statistical rigour of quantitative research techniques (Brown, Durning, & Selden, 2007). It also allows for the analysis of individual representations as communicated in attitudes and evaluations and informal conversation. It explores the patterns of subjective views and attitudes held by groups of people and uses statistical techniques to systematically examine the range of discourses held by that group (Addams, 2000). The qualitative and exploratory nature of the research design lends itself to investigation of attitudes, perceptions and beliefs. The statistical and systematic nature of the research method is particularly appropriate to the examination of commonalities and contradictions in participant opinions.

Q-methodology was first developed in the 1930s by British physicist-psychologist William Stephenson in response to the lack of statistical approaches available to researchers interested in the subjectivity of knowledge (Brown, 1996). It is based on the ranking of stimuli by test persons and is essentially an inversion of traditional factor analysis, wherein persons become the variables of interest (Watts & Stenner, 2005). Instead of analysing how individual opinions are distributed amoungst a population, q-methodology attempts to identify and understand the internal structure of complex frames of reference concerning a specific object (Duenckmann, 2010). In keeping with the theoretical basis of SRT, it is concerned with the collective images that mirror the values and preferences of certain social groups rather than the individual attributes of test persons (Duenckmann, 2010). Q analysis does not yield statistically generalisable results. Instead, the “results produce an in-depth portrait of the typologies of perspectives that prevail in a given situation.” (Steelman and Maguire, 1999, p. 3).

Q-methodology is a departure from the more traditional survey and case study techniques favoured in urban studies research. This is a deliberate attempt to avoid the imposition of *a priori* meanings upon survey participants so common to tradition test design (Watts & Stenner, 2005). This is particularly important given the methodological issues inherent in the lack of public understanding or awareness of urban consolidation (Ruming, 2014b) and the value-laden nature of the term density (Dodson & Gleeson, 2007). Allowing participants to ascribe meaning and relevance in their own way can lead to more nuanced results and avoid the perpetuation of dominant power relationships and discourses that often occurs in traditional survey design (Dryzek, 1994). Such an approach has tended to project monolithic notions of opposition (Pendall, 1999) which fail to grasp the intricacies of local disputes (Ellis et al., 2007).

Q-methodology has precedence within planning literature. It has been applied to the mapping of preferences in planning and land use issues (Swaffield & Fairweather, 1994; van Eeten, 2000; Wolsink, 2004). In geography, it has been used to describe preferences about participation and argumentation in spatial decision-making (Steelman & Maguire, 1999; Webler, Danielson, & Tuler, 2007). Ellis (2004) used Q-methodology to investigate the multiple reasons for opposition to wind farms. Q-methodology is also pertinent to addressing questions about shared and divisive issues amongst and between groups. Q-methodology is well-suited to this thesis as it establishes systematic patterns by identifying individuals who share attitudes, gives a structure to subjective opinion and has the potential to uncover insights into major social groupings' construction of issues in terms of behaviour responses rather than more traditional approaches which uses socio-demographic categories or pre-existent groups (Rajé, 2007). This has the capacity to uncover unforeseen coalitions between ostensibly unrelated individuals and groups. Rather than focusing on urban consolidation as an isolated concept or testing a predefined relationship, which has often been the case in the existing literature (Burton, 2000; Howley, 2009; Lewis, 2013; Smith & Billig, 2012), this research concerns itself with a range of related concepts in the hopes of discovering new ways of conceptualising the phenomenon.

In line with the research questions and theoretical approach applied in this thesis, this method uses an inductive approach to theory and explanation building (Watts & Stenner, 2005) allowing concepts to emerge in the interpretive stages rather than seeking to test a predetermined relationship or theory (Addams, 2000). Even a seemingly simple question about how various stakeholders interpret urban consolidation is a complex landscape of opinions, values, meanings and representations concerning the topic mediated by a range of

cultural, contextual, socio-economic and physical factors (Duenckmann, 2010; Ellis et al., 2007). In light of this complexity, Q-methodology offers a way of revealing new patterns and connections in opinions that cannot be revealed by non-statistical techniques (Rajé, 2007).

The Process

Q-methodology uses a lexicon of terms unique to the methodology. Table 6 is provided below as a quick guide to Q-methodology terms to aid in comprehension.

Term	Meaning
Q-methodology	Refers to the methodological approach i.e. "Q-methodology is an apposite approach to identifying areas of consensus or contention pertaining to a phenomenon"
Q-study	Refers to a particular study or application of a Q-methodology approach i.e. "46 respondents were interviewed in this Q-study"
Q-sort	Refers to the pattern derived from an individual sorting or arranging Q-statements into a pattern i.e. "His Q-sort reflected strong support for high density housing"
Q-statement	Refers to the statements that are sorted by respondents i.e. "The most contentious Q-statement referred to the environmental credentials of apartment living"
Q-set	Refers to the full list of Q-statements used in the Q-study i.e. "The Q-set consists of 50 Q-statements"
P-set	Refers to the participants or respondents participating in the Q-study i.e. "The P-set consists of 46 participants"

Table 6: Q-methodology terms

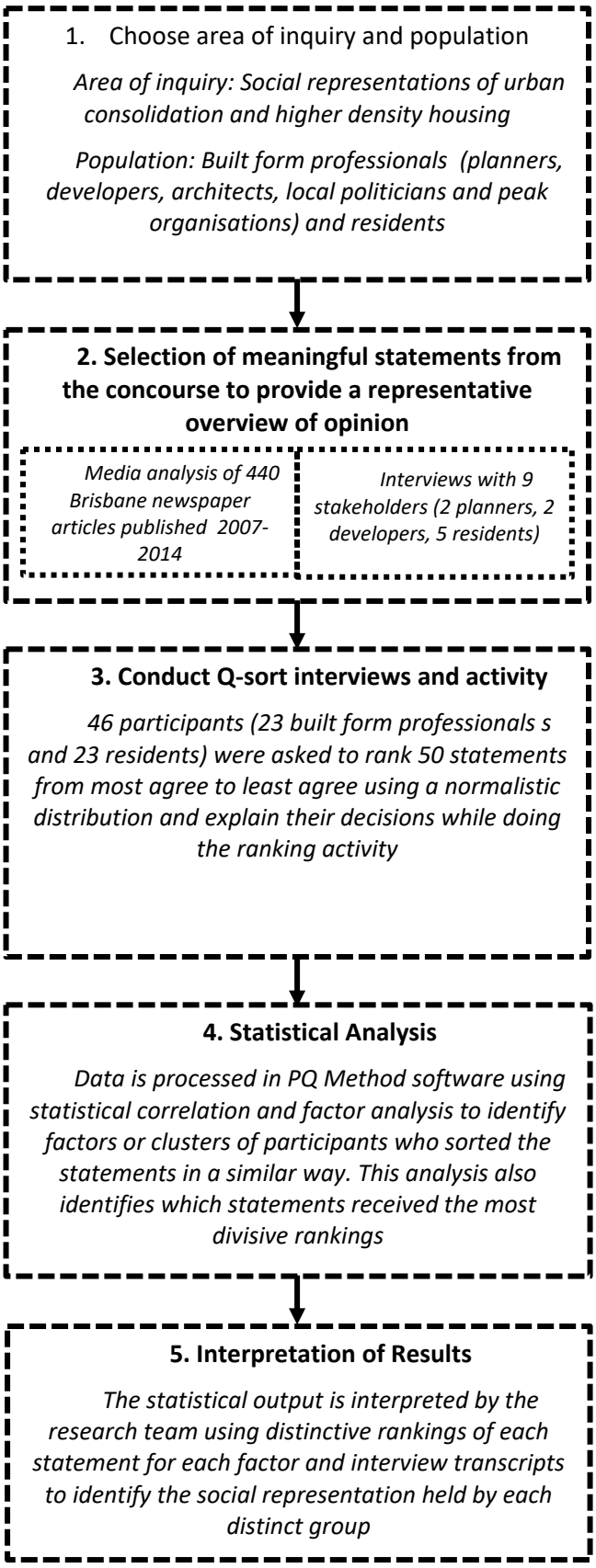
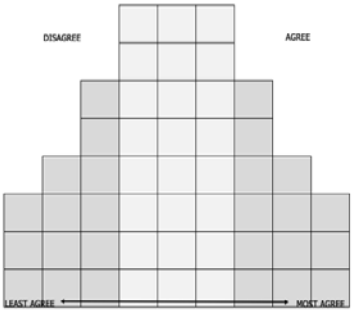


Figure 5: Q-methodology process

The Q-methodology was undertaken in six steps as illustrated in 5. They will be outlined in following section.

2. The concourse is "the flow of communicability surrounding any topic" in "the ordinary conversation, commentary and discourse of every day life." (Brown, 1993, p. 91).

3. Participants placed statements on an answer board in the pattern shown to the right. This allowed them to rank statements based on level of agreement



4. A four step inverted factor analysis was employed. 1) An inter-correlation matrix was calculated. 2) Factors are extracted mathematically. This study used 3 factors as this solution provided the 'best fit.' 3) A varimax rotation was applied to make results more easily interpretable. 4) Factor scores were computed and related back to the statements to allow for interpretation of results

Step One: Identification of the Area of Inquiry and the Relevant Population

In this case, the area of inquiry is the social representations of urban consolidation and higher density housing. The relevant population is represented by the following milieu;

Brisbane Residents

- Renting and home-owning high-density residents
- Renting and home-owning low-density residents

Brisbane Built Form Professionals

- Local government planners from Brisbane City Council
- State planners from the Queensland Government
- Private-industry planning consultants
- Architects
- Property developers
- Local elected officials
- Representatives from peak organisations such as the Property Council of Australia (PCA), Planning Institute of Australia (PIA), Urban Development Industry of Australia (UDIA) and Local Government Association of Queensland (LGAQ)

These milieus were chosen to gain the most theoretically varied range of opinions. They were also identified as the most vocal contributors to the urban consolidation debate in the media.

Step Two: Selection of Meaningful Statements (Statement Concourse)

This step involved the coding and collation of 'broadly representative' statements about urban consolidation and higher density housing in the language of participants (Watts & Stenner, 2005). According to Brown (1993, p. 91), the concourse is "the flow of communicability surrounding any topic in the ordinary conversation, commentary and discourse of every day life." This is most commonly drawn from explorative interviews with stakeholders, but can also be derived from other sources such as the media, academic literature and policy documents (Watts & Stenner, 2012). This study used both media analysis and semi-structured interviews to develop a 'statement concourse.'

Statements were derived from a series of interviews and analysis of 5 key newspapers circulating in Queensland and Brisbane. For a full description of these newspaper articles, see page 78. The study relied on a grounded theory approach to gain a broad understanding of the variety of perspectives communicated in conversation and in the media. The application of grounded theory is theoretically consistent with this study as it is concerned with the 'discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 2) rather than the testing of a priori theories. In line with grounded theory, inductive analysis of interview transcripts and newspaper articles resulted in the identification of categories and codes and involved the iterative comparison of data and concepts to build a more refined picture of the topic.

This process resulted in the collation of over 350 statements that reflected attitudes expressed about the topic. Statements were selected to represent a range of perspectives, priorities and themes pertaining to the topic. The interview process and media analysis process are further elaborated below.

Media Analysis

The 440 articles reviewed as part of the Pragmatic Textual Analysis and Semantic Metaphorical Analysis were further examined to obtain representative statements. For a detailed explanation of the articles and justification for their inclusion see page 78. These articles were textually analysed and coded in NVIVO to note statements representative of perceptions of higher density housing and urban consolidation. Care was taken to reflect the perspectives of a range of stakeholders and to capture both mainstream and controversial

narratives. The media analysis resulted in the identification of key themes and issues that define urban consolidation and higher density housing in Brisbane. This process was aided by the deep familiarity with the newspaper corpus yielded by the qualitative and quantitative analysis undertaken in the Phase One media analysis. This is an important consideration given that selecting representative statements requires an in-depth understanding of the parameters of the search and the overall character of the corpus (Watts and Stenner, 2005).

Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured Interviews were undertaken to complement the media analysis and to gain a better understanding of attitudes, opinions and values assigned to urban consolidation, neighbourhood and home across various stakeholder groups. Semi-structured interviewing is a process of conducting purposeful and directed conversations designed to explore particular issues with relevant people through a common format (Dunn, 2000). Rather than establishing a structured sequence of questions, an indicative interview plan was developed and interviews were conducted in a fluid way to allow for unexpected themes to be explored and for focus on people's knowledge, understandings, interpretations, experiences, and interactions (Mason, 2004). This approach suits the theoretical framework and research questions of this study as it acknowledges that knowledge is contextual, subjective and situated (Mason, 2004).

A semi-structured approach was undertaken to examine the underlying arguments and hidden meanings used to communicate ideas. This qualitative approach allowed for contradictory ideas to be heard and aimed to avoid the issues related to creating a-priori conceptualisations of the issue at hand. Care was taken to avoid imposing researcher definitions of urban consolidation upon the participant. The interview schedule was slightly adjusted for each participant to reflect varying areas of expertise, differing priorities and contrasting topics of interest. This approach is consistent with the advice of Dunn (2000) who suggests that every interview requires its own preparation, thought and practice. Interviews were undertaken in an informal manner and were conducted with the flexibility to depart from the interview schedule. Interviews lasted an hour on average.

In line with other similar studies (See, for example Ellis et al., 2007), 9 interviews were undertaken in order to supplement the media analysis and capture a broader range of perspectives. The participants are described in Table 7. The relatively small sample is appropriate as the interviews were designed to complement and extend the comprehensive media analysis, rather than constitute an entirely new source of data. Participants were

purposively selected using maximum variation sampling to glean a wide variety of perspectives. Interviews were recorded and transcribed and then coded in NVIVO for key themes, attitudes and images to form a greater understanding of existing social representations and contribute to the statement concourse. Interview participants were as follows;

Built Form Professionals			
Profession	**Area**	**Generation***	
Planner	Private Industry	Baby Boomer	
Planner	Local Government	Generation X	
Developer	Small-scale infill	Generation Y	
Developer	Large-scale greenfield and infill developer	Generation Y	
Residents			
Tenure	**Density[1]**	**Generation[2]**	**Involvement**
Home Owner	Low density	Baby Boomer	Community group leader
Home Owner	Low density	Generation X	Community group leader
Home Owner	High Density	Generation X	Community group involvement
Renter	High Density	Generation Y	No formal involvement
Home Owner	Low Density	Baby Boomer	No formal involvement

Table 7: Semi-structured interview participants

Interviews were tailored to reflect the involvement of the interview participant in the urban development industry and covered a range of topics associated to urban consolidation and higher density housing as described in Table 8. There was necessarily a difference between questions asked in interviews, designed to reflect differing priorities and knowledge.

[1] Density is defined in the following way; low density refers to detached dwellings, high density refers to attached dwellings from townhouses through to high-rise apartments. Definitions are deliberately non-prescriptive as the purpose of this thesis is to investigate media and stakeholder definitions of density rather than apply researcher-defined definitions.

[2] Generations have been defined by the following year brackets: Generation Y born between 1981 and 1994, Generation X born between 1963 and 1980, Baby Boomers born between 1946 and 1962.

Built Form Professionals	
Views on housing and home Views on typical residents of different housing forms	Views on planning policy and the future of Brisbane Perceptions of consolidation targets in the SEQ Regional Plan and Brisbane City Plan 2014 Opinions on land and housing supply and demand Beliefs about managing population growth and housing new residents Views on the planning and development process The validity and feasibility of urban consolidation
Residents	
Views on housing and home Reasons for current housing tenure, location and building type Benefits and disadvantages of their neighbourhood Feelings about higher density housing as a housing choice and as a nearby land use Views about typical residents of different types of housing	Views on planning policy and the future of Brisbane Beliefs about managing population growth and housing new residents Beliefs about how Brisbane will look in 50 years Views on community consultation and development processes

Table 8: Semi-structured interview topics

As previously stated, analysis of semi-structured interviews and newspaper articles resulted in the collation of over 350 statements. Selecting statements for inclusion in the concourse is more of an art than a science (Brown, 1993) as the researcher employs discretion in choosing statements that are a representative miniature of the concourse in an attempt to contain the comprehensiveness of the larger process being modelled. According to Shemmings and Ellingsen (2012) it is more important to select a variety of view points held by different people than to represent the majority viewpoint. Statements were selected in the present study through the application of grounded theory to allow themes to emerge from the literature.

These statements were condensed through a process of elimination that removed similar statements and resulted in 60 statements that are broadly representative of perspectives identified in the concourse. Eight pilot studies were conducted with a range of participants unrelated to the research topic to ensure that statements were comprehensible, representative, did not overlap and were not overly restrictive. These pilot studies resulted

in a reduction of statements from 60 to 50 and the re-wording of some statements. These 50 statements then became the Q-set. Trialling the Q-set is an important verification stage (Watts and Stenner, 2005). Statements were selected to ensure each individual statement made its own contribution to the Q-set. As most studies use or suggest between 30 and 80 statements (Browne, Leviston, Green, & Nancarrow, 2008; Rajé, 2007; Stainton Rogers, 1995), 50 was deemed appropriate for the current study.

The final Q-set is included below in Table 9. Of the 50 statements, 30 were derived from newspaper articles and 20 were derived from interviews. Care was taken to ensure the language used in interviews and newspapers was retained but some manipulation was required to make statements comprehensible as stand-alone comments. As Q-methodology seeks to encourage active engagement of its participants, controversial statements were included to provoke debate and encourage emotive responses.

	Statement
1	What drives me insane is that we have all these plans and strategies and most of the time they are completely ignored. What's the point of a neighbourhood plan if it doesn't get enforced?
2	The issue with planning in Brisbane is that development is considered in election cycles, there isn't enough foresight to deliver successful higher density
3	If we increase high density living then we can lower our carbon footprints and we can invest in better public transport - it's better for the environment
4	The problem with living in apartments is that you can't have any individuality, everything has to conform. Body corporate rules can get ridiculous
5	Residents are having high density foisted upon them without consultation or the ability to have a say in how their neighbourhoods develop
6	Apartments are only suitable for investors and the young, trendy inner-city cafe crowd
7	I like that everyone in my neighbourhood is relatively like-minded. We all have similar values and lifestyles
8	I think people get used to the noises of living in units, it's like living next to a train track, you stop noticing it
9	People living in densifying areas should be rubbing their hands together, not complaining. All they have to do is sell their property to the right person and they'll clean up
10	It's stupid to underdevelop an inner-city site as permissible building heights are always going to increase and you'll miss potential profit
11	Densification has a place in housing provision but it isn't enough to meet all our needs. It has to be supplemented by greenfield development. That's where all the demand is
12	I understand that planning policy is aiming for high levels of infill housing but I don't think that is what is actually occurring on the ground- it's a great ideology but it isn't reality

13	As much as Gen Y is all about convenience, I think once they start to pair up and have kids they'll still want to move to the suburbs with some grass under their feet
14	Brisbane should be making much more use of things like infill and subdivision of people's large back gardens to create opportunities for new dwellings
15	There is a pretty antagonistic relationship between planners and developers these days - planners often see their role as delaying and reducing development
16	I think Brisbane has failed to supply sufficient infrastructure to support increased population and densities
17	Developers need the flexibility to develop something economically feasible even if it doesn't completely conform with the plan.
18	We need NIMBYs that are passionate and care because you need someone fighting for balance. Leave it to capitalism and we might oversteer
19	There is huge demand for housing, we can't build it fast enough. But developers still seem to need to bash their head against a wall to get the community and council on board
20	I think there is a cultural change taking place in our attitudes towards apartments. In the 90s we thought they were pigeon holes that belonged in Hong Kong
21	I'm happy to live in a single room with a kitchenette so long as it's in my price range and close to the city.
22	I don't really need to buy a house. If I never saw anything I liked, or could afford, I'd be happy to rent
23	SEQ is already over-crowded, we could solve all our traffic and housing affordability issues by just slowing population growth
24	There's no need to go building more and more and more suburbs further and further out, it's just ridiculous really. They are taking up good farming land and natural habitats
25	The best thing about apartments is the convenience - easy access and easy maintenance
26	It's tragic to see Brisbane losing its tin and timber character as developers carve up our suburbs and build out-of-place apartment buildings
27	The real issue of allowing one high density development to occur in a suburb is that it sets a precedent and leaves the floodgates open for future development
28	We concentrate too much on local communities in development decisions, what about people who want to move there in the future? Or the people who use the neighbourhood but don't live there?
29	The increasing take-up of medium density development close to the inner city and built up areas would suggest that there is a market for it, otherwise developers would stop building it
30	We let developers get away with designing cheap and dodgy buildings so they keep building them like that
31	While most people would prefer their neighbourhoods to remain low-density, I think most people realise that isn't possible given our growing population

32	Increasing housing supply through infill development will increase affordability. We desperately need more housing to stop the housing and rental crisis
33	We only want large backyards because that was what we grew up with, unlike in European cities where they're used to higher density living. People just don't like change
34	Apartment blocks will become the ghettos of the future as residents who don't care about their upkeep move in
35	I think people get very upset about developments in their area but once they are built they kind of forget about it and things go back to normal
36	If you're going to have high rise you must have green space or else we're going to have a lot of very psychotic people
37	Part of the issue is greed - developers are just out to maximise yields so they slap on the highest building they can get approved and don't consider anything else
38	Affluent suburbs are lucky because they have far more power to protect themselves from high rise development
39	I don't think people have a problem with density. I think they have a problem with bad design of density.
40	There are very severe constraints on the amount of land available for greenfield development and that's what makes housing unaffordable
41	It's only fair for people to fight to maintain their quality of life and property values, even if it comes at the expense of others
42	It's common to have a much better sense of community in a vertical community (aka apartment) than in the suburbs
43	A lot of people get lured into chasing the dream of the big house and garden and end up enslaved to a bank. Better to live somewhere smaller and save your money for the things you love
44	As our population grows the poor people are going to get pushed further and further from the city centre.
45	Bringing up kids in higher density is actually easier because you have better access to high quality parks and other facilities.
46	Brisbane's CBD isn't high enough. The higher we go, the more walkable our cities will become and it'll be easier to get around because public transport will be better
47	I think Brisbane is really well planned. The areas of higher density are supported by facilities and easy access to transport so they can easily support more people
48	For me, apartments are a stepping stone. They suit certain points in your life but mostly they just help you work your way up to a detached house.
49	The community consultation process is really a game. Community groups, politicians and developers are just playing off each other to negotiate the best results for themselves
50	Brisbane is way ahead of Sydney and Melbourne as it actually has the opportunity to have a plan because it isn't big enough yet to be constrained.

Table 9: Q-Sort statements

Step Three: Interview and Q-sorts

Selecting the Participant Group (or P-set)

At this point, a larger sample of participants was interviewed and asked to rank the 50 statements on a scale of strongly agree to strongly disagree. As the goal of this research was to identify a broad spectrum of perspectives across built environment professionals, local politicians, community members actively involved in development processes and residents with little exposure to the urban consolidation debate, participants were chosen to reflect these groups. Watts and Stenner (2012) suggest selecting participants that a) have a defined viewpoint to express b) whose viewpoint matters in relation to the subject at hand and c) who have divergent perspectives and characteristics. This means that a good P set must always be more "theoretical … or dimensional … than random or accidental" (Brown, 1980, p. 192). These recommendations have been addressed by a) selecting professionals and residents with vocal positions regarding urban consolidation b) have influence within the development debate and c) come from a variety of backgrounds and opinions.

Another sub-set of participants were recruited for the Q-study that do not fall within the categories outlined above. These participants were chosen to reflect the nature of the research question and the existing gaps in literature. As Watts and Stenner (2012) suggest, it is sometimes important to solicit the views of people with dampened enthusiasm or who may not recognise the importance of their point of view. Within the urban consolidation debate, these have traditionally been the voices that have been ignored. This occurs as a function of methodological issues with recruiting participants with little interest or familiarity with the topic in question. Nonetheless, these people constitute the 'silent majority' who will make housing consumption decisions based on their perceptions and beliefs. As such, several residents who had no formal involvement with housing and urban debates were also solicited for their opinions.

Based on these considerations, 46 interviews were conducted. This comprised of 23 interviews with built environment professionals (planners, developers, peak organisations, politicians and architects) and 23 interviews with residents. Figure 6 illustrates the breakdown of interview subjects. Q-methodology does not require a large number of participants. In the application of Q-methodology, the domain is subjectivity and research is performed on small samples. The primary purpose is to identify a typology, not to test the typology's proportional distribution within the larger population (Valenta & Wigger, 1997).

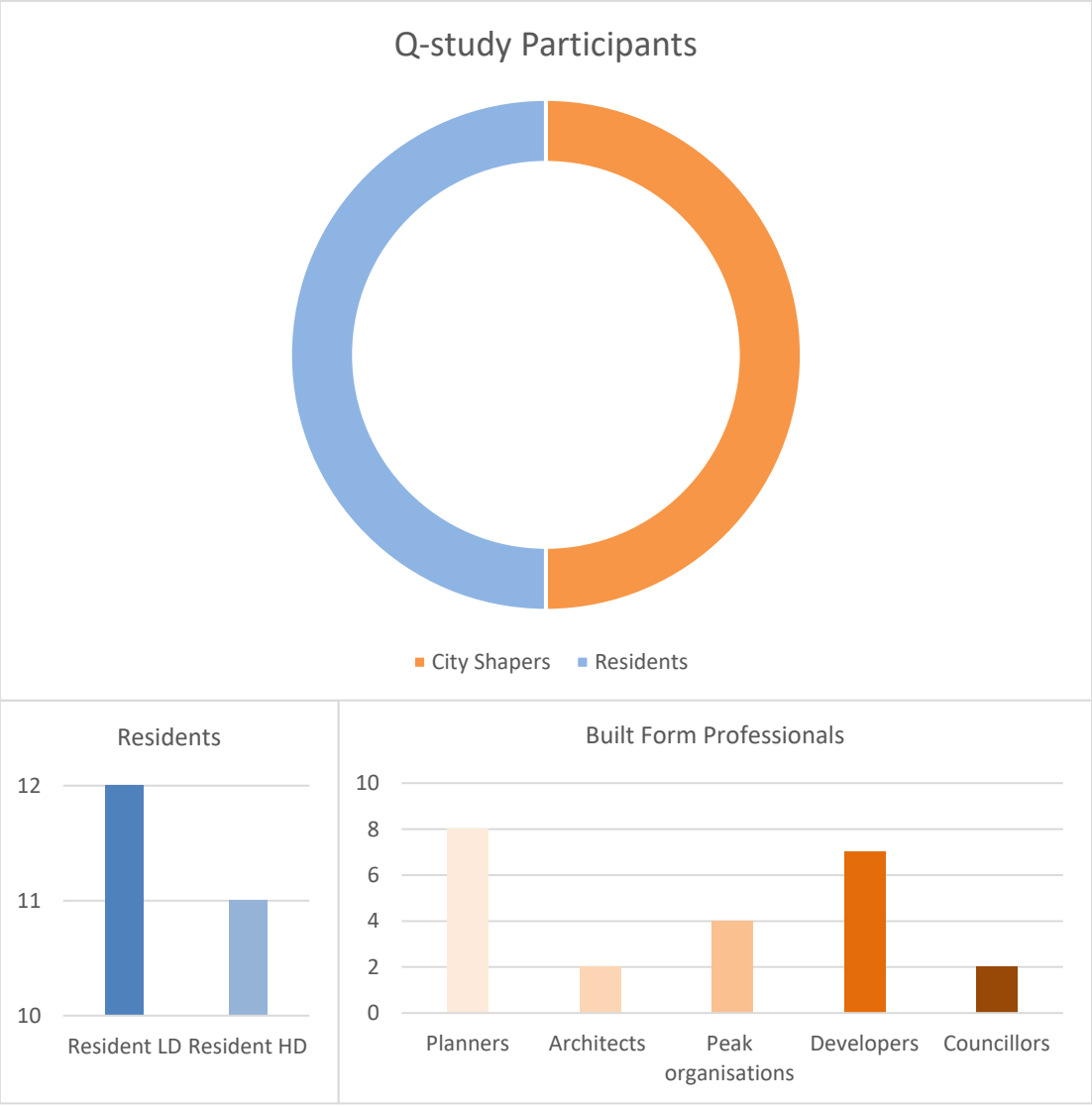


Figure 6: Q-study participants

Professionals were selected by first identifying influential organisations and bodies within Brisbane's planning and development industry with a specific interest in urban consolidation. Interviews concluded when theoretical saturation occurred and snow-ball sampling recommendations began to identify the same people.

	Respondents	Sampling	Rationale
Developers	A cross section of 7 organisations were chosen to ensure a diversity of respondents based on company size (small, medium, large) and development focus (greenfield, small-scale infill and high rise apartments). (See Appendix C for a more detailed breakdown)	Emails were sent to companies with requests for interviews and this was supplemented by snowball sampling as each interview subject was asked to recommend someone with a similar and opposing opinion.	Developers have considerable influence in the provision, design, location and pricing of housing in Brisbane.
Peak Organisations	The Urban Development Industry of Australia (UDIA), Planning Institute of Australia (PIA), Local Government Association of Queensland (LGAQ) and Property Council of Australia (PCA)	Key peak organisations were chosen based on their involvement in urban consolidation debates and emails were sent to these organisations to request interviews.	These organisations represent the interests of their members and have significant power to shape the framing of urban consolidation debates
Planners	4 government planners from Brisbane City Council and Queensland Government 4 private planners from firms operating in Brisbane	Emails were issued to government planners based on their position in state and local government. Private industry planners were chosen based on their level of involvement in Brisbane debates about density and snowball sampling.	Planners create, implement, negotiate and communicate planning and development decisions and therefore provide an important insight into social representations of urban consolidation in Brisbane.

Local Councillors	The two councillors represent the two major political parties in Brisbane; one is from the Liberal National Party and the other from the Labor Party	These councillors were chosen based on their vocal and influential contribution to the urban consolidation debate in Brisbane and the rapid urbanisation processes occurring in their wards.	Councillors are frequently engaged in development and planning processes and are familiar with the desires and needs of the members of their wards. They are a valuable source of information on the attitudes held by local residents and businesses and provide a keen insight into the politics of property development in Brisbane.
Residents	11 High density residents 12 Low density residents Participants were selected with a goal of engaging with a range of ages, tenure types, densities, education and affluence levels and genders. A breakdown of residents is included below in Appendix C.	Emails were sent to prominent community groups to request interviews. This was supplemented by snowball sampling of residents who have not had any formal interaction with the development process.	Community group members provide an insight into residents with a keen interest in the topic. Residents without involvement in development processes were chosen to address the gap in the literature created by a lack of engagement with positive and ambivalent perspectives of urban consolidation (Ruming, 2014b).

Table 10: Sampling and rationale for Q-study participants

The number of participants, at 46, is appropriate as Q-studies do not require large numbers of participants and rarely exceed 50 (Brown, 1993). The optimal number of participants is contested, ranging from 10 to 40 (Dryzek, 2005) to 40 to 60 (Stainton Rogers, 1995). Q-methodology does not require a large number of participants for validity as the focus of the method is upon patterns within and across individuals rather than traits such as gender or age and their quantitative distribution among the population (Ellis et al., 2007). It is based on the principal of 'finite diversity' suggesting that there are generally less discourses apparent in a social world than there are people (Proops & Addams, 2000). It is important to note that participants in a Q-studies are not selected as a 'representative' portion of the population. The goal of a Q-study is to explore whether and how subjectivity is clustered amoung participants rather than achieve quantitative generalizability (Shemmings & Ellingsen, 2012). This is an advantage of q-methodology as, while a minority view may be overlooked in a quantitative study, it is likely to define as its own factor in a q-method study as long as it is distinctive and original (Duenckmann, 2010).

A response template was provided (see Figure 7 below) to encourage participants to place statements in a normal distribution. This approach is routinely employed in Q-methodology to avoid the bias towards neutral responses and for statistical analysis purposes. However, the topic in question elicited strong opinions and reactions and participants often struggled to conform to the pattern, choosing to place more responses as 'strongly agree or 'strongly disagree.' It was deemed that allowing participants to express their opinions outside of the stipulated pattern was more authentic. Brown et al. (2007) has argued that the distribution shape has little impact on the statistical outcome. He suggests that the benefit of supplying a suggested distribution is that it forces participants to be thoughtful when ranking statements and to exercise discretion in choosing those statements that are most meaningful to them.

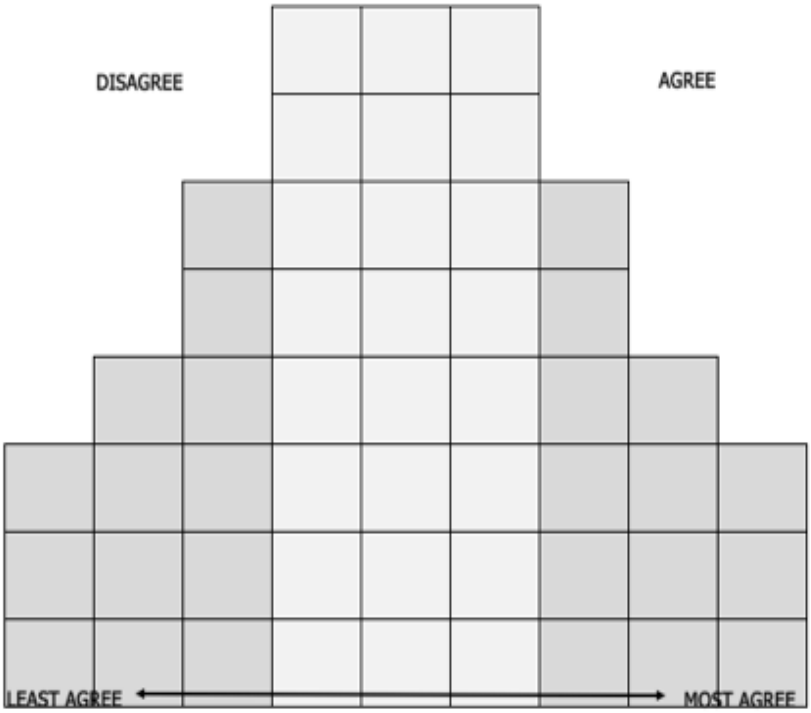


Figure 7: Participant response template

Participants were encouraged to explain their decisions while ranking statements and these comments were recorded. This resulted in a rich seam of opinion and explanation across all 50 statements. These interviews were transcribed and were used to add depth and explanatory theory to the statistical analysis. Care was taken to ensure the interviewer did not influence the interview subject, instead framing questions, clarifying meanings, guiding the interview subject through the process of card sorting and gently probing for elaborations. Interview subjects were encouraged to explain why they had placed cards in their chosen positions. While the researcher played more of a facilitation and probing role in professional interviews, some interviews with residents required further explanation or elaboration of terms.

The Q-sort interviews were a useful research tool as they provided valuable insights into how the participants reflected on the statements. The sorting process itself has been noted to generate thoughts and reflections that the participant has not been aware of before (Shemmings & Ellingsen, 2012) and this was also the case for participants in this study. The Q-sort process allowed respondents to reflect on 50 discrete statements and their relative importance in relation to all other statements. This requires complex reflection and prioritisation that often does not occur in traditional interview or surveys methodologies.

Step Four: Statistical Analysis

Q-methodology employs an inverted factor analysis. Rather than measuring a population of n individuals with m tests, Q factor analysis begins with a population of n different tests measured by m individuals (Robbins & Krueger, 2000). It employs a by-person correlation that does not 'break-up' its subject matter into a series of constituent variables as is the case in 'normal' factor analysis (Watts & Stenner, 2012). In this way, Q factor analysis retains a holistic view of the traits of a single person rather than matching traits across individuals. Q-method is designed to "focus on the individual person as irreducible whole in whom these variables come together and are integrated as part of the opinion forming process" (Mrtek, Teafesse, & Wigger, 1996, p. 55). The outcome of this analysis is the production of a set of factors onto which participants load on the basis of the item configurations they have created.

As a statistical method of data reduction, factor analysis allows the researcher to identify a smaller number of latent constructs (factors) that explain underlying relationships among a large number of interrelated variables (Barbosa, Willoughby, Rosenberg, & Mrtek, 1998).

The factor analysis was conducted in 3 steps, as outlined below:

1. Calculation of an inter-correlation matrix between the variables being evaluated. This stage also allows for the identification of variables that are not correlated
2. The mathematical extraction of the factors. These factors can be thought of as patterns of probability among groups of correlated variables, with a distinct pattern for each factor. The relationship among variables in multi-dimensional space is fixed at this point. The number of factors to be extracted requires researcher discretion to choose the solution that represents the 'best fit.' Rust and Golombok (1989, p. 123) advise taking "as many factors as can reasonably be interpreted" by trying several solutions. The present study applied a scree plot test (Cattell, 1966) to graphically map decreasing eigenvalues and determine the point where the rate of decrease becomes less dramatic (see Figure 15 in Chapter Nine to view this graph).
3. A rotation of the axes through multidimensional space, one axis for each factor, to simplify the factors obtained and to make the results more easily interpretable. The current study employs a Varimax Rotation. A Varimax Rotation is most commonly applied in factor analysis as it functions to maximise the variance across the fewest number of different factors (Watts & Stenner, 2012)

Step Five: Interpretation

At this point, statistical results were analysed to identify the social representations uncovered by the analysis. As a hybrid qualitative- quantitative approach, Q-methodology employs rigorous statistical analysis that also requires qualitative interpretation of the data to create meaningful results. Q-methodology produces several important outputs that can be used to form distinct narratives. These outputs are;

1. *Factor Matrix with an X Indicating a Defining Sort*: This output identifies which people loaded on each factor and the degree to which their views represent that factor.
2. *Correlations Between Factor Scores*: This matrix illustrates the levels of similarity between pairs of factors
3. *Normalised Factor Scores for each factor*: These tables list statements from highest agreement to lowest agreement for each factor. They use Z-scores the reveal how responses differ from the mid-point of the sort. These tables can be used to present an idealised Q-sort for each Factor and are important in constructing qualitative narratives for each Factor.
4. *Descending Array of Differences between factors*: These tables compare pairs of factors to identify the statements that have the greatest difference in rankings. These tables are most useful in defining the key differences between factors.
5. *Factor Q-Sort Values for Statements sorted by Consensus vs. Disagreement:* This table compares the ranking of statements across all factors to present a list of statements from most consensual to most controversial. This output is particularly useful when identifying topics that participants generally agree upon and topics likely to create great divisiveness.
6. *Distinguishing Statements for each factor*: These tables list the statements that were ranked significantly differently between a given factor and all other factors (Brown, 1980)

These statistical outputs were analysed in tandem with qualitative interview transcriptions. The interviews provided greater depth to the statistics and helped to explain why certain factors occurred. Chapter Nine will elaborate on these outputs to present an in-depth description and analysis of the Q-methodology findings

5.5 *Research Ethics*

The research followed research ethics standards and was approved by the Queensland University of Technology Research Ethics Committee. The Queensland University of Technology Research Ethics Approval Number is 1400000939. The research did not involve any activity for which there was a foreseeable risk of harm or discomfort to researchers or participants. Participants were provided an approved Research Participant Information and Consent Form (See Appendix D: Information and Consent Sheets for a copy of this information). Participants were asked to indicate their consent to participate by reading and signing the written consent form. Participation in the interviews was confidential and transcripts were de-identified.

5.6 *Research Limitations*

As with any research methodology, some limitations were observed within the current research. One of the greatest challenges faced in this study was the issue of sampling and appropriate Q-sort design. Applying a standardised interview and Q-sort to a wide range of participants was an important aspect of this research. While this is a strength of the research design, it also posed some limitations in the delivery of interviews. As Q-sort statements were developed from a statement concourse that encompassed ideas about home ownership, planning policies and development and economic principles there were necessarily some statements that residents had less experience with than built environment professionals or councillors. These statements were included to elicit opinions from professionals but served as a barrier to some residents who expressed discomfort at their 'ignorance.' Care was taken at the beginning of all interviews to explain the process for developing statements and to foreshadow the potential for complex statements. Participants were encouraged to use the centre of the response board for statements that they had little direct experience with. While this was mostly a useful strategy it was still a concern to consider for future research design. This discomfort with engaging with complex ideas was also an issue in selecting residents from a broad range of perspectives. While it was easy to find well-educated respondents, it was sometimes a challenge reaching residents with less familiarity with the housing system and with a lower educational attainment.

5.7 *Tests of Research Quality*

While tests of research quality are well established in quantitative research and have attracted much debate in qualitative research, they are still in their infancy in mixed-methods research (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006). As Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) have noted, mixed methods research often struggles to mediate between the conflicting perspectives of qualitative and quantitative research. While the concept of validity is routinely employed in quantitative research, it is often questioned by qualitative researchers who refute the notion of an objective truth. To deal with this issue Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003, p. 12) recommend a "bilingual nomenclature" that integrates qualitative and quantitative perspectives. Instead of validity they propose the idea of *inference quality.*

Inference quality is based on two broad criteria: Design Quality and Interpretive Rigor (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2008). Design quality is concerned with the degree to which the investigators have utilised the most appropriate procedures for answering the research questions. Interpretive rigor is the degree to which credible interpretations have been made on the basis of obtained results (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Table 11 is a replication of the components or criteria devised by Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) for design quality and interpretive rigor. It outlines the aspects of quality mixed-methods research and provides the questions that have been applied to this study in order to assess its inference quality.

Design Quality	
1. Design suitability *Are the methods of study appropriate for answering the research questions? Does the design match the research questions?*	- The research questions are concerned with individual and socially mediated perceptions and representations and therefore necessitate methods that consider ideas circulating in society (in the media) and in individual minds (as expressed in interviews) - The research questions are complex, nuanced and require in-depth, contextual knowledge of the topic. - The qualitative analysis of newspaper media is appropriate because it allows for "richness and holism, with strong potential for revealing complexity" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 10). - The quantitative PTA of the media allowed for the analysis of a much larger corpus of articles and applied a statistical approach to defining clusters of co-occurring words. The ability to identify social representations over a longer period of time and across so many newspapers allows for a contextual understanding of the topic - Q-methodology is a hybrid qual-quant research method that provides a quantifiable method for measuring the break-down

	of elements of social representations to identify areas of contention and agreement. By applying rigorous statistical measures to answering that question, this study provides an insight that could not be achieved using purely qualitative approaches. The qualitative aspect of Q-methodology is also appropriate as qualitative research is well suited to locating the meanings people place on the events, processes and structures in their lives: their "perceptions, assumptions, pre-judgements, pre-suppositions" (van Manen, 1977, p. 213). - Q-methodology focuses on participant-defined meanings and subjective opinions. "By allowing the categories of analysis to be manipulated by respondents, the researcher loses the exclusive power to signify the reality of the researched" (Robbins & Krueger, 2000, p. 645). This is in keeping with both the research questions and the theoretical tenets of this thesis.
2. Design adequacy/ fidelity *Are the procedures implemented with quality and rigour?* *Are the components of the design implemented adequately?*	- The research procedures were undertaken with care to preserve the fidelity of the research. As outlined throughout the chapter, the study applied a justifiable approach grounded in theory and reference to extant literature. - Sampling, data collection and data analysis was all undertaken in line with the recommendations of relevant seminal texts.
3. Within-design consistency *Do the components of the design fit together in a seamless manner? Is there 'within design' consistency across all aspects of the study?*	- The research employed a cohesive use of sources, consistent research questions and complementary research methods. - The study was undertaken in a semi-sequential manner so the findings from the PTA and SMA contributed to the Q-study. - The same sources were used for both the qualitative and quantitative media analysis, lending greater consistency across the research process. - While triangulation was not the purpose of this research the significant overlaps in inferences from all phases of research suggest that the design was consistent.

4. Analytic adequacy *Are the data analysis procedures/ strategies appropriate and adequate to provide the possible answers to research questions?*	- Data analysis choices were selected based on their compatibility with the collected data and theoretical imperatives. - All data analysis techniques were well-grounded in extant literature and had precedence in Social Representations scholarship. - Q-methodology and PTA both have highly formalised and documented data analysis techniques supported by multiple guides and manuals. - The qualitative media analysis was conducted based on similar studies and the theoretical framework of SRT.
Interpretive Rigour	
5. Interpretive consistency *Do the inferences closely follow the relevant findings in terms of scope, type and intensity?*	- The purpose of research conducted within SRT is to provide insights into the common sense understandings held by individuals and communicated in social groups. Similarly, Q-methodology is intended to provide an indication of key discourses utilised by specific individuals and groups in relation to a topic. - While Q-methodology applies the concept of finite diversity to suggest that there will be a limited number of perspectives shared by individuals in a society, it does not claim that findings will be generalisable to other contexts. - The media analysis conducted in this thesis was comprehensive and broad-ranging, encompassing 440 articles published between 2007 and 2014. Inferences based on the media analysis are intended to provide useful insights into Brisbane newspaper media. These findings are not intended to be indicative of Australian or international media representations in general.
6. Theoretical consistency *Are the inferences consistent with theory and state of knowledge in the field?*	- As elaborated in Chapter Nine, there were strong correlations between the Q-methodology findings and findings reported in the literature. - While media analysis, and PTA in particular, has little precedence in urban studies the findings are reflected to a degree in existing literature. - See Chapter Seven for correlations between the PTA and other media analysis studies. - The SMA identified metaphors such as war and disease that are often noted in media reportage of novel concepts and phenomena (See, for example Stibbe, 2001). The identified metaphors are also echoed in other urban studies that have

	noted the construction of population growth as a crisis (Jacobs, 2013) and gentrification as progress (Wilson, 1996).
7. Interpretive Agreement *Do other scholars reach the same conclusions on the basis of the same results?* *Do the investigators inferences match participants' constructions?*	- Scholarly peer-review has been applied to the findings and conclusions drawn from the media analysis. - The PTA described in this chapter was published in the Urban Studies Journal in 2016 (Raynor et al., 2016). - The SMA received formal peer review after it was presented at the State of Australian Cities conference in 2015 (Raynor et al., 2015). - Findings from the Q-methodology research is currently under review by the Urban Studies Journal. Peer review opportunities resulted in support for the inferences drawn by the researcher.
8. Interpretive distinctiveness *Is each inference distinctly more plausible than the other possible conclusions that could be drawn from the same results?*	- As part of the Q-methodology validation process multiple solutions were computed using different numbers of factors and different rotations. A measure of the robustness of the study is the consistency of results over several solutions (Watts and Stenner, 2005). Applying different numbers of factors and different rotations resulted in similar results with the same participants tending to cluster together in each solution. - A strength of PTA is that it is replicable and objective in its application of statistical processes. The IRaMuTeq software used in this thesis applies internal statistical processes to ensure data analysis are robust. In addition, researcher interpretation of the statistical outcomes found that outcomes were consistent with extant literature. - The SMA was conducted with multiple iterations to ensure the researcher interpretation was appropriate. Despite this, qualitative research is inherently subjective and alternative interpretations are discussed in Chapter Eight.
9. Integrative efficacy *Does the meta-inference adequately incorporate the influences made from qualitative and quantitative*	- This study aims to achieve complementarity and expansion in applying a mixed-methods approach. For this reason, qualitative and quantitative results are not seen as divergent, rather "they focus on different dimensions of the same phenomenon" (Das, 1983, p. 311). - As highlighted in Chapter Ten, results from the three different methods elaborate, support and contrast each other in different aspects. This is appropriate given the aim of expanding the understanding of the topic. It is also in keeping with the theoretical precepts of SRT and the focus on

strands of the study?	obtaining individual, inter-group and social representations of a topic.

Table 11: Tests of research quality

5.8 *Conclusion*

This Chapter outlined, discussed and justified the data collection and analysis used to investigate and develop the case study examined in this thesis. This thesis aims to identify the social representations of urban consolidation in Brisbane and investigate the implications of these value-laden social representations. A single case study approach is a valid methodological approach and allows for holistic examination of specific social phenomena. A mixed-methods approach, utilising qualitative and quantitative media analysis and Q-methodology, allows for the identification of social representations circulating in society and in the discourses of stakeholders in Brisbane. These methods are both appropriate to the theoretical precepts of social representations theory.

The following chapters will present the empirical findings that resulted from the research conducted in this thesis. Specifically, Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine will focus on each research method described in this chapter. Chapter Seven will elaborate on the findings from the Pragmatic Textual Analysis. Chapter Eight will focus on outcomes from the Semantic Metaphorical Analysis and Chapter Nine will provide an elaboration of results from the Q-study. The intent of these chapters is to provide insight into the publicly-mediated social representations reflected in the Brisbane newspaper media (Chapter Seven and Eight) and the social representations employed by individuals living and working in Brisbane (Chapter Nine).

Chapter Six: Brisbane as a Case Study

6.1 *Introduction*

This chapter will describe and justify the use of Brisbane, the capital of Queensland, as an apposite case study for investigating social representations of urban consolidation. As discussed in Chapter Five, this thesis applies a single case study due to the highly contingent, contemporary and complex nature of the chosen research questions. Brisbane presents an appropriate case study due to the city's unfamiliarity with higher density housing and urban consolidation policy, its unique governance arrangements and the level of hostility some members of the population have shown towards density increases. The chapter will first situate the study of social representations of urban consolidation within a wider discussion of historical attitudes towards density in Australia. Following that, it will prove a description of Brisbane, including discussion of the city's unique development, governance, consultation and interest group context.

6.2 *Australia's Urban Consolidation Experience*

While urban consolidation is occurring under various names across the US, UK, NZ and parts of western Europe, its implementation, priorities, politics and interpretation are necessarily impacted by the unique context of each location. The Australian urban consolidation agenda has been accompanied by a distinct 'anti-suburbanism' apparent in current urban policy aimed at reducing the evils of urban sprawl (Davison, 2006). The strategy is purported to contribute to a sustainable urban form, using a process of urban intensification to increase resource efficiency, reduce travel demand and create liveable environments (de Roo & Miller, 2000; Jenks, Williams, & Burton, 2000). In their recent publication, Newton and Glackin (2014) outlined five key contemporary challenges faced by Australian cities that have contributed to the continuing popularity of this policy approach. These challenges encompassed the rapid population growth experienced in capital cities; the increasing gap between housing supply and demand; the high cost of housing expenses relative to income; the disconnect between available housing types and consumer demographics and demand; and the continued expansion of urban sprawl. In this context,

urban infill or urban consolidation has been proposed as a viable solution to mitigate these issues while reducing carbon emissions, promoting social cohesion, reducing unnecessary consumption of land and avoiding excessive public expenditure on infrastructure (Burchell et al., 2002).

Despite the widespread uptake of urban consolidation policy in Australia and internationally and considerable academic support for consolidation (see, for example, Jenks, 2013; Newman & Kenworthy, 2006; Newman & Kenworthy, 1989a), the outcomes of urban consolidation policies in Australia are unclear (Bunker, 2014). There has been little monitoring of the results of consolidation (COAG Reform Council, 2012). Existing research suggests that urban consolidation policies have enjoyed limited success in Australia (Bunker, 2014; Searle, 2007). Current urban consolidation policies have often been met by significant public contestation (Michell & Wadley, 2004; Ruming et al., 2011; Searle, 2007; Woodcock et al., 2011), varying levels of success in meeting stated policy aims (Bunker, 2014; McLoughlin, 1991) and little community understanding of the impacts of consolidation (Cook et al., 2013; Fischer & Gokhan, 2011; Ruming, 2014b). In addition, despite strong statements supporting infill development, new suburban growth on the periphery of major cities continues. This growth has occurred due to generous allowances in metropolitan plans in Perth and South East Queensland and through a process of progressive relaxation of the urban growth boundary around Melbourne, Adelaide and Sydney (Bunker, 2014).

6.2.1 Historical Overview of Density Debates in Australia

Current attitudes to urban form and housing aspirations cannot be fully understood without reference to the political, historical and cultural context in which they are embedded. As Dodson and Gleeson (2007) and Davison (2006) have espoused, density debates are the result of the value-laden histories that brought about current urban conditions and are often shaped by social and cultural perceptions and prejudices rather than purely technical analysis. Specifically, during periods of housing value inflation urban consolidation narratives have focused on its ability to increase housing affordability. In contrast, periods of public-sector austerity have resulted in narratives that emphasise reduced expenditures on infrastructure. The early 2000s have seen Australian and international discourses focused on environmental, health and other quality of life benefits associated with the reduced reliance on the automobile afforded by intensification (Searle & Filion, 2011). Most recently, Randolph (2016) has identified a discourse focused on the

concept of value capture and the efficient use of public land. Increasingly, urban renewal and intensification is being advocated to fund infrastructure that the government would rather not fund through other means. This discourse, with its attendant priorities and political implications is a departure from historical narratives surrounding Australian urban consolidation.

Australia's relationship with its cities has been complicated and passionate. Australia is one of the most urbanised countries in the world (Major Cities Unit, 2013), housing almost two thirds of its population in the large urban areas surrounding its capital cities (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012). Despite this, international comparisons of residential density on a city-wide basis consistently show that Australian cities rank in the lowest quartile (Demographia, 2014). Australian's have a long history of disparaging urban living (Johnson, 1997), as evidenced in the writings of early poets, musicians and political commentators (Davison, 2006; Gleeson, 2006). The desire for private ownership of a detached dwelling has been a central component of the Australian psyche since the late 19th century (Dodson, 2012) and has resulted in a human settlement pattern best described as "Australia as a suburb" (Sandercock, 2005). This highly suburban urban form was accompanied by high levels of home ownership and car dependency and areas of population decline and stagnation in the inner suburbs (Forster, 2006). It was largely driven by the existence of abundant and affordable land and the proclivities of the mostly lower middle-class or upper working-class British and European early immigrants who sought the luxuries of spacious living conditions (Dodson, 2012; Forster, 2006; Sandercock, 2005).

The long boom years of the post-World War II era marked a time of unprecedented growth and change in Australian cities (Dodson, 2012). Initially housing was delivered in a largely ad-hoc manner, resulting in residential areas separated from shopping, community facilities and employment (Troy, 1996). This rapid growth resulted in failing urban services, reports of unmade roads, sewers and tramlines and appeals for an Urban Growth Boundary (Davison, Forthcoming). Governments struggled to deliver infrastructure to meet the needs of residents on the city outskirts, and urban sprawl became an economic ill. One Melbourne newspaper reported "To save our city and ourselves from bankruptcy we must call a halt to the sprawl before it can run us into bigger bills" (Melbourne Argus 2 Oct 1952 in Davison Forthcoming). In later years state control was increased, with governments actively encouraging suburban development and home ownership as part of a wider project of societal improvement and economic industrialisation (Dodson, 2012; Troy, 1996). Added to these conditions was the increasing prevalence of automobiles and a suite of road building

projects undertaken by state and federal governments, thereby decreasing the 'tyranny of distance' and further entrenching the suburban form of life (Davison, 2006; Dodson, 2012). In these conditions low density became an indicator of social progress and prosperity in Australia (Healy & Birrell, 2004).

According to Dodson (2012), urban consolidation has occurred in two main phases. The first, lasting from the late 1960s to 1990s, was predominantly achieved through deregulation of planning constraints on minimum lot sizes, subdivision, dual occupancy and multi-unit dwellings. This resulted in incremental, dispersed, market-led redevelopment of existing lots in a city with little overarching strategic guidance or attention to urban structure (Buxton & Tieman, 2005; Dodson, 2012). This lack of strategy is typical of Australia's traditionally 'hands-off' approach to government city building (Shaw, 2013a). It also reflects the uniquely Australian approach to metropolitan planning that has, until recently, been preoccupied with the organisation of new suburban growth on greenfield sites at the city fringe (Searle & Bunker, 2010). In this context, density predominantly occurred in higher value inner-city locations of Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne as private developers eschewed the lower socio-economic outer urban areas (Dodson, 2010; Randolph, 2006). This changing development context has been accompanied by falling home ownership rates since the early 1990s, partially in response to reduced housing affordability (Forster, 2006).

In the late 1960s that criticism of urban sprawl first entered public debate (Healy & Birrell, 2004; McLoughlin, 1991) and urban consolidation measures were implemented (Dodson, 2012). By the 1970s the pace and scale of suburban development in many places had become unmanageable for local institutional processes resulting in poorly planned and insufficiently serviced residential areas (Dodson, 2012). For the first time, the deleterious environmental impacts of suburban sprawl were acknowledged (Dodson, 2012) and anti-suburban narratives became 'sociological and ecological facts' (Johnson, 2003). Since the late 1970s, the justifications and priorities used by proponents of consolidation have changed from largely fiscal considerations of efficient infrastructure provision (McLoughlin, 1991) to a greater focus on sustainability (Alves, 2006; Dodson, 2010).

The second phase, beginning in the early 2000s, has seen a far more structured, government-led approach to planning with capital cities across Australia embracing a consolidation- containment- centres approach (Forster, 2006). This governmental support has predominantly manifested itself as a commitment to higher levels of medium and high density housing clustered around areas of mixed-use nodes with concentrations of employment and accessibility, supplemented by redevelopment of older industrial and

waterfront sites (Bunker, Holloway, & Randolph, 2005b; Randolph, 2006). This policy change has been accompanied by shifting opinions of inner city housing provision. Postwar Italian and Greek migrants and young university-educated professionals, the trendies as they were often called, became the propagators of a new self-consciously urban "lifestyle" focused on the cafes, bookshops, cinemas, and universities of the inner city (Davison, 2009). In opposition, the suburbs became sites of inequality, social exclusion and oil vulnerability. The litany of offences levelled at suburbia include 'traffic jams and water shortages, poisonous air and childhood asthma, even obesity, neuroses and depression' (Gleeson, 2008, p. 2655). While the provision of higher density dwellings have increased in capital cities in the last decade (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011) and urban consolidation narratives have existed since the 1960s, living in higher density housing remains a minority activity for Australians (Randolph, 2006)

The present context of urban consolidation policy is a pivotal moment for Australian compact development initiatives. It has been over a decade since the most dramatic wave of metropolitan plans focused on achieving more compact urban forms was released in every state in Australia. In the intervening years there has been a marked increase in higher density housing provision in city centres and some inner suburbs. However most capital cities are yet to achieve the ambitious infill targets outlined by policy documents and the strategy of concentrating mixed uses and activities in a hierarchy of activity centres has achieved mixed levels of success (Bunker, 2014).

6.3 *Introducing Brisbane as a Case Study*

This thesis uses a single-case case study to investigate social representations of urban consolidation. The case study focus is Australia's third largest city, Brisbane. See Figure 8 for a map showing Brisbane's location. Brisbane presents a highly relevant case study due its comparative unfamiliarity with higher density housing, its rapid current and projected population and density increases, its unique governance arrangements, the level of hostility some community members have shown towards densification and the relative neglect it has received in Australian urban consolidation literature to date. It has historically developed as a decentralised low-density urban form (Buys & Miller, 2011; Gillen, 2006) without the tradition of regional growth management or higher density living apparent in Sydney and Melbourne or internationally (Mees, 2009; Michell & Wadley, 2004; Searle, 2010). With a population density of 1000/km squared, Brisbane has a dispersed population in comparison

to Sydney (2000/km squared), Melbourne (1500/km squared) and the poster child for urban sprawl, Los Angeles (2400/km squared) (Demographia, 2014). This settlement pattern presents issues due to a lack of public familiarity and acceptance of higher density and a lack of public transport infrastructure capable of supporting transit nodes or Transit Oriented Development s (TODs) (Searle, 2010).

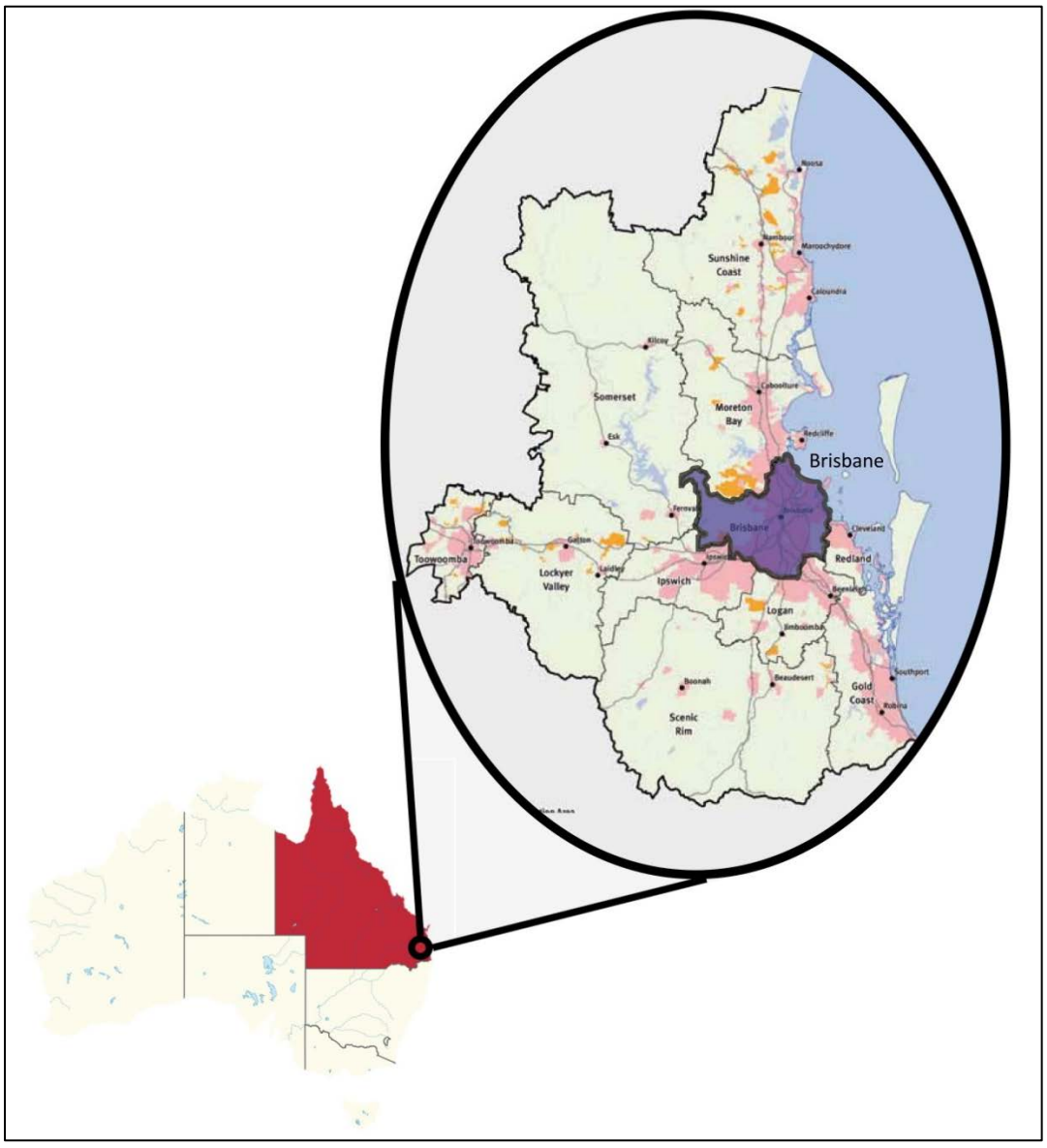


Figure 8: Map showing Brisbane's location

As the principal city in the fastest growing region in Australia, the ability of the strategic planning system to adequately provide for housing and infrastructure is constantly being tested (Gillen, 2006; McGuirk & Argent, 2011). In the boom times before 2008 the pressure to meet population targets lead to the approval of multiple private high density developments (Searle, 2013). This was aided by the existence of undeveloped and partly-developed sites not available in more densely populated cities (Searle, 2010). Concurrently

urban consolidation became a major dimension of planning policy and reality in Brisbane in the last decade (Searle, 2010). As illustrated in , in the decade between the 2001 and 2011 censuses, higher density housing increased by 34%, exceeding the 26% increase in Melbourne and more than doubling the increase experienced in Sydney (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011)

	Separate Houses	% of total dwellings	Attached Dwellings	% of total dwellings
2001				
Brisbane	254,389	76%	81,152	24%
Sydney	907,195	64%	505,838	36%
Melbourne	919,704	75%	305,389	25%
2011				
Brisbane	269,880	71%	108,572	29%
Sydney	926,062	61%	586,058	39%
Melbourne	1,039,342	73%	384,597	27%
Increase from 2001 to 2011				
Brisbane	15,491	6%	27,420	34%
Sydney	18,867	2%	80,220	16%
Melbourne	119,638	13%	79,208	26%

Table 12: Increases in attached and detached dwellings between 2001 and 2011

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics (2011)

Dwelling approvals have followed a similar trend in the last decade, with approvals for attached dwellings increasingly significantly as a proportion of overall dwelling approvals since 2006 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016). Figure 9 represents ABS statistics of dwelling approvals in Greater Brisbane between 2006 and 2016. While the overall number of residential approvals has fluctuated significantly over the decade, there is a significant upward trend in the percentage of dwelling approvals for attached dwellings.

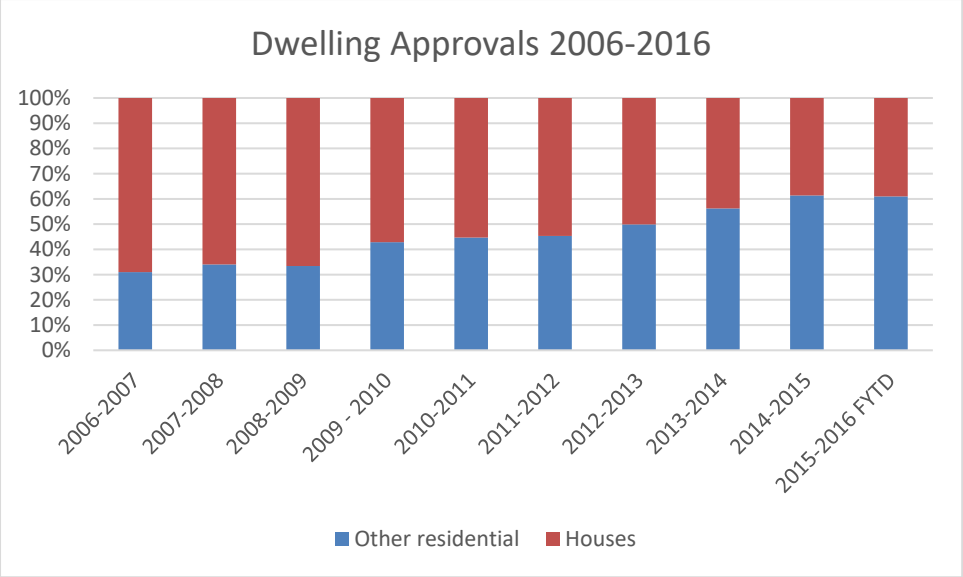


Figure 9: Dwelling approvals 2006 – 2016

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics (2011)

Planning and Development Context

Brisbane and SEQ have been characterised as pro-development (Taylor, Wallington, Heyenga, & Harman, 2014) with a largely 'hands-off' approach to government intervention in land use planning (Shaw, 2013a). The outcome has historically been a market-led approach to densification processes resulting in unrestricted and uncontrolled ad-hoc development that is dispersed and predominantly low density. The depth of influence of developers is exacerbated by the relatively small group of developers operating in Australia and the dormant power of a large group of home owners (Gurran & Phibbs, 2015).

The region has followed a broadly neoliberal agenda, exemplified in the "rapacious development-at-all-cost ethos honed and refined with such vigour in the Bjelke-Peterson era" and continuing to current planning reforms concerned with reducing red and green tape (Steele & Dodson, 2014, p. 142). In this context, developers and planners have advocated growth, development and infrastructure delivery as a way of stimulating the economy, managing population growth and matching the southern states' economic performance (Steele & Dodson, 2014). Planners have increasingly taken on a 'hybrid' planning role which blends public, private and community responsibilities in novel ways (Steele, 2009) and shifted expectations of the role of planners from correcting and avoiding market failure towards a neoliberal emphasis on how best to activate the market and facilitate development (Hamnett, 2000). A key outcome of this neoliberal paradigm was the establishment of the Urban Land Development Authority (ULDA) in 2007, a quasi-autonomous land development agency designed to acquire, plan, develop and dispose of

land in Brisbane. The ULDA was justified based on its ability to ensure a more efficient and fairer land market and improved development quality (Gleeson & Coiacetto, 2007). While the ULDA achieved significant urban regeneration and stimulated development, it has been criticised for prioritising economic outcomes over social or environmental concerns (Davison & Legacy, 2014). According to Davison and Legacy (2014), the function of the ULDA reflected prevailing neoliberal political-economic ideas and sought to reduce government intervention in planning and development processes.

Development in Brisbane is governed at the metropolitan level by the *Brisbane City Plan 2014* and at the regional level by the *South East Queensland Regional Plan 2009 – 2031 (SEQ Regional Plan 2009)*. The Brisbane City Plan 2014 (The Plan) is prepared in accordance with the Queensland Sustainable Planning Act (SPA) 2009 and seeks to advance state and regional policies at a more localised level (Brisbane City Council, 2014a). The Plan divides the city into a range of land use zones and neighbourhood plans with associated maximum building heights and development outcomes. It also articulates a Strategic Framework for the development of Brisbane based on five themes; 1) Brisbane's Globally Competitive economy, 2) Brisbane's outstanding lifestyle, 3) Brisbane's clean and green leading environmental performance, Brisbane's highly effective transport and infrastructure and 5) Brisbane's CityShape (Brisbane City Council, 2014a, Part Three Strategic Framework).

Brisbane's *CityShape* features a series of Growth Nodes on Selected Transport Corridors and corridor hubs at the edges of the city centre to concentrate the majority of residential, employment and cultural facilities in the city. These nodes provide for growth in dwellings with access to employment, services and infrastructure whilst maintaining the leafy suburban character of Brisbane's Suburban Living Areas (Brisbane City Council, 2014a). These Suburban Living Areas represent the "majority of established residential suburbs in Brisbane, where growth occurs in response to local needs and impacts on local amenity and values are carefully considered" (Brisbane City Council, 2014a, Part 3.7) Growth is limited in these areas and The Plan states that low density residential forms will remain the norm. The plan also allows for additional greenfield development in Brisbane through the nomination of Future Suburban Living Areas that "comprise the remaining large-scale greenfield development areas on the outskirts of the urban part of the city which are to be developed for new communities" (Brisbane City Council, 2014a, Part 3.7).

Planning in Brisbane and SEQ operates within a state-wide performance-based planning system designed to encourage flexibility and efficiency in the development process by assessing development proposals based on their merits and in keeping with community-

based policy outcomes (Frew, Baker, & Donehue, 2016). The *Brisbane City Plan 2014* outlines both performance outcomes, designed to increase developer innovation and flexibility, and acceptable outcomes, designed to provide certainty to the planning process. These outcomes are provided in Neighbourhood Plans developed for locations throughout Brisbane. While contentious, performance-based planning is predominantly advocated for its ability to reduce approval times, increase efficiencies, reduce negotiation and improve innovation is development proposals. The primary objective of performance-based planning is to tailor land uses to site characteristics and avoid prescriptive planning restraints. Despite this, a critique has emerged to suggest it may not achieve the benefits it purports to deliver. Scholars argue that it lowers the standards of building regulation and reinforces the general climate and consequences of neoliberal reform (Baker, Sipe, & Gleeson, 2006; Frew et al., 2016; The Courier Mail, 2014). In particular, it has been criticised for reducing the transparency of development decisions (O'Hart, 2006).

The *SEQ Regional Plan 2009* also has statutory power over development in Brisbane. SEQ received its first statutory regional plan in 2005 and the *SEQ Regional Plan 2009* is the first revision of this document. *The South East Queensland Regional Plan 2005 - 2026* was the first formal expression of urban growth management in the region. It employed several strategies designed to manage population growth including; "promoting a compact urban form, identifying an Urban Footprint as a means to control unplanned urban expansion, allocating land to accommodate future urban growth, supporting growth in the Western Corridor, linking the plan with state infrastructure and service delivery, informing local government infrastructure programs and budgets, and providing certainty to the private sector (Queensland Government, 2005, p. 9).

The current iteration of the *SEQ Regional Plan 2009* designates compact development as a desired regional outcome and provides dwelling targets for each local government area in the region. The Brisbane dwelling targets aim for at least 88% of dwellings produced between 2006 and 2031 to be delivered as infill dwellings in existing urban areas (Queensland Department of Infrastructure and Planning, 2009, p. 91). This goal is part of an overarching strategy to "promote infill in existing centres, redevelop 'infrastructure-rich' areas and maximise residential yield in major new residential developments." The regional plan features an explicit preference for compact development stating that "containing urban growth pressures will preserve the region's landscape, open spaces and farmland, and provide significant environmental quality and health benefits" (Queensland Department of Infrastructure and Planning, 2009, p. 90) Like the *Brisbane City Plan 2014*, the *SEQ Regional*

Plan 2009 focuses on the development of growth nodes designed to promote vibrant centres and increase the efficiency of infrastructure provision. The regional plan places a strong emphasis on Transit Oriented Developments.

The SEQ Regional Plan 2009 has been criticised as being untenable due to market conditions and inappropriate choice of growth nodes (Searle, 2010). The infill targets have been questioned due to the expense of developing infill housing in comparison to greenfield dwellings. Further, critics refer to the missed opportunities resulting from a lack of inner-city growth nodes. Higher density development is unlikely to be financially viable outside of the well-serviced, higher-value suburbs of Brisbane as higher construction costs are likely to result in similarly priced units and houses outside of these areas (Dodson, 2010). This raises questions as to the competitiveness of units in areas where there are fewer compensating advantages of higher density living and an established market preference for detached housing.

Governance and Community Engagement Context

Brisbane features unusual governance arrangements. The Brisbane City Council (BCC) retains significant influence and is unique in Australia in its power, resources and size (Searle, 2010; Stockwell, 1995). It has assumed metropolitan planning power in many cases as its resources allow it a high level of autonomy in designating growth areas and funding infrastructure (Searle, 2010). This is in direct contrast to other capital cities where state governments often make metropolitan plans with little need to take account of local government wishes and metropolitan infrastructure is delivered by the state government (Searle & Bunker, 2010).

Community Engagement is formally legislated under the City of Brisbane Act 2010 (Qld) (The Act). The Act stipulates that BCC must have a community plan and engagement policy designed to ensure accountable, effective, efficient and sustainable governance. Community engagement in Brisbane is delivered in line with BCC's formal Community Engagement Policy 2008. According to this policy, "Council's most comprehensive example of meaningful community engagement is Neighbourhood Planning" (Brisbane City Council, 2011, p. 4). Despite council rhetoric about transparent, respectful and inclusive engagement processes, surveys of stakeholders engaged in the negotiation of Neighbourhood Plans have reported low levels of satisfaction and little belief that they had meaningful power to effect decisions (Brown & Chin, 2013). In addition, the size of the BCC has been posited as a barrier to representative governance. A side-effect of population covered by the Brisbane City Council

is the creation of extremely large council wards of about 23,000 voters. This has resulted in diminished power of community opposition groups, who struggle to bring about significant change in this context (Searle, 2013).

Advocacy and Interest Group Context

The actions, rhetoric and advocacy of peak organisations and lobbyists have significant capacity to influence planning and development in Brisbane. These groups have significant opportunity to shape housing and urban policy debates and reinforce entrenched power structures and attitudes (Jacobs, 2015) . The reports released by these groups provide a valuable insight into the narratives, images, values and ideas communicated by key stakeholders in the case study area and help to identify the political context in which urban consolidation is negotiated.

Assessing the claims made by lobby groups and professional institutions is important as urban issues are, to some extent, discursively constructed by groups who seek to impose their own framing of problems and acceptable or plausible solutions (Jacobs et al., 2003). In Australia, these industry groups have promoted a neoliberal discourse focused on reducing planning regulation and increasing the supply of land to achieve greater housing affordability despite weak evidence to support these claims (Gurran & Phibbs, 2015; Gurran & Ruming, 2015). According to Gurran and Phibbs (2015), Australian housing policy is particularly vulnerable to interest group influence due to the dominance of a relatively small group of housing developers and the dormant power of a large group of home owners. Jacobs (2015) applied this argument to assessing the creation of housing affordability policy, arguing that lobbyists had significant power to maintain the privilege of wealthy home owners and residential investors. The claim-making activities and the accomplishments of policy-makers and pressure groups exert a significant influence on the way that urban issues are addressed (Jacobs, 2015). The following sections will outline the contents of some of the most pertinent interest group documents in Brisbane.

Urban Development Institute of Australia and Property Council of Australia

Perhaps unsurprisingly, organisations representing the development industry have a strong deregulation agenda, advocating reduced property taxation and a focus on greater infrastructure provision by the government. The efficiency of approval processes has been highlighted as vital in facilitating development and achieving desired levels of housing provision (UDIA, 2013). In response, there has been a growing call for streamlined development assessment which cuts ‘red tape’ surrounding assessment and fast tracks

development (Ruming, 2009). These arguments have predominantly been promoted by developers and industry groups such as the Urban Development Institute of Australia (UDIA) and Property Council of Australia (PCA). The UDIA Queensland Division released an Advocacy Platform to coincide with the Qld state election in 2015 that strongly encouraged the release of more greenfield land. The UDIA advocated for significantly more land to be released in the new SEQ Regional Plan 2009 and a reduction in barriers to development outside of this footprint to reduce competition and avoid localised land shortages (UDIAQld, 2015). They also promoted greater infrastructure provision by the government to increase access to greenfield sites and lower infrastructure charges for developers. While mostly focused on greenfield development, the UDIA also advocated for less stringent agreement requirements to demolish ageing strata stock in infill locations (UDIAQld, 2015). The PCA pursues a similar agenda to UDIA, focusing on reduced regulation and changes to taxation rules. Rather than focusing on greenfield development, the PCA advocates for the removal of "complex, inconsistent and inefficient" barriers to the efficient delivery of housing supply in any form (Property Council of Australia, 2016, p. 21).

The Council of Mayors and Planning Institute of Australia

The Council of Mayors is an independent political advocacy organisation that was established in 2005 to promote better regional funding, collaboration and policy outcomes for SEQ. The organisation has released several reports and studies concerned with delivering a sustainable, compact city. Of particular note is the Next Generation Planning Handbook that was released in 2011 and endorsed by local, state and federal governments (Council of Mayors, 2011b). The Handbook was designed to provide recommendations to planners, designers and developers in SEQ to increase liveability and affordability in housing provision. It includes an explicit acknowledgement of the climate change, energy dependence, demographic change, public health and infrastructure funding imperatives impacting on the attainment of the 'Australian Dream' of owning a home. The report references and supports the smart growth movement of North America, citing its ability to deliver a compact urban form, affordable and diverse housing, walkable neighbourhoods, distinctive and attractive communities, mixed land-uses, a focus on development in infill locations and the prioritisation of existing infrastructure.

The Council of Mayors released another report in 2011 entitled '*The Liveable Compact Cities Project*' that drew attention to the changing demographics in SEQ, with a particular focus on the increase of smaller dwellings. The document promoted medium density housing as a way to "create greater diversity and choice in the housing market; increase access to

home ownership, particularly for first home owners and older people; and contribute towards the more compact and sustainable urban living being promoted through the South East Queensland Regional Plan" (Council of Mayors, 2011a, p. 4) This report acknowledged that most people would still prefer to live in a detached dwelling but are increasingly making trade-offs between dwelling type and size to afford to live in attractive and well-serviced locations. A key finding from this project was that medium density is often not financially viable to deliver. A viability report recommended changes to planning time frames, density yields and car parking provisions as a way of encouraging medium density development. In particular, it recommended increased community engagement at the plan making stage and reduced capacity for input in the development application process (Council of Mayors, 2011c).

The Planning Institute of Australia (PIA) endorsed this project in a media release, commending the research, findings and overall support for higher density housing. The PIA issued a housing policy in 2010 that explicitly supported infill housing and viewed additional greenfield development as a last resort, stating that;

> *"Brownfield sites and intensification must be targeted and take preference over fringe greenfield sites wherever possible because these areas tend to be located within housing markets of high demand, are better serviced by infrastructure and public transport, and are accessible to jobs, education and services. Reducing the need for new greenfield land release can preserve biodiversity and agricultural land and promotes more efficient infrastructure expenditure". (p2)*

While the PCA and UDIA commented on regulatory barriers to expedient delivery of greenfield land, the PIA has cited land speculation as a key factor in constraining housing supply. They advocate for progressive increases in land taxation to reduce land speculation on large sites that are 'in sequence' and/or within any urban growth boundary. These documents sketch the contours of urban consolidation debate in Brisbane and SEQ. They are reflective of the polarised attitudes towards development and density identified by Davison (2006) in public discussion about urban consolidation. The different claims and priorities conveyed in these documents reflect the dramatic divergence of opinions and sometimes contradictory narratives deployed by industry groups in Brisbane to garner support for their positions.

6.4 *Conclusion*

Chapter Six situated the study within a lineage of Australian interpretations and implementation of urban consolidation. The chapter also provided a description and justification of Brisbane as an appropriate case study for examining social representations of urban consolidation. As social representations are influenced by location-specific factors such as historical events, the mass media and social, economic, political and cultural contexts (See Figure 2), it is important to provide an overview of the case study to inform the analysis of findings. This chapter discussed the planning and development, governance and community engagement and advocacy and interest group contexts impacting urban consolidation in Brisbane. In particular, it argued that Brisbane has limited familiarity with urban consolidation and higher density housing and, as such, examining evolving interpretations and representations is a valid contribution to the literature. This chapter provides the context for the three following findings chapters.

Chapter Seven: Word Clusters in the Media: Social Representations of Urban Consolidation

Much of the content in this chapter has been peer reviewed in the following journal article

Raynor, K., Matthews, T., & Mayere, S. (2016). Shaping urban consolidation debates: Social representations in Brisbane newspaper media. *Urban Studies*, 0042098015624385.

7.1 *Introduction*

Chapter Seven outlines and critically discusses five social representations apparent in the newspaper coverage of urban consolidation in Brisbane. The chapter presents and discusses the results from the Pragmatic Textual Analysis (PTA) of 440 newspaper articles published between 2007 and 2014 related to infill development, urban consolidation and higher density housing. The PTA revealed that the media features social representations pertaining to *Managing regional population growth*, *Local political decision making*, *Housing affordability and home*, *The property market* and *Urban precincts*. Media analysis is integral to the identification of socially-shared common sense understandings. The mass media has the ability maintain and shape hegemony, performing a 'bardic function' in the circulation of information (Fiske & Hartley, 1978). These newspaper articles were derived from five newspapers including two local papers (the Northside Chronicle and South-East Advertiser), a metropolitan paper (The Brisbane Times) and two state-wide newspapers (The Courier Mail and Sunday Mail). (See page 78 for a more detailed description of these newspapers). The newspapers were chosen to provide insight into the ways urban consolidation is portrayed in the newspaper media commonly consumed by people living in Brisbane.

The theoretical framework discussed in Chapter Four, based upon planning literature and Social Representations Theory, provides the theoretical basis for this chapter. This chapter highlights the social representations (SRs) revealed in the newspaper media based upon the 'word clusters' identified by the PTA. These word clusters represent examples of anchoring as they are comprised of commonly co-occurring words that form the categories or naming conventions often applied to urban consolidation. The key social representations highlight the way urban consolidation is understood and communicated about in Brisbane

and also provides insight into silenced and powerful voices and perspectives in the media. This chapter focuses on the content, structure, relevance and implications of each of these social representations and also comments on their interactions with each other. It presents and discusses a semantic map of the Social Representations and discusses the salient lexical content from the corpus.

These outputs reveal that urban consolidation is a multifaceted issue that is often justified as the antithesis of urban sprawl and an inevitable outcome of dramatic population growth. Juxtaposing urban consolidation with urban sprawl avoids explicit debate about the social and environmental credentials of higher densities and also silences discussion of alternative urban forms or situations such as sustainable suburban development or medium density infill. Urban consolidation is also anchored in notions of conflict, legitimacy and political manipulation, with word clusters highlighting an established procedure for opposing development and a focus on conflict between different local politicians and community groups. Further, apartments are significantly marketed as investment products divorced from their end use while housing affordability is presented as a major problem, particularly for young Australians hoping to purchase their first home. These representations highlight a contradiction in housing goals in Australia, as one class explicitly celebrates price increases and the other decries an increasingly unaffordable property market. Finally, urban consolidation is often anchored in ideas of urban renewal, transit oriented development, consumption-based lifestyles and government-lead development on a precinct scale. This representation focuses on the benefits of creating places to live, work and play but features little reference to equity, affordability, diversity or family.

7.2 *The Word Clusters*

As discussed in Chapter Five, the PTA involved the use of IRaMuTeq software to statistically analyse the co-occurrence of words in the newspaper corpus. It included the analysis of 440 newspaper articles published between 2007 and 2014 found using the search terms “high* density” or “infill” or “urban consolidation.” Overall, the 440 articles contained 16,887 unique words, lemmatised to 13,135 words, of which 11,871 were active words. The corpus contained 9,665 text segments and 9,089 segments were classified in the analysis (94.04%). The analysis of the 440 newspaper articles produced three clusters that further divided into five classes. These five classes reflect five distinct social representations. The following section highlights and explains the relationship between classes (Figure 10) and

the most representative words and statements within each word class (Table 13). It also provides a Correspondence Analysis designed to graphically depict the classes, clusters and representative words (Figure 11).

The Dendrogram (Figure 10) shows the relationship between the classes and highlights the percentage of the corpus included in each class and cluster. As illustrated, Urban Precincts is reflected in the largest amount of the corpus and is the most dissimilar to the other classes.

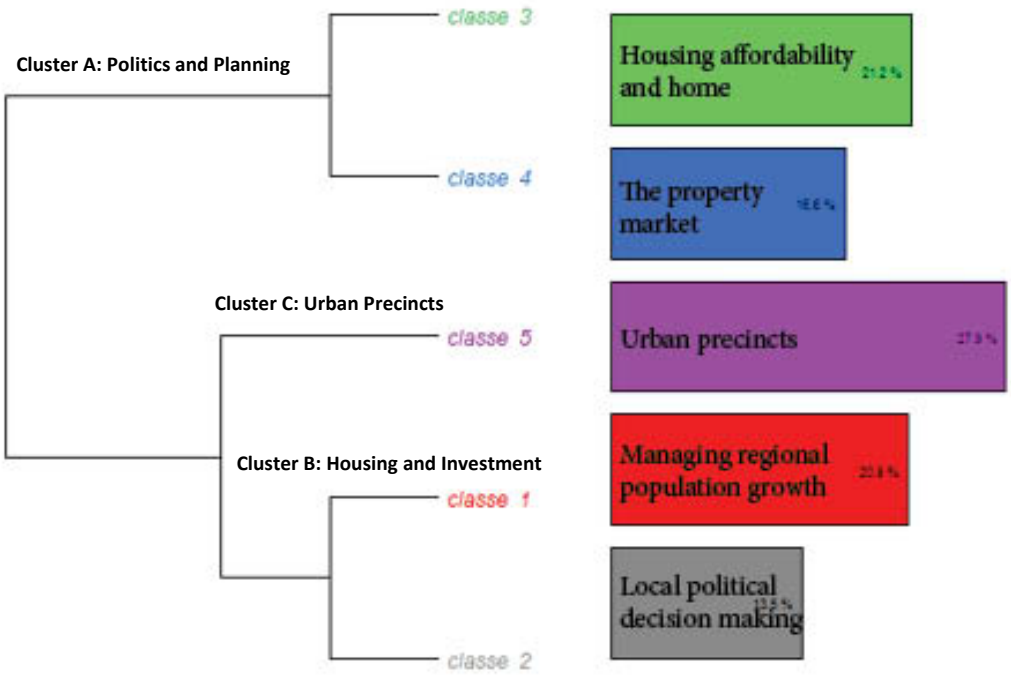


Figure 10: Word class and cluster dendogram

Table 13 shows the 20 most representative words and their chi-squared values for each class. These chi-squared values are important as they indicate the strength of relationship between the word and the class. The chi-squared value is calculated by comparing the distribution of words in the class with the way in which words would be distributed by chance (Smallman, 2015). Therefore, words achieve a high chi-squared value if they appear disproportionately more often in one class than in any other class. The table also provides an indicative statement for each cluster. This statement is generated by the IRaMuTeq software based on the sum of the chi-squared values of the words within the statement. These statements provide an example of the cluster in context. The statements provided throughout this chapter are all derived from IRaMuTeq and are statistically representative statements with a total chi-squared value greater than 1800.

	Class	Represent-ative Word	Chi2 value	Represent-ative Word	Chi2 value	Representative Statement
Cluster A: Planning and Politics	Class 1 (20.94%) Managing Regional Population Growth	Growth Population Southeast Regional Queensland Manage Urban Government Bligh State	618.59 596.01 591.29 546.55 534.61 481.32 423.11 307.58 247.64 241.57	Infrastructure Plan Region Sprawl Need Summit Target Infill Dwelling Institute	241.57 214.54 189.75 187.3 174.28 134.53 128.4 123.71 113.09 101.25	"His comments to the State Government's Growth Management Summit will come as the Bligh Government prepares to give its Urban Land Development Authority the task of opening more land for housing in Southeast Queensland to better manage the population's strong population growth"
	Class 2 (13.46%) Local Political Decision Making	Lord Mayor Newman Council Labor Councillor Plan Quirk Campbell Cr	658.63 602.97 543.11 499.53 328.52 312.9 304.08 267.26 266.51 263.49	LNP Submission Wood Resident Cedar Committee Agreement Proposal Cooper Vote	218.33 196.64 195.7 190.46 178.11 155.74 152.07 150.09 149.73 146.74	"Even Queensland Premier Campbell Newman threw his support behind the push, writing to the Gap Ward Councillor Geraldine Knapp to advocate the move. Lord Mayor Graham Quirk wrote to all residents in the suburb last October saying the area did not need a neighbourhood plan."
Cluster B: Housing and	Class 3 (21.17%) Housing Affordabili ty And Home	Family Person House Household Income Live	318.28 294.51 260.99 217.75 207.2 176.19	Country Australians Pet Rent Gen Ownership	150.46 133.0 118.94 114.8 107.64 105.1	"But these days not everyone needs or can afford the 'great Australian Dream' of a big house on a big block of land. With one and two

		Young	173.83	Thing	103.02	person houses now outnumbering family households it doesn't make sense to build only large family homes"
		Buy	165.72	Baby	102.28	
		Afford	165.68	Dream	100.78	
		Home	162.29	Corporate	97.32	
	Class 4 (16.56%) The Property Market	Market	789.2	Unit	228.71	"Median unit sale prices in Nundah have increased 11.3 per cent on last year according to figures from RP Data and this townhouse on Buckland Rd is an exceptional example of what is available on the market"
		Price	649.33	Estate	211.68	
		Sale	615.42	Datum	205.9	
		Investor	427.48	Quarter	196.83	
		Property	380.42	Offer	191.81	
		Buyer	377.73	Agent	185.72	
		Median	338.11	Demand	184.61	
		Cent	334.99	International	167.3	
		Apartment	334.59	Collier	145.98	
		Sell	282.0	Strong	143.78	
Cluster C: Urban Precincts	Class 5 (27.88%) Urban precincts	Street	340.84	Site	195.36	The plan divides the region from the river at South Brisbane into Boundary Street and Vulture Street in West End into seven precincts. Each area allows for buildings of different maximum storey heights with a section near older industrial areas proposed to have 30 storeys."
		Storey	326.83	Hill	190.25	
		Road	318.6	Density	188.29	
		Station	281.82	Rail	179.91	
		West	279.63	Public	176.31	
		Precinct	272.67	End	172.93	
		Shop	252.67	South	167.17	
		Centre	249.28	Traffic	164.32	
		Park	246.24	Bowen	163.63	
		Building	244.69	Transport	158.21	

Table 13: Word Clusters including representative words and phrases

Figure 11 shows the results of the Correspondence Analysis produced by crossing the words and classes in the contingency table as described in Chapter Five. Word size reflects their association with that class (chi-squared value) rather than frequency. As elaborated in the methods chapter, the spatial proximity between the coordinates of word co-occurrence patterns is a metric of their semantic similarity. It shows that classes one and two are most closely related to each other, classes three and four share some overlaps and class five is

mostly discrete. The theoretical value of this graph is based on Saussure's (1916) notion that language is a system, rather than a collection of names for objects. Saussure used the analogy of a game of chess, noting that the value of each piece depends on its position on a chessboard (Saussure, 1916). Therefore, the word 'apartment' on its own provides little analytical value, but becomes insightful when clustered with other terms such as 'market', 'investor,' 'sell,' 'product' and 'tenant.' This insight is at the heart of SRT and is based on the assumption that identifying words that commonly co-occur can help to highlight their meaning and identify how urban consolidation is anchored in other categories and concepts.

Another key insight from the Correspondence Analysis is the graphical representation of word specificity. Words that appear predominantly in one class are located at the periphery of the graph, while those that are shared across multiple classes are closer to the centre. Therefore, words like 'Carindale,' 'busway,' 'pedestrian' and 'mixed-use' are specific to the urban precincts class while words such as 'time,' 'new,' 'coast' and 'city' are shared across classes. This information can provide great detail about the internal structure of the social representations including important words and ideas, their relationship to each other and the social representation and whether concepts are clearly identified or blended into an indistinct mass.

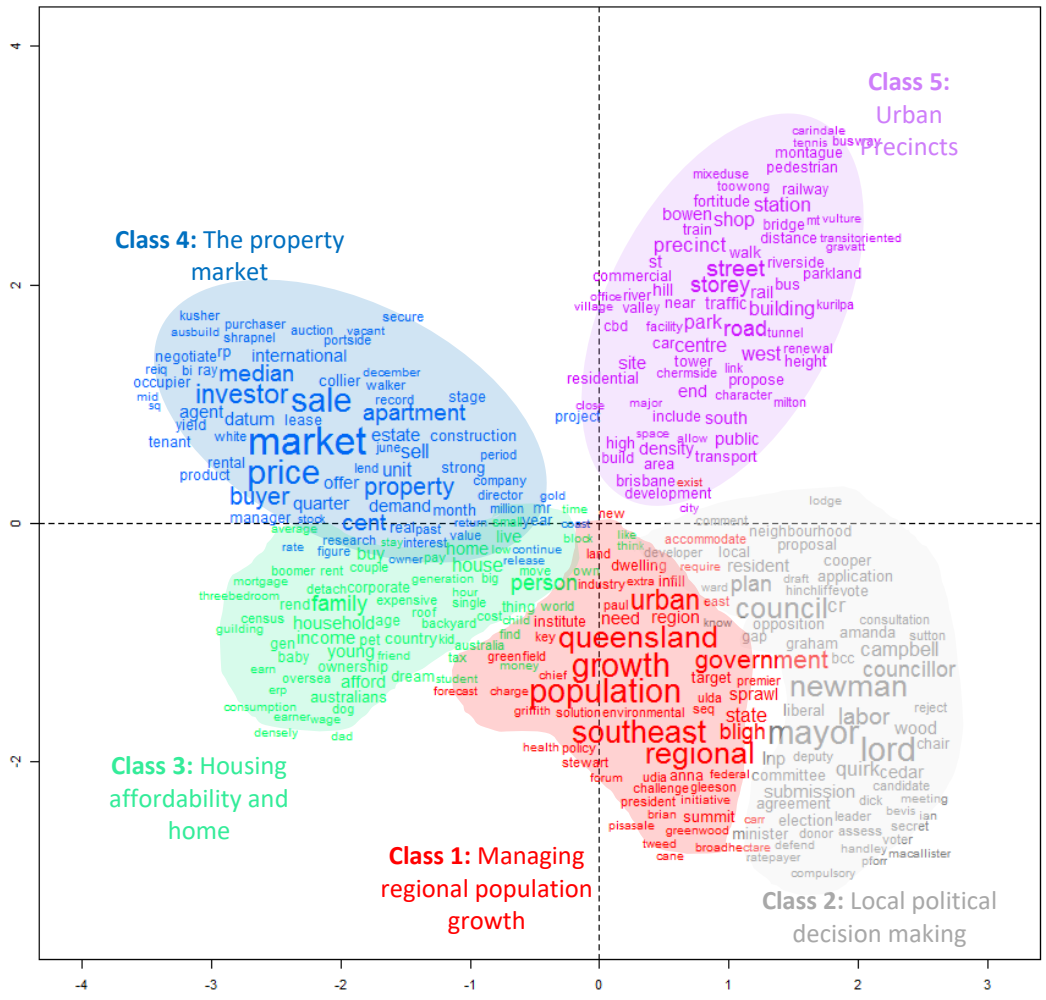


Figure 11: Correspondence Analysis graph

7.3 *Social Representations of Urban Consolidation in Brisbane Newspaper Media*

The following sections describe and analyse the word clusters and classes identified in the PTA. Lahlou (1996) suggests that the statistically generated word classes represent expressions of a common core of meaning or the building blocks of the SR (Lahlou, 2003 translated in Chartier & Meunier, 2011). The method is based on the assumption that different points of reference, or social representations, produce different ways of talking. Therefore, the use of a specific vocabulary is seen as a source for detecting ways of thinking about an object.

While it is commonly believed that the media does not directly impact individual opinion as the public brings their own understandings to their interpretation of mass media (Cohen, 1963), media does appear to form part of people's social existence (Joffe, 2003). As central purveyors of public discourse, the media provide more than an agenda of public topics

through directing the public's attention to particular issues and actors. They also provide "the general outline of social, political, cultural and economic models of societal events, as well as the pervasively dominant knowledge and attitudes structure that makes such models intelligible" (Van Dijk, 2013, p. 182). Powerful groups have greater capacity than others to influence the framing of issues and the setting of agendas (Gutsche, 2015) and therefore the following word clusters provide insight into privileged narratives in the Brisbane media and can help to identify what is emphasised and what is silenced in dominant conceptualisation of urban consolidation.

7.3.1 Cluster A: Planning and Politics

This cluster is divided broadly into local land use conflicts and state and regional level planning priorities. As the Correspondence Analysis graph illustrates, the classes within this cluster are strongly correlated. Class One and Class Two share an emphasis on key political stakeholders (i.e. Premier Anna Bligh, Lord Mayor Campbell Newman and Councillor Amanda Cooper) and a focus on the political and planning aspects of urban consolidation. The following sections will provide a more detailed account of each class.

Class One: Managing Regional Population Growth

Indicative statement based on Chi-squared value

"Southeast Queensland will need to build an average of 93 homes each day for the next 20 years to accommodate an expected explosion in population growth. A radical new plan by the Bligh Government to combat urban sprawl says half this new development will have to go alongside existing housing rather than on greenfield sites" (Johnstone, 2009, p. 10)

Class One: Managing regional population growth reflects much of the political attitude towards growth management that has existed since the late 1990s. The implementation of the first *SEQ Regional Plan* in 2005 was an acknowledgement that managing development and alleviating its impacts was a legitimate function of government (England, 2007). It was implemented at a time when the government acknowledged population growth as a crisis. Its fundamental premise is that Queensland's rapid population growth must be better managed so that the marketable features currently attracting population growth and development to SEQ are not themselves destroyed by the pressures arising from increased demands upon the area (England, 2007).

Key words in the *Managing regional population growth* class include '*The South East Queensland Regional Plan 2009-2031*', 'population', 'growth', 'management' and 'challenges'. This class reflects the overarching social representation of managing population growth that forms a key component of the *SEQ Regional Plan 2009*. It is also indicative of the language associated with the Queensland Growth Management Summit held in March 2010. In a report issued after this summit, Premier Anna Bligh wrote,

> *"Current forecasts predict Queensland's population of four million people could double in less than 50 years through overseas and interstate migration and natural increases. These are not things the Queensland Government can control. But we can manage the impacts of this growth, harness the opportunities it brings, and mitigate the risks that can come with it." (Queensland Government 2010, p. 2)*

This statement, provided as the Message from the Premier in a Shaping Tomorrow's Queensland document published by the Queensland Government, is representative of a strong social representation revealed in the newspaper articles that views population growth as both inevitable and a challenge to be managed. This media representation is reflected in policy language with frequent references to the 'population growth issue' in the *SEQ Regional Plan 2009-2031* (Queensland Department of Infrastructure and Planning, 2009). Words such as 'problem,' 'cope,' 'tackle,' 'overpopulation,' 'pain,' challenge' and 'solve' help to illustrate the construction of a population crisis. This finding is also in keeping with the observation by Taylor et al. (2014) that population growth is often depicted as a crisis by the Queensland government in order to justify densification policy in Brisbane. This 'crisis' is evidenced in the below statement;

> *"Southeast Queensland needs 90 new homes per day for the next 20 years to handle its booming population growth, but the dismal economic outlook and infrastructure problems mean it faces a battle to meet the target set by the State Government yesterday". (Robert, 2008, p. 1)*

As Jacobs (2013) has argued, the government has often perpetuated the notion of population growth as a threat that is only amenable to government intervention. This representation positions the government as a powerful, bureaucratic manager protecting the interests of the population. The PTA similarly reveals a view of growth management as a government-lead process of setting boundaries and enabling developers to deliver housing within these parameters. Words such as 'target,' 'expert,' 'projection,' 'forecast,' 'inevitable,' 'predict,' 'estimate' and 'strategic' suggest that this class places legitimacy on the ability for

governments to accurately conduct population forecasts and predict future growth. The focus of this class is on the mechanisms for managing growth in a sustainable fashion. As such, words such as 'infill,' 'policy,' 'plan,' 'broadhectare' and 'greenfield' are prevalent. These terms feature heavily in the *SEQ Regional Plan 2009* as the plan stipulates population targets and outlines proportions of housing to be achieved in infill locations and greenfield developments.

While this class often depicts growth and consolidation as threatening, the need for growth is almost never questioned and is usually depicted as inevitable. This aligns with research by Leffers and Ballamingie (2013) that found that the Ottawa newspaper media, residents and built form professionals almost never questioned the validity of growth, intensification and development. Instead, Leffers and Ballamingie (2013, p. 142) suggest that this naturalisation of growth is part of "the effects of policies spanning decades aimed at inculcating knowledges and norms across populations, especially in central urban areas." In this way, the media functions as both a disseminator of privileged knowledges and provides a valuable insight into existing narratives.

Words such as 'sustainable' and 'environmental' are indicative of the sustainability justification that has been identified in urban consolidation debates in recent decades (Alves, 2006; Dodson, 2010). This focus on environmental outcomes is a change from an earlier emphasis on efficient infrastructure provision (McLoughlin, 1991) to a greater focus on sustainability. It is also reflective of the distinct 'anti-suburbanism' identified by Davison (2006) in current urban policy aimed at reducing the evils of urban sprawl. Rather than focusing on specific environmentally-friendly aspects of higher densities, this class positions consolidation as an alternative to the ills of urban sprawl. Intensification processes are defined almost entirely in terms of their contrast to existing urban conditions and in terms of their ability to facilitate sustainable population management.

There is little reference to economic, social or transport outcomes for consolidated areas. Instead, protection of the natural environment and mitigation of sprawl is the public rationale for urban intensification policies. This finding corroborates Bunce's (2004) assertion that there is little debate about the language and meaning of smart growth and consolidation policies. Bunce (2004) instead suggests that it is still largely defined within a framework that represents intensification as an antidote to the negative impacts of regional sprawl. While it has been over 12 years since Bunce (2004) suggested that there has been a paucity of debate about what intensification really means for urban growth management beyond as a solution to sprawl, this appears to be the case in much newspaper coverage of

urban consolidation. This is pertinent as the positioning of urban consolidation as the 'natural' opposite or solution to urban sprawl serves to silence alternative visions for sustainable urban development and allows for a less interrogation of the environmental benefits of denser urban environments.

Social Representations Theory posits that this lack of terminology linked to urban consolidation impacts and reliance on the more familiar imagery of sprawl is an example of anchoring as newspapers and the public seek to find a common language to label and categorise a phenomenon. This class anchors urban consolidation by juxtaposing it with urban sprawl, representing higher density as a necessary solution to the ills of unbounded expansion. It also employs the Los Angeles skyline as an objectification of poor urban form that urban consolidation seeks to avoid. Urban consolidation is presented as a necessary evil that existing residents must 'cope with' if new residents are to enjoy adequate access to housing and services. This is a strong element of the State Government's justification for urban consolidation policies. This is evidenced in a newspaper article that reported the following;

> *"'South East Queenslander's don't want their region ending up like Los Angeles,' Ms Bligh said. She said the South East Queensland Regional Plan identified an urban footprint that would allow orderly development through to 2026." (Weston, 2007, p. 50)*

This class also provides a keen insight into the major stakeholders that have influenced the regional population management debate. The consensus evident in State Government and local government narratives in the media are reflective of the "exercise of power, ranging from the formation of pressure groups and advocacy coalitions through campaigns to mobilise support, agenda-setting, the mobilisation of bias, lobbying, media campaigns and the moral panics they can engender" (Jacobs et al., 2003, p. 430). The Urban Development Institute of Australia (UDIA), State Government, local governments and sectors of industry form the coalition promoting this approach. The UDIA and development industry are both referenced in this class. However, this class is focuses on government actions and policy. All three levels of government feature in this class, although the State government dominates newspaper references. The Urban Land Development Authority (ULDA), as a body within the State Government is referenced as a key mechanism for opening more land for development. The connection between State and Local government is reflected in the references to State Government's allocation of population targets to Local Government Areas and comments about links between State funding and population growth.

"The Bligh Government has warned Southeast Queensland councils wanting to limit growth in their area not to expect continued funding for new infrastructure." (Johnstone, 2010a, p. 3).

This class reflects a belief that the government is the key stakeholder guiding the location of development and the active conservation and protection of vulnerable land whilst leaving the development industry to deliver housing. Statements in this class refer to government targets and sustainable solutions and therefore lend legitimacy to the need to increase infill development. Kern (2007) has argued that this 'greenwashing' of intensification policies allows stakeholders to evade questions about the process and outcomes of urban redevelopment.

Class Two: Local Political Decision Making

Indicative statement based on Chi-squared value

"Brisbane's Lord Mayor Graham Quirk and his council's neighbourhood planning committee chair Cr Amanda Cooper defended council's approach saying consultation could not start with a blank piece of paper" (Moore, 2014).

The difference between Class One and Class Two reflects the difference in the geographical scales of density debate. While Class One is firmly connected to regional and state-level debates on sustainability, need, population growth and management and the environment, Class Two is concerned with local conflicts over specific developments. In particular, it reveals a focus on planning processes, consultation and development opposition. There is a marked prevalence of words such as 'proposal,' 'submission', 'vote', 'application', 'process', 'assess', 'consultation,' 'decision' and 'objection.' These words are related to the planning and development process and are reflective of a concern for procedural fairness. There is also reference to 'neighbourhood planning,' 'residents,' 'opposition,' 'community' and 'meetings,' indicating that community group advocacy and protest is covered in this social representation. It is interesting to note that this class is anchored in political legitimacy and democracy rather than character, amenity, property prices, infrastructure provision or other factors often associated with local planning debates or within NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) literature (Cook et al., 2013; Dovey et al., 2009; Ruming & Houston, 2013; Vallance, Perkins, & Moore, 2005a). It has a strong normative focus, referring to residents as voters and ratepayers and acknowledging perceived presence

or absence of power and democracy in planning processes. It has strong themes of agency, power relations, obligations, responsibilities and interactions.

The *Local political decision-making* class anchors higher density development within the category of political conflict and community contestation. There is a strong emphasis on political leaders and political groups. Words such as 'council' and 'BCC,' parties such as 'LNP' and 'Labor' and politicians such as 'Lord Mayor Campbell Newman,' 'Lord Mayor Graham Quirk,' 'Councillor Amanda Cooper' and 'Councillor Helen Abrahams' reflect the scale, parties and key spokespeople central to this social representation. This social representation reflects an adversarial and political view of urban consolidation. This is evidenced in the prevalence of political references and words such as 'deny,' 'objection' and 'reject.' Indicative statements reveal that newspaper reportage often captures a conflict between these parties as opponents accuse each other of imposing density on unsuspecting communities.

The class may be a function the need for reporters to publish 'newsworthy' content, that is, stories involving conflict, stories that can be personalised, and stories that are new (Skorkjær Binderkrantz & Green-Pedersen, 2009). This bias is reflected in the use of words such as 'secret,' 'donor' and 'defend.' These narratives are also overwhelmingly reflected in indicative statements for this cluster, such as the one below;

> *"Lord Mayor Campbell Newman has demanded a return of power over large slabs of the city lost to unaccountable, undemocratic authorities. The Brisbane City Council has been sidelined by the State Government in key areas like South Bank." (McCarthy, 2008d, p. 9)*

This statement highlights conflict, issues of democracy, power hierarchies in the political process and a view that development should be managed to prevent bad outcomes. It is also indicative of a conflict generated by the differing priorities and powers of the state and local government. As Searle (2010) has noted, the size, resources and power of the Brisbane City Council is unique in Australia and has allowed for the council to assume a metropolitan planning role in some cases, causing conflicts between state and local governments.

This class also provides insights into community understandings of the development, neighbourhood planning, community consultation and appeals processes in Brisbane. The frequent references to 'submissions,' 'proposals,' 'reject' and 'agreement' is reflective of a well-used discourse of consistent planning processes. Whether or not these processes are applied transparently or fairly, there is a distinct social representation based upon

opportunities to engage in development applications. Words such as 'resident' and 'consultation' and 'meeting' are prevalent. In addition, 'Handley,' which refers to a prominent community group leader, Elizabeth Handley, is a representative word in this class, indicating a presence of quotations and comments from residents. Despite this, the terminology is largely adversarial and based on legalities rather than anchored in ideas such as negotiation, cooperation, resolution and compromise. There is a cynical view that 'tick and flick' processes, referring to planning procedures based on ticking boxes without considering the merit of developments more deeply, give the semblance of democracy but are more tokenistic than genuine. This is evidenced in the below statement;

> *"The Gap residents hold grave fears that favourable comments about the $68 million project made by Brisbane Lord Mayor Graham Quirk in the Cedar Woods stock exchange announcement in May mean it will be subject to nothing more than a tick-and-flick assessment process and the character of their suburb will be forever compromised." (*Stephens, 2014b)

The existence of this class is indicative of a strong social representation that views development as a negotiation between politicians, developers and communities. It places a particular emphasis on neighbourhood planning initiatives and reflects a cynical social representation of land use conflict. This is the reflected in the frequent references to conflict, use of political figures and range of projects included in this class. It is an example of a predominant social representation that opposes intensification and focuses on the political machinations involved in promoting or avoiding this urban policy.

7.3.2 Cluster B: Housing and Investment

Cluster B: Housing and Investment is characterised by a more micro-level of focus. It features words associated with houses, homes, apartments and units, along with associated notions of affordability, family, market and yields. There is an obvious dichotomy reflected in the two classes within this cluster. These classes are reflective of the difference between use and exchange values of housing. These classes also provide an insight into the dual responsibilities and concerns of state and federal government; that is, encouraging housing affordability whilst also facilitating the increase in house values for existing home owners. These contradictory aims are a considerable challenge in Australia and have traditionally resulted in the development of policy that privileges wealthy home owners disproportionately to renters (Gurran & Phibbs, 2015). This political challenge has long been

a part of Australian housing discourse with then Prime Minister, John Howard commenting in 2003;

> *"For people who are already in the housing market, the increase in the value of their homes has been welcome . . . I don't get people stopping me in the street and saying, 'John you're outrageous, under your government the value of my house has increased". In fact, most people feel more secure and feel better off because the value of their homes has gone up." (Former Prime Minister John Howard, quoted in The Age, 2003)*

This quotation is representative of an on-going policy environment predicated on encouraging home-ownership and maintaining the power and assets of home-owners (Jacobs 2015).

Class Three: Housing Affordability and Home

Indicative statement based on Chi-squared value

""Higher house prices will make it difficult for younger Queenslanders to afford to buy their own home, pushing up the average number of people per household even further over time" Mr Richardson said." (Calligeros, 2010b)

Class Three: Housing affordability and home reflects three value-laden tropes or narratives emphasised in the media. First, that an increasing number of households will choose smaller dwellings in the future due to decreasing household sizes and affordability pressures. Second, that the 'problem' of housing affordability is predominantly an issue for young people and first home buyers who aspire to get a foot on the property ladder. Third, that the housing affordability 'problem' is a function of a housing shortage and therefore the 'solution' is increased housing supply. These three narratives are reflected in the word cluster and reflect existing power imbalances and priorities in housing debates.

Class Three highlights a strong emphasis on changing demographics and housing preferences, including a belief that smaller households will choose to live in smaller dwellings. This is often positioned as a function of affordability, life-style choices and location. The below quotation reflects this narrative;

> *"If people want to live in a large house that's fine, but there are lots of people, singles, young professionals and young families who want to live in a convenient*

location where they can spend time with friends and family and not 3 hours a day commuting to and from work" (Stephens, 2014b).

The social representation reflected in this cluster anchors debate in the 'Great Australian Dream' and reflects a fear that it may no longer be achievable. Housing consumers are divided by generation, tenure and levels of affluence, with articles often referencing words such as 'baby boomers' 'generation' 'empty nesters' and the 'young.' In particular, this social representation links higher density housing with younger demographics, both as a lifestyle decision and as an inevitable reaction to increasingly unaffordable housing.

The class explicitly combines a very human element, evidenced by words such as 'family,' 'person,' 'live,' 'young,' 'Australian,' 'pet,' 'dream,' 'kid,' 'dog' and 'couples' with the economic notion of housing affordability as reflected in words like 'income,' 'buy,' 'afford,' 'ownership,' 'cost,' 'pay,' 'tax' and 'expensive.' These two primary themes are complemented by words such as 'backyard,' 'detached,' 'body corporate,' 'big,' 'small' and 'block' that are often used to describe the form and size of housing. For example;

"'Forget the big block with the backyard, Australian's are increasingly squeezing into apartments and townhouses' the Reserve Bank of Australia says. The great 'Australian Dream' of the big house is becoming less common with new houses across the country more compact" (Chalmers, 2014).

Marketing campaigns reflect this narrative referring to apartments designed for people who "want low maintenance, walkability and are trying to balance that all within the cost of living" and appeal to buyers who "want that inner-city lifestyle without the price tag" (Hele, 2013a, p. 4).

Within this class, the lack of housing affordability is partially presented as a function of an inefficient distribution of housing resources. The 'mismatch argument,' first identified by Batten in 1999 is still evidenced in this class in statements such as the below;

"The 2006 census of family households has shown that millions of Australian's, empty nesters and couples I guess, still live in largely empty houses. In the Brisbane City area, 44,000 three-bedroom houses are occupied by just two people." (Sweetman, 2008)

This statement reflects an implicit assumption that small households 'taking up' larger dwellings are selfish. This framing of the problem helps to delineate the boundaries of

potential solutions. In this context, the solution is to reconcile market inefficiencies by encouraging smaller households to move to smaller dwelling to make room for families.

This statement is indicative of an oft-noted narrative that links housing to appropriate life stages. Scholars such as Costello (2005) and Fincher (2007) have identified a largely child-free conception of higher density housing both in the media and in developer discourses. They have identified a strongly consumption-based representation of high density dwellers based on young professionals and economically-activated empty nesters as ideal apartment dwellers. The above findings suggest that the Brisbane media also reflect these perceptions. However, there is an emerging narrative that acknowledges higher density as an acceptable home for families making a trade-off between a larger dwelling and affording a home in a desirable area.

The media analysis also revealed a privileging of home-owners and home-ownership in discussions about affordability in Australia, as evidenced in the below statement;

> *"'Higher house prices will make it difficult for younger Queenslanders to afford to buy their own home, pushing up the average number of people per household even further over time' Mr Richardson said" (Calligeros, 2010b).*

This statement, along with a prevalence of terms such as 'mortgage,' 'interest,' 'purchase,' 'own' and 'ownership,' is indicative of a traditional privileging of homeownership in Australia and a common framing of affordability as a function of purchase price (Jacobs et al., 2003). Renting is commonly depicted as an inferior alternative that is inflicted on those who cannot afford to buy. The housing affordability 'problem' is framed as predominantly an issue for young people and first home buyers hoping to get their foot upon the property ladder. The media analysis revealed a strong representation of a generational division between Baby Boomer 'haves' and Gen Y 'have-nots.' There is no reference to people experiencing homelessness or explicit mention of vulnerable, low-income earners. Rather, the media creates the imagery of the 'struggling Gen Y' fighting to raise a deposit.

Class Three highlights the fact that the 'problem' of housing affordability is predominantly viewed as a function of constrained housing supply. Strong emphasis is placed upon housing market movements and the shortage of available housing. This is illustrated in the below statement, taken from a comment on an article in the Brisbane Times.

> *"We have a housing shortage and the easiest way to fix that would be to turn large blocks into smaller blocks. For people like you to dictate what other people do*

with their backyards while we have young people who can't afford homes anymore is amazingly selfish." (Moore, 2010d)

This statement reveals an overwhelming belief that increased housing supply will increase housing affordability. There is little reference to other affordability interventions such as tax changes and no reference to interventions such as negative gearing and social and community housing. This class is indicative of a pervasive belief in Australia that housing affordability should be achieved predominantly through the provision of more housing, an approach that privileges the housing industry without explicitly addressing the need to provide adequate housing for low-income groups (Gurran & Phibbs, 2015).

Class Four: The Property Market

Indicative statement based on Chi-squared value

"'Maroochy is on the move after a slow sales period' says Real Estate and Home Editor. Maroochy on the Sunshine Coast looks set to emerge from a long period of slow market activity according to recent research which tracked the region's median house and unit prices over the past five years" (The Courier Mail, 2014).

Class Four: The property market usually appears in property marketing, market reports, and real estate outlooks published in the newspaper media. These articles draw heavily upon quotations from developers and often reference research conducted by Real Estate Institute Queensland (REIQ), RP data, PDRnationwide or Colliers Property. Terms such as 'month,' 'year,' 'median' and 'percent' reflect the language of market reports that focus on value increases over specific time periods. This focus on developers and economic data highlights the stakeholders with the greatest legitimacy in constructing this social representation. In this social representation, units and apartments are investments with an exchange value based on demand and supply factors, rather than a home or shelter. The almost unanimous reference to economic terms shows the purely financial aspect of this class as dwellings are depicted as investments and products divorced from their use value. There is no reference to family, resident, desire or dream in this social representation.

The property market is objectified as a physical object that can collectively 'lift,' 'rise,' 'head skyward,' 'jump,' 'strengthen,' 'emerge,' 'slow' and 'soften.' These words illustrate a social representation of units, townhouses and apartments as tradeable products that respond in similar ways to market signals. The property market is also objectified as a cycle.

There is a commonly referenced belief that prices will inevitably increase as evidenced in the below quotation;

> *"'Most off-the-plan purchases occur before work even starts,' Mr Walker said. Investors saw the benefit of securing an apartment early, only having to pay a 10% deposit and paying today's prices at settlement" (Hele, 2013b, p. 4).*

This class depicts price increases as positive and inevitable. While this is unsurprising given the vested interests of those involved in writing and publishing these articles, it is noteworthy that 16% of the newspaper corpus is devoted to representing apartments as a product, divorced from the services it provides to those dwelling within them. Housing, while always seen as a commodity in a capitalist economy, is increasingly seen as a vehicle for capital accumulation under neoliberal economic regimes (Bromley, 2004) and this is reflected in this social representation. The interests of current homeowners and wealthy investors are privileged and the perspectives of renters and first homebuyers are largely silenced in this social representation. In these articles, the media unquestioningly portrays price increases as a 'good thing,' despite the fact that housing is increasingly unaffordable. The prevalence of newspaper coverage devoted to reporting past property price increases and potential future growth is indicative of the privileged position price growth has in Australia. Despite the fact that the population is increasingly concerned with Australia's lack of housing affordability (Gurran & Phibbs, 2015), homeowners and the housing industry are powerful groups with a vested interest in property price increases and economic outlook reports are a mechanism for naturalising the social representation that celebrates increased property prices.

Firth's (1957, p. 11) observation that "you shall know a word by the company it keeps" provides a valuable insight into the way apartments and units are socially represented in Brisbane. The Correspondence Analysis graph (Figure 11, page 132) reveals a strong co-occurrence between the words 'apartment,' 'unit,' 'property,' 'market,' 'yields,' 'investor' and 'return'. Indicative statements also reveal an explicit breakdown of consumer types with articles referencing 'investors,' 'overseas investors,' 'owner-occupiers,' 'upgraders' and 'first homebuyers.' These market segments have different motivations, price points and behaviours. As the associate director of Urbis, a large urban services consultant stated in the Courier Mail in 2014,

> *"We have experienced extreme shifts in investor demand as they chase the rental yields that Brisbane has consistently offered over the past 24 months and an*

affordable entry price point for off-the-plan apartments compared to Sydney and Melbourne" (The Courier Mail, 2014).

This statement reflects a different perception of the word 'affordable' than Class Three. In this class, affordable refers to the Return On Investment and entry price for investors seeking to purchase a tradeable product. This emphasis on investors is also reflected in the below statements.

> *"Investors are currently the leading players in the market, purchasing primarily one and two bedroom apartments placed between $350,000 and $650,000 but, in saying that, owner occupiers are returning to the market" (The Courier Mail, 2014, p. 68)*

And:

> *"Tight one-bedroom apartments offer an affordable opportunity for young first home buyers as well as providing investors with an exceptional rental return." (Hutchinson, 2008, p. 3).*

Again, the use of the word 'affordable' is more related to the concept of investment or short-term living than a long-term home. In this social representation, the design of apartments and the number of bedrooms is, and should be, a function of market trends as opposed to the needs of those likely to live within them. As investors join the market, there is a concomitant focus on producing smaller, more affordable apartments likely to generate higher yields. The focus on investors revealed in the newspaper coverage has been attributed with encouraging the development of smaller and cheaper apartments and a lack of attention paid to apartment design (Birrell & Healy, 2013).

7.3.3 Cluster C: Urban Precincts

Cluster Three contains only one class and is substantially separated from the other classes in the Correspondence Analysis graph. This finding suggests that it is semantically different from the other social representations.

Class Five: Urban Precincts

Indicative statement based on Chi value

"The amendments affect an area at West End adjacent to the Toowong reach of the Brisbane River and bordered by Riverside Drive and Montague Road. Mr Hinchcliffe said building heights in Precinct 7 had been reduced from 12 to seven storeys in residential areas and from eight to four storeys in mixed-use zones" (Baumgart, 2010).

Class Five: Urban precincts reflects a social representation of urban consolidation as something that occurs on a precinct-level in accordance with government-imposed plans. The council-led nature of these precincts is apparent in typical text segments that focus on 'areas identified by the plan', 'council proposals' and new development slated to occur 'under neighbourhood plans.' The regulations most frequently referenced in zoning and neighbourhood plans are building height and storeys as evidenced by the prevalence of words such as 'storey,' 'height' and 'high.' Council and State Government quotations almost entirely define this class. It is an example of the ability of certain powerful groups to shape debates and social representations of novel phenomena. This is a pertinent observation because just like "advertiser and public relations people do, [planners] shape the emotional response of relevant stakeholders, [they] organise the objects of persuasion in ways that actively subvert emotional intelligence, manipulating images and text to project ideas that will provoke a predictable emotional response" (Hoch, 2006, p. 378). Indeed, planners and related built-environment professionals tend to use media, such as broadcast news or film, for the purposes of '"propaganda value," that is, "to explain and persuade an audience of choices already made by the expert urbanists (architects, designers, and planners)" (Sandercock, 2010, p. 32). In this way, they are using their persuasive power to promote and normalise certain aspects of the built form.

Class Five features the most positive portrayal of urban consolidation and anchors urban consolidation in a concentration of urban planning terms such as 'urban village', 'mixed-use,' 'transit-oriented development', 'precinct,' 'renewal' and 'character.' The presence of these words suggests a repertoire of planning terms commonly associated with urban consolidation – this is in contradiction to Bunce's (2004) claim that there has been little explanation of its urban impact. This social representation is reflective of a changing attitude towards urban consolidation and the role of the government and the market. Before the 2000s, higher densities were predominantly delivered by the development industry on an ad-hoc basis (Dodson et al., 2012). The strong emphasis on precinct-level, mixed-use densification is a phenomenon that has only recently emerged.

While the social representation is replete with references to the areas it will impact (Brisbane's most sought-after and attractive suburbs) and the urban renewal it will achieve, the emphasis is on design, lifestyle and transport outcomes. There is no reference to the

people likely to live there, the affordability of the housing or the playgrounds or schools it will attract. There is also no reference to sustainability, diversity or affordability. Rather, it focuses on the creation of vibrant hubs that combine residential, commercial and retail spaces in one location. This mixed land use is justified in terms of its ability to co-locate 'live, work and play' needs in one location, drawing upon New World City branding activities in Brisbane that have encouraged the creation of "generic spaces of consumption" (Greenop & Darchen, 2016, p. 389) and the neoliberal agenda of competition and commodification often associated with urban consolidation policies (Kern, 2007). There is also an emphasis on creating 'iconic' or demonstration projects, a tendency often linked to neoliberal development approaches (Grodach & Ehrenfeucht, 2016). This focus is reflected in the below quotation:

> *"This project will bring new life to an iconic location. Bowen Hills is also the site for an inner city Transit Oriented Development demonstration project involving building high quality medium to high density residential and commercial developments within walking distance of public transport." (The Courier Mail, 2012b)*

This class often references the most sought-after suburbs in Brisbane, focusing on places known for providing leisure activities and luxury goods. In this class, TODs are referred to as "economic and social wonders" (McCarthy, 2008a, p. 15) illustrating the financial and life-style based rationales provided for this urban form. Similarly, this focus on connected, life-style focused locations is illustrated in the below quote

> *"It will also link some of the city's most popular shopping and dining precincts including Oxford Street, James Street, Fortitude Valley, the City, South Bank, West End and Paddington" (Royes, 2007a, p. 5)*

The quotation is also indicative of England's (2007) observation that regional planning in SEQ has sought to frame urban consolidation as an issue of liveability in order to support neoliberal agendas focused on development and consumption. While the terminology has shifted away from liveability, the idea of managing growth without stifling development is retained as a way to mediate environmental and development interests.

It is interesting to note the separation between *Class Five: Urban precincts* and *Class Two: Local political decision making*. While these classes are semantically separate, as illustrated in the Correspondence Analysis graph, they share the similar subject matter of neighbourhood change and density increases. While Class Two focuses on conflict and procedural issues, Class Five focuses on the plans and visions for densifying areas expressed

by state and local government. These descriptions often refer to height and density concessions made by the government in response to community opposition. The class is predominantly concerned with future, proposed changes rather than descriptions of existing places, drawing attention to a distinct local government narrative based on communicating a future plan for a changing city.

This social representation objectifies urban consolidation as a series of Transit Oriented Developments (TODs) or nodes dispersed across Brisbane in a well-connected network. This nodal view of urban consolidation is in keeping with the *Brisbane City Plan 2014* and *SEQ Regional Plan 2009* that both include references to higher density nodes designed to capture population growth whilst maintaining the suburban character of other areas. It reflects a city-wide vision for density and transport hubs placed in considered locations. The class features an explicit association between higher densities and greater public transport and pedestrian travel. This word cluster suggests that consolidation advocates have been successful in communicating a coherent vision for precinct-level densification projects based on co-location of appealing land uses and linkages to public transport. The articles depict higher density as both positive and necessary to creating attractive, consumption-based locations and managing demand for transport infrastructure.

This class provides evidence of a social representation that links urban densities and public transport usage. The frequent references to 'trains,' 'walking,' 'pedestrian' and 'busway' are evidence of the role Transit Oriented Developments play in the collective imaginary of urban consolidation policy. This class strongly supports greater provision of public transport. The predominant representation is that densified urban form can positively impact travel behaviour. This is evidenced in statements such as, "*Distances between houses and everyday services means people are encouraged to drive"* (Johnstone, 2010b, p. 59) and "*European cities often place heavy emphasis on the suppression of car use through street design…. that promotes walking, cycling and public transport*" (Jago, 2007, p. 26). The objectification of the virtuous European city is often invoked as articles draw on similar notions of activated cafe precincts, linked by high-quality public transport and pedestrian areas.

These beliefs are reflected in the *South East Queensland Regional Plan 2009-2031* which "promotes compact settlement by consolidating growth in existing areas which are close to public transport, to encourage reduced car usage and help fight congestion" (Queensland Department of Infrastructure and Planning, 2009, p. 1). Identifying this social representation as prevalent in Brisbane urban consolidation debates is significant as it has been posited that

a positive connection between density and transit choices is vastly overstated in much research (Mees, 2009). Similarly, Kamruzzaman, Baker, Washington, and Turrell (2014) have stressed that 'one size fits all' approaches to Transit Oriented Developments (TOD) or assuming that density alone will change transport outcomes is an oversimplification. The anchoring of urban consolidation in notions of improved public transport usage is indicative of the power of social representations to entrench a particular belief or idea even if it is not supported by empirical 'truth.'

7.4 *Discussion*

As previously discussed, a social representation is understood as the collective elaboration ''of a social object by the community for the purpose of behaving and communicating'' (Moscovici, 1963, p. 251). These social representations are co-constructed by individuals in conversation and action and provide the frame of description within which the relationship between objects and subjects are defined. When a social group is confronted with a novel phenomenon such as urban consolidation they must engage in symbolic coping. This symbolic coping involves the processes of anchoring and objectification designed to established codes for communicating about a novel phenomenon. These mechanisms serve to create common sense explanations shared by the majority of individuals in a social group. The 'lexical worlds' or social representations identified in the PTA are examples of commonly co-occurring words used to describe similar phenomenon. In this way, they are the codes, narratives and categories that aid in comprehension and communication and help to define acceptable actions.

Writing of the dramatic increase of condominiums in Toronto, Kern (2007, p. 659) argued that high rise housing is expected to "fulfil expanding housing needs, curb suburban sprawl, lift the spaces of deindustrialisation to their highest and best use, respond to a cultural shift in favour of urban living, and stimulate the economy by providing sites for capital investment." She further noted that inner-city housing is a significant force shaping the neoliberal city. Both Kern (2007) and Bunce (2004) have acknowledged the taken for granted position of intensification strategies, pointing to government rationales related to environmental sustainability and revitalisation of decaying urban environments to justify this development. Implicit within these rationales are assumptions about what constitutes housing need, highest and best use, which social groups will be attracted to urban living and who should benefit from economic stimulus.

The analysis of social representations revealed in five newspapers available in Brisbane corroborated Kern's (2007) observations and provides insights into these assumptions. Urban consolidation and higher density housing is linked to meeting housing needs (*Housing affordability and home*), curbing suburban sprawl (*Managing regional population growth*), highest and best use of inner urban areas (*Urban precincts*), cultural shifts towards a preference for urban living (*Housing affordability and home*) and economic boosts for investors and the development industry (*The property market*). The existence of the *Local political decision making* class is the only class that questions the inevitability of intensification strategies and highlights the contested nature of this urban change.

The three clusters and five classes identified in this PTA are a valuable contribution to understandings of the social representations of urban consolidation in the media. In particular, the findings illustrated the three scales at which urban consolidation debate occurs; at the regional and metropolitan planning scale, at the precinct level and in relation to individual housing and investment decisions. The findings also provide insights into the key stakeholders engaged in shaping community understandings of the topic. Whilst articles discussing regional planning implications were dominated by State Government considerations, local disputes were more likely to be connected to local politicians and localised community groups. Precinct-level density increases and plans were associated with local government and featured a surprising lack of references to developers and industry. Discussions about apartments and units were predominantly presented from the perspective of developers and property data and research companies. *Housing affordability and home* featured the most references to consumer groups delineated by their tenure status, household composition, generation and level of affluence.

Figure 13 illustrates how the findings from this chapter fit within the theoretical framework developed for this thesis. Within Figure 13, social milieus are confronted by higher density housing and urban consolidation and so are forced to engage in material and symbolic coping. This necessitates a process of social representation where individuals and groups anchor the novel phenomena in more familiar categories, labels and concepts such as home, investment, land use conflict, regional population management and the creation of vibrant, connected, inner-city precincts.

This thesis posits that these social representations come to constitute reality and so impact on values, ideas and practices. As such, they contribute to planning policy reform, community reactions to development, taxation policies and social values surrounding home

ownership, apartment design, strategic planning and inner-city investment. This process is depicted in Figure 13.

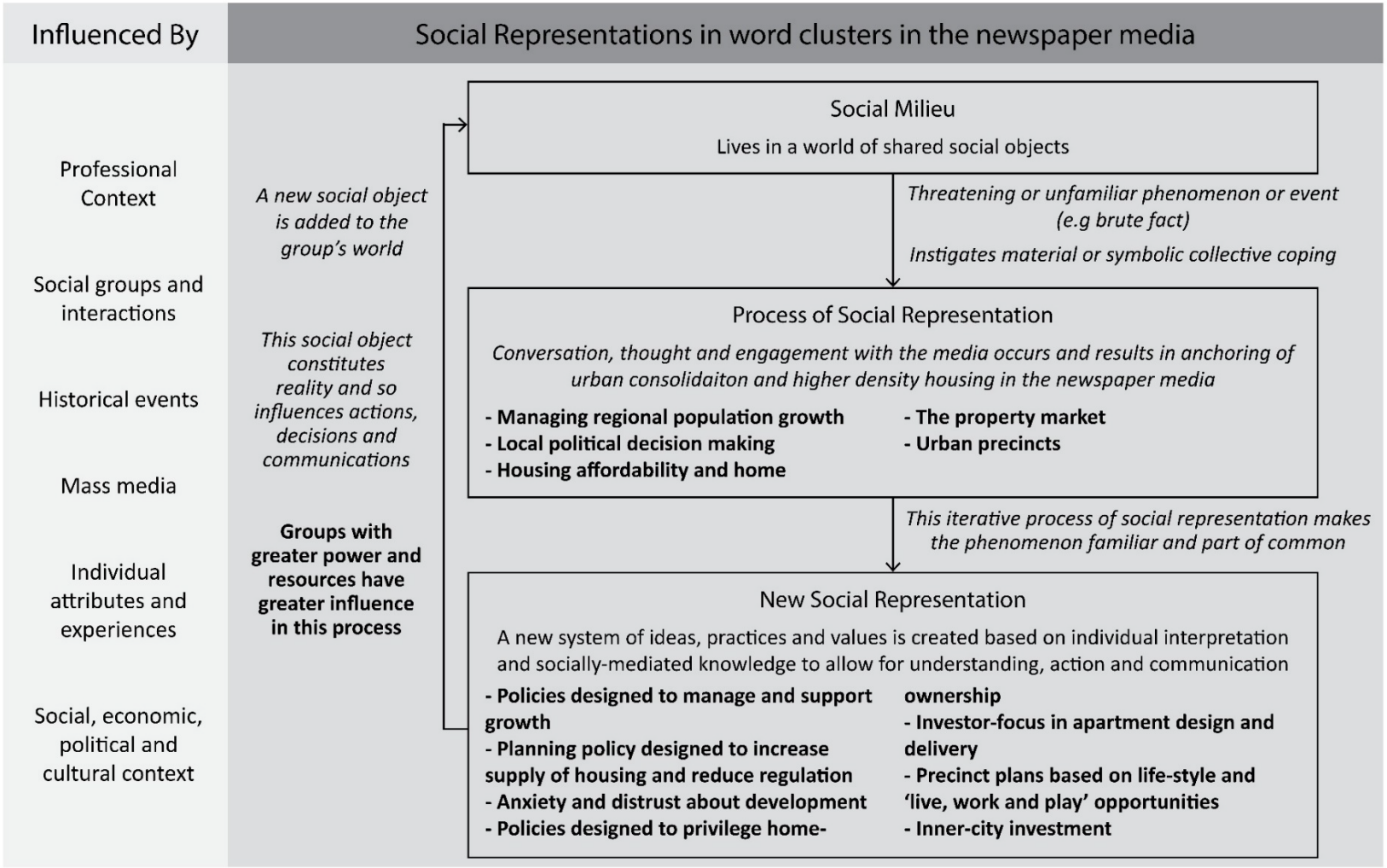


Figure 12: Theoretical framework applied to PTA

Cluster A is indicative of the highly political nature of urban consolidation. It provides insight into the relative involvement different levels of government have in urban planning and policy. Whilst local and state governments and their representatives receive considerable attention in this cluster, there is no reference to the federal government, a level of government with little traditional involvement in urban policy (Shaw, 2013a). Similarly, the relative influence of local government in this cluster is indicative of the unique role Brisbane City Council plays as the largest and wealthiest local government in Australia (Searle, 2010).

Class One is an example of a convincing policy narrative reflected in newspaper media, policy documents and government reports in SEQ. This class anchors urban consolidation in notions of dramatic population increases, urban sprawl and sustainable management of growth. It illustrates both the framing of an urban 'problem' and the natural and common sense 'solution' designed to solve it. In this case, the inevitable 'problem' is rapid population growth and the associated environmental impacts of urban sprawl and the 'solution' is urban consolidation, sustainable development and infill development. It is imbued with moral implications, based on the need to sustainably house an inevitable, growing population. It focuses on managing, accommodating and coping with population growth. This task is seen as the responsibility of the State Government, who then impose local population targets on local governments. In this way, it is in keeping with Jacob's (2013) observation that population growth is often depicted as a threatening phenomenon that is only amenable to a technocratic government's intervention in Australia.

According to Kern (2007), urban intensification policies allow the state to appear to be taking an active role in conserving and protecting vulnerable land and managing population growth sustainably but do this in a way that frees up spaces for massive redevelopment. Sustainability is a political and malleable term that can be applied to justify a range of outcomes and is often appropriated by powerful groups to forward their own agenda (Gunder, 2006). This social representation explicitly juxtapositions urban consolidation with urban sprawl, presenting densification efforts as the natural and logical antidote to suburban expansion. This over-emphasises the role of density in mediating environmental sustainability and silences the manifold other interventions that could be applied to increase the sustainability of urban regions (Gleeson, 2014). According to Kern (2007), this is a function of the capitalist restructuring of the city based on the interests of a particular set of stakeholders. The media have a significant role to play in supporting these interests. As Molotch (1976) has argued, local newspapers have a vested interest in perpetuating the

notion that growth is inescapable as their financial status is related to the population within a locality. Molotch (1975) does not suggest that papers control the politics of a city but rather that they are committed to growth, a goal around which many important groups can rally. As such, the social representation *Managing regional population growth* can be partially attributed with the naturalisation of urban consolidation policy as an environmentally sound strategy and the focus on managing and supporting rather than slowing population growth.

Class Two is indicative of the contentious nature of neighbourhood change and intensification strategies. As SRT posits that individuals and groups draw upon familiar ideas and images to understand novel phenomena, this class indicates that densification processes are firmly anchored in notions of conflict, legalities, political machinations and negotiations. The presence of this class is indicative of an established process for negotiating development applications in Brisbane. It is also evidence of the substantial emphasis on conflict, actors and fairness rather than substantive issues in the media reporting on neighbourhood planning and land use conflict. This emphasis in the media largely silences questions of design, integration and social and environmental impacts and focuses on process and legitimacy of consolidation more generally. Opposition often appears to focus on urban consolidation as a broad-ranging, imminent threat rather than respond to specific developments. Alves (2006, p298) argues that community opposition often relates to a "bigger, unarticulated threat or problem of which the specific development becomes symbolic."

These findings connect with studies undertaken in Sydney that found communities often object to a lack of legitimacy in the planning process, rather than planning outcomes (Ruming & Houston, 2013). They may also be reflective of the propensity for media coverage to emphasise conflict and procedural concerns over substantive issues. Vraneski and Richter (2003) note that conflict is one of four framing techniques often applied in media reporting. Similarly, much literature has identified a 'game frame' or a focus on process in the media coverage of political issues (Skorkjær Binderkrantz & Green-Pedersen, 2009). The game frame portrays politics as a competition for votes between opposing politicians and parties rather than focusing on policies or political outcomes. Articles with a focus on process tend to highlight instances of spin-doctoring, disagreements and conflicts within and between parties, a candidate's motives for launching an initiative and the likely reactions amongst different interest groups (Skorkjær Binderkrantz & Green-Pedersen, 2009). This is a concern as housing is not often a salient issue for the general populace (Belden et al., 2004) and therefore there is a higher chance that people will use cognitive shortcuts rather than

considered decision-making to form opinions (Tighe, 2010). In this case the anchoring of land use change in conflict and political machinations becomes a pervasive social representation even for those who have little interaction with development processes.

Cluster B reflects two orthodoxies within the Australian housing context; first, that dwelling choices are linked to life-stages and homeownership is the most legitimate form of housing tenure and second, that housing prices will and should continue to increase. Class Three continued an oft-noted tradition of the media perpetuating notions of property 'lifecycles' (Fincher, 2004), based on notions of appropriate housing forms for various sub-groups. In particular, empty nesters, young people and singles were associated with higher density housing options. While this class contained notions about child-free apartments, it also alludes to a future where higher density living is an affordable housing choice households make to remain in 'good' neighbourhoods. This contrasts with the luxury narrative often noted in media portrayals of higher density housing.

Class Three is indicative of the value-laden construction of the 'problem' of housing affordability. As previously discussed, the discursive framing of a problem serves to legitimise a particular framing of a problem and therefore constrain the range of potential solutions. Class Three suggests that the problem of housing affordability is an issue for young people and first home-buyers who are struggling to get their foot on the property ladder due to high housing prices and a lack of housing supply. The focus on mortgages, and dwelling prices in the media belies the fact that over a third of occupied dwellings in Brisbane are rented (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011). Newspaper articles featured frequent references to housing affordability, linking average incomes with median house prices but with little consideration of the impact of rental housing. Despite evidence of severe and growing deficits in affordable rental housing in Australian markets (Wulff, Reynolds, Arunachalam, Hulse, & Yates, 2011), this issue appears to lack saliency in the media.

Similarly, alternative solutions to housing affordability such as social housing, community housing, inclusionary zoning or tax reforms are silenced. The social representation reflected in the newspapers has parallels to previous research which identified the normalisation of homeownership in Australian media (Jacobs et al., 2003) and government policy (Jacobs, 2015). The privileging of homeowners and developers is noted by Blunden (2016) who highlights the continued focus on sustained housing price increases in her discussion of the discursive construction of negative gearing in Australia. She argues that "what is visible above the surface – rational deliberative discussions about what constitutes sound tax and

housing policy – is ranged against a submerged iceberg of propertied power engendering a political calculation that resists rational policy debate" (Blunden, 2016, p. 342).

Class Four is reflective of property and market reports and marketing articles contained in the newspaper. These articles naturalise and privilege the notion of demand and supply and the idea of housing as a tradeable asset rather than a home. The focus on market cycles, investors and Return of Investment are other naturalised concepts that contribute significantly to the functioning of the apartment market in Brisbane. The profusion of small, one-bedroom, investor-focused stock on the market is increasingly causing concerns throughout capital cities in Australia (Birrell & Healey, 2013). This proportion of smaller stock is a function of investor demand, rather than the needs of end users and so poses risk for the longevity of this housing stock and its ability to adapt to the needs of occupants (Birrell & Healy, 2013).

Cluster C is indicative of the significant correlation between words connected to transport (road, car, walk) and *Urban precincts* (residential, storey, character). This further illustrates that a strong belief persists in Brisbane newspapers that urban consolidation has the capacity to improve transport outcomes. Social representations are supportive of the belief that increased densities can reduce car dependency, improve pedestrian experience and provide urban spaces focused on people. This representation persists despite opposing evidence provided by urban consolidation scholarship. For example, Dodson (2007) argues that consolidation policy has often been predicated on the overly-deterministic belief that manipulating densities can result in certain social, environmental and economic outcomes, while Mees (2009) has argued that public transport usage is more strongly correlated with transport policies than density. In the case of Brisbane, it may be that common sense beliefs about the correlation between urban consolidation and positive transport outcomes do not reflect contemporary research findings (Raynor et al., 2016).

In addition, the concentration of words concerned with outcomes of precinct-level densification features many words related to design, character and mixed land uses. It does not include words concerned with sustainability or social equity or affordability. This is in keeping with Kern's (2007) insight that urban consolidation has largely occurred as a reflection of neoliberal agendas concerned with consumption and inner-city development. Government discourses have focused on physical design features, transport linkages and the ability to 'live, work and play' in the same location but have largely ignored the social implications of these developments. This social representation is used by local government to promote a vision for urban intensification predominantly associated with the creation of

consumption-based precincts. It is indicative of the privileging of inner-city development and highest and best use arguments and the silencing of the needs of lower income households in the area. It is also noteworthy that this social representation is comprised almost entirely of references to government plans for future densification. Developers and communities are rarely referenced in this word cluster. Developers are more likely to promote an individual building than an entire precinct and community members are rarely quoted supporting future densification.

Together, these five classes reflect the dominant social representations associated with urban consolidation in the newspaper corpus. They reveal the predominant justification for urban consolidation; combatting urban sprawl and managing population growth. They also reveal how political and contentious ways in which land use change is interpreted on a local scale. The social representations also highlight contradictory narratives in the newspaper that celebrate and lament increasing house prices and reflect winners and losers in the property market. Finally, the social representations identify a focus on government-lead precinct-level development predominantly defined by its (supposed) ability to improve public transport linkages and create mixed-use areas in which to 'live, work and play.'

7.5 *Conclusion*

This chapter identified five distinct social representations pertaining to urban consolidation, higher density housing and infill development. These social representations, concerned with Regional Population Growth Management, Local Political Decision-Making, *Housing affordability and home*, *The property market* and *Urban precincts* all represent aspects of the representation of urban consolidation and are examples of social representations circulating in society. Their theoretical value is based on the notion that a word's value is based on the company it keeps (Saussure, 1916). Therefore, while the word 'traffic' on its own provides little information, when it is co-located with character, rail, pedestrian, precinct, height and mixed-use a pattern begins to emerge that associates higher densities with increased public transport usage. Similarly, in identifying the predominant anchoring mechanisms and narratives in the newspaper, notable absences and silences can also be noted.

This chapter outlines the power imbalances inherent in media representations of urban consolidation. In particular, the Planning and Politics cluster revealed that population growth and urban consolidation is naturalised and legitimised through references to the inevitability of population growth and the detrimental impacts of urban sprawl. Concurrently, local

conflicts around densification are depicted as battles between local government, state government, community groups and developers. The media focuses on conflict and legitimacy rather than design, amenity or equity outcomes, effectively silencing this consideration in the debate.

The Housing and Investment cluster displays the dichotomy in housing price debates in the media. While one word class focuses on housing affordability challenges, the other celebrates continued capital appreciation and reifies the value of housing as a tradeable product. This cluster demonstrates the significant emphasis placed on home-ownership over rental tenure and also positions housing affordability as an outcome of constrained supply. The importance of investors in the uptake of apartments is also emphasised in this cluster. The *Urban precincts* cluster illustrates the prevalent government narrative surrounding urban consolidation and urban renewal. The prevalence of planning 'buzzwords' and focus on articles that stress the government-lead nature of urban precinct renewal is indicative of powerful government communication. This cluster illustrates powerful ideas and beliefs that conflate density with improved public transport and densification with the creation of 'live, work and play' areas designed to support a typical urban dweller.

This chapter is the first of three chapters devoted to discussing the findings of the three research methods applied in this thesis. While this chapter applied a quantitative approach to the analysis of newspaper articles published between 2007 and 2014 in Brisbane, Chapter Eight will provide a qualitative insight into the metaphors used in these articles. Read in tandem, these two chapters elaborate on the socially-mediated social representations is use in the newspaper media. Chapter Nine will provide a more individualised approach to the findings, recounting the results from the Q-study undertaken in this thesis. It will explain and discuss the social representations held by planners, developers, architects, councillors and residents in Brisbane. Following this, Chapter Ten will synthesise and comment on the relevance of these findings. All three findings chapters were undertaken in line with the research methods outlined in Chapter Four and explicitly apply the theoretical framework developed and explained in Chapter Five.

Chapter Eight: Metaphors in the Media: Social Representations of Urban Consolidation

Much of the content in this chapter has been presented and peer reviewed in the following conference paper:

Raynor, K., Matthews, T., & Mayere, S. (2015). *Defining the density debate in Brisbane: how urban consolidation is represented in the media*. Paper presented at the State of Australian Cities Conference, Gold Coast

8.1 *Introduction*

Chapter Eight describes and explains the metaphors employed in newspaper coverage of urban consolidation in Brisbane between 2007 and 2014. The chosen time period and location are pertinent as they reflect a period of dramatic change in the built form and planning policies of a densifying city. The chapter outlines and critically discusses six key themes within newspaper reportage communicated using metaphors. These themes are: neighbourhood change and densification, population growth, urban sprawl, development and investment and higher density living. These areas are broadly comparable with the word clusters identified in Chapter Seven but were identified using a different method and provide complementary and expansionary insights. The key benefit of this qualitative approach is the nuanced and context-specific nature of the findings. It identifies the subtle use of imagery, tropes, 'common sense' knowledge and categories employed in newspaper coverage. This chapter focuses on the taken for granted and common sense assumptions applied to urban consolidation and communicated through accepted metaphors in the media.

This chapter, focused on the qualitative media analysis, is the second of three chapters devoted to discussing the results of the three methods employed in this thesis. Chapter Eight complements and extends the previous chapter by applying a different method to the study of the same newspaper texts utilised in the Pragmatic Textual Analysis. In keeping with the rest of this thesis, this chapter is concerned with identifying and analysing social representations used and communicated in Brisbane and analysing how they contribute to power-laden ideas of the status quo. This chapter applies a Semantic Metaphorical Analysis (SMA) to the textual corpus. This analysis is based on the insight that social representations are often communicated through shared imagery, narratives and metaphors.

Chapter Eight explicitly investigates the processes of anchoring and objectification and their use in the construction of metaphors. As Social Representations (SRs) can be defined as "a set of beliefs, images, metaphors and symbols collectively shared in a group, community, society or culture" (Wagner, 1994, p. 199), the analysis of metaphors is a valuable tool for identifying these SRs. In SRT, anchoring and objectification serve to make the unfamiliar familiar and to integrate novelty into a more understandable format (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999). This focus on making the unfamiliar more familiar, common to both anchoring and objectification, is the reason these processes are so useful in the identification of metaphors. Metaphor can be considered "a device to make something less familiar more familiar [that] impregnates the target with characteristics which originally pertain to the source" (Wagner et al., 1995, p. 675).

The SMA revealed metaphorical objectifications of neighbourhood change and densification, population growth, urban sprawl, development and investment and higher density living apparent in the newspaper media. These metaphors reveal a taken for granted association between urban consolidation and war and conflict. Similarly, higher density housing is frequently objectified in a variety of negative and dramatic ways that emphasise a link between densification and death, disease, decay, destruction and undemocratic development. This metaphorical objectification is apparent in both the narratives of community members and in quotations from politicians. The nodal nature of urban consolidation is thus presented as a way of 'protecting' the virtuous suburbs. Population growth is construed in the media as inevitable and threatening. The common motif of the 'organic city' (Donald, 1999) is also apparent in newspaper media. It is used as a way to naturalise growth and present development as uncontrollable. This objectification is particularly apparent in references to urban sprawl and suburban expansion. In this context, urban consolidation is presented as a natural antidote to the ills of sprawl. On a more localised level, inner-city development is metaphorically objectified as a face-lift or as a boost for tired suburbs. However, apartments retain negative connotations, being described as 'dog-boxes' or 'chicken coops.' These metaphors are powerful as they come to constitute common sense. "In using the arguments of common sense, speakers are arousing the stereotyped monsters from their slumbers" (Billig, 1991, p. 20).

8.2 *Meaning-Making through Metaphors*

Metaphors are an integral component of SRT as they provide useful insights into thought processes and processes of conceptualising new information and phenomena. In addition, understanding and analysing metaphors is important as they play emotive, expressive and behavioural roles (Wagner & Hayes, 2005). They also have a legitimating function, helping to naturalise certain actions and perceptions. As discussed in Chapter Four, this thesis conceptualises metaphors as

consisting of a source domain (a familiar concept), a target domain (the less familiar concept) and a linkage or mapping between the two domains designed to make the target domain comprehensible. To be widely accepted and appear natural, a metaphor must discursively link a source domain and a target domain that appear to users to be structurally correlated. Through metaphors, a target domain is experienced as tangible like the source domain (Lakoff, 1987). Not only does this confer physical or direct similarities, it also generalises the moral and affective connotations of the source domain on to the target. This "metaphorical entailment" (Lakoff, 1987, p. 384) impregnates the target with characteristics which originally pertain to the source.

This process is similar to objectification processes that function to assign socially represented knowledge to a specific, tangible form. This process allows individuals and groups to take intangible concepts like urban sprawl, densification or gentrification and attribute them with a physical reality. In this way, people construct an iconic aspect for a new or difficult to grasp idea (Wagner et al., 1995). The process of linking the aspects and attributes of the source domain to the target domain is illustrated in Figure 13, adapted from Wagner et al. (1995).

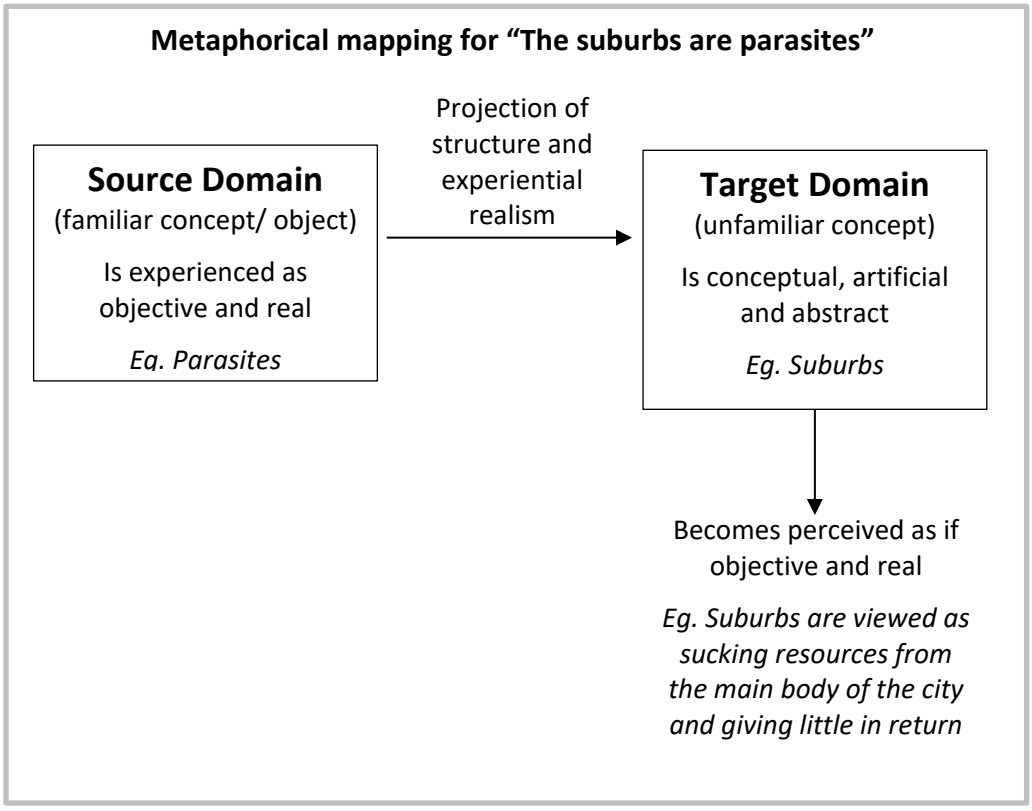


Figure 13: Metaphorical mapping between source and target domains

Adapted from: Wagner et al. (1995)

Metaphors do not need to be correct to resonate with a community. Rather, it is more important that they are well-structured and "good to think with" (Wagner et al., 1995, p. 674). Metaphors also exist to link less familiar concepts with commonly understood ideas. Many newspaper readers do not

have first-hand experience of living in apartments or high density neighbourhoods and so rely on objectification for evaluation and description. Given that "urban citizens may occasionally experience that the imaginative structure of their home territory is not primarily decided by social dynamics in the local setting, but through public mediation" (Jansson, 2005, p. 1671), this potential for association is pertinent. Negative or positive portrayals of higher density housing or urban consolidation in the media may easily become the 'truth' for those with little individual experience of apartment living.

8.3 *Metaphor Categories*

As discussed in Chapter Five, all 440 newspaper articles were coded for metaphors and then collated into themes to provide an overview of the use of metaphors in the newspaper corpus. The following sections outline the five broad categories of metaphors identified in the newspaper media. They are: neighbourhood change and densification, population growth, urban sprawl, development and investment and higher density living.

8.3.1 Neighbourhood Change and Densification

Neighbourhood change and densification was often attached to images of war and conflict in the newspaper corpus. Metaphors of war and conflict are common in media portrayals and are often used as a way to justify dramatic reactions to issues (Todolí, 2007). For example, Stibbe (2001) identified the way the metaphor of war was used to justify the mass slaughter of animals during the spread of foot in mouth disease in Britain, highlighting the use of military terminology and overt designation of victims and villains. This communicative mechanism was also evident in the social representation of urban consolidation in Brisbane. The metaphor of war was evident in articles that suggest that suburbs have become "battle grounds" (McCarthy, 2008c) as communities "lose the battle against high density housing" (The Courier Mail, 2012c, p. 33). The impending threat of higher density has left suburbs and services "under siege" (Lawrence & Lawrence, 2009, p. 17). Some articles stretched the metaphor even further suggesting that "waging war against [the suburbs] is self-defeating and anti-human even" (MacDonald, 2011, p. 20). This use of terminology has created a shared imagery of a city at war and in a constant state of crisis and conflict.

This anchoring mechanism actively designates victims and villains. The enemy is sometimes the local government who are depicted as exploitative and unfeeling bodies that communities must "guard against" ("Leaders reserved on development plan," 2010, p. 3). One particular article referred to "the faceless men at the ULDA [who] think we should squeeze thousands more residents into our

area" (Calligeros, 2011) Sometimes the enemy is simply rapid development, as explained in an article entitled "Future Shock" that suggests growth is occurring at a pace that catches even developers and planners "off-guard" (McCarthy, 2008b). The victimisation of community members is continually reinforced as they are depicted as helpless. They are having "higher density living thrust upon them whether they like it or not" (MacDonald, 2010, p. 32). At other times, the enemy is the faceless high density dwellers that threaten to overrun existing communities. This portrayal creates a stark 'us vs them' mentality perhaps best illustrated in the quote "once construction begins I think there will be a mass exodus of people who will leave, because it won't be the same community. There will be a vast difference in values" (Royes, 2007b, p. 5). This quotation continues the war and crisis metaphor to suggest existing communities may become refugees in the battle of changing neighbourhoods.

War terminology is not only used by community members but it is also reflected in government discourses. Local government narratives suggested that tin and timber suburbs required "protection from widespread destruction and over-development" (Moore, 2010b) while Queensland Premier Anna Bligh created "no-go zones"' in established neighbourhoods to protect them from high-density infill ("Fast-track plan in 'go zones'," 2010, p. 14). Similarly, references to 'council safeguards' implicitly anchor development and growth in a social representation of fear, conflict and threat. Government discourses even served to continue the conflict between existing and new residents by suggesting that concentrating higher density around specific nodes would help in "protecting the [low density] areas' community values" (Vogler, 2010, p. 18). This assertion that new residents or high-density residents threaten community values helps to subjugate them and position them as the 'other'. This use of highly dramatic and negative metaphors is indicative of the 'culture of fear' that is often perpetuated by the media (Nussbaum, 2001).

Negative portrayals of density are demonstrated in the use of the metaphors of death, disease and destruction to describe neighbourhood change in Brisbane. The newspaper corpus contains numerous references to the death of the Aussie dream, lamenting the disappearance of the traditional Aussie backyard or family home. The very use of the terms 'traditional' or 'family' serves to position higher density or apartments as the 'other' and further legitimise the idea that high density is unsuitable for children. The victimisation of the detached home is exemplified in an article that described low density neighbourhoods as a "threatened species" (McCarthy, 2010, p. 27). Another article further emphasised the vulnerability of detached homes, claiming that high rise towers could destroy Brisbane's sense of community and place. This sense of place is objectified as the "uniquely Brisbane feel of Queenslander-style homes in streets lined with jacarandas and jasmine" ("Brisbane blueprint best way to blend past, present and future," 2014, p. 68). This reference to 'traditional values' is a common literary mechanism often used to reify dominant groups and values. In the US,

Gutsche (2015) has highlighted the 'small-town pastoralism' narrative used to celebrate mythical small-town America while identifying and marginalising those threatening dominant community identities. A similar strategy is evident in the Brisbane media.

The literature also provides graphic depictions of diseased neighbourhoods suffering from over population. This personification of neighbourhoods and metaphorical linking of human bodies to a social phenomenon is common in scientific texts, the media and conversation and serves as a device for aiding comprehension (Byford, 2002). Neighbourhoods are personified as ailing bodies being "choked" by high rises (Weston, 2007), having their "hearts ripped out by higher density development" (McMahon, 2009b, p. 12) and being "slowly crushed under the bureaucratic iron heel of high density" (McCarthy, 2010). These metaphors serve to juxtaposition wholesome, 'human,' existing low-density communities with 'inhuman,' parasitic or robotic new high rise developments. These metaphors draw heavily on the ideas of death or disease to foster empathy for the plight of traditional suburbs and subjugate and dehumanise the dwellers of high density. This is further evidenced in the nostalgic preference for lower-density development reflected in this quotation; "Quiet, leafy corners of Brisbane and other parts of Southeast Queensland could soon be overshadowed by high rise apartment towers under a controversial planning strategy to build up instead of out" (Fraser, 2010, p. 10).

As posited by Wagner et al. (1995), the power of metaphors lies in their ability to attach the structural associations of the source domain to the target domain. While many newspaper readers would be unfamiliar with neighbourhood planning, zoning rules, community consultation processes and permitted land uses, crisis, war and conflict are ideas with which newspaper readers are well acquainted. As such, this use of anchoring allows readers to link these concepts with land use conflicts they are not personally involved with. It yields a rich seam of associations included the designation of victims and villains, ideas about suffering and fairness and perceptions of drama, contestation and competition rather than cooperation or compromise.

8.3.2 Population Growth

Population and development growth is a controversial and value-laden topic that often receives both positive and negative media attention (Molotch, 1976; Steele & Gleeson, 2009). The newspaper media in Brisbane has depicted growth at various times as inevitable, necessary, uncontrolled and threatening.

Population growth as inevitable and necessary

Growth in Brisbane is anchored in ideas of organic or natural growth. It is represented as a "complex beast" or "constantly evolving and expanding organism" ("Brisbane blueprint best way to blend past, present and future," 2014, p. 68). The trope of the 'organic city' has been observed by multiple scholars (Donald, 1999; Mehmood, 2010; Wilson, 1996). The organic metaphor includes several images and stories that aid in the understanding of complex concepts. It encapsulates associated ideas such as life and death, evolution, decay and growth. In Brisbane, the use of metaphorical objectification to portray population growth as "booming" and "sky-rocketing" reinforces a pro-growth agenda. As the "aspirational growth state of Australia" (Steele & Gleeson, 2009, p. 10), Queensland has tended to accept growth as inevitable and media discourses have often promoted growth as a way of stimulating the economy (Taylor et al., 2014). Urban renewal is presented as a natural and logical process in a growing city. Articles refer to areas 'ripe for renewal,' again referencing the organic city metaphor. Further, in 2012 the Courier Mail reported that "Woolloongabba is *evolving* into a high density, mixed-use community that exemplifies inner-city sustainability." (The Courier Mail, 2012a, italics added).

Not only is growth represented as inevitable, it is often positioned as a positive and necessary aspect of 'keeping up' with other cities. This is illustrated in the following quotation;

> *"Brisbane, according to demographer Bernard Salt, changed course dramatically about 1990 when it switched from being a big country town to "a metropolis on training wheels". Now it's speedwobbling down the road, trying to catch up with other cities that started earlier, had more foresight or more money" (McCarthy, 2008b, p. 57).*

This quotation utilises both the metaphor of a journey ('changed course' and 'down the road') and a race ('trying to catch up') to depict urban growth in Brisbane. Both metaphors serve a legitimating function whilst highlighting the uncontrolled or disorganised nature of that growth. In using a linear journey metaphor, growth can be interpreted as progress. The use of a race metaphor serves to introduce a competition with other global cities, positioning 'winning' cities as ones that have already become thriving metropolises. This metaphor is commonly referenced in literature focused on growth coalition discourses. For example, Wilson (1996) argued that this metaphorical rhetoric was integral

to legitimating the idea that local restructuring and urban transformation was urgent in Indianapolis as the city was competing with others for investment.

The media anchored and objectified housing markets and population growth in Queensland as well. In reference to the Urban Growth Boundary, the media reported the following;

> *"It will lead to the Sydneyfication of the Gold Coast. This was Sydney in the late 1990s," Mr Salt said, when told of the UDIA's predictions last week. "It closed down the developable residential land on the edge of Sydney. In early 2000, in the boom, it was like putting a lid on a steaming kettle. Prices skyrocketed." (Weston, 2007, p. 50)*

While the quotation relates to the Gold Coast, a city approximately 100km south of Brisbane, this statement is indicative of metaphorical objectification instances in media available to residents in Brisbane. The use of the term 'Sydneyfication' is a powerful objectification designed to associate complex planning policy with tangible ideas about Sydney's unaffordable housing market. The use of the kettle metaphor is an evocative reference to ideas about pressure, heat and future consequences. This metaphor is indicative of a strong discursive construction of the 'housing supply crisis' noted by multiple Australian scholars (eg. Gurran & Phibbs, 2013; Gurran & Ruming, 2015). In overtly linking land 'constraints' with familiar ideas about the build-up of pressure in kettles, the metaphor a legitimating function in supporting a deregulation and land release agenda. Industry lobby groups and government have supported this agenda despite weak evidence to support its validity (Gurran & Phibbs, 2013).

Population growth as uncontrolled and threatening

While population growth was often depicted as inevitable, it was also represented as a negative and threatening phenomenon. Regional growth was frequently depicted as dramatic and dangerous as SEQ dealt with its population "crisis", its "growing pains" and its "swelling" population" (Feeney, 2012b). One article, published in the Brisbane Times in 2010 proclaimed that "Brisbane needs Dubai-scale high rise boom" (Moore, 2010a). By objectifying the complex concept of densification, population growth and neighbourhood change to the concrete image of Dubai the newspaper has provided a potent and threatening image. This imagery, that brings to mind visions of towering and out-of-place skyscrapers, is an example of intangible and difficult to conceptualise population targets being translated into a more understandable, if inappropriate, image. It serves to dramatise a complex concept that involves natural growth and intrastate, interstate and international migration patterns. Local and state governments employ these metaphors to emphasise the need to manage and cope with growth.

The representation of population growth as threatening and potentially damaging is a common feature of Australian media portrayals (Jacobs, 2013). It is reflected in references to the fear of "opening the floodgates" to development and the objectification of the city as a "concrete" or "urban jungle" (Paul, 2009). These metaphors highlight a perceived lack of coherence or structure in city growth and view development outcomes as unpredictable and inevitable. Jacobs (2013) argues that a sense of anxiety and fear for the future is pervasive in contemporary media discourses. He further suggests that population rhetoric often seeks to present a vision of the threatening future being attended to by a powerful, technocratic state. In this way, discourses present population growth as a phenomenon only amenable to government intervention and therefore serve to legitimate the bureaucratic actions of politicians in managing growth.

8.3.3 Urban Sprawl

The metaphorical objectification of urban sprawl has served to enforce the idea that it is uncontrollable and is inexorably spreading across the region. Commentators have reflected on urban sprawl "inching towards them" (McVay, 2012, p. 36). Sprawl is imbued with its own agency and power as articles commented on the value of "land that previously acted to hold back sprawl" and the need for governments to "keep a lid on urban sprawl" (Feeney, 2012a). Indeed, newspaper articles represent regulator's efforts as heroic, commending the "governments and town planners [who] battle to shield the Southeast from ugly urban sprawl" (Chalmers, 2007a). Similarly, high rise living is promoted "to support population growth while *protecting* green space and stopping urban sprawl" (McMahon, 2009a, p. 15, italics added). The newspaper corpus is replete with references to the need to 'combat,' 'tackle,' 'restrain' and 'halt' urban sprawl. This metaphorical anchoring makes sprawl seem volatile and dangerous and conjures images of a dangerous animal or an "amoeba-like spread" (Sweetman, 2009, p. 77).

Urban sprawl is depicted as an unsustainable and selfish housing and urban form and is often compared to US examples of car-centric sprawl. The housing form and its inhabitants are privileged, boring and expansive. Articles refer to a "suburban blubberland" (Gleeson, 2007). The literary trope of the 'McMansion' is often referenced in the newspaper media with reporters suggesting that "oversized, air-conditioned homes taking up entire house blocks in homogenous sprawling suburbs is simply unsustainable" and "Queensland's sprawling suburban palaces even trump those in the supersized US" (Calligeros, 2009). This objectification of urban sprawl in images of American sprawl draws upon shared images of cul-de-sac estates and 'ticky-tacky little boxes.' In contrast, newspaper reportage often draws upon the imagery of the virtuous European city to objectify consolidation

policies. Scholars are cited extolling the virtues of 'efficient European cities' stating that "in Sweden and Denmark, you see cities that have clustered their development along railway lines and key nodes and used planning to encourage the market to use to good locations... They want a vibrant city full of people -- but not their cars" (Dr Matthew Burke quoted in Stephens, 2014a)"

This anchoring is pertinent as it serves a legitimating function. Donald (1999) observed conceptualisations of the city as a human body in early nineteenth century Britain as a justification for policies and actions designed to treat urban disease. Similarly, dramatic social representation of sprawl serves to position urban consolidation as the only natural antidote to suburban expansion. Bunce (2004) observed a similar phenomenon in Canada, noting policy discourses in Toronto that sought to juxtaposition detrimental urban sprawl with densification policies. Politicians have sought a similar process in Brisbane as illustrated in the following quotation;

> *"Queensland continues to grow so we can either increase building density where it can work or let our cities sprawl – and this government will not accelerate urban sprawl," Mr Hinchliffe said." (Baumgart, 2010)*

Similarly, the *SEQ Regional Plan 2009* was referred to as a "radical new plan by the Bligh Government to combat urban sprawl" and a "visionary and an honest attempt to tackle burgeoning urban sprawl" (Moore, 2010c). Drawing upon urban sprawl and the associated images, metaphors, ideas and narratives it evokes is a powerful discursive tool. While audiences have limited familiarity with the idea of urban consolidation and compact city ideas, there is an established library of ideas linked to sprawl. By anchoring urban consolidation as the opposite of urban sprawl, a code for discussing and evaluating consolidation is established. This stark juxtapositioning between sprawl and consolidation serves to silence all other visions of urban development and over-emphasise the power of density to impact sustainability.

8.3.4 Development and Investment

The newspaper corpus also reveals that real estate development in Brisbane is anchored in notions of competition. In this way, it reflects the interurban competition discourse identified by McCann (2003) but on a metropolitan level. Metaphors reflect a view of development as a competition between various high-value suburbs throughout Brisbane. This metaphor is reflected in the language used to describe development in the inner-city, rapidly gentrifying suburb of Woolloongabba. For example;

> *"Colliers International residential research director Jonathan Rivera expects Woolloongabba will eventually rival the likes of New Farm and South Brisbane as an urban hub" (Hutchinson, 2009, p. 3).*

This concept of rivalry reflects a competition metaphor. Development is portrayed as an act of almost animalistic consumption as developers "move in to grab a piece of the action" and "up-and-coming areas claw their way higher up the list" (Hutchinson, 2009). This metaphor is further advanced in articles that reference "rich pickings" from vacant sites, note that Asian investors are "flocking to buy apartments" (Durut, 2014, p. 21) and commend buyers on "snapping up" (Shearer, 2012, p. 12) properties. The complex notion of property investment and capital flows are objectified as more tangible notions or actions related to struggle (clawing, snapping, picking and grabbing) and competition (rivalling). The competition metaphor is advanced in articles that refer to investors as "the leading players in the market" and Chinese developers that "stake a major claim in Brisbane" (The Courier Mail, 2014). This competition for investment involves local, domestic and international bidders, all engaged in transferring their money to the most profitable location as they *chase* the highest return on investment, as described in the below quotation;

> *"We have experienced extreme shifts in investor demand as they chase the rental yields that Brisbane has consistently offered over the past 24 months and an affordable entry price point for off-the-plan apartments compared to Sydney and Melbourne" (The Courier Mail, 2014)*

This use of metaphorical framing is partially a literary device to add a sense of urgency to development decisions. It is also indicative of a discursive reorientation from an emphasis on purchasing property to live in to one of investing in housing for capital accumulation. According to Oakley (2009), this reorientation is a feature of twenty-first century urban living. Speaking of 'the market' as an aggregate of commodities that 'rise,' 'surge' and 'burst' negates the fact that individual units are dwellings with a use. By metaphorically anchoring apartment development as a competition for profit based on market fluctuations, the need to develop housing that is suitable for occupants is silenced.

News articles focused on real estate and property sales employ a strong metaphorical anchoring strategy. Development activity can 'surge' and articles refer to "apartment development frenzies" (Lord, 2007, p. 31). The intangible and complex concept of the property market is objectified in the imagery of cycles. This idea serves to inject an element of coherence to the property market and naturalises the idea of price increases and corrections over time. The primacy of demand and supply

and market mechanisms is constructed as normal in much reporting, silencing questions about housing need and the appropriateness of housing delivery.

Articles feature quotations promoting investment and suggesting "as we are now at the bottom of the property clock, this is definitely the best time for investors to enter the market and reap the rewards over the long term" (The Courier Mail, 2011, p. 27). Similarly, the notion of 'entering' or 'cracking' the market is common in the newspaper and helps to construct the market as an exclusive club to join. Articles continue to advise people to "get their foot on the first rung of the Queensland property ladder" (Chalmers, 2007b). This is indicative of the ownership-centric discourse often noted in Australia and serves to naturalise a view of housing as an investment and asset rather than a home, need or right.

8.3.5 Higher Density Living

Apartments are subject to multiple examples of objectification in the corpus and are subject to contradictory social representations. There is a strong discursive connection between higher density dwelling forms and wealthy, lifestyle-focused occupiers in the media (Costello, 2005). However, there remains a strong belief that apartments are sub-standard and unappealing places to live that attract those who cannot afford a detached house (Fischer & Gokhan, 2011). High density dwellings in Brisbane are represented in an extremely negative light, being objectified as "rabbit hutches", "shoe-boxes", "dog boxes" and "poker machines in the sky" (Boyd, 2012; Johnstone, 2007) .

Despite Costello's (2005) argument that perceptions of higher density have moved from prisons to penthouses since the 1960's, the above suggests that there remains many negative perceptions of higher density. In particular, there is a perception of high rise as a "rental ghetto" or a home for "fast livers, welfare recipients and European refugees" (Lord, 2007). As mentioned earlier, articles often promote a view of apartment dwellers as the 'other' with different values and lifestyles to inhabitants of existing neighbourhoods. Apartments have even been referred to as soulless developments reminiscent of the "Eastern Bloc housing schemes of the 1960s" (Lynch, 2011). Perhaps the most commonly cited metaphor was the notion of 'sardine suburbs', a term used by community members and politicians alike to express a fear of cramming people into existing neighbourhoods. These negative connotations serve to denigrate both high density/high rise housing forms and their occupants.

In contrast to the largely negative metaphors applied throughout the newspaper corpus, there is an objectification of apartments strongly linked to lifestyle and luxury. Articles report a "continued rush to Portside Wharf as people continue to seek waterfront apartment property as a catalyst for a lifestyle change" (The Courier Mail, 2008). Similarly, neighbourhood change and higher density living

metaphorically links new development to renewal, beautification and liveliness. Once again neighbourhoods and communities are personified, with article headlines proclaiming “Beachside Brisbane is set to get a facelift under a new Brisbane City Council plan” and “facelift looms: Fresh boost for tired suburbs” (Finnila, 2007, p. 91). Politicians tout the ability for urban renewal to “rejuvenate the whole area” (Kennedy, 2007).This metaphorical objectification serves to attach the intangible concept of gentrification and renewal to more familiar ideas about cosmetic surgery and human notions of tiredness. The structural association then becomes one that depicts neighbourhood change as a way to revamp, enliven, beautify and make areas more appealing. This is reflected in media articles that feature quotations such as “the once ho-hum industrial area was about to "boom" in the wake of the arrival of restaurants like Pearl Cafe and Crosstown Eating House” (Calligeros, 2010a). These metaphors are associated with notions of older, decaying and languishing suburbs and the value of increasing their efficiency, vibrancy and contribution to the economy and urban lifestyles evident in contemporary urban planning discourses (Oakley, 2009). Defining neighbourhoods as ‘alive,’ ‘vibrant,’ ‘decaying’ or ‘tired’ is a power-laden activity that privileges some land uses and inhabitants and denigrates others.

The metaphorical trope of aging or ailing suburbs is common and has been identified in several American studies that reported suburbs ‘ailing’ from ‘cancerous’ vacancies and requiring a ‘shot in the arm’ (Wilson, 1996). The use of less dramatic terminology (ie. A facelift rather than a blood transfusion) speaks to the differing contexts in which these metaphors exist. As Wagner et al. (1995) argue, to be accepted by a community a metaphor must link concepts with a discernible relation. Without the history of dramatic urban decay experienced in some US cities, Brisbane utilises a more cosmetic metaphor to define urban changes. Despite this, it still serves a legitimating function. In particular, the facelift metaphor aligns with urban renewal and ideas of the ‘liveable city’ (Fullagar et al., 2013) and the consumption-based places of contemporary inner-city suburbs (Bunce, 2004; Oakley, 2009). It relates to the neo-liberal vision of the city as a commodity that is marketed as part of the process of interurban competition (Brenner & Theodore, 2002).

8.4 *Discussion*

Comparison is a powerful tool for making sense of the world. New things become legible and understandable when defined by their similarities to older, more familiar things. Metaphors are a useful device to achieve this comparison. The metaphorical anchoring and objectification in the newspaper media helps to influence urban consolidation narratives and provides and illustrates a store of images and associations applied by newspaper readers. As previously mentioned, for a metaphor to make sense and gain traction, it must draw upon associations that are acceptable to the

majority of the population. Therefore, metaphors provide a nuanced understanding about the ways in which urban consolidation is understood and discussed.

The research examined the use of metaphors in 440 newspaper articles published between 2007 and 2014 and grouped them into 5 topics including; neighbourhood change and densification, population growth, urban sprawl, development and investment and higher density living. Identifying these metaphors is important as elements of language such as metaphors and analogies are not only "ideologically significant," but their selective and deliberate deployment lets them do "ideological work" for the people that use them (Hastings, 1998, p. 196). Similarly, metaphors are important because "ways of seeing and understanding the city inevitably inform ways of acting on the space of the city, with consequences which then in turn produce a modified city which is again seen, understood and acted on in this way" (Donald, 1999, p. 27). Donald (1999) argues that cities are full of symbolic constructs that have material consequences that are then manifested in an enduring reality. Using the example of rapidly growing and industrialising cities in early nineteenth century Britain, Donald (1999) argues that this change necessitated new ways of understanding the city. Donald (1999) posits that urban critics tried to understand the city in familiar terms and so drew on the metaphor of the city as an organism and a *natural* system anchored in ideas about the human body. This metaphorical rendering of the city then allowed for actions designed to improve the health of the city or the social body.

A social representation is understood as the collective elaboration ''of a social object by the community for the purpose of behaving and communicating'' (Moscovici, 1963, p. 251). Individuals co-construct these social representations in conversation and action and provide the frame of description within which the relationship between objects and subjects is defined. When a social group is confronted with a novel phenomenon such as urban consolidation they must engage in symbolic coping. The group must anchor new concepts or name and attribute characteristics to a novel phenomenon to talk about it and react to it. The group can also objectify phenomenon. This is a mechanism by which socially represented knowledge attains a specific, tangible form. It means to construct an icon, metaphor or trope which comes to stand for the new phenomenon or idea. It has an image structure that visibly reproduces a complex of ideas (Moscovici, 1984). Once a social representation has been accepted by members in a group it becomes a means for understanding and communicating about the world and therefor becomes part of the co-constructed reality.

Figure 14 illustrates the process of social representation as expressed by metaphorical objectification in the newspaper corpus.

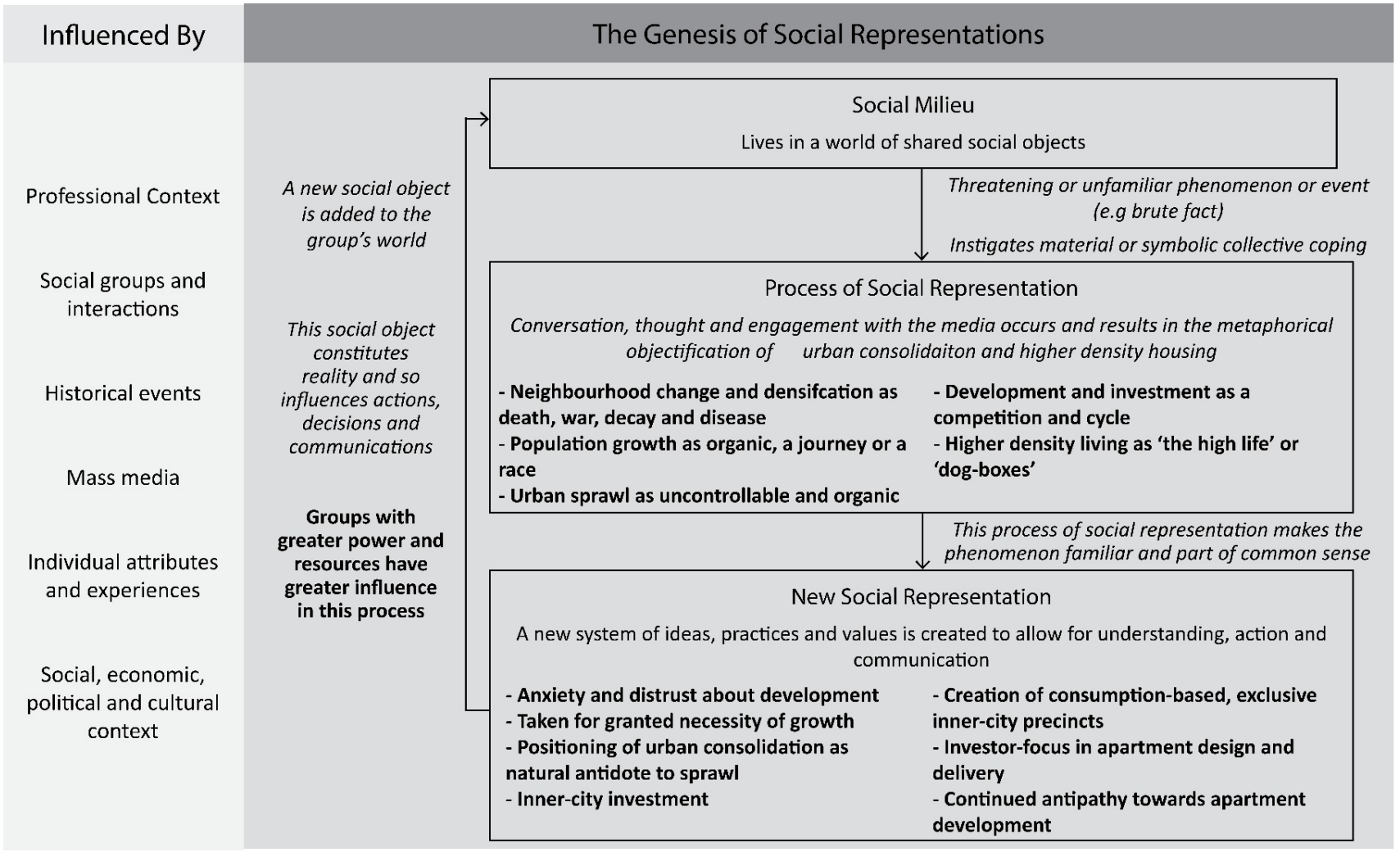


Figure 14: Theoretical framework applied to SMA

Figure 14 illustrates this theses' theoretical framework applied to the findings of the SMA. As depicted, the metaphorical objectification applied throughout the media corpus is illustrative of taken for granted notions circulating in society and so has the power to influence ideas, values and practices related to urban consolidation. In particular, these metaphors can incite feelings of anxiety and distrust surrounding development as community members respond to socially-mediated symbolic threats.

The metaphors pertaining to neighbourhood change and densification, drawing heavily upon war and crisis imagery, serve to create a sense of drama and promote simplified notions of victims and villains in neighbourhood planning debates. This antagonistic framing of neighbourhood planning and development application processes is partially a function of newspaper reporting strategies that tend to focus on conflict to garner attention (Skorkjær Binderkrantz & Green-Pedersen, 2009). It also reveals a strong 'us versus them' mentality in the way the media frames new development. Even articles promoting urban consolidation and higher density housing draw a distinction between the resident groups, advocating a future in which Brisbane has room for "both the gregarious high risers and the traditional bungalow dwellers." This characterisation is at odds with a study by Randolph and Tice (2013) that found a great diversity of 'typical' apartment dwellers ranging from DINKS (Double Income No Kids) and SINKS (Single Income No Kids) to low-income families, students, empty nesters and the apartment elite. Randolph and Tice (2013) argue that planning documents reveal little evidence that planners are aware of the likely occupants of higher density areas. This lack of consideration of the individuals who will chose to live in higher density housing is apparent both in planning documents and in the newspaper media. While this can be partially explained by the predominantly investor-focused nature of this housing form, it is also perpetuated by newspaper articles that rarely include narratives from apartment dwellers and the difficulties surrounding reflecting the needs of future populations. In this way, the media is reflecting a lack of power by under or mis-representing certain groups of people. This, according to Tuchman (1972), is a form of 'symbolic annihilation.'

The consistently negative representation of density was further reflected in government references to 'no-go zones' and 'council safeguards' and attempts to preserve the values of existing low-density neighbourhoods. This use of terminology indicates a strategy of 'protecting' suburbs from development by concentrating it in nodes. In fact, media releases associated with the Brisbane City Plan 2014 touted its ability to concentrate density in just 7% of the local government area (Brisbane City Council, 2014b). Statements like this serve to

position density as a dangerous but necessary evil that will (hopefully) happen to someone else. Such a strategy does little to promote the benefits of densification and further engenders a sense of division between traditional neighbourhoods and unfamiliar growth nodes. This focus on mediating between a 'need' for higher densities and a desire to 'protect' local communities can be interpreted as a rhetorical strategy employed by the government to achieve development growth while appearing to protect the interests of existing neighbourhoods.

The application of disease and destruction metaphors to neighbourhood change is a powerful literary device. Fairclough (1989, p. 120) argues that "the ideological significance of disease metaphors is that they tend to take dominant interests to be the interests of society as a whole, and construe expressions of non-dominant interests as undermining society *per se."* This strategy was noted in St Louis, where inner-city neighbourhoods were described as diseased, dying or tired in order to legitimise the urban renewal of these decaying areas (Wilson & Mueller, 2004). This is in line with much literature that has argued that the media is engaged in supporting and boosting development in city affairs (Brown-Saracino & Rumpf, 2011). In contrast, the Brisbane media, particularly the local newspapers, often constructs narratives that are deeply critical of neighbourhood change. Newspaper articles articulated a specific and potent image of 'traditional neighbourhoods' imbued with nostalgia and a strong objectification of 'uniquely Brisbane suburbs.' Huxley (2002) argues that this construction of 'the suburbs' can be interpreted as the ability of powerful resident groups to defend specific hierarchies and valuations of urban areas. By emphasising the plight of 'endangered suburbs' the metaphors paint a picture of changing and deteriorating neighbourhoods and serves to reinforce taken for granted assumptions about 'traditional' neighbourhoods and their associated way of life and values.

These literary mechanisms begin to highlight a social representation of neighbourhood change and densification as a threatening phenomenon. As a process of creating familiarity, the process of social representation anchors and objectifies urban consolidation in familiar notions of war, conflict, victims, villains, death, disease and decay. Much research has suggested that, when people consider a threatening phenomenon like neighbourhood change or densification, they draw upon emotive symbols and metaphors that are shared in their social groups rather than just processing 'hard facts' (Joffe, 2003). This imagery is drawn upon by people in similar milieu and becomes the terms of reference for discussing and decoding urban development. Rather than interpreting this process as an act of NIMBYism (Not In My Back Yard), social representation theory proposes that it occurs as a function of

symbolic coping and should be considered as entities that contain the eccentric contents of people's repositories of knowledge (Michael 1996). The emotive, symbol-laden response to urban planning issues is legitimate and highly influential in motivating action and evaluation. These negative metaphors can therefore be considered "elaborations for social groups serving to maintain the stability of their particular life-world" (Wagner et al 2000, p304).

The media portrayal of population and development growth reflects results reported in several studies from North America. Specifically, the metaphorical anchoring of growth in the notion of the 'organic' city has been noted in Indianapolis as a rhetorical tool to construct growth as inevitable (Wilson, 1996). Similarly, representing city growth as part of a journey, race or evolution further serves to naturalise the idea of growth as a positive and inevitable aspect of successful cities. This pro-growth discourse has often been noted in the literature (Bunce, 2004; Wilson, 1996). In Australia, it has often been promoted by industry lobbyists concerned with expanding the Urban Growth Boundary, increasing land supply and reducing development regulations to increase housing affordability (Gurran & Phibbs, 2015; Gurran & Ruming, 2015). These groups suggest that overly restrictive planning regulations are constricting land and housing supply.

Metaphorical objectification is evident in the construction of developers as athletes needing to clear 'planning hurdles,' comments about 'red tape' and references to "the 'not in my backyard syndrome, which is a very strong political barrier to higher density living in the inner city" (Robyn, 2012). Barriers, hurdles and red tape all promote imagery of unnecessary obstructions to a legitimate process or struggle that would proceed better without interference. This naturalisation of development as a process that should not be constrained by barriers is part of the neoliberal perspective that "public agencies should be organized and managed in accordance with the same logic of competition and economic efficiency as private companies" (Sager, 2014, p. 271). This negative representation of planning is in line with scholars that have noted declining levels of trust in the planning profession (Clifford, 2006)and an increasingly disempowered role for planners (Steele, 2007).

Population growth is also depicted as a negative and threatening phenomenon. Particularly in the lead up to the Growth Summit in 2010, the topic attracted considerable attention in the media. SEQ is often objectified as an entity that can 'fill up,' 'burst at the seams,' 'swell' and feel 'growing pains.' This literary construction adds an element of drama to population growth and legitimises strong governmental action. In commenting on the discourses surrounding population growth in the federal election of 2010, Jacobs (2013) argues that discourses sought to alleviate anxiety by communicating that Australia is being

'managed' by politicians in a professional and technocratic way. This discourse was similarly reflected in metaphors in Brisbane newspaper media that discussed regional planning for SEQ. Indeed, Chapter Seven indicated an entire 'word cluster' devoted to managing the population 'problem.' A sense of collective purpose was instilled through references to "saving the Queensland lifestyle."'

The most common strategy applied by urban consolidation advocates is to juxtaposition it with urban sprawl. By referencing urban sprawl and the rich seam of imagery, associations, narratives and tropes it conjures, commentators create a code for discussing compact city policies. Urban consolidation is naturalised as the only logical solution to detrimental suburban expansion. Between the urban consolidation policy hegemony and the much-maligned spectre of decades of sprawl, there is little capacity to discuss alternative visions of urban development. Despite the complexity and context-dependent nature of sustainable development patterns, this false dichotomy serves to simplify the urban form debate and create an understandable comparison.

A similar phenomenon has been identified in Canada (Bunce, 2004; Desfor et al., 2006). Desfor et al. (2006) argue that two distinct and oppositional regimes appear to be at work in Toronto – an urban version and an exurban version. They argue that these discourses are overly simplified and growth politics and planning has been complicated by shifts in central city development politics and a politicisation of sprawl at the city periphery. Such a deterministic view of density is predicated on a simplistic assumption that the mere physical design of a community can impact human behaviours sufficiently to lead to the creation of a sustainable community (Neuman, 2005a). While there is substantial opportunity for higher densities to deliver better urban forms, condensing the debate from a 'densification is good and suburban expansion is bad' dichotomy is a simplification that silences other aspects of urban form and sustainability. It serves as a "greenwashing" (Kern, 2007) mechanism that helps to avoid explicit interrogation of the environmental, social and economic benefits of various forms of consolidation. It serves as a justification for inner-city development without consideration of other attributes of sustainability.

The term 'sustainability' is a nebulous and politically-charged concept that has been simplistically portrayed in the media and in policy documents. As Gunder (2006, p. 209) argues, the term is often deployed selectively by planners, politicians and developers "as a materialisation of dominant institutional ideologies supportive of growth and capital accumulation that maintains the existing status quo." In the current context, the term sustainability is applied to urban consolidation efforts to increase the legitimacy of this urban

policy. However, this focus on density as a defining feature of sustainability serves to silence alternative visions of sustainable development and negate other strategies for changing human behaviour. “Sustainability is both an honourable goal for carefully defined purposes and a camouflaged trap for the well-intentioned unwary… The acceptance of sustainability has led to the desire to use such a universally acceptable goal as a slogan also in campaigns that have nothing to do with the environment but where the lure of universal acceptance is a powerful attraction . . . “sustainability” [here becomes] a trap.” (Marcuse, 1998, p. 104).

The common sense representation of housing as an investment opportunity and product is so entrenched that it inspires no contestation in the media. While it is uncontroversial to suggest that developers are seeking to maximise profits and minimise risks, the fact that a substantial portion of the media is devoted to portraying property price growth as a positive phenomenon is indicative of the narratives that are privileged in the media. Much media reporting of the property market is divorced from the perspectives and needs of the end-users that will reside in the properties that are developed and instead focuses on cycles, booms, surges and hot spots. This is part of the commodification process identified within housing that alters perceptions and value functions, with exchange values increasingly displacing previous principles of utility value (Hamilton, 1999). Rather than considering housing as a process that facilitates human dwelling, housing is increasingly viewed as the physical aggregate of commodified dwelling structures (Ronald, 2008).

Further, property is part of a globalised investment process, with housing increasingly perceived and metaphorically objectified as a tradeable asset subject to international competition. Articles expound that “Brisbane is a clear *winner* for international investors.” Developers, noticing that “investors are currently the *leading players* in the market,” have focused on delivering one and two bedroom units at a low price-point and with little focus on the lived experience of the end users. This focus on apartments as an investment rather than a home has had substantial influence on the design and composition of apartments in the market. Developers refer to this as ‘investment-grade stock,’ a designation that has substantially impacted the quality of units in Brisbane and Melbourne (Birrell & Healy, 2013).

The metaphors pertaining to apartment living reflect a focus on the luxury conception of inner-city living identified by Costello (2005), Langlois (2012) and Fullagar et al. (2013). Numerous references to ‘the CBD lifestyle,’ ‘the inner-city lifestyle’ or ‘living the high life’ are indicative of the shorthand mental and social constructs that allow people to understand certain places and housing types. Without explicitly noting elements of the inner-city lifestyle it allows readers to conjure up images of cafes, bars, theatres, walkable neighbourhoods and

boutique shops. This is indicative of an increasing tendency for cities to place emphasis on the creation of leaisurescapes (such as bars, restaurants, galleries and promenades) as part of city branding and reimagining (Fullagar et al., 2013). Higher density living becomes imbued with the possibility of liveability, autonomy, leisure, proximity, excitement and 'the high life.'

Metaphors linking densification and gentrification processes to images of face-lifts, rejuvenation, and efforts to revitalise tired suburbs are common in the newspaper corpus. Multiple studies have noted the use of disease and decay metaphors to justify investment in inner city locations and legitimise the 'sanitation' of existing, lower-income households (Lees & Demeritt, 1998; Wilson & Grammenos, 2005). Based on a study of Vancouver, Lees and Demeritt (1998) argue that this appeal to images of urban dysfunction and decay is a discursive strategy employed by proponents of gentrification and urban densification to advance programs for revitalisation. The imagery of death and decay is far less common in the Brisbane media, partially as a reflection of different urban contexts. Rather than referring to 'dying' inner-city suburbs, these suburbs are merely 'ho-hum,' 'tired' or 'old.' The implication of these metaphors is that increased investment will reinvigorate areas of lower value. However, this imagery comes at the exclusion of certain social groups such as families with children, lower socio-economic groups and the elderly. While wealthy and globally-mobile households may enjoy and benefit from the creation of vibrant, high-density developments, many other households lack the affluence required to access this good life. The quest for global economic competitiveness may have social impacts that are not mitigated, or are even exacerbated by urban consolidation (Gunder, 2006). This discursive mechanism silences discussion of displacement of previous land uses and naturalises the notion that 'new is better.'

This construction of luxury higher density living is challenged by other metaphors and images. The media maintains an image of apartments as a sub-standard housing type described as 'dog boxes' and 'chicken coops.' This objectification of small apartments in the city constitutes powerful imagery that serves to delegitimise this housing form as a home for 'real people.' Just as Birdsall-Jones (2013) noted the use of the imagery of 'the Bronx' to stigmatise areas with high proportions of public housing in Australia, the use of 'dog boxes' or 'shoe boxes' creates a shared icon for unappealing apartments. While this objectification may be an apt description of the cramped studio apartments often delivered in inner-city Brisbane, it also provides a cognitive short-hand for describing all such apartments. The frequency of use of the term throughout newspaper articles and common parlance is indicative of the taken for granted nature of this metaphorical objectification.

8.5 *Conclusion*

This chapter provided an in-depth analysis of the metaphorical anchoring and objectification apparent in Brisbane newspaper articles pertaining to urban consolidation and higher density housing. It examined the use of metaphors in 440 newspaper articles published between 2007 and 2014 and grouped them into 5 topics including; neighbourhood change and densification, population growth, urban sprawl, development and investment and higher density living. These topics revealed powerful social representations communicated in the media. These social representations serve to provide a code for discussing novel phenomena and set the boundaries for possible actions.

The media portrayed densification as threatening to established residents. The media drew heavily upon war, death and disease metaphors and depicted a stark 'us' versus 'them' dichotomy between traditional neighbours and future, higher density residents. The potential inhabitants of new developments are rarely referenced and are often portrayed as faceless, unappealing additions to a neighbourhood with values and attributes at odds with existing residents. Similarly, government references to 'no-go zones' and 'council safeguards' indicate a strategy of 'protecting' suburbs from development by concentrating it in nodes. This government rhetoric challenge as it does little to promote the benefits of densification and further engenders a sense of division between traditional neighbourhoods and unfamiliar growth nodes.

Newspapers communicated a vision of population growth as inevitable and challenging but potentially manageable given technocratic stewardship from the government. Metaphors referring to the organic city, a journey or a race were particularly common in naturalising the pursuit of growth. The media used metaphors like 'red tape' and 'hurdles' to describe planning regulation, serving to denigrate planning as an unnecessary hindrance that should get out of the way of the free market. Urban sprawl was almost unanimously touted as a villain, challenging the Queensland way of life. Urban consolidation was promoted as the natural strategy to combat detrimental suburban expansion. This juxtapositioning between uncontrollable, dangerous and volatile sprawl and urban consolidation serves as a justification for consolidation and helps to deflect attention from the environmental credentials of higher density development.

Metaphors surrounding property markets and investment naturalised the idea of housing as a commodity and asset rather than a home and perpetuated a view of investment

as a game or competition. This is part of the commodification process identified within housing that alters perceptions and value functions, with exchange values increasingly displacing previous principles of utility value (Hamilton, 1999). Further, property is part of a globalised investment process, with housing increasingly perceived and metaphorically objectified as a tradeable asset subject to international competition. This focus on apartments as an investment rather than a home has had substantial influence on the design and composition of apartments in the market. Finally, apartments received contradictory metaphorical treatment in the news media, being portrayed as sub-standard and inhuman housing options or life-style focused products aimed at those seeking convenience and a high return on investment. These depictions promote a certain type of apartment dweller; either poor tenants or transient population or wealthy households. There is little room for families in this conceptualisation of higher density housing. Urban renewal was depicted as a 'face lift for 'tired suburbs,' effectively silencing current inhabitants and justifying inner-city development.

This chapter illustrated the power of metaphorical anchoring and objectification to communicate and enforce particular social representations. It is the second of three findings chapters. Chapter Seven and Eight recount the findings from the media analysis conducted in this thesis. Together these chapters constitute the analysis of formal communication about urban consolidation in Brisbane and serve to provide context for the individual Q-sorts and interviews discussed in Chapter Nine. Chapter Nine contrasts and extends the findings communicated in Chapter Seven and Eight by focusing on the social representations expressed by groups of individuals. In this way, the thesis reflects much research undertaken using the framework of SRT, by examining both formal and informal modes of communication.

Chapter Nine: Social Representations Expressed by Stakeholders: Identifying Social Representations using Q-Methodology

Much of the content in this chapter has been peer reviewed in the below publication;

Raynor, K., Mayere, S., & Matthews, T. (2017). "Do city shapers really support urban consolidation The case of Brisbane, Australia." *Urban Studies.* 10.1177/0042098016688420

9.1 *Introduction*

The purpose of this chapter is to critically analyse the results of the Q-study conducted in this thesis. The Q-study required participants to sort 50 statements pertaining to the process, outcomes and planning of urban consolidation and housing consumption in Brisbane. These Q-sorts were statistically analysed to reveal five factors. These Factors, named *Free market apartment advocates, Community group advocates, Greenfield advocates, The cynics* and *The happy homeowners* constitute five key social representations communicated by planners, developers, residents, peak organisations, architects and local politicians in Brisbane. While it is not the intention of the chapter to provide a comprehensive illustration of all social representations circulating in Brisbane, it is intended to identify a sample of common sense knowledge pertaining to urban consolidation. This chapter critically analyses the implications of the different taken for granted assumptions implicit in these social representations, commenting on the competing knowledge claims applied by different factors. In particular, the chapter analyses the divergent perspectives on higher density housing, ideas of 'good' urban form and regulation and community consultation.

The Q-study revealed that most respondents believe that attitudes towards higher density housing are shifting and that this housing form is increasingly acceptable in Brisbane. However, the social representation surrounding this dwelling type is still largely associated

with childless households or investors. The Q-study also highlighted significant contestation surrounding the environmental merit and consumer demand for different urban forms. The notion that densification can reduce carbon footprints and improve public transport usage is extremely divisive. Q-sorts and interviews revealed a pervasive neoliberal support for de-regulation and market-lead development. While many developers and peak organisations suggested further streamlining would improve the efficiency of planning and development processes, there was a strong belief from many planners that planning is already designed to facilitate and support development.

Chapter Nine constitutes the final findings chapter for this thesis. It begins with a justification of the statistical decisions employed in the research. It then provides a qualitative discussion of these results to outline the social representations revealed in the sorting processes of participants. Chapter Nine complements and extends the media analysis discussed in Chapter Seven and Eight. While these chapters focused on the ideas circulating in society as expressed in the mass media, this chapter is concerned with the individual perspectives communicated by planners, developers, residents, architects, peak organisations and local politicians in Brisbane. Collating both media and interview data is a common element of SRT research and is promoted as a way to achieve a broad spectrum of different perspectives (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999).

9.2 *Statistical Justification*

As outlined in Chapter Five, Q-methodology is a hybrid qual-quant research method that applies an inverted factor analysis to cluster individuals who have sorted their Q-statements in a similar pattern (Watts and Stenner 2012). Unlike a traditional factor analysis, which serves to create factors based on clusters of commonly co-occurring attributes, Q-methodology is designed to allow individual's responses to remain 'whole.' Instead, Q-methodology groups similar individuals with shared viewpoints or social representations. This involves a statistical analysis undertaken in the bespoke Q-methodology software called PQ Method. (See Chapter Five for a more in-depth explanation of this process).

The statistical analysis of the 46 Q-sorts resulted in the identification of five key factors or clusters of individuals who sorted their statements in similar patterns. Within Q-methodology, the number of factors to retain for rotation is open to researcher discretion. A common technique used to make this decision is a graphical technique called the scree test (Cattell, 1966). Here eigenvalues are plotted on a simple line graph and the number of

factors is defined based on the point where the smooth decrease of eigenvalues levels off. Based on the scree test shown in Figure 15, the five-factor solution was deemed most appropriate. To further verify the decision, four-factor and five-factor solutions were both applied to the data. The five-factor solution was chosen as it also presented the 'best fit' in terms of creating interpretable results that were recognizable based on interview transcripts from the Q-sort process.

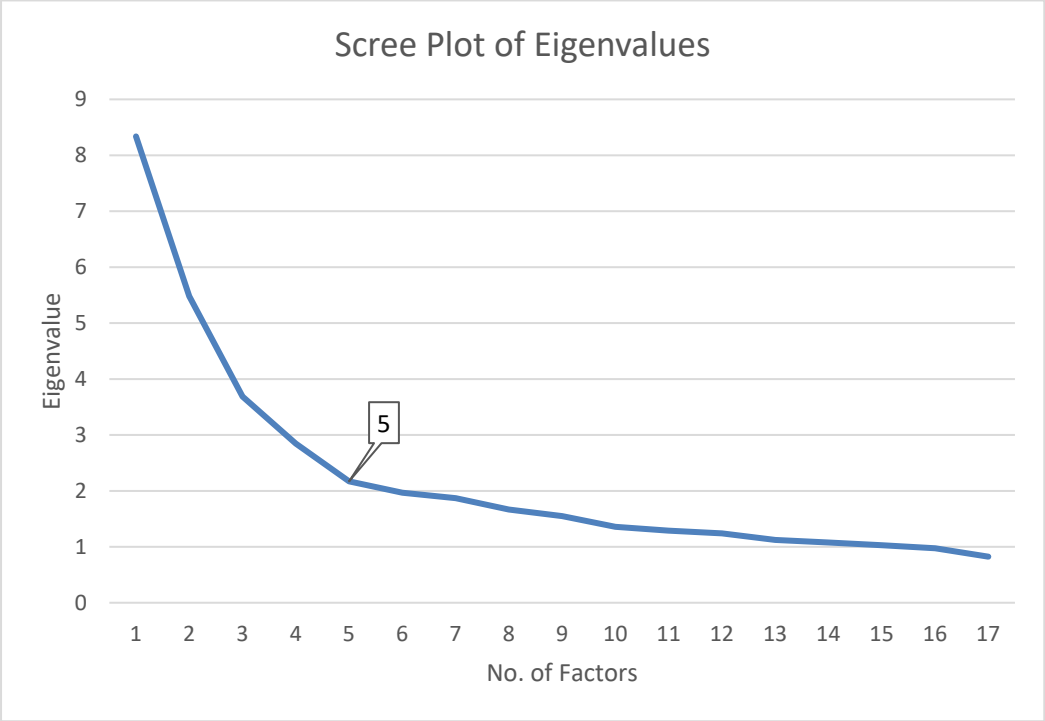


Figure 15: Scree plot of eigenvalues

The five-factor solution resulted in 41 participants loading significantly on one factor and five that loaded on more than one factor. These five Q-sorts were omitted from the final factor rotation. Factor loadings are correlation coefficients representing the degree to which a Q sort correlates with a factor. Deciding on factor loading is subject to researcher discretion in Q-methodology and is often based on theoretical appropriateness. However, Brown (1980) recommends applying the below equation, based on standard errors at the 0.01 level to define a significant factor loading,

Significant Factor loading = 2.58 x (√number of items in Q set)

Significant Factor loading = 0.3804002

Therefore, all Q-sorts with a 0.3804 loading or higher are deemed to correlate with a factor to a significant degree in this study. Researcher discretion applies when a single Q-sort

significantly loads on more than one factor. In this case, if one factor is significantly more representative than the other then the representative factor is chosen. Table 15 illustrates this information and indicates the groupings of respondents in each factor.

It is not the intention of this study, or Q-method studies generally, to establish results that are generalisable to the wider community. This does not mean that results have no wider implication nor that generalisation is entirely precluded. Rather than aiming to generalise findings to a wider population, the generalisation focuses on concepts or categories and theoretical propositions (Watts & Stenner, 2012). The ability to generalise narratives and concepts is based on notion of 'finite diversity' and the assumption that, as narratives, images and ideas are socially mediated, there will be some overlap in social representations throughout a community (Barry and Proops, 1999). Nevertheless, the results of a Q-study should be seen as representative of discourses that could be found amongst this research's participants and not as generalisable to a wider public. Q-methodology is less concerned with the ability to generalise the findings from the analysis and uses smaller, well-selected samples to analyse variability within cases (Rohrbauch, 1997). In addition, it is a useful technique for identifying minority perspectives that may be lost in different survey designs (Watts & Stenner, 2012). Therefore, the following analysis attempts to elucidate the social representations of planners, developers, residents, architects and local councillors, many of whom have limited power to impact urban policy or shape media representations of urban consolidation but are none-the-less impacted by this urban policy.

9.3 *Five Social Representations of Urban Consolidation*

As elaborated in Chapter Five, a Q-study requires respondents to rank several statements from most agree to least agree whilst explaining their decisions in a recorded interview. Based on this information, the respondents are statistically clustered into factors based on the way they sorted their Q-statements. These factors can be considered social representations as they constitute a "structured, multi-dimensional portrayal of the subject area – that is, a whole set of statements related to one another as a theory-like construct" (Wagner & Hayes, 2005, p. 120). Similarly, Q-methodology is predicated on the goal of identifying 'gestalt' viewpoints or perspectives based on relative attitudes and evaluations of a wide range of statements (Watts & Stenner, 2012). Like a social representation, these statements combine to create a theory-like impression of a phenomenon. The following section describes and critically analyses these factors. Table 14 illustrates the levels of

similarity between different factors. As illustrated, *Free market apartment advocates*, *The cynics* and *The happy homeowners* demonstrate moderate levels of similarity (shown in bold). In contrast, *community group advocates* and *Greenfield advocates* are substantially different from each other and the other factors (shown in italics).

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Factor 1	1.000	-0.0890	-0.1284	**0.3537**	**0.3186**
Factor 2	-0.0890	1.000	*0.0138*	0.1897	*-0.0104*
Factor 3	-0.1284	*0.0138*	1.000	0.0937	-0.0943
Factor 4	**0.3537**	0.1897	0.0937	1.000	0.1969
Factor 5	**0.3186**	*-0.0104*	-0.0943	0.1969	1.000

Table 14: Similarities between different factors

The below table presents the 50 statements respondents were asked to sort from most agree to least agree and the way each factor ranked them. A +4 response equates to most agree, -4 response equates to least agree and a 0 denotes a neutral response.

	Statement	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
1	What drives me insane is that we have all these plans and strategies and most of the time they are completely ignored. What's the point of a neighbourhood plan if it doesn't get enforced?	-1	3	2	1	-2
2	The issue with planning in Brisbane is that development is considered in election cycles, there isn't enough foresight to deliver successful higher density	1	0	2	4	-2
3	If we increase high density living then we can lower our carbon footprints and we can invest in better public transport - it's better for the environment	3	1	-3	1	2
4	The problem with living in apartments is that you can't have any individuality, everything has to conform. Body corporate rules can get ridiculous	-2	1	2	-2	2
5	Residents are having high density foisted upon them without consultation or the ability to have a say in how their neighbourhoods develop	-3	3	1	0	-1
6	Apartments are only suitable for investors and the young, trendy inner-city cafe crowd	-4	0	2	-4	-4
7	I like that everyone in my neighbourhood is relatively like-minded. We all have similar values and lifestyles	-3	-2	2	-1	0
8	I think people get used to the noises of living in units, it's like living next to a train track, you stop noticing it	1	0	-1	2	4

9	People living in densifying areas should be rubbing their hands together, not complaining. All they have to do is sell their property to the right person and they'll clean up	0	-4	0	-2	-1
10	It's stupid to underdevelop an inner-city site as permissable building heights are always going to increase and you'll miss potential profit	0	-3	-1	0	-3
11	Densification has a place in housing provision but it isn't enough to meet all our needs. It has to be supplemented by greenfield development. That's where all the demand is	0	0	4	1	1
12	I understand that planning policy is aiming for high levels of infill housing but I don't think that is what is actually occurring on the ground- it's a great ideology but it isn't reality	-1	-1	2	-1	-1
13	As much as Gen Y is all about convenience, I think once they start to pair up and have kids they'll still want to move to the suburbs with some grass under their feet	1	-1	4	3	1
14	Brisbane should be making much more use of things like infill and subdivision of people's large back gardens to create opportunities for new dwellings	4	0	3	-2	-4
15	There is a pretty antagonistic relationship between planners and developers these days - planners often see their role as delaying and reducing development	-2	-3	3	-2	-1
16	I think Brisbane has failed to supply sufficient infrastructure to support increased population and densities	2	1	-1	0	-2
17	Developers need the flexibility to develop something economically feasible even if it doesn't completely conform with the plan.	3	-4	1	1	-2
18	We need NIMBYs that are passionate and care because you need someone fighting for balance. Leave it to capitalism and we might oversteer	-1	4	0	1	0
19	There is huge demand for housing, we can't build it fast enough. But developers still seem to need to bash their head against a wall to get the community and council on board	0	-3	3	-2	-2
20	I think there is a cultural change taking place in our attitudes towards apartments. In the 90s we thought they were pigeon holes that belonged in Hong Kong	4	1	-1	2	3
21	I'm happy to live in a single room with a kitchenette so long as it's in my price range and close to the city.	0	-1	-4	0	-3
22	I don't really need to buy a house. If I never saw anything I liked, or could afford, I'd be happy to rent	-2	-3	-3	2	-4
23	SEQ is already over-crowded, we could solve all our traffic and housing affordability issues by just slowing population growth	-4	1	-3	-3	0

24	There's no need to go building more and more and more suburbs further and further out, it's just ridiculous really. They are taking up good farming land and natural habitats	1	2	-3	-3	1
25	The best thing about apartments is the convenience - easy access and easy maintenance	2	0	1	2	3
26	It's tragic to see Brisbane losing its tin and timber character as developers carve up our suburbs and build out-of-place apartment buildings	-2	2	1	-2	0
27	The real issue of allowing one high density development to occur in a suburb is that it sets a precedent and leaves the floodgates open for future development	-4	2	1	3	-1
28	We concentrate too much on local communities in development decisions, what about people who want to move there in the future? Or the people who use the neighbourhood but don't live there?	0	-4	-2	-3	-1
29	The increasing take-up of medium density development close to the inner city and built up areas would suggest that there is a market for it, otherwise developers would stop building it	4	0	0	3	2
30	We let developers get away with designing cheap and dodgy buildings so they keep building them like that	0	4	0	1	-3
31	While most people would prefer their neighbourhoods to remain low-density, I think most people realise that isn't possible given our growing population	1	-2	-1	0	3
32	Increasing housing supply through infill development will increase affordability. We desperately need more housing to stop the housing and rental crisis	3	-2	-1	-1	1
33	We only want large backyards because that was what we grew up with, unlike in European cities where they're used to higher density living. People just don't like change	-1	-1	-2	1	4
34	Apartment blocks will become the ghettos of the future as residents who don't care about their upkeep move in	-3	2	0	-4	-3
35	I think people get very upset about developments in their area but once they are built they kind of forget about it and things go back to normal	2	-2	-1	1	2
36	If you're going to have high rise you must have green space or else we're going to have a lot of very psychotic people	2	1	0	4	3
37	Part of the issue is greed - developers are just out to maximise yields so they slap on the highest building they can get approved and don't consider anything else	-1	4	-1	0	-1
38	Affluent suburbs are lucky because they have far more power to protect themselves from high rise development	-1	3	0	2	-2

39	I don't think people have a problem with density. I think they have a problem with bad design of density.	2	2	-2	3	0
40	There are very severe constraints on the amount of land available for greenfield development and that's what makes housing unaffordable	-2	-2	4	-1	2
41	It's only fair for people to fight to maintain their quality of life and property values, even if it comes at the expense of others	-2	1	1	2	1
42	It's common to have a much better sense of community in a vertical community (aka apartment) than in the suburbs	-3	0	-2	-3	0
43	A lot of people get lured into chasing the dream of the big house and garden and end up enslaved to a bank. Better to live somewhere smaller and save your money for the things you love	1	2	-2	0	0
44	As our population grows the poor people are going to get pushed further and further from the city centre.	3	3	1	-1	1
45	Bringing up kids in higher density is actually easier because you have better access to high quality parks and other facilities.	1	-1	-4	-4	0
46	Brisbane's CBD isn't high enough. The higher we go, the more walkable our cities will become and it'll be easier to get around because public transport will be better	0	-1	-4	-1	1
47	I think Brisbane is really well planned. The areas of higher density are supported by facilities and easy access to transport so they can easily support more people	2	-2	-2	-1	2
48	For me, apartments are a stepping stone. They suit certain points in your life but mostly they just help you work your way up to a detached house.	-1	-1	3	-1	1
49	The community consultation process is really a game. Community groups, politicians and developers are just playing off each other to negotiate the best results for themselves	-1	1	1	4	-1
50	Brisbane is way ahead of Sydney and Melbourne as it actually has the opportunity to have a plan because it isn't big enough yet to be constrained.	1	-1	0	-1	4

Table 15: Ranking of statements by factor

As elaborated in Chapter Four, SRT posits that different social milieu draw upon different images, narratives and understandings when comprehending a phenomenon. Conflict is partially triggered by the contrasting taken for granted assumptions and tropes employed by different social milieu. This chapter's theoretical and empirical contribution lies in the identification of the contents of these social representations. The Q-study revealed

significant clustering of individuals with similar professional backgrounds or demographic traits. For example, Factor Two, *The Community group advocates*, features a concentration of residents with a significant involvement in community opposition groups. Similarly, Factor Three, *Greenfield advocates*, is predominantly comprised of developers engaged in developing greenfield sites or delivering smaller projects featuring detached housing. However, this clustering was not consistent across the Q-study. As Table 15 illustrates, factors often contain a coalition of respondents and feature residents, developers and planners in the same factor. This finding represents a key benefit of Q-methodology as it allows for the identification of unexpected coalitions rather than focusing on a priori groupings based on demographics, locations or professional backgrounds (Rajé, 2007).

The following section describes and analyses the social representations embedded in the Q-sorts performed by participants. Each factor represents an indicative social representation for the respondents that loaded on that factor. It also includes bipolar responses. As discussed in Chapter Five, some respondents reflect a directly opposed perspective to a factor. This has occurred in *Free market apartment advocates*, *Community group advocates* and *Greenfield advocates* and will be discussed in the following section.

9.3.1 Factor One – Free Market Apartment Advocates

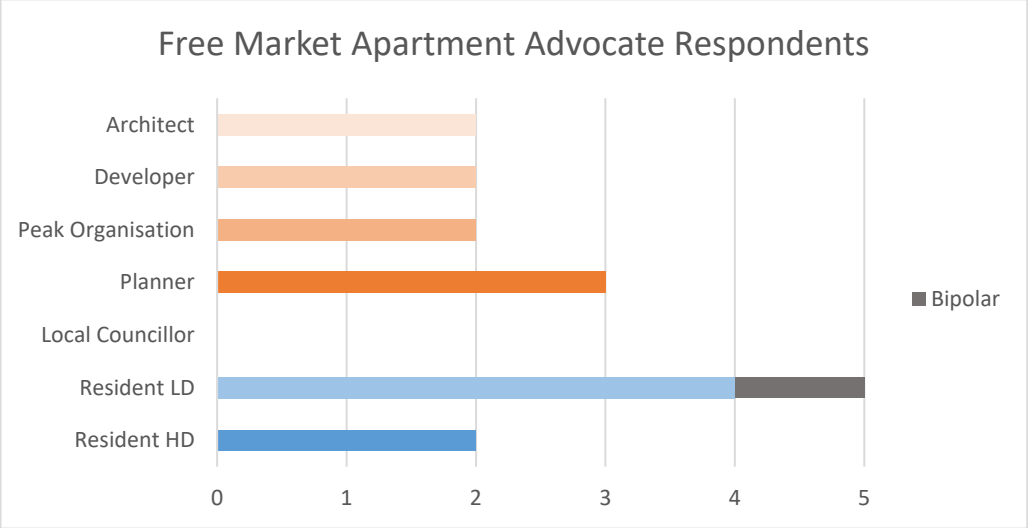


Figure 16: Factor One respondents

Free market apartment advocates is the most populous factor and is comprised of two architects, three planners, two peak organisations, two developers, two high density residents and four low density residents. It is also a bipolar factor for a low density resident. Residents in this factor tend to be highly educated and have little interaction with community consultation or development processes.

Housing

Factor One: Free market apartment advocates uphold a relatively positive social representation of higher density dwellings. Respondents argue that there is a cultural change taking place in the way people view apartments. They acknowledge the convenience of apartments and refute the notion that apartments are only appropriate for investors and trendy, young households. The social representation is also indicative of a substantial focus on facilitating growth and supporting private sector-lead development in Brisbane. Respondents acknowledge a growing demand for apartments and higher density housing more generally. Within this social representation, higher density housing is an almost inevitable function of market forces and changing demographic and lifestyle factors. One respondent, reflecting on whether attitudes towards apartments were changing stated the following;

> *"I think the attitudes are changing in the younger generations and the people who will never give up their convenience... I think there are a lot of people who live in apartments because that is what they can afford and where they want to live, not because they are apartments per se." – Developer 1*

Similarly, a planner commented on changing housing expectations and demographic composition, predicting future changes in housing desires. He argues;

> *"It is a cultural thing. It is purely mental. We are not used to that sort of thing but we are already seeing that stuff evolve as more migrants come in and generations of people who are more used to that kind of thing. I think you will find people who grew up in apartments are more likely to stay in apartments." – Private Planner 1*

Urban Form

The *Free market apartment advocates* factor is reflective of the dominant discourses apparent in policy documents such as the *SEQ Regional Plan 2009* and *Brisbane City Plan 2014*. They advocate the advantages of urban consolidation, both as a method for containing urban sprawl and as a way of delivering diverse housing options. Respondents in this factor support many of the key tenets of urban consolidation, supporting the idea that higher density housing is better for the environment and arguing that continued expansion at the city periphery is threatening important farming land and natural habitats. Similarly, they support increased infill development and acknowledge its ability to increase housing affordability in Brisbane. As one respondent argued:

> *"I don't actually agree with greenfield. The reason greenfield is peddled is because they say is it more affordable. But if you do a proper cost benefit analysis the time you lose and the actual cost of having a second car and the cost of transit, you are probably better off closer in." – Government Planner 1*

Regulation and Consultation

More than any other factor, the *Free market apartment advocates* believe developers should have the flexibility to build something economically viable even if it doesn't completely conform with the plan. This factor places great emphasis on the ability of the market to mediate demand and supply of housing and supports an economic feasibility argument to justify departures from a neighbourhood plan. Planners, developers and residents alike acknowledge neoliberal concepts of demand and supply and market-lead development. Respondents in this factor see the role of a planner as facilitating and supporting growth. Similarly, they support neighbourhood plans that allow for development and change. As one respondent explained,

"I think the plans were not aspirational enough and didn't consider development feasibility when they were written. It comes back to this - when you write a neighbourhood plan you can't just ask the community what they want (though that is important), it comes back to feasibility because otherwise developers will constantly ask for relaxations and you piss people off and you perpetuate the cycle." – Private Planner 1

This statement is reflective of literature that identifies the changing roles of planners from a social democratic mandate to an increasing neoliberal emphasis on how best to activate the market and facilitate development (Steele, 2009). Factor One perceive of the planning process as supportive of development and concerned with delivering flexibility.

The social representation of neighbourhood planning, community consultation and planning processes is relatively positive in this Factor. Respondents do not believe high density is being foisted on communities without consultation. In fact, interviews revealed a belief that consultation is genuine, consistent and sufficient and that significant power is given to community groups. Factor One respondents do not believe that one high density development in a neighbourhood will necessarily lead to an influx of similar developments. These beliefs are accompanied by a lower importance placed on community groups than other factors. Respondents expressed frustration about the level of power community groups have to influence development decisions at the expense of others. As one respondent elaborated,

"I actually see the NIMBY syndrome as as bad as people who just want to develop at all costs. It is out of self-interest and they don't take a balanced view"- Government Planner 1

Some respondents alluded to the political nature of community consultations, stating that those that try to suggest it isn't delivered appropriately are making this argument to further their own interests. Interviews reflected a level of frustration with the way consultation is done;

"The consultation process is quite extensive and quite inclusive. I have participated in a number of community planning groups and there is a huge amount of consultation that goes on. And I am quite disappointed that some industry professionals, for personal agendas, still sort of trot that out as an excuse... That is political more than anything" – Architect 1

9.3.2 *Factor Two – Community Group Advocates*

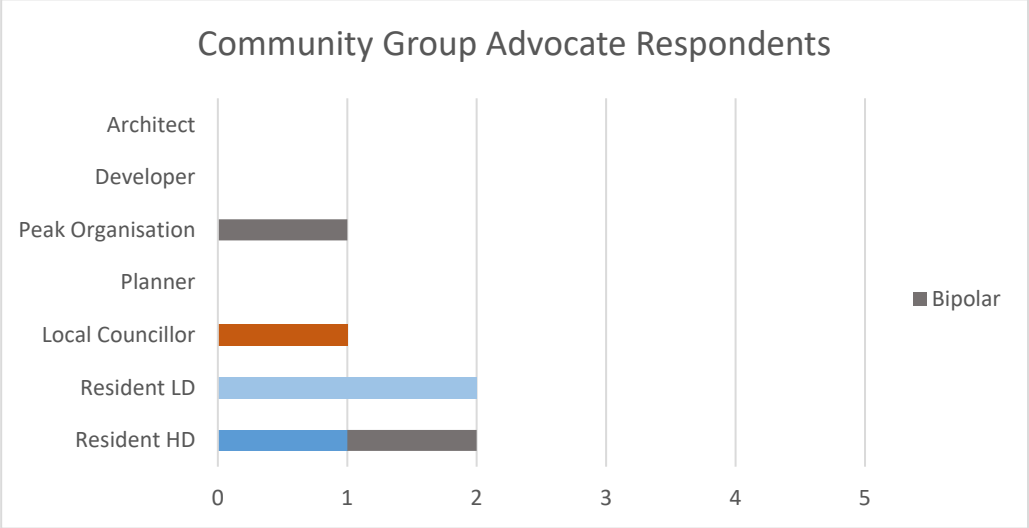


Figure 17: Factor Two respondents

Community group advocates is comprised of two low density residents, a high density resident and a local councillor. These respondents have all had substantial involvement in community consultation and development opposition activities. It is also a bipolar factor for a high density resident and peak organization. Both of these respondents are diametrically opposed to the perspectives of the other respondents in this factor.

Housing

This social representation contains a strong emphasis on connection to home. Respondents in this factor staunchly refute the notion that people living in densifying neighbourhoods should be grateful for increases in the value of their properties and take the opportunity to sell for a profit. As one respondent argued, "I live in an area because I want to live there not because I want to sell to some nasty developer" (Resident LD 6). Similarly, they strongly reject the idea of renting, preferring the financial security and control that ownership affords. The primacy of home ownership and the concept of 'dead money' spent on rent is particularly prevalent in this social representation. As one respondent explained;

> *"All of the studies show that if you want to not live in poverty in your old age you need to own a house or a unit or whatever… I think it is so important to bite the bullet and buy something, anything. The alternative if you rent is money that is gone – dead money and you have nothing to show for it." – Resident HD 7*

Respondents in *Community group advocates* often refer to the lack of 'appropriate' units being built, particularly focusing on the proportion of small, one-bedroom units on the market and the lack of apartment design quality. As one respondent noted;

"We are doing very poor quality. Some developers are appalling, some better. It reduces the whole market. The first apartment built in West End was in a flood plain and was flood resilient. The first apartment built in Kangaroo Point was flood resilient and all the rest weren't. We did good quality, the rest followed the leader and reduced the quality" – Councillor 1

Urban Form

Out of all the factors, the *Community group advocates* are the least likely to support development in any location. They are the only factor that supports the idea of slowing population growth in SEQ. They oppose development at the city periphery, believing such development is detrimental to the environment and consumes important farming land. At the same time, they are reticent to accept apartments as they believe they will become the ghettos of the future. Similarly, they do not believe that greater levels of infill housing will result in greater affordability, citing the high cost of housing and poor design outcomes in inner suburbs. Respondents in this factor challenge normalised social representations about the necessity of population growth and the ability for housing supply to improve housing affordability. They question the utility of apartments designed for foreign investors, drawing upon sophisticated considerations of the purpose of development and applying similar arguments about the longevity of investor-focused housing as respondents in the *Greenfield advocates* Factor. As one respondent argues;

"If it was good housing developers were building and they were doing it at an affordable cost then people would buy it. The reality is, if you have to bring people in from overseas to buy the housing in your country you are not doing something right." – Resident LD 6

In contrast, the peak organisation and high density resident who are bipolar in this factor support development in all locations and feel not enough infill development in occurring.

"[Infill development] isn't happening at the level that we would like. In the last 2 years it has gone gang busters. Inner city Brisbane would be different and even Chermside but if you take the next step out to your Moretons and your Logans [other councils within SEQ] - they have had Principle Centers there for quite some time now and I don't think the densification has been quite what they thought it would be by this point in time." – Peak Organisation 3

The remainder of the factor opposes high density development but is not opposed to medium densities in principle. Respondents in this factor often refer to a vision of medium density development encapsulated in this quote;

> *"You can have very very sensitive infill at your LMR (Low Medium Residential) level.... High rise doesn't equal high density and that is the statement that gets you everywhere. The research actually shows that some of the highest density that we have in Sydney – in Woolloomooloo and those areas east of the city, you have got 6 or 8 storeys often with wide streets and really lovely trees" – Councillor 1*

Similarly, respondents often refer to 'human scale' development and present 6 to 8 storeys as the maximum acceptable height for development. This is partially related to a desire to create communities of people who know each other and an antipathy towards renters and transient populations. As one resident explained;

> *"I think overwhelmingly people want redevelopment [in my suburb]. They want it done right. If you go to urban renewal areas in New Farm and Teneriffe, most of them are about 4 storeys. It is a really nice pleasant human scale. If you look at Kangaroo Point and West End you have these massive buildings. Because they are so big and they are designed for a transient population, they are not designed for owners, they are designed for investors and people who might be overseas students or executives on short term contracts. There is no chance that those buildings will ever develop into communities…" – Resident HD 7*

Regulation and Consultation

The Community group advocates factor is characterised by a deep antipathy towards the development process, including a mistrust of community consultation and developers. In particular, respondents in this Q-sort believe that community consultation is insufficient and unfair. They believe higher density development is foisted on communities without consultation or the opportunity to have a say in how things develop. Similarly, they believe neighbourhood plans are rarely properly enforced. They perceive of double standards and political machinations in planning decisions, suggesting that affluent suburbs have greater ability to protect themselves from higher density development. The factor is highly suspicious of planning processes. One respondent explained;

> *"Now the trick of town planning is that there is many a slip twixt the cup and the lip in town planning because what is actually put in [as plans for development] and put out for public notification is often not what is built. So what they do is they will*

put forward something that they think the public will accept… It goes through and then they say to the council "do you know, that actually doesn't stack up for us on the money side" – Resident LD 6

This factor places a strong emphasis on the role of community groups and believes they should have greater power in planning decisions. They place significant value on existing communities and refute the notion that communities move on and forget about developments after they have occurred. They strongly disagree with the statement that "we concentrate on local communities in development decisions" (Q statement 28). Similarly, the Community group advocates factor is characterised by a lack of faith in developers. They believe developers get away with building cheap and dodgy buildings and perceive of developers as primarily motivated by greed, often to the exclusion of all else.

Within this social representation, respondents believe there is insufficient regulation guiding, moderating and constraining development in Brisbane. Respondents view developers and planners as working together to promote development and growth. In direct contrast to the social representation communicated by the *Greenfield advocates*, *Community group advocates* refute the notion that there is huge demand for housing and that developers are struggling to deliver housing due to overly restrictive planning regulation. In fact, they vehemently deny the idea that developers need the flexibility to deliver something economically viable even if it doesn't conform with the plan.

This is in direct contrast to the bipolar factors. As the high density resident explained;

"Developers are people making buildings in the end. You need them to keep developing so we can have more buildings. If developers can't be economically viable then they will stop developing and that isn't really accomplishing what you set out to do. I mean they should stick to the plan obviously but if they literally can't then you have got to be a little bit malleable." – Resident HD 3

9.3.3 Factor Three – Greenfield Advocates

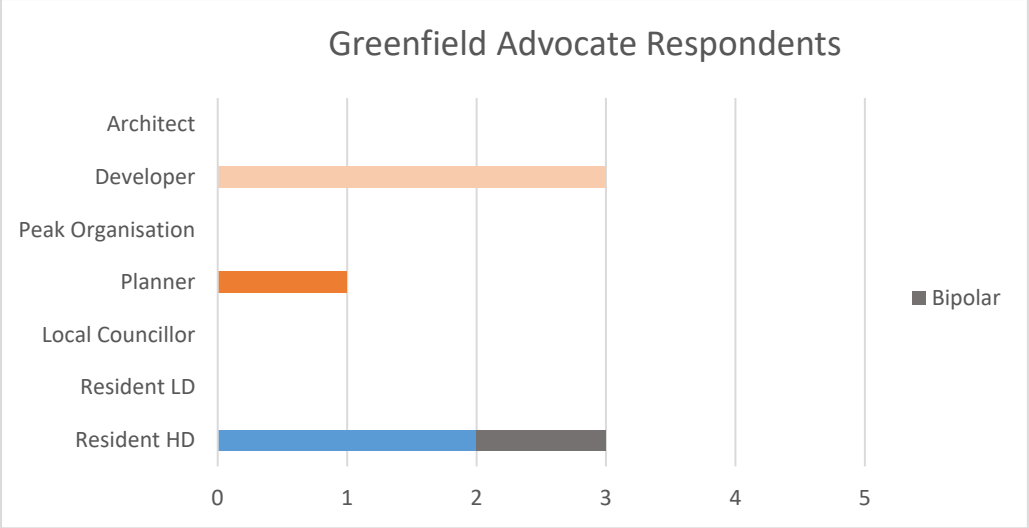


Figure 18: Factor Three respondents

The *Greenfield advocates* factor is comprised of three developers, a planner and two high density residents. It is a bipolar factor for one high density resident. The two high density residents both expressed a significant desire to progress towards a low density home once they have children. The factor is characterised by a strong and consistent support for greenfield development, antipathy towards higher density housing and a strong emphasis on home-ownership.

Housing

The social representation employed by respondents in *Greenfield advocates* supports detached dwellings and suburban expansion and opposes higher density housing. Respondents in this factor believe consumers prefer suburban housing and are "voting with their feet" (Developer 5). This view is tied to personal values about the importance of home ownership. *Greenfield advocates* place a high value on purchasing a home for financial, emotional and practical reasons. They strongly refute the notion that they could happily rent and disagree with the idea that they could live in a small dwelling if it was located close to amenities. For them, apartments are simply a stepping stone on the way to achieving the end goal of a detached house. One resident articulated this view point by saying;

> *"I don't like living in an apartment, it is a temporary situation. If I wanted to have a family I would want room because your lifestyle is going to change. When you are single or even when you have a partner but no kids then you don't really need your house... Everyone's dream is that once you have a family to move into a proper house. Because house and family – the idea is the same thing, no?" – Resident HD 6*

In addition to a fierce support for detached housing and greenfield development,

the factor also reflects a strong distaste for apartments. Respondents do not see them as a viable long-term housing option, instead suggesting that "apartments are only suitable for investors and the young, trendy inner-city café crowd" (Q statement 6). Respondents also refute the environmental credentials of higher density housing. They deny that apartment living will result in a lower carbon footprint. Similarly, they refute the idea that higher densities lead to greater public transport usage and walkability. They firmly deny the appropriateness of apartments for children and predict that Gen Y households will move to the suburbs once they pair up and have kids.

In direct contrast, one high density resident expressed her deep love of inner-city living. She stated:

> *"To me it's friendly, because you've always got things happening and it's lively. I suppose I'm a bit of a people watcher like everyone else is but it's just that idea of being with other human beings and having them close. And the other benefit was that you're closer to everything. You can just walk out and everything is just very very convenient." (Resident HD 4)*

Urban Form

Greenfield advocate respondents staunchly support the value of greenfield land, particularly focusing on its ability to meet market demand and its appropriateness as a family-friendly housing option. They defend the need for urban growth on the city periphery, citing highest and best use of land. Rather than perceiving of urban expansion as encroaching on environmentally or agriculturally valuable land, this factor views this as a natural process of land values, demand and supply. Further, they view Greenfield developments as socially cohesive communities that provide a quality of life sought by occupants. Specifically, this group acknowledges the popularity of the urban form stating;

> *"Springfield is a cracker. And people are voting with their feet – it is going really well. Yarrabilba – they are selling 70 to 80 lots out there [a week] which is well ahead of what they anticipated. And that is in the real boonies, it is quite out there but people want it." – Developer 5*

This factor also refutes the notion that higher density housing is better for the environment, referencing the ACF Consumption Atlas as evidence that inner-city households consume more energy. They similarly support suburbs as 'family friendly' and refer to Australia's ability to create good suburban development:

"I can't imagine how anyone would look at any of those locations around Brisbane and think they would be better for children. Because the big attraction for most family households of family housing in any suburb is the abundance of family-oriented infrastructure. So you've got choice in schools, private schools, public schools, you've got lots of recreational opportunities, parks playgrounds, the sorts of things that families tend to look for as lifestyle amenities. That is what the suburbs offer." – Developer 3

Regulation and Consultation

The social representation upheld by the *Greenfield advocates* characterises the development context in Brisbane as highly restrictive. Respondents promote the notion that land supply is severely constrained in SEQ, arguing that this constraint is directly related to rising house prices. According to this factor, there is a huge demand for housing in Brisbane and the SEQ region and yet developers struggle to have developments approved. They characterise developers as delivering much-needed housing in a constrained, over-regulated and unaffordable market. In particular, this factor identifies regulation and approval processes as a significant impediment to housing delivery, citing specific examples of long development processes. They uphold a derisive view of planners, believing planners view their role as slowing and constraining development and perceiving of a deeply antagonistic relationship between planners and developers. They are also the only factor that strongly believe infill housing isn't occurring on the ground, despite planning policy designed to encourage it. This is in direct contrast to the social representations and common sense knowledge expressed by the *Free market apartment advocates* and *Community group advocates*.

9.3.4 Factor Four – The Cynics

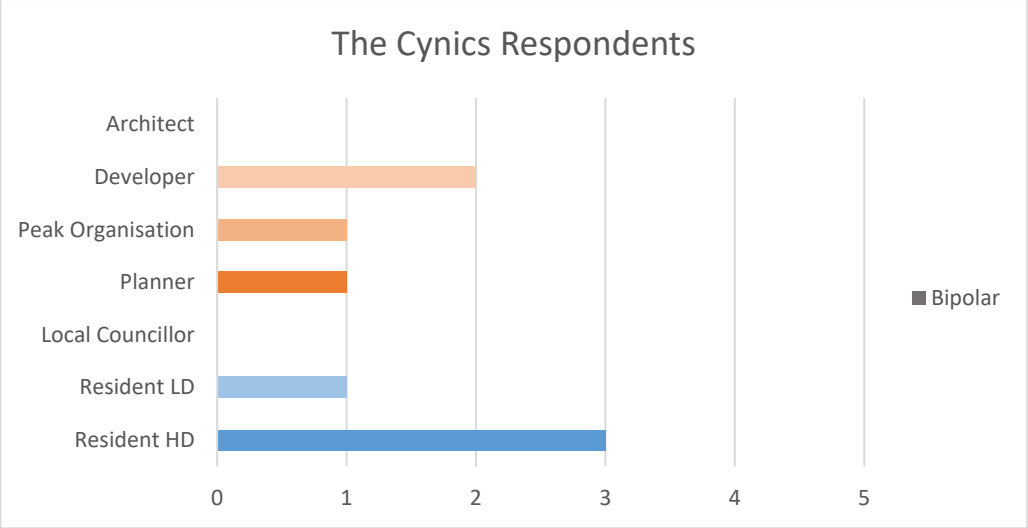


Figure 19: Factor Four respondents

The cynics factor is comprised of four residents, two planners and two developers. This social representation is characterised by high levels of cynicism surrounding community consultation processes in Brisbane and general support for increased densities.

Housing

Respondents in this group see great value in apartments. They appreciate the convenience as a housing option and perceive of a cultural change occurring in the way society views apartments. Similarly, they vehemently deny that apartments will become the ghettos of the future. They are the only group that do not believe that urban consolidation will push the poorest people to the outskirts of the city. They strongly disagree that apartments are only for the trendy, inner-city café crowd, arguing that apartments appeal to a diverse range of households, listing empty nesters, city workers and professionals as key target markets. Despite this, they strongly believe that raising children is harder in an apartment and that Gen Y will move to the suburbs once they pair up and have children. For them, having room to run around and play is integral to raising children.

They are the only group that stated they did not need to buy a house and could happily rent if they never found anything they liked or could afford. This increasing acceptance of rental tenure emerged in the interviews and is reflected in the below statement;

> *"I didn't used to feel like this. I used to think that if you didn't own your house you have missed one of life's big targets but having spoken to people that I genuinely respect who are renting in their 50s and having done a back of the envelop calculation of how much money you actually spend on interest, that is something*

that has always kind of scared me. I know it is unfair and the way that the system works at the moment is basically fucked and the goal posts need to move somewhat." – Resident HD 8

Urban Form

This factor perceives of a need for both apartments and greenfield development, refuting the notion that "there's no need to go building more and more and more suburbs further and further out" (Q Statement 24). One respondent passionately defended the need for suburban development saying:

> *"That is such a load of shit. That is where younger people should be able to go and have their bit of suburban land if that is what they want – and not just younger people… There are some beautiful areas – they are not farming land or natural habitats. But it is still a natural habitat because the big acreages, people can roam free. Why shouldn't they be allowed to have some room?" – Resident HD 7*

In contrast, they oppose infill development and subdivision of housing lots and refute the view that increased infill development will improve housing affordability.

> *"I think whatever land people have in their backyards in inner city Brisbane they should be allowed to appreciate that and not be forced to subdivide. I very much believe that the blend and integration with nature leads to a much more balanced harmonious community than wall to wall buildings." – Developer 6*

Regulation and Consultation

The Cynic's social representation of urban development and consultation processes in Brisbane is typified by combative and competitive elements. They believe local community groups deserve more power in controlling how their neighbourhoods develop and also view development outcomes and decisions as substantially impacted by election cycles. Respondents also cite the notion of precedence, arguing that "allowing one high density development to occur in a suburb… sets a precedent and leaves the floodgates open for future development" (Q Statement 27). They view consultation as a self-interested game where all parties are engaged in a struggle to achieve their own needs. One respondent, in response to being asked whether consultation is a game simply laughed and said "Of course! That is just a given. Everyone is there vying for their own outcome" (Developer 6). Similarly, a resident often involved in community group activism stated:

"I think it's a game in that everyone feels like they've been able to play the game. So the hope of the people puppeting the game [council] is that they want everyone to walk away saying 'well at least we gave it our best shot.' The process creates a situation where people are encouraged to go in with a higher expectation and play hard ball and then accept the results. You set the expectation here and expect it to lower." – Resident LD 8

9.3.5 Factor Five – The Happy Homeowners

The happy homeowners is comprised of three residents and a local politician. While the Councillor and two low density residents live in suburban neighbourhoods, the high density resident lives in an inner suburb. This resident is significantly correlated with this factor because of his beliefs about regulation and community consultation.

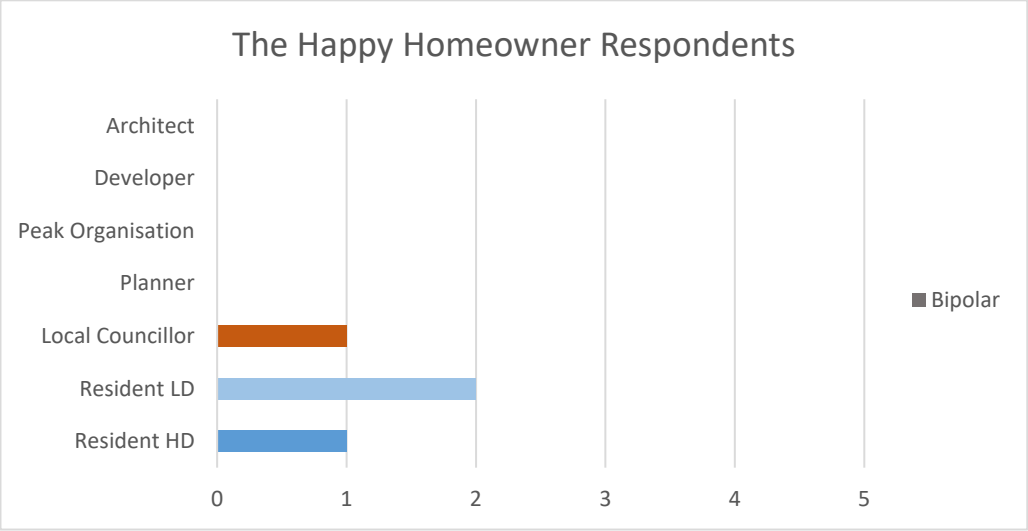


Figure 20: Factor Five respondents

Housing

This factor supports higher density housing in principle, viewing them as relatively convenient, environmentally friendly and as meeting a demand in the market. They acknowledge their importance for elderly households, singles and those engaged in Fly-In, Fly-Out work. Despite this, they do not want higher density in their neighbourhoods. This factor is vehemently opposed to subdivision in the suburbs and using existing backyards to create room for additional infill dwellings. Respondents in *The happy homeowners* often dwelt in lower-density neighbourhoods themselves. They place significant emphasis on home-ownership, perceiving renting as 'dead money.' Similarly, while they would buy an apartment for investment purposes, they would not choose to live in one.

> *"I think they [apartments] are a viable alternative. It wouldn't suit me – I personally don't think I would like to live in an apartment but I never have. I would certainly buy one for investment purposes but I wouldn't choose to live in one myself" – Resident LD 9*

Urban Form

This social representation is indicative of the narrative embraced in the media in relation to nodal development that 'protects' the leafy suburbs. Respondents in this factor believe that densification is inevitable, stating that "that is just the way we are going" (Resident LD 9). They believe that most people would like their neighbourhoods to remain low density but realise that isn't possible. They believe densification is occurring but hope it will not happen near them. As one resident explained "the city can go up as much as it wants. I don't mind about the city" (Resident LD 10). This perspective is reflected in official government releases that promote the fact that higher densities will only impact 7% of the Brisbane LGA (Brisbane City Council, 2014b). As one participant noted;

> *"I am very supportive of our city plan because it puts density in the right places – in the regional activity centres like Garden City, Chermside, Newstead, Indooroopilly, those type of areas. That is where we do have the high frequency buses. But there is 85% of the city that is not touched by the density so the suburbs are staying the suburbs. We are out of green field sites in Brisbane so we have to go up and I am a true believer that up rather than out is better for our environment and biodiversity."*
> - Councillor 2

This quotation also reflects the belief within this social representation that higher density housing is better for the environment and that suburban expansion is threatening

farming land and natural environments. *The happy homeowners* vehemently oppose infill development and subdivision, defending the importance of backyards and decrying the lack of design quality and affordability gained from subdivisions in Brisbane. The social representation of higher densities for this factor is based on the idea of neighbourhoods 'filling up' and encroaching on their amenity. As one respondent explained;

> *"I don't want more people here. It isn't fair, the schools can't fit them. Every place they pull down here they are putting units in. Seven Hills is full, Norman Park is full, Bulimba, all of the schools are full… Being an older area, there isn't that much room for extra development here, but I tell you what, they are flogging up units all over the place. It is getting really really full. I am Res A, Res B is on the other side of the road, all through here is Res A… until you get to the Art College then it is just like 'how many people can you cram into this 5 ha area?' – Resident LD 9*

Regulation and Consultation

Respondents in this cluster believe that planning isn't impacted by election cycles. In addition, they do not believe that affluent suburbs have greater ability to protect themselves from high density development than other suburbs. They are generally supportive of the infrastructure provided in Brisbane, perceiving the city as easy to navigate. Similarly, they disagree with the idea that we are letting developers get away with building cheap and dodgy buildings. This factor upholds a social representation that politicians and planners are probably doing a good job and that they have the power to control development. Asked if one high density development opens the floodgates for further development one resident responded;

> *"It depends on how powerful politicians are. If they can stop it happening in a high density area they can do it in a planned sense. It depends on the politicians and the people who govern. If they can control the development process and control the developers to stick to the plan" – Resident HD 11*

This is a particularly pertinent finding as residents in this cluster are representative of the 'silent majority' who have very little interaction with planning and development processes. Asked whether higher density is forced on neighbourhoods, one respondent replied "No. We always get the letters in the mail, we just don't care" (Resident LD 10). This factor suggests that, in contrast to the *Community group advocates* and *The cynics*, parts of the general populace do not believe the planning process is substantially impacted by politics and have a social representation based on fair and consistent development outcomes.

Scholarship has referred to 'planning pessimism' and the frequently negative portrayal of planners and planning in the media and in the community (Clifford, 2006). This social representation suggests that this is not a universal opinion in Brisbane.

9.4 *Discussion*

The central aim of this thesis is to identify the social representations of urban consolidation apparent in Brisbane and to discuss the implications of this taken for granted knowledge. The thesis is based on the premise that knowledge is socially mediated and is never disinterested. It is a function of existing power hierarchies, vested interests, pressure group activity, media interest and institutional support (Jacobs et al., 2003). Similarly, planning is influenced by a wide range of stakeholders, "each bringing to the process a variety of discourse types, lifeworlds, values, images, identities and emotions" (Hillier, 2002, p. 4). Therefore, it is important to identify the different needs, desires and values communicated and held by actors impacted by planning.

The findings from the Q-study reveal significant points of contention between different factors, as well as points of agreement amoungst respondents. The Q-study identified various values such as fairness, profitability, financial security, sense of community, certainty and sustainability. Similarly, it referenced common sense understandings of several causal explanations such as the connection between demand, supply and housing cost, the impact of urban sprawl, the connection between density and transport usage and the primary market for apartments. These divergent values and explanations constitute the social representations used to understand urban 'problems' and evaluate the merit of various 'solutions.' This is a key strength of Q-methodology, as it can often highlight nuanced differences in priorities and perceptions even amongst participants who ostensibly support the same policy. The following discussion provides insight into the key themes that shape urban consolidation debate in Brisbane and the narratives, causal explanations and values employed by participants to support their positions. The key themes to emerge from the Q-sort analysis and interviews were: 1) attitudes towards higher density housing, 2) notions of 'good' urban form, 2) perceptions of planning regulation and the development process and 3) ideas about planning regulation and community consultation.

This thesis posits that common sense knowledge about novel phenomena are shared, created and circulated through processes of anchoring and objectification that occurs within social milieu. As Figure 21 illustrates, the five social milieu of *Free market apartment*

advocates, *Community group advocates*, *Greenfield advocates*, *The cynics* and *The happy homeowners* are typified by different social representations surrounding urban consolidation. This thesis posits that social representations constitute reality for the people using them and so come to influence actions, attitudes and values. As such, the social representations identified in the Q-sort contribute to outcomes such as support for de-regulation and market-lead development or support for high density development as an investment product. These social representations also contain metaphors, tropes, narratives and images that encourage distrust of development or ambivalence towards the planning process. Similarly, these social representations help to validate policies designed to 'protect' suburbs and concentrate density in hubs. See Figure 21 for an illustration of this process.

Q-methodology is not intended to be generalisable to the larger population, and instead focuses on the narratives revealed within the sampled group. However, both Q-methodology and SRT posit that individuals draw upon shared representations and understandings. Q-methodology assumes the notion of 'finite diversity,' suggesting that whenever persons are presented with a sample of elements the principle of limited variety holds and several patternings of cultural understanding can be expected (Stainton Rogers, 1995). Similarly, "social representations are *social* and cultural entities, rather than the mere symbolic productions of individuals" (Rose et al., 1995)p3. While individuals construe, invent and transform social representations, the theory is predicated on a degree of consensuality surrounding representations based on a stock of historically constrained social knowledge (Rose et al., 1995). Therefore, while the below discussion can not be generalised to Brisbane's population, it is suggested that the ideas, values and images identified in this research are indicative of narratives circulating outside of the sample.

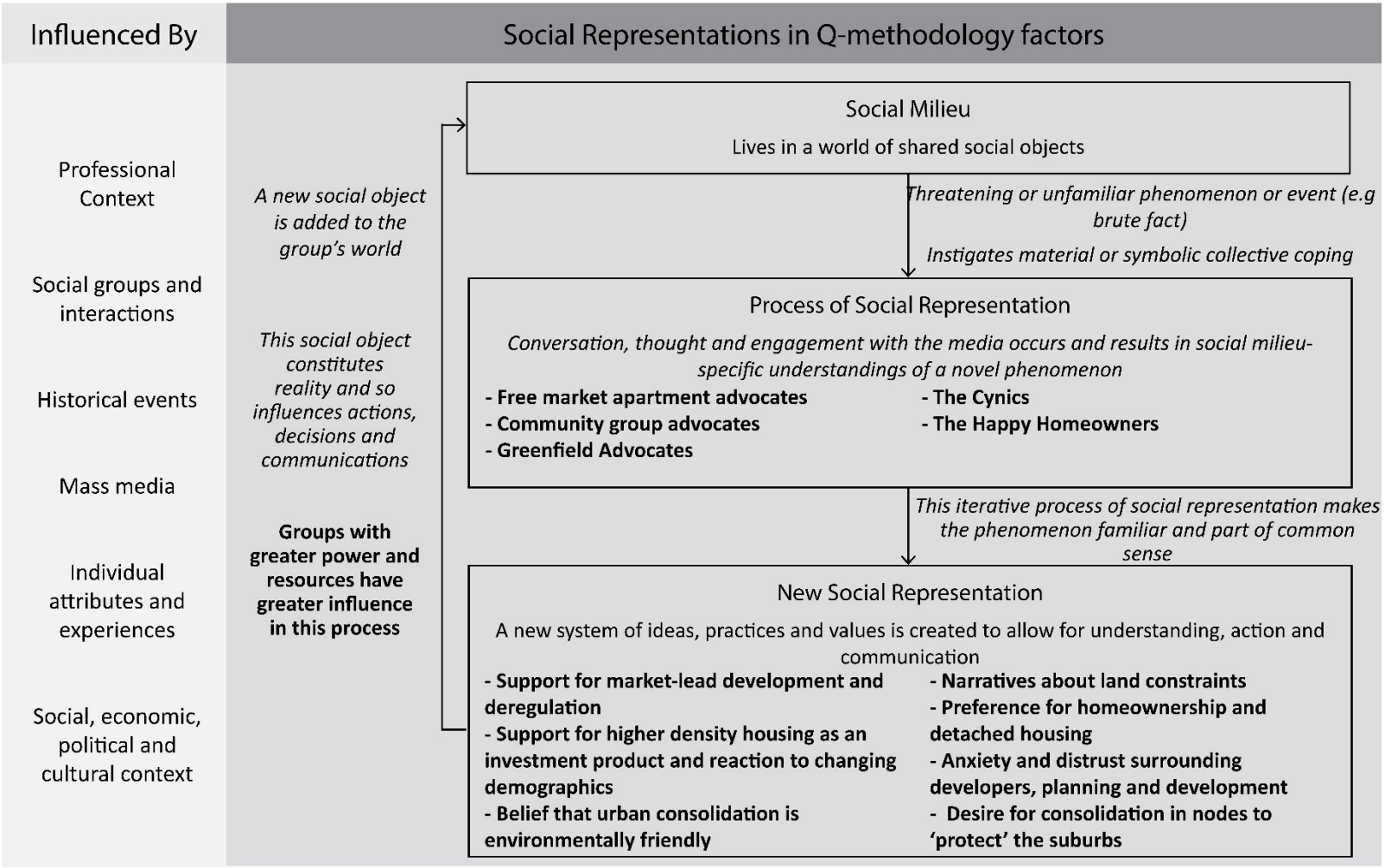


Figure 21: Theoretical framework applied to Q-methodology

9.4.1 Divergent Social Representations of Higher Density Housing

The Q-study revealed divergent social representations about apartments in Brisbane. As discussed in Chapter Seven and Eight, the media has communicated three key social representations of higher density housing; 1) apartments as sub-standard, poorly-designed dog-boxes 2) apartments as luxury, lifestyle-focused products designed for wealthy, childless households and 3) higher density housing as a necessary solution to population growth and housing affordability pressures. All three narratives were present in the Q-study and were some of the most divisive elements identified in the Q-sort.

Apartments are often represented with largely negative connotations despite the attempts of developers to market a luxury product based on liveability and lifestyle (Fullagar et al., 2013). Q-sort interviews begin to elucidate the reasons for their poor reputation. The notion of apartments as ghettos was a salient aspect of social representations. While *Free market apartment advocates*, *The cynics* and *The happy homeowners* refuted this statement, *Community group advocates* supported it and *Greenfield advocates* acknowledged the possibility of it occurring. Apartments are often opposed due to perceptions about renters and the risk that higher densities will attract the 'wrong element.' As one resident explained;

> *"It certainly is a concern because they are renters. For owners it is their money so they are going to care. I see it across the way here - lots of students and they are in and out, in and out, I mean moving in and out. And whenever they move out they just leave their stuff on the footpath. You'll drive anywhere around here where there are apartments and you'll see just shit that they don't put in the bin. They just think 'I am gone.'" – Resident LD 9*

Several studies have identified a distaste for transient renters and a belief that apartments are poorly designed (Dovey et al., 2009; Vallance et al., 2005b) This divide between renters and owners is particularly pertinent and will become increasingly challenging in the future as higher density housing is disproportionately occupied by renters.

Community group advocates and *Greenfield advocates* often applied similar arguments when opposing higher density housing. The housing system is strongly influenced by social values and systems of housing provision, consumption, exchange and management (Burke & Hulse, 2010). According to respondents in *Greenfield advocates*, these factors have resulted in an investor-lead market seeking high Return on Investment with little regard for the design or liveability of the housing product. This has resulted in a proliferation of one and two bedrooms with low quality fittings and little focus on design. *Greenfield advocates*

often linked 'excessive' apartment development in Brisbane with oversupply, under-occupancy and an impending market correction. Discourses were linked to market driven trends of foreign investments in the form of apartment purchase with little intention to actually occupy or rent them. These trends were seen to be creating potential problems including overseas buyers not paying body corporate fees and renters not caring about building upkeep. This fact constitutes common sense in the development industry. Developers have suggested

> *"At the moment, apartments are mainly suitable for investors because they are one and two bedroom apartments entirely geared to investor appetite. When I was at [a development company]… all the market was on about was that "investors will spend $350k or $400k" so we designed to meet that budget. There was not a consideration of who would actually live in there – they were just like "let's cut all this shit out to make the budget" because 90 plus percent were going to investors"* – Developer 5

This view of investor-lead development is accepted by developers and planners who reference 'the economics' to explain the design of apartments and proportion of one, two and three bedroom products supplied.

> *"It's the economics because, as a developer, the easiest way to sell these things is to do one or two bedrooms and sell them to investor groups. So the majority of all units sold in the city, we'll call it 80%, sell through investment groups... That's why one bedroom apartments, the majority of the apartments in the city are one bedrooms then two then three even though the need for owner occupiers might be quite the opposite- the investor market is much bigger"* – Developer 4

This trend towards small, poorly designed and poor quality apartments has been documented elsewhere in Australia by Birrell and Healy (2013) and is attributed to the priorities and price-sensitivity of investors, who are more concerned with returns than apartment quality. The transformation of dwellings into assets is associated with an increasing focus on housing 'consumption' and increasingly 'investment' (Ronald, 2008). According to Hamilton (1999), the commodification process alters perceptions and value functions, shifting the focus from utility value to exchange values. This has a flow-on effect to the way dwellings are designed, consumed, purchased and exchanged. The current study identifies the naturalised perception of housing as an asset rather than a dwelling and the direct impacts this has for the delivery of housing in Brisbane.

"We don't design for kids in apartments but we don't design for almost anybody… It used to be the case, and it changed immediately after the GFC when there used to be much more studio and 1 bedroom apartments to meet a price point, but I think it has shifted back to a norm where one bedders would be less than 25% of the product, anything bigger than two beds would be another quarter and everything left over would be two bedrooms." - Government Planner 3

While *Free market apartment advocates*, *The cynics* and *The happy homeowners* denied that apartments were only for investors and the inner city café crowd and noted a cultural change in attitudes towards apartments, they continued to uphold relatively traditional views on suitable housing forms. In this way they reflected the discourses of Melbourne developers noted by Fincher (2007). These discourses perpetuated a view of young, lifestyle-focused households and wealthy empty nesters in their descriptions of typical apartment dwellers, and emphasised convenience, both in terms of access and maintenance, of apartment living. This social representation is in line with literature which has linked higher density living with lifestyle and access to amenities in contrast with the inwardly-focused and family-oriented construction of detached housing (Fincher, 2007). Both developers and residents have naturalised this perspective. One apartment resident, in describing the diversity of occupants in her apartment, explained;

"I would say the biggest percentage of folk in the most expensive ones are retirees or people approaching retirement... We've got a few one bedrooms and I think they are all rented except one that is an owner-occupier. And she thought it was brilliant to be able to live near the river and be able to afford something. So we have quite a few young professionals, some non-professional blue collar workers that I see coming and going. A broad demographic. We have got at least four gay male couples, one female partnership. A good cross section. And also nationalities." – Resident HD 2

Nowhere in this description is there any reference to children. The fact that an overt discussion of diversity did not even mention children is testament to the degree to which this group is not associated with this housing form. The focus on childlessness is often coupled with a focus on consumption or lifestyle and the idea of using money "to go out and do things" (Developer 7) rather than focus on paying off a mortgage. This trend, coupled with the concentration of one and two bedroom apartments in the inner city has the potential to encourage social segregation in consolidating cities. Randolph (2006) predicted this challenge, arguing that apartment delivery is likely to cause segregation based on lifestyle

and age as young professional couples and empty-nesters dominate renewed centres and families with children are consigned to the suburbs. Attracting and retaining (childless) consumer citizens to the inner city articulates neatly with a neoliberal agenda of urban growth, competition, and commodification (Kern, 2007). This presents challenges as a child-free discourse can serve to legitimise a lack of family-appropriate amenities in inner-city areas and can further entrench social segregation based on lifestyle and age (Fincher 2004).

Despite this, interviews revealed a growing belief that families can remain in higher density housing. This possibility comes with a distinct caveat of wealth. While this constitutes a departure from childless narratives identified by Costello (2005) and Fincher (2007) in the 2000s in Melbourne, it remains a relatively exclusive conception of appropriate apartment dwellers that may result in segregation based on socio-economic status. As one developer explained:

> *"So if you are very early having kids you can stay in an apartment but once they start growing then everyone wants to move out to the suburbs. If it is an older demographic then the majority will probably still live in the suburbs but there is less opposition to living in apartments because their apartment is big enough. Whereas Gen Y can't afford to have a big apartment a mature family would be ok to live in an apartment if it had 3 bedrooms." – Developer 2*

Later in the interview, the same developer explained the following:

> *"I think we have affordable housing in the city. I think that comes down to you can buy a $300,000 apartment in the inner north but it is going to be a one bedroom apartment versus if you go and live 20km out then you are going to get a 3 bedroom house. So I think if you are poorer you can't complain that you aren't living close to the city. Well, it is all relative. You can afford a place it is just a different product. If you want a big fancy house you are going to have to go live in the suburbs. It's like anyone, if I wanted a big house I'd have to go further out." – Developer 2*

This quotation is indicative of the silencing of family needs in inner city housing. While a one bedroom apartment may be appropriate for a single or a couple it does not meet the needs of a family with children. The challenge of finding and affording a three-bedroom apartment was a common theme for larger households in the Q-study.

These findings paint a specific view of apartments in Brisbane – either as luxury items developed in response to the cosmopolitan tastes of an elite, childless sub-class of the population or as a fraught investment product with a limited shelf-life. This trend towards

investor-focused development presents considerable challenges for the longevity of high density housing. In the UK (Lambert and Boddy 2010) and Melbourne (Birrell & Healy, 2013), the influx of investor capital into inner-city areas has been attributed with increasing the risk of price fluctuations, high levels of vacant properties and the development of small apartments with little long-term appeal to occupants. This trend is reflected in Q-sort interviews in Brisbane as respondents reported a belief that 'excessive' apartment development in Brisbane is resulting in oversupply, under-occupancy and an impending market correction. These trends were seen to be creating potential problems including overseas buyers not paying body corporate fees and renters not caring about building upkeep, thus creating challenges for on-going upkeep of these buildings

The *SEQ Regional Plan 2009* promotes higher density housing as a response to greater diversity in households, however these social representations display a rather homogenous view of diversity. Despite this, the Q-study revealed a growing belief that apartments are suitable for a broad range of demographics and a belief that higher density housing is necessary. An increased place for medium density housing in existing neighbourhoods garnered support from a wide range of respondents for different reasons. While *The cynics* and *The happy homeowners* vehemently opposed increased infill and subdivision in Brisbane, *Free market apartment advocates* and *Greenfield advocates* supported this approach and *Community group advocates* were ambivalent. There is a growing perceived acceptance and demand for housing that allows households to 'age in place.' This is important given future urban challenges of housing an aging population. One resident explained;

> *"If we were looking at doing it properly we would be looking at elderly people, the people about to move out of their 4 bedroom houses and we would be saying, what do you want to move into? And if they said 'what I actually would like to move into is a little townhouse development, maybe 10 or 12 of them. Or maybe a bigger development but 5 storeys is really all I want.' And we could all have a bit of a community thing going on but I want it here. I want it where I know 'Joe the butcher.' We should be looking at a whole of lifecycle approach. And when they move out of their house a little family can go in there, into their lovely 4 bedroom house and the whole cycle goes on." – Resident LD 6*

Similarly, a planner explained;

"One of the good things that we have done is have a discussion about housing diversity and housing choices and what gets people is saying "ok, you don't want smaller housing in your area. Do you want your children to be able to move out of home?" "Yea." "Do you want them to be able to live close to you?" "Yes, not too close but yes, close." So we say "well, you have a 5 bed room home, do you think you will want that house when your children move out?" "No." "Do you want something smaller and easier to maintain in the same area?" "Yes." "Do you want your parents to move in?" "No." "Do you want them to be able to move close by?" "Yes." "Well they will need aged care or retirement living and they won't be able to do it in your neighbourhood." – Government Planner 1

Developers advocated a similar approach, citing the efficiencies of domestic construction processes. Respondents cited significantly lower costs associated with medium density town-houses and small-lot housing than high rises apartments and commented on the benefits of higher densities without the imposition of strata titling or body corporates. These quotes are indicative of a social representation of medium density housing, interspersed in neighbourhoods that contribute to greater housing diversity. Housing diversity, including increasing the amount of town houses, small-lot housing, terraced housing and small apartment blocks was a popular theme throughout interviews. In particular, housing diversity was used as a proxy for housing affordability by some developers who suggested that "affordability is knowing the buyer profile from the student to the empty nester and being able to provide accommodation for all of them at all price points" (Developer 4).

Despite this, all factors were either ambivalent or opposed to the notion that there is a higher sense of community in units. In fact, many respondents categorically denied this possibility referring to the anonymity of apartments and the "ship in the night" (Developer 4) effect of living in an apartment. Even those who generally supported apartments up-held this view. This is a significant challenge given that significantly more people will live in higher density housing in the future.

The focus on integrated, medium-density housing is an emerging social representation that could substantially change the composition of neighbourhoods. This inclusive conception of housing diversity is contradictory to the dominant rhetoric employed in planning documents and media releases. These sources stress the fact that only 7% of the city will be impacted by density increases and stress that "under the draft new City Plan, growth will be focused around major shopping centres and along selected transport corridors while maintaining the leafy suburban character of Brisbane's suburban living areas"

(Brisbane City Council, 2014b). The proportion of very low density, interspersed with areas of high and very high density is typical of the urban form of Australian cities and is less pronounced in the UK and Canada (Spencer, Gill, & Schmahmann, 2015). The social representation of urban consolidation which proposes nodes of higher density concentrated around transport hubs does not encompass medium density owner-occupier focused development designed to allow for aging in place and greater social mix.

9.4.2 Divergent Social Representations of 'Good' Urban Form

The question of what constitutes a 'good' urban form is a fraught topic that has inspired much academic debate (Burton, 2000; Camagni, Gibelli, & Rigamonti, 2002; Newman & Kenworthy, 2000; Talen & Ellis, 2002) and is contested in practice (Jepson & Edwards, 2010) and in the understandings of the general populace. This Q-study reveals that different taken for granted assumptions about 'good' urban form are applied by different respondents. This includes fundamentally different values and priorities and divergent opinions about how to achieve sustainable and equitable environments. These divergences include issues like appropriate levels of population growth and development, the environmental credentials of urban consolidation, the 'right' to 'appropriate' housing and the social equity of consolidation policies.

South East Queensland (SEQ) is known as a pro-growth and pro-development metropolitan region (Steele & Dodson, 2014; Taylor et al., 2014). Indeed, in most countries city plans are influenced by business-minded economic growth ideology (Sager, 2014). A study investigating the social representations of built form professionals in Brisbane revealed an almost unanimous view that population growth in the SEQ region is both inevitable and essential for continued economic prosperity . This perception of growth as inevitable is in keeping with literature that suggests that built form professionals tend to support or rarely challenge growth (Lubell, Feiock, La Cruz, & Ramirez, 2009). The present study revealed that the view of 'growth as good' is not hegemonic. Many residents and a councillor advocated the slowing of growth in SEQ to increase quality of life and challenged the notion that developers need flexibility to create economically feasible developments. Similarly, many planners referenced the environmental, economic and social benefits of constraining urban sprawl in interviews. This finding lends validity to Sager's (2014) observation that neoliberalism is not hegemonic in the sense that it has no serious rival in public opinion.

While neoliberalism undoubtedly occupies a dominant position in this study, it is still questioned by some participants.

The Q-sort interviews reflected a dichotomy between urban sprawl and urban consolidation and an overly deterministic perspective on the role of density in impacting sustainability outcomes. While there is substantial opportunity for higher densities to deliver better urban forms, condensing the debate from a 'densification is good and suburban expansion is bad' dichotomy is a simplification that serves to 'greenwash' inner city development (Kern, 2007). This is reflected in an interview with a government planner who expressed support for higher density housing and noted the carbon intensity of providing infrastructure for greenfield development;

> *"In the short term the amount of carbon invested in a high rise building is a lot more than invested in a project home at the fringe. I think it is the nature of the materials... And I have seen a lot of studies that suggest that that in itself means that these are more carbon intensive than a project home. But it doesn't ever take account the fact that if you build a new development in South Brisbane you are not extending one square cm of road or pavement to service that area while that house out there has required a massive amount of infrastructure to open it up."* - Government Planner 3

While this quote reflects a nuanced understanding of life-cycle sustainability outcomes, it naturalises the carbon-intensive nature of high rise developments. Similarly, an interview with a councillor reflects a simplified SR of the benefits of urban consolidation.

> *"We are out of greenfield sites in Brisbane so we have to go up and I am a true believer that up rather than out is better for our environment and biodiversity."* - Councillor 2

The term 'going up rather than out' is a common motif when discussing urban consolidation and serves to simplify sustainability outcomes to purely a function of density and built form.

Higher densities are promoted as environmentally sustainable in policy documents such as the Brisbane City Plan 2014 and South East Queensland Regional Plan 2009-2031. These documents promote compact settlement, nodal development linked by public transport and consolidation of growth to reduce car usage and fight congestion. This Q-study reveals that many respondents support this argument. When asked if the CBD should become higher density to facilitate more public transport and walkability a respondent said "of course! Planning 101" (Private Planner 4). This reference to 'Planning 101' is indicative of an

entrenched social representation of higher density as a more sustainable urban form. Four of the five factors agreed that higher density housing could reduce carbon footprints and increase public transport usage. Similarly, three of the five factors agreed that there is no need to continue expanding at the city periphery and opposed the destruction of farming land and natural habitat this entails.

The research also reveals that many of the sustainability rationales used to support urban consolidation are substantially refuted, silenced or qualified by residents and built environment professionals in Brisbane. *Greenfield advocates* staunchly refuted the notion that urban consolidation is better for the environment suggesting that "*we keep being fed this nonsense from public transport agencies and governments of various persuasions that we can't have good public transport because we aren't all living in apartments above railway stations*" (Developer 5). Interviews revealed a trend for respondents to refer to specific studies – for example, several respondents from *Greenfield advocates* referenced the ACF Consumption Atlas. Respondents from *Free market apartment advcoates* were more likely to say things like 'if you read all the studies' or 'I am aware of research that suggests.' These statements are evidence of different knowledge claims competing to create a social representation of sustainable urban form. The reference to 'being fed nonsense' alludes to the political nature of 'the truth' in sustainability debates. As Gunder (2006) argues, sustainability is a highly malleable term that can be used by different stakeholders to support their claim. As mentioned in Chapter Seven and Eight, the media and policy documents often link higher densities with higher public transport usage in an unproblematic fashion despite much evidence that questions or qualifies this correlation (Mees, 2010). In this way, it naturalises the correlation and creates a powerful narrative to justify urban consolidation policy.

Proponents of greenfield development in Factor Three focused on consumer choice, highest and best use and housing affordability justifications to support suburban expansion, arguing that "families still deserve, and have the right in Australia, while we have 24 million people rather than 50 million people, to be able to have a house with a backyard" (Developer 4). Even those who supported the urban footprint in principle acknowledged the prevalence of detached housing preferences and their effect on housing provision and urban expansion. As a government planner noted:

> *"You have got to accommodate what people want. It doesn't matter if you build a whole city, people actually have to want to live in it. So what people want requires us to go out into the suburbs and we are now having this problem where we have a growth*

projection where we won't have enough land to fit all these people to 2041. We are going to have to allocate more land and that is going to take farming land. But how do you control population?" – Government Planner 2

This quote is indicative of the growing gap between urban development discourses and the urban development reality observed by Filion (2010) and planner's love/hate relationship with the suburbs noted by Grant (2009) in North America. While respondents acknowledged the environmental and social challenges associated with continued outward expansion there was a commonly-cited belief that such growth was inevitable. This Q-study revealed that support for urban expansion was often couched in market demand and individual choice and supply-side housing affordability arguments. This is reflective of arguments presented by Jacobs (2015) whose study highlighted the role of government and industry groups in perpetuating a housing agenda based on continuing housing supply and demand-side stimulus rather than tax reform that may threaten the benefits of home-owners, developers and rental investors. It is part of an international trend observed by Kemeny (2005) towards a one-sided policy emphasis on home-ownership with its associated focus on suburban, detached housing forms and individualism. Industry lobby groups have a long history of cloaking interest in urban expansion in a discourse of the public interest based on housing affordability imperatives and consumer preferences for low-density housing (Filion, 2010) and this was reflected in the current study.

'Good' urban form is not only a question of environmental sustainability. Social sustainability is also a fundamental aspect of creating a just city (Burton, 2000). The current Q-study revealed that social representations were rarely anchored in notions of social inclusion and housing affordability. Social representations of apartments revealed an almost unanimous view that higher density housing is simply unaffordable. *Community group advocates*, *Greenfield advocates* and *The cynics* all refute the argument that increased infill development will result in greater housing affordability. Similarly, all Factors except *The cynics* agree that urban consolidation will result in the poor people being pushed to the outskirts of the city. Planners and residents alike comment on the inevitability of this outcome, with one planner stating;

"Unless you are into huge social interventions, it is kind of a way of life. And as a planner I think that is such a shame and I have thought hard about how you could deal with that. The VAMPIRE mapping is a classic example. I look at it and after looking at it for years and years and years I just go 'that is just how it is'" – Government Planner 2

This statement presents a fundamental issue with the equitable delivery of urban consolidation in Brisbane. Coupled with the earlier discussion of a lack of affordable, family-friendly housing in the inner city and a widely held belief that increased infill housing will not improve affordability, this finding is pertinent. While urban consolidation is supported by many respondents in the Q-sort it is accompanied by an acknowledgement of the inherent challenges of this planning approach. The lack of attention on social sustainability in SEQ has been identified Cuthill (2010) who argues that this aspect of sustainability is often given less salience than environment or economics.

9.4.3 Divergent Social Representations of Planning Regulation

Another key theme to emerge from the Q-sorts and interviews was attitudes towards the legitimacy of planning and consultation processes in Brisbane. The Q-study revealed divergent opinions about appropriate levels of planning regulation and divergent perspectives on the way community consultation is undertaken. Statements pertaining to the political nature of development decisions, the implementation of neighbourhood plans, the genuineness of consultation all inspired vastly different responses between factors. While *Free market apartment advocates* and *The happy homeowners* maintained a highly positive view of the legitimacy of consultation processes in Brisbane, this was substantially refuted by *Community group advocates*, *Greenfield advocates* and *The cynics*. Respondents within *Free market apartment advocates* and *The happy homeowners* often maintained the belief that community consultation was genuine, inclusive and sufficient, referring to instances of inclusive consultation they themselves had conducted or referring to a vague notion that 'it must be like that.'

Despite this, most respondents qualified their position by suggesting that complaints about consultation usually emerged from an ignorance of planning processes and legislation. Respondents often cite a lack of familiarity with performance-based planning. Whether this is the fault of ignorant residents or a reflection on an insufficiently transparent system varied from respondent to respondent. The role of performance-based planning in creating residential confusion was a common motif, with respondents suggesting that resident ignorance and misleading media reportage are central elements of community opposition to higher density developments. While most developers supported the greater flexibility delivered through performance-based planning, comments about residential opposition

aligned with studies criticising this form of planning in terms of reducing certainty, transparency and accountability (O'Hart, 2006).

One respondent, in refuting the claim that neighbourhood plans are ignored, said the following

> *"That statement essentially reflects just an ignorance of state planning legislation which, whether you agree with it or not, requires that the city plans and neighbourhood plans provide performance based outcome opportunities. So where the misunderstanding tends to occur is that people look at the acceptable outcomes under planning documents and see them as the prescribed outcomes whereas, unfortunately, or as a matter of reality, the planning legislation pretty much universally allows performance based outcomes. Whilst I can understand why people make those statements it reflects a lack of understanding of the planning process." Architect 1*

Another qualification often mentioned in the interviews was the view that, although there are ample opportunities to be heard and to 'have a say' these views are often ignored in decision making processes. Respondents referred to the expensive and complex process of third party appeals, suggesting that appealing is extremely difficult without backing, a knowledge of the system and significant funds. Similarly, respondents mentioned times when neighbourhood planning processes were co-opted by powerful interests. As one planner reported;

> *"If your submission isn't met then you do have third party rights to take them to court and appeal against it but people don't have that sort of money and people don't have that sort of backing… I think there is a lot of consultation around developments but what they are saying is not being listened to. It's the whole empowering thing. In the end, they are not empowered, it doesn't matter what they say." – Government planner 4*

This Q-study found that residents with involvement in community groups often loaded on the *Community advocates* factor. These respondents raised several objections to higher density housing based on design, density, location, typical purchasers and the distribution of benefits of development to different parties. Respondents did not reflect the only 'true' NIMBY standpoint, defined by Wolsink (1994) as a positive attitude towards a particular land use, combined with a rejection of the siting of that land use anywhere in one's own neighbourhood. In contrast, most respondents approved of 'reasonable' density increases

and extended their opposition to inappropriate apartment development in any location not just their own neighbourhood. While debates about the siting of contentious land uses often focus on 'where' rather than 'why' and take the view that the development 'has to go somewhere' (Owens, 2004), *Community group advocates* explicitly questioned the need for higher density housing in Brisbane. *Community group advocates* challenged the profits accruing to developers, challenged the political processes that support extremely high density and question to validity of development constructed predominantly to suit the desires of investors with little consideration of occupants. Respondents within Factor Two commented;

> *"If you can't do something that is within the plan and make it economical then you don't need to be in the industry. And I very much disagree with the fact that people think it is ok for us to change the plan to make it economically feasible. What is economically feasible? 3% 5% 50%? It's all nonsense." – Resident LD 6*

Such comments serve to challenge the embedded legitimacy and rationality of power holders and question the decision making process itself, resulting in healthy debate (Gibson, 2005).

In contrast, residents outside of this cluster were more likely to suggest that developers should have flexibility. They stated that:

> *"That is their job. Their job is to make money and maximise their income from it. That is literally what they are there for, is it not? But I don't think that is a bad thing – they need money to build further things" – Resident HD 1*

This study reiterates findings by Ruming (2014) that identified low levels of community knowledge of planning documents, processes and policy in Sydney. Ruming (2014) advocates for an expansion of engagement strategies to engage with residents with little involvement or knowledge of planning policy, arguing that this may lead to more opposition in the short term but may reduce localised opposition in the long term. This thesis seems to support a 'blissful ignorance' theory in Brisbane with the positivity of views pertaining to consultation often inversely related to levels of familiarity with consultation.

The statement "developers need the flexibility to develop something economically feasible even if it doesn't completely conform with the plan" (Q statement 17) generated considerable contention. *Free market apartment advocates*, *Greenfield advocates* and *The happy homeowners* agreed with this statement. This level of agreement is unsurprising given the dominance of neoliberalism and focus on deregulation that has permeated planning

discourses in Australia since the 1980s (Legacy, Lowe, & Cole-Hawthorne, 2016). The strongly held belief that planners are opposed to growth received mixed support. As one government planner stated:

> *"[Antagonism between planners and developers] was the model when I started 30 years ago. Performance based planning has changed that but there has been an attitude shift here. It is about facilitating and getting good outcomes." – Government Planner 1*

This statement is reflective of literature that identifies the changing roles of planners from a social democratic mandate to an increasing neoliberal emphasis on how best to activate the market and facilitate development (Steele, 2009). Far from reflecting the division proposed by Sager (2009) between personal communicative planning preferences and the realpolitik of efficiency imperatives, many planners appeared to see their role as promoting necessary and inevitable development despite the short-sighted and selfish claims of community members. As one planner expressed;

> *"Inner city planning is hard because you are trying to get residents to change their old tin and timber suburbs so you are pushing into other areas and then you are constantly picking fights with people, as opposed to council saying 'look this is the future of our city, sorry this is the way it is.'" – Private Planner 1*

However, this focus on facilitating and supporting development creates a challenging role for planners who must mediate the needs of developers and residents, balancing imperatives for growth with a mandate to protect the needs of communities. The Q-study revealed that every group in the community consultation process thought another group had a disproportionate amount of power and influence. As one resident stated;

> *"I can tell you right now the planners at the BCC think it is their job to enable developers. If both sides of the argument think they aren't doing a good job then they aren't doing a good job. What that says is that 100% of your audience thinks you stink. – Resident LD 6*

Perceptions of whether there are constraints on land for greenfield development were also divergent. While *Free market apartment advocates*, *Community group advocates* and *The cynics* refuted this statement, *Greenfield advocates* and *The happy homeowners* strongly agreed. This statement is indicative of a common narrative in Australia that associates land supply constraints and excessive regulation with a lack of housing affordability (Gurran & Ruming, 2015). This study indicates that, while this narrative is

commonly expounded by developers, interest groups and planners, it is not universally accepted.

In fact, in refuting the idea that greenfield land is constrained in Brisbane, multiple respondents alluded to the affordability impact of land banking by large development corporations. As one respondent explained;

> *"There is far more land available than we need. Because every time housing is unaffordable governments say "we'll give this greenfield to this developer and they'll develop it" but they don't. And the reason that they are waiting and land banking all that land is because they want top-notch prices. They want housing to become so unaffordable that people are going to pay top dollar. They don't want to solve housing unaffordability by developing them now because then they wouldn't get the highest price for them." – Developer 1*

Respondents are aware of the existing narrative that has been constructed to support the idea of land supply constraints. The political nature of knowledge is explicitly acknowledged by one respondent who noted the vested interests behind the creation of this social representation.

> *"Was that someone in the UDIA behind that? It will be interesting to see what they have to say about that one… because they have got members who are greenfield developers and that is where they make their big bucks. Is that the right way to do things? They will tell you it is. Of course they will." – Government Planner 2*

9.5 *Conclusion*

This Chapter presented a critical analysis of the Q-sorts conducted in this thesis. It examined both the qualitative and quantitative data derived from 46 Q-sort interviews. Five key social representations were identified throughout this process; *Free market apartment advocates, Community group advocates, Greenfield advocates, The cynics and The happy homeowners*. As elaborated in Chapter Five, SRT posits that different social milieu draw upon different images, narratives and understandings when comprehending a phenomenon. Conflict is partially triggered by the contrasting taken for granted assumptions and tropes employed by different social milieu. This chapter's theoretical and empirical contribution lies in the delineation of different social milieus and the identification of the contents of their social representations. These social representations, communicated through the theory-like

constructs revealed in participant's Q-sorts, provided a valuable insight into the contrasting values, priorities, knowledge statements, narratives and tropes apparent in the case study.

This Chapter revealed the most contentious aspects of social representations applied to urban consolidation in Brisbane. In particular, it critically analysed the divergent perspectives of higher density housing, 'good' urban form and planning regulation. Most importantly, it discussed the implications of these divergences. The predominant existing views of higher density housing as a luxury product for mostly childless households or as a sub-standard housing type serve to subjugate the needs of other households. The continued privileging of investor needs over owner-occupiers has a significant impact on the design and delivery of higher density housing in Brisbane. Further, the contradictory social representation of medium density housing for 'aging in place' or supporting lower-income households is in direct conflict with current discursive focus on consolidating density within bounded transit hubs. While the Brisbane City Plan 2014 has increased the capacity for small lot housing substantially, there remains a strong rhetoric about concentrating density to avoid it entering or threatening existing neighbourhoods.

Similarly, the Q-study revealed widely divergent values, priorities and measurements applied to evaluating good urban form in Brisbane. The environmental credentials of urban consolidation are contentious. The study revealed that few residents had considered the environmental impacts of urban form while planners, developers, architects and peak organisation representatives held diametrically opposed views of what constituted 'sustainable development.' Indeed, arguments to promote greenfield development often applied the criteria of highest and best use and consumer preferences rather than sustainability to promote their position. While environmental sustainability was contentious, social sustainability was relatively ignored. The displacement of lower income households to the city's periphery was often accepted as an inevitable by-product of growth.

Social representations surrounding planning regulation in Brisbane were also divisive. The Q-study revealed a pervasive discontent with consultation on the part of many respondents, with most respondents reporting power imbalances. Factor One reported a sometimes disproportionate emphasis on NIMBY group perspectives, Factor Two believed planners and developers often cooperated to overpower 'pesky' community groups, Factor Three and Four perceived consultation and planning processes as highly political and inconsistent whilst Factor Five retained a relatively positive view of the process. The large division in narratives indicate the vastly disparate experiences of different stakeholders. It also reveals different views on acceptable levels of developer flexibility and community

power. Flexibility in the planning process was a key theme in the Q-study. The study revealed that many respondents employ a largely pro-development social representation that promotes reduced regulation. Despite claims by Factor Three that planners mostly view their role as slowing and obstructing development, this attitude was not reflected in other Factors. Regulation and consultation is a fraught issue, often based on discussions about power and competition rather than collaboration in Brisbane.

Chapter Ten: Discussion

10.1 *Introduction*

This Chapter represents the culmination of the research conducted in this thesis. It presents overarching commentary on the empirical, theoretical, methodological and practical value of the thesis and provides a discussion of key insights garnered from the thesis. The chapter is grounded in the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter Four, draws on the empirical findings analysed and discussed in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine and provides a valuable insight for those concerned with the planning, delivery and evaluation of urban consolidation in Brisbane. The Chapter re-iterates and succinctly answers the research questions posed throughout the thesis. It serves to answer the threefold aims of the thesis: 1) describe the social representations pertaining to urban consolidation circulating in society and expressed by individuals 2) critically analyse the implications of the value-laden social representations of urban consolidation, and in so doing 3) present and justify a novel theoretical framework and methodological approach designed to identify and analyse the manifold ways urban consolidation is understood and represented in Brisbane

10.2 *Social Representations Within Brisbane's Newspaper Media*

Research Question One: How does the newspaper media represent urban consolidation in Brisbane?

This thesis contributes to urban consolidation literature by providing a nuanced insight into the ways in which the media represents urban consolidation. The media's ability to shape debates (Fiske & Hartley, 1978), reinforce status-quo understandings (Van Dijk, 2013) and set the agenda for salient topics makes it a valuable source of information about the ideas circulating in society. This thesis reviewed 440 articles pertaining to urban consolidation, higher density housing and infill published between 2007 and 2014 in Brisbane newspapers. Two different research methods were applied to critically analyse these articles; Pragmatic Textual Analysis (PTA) and Semantic Metaphorical Analysis (SMA).

These research methods revealed a diverse range of topics and factors often associated with urban consolidation. Rather than representing urban consolidation as simply a planning

policy designed to increase housing within existing neighbourhoods, urban consolidation is represented in the media as a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon. It is associated with views about population growth and management, housing and investment, urban precinct renewal, land use conflict, urban sprawl and luxury, inner-city lifestyles.

An analysis of the media revealed that the predominant justification for urban consolidation at a regional scale is population growth, urban sprawl and the challenges associated with managing an influx of people to the region. This focus on the dichotomy between urban sprawl and urban consolidation is indicative of the 'spatial fetishism' (Gleeson, 2014) apparent in Australian urban debates. The portrayal of urban consolidation as an antidote to sprawl in the media naturalises it as the only feasible solution and so silences other urban possibilities or sustainability interventions such as behaviour change. While sustainability and environmental concerns contribute to this narrative, the social representation emphasises the inevitability of growth and employs the imagery of sprawl to justify consolidation. This social representation was apparent in both the PTA and the SMA. While the PTA revealed a coherent 'lexical world' comprised of words such as 'population,' 'management,' 'target,' 'growth' and 'sprawl,' the SMA also revealed multiple metaphors used to naturalise and promote growth and decry urban sprawl. Media articles referred to the "amoeba-like spread" (Sweetman, 2009, p. 77) of sprawl and raised fears about sprawl "inching" forwards unabated (McVay, 2012, p. 36). Similarly, the 'biological city' or evolution metaphor were powerful images used to communicate a view of growth as inevitable and part of the natural development of a city. The metaphor of a race or journey further naturalised the idea that growth is inevitable, and beneficial.

The dramatic, combative and adversarial nature of land use conflict and neighbourhood change was apparent in both the PTA and SMA findings. The PTA revealed a 'game frame' (Skorkjær Binderkrantz & Green-Pedersen, 2009) in the depiction of land use change in Brisbane. This media framing focused on political machinations, oppositional tactics and the procedural aspects of development applications and neighbourhood planning. The social representation revealed multiple references to rejections, opposition, promises, secrets, voters and ratepayers, revealing strong themes of agency, power, distrust and conflict. It is interesting to note that this class is anchored in political legitimacy and democracy rather than character, amenity, property prices, infrastructure provision or other factors often associated with local planning debates or within NIMBY (Not IN My Back Yard) literature (Dovey et al., 2009; Ruming & Houston, 2013; Vallance et al., 2005b).

The SMA revealed a consistent social representation of battle, war, death and disease in reference to neighbourhood change. In these articles, the virtuous traditional suburb is juxtaposed with the forthcoming threatening, inhuman high rise development to create common tropes of victims and villains. This rhetorical framing promotes a social representation of higher densities as 'the other' or as an unwanted intruder. The media rarely gives a voice to people living in these environments. This social representation is reflected in articles quoting community members but is also apparent in quotations from politicians and even in media releases from the government. For example, media releases tout the fact that higher density development will only impact 7% of the city (Brisbane City Council, 2014b). Similarly, Chairperson of Planning Amanda Cooper was quoted in a newspaper article saying that concentrating higher density around specific nodes would help in "protecting the [low density] areas' community values" (Vogler, 2010, p. 18). This aids in representing higher density housing as an intruder or outlier for 'other people,' rather than a liveable housing option to support a broad range of household types. This 'symbolic annihilation' of higher density residents (Tuchman, 1972) is reflective of the uneven distribution of power given amoung different groups in the media.

The media was also integral to communicating a social representation of housing that privileged homeownership over renting and naturalised the primacy of demand and supply and investment capital in mediating development outcomes. The PTA revealed an entrenched social representation surrounding *Housing affordability and home* that privileged home-ownership and framed the housing affordability 'problem' as predominantly a function of constrained housing supply. Within this social representation, there is an on-going reference to housing life-cycles and a division between Baby Boomer 'haves' and Gen Y 'have nots.' Housing affordability is predominantly represented as a problem for young, 'normal' households struggling to save for a house deposit and the media rarely mentions low-income, older households or renters. In addition, there is a strong narrative of changing housing preferences in this social representation as newspapers report a shift "from backyards to balconies" and suggest that "Australians are squeezing into smaller homes" (Chalmers, 2014). While the Brisbane newspaper media, in line with other studies (Costello, 2005; Fullagar et al., 2013), often associates higher density housing with luxury lifestyles and costly housing, there is an emerging view that higher density housing provides an affordable option for households, particularly younger households, seeking to remain in desirable locations.

In contrast, *The property market* social representation identified in the PTA explicitly celebrated increases in prices, listing 'hot spots' about to experience growth and promoting ideas such as Return On Investment and market demand. This juxtapositioning is reflective of the housing market in Australia as governments seek to manage the dual responsibilities of providing affordable housing and maintaining high house prices for existing homeowners. Metaphorical strategies in the newspaper media have similarly promoted a view of housing as an asset rather than a home. The property market is depicted as a game or a competition, emphasising the actions of competing developers to secure profits rather than deliver quality housing. Similarly, the aggregated market is often referenced, removing consideration of specific homes and instead privileging the idea of overarching trends and financial gains for investors.

Metaphorical analysis revealed a rhetorical construction of inner-city development as a 'face-lift' or 'rejuvenation' of tired suburbs and as an opportunity to improve public transport outcomes. Existing urban literature has noted this social representation, crediting the social representation with naturalising processes of urban renewal and gentrification (Wilson & Mueller, 2004) whilst silencing the experiences of lower income households who are displaced or do not have the economic resources to enjoy the 'revitalised' suburb. This theme is reflected in the PTA category entitled *Urban precincts.* This 'lexical world' refers to words such as residential, commercial, bus, transport and retail to depict precinct renewal as a way of creating mixed-use areas that allow people to 'live, work and play' in the same area. These words pertain to related concepts such as urban villages and mixed use development and reflect a strong planning language promoted by articles reporting on precinct planning efforts. Newspaper articles reflect a strong narrative that links higher densities with improved public transport despite significant evidence to suggest that density and transport have a complex and context-specific relationship (Mees, 2010).

Overall, both methods reflected a multi-faceted representation of urban consolidation anchored in ideas surrounding population growth, urban renewal, conflict and politics, investment and housing choices and affordability. These social representations constitute the values, images and practices circulating in society and are indicative of the context in which individuals interpret urban consolidation.

10.3 *Social Representations Expressed by Stakeholders in Brisbane*

Research Question Two: How do stakeholders collectively define, evaluate, prioritise and communicate about urban consolidation in Brisbane?

The Q-study conducted in this thesis involved interviews and Q-sort activities with 46 respondents from a variety of backgrounds. 23 built form professionals and 23 residents were asked to sort 50 statements pertaining to urban consolidation from 'most agree' to 'least agree.' Respondents were asked to explain their choices while undertaking this process and their responses were recorded and transcribed. The resultant data was analysed qualitatively and quantitatively. The Q-study revealed five key social representations of urban consolidation in Brisbane held by particular social milieu. These results were analysed using the theoretical framework described and developed in Chapter Four, based on the tenets of SRT. The resultant SRs were: *Free market apartment advocates, Community group advocates, Greenfield advocates, The cynics* and *The happy homeowners*.

Factor One, the *Free market apartment advocates*, embody many of the tenets communicated in the *South East Queensland Regional Plan 2009 - 2031* and *Brisbane City Plan 2014*. This factor reflects 'conventional planning wisdom,' or as one respondent described it, 'Planning 101' (Private Planner 4). Respondents in this factor support the environmental benefits of urban consolidation, citing its ability to reduce auto-dependency and the reduced impact of providing new infrastructure to the city periphery. Similarly, respondents reflect the free-market rhetoric common within recent Australian planning documents and discourses (Legacy et al., 2016; Ruming & Gurran, 2014), advocating the need for flexibility in planning decisions and emphasising the importance of supply and demand in mediating built form outcomes. There is a strong perception of community consultation as sufficient and consistent in this Factor. In fact, respondents in this factor often commented that community groups sometimes have too much power in consultation processes and have the ability to derail worthy developments.

In complete contrast, *Community group advocates* revealed a social representation that was largely disparaging of community consultation in Brisbane. This factor reflected several perspectives often associated with 'NIMBY' movements, including opposition to development and defence of the right for individuals to fight to preserve their quality of life and property values. However, unlike 'typical' 'NIMBY' groups, this factor opposed higher

density housing in any location, often citing its lack of suitability as a long-term housing choice. Respondents in this factor were often well-educated and well-acquainted with development and planning processes. This factor is cynical about development processes, alluding to the highly political nature of development decisions and describing planners and developers as 'in cahoots' to facilitate development.

Greenfield advocates reflects many of the perspectives identified by Gurran and Ruming (2015) in their observation of industry lobbyist rhetoric. This Factor supports greenfield development and views the provision of detached housing as a necessity for meeting housing demand and managing the rising cost of housing. They view the development industry as over-regulated and perceive of a highly antagonistic relationship between planners and developers. They are typified by a very negative assessment of higher density housing, refuting its capacity to deliver long-term housing solutions and viewing it as a low-quality investment product. This factor places a strong emphasis on private home-ownership, referencing the emotional and financial benefits of this tenure.

The cynics is characterised by high levels of cynicism regarding the planning and development processes in Brisbane. They view development as highly political and community consultation as a self-interested game. Despite this, this factor does not explicitly oppose development. This Factor acknowledges the value of apartments, noting their convenience and their ability to meet the needs of a wide range of household types. Respondents also note the need for greenfield suburban developments, particularly as an appropriate housing option for families with children. For them, development companies are businesses motivated by profit and responding to market realities like any other business.

The happy homeowner is typified by a positive outlook on development and planning processes in Brisbane. They do not believe development decision are political, nor do they believe affluent suburbs have more power to defend themselves against higher density than others. Respondents in this factor acknowledge the importance and value of higher density housing but vehemently oppose it in their own neighbourhoods. They value home-ownership and personal space and are typified by ambivalence towards how planning processes proceed in Brisbane. This factor reflects much of the rhetoric associated with the *Brisbane City Plan 2014* and its focus on concentrating development in high density nodes to 'protect' the suburbs.

The Q-Study revealed several novel insights about social representations of urban consolidation in Brisbane. In particular, they reveal a division in attitudes towards the value

of higher density housing, evaluations of 'good' urban form and the function of planning regulation and development processes. These areas of contention will be discussed below.

Free market apartment advocates, *The cynics* and *The happy homeowners* display a noticeable acceptance of apartments, with respondents identifying changing attitudes towards apartments and acknowledging that apartments appeal to a diverse range of households. Despite this, this support comes with a range of qualifications. Many believe Gen Y will move to the suburbs once they have children and believe raising children is harder in apartments. Similarly, many respondents supported apartments in general whilst opposing its addition to their neighbourhood and stating they would never live in an apartment themselves. In contrast, Factor Two and Factor Three hold extremely negative social representations of apartments. Factor Two view these apartments as inappropriate for occupants and see them as an imposition on existing communities. Factor Three focus on the development industry and the investor-focused nature of this dwelling type. For Factor Three, these apartments are doomed to failure as market mechanisms have ensured they are poorly designed, low-quality and ill-suited to occupants.

The consideration of 'good urban form' reflected many discourses already noted in the literature. A large proportion of the studied respondents referenced the environmental credentials of urban consolidation and vilified urban sprawl, using arguments apparent in the *Brisbane City Plan 2014* and *SEQ Regional Plan 2009*. As one respondent stated, the connection between higher densities and lower automobile dependence is 'Planning 101' (Private Planner 4) and this is a belief strongly embedded in the social representation of Factor One. In direct contrast, Factor Three strongly supported a low density urban form, arguing greenfield development can be environmentally sustainable. Arguments for suburban development are also predicated on notions of consumer choice, highest and best use and housing affordability. These narratives are indicative of what Gleeson (2014) has termed the 'polarisation' of urban debate in Australia. According to Gleeson (2014), the strong focus on density and dichotomy between urban consolidation and expansion has deflected attention from other aspects contributing to urban sustainability and is indicative of Australia's 'spatial fetishism' and overly deterministic view of density.

There is an emerging acknowledgement that housing diversity and medium density development is important for social diversity, particularly in relation to 'aging in place' and providing affordable options for first home buyers. Several residents mentioned a vision for 'acceptable' medium density development, referring to human-scale, walkable environments in which buildings do not exceed 6 storeys. Rather than exhibiting the only

'true' NIMBY perspective, described by Wolsink (1994) as supporting a land use in principle but opposing its location in their own neighbourhood, many residents opposed unsympathetic high-rise development in any location. Similarly, apartment living was often deemed acceptable if parks and other forms of amenity surrounded the apartments. Greater levels of medium density housing elicited support from developers who referenced the efficiencies of medium density construction processes and planners that noted changing demographics and the need for greater diversity in housing options. This is a departure from the separated, high density nodes of much planning policy and media rhetoric. Australia has typically delivered large areas of very low density with small hubs of very high density (Spencer et al., 2015). However, the validity of subdivision and infill development is one of the most contentious issues in the study with many residents, planners and developers opposing this policy. Residents see this as an imposition on their freedom and quality of life whilst planners cite the inefficiencies of dispersed infill without adequate infrastructure upgrades.

The planning regulation debate within the Q-study revealed interesting insights into the ways key stakeholders view planning and development processes in Brisbane. In line with scholarship that has highlighted the increasingly neoliberal (Sager, 2009) and disempowered (Steele, 2007) nature of planning regulation, many planners emphasised the need to facilitate flexibility for developers. There is a strong rhetoric surrounding allowing the market to decide what is necessary and feasible with limited planning interference. Respondents engaged in community consultation activities often noted the genuine, comprehensive and open processes that influence planning and development processes in Brisbane. Interviews revealed a belief by many that community groups had almost too much power to shape development outcomes and often had the ability to slow projects regardless of their merit. Many planners viewed their role as facilitating good development outcomes, suggesting that there is substantial cooperation between planners and developers in development processes. *Community group advocates* and *The cynics* corroborated this perspective, but argued that this cooperation reflected overly permissive processes in which planners "bent over backwards" (Resident HD 3) to facilitate development to the detriment of existing communities. For them, consultation is often tokenistic and 'tick and flick' and there is little opportunity to appeal development decisions without substantial financial and professional resources.

This is in stark contrast to the arguments of the *Greenfield advocates*, who communicate an alternative vision of how planning occurs in Brisbane. For this factor, planning regulation

is almost prohibitively restrictive and overly regulated systems are substantially impacting development outcomes. This narrative was particularly evident in interviews with those engaged in greenfield developments with many complaining of long approval times. This complaint was less prevalent among developers engaged in developing higher density apartments as this group focused more on the cost of infrastructure contributions. The substantial diversity of narratives surrounding planning regulation and community in consultation is indicative of the 'awkward' position planners inhabit, tasked with the dual mandates of securing the greater good for communities and facilitating development.

10.4 *The Implications of Social Representations of Urban Consolidation in Brisbane*

Research Question Three: How do these social representations function to privilege the needs and perspectives of some groups and silence others?

This thesis has been undertaken with a keen focus on the power of language to shape and define urban 'problems' and potential 'solutions.' As such, language is treated not as a transparent medium for conveying meaning or talking about an existing reality. Instead, this thesis contends that language is involved in producing or constructing reality and knowledge (Hastings, 2000). It acknowledges that, in relation to public policies, any change must be "practically accomplished and politically constructed… inherently, if not exclusively" by discursive means (McGuirk, 2012, p. 260). Similarly, social representations are not only embedded in social practices but also constitutive of these practices. Therefore, realities are brought into existence through social representations (Elcheroth et al., 2011). This thesis proposes that the ability to shape reality through language and the construction of common sense knowledge is a function of power relations, with some individuals and groups better equipped to promote their version of reality than others. In so doing, they defend, limit and exclude other realities. As Howarth (2006, p. 69) states, "there is much at stake in the practice of representation." As such, it is important to interrogate 'taken for granted' assumptions and illuminate instances where some 'truths' are privileged and others are silenced.

This thesis highlighted key themes associated with urban consolidation that had a significant impact on power hierarchies and the politics of urban development. These were

the social representations surrounding higher density housing, 'good' urban form and planning regulation.

Higher Density Housing

The social representations surrounding apartments and higher density housing are replete with narratives, images, attitudes and beliefs that perpetuate power imbalances in urban development. In particular, social representations continue to subjugate children and families and low-income households and promote a view focused on the exchange value over use value of apartments. The imagery of ideal or archetypal apartment-dwellers rarely feature children or families. Whether indicated explicitly or revealed through unconscious omission, this silencing of the needs of children in higher density housing is a significant concern given the anticipated growth of this housing type in the future. While developer, planner and media narratives increasingly acknowledge a place for children in higher density, this is largely dependent on the wealth of the household. This is explained by interviewed respondents as a function of the cost and scarcity of three bedroom apartments in Brisbane. Newspaper articles similarly presented a vision of families in higher density housing as strongly associated with high-value and lifestyle-focused locations in Brisbane. This narrative, noted by Costello (2005) and Fincher and Gooder (2007) in Melbourne, is reflected in Brisbane and has been used as a justification for a lack of provision of facilities for children.

This thesis has revealed a recurring and widely held social representation that investors are the primary market for higher density housing. The PTA linked apartments to associated notions such as investment, return, demand, profit and tenants while the SMA revealed a perception of development as a competition for profit divorced from the needs of end users. Similarly, the newspaper media rarely considered the perspectives of those living or intending to live in higher density housing, commonly portraying these people as faceless intruders into existing neighbourhoods. These social representations serve to naturalise the unprecedented, large-scale delivery of apartments in Brisbane as an exercise in meeting market demand from the market segment with the greatest interest in this product: investors. Q-sort interviews revealed that the proportion of investors in the apartment market is largely due to post-Global Financial Crisis financing regulations as banks require 80% pre-sales before financing a project. According to many developers and planners surveyed, this fact explains why developers target the investor market to minimise risks, efficiently achieve the requisite pre-sales and maximise profit.

These findings echo Randolph's (2006) prediction that the roll-out of higher density housing will be delivered based on the perceptions and behaviour of residential investors rather than the perceptions and behaviours of households looking for homes to buy and live in. As Randolph (2006) argued, the investor market is motivated by very different stimuli than the home owner market. Birrell and Healy (2013) argue that tax incentives like negative gearing and return on investment are key stimuli for these groups. The over-supply of small, one-bedroom apartments in Australian cities has been partially attributed to the emphasis on investors in the marketing and development strategies of companies delivering apartments (Birrell & Healy, 2013). In addition, these apartments are often characterised by poor design, low-quality fittings and little consideration of the end-user. This is indicative of a larger trend in conceptualisations of housing as they move from a use value to an exchange value (Ronald 2008). Hamilton (1999) suggests that commodification processes alter perceptions and value functions, with exchange values increasingly displacing previous principles of utility value in neoliberal market situations.

The findings of this thesis reveal that the market does indeed respond differently to investor-driven demand rather than owner-occupier demand. The current research reiterates previous findings and reveals that these processes are deliberate and self-conscious. Developers refer explicitly to 'investment-grade stock' (The Courier Mail, 2014) in newspaper articles and make decisions based on the price, location and design preferences of investors. Planners and developers alike referenced the unquestioned power of the market and fluctuations in access to credit as a major contributor to the amount of studios and 1, 2, 3 and 4 bedroom apartments on the market.

'Good' urban form

This thesis revealed a strong belief that population growth is inevitable and a perception that city growth is impossible or undesirable to slow. This was often accompanied by an economic argument for the ongoing benefits and necessity of growth to maintain economic prosperity. This belief was particularly predominant in Q-sorts conducted with built form professionals and was often challenged by residents. The newspaper media also served to cast population as inevitable, employing metaphors of races, journeys and biology to position population growth and urban development as natural and desirable. Similarly, the PTA highlighted a predominant portrayal of urban consolidation as a necessary strategy to manage rapid population growth and accommodate additional residents within the SEQ region.

The construction of population and city growth as inevitable and necessary to economic prosperity has been noted by multiple scholars (Harvey, 2015; Lubell et al., 2009) and is a central focus of the Growth Machine thesis (Molotch, 1976). Molotch (1976) argued that city elites are often engaged in city 'boosterism' due to a vested interest in the increased land values derived from population growth. He further argued that such acts disproportionately benefited the wealthy without benefiting other occupants of cities. A more contemporary body of literature has focused on the rise of 'global cities' and the international marketing and competition between cities for skilled workers and national and international investors (Fullagar et al., 2013; Yigitcanlar & Velibeyoglu, 2008). This focus on growth has the potential to privilege urban elites whilst perpetuating existing power imbalances (Gunder, 2006). Growth agendas often increase property values and focus investment in areas in the inner-city with greatest growth potential and land value. This generates profit for developers and the council but does not improve the access to amenity for lower-value areas (Grodach & Ehrenfeucht, 2016).

The need for development is often legitimised and naturalised so extensively in the media and in Q-sort interviews that the goal of delivering new housing is rarely questioned. This is partially reflected in the use of the term 'NIMBY.' Reducing the argument to a question of *where* to site a land use like higher density housing silences discussions of alternative solutions and reduces engagement with questions about whether current housing delivery is meeting the needs of the populace. A key contribution of SRT to the thesis is its sensitivity to lay perspectives. While community opposition is often conceptualised as 'NIMBY' behavior or as a result of a lack of knowledge or an 'information deficit' (Joffe 2003), this thesis focuses on the common sense understandings held by individuals and circulated in society. It found that community members often challenge underlying assumptions about development profit, need for growth, design and liveability and sustainability.

This thesis reveals both a focus on managing population growth and a belief that constrained housing and land supply is the predominant cause of unaffordable housing conditions in SEQ. While supply constraints are partially responsible for increased house prices (Gurran et al., 2009), the media and stakeholder fixation on supply serves to silence alternative reasons for rising housing costs. Alternative mechanisms such as tax incentives and interest rates have significantly contributed to price increases in Australia (Gurran & Phibbs, 2015). Despite this, alternative solutions such as social housing, inclusionary zoning and density bonuses are markedly absent from Q-sort interviews and the newspaper media. Q-sort interviews revealed that many developers believe new inner-city apartments are

often unoccupied, and function more as a tax haven for wealthy investors than a dwelling. This belies the population management arguments promoted by urban consolidation advocates.

A key rationale for the implementation of urban consolidation is its ability to slow urban sprawl. It is often positioned as the direct opposite of sprawl and is depicted as an antidote to detrimental urban expansion in the media and in the narratives used by stakeholders in Brisbane. According to Bunce (2004), the focus on vilifying urban sprawl has served to justify inner city development in Toronto, Canada and is accompanied by little articulation of the benefits of higher density. Similarly, Gleeson (2014) has argued that the spatial fetishism inherent to debates about density serves to silence other aspects of sustainability. The social representations identified in this thesis suggest that urban consolidation is indeed juxtaposed with urban sprawl both in the media and in Q-study interviews. This focus allows for consolidation to be promoted based on sustainable development and improved transport outcomes rationales without questioning the environmental credentials of the buildings delivered as part of the intensification process.

The focus on development, population growth and sustainability was rarely accompanied by a consideration of the impacts of urban consolidation on lower income families. Government plans for urban consolidation feature a strong focus on creating 'mixed-use' developments designed to allow people to 'live, work and play' in the same location. The PTA revealed there was an entire 'lexical world' associated with this social representation of precinct renewal connected to notions of the rejuvenation of tired suburbs through the addition of cafes, shops and new locations for consumption. The focus on lifestyle and consumption-based amenities is often noted in the literature (Kern, 2007) and reflects the increasing neoliberalisation of urban spaces and further silences the needs of low-income households.

This focus on design, lifestyle and location benefits is rarely accompanied by any reference to affordability, diversity, equity or family. As Gunder (2006) argues, while the provision of vibrant, life-style focus locations may appeal to wealthy, knowledge-based workers it provides a version of the 'good life' that many households can not afford or do not wish to access. The application of sustainability rationales in planning practice has served to silence other important issues of the urban problematic like social injustice and the pursuit of the 'common good.' This thesis also revealed a silencing of social sustainability considerations in social representations of urban consolidation in Brisbane. The need for 'affordable and diverse' housing options has been noted in both the *SEQ Regional Plan 2009*

and the *Brisbane City Plan 2014*. Similarly, academic proponents of this urban policy have noted its ability to provide a greater level of choice in housing provision (Burchell et al., 2000). However, Q-sorts did not support this perspective. Almost all respondents agreed with the notion that densification will push poor people to the outskirts of the city. Similarly, many respondents denied that increased infill development will improve housing affordability. As one planner stated, "local government doesn't have the power to fix that" and as another private planner argued 'that is just a fact of life.' These statements are indicative of the naturalised image of expensive higher density housing and the primacy of the market as the correct mechanism to decide the location of low-income households.

Regulation and Consultation

This thesis supports research that has noted an increasingly neoliberal agenda in Australian planning policy (Ruming & Gurran, 2014), a hybrid role for planners (Steele, 2009) and a strong deregulation focus in industry group rhetoric and planning documents (Gurran & Ruming, 2015). As Jacobs and Pawson (2015) argue, this narrative is powerful and has achieved significant policy traction. The media analysis highlighted a continued social representation of planning policy as overly restrictive. Newspaper articles referred to 'excessive red tape' and praised the virtues of 'streamlined' development processes. The need to streamline planning processes and reduce regulation garnered acceptance from several private and government planners. Many noted it was their role to facilitate development. Multiple planners referenced a desire for more 'visionary plans' that support greater development opportunity, made arguments for greater flexibility in planning processes and argued for market-lead development. This is in keeping with the move away from planning as a mechanism to correct and avoid market failure and toward a focus on de-regulation, privatisation, outsourcing and entrepreneurialism in planning (Hamnett, 2000). This transition in the mandate of planners and goal of planning creates and entrenches power imbalances and serves to "constrain the interventionist scope of public policy [so] goals like 'increased equity' or 'social justice' are effectively marginalised and maintain a mostly rhetorical presence" (Peel, 1995, p. 41).

Community consultation and neighbourhood planning processes are inescapably impacted by power, value-assumptions and conflicts in opinion and priority. Interviews highlighted a wide-spread dissatisfaction with the way consultation occurs. The social representations highlighted in the media analysis revealed a strong focus on procedural fairness, power, agency and legitimacy and featured multiple references to local politicians and their conflicts about densification processes. Q-sort interviews revealed that most

planners felt that community consultation and neighbourhood planning was conducted in line with procedures and with due reference to legal imperatives. In fact, some planners referred to the 'excessive' power given to NIMBY groups who have the ability to co-opt planning procedures for narrow reasons. Similarly, some respondents referenced the insincere complaints of public figures who falsely claim consultation has been insufficient to further their own agendas. Far from reflecting the division proposed by Sager (2009) between personal communicative planning preferences and the realpolitik of efficiency imperatives, many planners appeared to uphold social representations of planners as promoters of necessary and inevitable development despite the short-sighted and selfish claims of community members.

The powerful and manipulative nature of the social representation of land supply constraints was noted by multiple Q-sort respondents who suggested that the UDIA and other peak organisations had a vested interest in promoting the idea that a lack of greenfield land threatened housing affordability. This idea is perpetuated in news report that depict SEQ as "bursting at the seams" or "set to burst" and word clusters that feature words such as 'population,' 'growth,' 'problem,' 'constrain' and 'greenfield.' Many who instead refer to the land banking activities of large developers as a contributing factor to housing price increases refute the rhetoric of land supply constraints. However, more land is often released and policy documents often link land supply with housing affordability. For example, the first policy listed in the *SEQ Regional Plan 2009* to address housing choice and affordability is; "prioritise the short- to medium-term supply of broad hectare land in SEQ" (Queensland Department of Infrastructure and Planning, 2009, p. 95). This is indicative of the power of industry lobby groups and silencing of other narratives that could increase housing affordability like more social housing, removal of negative gearing or inclusionary zoning. The framing of the 'problem of constrained supply' allows for a single naturalised solution of 'increased supply.'

Overall, this thesis identified several social representations pertaining to housing, urban form and regulation and consultation. In particular, the current delivery and conceptualisation of higher density housing has predominantly served to privilege wealthy investors and developers while silencing the perspectives of low-income households and families with children. Similarly, the almost hegemonic status of urban consolidation and its juxtapositioning with urban sprawl has confined discussions about sustainable development to limited perspectives of the impact of density. Finally, the focus on market-lead

development privileges profit-seeking developers and is accompanied by a naturalised belief that lower income households will be displaced by densification processes.

10.5 *Research Contributions*

This thesis adds to a body of urban planning research, providing several valuable contributions to urban planning literature. While the empirical findings have been highlighted earlier in this chapter, the following sections will summarise the methodological, theoretical and practical contributions contained within this thesis and recommend potential future applications for this work within research and planning practice.

10.5.1 Theoretical Contribution

This thesis applied and justified a theoretical framework based on SRT, a theory derived from social psychology and concerned with the creation and circulation of common-sense knowledge. SRT provides a theoretical explanation for the socially-mediated process of knowledge creation and a lens for identifying underlying values, ideas, narratives, images and practices (Moscovici, 1984). While SRT has rarely been applied to urban research, it represents a useful addition to the theorisation of urban topics. There are five key theoretical contributions of the present theoretical framework that make it a useful contribution to urban theory. First, it elaborates a theory for the way in which individuals and groups assimilate new knowledge. Second, SRT provides a critical theoretical position that explicitly acknowledges the role of power in the creation of social representations and in influencing actions. Third, it allows for an explicit focus on lay knowledge and social perceptions of risk. Fourth, SRT provides a developed theoretical position on both individual and social knowledge creation. Finally, its theoretical treatment of social groups provides insight into the ways information is shared and how it differs across different groups.

SRT posits that new knowledge is assimilated via the processes of anchoring and objectification. These processes, "which ensure core values and norms are stamped onto new events and drive mutations in common sense over time" (Joffe, 2003, p. 63) are useful analytical tools for researchers concerned with understanding how certain explanations and narratives gain salience while other, less relatable images and narratives move to the periphery. This study reveals that urban consolidation is anchored and objectified in relations to notions including regional population growth management, urban precincts, death and destruction and development competition. In this research, the application of the theoretical framework illuminated instances of metaphorical objectification and anchoring occurring in the media and provided a theoretical lens for analysing these metaphors and their power-laden implications for planning and development in Brisbane. Similarly, it provided a

theoretical basis for identifying the ways in which urban consolidation is anchored through commonly co-occurring words. Anchoring and objectification was also apparent in the explanations, values, images and ideas conveyed in the Q-study. The creation, deployment and dissemination of knowledge and narratives is of central importance to urban studies. Despite this, urban research has often shied away from providing an explanatory theory for how this process occurs (Rowlands & Gurney, 2001).

The theoretical framework advanced in this thesis also explicitly engages with the notion of power and its impact on the process and outcomes of social representations and common-sense knowledge. This is particularly pertinent within planning research as the legitimation of planning involves rationality or knowledge claims (Rydin, 2003). Further, what comes to constitute 'valid' knowledge is often a function of the vested interests of those in power. As Flyvbjerg (2002) argues, powerful actors often ignore or design knowledge at their own convenience and thereby construct rationality to suit their own purposes. This theoretical framework posits that different social groups and individuals have differing levels of access to the (co)construction of social reality within the public sphere (Jovchelovitch, 1997). Power impacts on the images, narratives and values that are applied in anchoring and objectification processes and the prevalence of certain social representations. As illustrated in this thesis, powerful social representations that correlate land constraints and a lack of affordability or media portrayals that focus on homeowners and silence renters are examples of the power-laden creation of social reality. Similarly, the (co)construction of social reality serves to delimit the realm of possible actions (Elcheroth et al., 2011), thereby shaping policies, reactions to housing forms and investment decisions. This can be identified in common media narratives, the framing of urban 'problems' and 'solutions' and in the language used by individuals from different social groups. This is a powerful insight that can be applied widely throughout urban studies and has the capacity to add critical insight to the assessment of urban policies.

By focusing on common sense knowledge and taken for granted assumptions, the SRT theoretical framework represents an apposite lens for identifying 'lay knowledge' as well as 'professional knowledge.' As social representations are the "intellectual shorthand whereby spatial metaphors and place images can convey a complex set of associations without the speaker having to think deeply and to specify exactly which associations or images he or she intends" (Shields, 2013, p. 199), they provide a mechanism for identifying underlying assumptions. This is particularly powerful contribution to planning theory that increasingly seeks the "democratisation of planning practice and the empowerment of discourse

communities, forms of reasoning and value systems heretofore excluded from planning practice (McGuirk, 2001, p. 195). This theoretical framework is particularly appropriate for research that seeks to challenge the use of the term 'NIMBY' and bring a critical lens to studies of community attitudes to development. The use of the NIMBY label often "impedes a genuine analysis and obscures the variety and the possible validity of the range of arguments in facility siting, pro as well as con" (Wolsink, 2006, p. 89). The current study revealed a far more nuanced understanding of community attitudes and professional towards urban consolidation, including negative, ambivalent and positive reactions to densification and a variety of explanations and priorities applied by stakeholders. The theoretical framework avoids a-priori understandings of a phenomenon and acknowledges that social representations need not be 'the truth' and will differ between social groups.

Social Representation Theory has the potential to greatly enhance critical urban research agendas as it acknowledges the subjectivity and socially-mediated nature of knowledge (Buijs et al., 2008; Devine-Wright, 2009). According to SRT, "while the social shapes the contents of individual minds, so is the social a product of communication and interaction between individual minds" (Gaskell, 2001, p. 232). The theory aligns with much planning scholarship that recognises the multiplicity of social worlds, rationalities and practices that coexist in urban contexts (Healey, 2002) and places emphasis on how people interpret the world around them (Hubbard, 1996a). It acknowledges that people build their understanding of public life through subjective responses to experience and reference to explanations and stories often generated by influential individuals and groups. The use of common anchoring and objectification processes and shared narratives of urban consolidation in this thesis is indicative of the socially-mediated nature of knowledge while the evidence of challenges to dominant discourses in the media and policy is indicative of the ability of individuals to interpret and question social representations. For example, many residents who opposed apartments in their neighbourhood also explicitly questioned the quality of small apartments generally and critiqued the validity of developing housing for foreign investors when these dwellings are fated to remain unoccupied.

The theoretical framework advanced in this thesis provides a theoretical explanation for the way knowledge is co-created in social milieu or social groups (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999). Social milieus are the contexts in which localised systems of meaning are produced and used by members to make sense of their social world and their position within the world (Jovchelovitch, 2007). This concept finds parallels in the discourse coalitions proposed by Hajer (1993b) or the focus on the role of shared beliefs as the glue of politics proposed by

Sabatier (1988). SRT provides a theoretical basis and methodological precedent to identify social milieus or social groups with shared images, metaphors, perspectives and experiences. SRT posits that social milieus are loosely defined by common contexts, collective memories and actions. The present study identified five social milieus with shared social representations of urban consolidation (*Free market apartment advocates*, *Community group advocates*, *Greenfield advocates*, *The cynics* and *The happy homeowners*).

Within SRT, conflict is partially explained by divergent social representations of a phenomenon. SRT is particularly pertinent to the study of controversial phenomenon as it acknowledges complexity and contention, both within and between social groups and within individuals. Far from being rigid, one-dimensional constructs, SRs are understood to comprise a hierarchy of values, beliefs, emotions, attitudes, and practices (Abric, 1996). Acknowledging that different groups draw upon different references, experiences and contexts to shape their interpretation of urban policies is a valuable insight in creating more representative planning policies. As this study illustrates, different social groups utilise different priorities, explanations and ideas in relation to housing, regulation and urban form. Similarly, this study reveals that the urban consolidation debate is not a 'resident against development' and 'built form professional for development' dichotomy. Different demographic or professional categories are not homogenous groups with consensual perspectives. Identifying the role of social representations in delineating social milieu moves planning studies from researcher-imposed categories to a more nuanced understanding of how perspectives and understandings are shared, articulated and debated.

10.5.2 Methodological Contribution

The deployment of PTA, SMA and Q-methodology is a unique methodological contribution to research concerned with perceptions or social representations of a particular phenomenon. The methodological contribution of this thesis is three-fold. First, the detailed description of methods in Chapter Five is designed to allow future researchers to replicate the research process. Second, this thesis introduces three uncommon methods into the repertoire of methods available to urban researchers. Third, the thesis investigates and justifies a qual-quant mixed methods approach and demonstrates the levels of overlap and divergence in findings from three different research methods.

Individually, each method employed in this thesis is relatively uncommon and extensive research has revealed no instance where they have been employed together. This thesis

reveals that there is significant value in combining qualitative and quantitative approaches and in using both media analysis and sorting tasks to bring nuance to a research question. The research employed a combination of SMA, PTA and Q-methodology to add depth to research questions, satisfy the theoretical tenets of Social Representations Theory and meet the needs of a single-case case study concerned with nuanced understandings of a particular topic. SRT explicitly acknowledges the importance of both individual and social perspectives and is concerned with the context and diversity of voices related to a topic (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999; Wagner et al., 1999). In line with the precepts of SRT, this study investigated both individual perspectives (identified in interviews) and social perspectives (as communicated in the newspaper media). The triangulation of these data sources serves to display the spectrum of different perspectives and "determine core and peripheral elements of a representation, map contradictions and consistencies and explore the functions of the representation across the different modes and mediums" (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999, p. 177).

As discussed in Chapter Five, this thesis combined a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods to achieve expansionary and complementary findings. Complementarity is achieved by "measuring overlapping as well as different aspects of a phenomena in order to enrich the understanding of the phenomenon" (Gaber & Gaber, 1997, p. 99). Expansion seeks to extend the "breadth and range of enquiry by using different methods for different inquiry components" (Greene et al., 1989, p. 259). In particular, expansion is designed to apply the images of reality generated by one method to help analyse other sets of images generated by different research methods (Gaber & Gaber, 1997).

This thesis revealed the benefits of applying multiple methods within a research project. Table 16 highlights the strengths and weaknesses inherent to each method and illustrates the ability of the three methods to ameliorate the gaps created by applying just one method.

	Aims	Strengths	Weaknesses
Pragmatic Textual Analysis	To statistically identify instances of anchoring as indicated by clusters of commonly co-occurring words in a large corpus	Operations are statistical, transparent and reproducible and data analysis processes occur without reference to the meaning of the words, thereby removing the potential for researcher bias (Caillaud et al., 2012) Allows for analysis of a large amount of data in a short space of time By analysing a large amount of externally-created data, the method assures that all relevant dimensions of the representation are mapped (Lahlou 1996). Issues with sampling are dealt with (as sampling is not required) (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2013)	PTA does not consider the meaning and intention of texts, therefore it cannot identify sarcasm or irony (Bara, Weale, & Bicquelet, 2007). PTA does not capture multiple meanings for a single word or the critical context in which the words are used The relative simplicity of the software may cause inexperienced researchers to use the program uncritically and without reference to the underlying statistical relevance (Lahlou, 1996) Focus on official, media sources, leading to a bias in the perspectives communicated and a silencing actors who have not contributed to the creation of publicly available texts.
Semantic Metaph-orical Analysis	To identify examples of metaphorical objectificatio n occurring in the newspaper corpus	In-depth analysis of the meaning and intent of words based on context and perspective Holistic and nuanced approach to identifying underlying images, metaphors and icons used in media reporting Has the ability to identify irony, sarcasm and other literary techniques	Potential for lack of precision in what counts as a metaphor Time consuming so restricts the amount of articles that can be analysed Focus on official, media sources, leading to a bias in the perspectives communicated and silencing actors who have not contributed to the creation of publicly available texts.

Q-methodology	To "analyse subjectivity, in all its forms, in a structured and statistically interpretable form" (Barry and Proops 1999, 338–9	Provides holistic social representations without breaking down responses Allows individuals to self-define topics in their own words Allows for collection of qualitative and quantitative data Identifies lay person perspectives on urban consolidation Clusters individuals based on their subjective perspectives rather than demographic or professional clustering to reveal unexpected coalitions	Standardisation across Q-study interviews resulted in some participants struggling to understand particular Q-statements The hybridity between qualitative and quantitative methods prompts scepticism about whether it achieves either approach sufficiently

Table 16: PTA, SMA and Q-methodology comparison

The qualitative and quantitative media analysis approaches represent significantly different methodologies, with contrasting aims, strengths and weaknesses. Quantitative and qualitative analyses do not stand in opposition and exclude one another; on the contrary, they complement and add to one another. Quantitative approaches that analyse word co-occurrence and similarity yield sophisticated and insightful statistical results but run the risk of losing sight of the meaning of discourses and texts. Similarly, qualitative approaches often yield more subjective and less transparent results. Integration of quantitative and qualitative methodologies makes it possible to avoid the drawbacks with either methodology used individually (Colucci & Montali, 2008). The PTA's focus on statistical clustering techniques that occur with no recourse to word meaning or context is complemented by the nuanced and detailed textual analysis completed as part of the SMA. Similarly, the oft-noted challenges of ensuring transparency and consistency in qualitative textual analysis is supported by the quantitative aspect of PTA.

While the PTA and SMA aimed to identify the ideas, values and images circulating in society, Q-methodology was employed to cavass the spectrum of social representations expressed by individuals and shared by groups of people. This acknowledgement of both

formal communication in the media and informal communication in interviews is an integral component of research informed by SRT. Q-methodology was particularly useful in addressing a key weakness inherent in media analysis; the focus on powerful voices with the capacity to impact media stories and the focus on sanitised, politically correct narratives included in the media (Wolsink, 2004). In contrast, the Q-study explicitly engaged with residents with little involvement in development and planning processes and encouraged participants to speak openly with absolute confidentiality. The focus on subjective opinions also allowed participants to define key topics in their own terms and allowed for an investigation of lay perspectives on planning and development topics.

As noted earlier, the intent of this methodology is not to pursue triangulation of data but rather to achieve complementarity and expansion. The findings in this thesis reveal that the PTA, SMA and Q-methodology methods presented complementary outcomes with many overlapping findings but also individually revealed insights that were not identified in other methods. In particular, the PTA and SMA revealed social representations pertaining to regional growth management, local politics, home and housing, investment, urban precincts, neighbourhood change and land use conflict. However, the two methods produced different findings. For example, the SMA revealed the metaphorical objectification of apartments as sub-human homes, using terms like 'dog box' or 'chicken coop' or 'shoe box.' This did not appear in the PTA due to the specific and uncommon nature of the words but is none-the-less an important insight in this research. Similarly, the PTA revealed, based on statistical word co-occurrences, a marked connection between density increases and assumed improvements in public transport. The Q-sorts revealed similar themes but added nuance and alternative explanations to key arguments. Many of the narratives, images and values identified in the media analysis were reflected in the Q-sort interviews. However, this was not always the case. In particular, the following aspects were identified in Q-sorts and not in the media analysis: 1) alternative perspectives pertaining to community consultation and planning processes and 2) the lived experiences of the elderly or poor living in higher density housing.

Both the PTA and the SMA revealed a strong media portrayal of land use conflict, neighbourhood planning and a media focus on the political nature of planning and development decisions. There were many references to a lack of transparency in development processes, disgruntled communities and inappropriate council decisions. Similarly, metaphors referring to hurdles, barriers and red tape are indicative of a strong deregulation rhetoric in the newspaper media. While these social representations were also

reflected in many Q-sort interviews, these interviews also revealed an alternative narrative that focused on the impacts of performance-based planning. Multiple planning and development professionals referenced the confusion generated by performance-based planning as a key reason why communities perceived of planning decisions as unfair or inconsistent. The balance between flexibility and certainty that typifies debates around land use planning (Steele & Ruming, 2012) were apparent in Q-sort interviews but did not appear in the media. In fact, one respondent explicitly referenced the power-laden use of language in the media, commenting on the propensity of elected officials to incorrectly refer to performance-based outcomes as "going outside of the scheme" (Peak Organisation 1). It would appear that the complexity of performance-based planning with its reliance on acceptable and performance outcomes is rarely translated into media reporting, resulting in a perception that development decisions "go outside the scheme" and are inconsistent in Brisbane.

The Q-sort revealed significant levels of dissatisfaction with community consultation and neighbourhood planning processes amongst many respondents. Every factor referenced a disproportionately privileged group in the community consultation process. However, Factor One and Factor Five both upheld a belief that these processes were usually genuine, fair and consistent and empowering for community groups. Similarly, Factor Five reported little interest in planning processes but an underlying belief that it was being fairly delivered in Brisbane. These 'good news stories' are rarely featured in the newspaper but were a common story in the narratives of some residents, planners and developers.

Another perspective that was infrequently referenced in the media was that of elderly or low-income households. An interview with an elderly, low-income respondent revealed strong support for higher density housing, particularly in lower socio-economic areas. In his opinion, elderly people have much to gain from the development of apartments as elderly people "can't afford to do their gardens or haven't got the energy to do their gardens" (Resident HD 3) and therefore would be happy to live in an apartment. This argument, that features a description of the needs and aspirations of higher density housing residents is infrequent in media depictions of development. It reflects the perspective of someone who stands to gain from the creation of affordable housing and discusses meeting the needs of disadvantaged groups. This narrative was often omitted from newspaper coverage that often served to dehumanise high density dwellers, focusing instead on the perspectives of community groups opposing development, government plans for intensification or developer narratives of 'typical' higher density housing residents.

10.5.3 Practical Contributions

This thesis offers key lessons for stakeholders concerned with planning cities and neighbourhoods, engaging with the community and designing, influencing and delivering housing. As foregrounded in Chapter Five, a key research problem that inspired this thesis is the lack of understanding of the ways in which stakeholders perceive and communicate about urban consolidation in Brisbane and the implications this has for planning and delivery of this urban policy.

Housing

This thesis revealed a continuing and entrenched antipathy towards higher density housing as a long term housing choice. While the media analysis revealed several attempts by developers to naturalise the notion of family high rise living and some Q-sort interviews revealed that higher densities were gaining acceptability, the housing form continues to be largely associated with investors and short-term, childless occupants even in the narratives of high density advocates. Further, the larger the development, the less chance the development will attract owner-occupiers. This concept was reflected in fears of anonymity and placelessness in large developments. It was also canvassed in statements from developers stating that the investor-focused development cycle is ending resulting in reduced interest in small apartments in large buildings and a greater focus on boutique apartment blocks with larger individual apartments aimed at owner-occupiers. These developers attribute the current influx of investor-focused development to financial conditions and access to credit following the Global Financial Crisis. For them, development occurred due to the proportion of pre-commitments mandated by banks in order to obtain finance. The dramatic and perhaps unintended impacts of global credit movement and access to finance is an important consideration for planners and planning scholarship.

This finding presents a serious challenge for the longevity of inner-city high density living as housing delivered for investors often does not suit the needs of the end-user and may result in lower liveability and more volatile turnover of occupants. It also presents a challenge for the ongoing maintenance, governance and management of these buildings as housing with high proportions of investors and renters are anticipated to deteriorate faster as owners choose to pay less body corporate fees. Current challenges with gaining consensus to renovate or demolish deteriorating strata-titled stock (Easthope et al., 2014) are likely to be exacerbated in the future by the volume of apartment development and proportion of geographically dispersed and difficult-to-contact foreign investors. The future challenges for

this urban form will be creating urban environments that appeal to and meet the needs of a broad demographic.

The thesis also revealed a growing focus on medium-density, small-scale housing projects that allow for 'aging in place' and social diversity within neighbourhoods. Housing styles, such as small-lot housing, townhouses, terraces and walk-up apartment blocks, inspire support from a range of sources including developers, planners, residents and architects. Interviews often identified support for 'human-scale' development, usually described as up to 6 storeys. These housing forms are a potential solution to meet the need for appropriate, well-serviced and affordable housing in Brisbane and are often associated with young families, couples and empty nesters. Medium density housing presents opportunities for affordable and appropriate housing provision as domestic construction processes are cheaper than commercial construction (Rowley & Phibbs, 2012) and can be delivered by a wider range of builders and developers, thus increasing competition in the market. Similarly, they help to provide a different housing product that suits the needs of households across the age, socio-economic and household composition spectrum. Interviews with older residents revealed a desire to downsize but a perceived lack of appropriate options in the same neighbourhood as their existing residence.

Urban Form

The urban consolidation debate is based on several tropes and narratives that serve to justify the application of this urban policy. In particular, planning policy, media representations and Q-sort interviews reveal a strong perceived correlation between higher densities and public transport and walkability. The *SEQ Regional Plan 2009* and *Brisbane City Plan 2014* both present a simplified correlation between compact cities and sustainability that is neither reflected in scholarship nor believed by most interviewed stakeholders. While higher densities can result in reduced automobile dependency, policy documents and the media tend to simplify the correlation and uncritically apply the argument. Mees (2009) argues that transport policy is far more influential than density in predicting public transport usage. Kamruzzaman et al. (2014) have identified a role for Transit Oriented Developments (TOD) in reducing automobile dependence in Brisbane but have stressed that 'one size fits all' approaches will not work and that there are many mitigating factors impacting the effectiveness of TOD. Given the complexity of transport and land-use interactions it is important to acknowledge that density without other considerations may not positively impact transport outcomes and may in fact have perverse outcomes.

The polarisation noted within scholarly debate about the sustainability credentials of urban consolidation is also apparent within the narratives of key stakeholders in Brisbane. The argument that urban consolidation and higher density housing can deliver reduced environmental impact was one of the most contentious concepts in the Q-study. Respondents were more likely to refer to different sources of information or different sustainability metrics to support their arguments than outline any concrete aspects of their preferred urban form that supports sustainability. There is a need to question more explicitly the environmental credentials of individual high-density buildings and precincts, with reference to an expanded notion of sustainability that goes beyond density.

Urban consolidation is also likely to cause challenges for social sustainability without intervention from the State government. The Q-study and media analysis revealed a naturalised assumption that growth and densification would push lower socio-economic households to the city outskirts. This form of spatial segregation entrenches cycles of social disadvantage and is not appropriately dealt with by current consolidation policies. This research reveals that local planners do not feel they have the power to change this trend and that developers often do not consider the appropriateness of housing in their consideration of affordability.

Consultation and Regulation

Community consultation and planning regulation are fraught issues that inspired much contention in this thesis. A key insight relates to performance-based planning and the confusion and miscommunications this evokes in residents. Planners and developers acknowledged the complexity of communicating performance-based outcomes to community groups. They also identified the power of language to convolute development processes, referring to local politicians and local community group leaders who describe performance outcomes as “going outside the scheme” (Peak Organisation 1).

This research project also reveals a gap in communicating the benefits of urban consolidation. The media analysis revealed a strong focus on combatting urban sprawl and managing population growth in a sustainable manner. In fact, ‘sustainable’ was one of the most commonly occurring words in the PTA, while imagery related to sprawl and population growth were common in the SMA. However, interviews with residents often revealed a lack of association between higher densities and environmental sustainability with multiple respondents commenting that they had never considered that connection before. In contrast, almost all respondents felt comfortable commenting on the outcomes of urban

expansion and its impact on farming land and natural habitats. The interviews reveal a marked lack of familiarity with the justifications for higher density housing. Whilst housing and sustainability is often not a salient topic for the lay population, it is indicative of the inability of government or industry to 'sell' the environmental credentials of higher density living. This finding echoes previous scholarship that suggests that urban consolidation is often depicted as the natural antidote to urban sprawl while the benefits of consolidation within an urban area are rarely communicated (Rosol, 2013). Similarly, it is indicative of Kern's (2007) observation that the focus on combatting urban sprawl has served to 'greenwash' inner-city development and divert attention from the environmental credentials (or lack thereof) of higher density development.

Compact city enthusiasts have rarely presented a coherent argument for the benefits of consolidation on a local level. Instead, it is presented either as necessary to manage regional growth or as a process for creating vibrant, mixed-use urban precincts. However, this strategy conflicts with other government narratives that serve to position density as a necessary evil that will (hopefully) happen to someone else. This is apparent in narratives that promote the fact that only 7% of the city will be impacted by higher densities under the Brisbane City Plan 2014 (Brisbane City Council, 2014b). The creation of differentiated hubs and precincts is a key pillar of Brisbane planning and part of the overarching Australian planning mantra described by Forster (2006) as typified by a desire for consolidation, containment and centres. While this strategy is based on efficiency and sustainability arguments, the strong 'othering' of higher density locales evident in social representations of urban consolidation in Brisbane has significant implications. The focus on 'protecting' low-density suburbs from higher density development and concentrating investment in specific locations has resulted in social representations that depict density as an unwelcome intruder and dehumanise higher density developments and occupants.

As elaborated in Chapter Four, SRT posits that community opposition to densification is often a reaction to shared images, symbols and narratives about a new phenomenon. This study revealed that imagery in the media surrounding urban consolidation includes 'shoe-box' apartments, 'sardine suburbs,' "wide-spread destruction and over-development" (Moore, 2010b) and "faceless men from the ULDA" (Calligeros, 2011). These images constitute "elaborations for social groups serving to maintain the stability of their particular life-world" (Wagner et al 2000, p304). SRT suggests that people do not merely process information as individuals and instead react to shared symbolic threats. Therefore those

charged with mediating, communicating and delivering densification should take care to assuage fears about these collective images and narratives.

10.6 *Recommended Future Research*

This thesis has identified social representations pertaining to urban consolidation in Brisbane. It has also commented on the power-laden implications of these social representations and how they impact on policy, development decisions, community activism and housing consumption. A useful future research endeavour would be to undertake a comparative analysis of two or more cities to future investigate the impact of differing social, political, environmental, historical and interest group contexts on the creation of social representations. For example, it is likely that cities with a longer history of higher density housing will draw upon entirely different images, narratives, ideas and values than Brisbane. The theoretical framework promoted in this thesis lends itself to investigating such comparisons and, as such, has the potential to improve urban theorisation around the impact of various contexts of social representations or common sense knowledge. Similarly, the methodologies described in this thesis are replicable and could be applied to future comparative analysis.

10.7 *Conclusion*

This thesis identified the social representations pertaining to urban consolidation in Brisbane. Urban consolidation is an urban policy concerned with increasing the density of dwellings and/or population within an existing urban area. Along with associated notions like the compact city, smart growth and urban intensification, urban consolidation can be viewed as a pervasive planning paradigm across Australia (Bunker & Searle, 2009), the UK (Williams, 2004), the US (Dong & Zhu, 2015), New Zealand (Boon, 2010) and parts of western Europe (Williams, 2004). While it is widely applied and supported in planning documents, it has often received criticism for not achieving its purported sustainability outcomes, for failing to be implemented and for engendering staunch opposition from a range of stakeholders (Breheny, 1997).

In this context of policy salience and political controversy, it is important to study the social representations or constellations of values, ideas, norms and narratives surrounding urban consolidation. This thesis demonstrated that urban consolidation social

representations contained associated notions pertaining to regional population management and sustainability, land use conflict and consultation, home and housing, investment, urban precinct renewal and neighbourhood change. These themes were prevalent in newspaper media and in the individual perspectives of Q-sort participants.

The social representations revealed in this thesis highlight several areas of entrenched power imbalances and help to identify the housing and urban planning orthodoxies that structure the planning, delivery and evaluation of urban consolidation activities. In particular, the construction of higher density housing subjugates families with children and low-income households. Similarly, the social representations of urban consolidation feature varied and contradictory understandings of its ability to achieve environmental, social and economic sustainability imperatives. Indeed, sustainability imperatives are rarely embedded in the day to day actions of stakeholders. The broadly neoliberal and anti-regulation themes within this thesis reveal a focus on market-driven development motivated predominantly by profit and meeting market demand. Similarly, current community consultation processes inspire criticism from all stakeholders.

Far from representing a unified, shared concept, urban consolidation is a multi-faceted topic influenced by a range of ideas, values and practices. These social representations are revealed through the anchoring and objectification mechanisms employed in the media and in interviews. They reveal the process through which knowledge is circulated and transformed and the powerful ways this is used to create certain realities while delimiting and silencing others. The social representations surrounding this topic are highly divisive and are indicative of the alternative versions of reality supported by different stakeholders to support their own interests and symbolically cope with novel phenomena. This thesis reveals that urban consolidation is inherently imbedded in differing notions of housing, home, population growth, regulation, consultation, investment, affordability, neighbourhood change, conflict and politics.

References

Abric, J.-C. (1996). *Psychologie de la communication : théories et méthodes*. Paris: Éditions A. Colin.

Adams, R. (2009). Transforming Australian Cities. In H. Sykes (Ed.), *Climate Change: On for Young and Old*. Melbourne: Australian Future Leaders.

Addams, H. (2000). Q methodology. In H. Addams & J. L. Proops (Eds.), *Social discourse and environmental policy: an application of Q methodology*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Addison, C., Zhang, S., & Coomes, B. (2013). Smart Growth and Housing Affordability A Review of Regulatory Mechanisms and Planning Practices. *Journal of Planning Literature, 28*(3), 215-257.

Adrian, P. (1991). 'Where to now? A summary report into public sector cost savings of urban consolidation'. *Urban Futures, 1*(2), 16-29.

Albrechts, L. (2003). Reconstructing decision-making: planning versus politics. *Planning Theory, 2*(3), 249-268.

Alexander, E. R. (1992). *Approaches to planning: Introducing current planning theories, concepts, and issues*. Luxembourg: Taylor & Francis.

Alves, T. (2006). *Managing Medium Density Housing Development: A Municipal Case Study.* (Doctor of Philosophy), Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne.

Amati, M., & Taylor, L. (2010). From Green Belts to Green Infrastructure. *Planning Practice & Research, 25*(2), 143-155. doi:10.1080/02697451003740122

Ancell, S., & Thompson-Fawcett, M. (2008). The Social Sustainability of Medium Density Housing: A Conceptual Model and Christchurch Case Study. *Housing Studies, 23*(3), 423-442. doi:10.1080/02673030802029990

Andriotis, K., & Vaughan, R. (2003). Urban Residents' Attitudes toward tourism development: the case of Crete. *Journal of Travel Research, 42*, 172-185.

Aurand, A. (2010). Density, Housing Types and Mixed Land Use: Smart Tools for Affordable Housing? *Urban Studies, 47*(5), 1015-1036. doi:10.1177/0042098009353076

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2011). Census Quick Stats - 2011. *ABS Quick Stats.* Retrieved http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/censushome.nsf/home/quickstats?opendocument&navpos=220

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2012). GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION. *Year Book Australia, 2012.* Retrieved May 7th 2014 from http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/by%20Subject/1301.0~2012~Main%20Features~Geographic%20distribution%20of%20the%20population~49

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2016). Building Approvals, Australia, Jul 2016. Retrieved http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/8731.0Jul%202016?OpenDocument

Baker, D. C., Sipe, N. G., & Gleeson, B. J. (2006). Performance-Based Planning Perspectives from the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 25*(4), 396-409.

Baker, T. (2013). Home-making in Higher Density Cities: Residential Experiences in Newcastle, Australia. *Urban Policy and Research, 31*(3), 265-279. doi:10.1080/08111146.2013.799064

Bangerter, A. (2000). Transformation between scientific and social representations of conception: The method of serial reproduction. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 39*(4), 521-535.

Bara, J., Weale, A., & Bicquelet, A. (2007). Analysing Parliamentary Debate with Computer Assistance. *Swiss Political Science Review, 13*(4), 577-605. doi:10.1002/j.1662-6370.2007.tb00090.x

Barbosa, J. C., Willoughby, P., Rosenberg, C. A., & Mrtek, R. G. (1998). Statistical methodology: VII. Q-methodology, a structural analytic approach to medical subjectivity. *Academic Emergency Medicine, 5*(10), 1032-1040.

Barry, J., & Proops, J. (1999). Seeking sustainability discourses with Q methodology. *Ecological Economics, 28*(3), 337-345.

Batten, D. C. (1999). The Mismatch Argument: The Construction of a Housing Orthodoxy in Australia. *Urban Studies, 36*(1), 137-151. doi:10.1080/0042098993781

Bauer, M. W. (2005). Public Perceptions and Mass Media in the Biotechnology Controversy. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research, 17*(1), 5-22. doi:10.1093/ijpor/edh054

Bauer, M. W., & Gaskell, G. (1999). Towards a Paradigm for Research on Social Representations. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 29*(2), 163-185.

Bauer, M. W., & Gaskell, G. (2008). Social Representations Theory: A Progressive Research Programme for Social Psychology. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 38*(4), 335-353. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5914.2008.00374.x

Baumgart, S. (2010, 4 August). Govt's school of thought misguided: Newman. *The Brisbane Times*.

Belden, N., Shashaty, A., & Zipperer, J. (2004). *What we know about public attitudes on affordable housing: A review of existing public opinion research*

Bevir, M., & Rhodes, R. (2003). *Interpreting British governance*. London: Routledge.

Billig, M. (1991). *Ideology and opinions: Studies in rhetorical psychology*. London: Sage.

Birdsall-Jones, C. (2013). The Bronx in Australia: The Metaphoric Stigmatization of Public Housing Tenants in Australian Towns and Cities. *Journal of Urban History, 39*(2), 315-330. doi:10.1177/0096144212465265

Birrell, B., & Healy, E. (2013). *Melbourne's High rise Apartment Boom* Melbourne:

Bishop, B. J. (1995). The social costs and benefits of urban consolidation: a time budget/contingent valuation approach. *Journal of economic psychology, 16*(2), 223-245. doi:10.1016/0167-4870(95)00006-A

Blunden, H. (2016). Discourses around negative gearing of investment properties in Australia. *Housing Studies, 31*(3), 340-357. doi:10.1080/02673037.2015.1080820

Boon, J. (2010). The interplay of market forces and government action in the achievement of urban intensification: the case of Auckland, New Zealand. *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability, 3*(3), 295-310. doi:10.1080/17549175.2010.526363

Bourdieu, P. (1985). The social space and the genesis of groups. *Theory and society, 14*(6), 723-744.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power* (G. Raymond & M. Adamson, Trans.). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Boyd, C. (2012, 26 June). Up not out for housing. *The Brisbane Times*.

Breheny, M. (1997). Urban compaction: feasible and acceptable? *Cities, 14*(4), 209-217. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0264-2751(97)00005-X

Brenner, N., & Theodore, N. (2002). Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism". *Antipode, 34*(3), 349-379. doi:10.1111/1467-8330.00246

Brevini, B. (2015). From Media Policy to 'Big' Media Policy: The Battle for Pluralism in Australia. In S. Barnett & J. Townend (Eds.), *Media Power and Plurality: From Hyperlocal to High-Level Policy* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brisbane blueprint best way to blend past, present and future. (2014, 31 May). *The Courier Mail*.

Brisbane City Council. (2011). *Brisbane City Council Community Engagement Policy* Brisbane: Brisbane City Council,.

Brisbane City Council. (2014a). Brisbane City Plan 2014. Retrieved

Brisbane City Council. (2014b). New City Plan to guide Brisbane's future development. Retrieved 5 March 2015 from

Brisbane Residents United. (2016). Brisbane Residents United. Retrieved 29th September2016 from http://brisbaneresidentsunited.org/

Bromley, R. (2004). Power, property and poverty: Why De Soto's "mystery of capital" cannot be solved. *Urban informality: Transnational perspectives from the middle East, Latin America and south Asia*, 271-288.

Brown-Saracino, J., & Rumpf, C. (2011). Diverse imageries of gentrification: Evidence from newspaper coverage in seven US cities, 1986-2006. *Journal of Urban Affairs, 33*(3), 289-315. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9906.2011.00552.x

Brown, G., & Chin, S. Y. W. (2013). Assessing the Effectiveness of Public Participation in Neighbourhood Planning. *Planning Practice & Research, 28*(5), 563-588. doi:10.1080/02697459.2013.820037

Brown, S. (1993). A primer on Q methodology. *Operant Subjectivity, 16*, 91-138.

Brown, S., Durning, D. W., & Selden, S. (2007). Q-Methodology. In G. J. Miller & K. Yang (Eds.), *Handbook of research methods in public administration* (2nd ed., pp. 721-764). Boca Raton, FL: Auerback Publications.

Brown, S. R. (1980). *Political subjectivity: applications of Q methodology in political science*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Brown, S. R. (1996). Q methodology and qualitative research. *Qualitative Health Research, 6*(4), 561-567.

Browne, A. L., Leviston, Z., Green, M. J., & Nancarrow, B. E. (2008). *Technical and Community Perspectives of Risks Associated with Purified Recycled Water in South East Queensland: A Q-Study*. Brisbane:

Bryman, A. (2004). *Social research methods* (2nd ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Buijs, A. E., Arts, B. J. M., Elands, B. H. M., & Lengkeek, J. (2011). Beyond environmental frames: The social representation and cultural resonance of nature in conflicts over a Dutch woodland. *Geoforum, 42*(3), 329-341. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2010.12.008

Buijs, A. E., Fischer, A., Rink, D., & Young, J. C. (2008). Looking beyond superficial knowledge gaps: Understanding public representations of biodiversity. *International Journal of Biodiversity Science & Management, 4*(2), 65-80. doi:10.3843/Biodiv.4.2:1

Bunce, S. (2004). The emergence of 'smart growth' intensification in Toronto: environment and economy in the new official plan. *Local Environment, 9*(2), 177-191. doi:10.1080/1354983042000199525

Bunker, R. (2014). How Is the Compact City Faring in Australia? *Planning Practice & Research, 29*(5), 449-460.

Bunker, R., Holloway, D., & Randolph, B. (2005a). The expansion of urban consolidation in Sydney: Social impacts and implications. *Australian Planner, 42*(3), 16-25.

Bunker, R., Holloway, D., & Randolph, B. (2005b). *Separating prospects from propaganda in urban consolidation*. Paper presented at the Second State of Australian Cities conference, Griffith University, Brisbane.

Bunker, R., & Searle, G. (2009). Theory and Practice in Metropolitan Strategy: Situating Recent Australian Planning. *Urban Policy and Research, 27*(2), 101-116. doi:10.1080/08111140902971426

Burchell, R. W., Listokin, D., & Galley, C. C. (2000). Smart growth: More than a ghost of urban policy past, less than a bold new horizon. *Housing Policy Debate, 11*(4), 821-879. doi:10.1080/10511482.2000.9521390

Burchell, R. W., Lowenstein, G., Dolphin, W. R., Galley, C. C., Downs, A., Seskin, S., . . . Moore, T. (2002). *Costs of Sprawl - 2000*. Washington: T. R. B.-N. R. Council

Burke, T., & Hulse, K. (2010). The Institutional Structure of Housing and the Sub-prime Crisis: An Australian Case Study. *Housing Studies, 25*(6), 821-838. doi:10.1080/02673037.2010.511161

Burton, E. (2000). The compact city: Just or just compact? A preliminary analysis. *Urban Studies, 37*(11), 1969-2006.

Buxton, M., & Taylor, E. (2011). Urban land supply, governance and the pricing of land. *Urban Policy and Research, 29*(1), 5-22.

Buxton, M., & Tieman, G. (2005). Patterns of Urban Consolidation in Melbourne: Planning Policy and the Growth of Medium Density Housing. *Urban Policy and Research, 23*(2), 137-157. doi:10.1080/08111470500135086

Buys, L., & Miller, E. (2011). Conceptualising convenience: Transportation practices and perceptions of inner-urban high density residents in Brisbane, Australia. *Transport Policy, 18*(1), 289-297. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tranpol.2010.08.012

Buys, L., & Miller, E. (2012). Residential satisfaction in inner urban higher-density Brisbane, Australia : role of dwelling, neighbours and neighbourhood. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management, 55*(3), 319-338.

Byford, J. (2002). Anchoring and objectifying "neocortical warfare": Representation of a biological metaphor in Serbian conspiracy literature.

Caillaud, S., Kalampalikis, N., & Flick, U. (2012). The social representations of the Bali climate conference in the French and German media. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 22*(4), 363-378.

Calligeros, M. (2009, 02 December). McMansions put cracks in population plan. *The Brisbane Times*.

Calligeros, M. (2010a, 22 July). Getting the Gabba mix right. *The Brisbane Times*.

Calligeros, M. (2010b, 27 March). Underbuild could see affordability crisis deepen. *The Brisbane Times*.

Calligeros, M. (2011, 09 February). Flagstone residents rail against new city. *The Brisbane Times*.

Camagni, R., Gibelli, M. C., & Rigamonti, P. (2002). Urban mobility and urban form: the social and environmental costs of different patterns of urban expansion. *Ecological Economics, 40*(2), 199-216.

Campbell, H. (2002). Planning: An Idea of Value. *The Town Planning Review, 73*(3), 271-288. doi:10.3828/tpr.73.3.3

Campbell, H. (2012a). 'Planning ethics' and rediscovering the idea of planning. *Planning Theory, 11*(4), 379-399. doi:10.1177/1473095212442159

Campbell, H. (2012b). Planning to Change the World: Between Knowledge and Action Lies Synthesis. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 32*(2), 135-146. doi:10.1177/0739456x11436347

Campbell, H., & Marshall, R. (2000). Public involvement and planning: Looking beyond the one to the many. *International Planning Studies, 5*(3), 321-344.

Cardew, R. V. (1989). *Urban consolidation : a comment / Richard Cardew. Metropolitan planning and urban consolidation /Patrick N. Troy. A decade of urban consolidation /Raymond Bunker*. Canberra: Urban Research Unit, Australian National University.

Castro, P. (2006). Applying social psychology to the study of environmental concern and environmental worldviews: contributions from the social representations approach.

Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 16(4), 247-266. doi:10.1002/casp.864

Castro, P., & Batel, S. (2008). Social Representation, Change and Resistance: On the Difficulties of Generalizing New Norms. *Culture & Psychology, 14*(4), 475-497. doi:10.1177/1354067x08096512

Castro, P., Batel, S., Devine-Wright, H., Kronberger, N., Mouro, C., Weiss, K., & Wagner, W. (2010). Redesigning nature and managing risk: Social representation, change and resistance. In M. Tolba, S. Soliman, & A. Abdel-Hadi (Eds.), *Environment, Health and Sustainable Development* (pp. 227-241). Cambridge: Hogrefe & Huber Publishers.

Cattell, R. B. (1966). The Scree Test For The Number Of Factors. *Multivariate Behavioral Research, 1*(2), 245-276. doi:10.1207/s15327906mbr0102_10

Chalmers, E. (2007a, 25 August). Housing pressure forces city to Grow up. *The Courier Mail*. Retrieved from http://gateway.library.qut.edu.au/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=anh&AN=200708251052930466&site=ehost-live

Chalmers, J. (2007b, 10 October). Hassle-free housing alternative. *Northside Chronicle*.

Chalmers, L. (2014, 28 February). Backyard Blitz. *The Courier Mail*.

Chartier, J.-F., & Meunier, J.-G. (2011). Text Mining Methods for Social Representation Analysis in Large Corpora *Papers on Social Representations, 20*(37), 1-47.

Churchman, A. (2002). Environmental Psychology and Urban Planning: Where can the Twain Meet? In R. B. Bechtel & A. Churchman (Eds.), *Handbook of Environmental Psychology*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Clifford, B. (2006). Only a town planner would run a toxic-waste pipeline through a recreational area: Planning and planners in the British press. *TPR: Town Planning Review, 77*(4), 423-455.

COAG Reform Council. (2012). *Review of Capital City Strategic Planning Systems: Report to the Council of Australian Governments*. Sydney:

Cohen, B. (1963). *The Press and Foreign Policy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Coiacetto, E. (2007). Residential Sub-market Targeting by Developers in Brisbane. *Urban Policy & Research, 25*(2), 257-274. doi:10.1080/08111140701344833

Colucci, F. P., & Montali, L. (2008). Comparative application of two methodological approaches to the analysis of discourses. *International Journal of Multiple Research Approaches, 2*(1), 57-70.

Connell, D. J. (2010). Schools of Planning Thought: Exploring Differences through Similarities. *International Planning Studies, 15*(4), 269-280. doi:10.1080/13563475.2010.517286

Cook, N., Taylor, E., & Hurley, J. (2013). At home with strategic planning: reconciling resident attachments to home with policies of residential densification. *Australian Planner, 50*(2), 130-137. doi:10.1080/07293682.2013.776982

Cook, N., Taylor, E., Hurley, J., & Colic-Peisker, V. (2012). *Resident third party objections and appeals against planning applications: implications for higher density and social housing*. Melbourne:

Costello, L. (2005). From Prisons to Penthouses: The Changing Images of High-Rise Living in Melbourne. *Housing Studies, 20*(1), 49-62. doi:10.1080/0267303042000308723

Council of Mayors. (2011a). *Draft Policy Position Paper*. Brisbane

Council of Mayors. (2011b). *Next Generation Planning. A handbook for planners, designers and developers in South East Queensland*. Brisbane C. o. Mayors

Council of Mayors. (2011c). *Summary Extract: Feasibility and Viability of Medium Density Development in SEQ Regional* Brisbane: C. o. Mayors

Crane, R. (2000). The Influence of Urban Form on Travel: An Interpretive Review. *Journal of Planning Literature, 15*(1), 3-23. doi:10.1177/08854120022092890

Creswell, J. W., & Clark, V. L. P. (2007). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. New York: Sage.

Cuthill, M. (2010). Strengthening the 'social' in sustainable development: Developing a conceptual framework for social sustainability in a rapid urban growth region in Australia. *Sustainable Development, 18*(6), 362-373. doi:10.1002/sd.397

Darcy, M. (2010). De-concentration of Disadvantage and Mixed Income Housing: a Critical Discourse Approach. *Housing, Theory and Society, 27*(1), 1-22. doi:10.1080/14036090902767516

Das, T. H. (1983). Qualitative research in organizational behaviour. *Journal of management studies, 20*(3), 301-314.

Davison, A. (2006). Stuck in a Cul-de-Sac? Suburban History and Urban Sustainability in Australia. *Urban Policy and Research, 24*(2), 201-216. doi:10.1080/08111140600704137

Davison, G. (2009). Carlton and the campus: the university and the gentrification of inner Melbourne 1958–75. *Urban Policy and Research, 27*(3), 253-264.

Davison, G. (Forthcoming). 'Suburb is not a rude word in Australia': A Lexical History. In R. Harris & C. Vorms (Eds.), *What's in a Name? Talking about 'Suburbs'*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Davison, G., & Legacy, C. (2014). Positive Planning and Sustainable Brownfield Regeneration: The Role and Potential of Government Land Development Agencies. *International Planning Studies, 19*(2), 154-172. doi:10.1080/13563475.2013.878286

Davoudi, S. (2006). Evidence-Based Planning. *disP - The Planning Review, 42*(165), 14-24. doi:10.1080/02513625.2006.10556951

Davoudi, S. (2015). Planning as practice of knowing. *Planning Theory*, 1473095215575919.

Dawkins, C. J., & Nelson, A. C. (2002). Urban containment policies and housing prices: an international comparison with implications for future research. *Land Use Policy, 19*(1), 1-12.

de Roo, G., & Miller, D. (2000). Introduction. In G. de Roo & D. Miller (Eds.), *Compact Cities and Sustainable Urban Development* (pp. 1-16). Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company.

Dear, M. (1992). UNDERSTANDING AND OVERCOMING THE NIMBY SYNDROME. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 58*(3), 288-300. doi:10.1080/01944369208975808

Demographia. (2014). *Demographia World Urban Areas: 10TH ANNUAL EDITION*

Desfor, G., Keil, R., Kipfer, S., & Wekerle, G. (2006). From surf to turf: no limits to growth in Toronto? *Studies in Political Economy, 77*(1), 131-155.

Devine-Wright, P. (2009). Rethinking NIMBYism: The role of place attachment and place identity in explaining place-protective action. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 19*(6), 426-441. doi:10.1002/casp.1004

Devine-Wright, P. (2011). Place attachment and public acceptance of renewable energy: A tidal energy case study. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 31*(4), 336-343. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2011.07.001

Devine-Wright, P., & Howes, Y. (2010). Disruption to place attachment and the protection of restorative environments: A wind energy case study. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 30*(3), 271-280. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2010.01.008

Di Masso, A., Dixon, J., & Pol, E. (2011). On the contested nature of place: 'Figuera's Well', 'The Hole of Shame' and the ideological struggle over public space in Barcelona. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 31*(3), 231-244. doi:10.1016/j.jenvp.2011.05.002

Dickinson, J. E., & Dickinson, J. A. (2006). Local Transport and Social Representations: Challenging the Assumptions for Sustainable Tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 14*(2), 192-208. doi:10.1080/09669580608669052

Dodson, J. (2010). In the Wrong Place at the Wrong Time? Assessing some Planning, Transport and Housing Market Limits to Urban Consolidation Policies. *Urban Policy and Research, 28*(4), 487-504. doi:10.1080/08111146.2010.517158

Dodson, J. (2012). Transforming Australia's Housing 'Solution': how we can better plan suburbia to meet our future challenges. In R. Tomlinson (Ed.), *Australia's Unintended Cities* (pp. 19-32). Victoria, Australia: CSIRO Publishing

Dodson, J., & Gleeson, B. (2007). *The use of density in Australian planning*. Paper presented at the State of Australian Cities, Adelaide.

Dodson, J., Gleeson, B., & Spiller, M. (2012). Governance, metropolitan planning and city-building: the case for reform. In R. Tomlinson (Ed.), *Australia's Unintended Cities* (pp. 117-134). Victoria, Australia: CSIRO Publishing

Donald, J. (1999). *Imagining the modern city*. The Athlone Press.

Dong, H., & Gliebe, J. (2012). Assessing the Impacts of Smart Growth Policies on Home Developers in a Bi-state Metropolitan Area: Evidence from the Portland Metropolitan Area. *Urban Studies, 49*(10), 2219-2235. doi:10.1177/0042098011422575

Dong, H., & Zhu, P. (2015). Smart growth in two contrastive metropolitan areas: A comparison between Portland and Los Angeles. *Urban Studies, 52*(4), 775-792. doi:10.1177/0042098014528396

Donovan, T., & Neiman, M. (1995). Local Growth Control Policy and Changes in Community Characteristics. *Social Science Quarterly, 76*(4), 780.

Dovey, K., & Woodcock, I. (2011). *THE CHARACTER OF URBAN INTENSIFICATION*. Melbourne:

Dovey, K., Woodcock, I., & Wood, S. (2009). Understanding neighbourhood character: The case of Camberwell. *Australian Planner, 46*(3), 32-39. doi:10.1080/07293682.2009.10753406

Downs, A. (2005). Smart growth: why we discuss it more than we do it. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 71*(4), 367-378.

Dreier, P. (2005). How the Media Compound Urban Problems. *Journal of Urban Affairs, 27*(2), 193-201. doi:10.1111/j.0735-2166.2005.00232.x

Druckman, J. (2005). Media Matter: How Newspapers and Television News Cover Campaigns and Influence Voters. *Political Communication, 22*, 463-481.

Dryzek, J. S. (1994). *Discursive democracy: Politics, policy, and political science*: Cambridge University Press.

Dryzek, J. S. (2005). Handle with care: The deadly hermeneutics of deliberative instrumentation. *Acta Politica, 40*(2), 197-211.

Duenckmann, F. (2010). The village in the mind: applying Q-methodology to re-constructing constructions of rurality. *Journal of Rural Studies, 26*(3), 284-295.

Dunn, K. (2000). Interviewing. In I. Hay (Ed.), *Qualitative research methods in human geography* (pp. 50-82). Malbourne: Oxford University Press.

Durning, D. (1999). The Transition from Traditional to Postpositivist Policy Analysis: A Role for Q-Methodology. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, 18*(3), 389-410. doi:10.2307/3325904

Durut, C. (2014, 31 May). Asians buy up big on Brisbane unit tours. *The Courier Mail*.

Dyckman, J. W. (1969). Guest Editor's Introduction: The Practical Uses of Planning Theory. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 35*(5), 298-300.

Easthope, H., & Tice, A. (2011). Children in Apartments: Implications for the Compact City. *Urban Policy and Research, 29*(4), 415-434. doi:10.1080/08111146.2011.627834

Easthope, H., Warnken, J., Sherry, C., Coiacetto, E., Dredge, D., Guilding, C., . . . Reid, S. (2014). How property title impacts urban consolidation: a life cycle examination of multi-title developments. *Urban Policy and Research, 32*(3), 289-304.

Eidelman, G. (2010). Managing Urban Sprawl in Ontario: Good Policy or Good Politics? *Politics & Policy, 38*(6), 1211-1236. doi:10.1111/j.1747-1346.2010.00275.x

Elcheroth, G., Doise, W., & Reicher, S. (2011). On the knowledge of politics and the politics of knowledge: How a social representations approach helps us rethink the subject of political psychology. *Political Psychology, 32*(5), 729-758.

Ellis, G. (2004). Discourses of Objection: Towards an Understanding of Third-Party Rights in Planning. *Environment and Planning A, 36*(9), 1549-1570. doi:10.1068/a36176

Ellis, G., Barry, J., & Robinson, C. (2007). Many ways to say 'no', different ways to say 'yes': Applying Q-Methodology to understand public acceptance of wind farm proposals. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management, 50*(4), 517-551. doi:10.1080/09640560701402075

England, P. (2007). The South East Regional Plan: a landmark in the demise of the'developmental'state?(or NIMBY comes to Brisbane). *Australasian Journal of Natural Resources Law and Policy, 11*(2), 119.

Ewing, R., & Cervero, R. (2010). Travel and the Built Environment. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 76*(3), 265-294. doi:10.1080/01944361003766766

Fainstein, S. S., & Campbell, S. (Eds.). (2012). *Readings in Planning Theory* (3rd Edition ed.). West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. Essex: Addison Wesley Longman Limited.

Farhat, R. (2014). Progressive planning, biased discourse, and critique: An agentic perspective. *Planning Theory, 13*(1), 82-98. doi:10.1177/1473095213481653

Farr, R. (1993). Theory and Method in the study of social representations. In G. M. Breakwell & D. V. Canter (Eds.), *Empirical Approaches to Social Representations*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Fast-track plan in 'go zones'. (2010, 18 March). *The Courier Mail*.

Feeney, K. (2012a, 11 September). Brisbane's liveability on the slide: report. *The Brisbane Times*.

Feeney, K. (2012b, August 23). Population sweet spot: How big should Brisbane grow? *The Brisbane Times*.

Ferreira, A., & Batey, P. (2011). On why planning should not reinforce self-reinforcing trends: A cautionary analysis of the compact-city proposal applied to large cities. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design, 38*(2), 231-247. doi:10.1068/b36102

Filion, P. (2010). Reorienting Urban Development? Structural Obstruction to New Urban Forms. *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research, 34*(1), 1-19. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2009.00896.x

Filion, P., & Kramer, A. (2011). Transformative Metropolitan Development Models in Large Canadian Urban Areas: The Predominance of Nodes. *Urban Studies, 49*(10). doi:10.1177/0042098011423565

Fincher, R. (2004). Gender and life course in the narratives of Melbourne's high-rise housing developers. *Australian Geographical Studies, 42*(3), 325-338.

Fincher, R. (2007). Is high-rise housing innovative? Developers' contradictory narratives of high-rise housing in Melbourne. *Urban Studies, 44*(3), 631-649.

Fincher, R., & Gooder, H. (2007). At Home with Diversity in Medium-Density Housing. *Housing, Theory and Society, 24*(3), 166-182. doi:10.1080/14036090701374530

Finnila, R. (2007, 05 April). Facelift looms - Fresh boost for tired suburbs. *The Courier - Mail,* p. 91.

Firth, J. (1957). *A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, 1930-1955*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Fischer, F. (2003). *Reframing public policy: discursive politics and deliberative practices: discursive politics and deliberative practices*: OUP Oxford.

Fischer, H., & Gokhan, A. (2011). *Residential Density (Liveable Communities) Market Perceptions Final Report*. Adelaide: H. Research

Fisher, R., & McPhail, R. (2014). Residents' Experiences in Condominiums: A Case Study of Australian Apartment Living. *Housing Studies, 29*(6), 781-799. doi:10.1080/02673037.2014.898250

Fiske, J., & Hartley, J. (1978). *Reading Television*. London Methuen and Co. ltd.

Flick, U. (1998). Introduction: social representations in knowledge and language as approaches to a psychology of the social In U. Flick (Ed.), *The Psychology of the Social* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Flick, U., Foster, J., & Caillaud, S. (2015). Researching Social Representations In G. Sammut, E. andreouli, G. Gaskell, & J. Valsiner (Eds.), *The Cambridge Book of Social Representations* (pp. 64-82). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Flyvbjerg, B. (1998). *Rationality and power: Democracy in practice*. Chicago: University of Chicago press.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2002). Bringing Power to Planning Research: One Researcher's Praxis Story. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 21*(4), 353-366. doi:10.1177/0739456x0202100401

Ford, M. (2013). *The political economy of residential development in Melbourne: Tensions between growth and sustainability*. Paper presented at the Australasian Housing Researchers' Conference, Fremantle, Western Australia.

Forster, C. (2006). The Challenge of Change: Australian Cities and Urban Planning in the New Millennium. *Geographical Research, 44*(2), 173-182. doi:10.1111/j.1745-5871.2006.00374.x

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*: Pantheon.

Fraser, K. (2010, 23 May). We'll be living in sardine suburbs REVEALED How population growing pains are about to reach new heights. *The Sunday Mail*.

Frew, T. (2009). *Media after the mass*. Paper presented at the European Media Management Association Annual Conference, Paris, France.

Frew, T., Baker, D., & Donehue, P. (2016). Performance based planning in Queensland: A case of unintended plan-making outcomes. *Land Use Policy, 50*, 239-251. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2015.10.007

Fullagar, S., Pavlidis, A., Reid, S., & Lloyd, K. (2013). Living it up in the 'new world city': high-rise development and the promise of liveability. *Annals of Leisure Research, 16*(4), 280-296. doi:10.1080/11745398.2013.840946

Gaber, J., & Gaber, S. L. (1997). Utilizing Mixed-Method Research Designs in Planning: The Case of 14th Street, New York City. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 17*(2), 95-103. doi:10.1177/0739456x9701700201

Gaskell, G. (2001). Attitudes, social representations and beyond. In K. Deaux & G. Philogene (Eds.), *Representations of the social*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Gibson, T. A. (2005). NIMBY and the Civic Good. *City & Community, 4*(4), 381-401. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6040.2005.00144.x

Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society*. London: Polity.

Gifford, R. (2007). The Consequences of Living in High-Rise Buildings. *Architectural Science Review, 50*(1), 2-17. doi:10.3763/asre.2007.5002

Gillen, M. (2006). The challenge of attaining a sustainable urban morphology for South East Queensland. *Planning Practice & Research, 21*(3), 291-308. doi:10.1080/02697450601090781

Gillen, M. (2007). *Analysing the Spatial and Market Ambiguities of Densification in Activity Centers: Case Study South East Queensland,*. Paper presented at the International Conference of Sustainable Urban Areas, Rotterdam.

Gilles, I., Bangerter, A., Clémence, A., Green, E. G. T., Krings, F., Mouton, A., . . . Wagner-Egger, P. (2013). Collective symbolic coping with disease threat and othering: A case study of avian influenza. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 52*(1), 83-102. doi:10.1111/j.2044-8309.2011.02048.x

Gillham, B. (2000). *Case Study Research Methods* London and New York: Continuum.

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine.

Gleeson, B. (2006). *Australian Heartlands: Making Space for Hope in the Suburbs*: Allen & Unwin, Limited.

Gleeson, B. (2007, 12 November). Greener suburbs can do the trick *The Courier Mail*.

Gleeson, B. (2008). Waking from the dream: towards urban resilience in the face of sudden threat. *Urban Studies, 45*(13), 2653-2668.

Gleeson, B. (2014). *The urban condition*. Crows Nest: Routledge.

Gleeson, B., & Coiacetto, E. (2007). Positive Planning in Australia: A Review of Historical and Emergent Rationales 1. *Urban Policy and Research, 25*(1), 5-19.

Grant, J. L. (2009). Theory and practice in planning the suburbs: Challenges to implementing new urbanism, smart growth, and sustainability principles 1. *Planning Theory & Practice, 10*(1), 11-33.

Greene, J. C., Caracelli, V. J., & Graham, W. F. (1989). Toward a Conceptual Framework for Mixed-Method Evaluation Designs. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 11*(3), 255-274.

Greenop, K., & Darchen, S. (2016). Identifying 'place'in place branding: core and periphery in Brisbane's "New World City". *GeoJournal, 81*(3), 379-394.

Grodach, C., & Ehrenfeucht, R. (2016). *Urban Revitalization: Remaking cities in a changing world* Abingdon, Oxon Routledge.

Guba, E., & Lincoln, Y. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 105 - 117). California: sage.

Gunder, M. (2006). Sustainability: Planning's Saving Grace or Road to Perdition? *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 26*(2), 208-221. doi:10.1177/0739456x06289359

Gunder, M. (2010). Planning as the ideology of (neoliberal) space. *Planning Theory, 9*(4), 298-314.

Gurran, N. (2008). Affordable Housing: A Dilemma for Metropolitan Planning? *Urban Policy and Research, 26*(1), 101-110. doi:10.1080/08111140701851985

Gurran, N., & Phibbs, P. (2013). Housing supply and urban planning reform: the recent Australian experience, 2003–2012. *International Journal of Housing Policy, 13*(4), 381-407.

Gurran, N., & Phibbs, P. (2015). Are Governments Really Interested in Fixing the Housing Problem? Policy Capture and Busy Work in Australia. *Housing Studies, 30*(5), 711-729. doi:10.1080/02673037.2015.1044948

Gurran, N., & Ruming, K. (2015). Less planning, more development? Housing and urban reform discourses in Australia. *Journal of Economic Policy Reform*, 1-19.

Gurran, N., Ruming, K., & Randolph, B. (2009). *Counting the costs: planning requirements, infrastructure contributions, and residential development in Australia*. Melbourne: A. H. a. U. R. Institute

Gutsche, R. E. (2015). Boosterism as Banishment. *Journalism Studies, 16*(4), 497-512. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2014.924730

Habermas, J. (1984). The theory of communicative action, volume I. *Boston: Beacon*.

Hague, C. (1997). Foreword. In M. Higgins & F. Simpson (Eds.), *Work-Based Learning Within Planning Education* London: University of Westminster Press.
Hajer, M. (1993a). Discourse Coalitions and the Institutionalisation of Practice: The Case of Acid Rain in Great Britain. In F. Fischer & J. Forester (Eds.), *The Argumentative turn in policy analysis and planning*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
Hajer, M. A. (1993b). Discourse coalitions. *The Argumentative turn in policy analysis and planning, 43*.
Halfacree, K. H. (1993). Locality and social representation: Space, discourse and alternative definitions of the rural. *Journal of Rural Studies, 9*(1), 23-37. doi:10.1016/0743-0167(93)90003-3
Halfacree, K. H. (1995). Talking about rurality: Social representations of the rural as expressed by residents of six English parishes. *Journal of Rural Studies, 11*(1), 1-20. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0743-0167(94)00039-C
Hall, P. (2007). The Future of the Metropolis and its Form. *Regional Studies, 41*(sup1), S137-S146. doi:10.1080/00343400701232314
Hall, T. (2010). Life and death of the Australian backyard.
Hamilton, F. I. (1999). Transformation and space in Central and Eastern Europe. *Geographical Journal*, 135-144.
Hamnett, S. (2000). The late 1990s: competitive versus sustainable cities. In S. Hamnett & R. Freestone (Eds.), *Australian Metropolis: A Planning History*. London: Mansell.
Hamnett, S. (2015). Hugh Stretton: Ideas for Australian Cities. *Built Environment, 41*(3), 419.
Harding-Smith, R. (2011). *Media Ownership and Regulation in Australia*. Sydney
Hartley, J. (2004). Case study research. In C. Cassell & G. Symon (Eds.), *Essential guide to qualitative methods in organizational research* (pp. 323-333). London: Sage.
Harvey, D. (1990). The condition of postmodernity: An enquiry into the conditions of cultural change.
Harvey, D. (2015). The right to the city. In R. T. LeGates & F. Stout (Eds.), *The City Reader* (6th ed., pp. 23-40). New York: Routledge.
Hastings, A. (1998). Connecting linguistic structures and social practices: a discursive approach to social policy analysis. *Journal of Social Policy, 27*(02), 191-211.
Hastings, A. (2000). Discourse Analysis: What Does it Offer Housing Studies? *Housing, Theory and Society, 17*(3), 131-139. doi:10.1080/14036090051084441
Hawkins, C. V. (2011). Smart growth policy choice: A resource dependency and local governance explanation. *Policy Studies Journal, 39*(4), 679-707.
Hay, I., & Israel, M. (2001). 'Newsmaking geography': communicating geography through the media. *Applied Geography, 21*(2), 107-125. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0143-6228(00)00019-9
Healey, P. (1992). A planner's day: knowledge and action in communicative practice. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 58*(1), 9-20.
Healey, P. (1997). *Collaborative planning: Shaping places in fragmented societies*: UBc Press.
Healey, P. (2002). On Creating the 'City' as a Collective Resource. *Urban Studies, 39*(10), 1777-1792. doi:10.1080/0042098022000002957
Healey, P., & Barrett, S. M. (1990). Structure and Agency in Land and Property Development Processes: Some Ideas for Research. *Urban Studies, 27*(1), 89-103. doi:10.1080/00420989020080051
Healy, E., & Birrell, B. (2004). *Housing and community in the compact city*. Melbourne, Australia:
Heath, T. (2001). Revitalizing Cities: Attitudes toward City-Center Living in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 20*(4), 464-475. doi:10.1177/0739456x0102000410
Hele, M. (2013a, 15 June). Gen Y to fire up a market in flux. *The Courier Mail*.

Hele, M. (2013b, 27 July). Off-plan buying tipped to soar. *The Courier Mail*.
Hillier, J. (2002). *Shadows of power: an allegory of prudence in land-use planning* (Vol. 5): Psychology Press.
Hillier, J., Yiftachel, O., & Betham, M. (1991). Urban Consolidation-An Introduction to the Debate.
Hoch, C. (2006). Emotions and planning. *Planning Theory & Practice, 7*(4), 367-382.
Hohl, K., Tsirogianni, S., & Gerber, M. (2012). *Introduction to Alceste*. London:
Höijer, B. (2011). Social Representations Theory: A New Theory for Media Research. *Nordicom Review, 32*(2), 3-16.
Holman, N., Mace, A., Paccoud, A., & Sundaresan, J. (2015). Coordinating density; working through conviction, suspicion and pragmatism. *Progress in Planning, 101*, 1-38. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.progress.2014.05.001
Howarth, C. (2006). A social representation is not a quiet thing: exploring the critical potential of social representations theory. *The British journal of social psychology / the British Psychological Society, 45*(Pt 1), 65-86. doi:10.1348/014466605X43777
Howarth, C., Andreouli, E., & Kessi, S. (2013). Social Representations and the politics of participation In K. Kinnvall, T. Capelos, H. Dekker, & P. Nesbitt-Larking (Eds.), *Palgrave Handbook of Global Political Psychology*. London Palgrave.
Howe, J., & Langdon, C. (2002). Towards a Reflexive Planning Theory. *Planning Theory, 1*(3), 209-225. doi:10.1177/147309520200100302
Howley, P. (2009). Attitudes towards compact city living: Towards a greater understanding of residential behaviour. *Land Use Policy, 26*(3), 792-798. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2008.10.004
Howley, P., Scott, M., & Redmond, D. (2009). An examination of residential preferences for less sustainable housing: Exploring future mobility among Dublin central city residents. *Cities, 26*(1), 1-8. doi:10.1016/j.cities.2008.10.001
Hubbard, P. (1996a). CONFLICTING INTERPRETATIONS OF ARCHITECTURE: AN EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION. *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 16*(2), 75-92. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1006/jevp.1996.0007
Hubbard, P. (1996b). Urban Design and City Regeneration: Social Representations of Entrepreneurial Landscapes. *Urban Studies, 33*(8), 1441-1461. doi:10.1080/0042098966745
Huber, M. T., & Currie, T. M. (2007). The Urbanization of an Idea: Imagining Nature Through Urban Growth Boundary Policy in Portland, Oregon. *Urban Geography, 28*(8), 705-731. doi:10.2747/0272-3638.28.8.705
Hulse, K., Milligan, V., & Easthope, H. (2011). *Secure occupancy in rental housing: conceptual foundations and comparative perspectives*
Hutchinson, J. (2008, 8 November). Outlook on Queensland's development market. *The Courier Mail*.
Hutchinson, J. (2009, 11 April). 'Gabba growth on good wicket. *The Courier Mail*.
Huxley, M. (2002). *'This suburb is of value to the whole of Melbourne': Save Our Suburbs and the struggle against inappropriate development*. Melbourne:
infraPlan. (2013). *Urban Infill vs Greenfield Development: A review of economic benefits and costs for Adelaide*. Adelaide:
Innes, J. E. (1998). Information in communicative planning. *American Planning Association. Journal of the American Planning Association, 64*(1), 52-63.
Jacobs, K. (2013). 'Hurtling down the track': The significance of Australian population debates in an era of anxiety. *Journal of Sociology*. doi:10.1177/1440783312473670
Jacobs, K. (2015). The 'Politics' of Australian Housing: The Role of Lobbyists and Their Influence in Shaping Policy. *Housing Studies, 30*(5), 694-710. doi:10.1080/02673037.2014.1000833

Jacobs, K., Kemeny, J. I. M., & Manzi, T. (2003). Power, Discursive Space and Institutional Practices in the Construction of Housing Problems. *Housing Studies, 18*(4), 429-446. doi:10.1080/02673030304252

Jacobs, K., & Pawson, H. (2015). Introduction to the Special Edition: 'The Politics of Housing Policy'. *Housing Studies, 30*(5), 651-655. doi:10.1080/02673037.2015.1082273

Jago, D. (2007, 29 August). Lofty plans and cars don't mix. *The Courier Mail*. Retrieved from http://gateway.library.qut.edu.au/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=anh&AN=200708291026739917&site=ehost-live

Jansen, D., Cuthill, M., & Hafner, D. (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. doi:10.1080/08111146.2012.664895

Jansson, A. (2005). Re-encoding the Spectacle: Urban Fatefulness and Mediated Stigmatisation in the'City of Tomorrow'. *Urban Studies, 42*(10), 1671-1691.

Jenks, M. (2013). The Acceptability of Urban Intensification. In E. Burton, M. Jenks, & K. Williams (Eds.), *Achieving sustainable urban form* (pp. 242-251). Hoboken: Taylor and Francis.

Jenks, M., Williams, K. J. H., & Burton, E. (2000). Urban Consolidaiton and the Benefits of Intensification In G. de Roo & D. Miller (Eds.), *Compact Cities and Sustainable Urban Development* (pp. 17-41). Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company.

Jepson, E. J., & Edwards, M. M. (2010). How Possible is Sustainable Urban Development? An Analysis of Planners' Perceptions about New Urbanism, Smart Growth and the Ecological City. *Planning Practice & Research, 25*(4), 417-437. doi:10.1080/02697459.2010.511016

Jodelet, D. (1991). *Madness and Social Representations* (T. Pownall, Trans.). New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Joffe, H. (2003). Risk: From perception to social representation. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 42*, 55-73.

Johnson, L. (1997). Western Sydney and the desire for home. *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 32*(2), 115.

Johnson, L. (2003). *SOS - Sustain Our Suburbs*. Paper presented at the State of Australian Cities, Parramatta.

Johnstone, C. (2007, 14 February). Is this vision of the future what people want to see? *The Courier Mail*.

Johnstone, C. (2009, 29 July). Building bonanza to accommodate growth. *The Courier Mail*.

Johnstone, C. (2010a, 26 May). Expansion will affect sums for infrastructure. *The Courier Mail,* p. 3.

Johnstone, C. (2010b, 29 May). Super size me. *The Courier Mail,* p. 59.

Jonas, A. E., & Wilson, D. (1999). The city as a growth machine: critical reflections two decades later. *The urban growth machine: Critical perspectives two decades later, 3*(3).

Jones, O. (1995). Lay discourses of the rural: Developments and implications for rural studies. *Journal of Rural Studies, 11*(1), 35-49. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0743-0167(94)00057-G

Jovchelovitch, S. (1997). Peripheral groups and the transformation of social representations: queries on power and recognition. *Social psychology review, 1*(1), 16-26.

Jovchelovitch, S. (2007). *Knowledge in Context: Representations, Community and Culture*. New York: Routledge.

Kallgren, C. A., Reno, R. R., & Cialdini, R. B. (2000). A Focus Theory of Normative Conduct: When Norms Do and Do not Affect Behavior. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 26*(8), 1002-1012. doi:10.1177/01461672002610009

Kamruzzaman, M., Baker, D., Washington, S., & Turrell, G. (2014). Advance transit oriented development typology: case study in Brisbane, Australia. *Journal of Transport Geography, 34*(0), 54-70. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2013.11.002

Kasperson, R. E., Renn, O., Slovic, P., Brown, H. S., Emel, J., Goble, R., . . . Ratick, S. (1988). The Social Amplification of Risk: A Conceptual Framework. *Risk Analysis, 8*(2), 177-187. doi:10.1111/j.1539-6924.1988.tb01168.x

Katz, P., Scully, V. J., & Bressi, T. W. (1994). *The new urbanism: toward an architecture of community*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Kellett, J. (2011). The Australian quarter acre block: The death of a dream? *Town Planning Review, 82*(3), 263-284. doi:10.3828/tpr.2011.17

Kelly, J.-F., Breadon, P., & Reichl, J. (2011). *Getting the housing we want*. Melbourne:

Kemeny, J. (1984). The Social Construction of Housing Facts∗. *Scandinavian housing and planning research, 1*(3), 149-164.

Kemeny, J. (1988). Defining housing reality: Ideological hegemony and power in housing research. *Housing Studies, 3*(4), 205-218. doi:10.1080/02673038808720631

Kemeny, J. (2005). "The Really Big Trade-Off" between Home Ownership and Welfare: Castles' Evaluation of the 1980 Thesis, and a Reformulation 25 Years on. *Housing, Theory and Society, 22*(2), 59-75. doi:10.1080/14036090510032727

Kennedy, J. (2007, 10 October). Sites ripe for renewal, Community must have a say in south-east suburb densification. *South-East Advertiser*.

Kern, L. (2007). Reshaping the Boundaries of Public and Private Life: Gender, Condominium Development, and the Neoliberalization of Urban Living. *Urban Geography, 28*(7), 657-681. doi:10.2747/0272-3638.28.7.657

Kidder, L. H., & Fine, M. (1987). Qualitative and quantitative methods: When stories converge. *New Directions for Program Evaluation, 1987*(35), 57-75. doi:10.1002/ev.1459

Knaap, G.-J. (2000). Economics and the Smart Growth Movement. *Virginia Environmental Law Journal, 19*, 329-332.

Krueger, R., & Gibbs, D. (2007). *The sustainable development paradox: Urban political economy in the United States and Europe*: Guilford Press.

Krueger, R., & Gibbs, D. (2008). 'Third wave'sustainability? Smart growth and regional development in the USA. *Regional Studies, 42*(9), 1263-1274.

Kulish, M., Richards, A., & Gillitzer, C. (2012). Urban Structure and Housing Prices: Some Evidence from Australian Cities* Urban Structure and Housing Prices: Some Evidence from Australian Cities. *Economic Record, 88*(282), 303-322. doi:10.1111/j.1475-4932.2012.00829.x

Kupke, V., Rossini, P., & McGreal, S. (2010). *A multivariate study of medium density housing development and neighbourhood change within Australian cities*. Paper presented at the Proceedings from the 16th Pacific Rim Real Estate Society Conference, Wellington.

Lahlou, S. (1996). A method to extract social representations from linguistic corpora.

Lahlou, S. (2003). Méthodes d'étude des représentations sociales [Methods for the study of social representations]. In J. Abric (Ed.), *L'exploration des représentations sociales à partir des dictionnaires [The exploration of social representations from dictionaries]*. Ramonville SaintAgne: Eres.

Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things*. Chicago: Univeristy of Chicago Press.

Langlois, P. (2012). *Meaning, media and dwellings: the public image of the high-rise Toronto condo.* (Doctor of Philosophy), University of Toronto, Toronto.

Lawrence, D., & Lawrence, T. (2009, 9 September). Development a threat. *South-East Advertiser*

pp. 17-17. Retrieved from http://gateway.library.qut.edu.au/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=anh&AN=200909091017475477&site=ehost-live&scope=site

Leaders reserved on development plan. (2010). *South-East Advertiser* pp. 3-3. Retrieved from http://gateway.library.qut.edu.au/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=anh&AN=201006091003879429&site=ehost-live&scope=site

Lees, L., & Demeritt, D. (1998). ENVISIONING THE LIVABLE CITY: THE INTERPLAY OF "SIN CITY" AND "SIM CITY" IN VANCOUVER'S PLANNING DISCOURSE. *Urban Geography, 19*(4), 332-359. doi:10.2747/0272-3638.19.4.332

Leffers, D., & Ballamingie, P. (2013). Governmentality, environmental subjectivity, and urban intensification. *Local Environment, 18*(2), 134-151. doi:10.1080/13549839.2012.719016

Legacy, C., & Leshinsky, R. (2013). Tools for equitable urban intensification. *Built Environment, 39*(4), 409-421.

Legacy, C., Lowe, M., & Cole-Hawthorne, R. (2016). (Re)constituting urban research in a neoliberal planning climate. *Australian Planner, 53*(1), 1-4. doi:10.1080/07293682.2015.1136662

Levine, M. E., & Forrence, J. L. (1990). Regulatory Capture, Public Interest, and the Public Agenda: Toward a Synthesis. *Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization, 6*, 167-198.

Lewis, M. (1999). *Suburban Backlash: The Battle for the World's Most Liveable City*. Hawthorn: Bloomings Books

Lewis, P. (2013). Moral Intuitions and Smart Growth: The Political Psychology of Attitudes Toward Compact Development. *Available at SSRN 2249032*.

Lewis, P. G., & Baldassare, M. (2010). The complexity of public attitudes toward compact development. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 76*(2), 219-237. doi:10.1080/01944361003646471

Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (2000). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions and emerging confluences. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 163-188). thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Llewelyn-Davies. (2000). *Urban design compendium*. London: The Housing Corporation.

Lord, C. (2007, May 05). Aussie dream moving from the 'burbs to a flat. *The Courier - Mail,* pp. 0-M31. Retrieved from http://gateway.library.qut.edu.au/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/353978465?accountid=13380

Lubell, M., Feiock, R. C., La Cruz, D., & Ramirez, E. E. (2009). Local institutions and the politics of urban growth. *American Journal of Political Science, 53*(3), 649-665.

Lynch, B. (2011, 15 March). Developing inner-city best option. *The Courier Mail*.

Mabry, L. (2008). Case study in social research. *The Sage handbook of social research methods*, 214-227.

MacDonald, R. (2010, 19 May). Living the higher life. *The Courier Mail*.

MacDonald, R. (2011, 19 September). Plenty of room for debate over our fixation with urban densification. *Courier Mail,* pp. 20-20. Retrieved from http://gateway.library.qut.edu.au/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=anh&AN=201109191020375751&site=ehost-live

Major Cities Unit. (2013). *State of Australian Cities 2013*. Canberra:

Manzi, T., & Jacobs, K. (2008). Understanding institutions, actors and networks: advancing constructionist methods in urban policy research. *Qualitative Urban Analysis: An International Perspective (Studies in Qualitative Methodology, Volume 9). Maginn PJ, Thompson SM, Tonts M (Eds). Emerald, Bingley, UK*, 29-50.

Marcuse, P. (1998). Sustainability is not enough. *Environment and Urbanization, 10*(2), 103-112.

Markova, I., & Wilkie, P. (1987). Representations, concepts and social change: The phenomenon of AIDS. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 17*(4), 389–409.

Marston, G. (2004). Managerialism and public housing reform. *Housing Studies, 19*(1), 5-20. doi:10.1080/0267303042000152140

Martin, D., McCann, E., & Purcell, M. (2003). Space, Scale, Governance, and Representation: Contemporary Geographical Perspectives on Urban Politics and Policy. *Journal of Urban Affairs, 25*(2), 113-121. doi:10.1111/1467-9906.t01-1-00001

Martin, D. G. (2000). Constructing place: Cultural hegemonies and media images of an inner-city neighbourhood. *Urban Geography, 21*(5), 380-405. doi:10.2747/0272-3638.21.5.380

Mason, J. (2004). Semistructured Interview. The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods. Sage Publications, Inc. In M. S. Lewis-Beck, A. Bryman, & T. F. Liao (Eds.), The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods (pp. 1021-1022). Thousand Oaks, CA:: Sage Publications, Inc. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412950589. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412950589

Massey, D. (1993). Power-Geometry and a Progressive Sense of Place. In J. Bird, B. Curtis, T. Putnam, & L. Tickner (Eds.), *Mapping the futures: local cultures, global change*. New York: Routledge.

McCall, G. J. (2013). Interactionist Perspectives in Social Psychology. In J. DeLamater & A. Ward (Eds.), *Handbook of Social Psychology* (pp. 3-29). Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.

McCann, E. J. (2002). The cultural politics of local economic development: meaning-making, place-making, and the urban policy process. *Geoforum, 33*(3), 385-398. doi:10.1016/S0016-7185(02)00007-6

McCann, E. J. (2003). Framing Space and Time in the City: Urban Policy and the Politics of Spatial and Temporal Scale. *Journal of Urban Affairs, 25*(2), 159-178. doi:10.1111/1467-9906.t01-1-00004

McCann, E. J. (2004). 'Best Places': Interurban Competition, Quality of Life and Popular Media Discourse. *Urban Studies, 41*(10), 1909-1929.

McCarthy, J. (2008a, 22 November). Fear rules our cities - Urban sprawl gets the blame. *The Courier Mail,* p. 15.

McCarthy, J. (2008b, 24 May). Future Shock - Welcome to uncertain times. *The Courier Mail*.

McCarthy, J. (2008c, 15 May). High feelings over going up. *The Courier Mail*.

McCarthy, J. (2008d, 14 July). Return land to city: Newman. *The Courier Mail*.

McCarthy, J. (2010, 29 January). Coastal housing well out of reach. *The Courier Mail*.

McClymont, K., & O'Hare, P. (2008). "We're not NIMBYs!" Contrasting local protest groups with idealised conceptions of sustainable communities. *Local Environment, 13*(4), 321-335. doi:10.1080/13549830701803273

McCrea, R., & Walters, P. (2012). Impacts of Urban Consolidation on Urban Liveability: Comparing an Inner and Outer Suburb in Brisbane, Australia. *Housing, Theory and Society, 29*(2), 190-206. doi:10.1080/14036096.2011.641261

McGuirk, P. (2012). Geographies of urban politics: pathways, intersections, interventions. *Geographical Research, 50*(3), 256-268.

McGuirk, P., & Argent, N. (2011). Population Growth and Change: Implications for Australia's Cities and Regions. *Geographical Research, 49*(3), 317-335. doi:10.1111/j.1745-5871.2011.00695.x

McGuirk, P. M. (2001). Situating communicative planning theory: context, power, and knowledge. *Environment and Planning A, 33*(2), 195-217.

McLoughlin, B. (1991). Urban Consolidation and Urban Sprawl: A question of density. *Urban Policy and Research, 9*(3), 148-156. doi:10.1080/08111149108551499
McLoughlin, B. (1993). Urban Consolidation: A Modern Urban Myth. *Policy, Spring*, 19 - 22.
McMahon, B. (2009a, 05 May). Greens can tower plan - Fears for Brisbane's identity. *The Courier Mail*.
McMahon, B. (2009b, 28 September). Once upon a time in the West. *The Courier Mail*.
McVay, S. (2012, 28 January). The luxury of space. *The Courier Mail*.
Mees, P. (2009). How Dense Are We? Another Look at Urban Density and Transport Patterns in Australia, Canada and the USA. *Road & Transport Research: A Journal of Australian and New Zealand Research and Practice, 18*(4), 58-67.
Mees, P. (2010). *Transport for suburbia: beyond the automobile age*: Earthscan.
Mehmood, A. (2010). On the history and potentials of evolutionary metaphors in urban planning. *Planning Theory, 9*(1), 63-87.
Michell, A., & Wadley, D. (2004). The process and progress of urban consolidation. *Australian Planner, 41*(4), 56-65. doi:10.1080/07293682.2004.9982391
Miles, M., & Huberman, A. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: sage.
Milgram, S., & Jodelet, D. (1976). Psychological maps of Paris. In H. M. Proshansky, W. H. Ittelson, & L. G. Rivlin (Eds.), *Environmental psychology: People and their physical settings*: Holt.
Millward, H. (2006). Urban containment strategies: A case-study appraisal of plans and policies in Japanese, British, and Canadian cities. *Land Use Policy, 23*(4), 473-485.
Molotch, H. (1976). The City as a Growth Machine: Toward a Political Economy of Place. *American Journal of Sociology, 82*(2), 309-332. doi:10.2307/2777096
Moore, T. (2010a, 12 January). Brisbane needs Dubai-scale high rise boom: Opposition. *The Brisbane Times*.
Moore, T. (2010b, February 11). Councils forced to take developers 'on trust': LGAQ. *The Brisbane Times*.
Moore, T. (2010c, 10 March). Mission SEQ: coping with growth. *The Brisbane Times*.
Moore, T. (2010d, 9 February). South Brisbane, West End population to increase three-fold. *The Brisbane Times*.
Moore, T. (2014, 5 February). Inside Brisbane's billion dollar inner-city land debate. *The Brisbane Times*.
Moran, A. (2006). *The tragedy of planning: Losing the Great Australian Dream*. Melbourne: Institute of Public Affaris.
Moscovici, S. (1961). *La psychanalyse, son image et son public*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
Moscovici, S. (1963). Attitudes and Opinions. *Annual Review of Psychology, 14*(1), 231-260. doi:doi:10.1146/annurev.ps.14.020163.001311
Moscovici, S. (1973). Foreword. In C. Herzlich (Ed.), *Health and illness: a social psychological analysis*. London: Academic Press.
Moscovici, S. (1976). *Social influence and social change*. London: Academic Press.
Moscovici, S. (1984). The phenomenon of social representations. In R. M. Farr & S. Moscovici (Eds.), *Social representations* (pp. 3-70). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Moscovici, S. (2001). Why a theory of social representations? In K. Deaux & G. Philogene (Eds.), *Representation of the Social* (pp. 8-36). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
Moscovici, S., & Marková, I. (1998). Presenting Social Representations: A Conversation. *Culture & Psychology, 4*(3), 371-410. doi:10.1177/1354067x9800400305
Moss, T. P., & Bould, E. (2009). A Q-methodological Investigation into the Meanings of Cigarette Consumption. *Journal of health psychology, 14*(1), 36-42.

Mrtek, R., Teafesse, E., & Wigger, U. (1996). Q-methodology and subjective research. *Journal of social and administrative pharmacy, 13*(2), 54-64.

Myers, D., & Gearin, E. (2001). Current preferences and future demand for denser residential environments. *Housing Policy Debate, 12*(4), 633-659. doi:10.1080/10511482.2001.9521422

National Housing Supply Council. (2010). *2nd State of Supply Report*. Canberra: Australian Government

Nelson, A. C., & Dawkins, C. J. (2004). *Urban containment in the United States: History, models, and techniques for regional and metropolitan growth management* Chicago

Nelson, A. C., & Duncan, J. (1995). *Growth Management Principles and Practices*. Chicago:

Neuman, M. (2005a). The Compact City Fallacy. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 25*(1), 11-26. doi:10.1177/0739456x04270466

Neuman, M. (2005b). Notes on the Uses and Scope of City Planning Theory. *Planning Theory, 4*(2), 123-145. doi:10.1177/1473095205054601

Newman, P., & Kenworthy, J. (2000). Sustainable urban form: the big picture. *Achieving sustainable urban form*, 109-120.

Newman, P., & Kenworthy, J. (2006). Urban Design to Reduce Automobile Dependence. *Opolis, 2*(1).

Newman, P. G., & Kenworthy, J. R. (1989a). *Cities and automobile dependence: an international sourcebook*.

Newman, P. W. G., & Kenworthy, J. R. (1989b). Gasoline consumption and cities: a comparison of US cities with a global survey. *Journal - American Planning Association, 55*(1), 24-37.

Newman, P. W. G., & Kenworthy, J. R. (1996). The land use—transport connection: An overview. *Land Use Policy, 13*(1), 1-22. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0264-8377(95)00027-5

Newton, P., & Glackin, S. (2014). Understanding Infill: Towards New Policy and Practice for Urban Regeneration in the Established Suburbs of Australia's Cities. *Urban Policy and Research*, 1-23.

Newton, P. W., Newman, P., Manins, P. C. L., Simpson, R., & Smith, N. (1997). *Reshaping cities for a more sustainable future : exploring the link between urban form, air quality, energy and greenhouse gas emissions*. Melbourne:

Nussbaum. (2001). *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

O'Connell, L. (2009). The Impact of Local Supporters on Smart Growth Policy Adoption. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 75*(3), 281-291. doi:10.1080/01944360902885495

O'Hart, A. (2006). *Review of the Integrated Planning Act: Response to DLGPSR Discussion Paper*. Brisbane: E. D. O. E. QLD)

Oakley, S. (2009). Governing urban waterfront renewal: The politics, opportunities and challenges for the inner harbour of Port Adelaide, Australia. *Australian Geographer, 40*(3), 297-317.

Olesen, K. (2013). The neoliberalisation of strategic spatial planning. *Planning Theory*, 1473095213499340.

Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Johnson, R. B. (2006). The Validity Issue in Mixed Research. *Research in the Schools, 13*(1), 48-63.

Oswald, S., & Efréndira, S. (2013). The potential of social representations theory (SRT) for gender equitable research. *Acta Colombiana de Psicología*, 63-70.

Owens, S. (2004). Siting, sustainable development and social priorities. *Journal of Risk Research, 7*(2), 101-114. doi:10.1080/1366987042000158686

Oxley, M. (2008). Implicit land taxation and affordable housing provision in England. *Housing Studies, 23*(4), 661-671.
Parisi, P., & Holcornb, B. (1994). SYMBOLIZING PLACE: JOURNALISTIC NARRATIVES OF THE CITY. *Urban Geography, 15*(4), 376-394. doi:10.2747/0272-3638.15.4.376
Paul, S. (2009). So unreal, West End (pp. 25-25): Y.
Peck, J., & Tickell, A. (2002). Neoliberalizing space. *Antipode, 34*(3), 380-404.
Peel, M. (1995). The urban debate: From 'Los Angeles' to the Urban Village. In P. Troy (Ed.), *Australian Cities: Issues, strategies and policies for urban Australia in the 1990s*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Pendall, R. (1999). Opposition to housing NIMBY and beyond. *Urban affairs review, 35*(1), 112-136.
Pendall, R., Puentes, R., & Martin, J. (2006). *From Traditional to Reformed: A Review of the Land Use Regulations in the Nation's 50 largest Metropolitan Areas*. Washington, DC:
Perkins, A., Hamnett, S., Pullen, S., Zito, R., & Trebilcock, D. (2009). Transport, Housing and Urban Form: The Life Cycle Energy Consumption and Emissions of City Centre Apartments Compared with Suburban Dwellings. *Urban Policy and Research, 27*(4), 377-396. doi:10.1080/08111140903308859
Peterson, A., McAlpine, C. A., Ward, D., & Rayner, S. (2007). New regionalism and nature conservation: Lessons from South East Queensland, Australia. *Landscape and Urban Planning, 82*(3), 132-144. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2007.02.003
Planning Institute of Australia. (2010). Housing Position Statement [Press release]
Plough, A., & Sheldon, K. (1987). The Emergence of Risk Communication Studies: Social and Political Context. *Science, Technology, & Human Values, 12*(3/4), 4-10. doi:10.2307/689375
Pollard, O. A. (2000). Smart growth: the promise, politics, and potential pitfalls of emerging growth management strategies. *Va. Envtl. LJ, 19*, 247.
Potter, J., & Edwards, D. (1999). Social Representations and Discursive Psychology: From Cognition to Action. *Culture & Psychology, 5*(4), 447-458. doi:10.1177/1354067x9954004
Proops, J. L. R., & Addams, H. (2000). *Social discourse and environmental policy: an application of Q methodology*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
Property Council of Australia. (2016). *Let property grow the economy: federal election 2016*. Sydney:
Queensland Department of Infrastructure and Planning. (2009). *South East Queensland Regional Plan 2009-31*. Brisbane: Southern Region Division.
Queensland Government. (2005). *South East Queensland Regional Plan 2005 - 2026*. Brisbane: Department of Infrastructure.
Queensland Government (2010). *Shaping Tomorrow's Queensland: A response to the Queensland Growth Management Summit*. Brisbane:
Queensland Government Statistician's Office. (2016). *Population growth highlights and trends, Queensland, 2016 edition* Brisbane The State of Queensland
Radu, M., & Redien-Collot, R. (2008). The Social Representation of Entrepreneurs in the French Press: Desirable and Feasible Models? *International Small Business Journal, 26*(3), 259-298. doi:10.1177/0266242608088739
Rajé, F. (2007). Using Q methodology to develop more perceptive insights on transport and social inclusion. *Transport Policy, 14*(6), 467-477. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tranpol.2007.04.006
Randolph, B. (2006). Delivering the compact city in Australia: current trends and future implications. *Urban Policy and Research, 24*(4), 473-490. doi:10.1080/08111140601035259

Randolph, B. (2016). Tread carefully when you enter in the density goldmine. Retrieved from http://www.domain.com.au/news/tread-carefully-when-you-enter-in-the-density-goldmine-20160523-goyk6u/

Randolph, B., & Tice, A. (2013). Who Lives in Higher Density Housing? A Study of Spatially Discontinuous Housing Sub-markets in Sydney and Melbourne. *Urban Studies*. doi:10.1177/0042098013477701

Randolph, B., & Troy, P. (2008). Attitudes to conservation and water consumption. *Environmental Science & Policy, 11*(5), 441-455. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.envsci.2008.03.003

Raynor, K. (2016). *Social Representations of Children in Higher Density Housing: Enviable, Inevitable or Evil?* . Paper presented at the IV World Planning Schools Congress, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Raynor, K., Matthews, T., & Mayere, S. (2015). *Defining the density debate in Brisbane: how urban consolidation is represented in the media*. Paper presented at the State of Australian Cities Conference, Gold Coast

Raynor, K., Matthews, T., & Mayere, S. (2016). Shaping urban consolidation debates: Social representations in Brisbane newspaper media. *Urban Studies*, 0042098015624385.

Raynor, K., Mayere, S., & Matthews, T. (2017). Do city shapers really support urban consolidation The case of Brisbane, Australia. *Urban Studies*. doi:10.1177/0042098016688420

Reinert, M. (1983). Une méthode de classification descendante hiérarchique: application a l'analyse lexicale par contexte'. *Les Cahiers de l'Analyse des Données, 8*(2), 187-198.

Richardson, J. E. (2008). *Analysing newspapers : an approach from critical discourse analysis*: Palgrave Macmillan.

Robbins, P., & Krueger, R. (2000). Beyond bias? The promise and limits of Q method in human geography. *The Professional Geographer, 52*(4), 636-648.

Robert, M. (2008). Growing Pain - New homes fail to keep pace with influx as economic crisis bites. *The Courier Mail*.

Robyn, I. (2012). Upgrades critical for progress (pp. 40-40): Y.

Rogers, D., Lee, C. L., & Yan, D. (2015). The Politics of Foreign Investment in Australian Housing: Chinese Investors, Translocal Sales Agents and Local Resistance. *Housing Studies, 30*(5), 730-748. doi:10.1080/02673037.2015.1006185

Rohrbauch, M. (1997). *How crucial is Q-sorting to Q-methodology? A comparison of forced-sort, free-sort and no-sort formats.* Tucson, AZ: Department of Psychology, University of Arizona.

Ronald, R. (2008). Between Investment, Asset and Use Consumption: The Meanings of Homeownership in Japan. *Housing Studies, 23*(2), 233-251. doi:10.1080/02673030801893099

Rose, D., Efraim, D., Gervais, M.-C., Joffe, H., Jovchelovitch, S., & Morant, N. (1995). Questioning consensus in social representations theory. *Papers on Social Representations, 4*(2), 150-176.

Rosol, M. (2013). Vancouver's "EcoDensity" Planning Initiative: A Struggle over Hegemony? *Urban Studies, 50*(11), 2238-2255. doi:10.1177/0042098013478233

Rowe, J. E. (2012). Auckland's urban containment dilemma: the case for green belts. *Urban Policy and Research, 30*(1), 77-91.

Rowlands, R., & Gurney, C. M. (2001). Young Peoples' Perceptions of Housing Tenure: A Case Study in the Socialisation of Tenure Prejudice. *Housing, Theory and Society, 17*, 121-130.

Rowley, S., & Phibbs, P. (2012). *Delivering diverse and affordable housing on infill development sites*. Melbourne:

Roy, A. (2006). Praxis in the Time of Empire. *Planning Theory, 5*(1), 7-29. doi:10.1177/1473095206061019

Royes, L. (2007a, 18 July). Bridges to link Point to Bulimba. *South-East Advertiser*.

Royes, L. (2007b, 12 December). Developers defend retirement village project. *The South-East Advertiser*.

Ruming, K. (2014a). Urban consolidation, strategic planning and community opposition in Sydney, Australia: Unpacking policy knowledge and public perceptions. *Land Use Policy*(0). doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2014.02.010

Ruming, K., & Gurran, N. (2014). Australian planning system reform. *Australian Planner, 51*(2), 102-107.

Ruming, K., & Houston, D. (2013). Enacting planning borders: consolidation and resistance in Ku-ring-gai, Sydney. *Australian Planner, 50*(2), 123-129. doi:10.1080/07293682.2013.776985

Ruming, K., Houston, D., & Amati, M. (2011). Multiple Suburban Publics: Rethinking Community Opposition to Consolidation in Sydney. *Geographical Research, 50*(4), 421-435.

Ruming, K. J. (2009). Development configurations and planning negotiations: a case of fringe development in Sydney, Australia. *Urban Studies, 46*(7), 1461-1483.

Ruming, K. J. (2014b). Urban consolidation, strategic planning and community opposition in Sydney, Australia: Unpacking policy knowledge and public perceptions. *Land Use Policy*(0). doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2014.02.010

Rust, J., & Golombok, S. (1989). *Modern Psychometrics: The Science of Psychological Assessment*. London: Routledge.

Rydin, Y. (2003). *Conflict, consensus, and rationality in environmental planning: an institutional discourse approach*: OUP Oxford.

Rydin, Y. (2007). Re-Examining the Role of Knowledge Within Planning Theory. *Planning Theory, 6*(1), 52-68. doi:10.1177/1473095207075161

Sabatier, P. A. (1988). An advocacy coalition framework of policy change and the role of policy-oriented learning therein. *Policy Sciences, 21*(2), 129-168. doi:10.1007/bf00136406

Sager, T. (2009). Planners' Role: Torn between Dialogical Ideals and Neo-liberal Realities. *European Planning Studies, 17*(1), 65-84. doi:10.1080/09654310802513948

Sager, T. (2014). Ideological traces in plans for compact cities: Is neo-liberalism hegemonic? *Planning Theory*. doi:10.1177/1473095214527279

Sandercock, L. (2005). Picking the Paradoxes: A Historical Anatomy of Australian Planning Cultures In B. Sanyal (Ed.), *Comparative planning cultures*. New York: Routledge.

Sandercock, L. (2010). From the campfire to the computer: an epistemology of multiplicity and the story turn in planning. In S. L & A. G (Eds.), *Multimedia Explorations in Urban Policy and Planning* (pp. 17-37). Dordrecht: Springer.

Sandercock, L., & Attili, G. (2010). *Multimedia in urban policy and planning: Beyond the flatlands*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Sarkissian, W. (2012, 22 February). *What's Psychology Got to Do with NIMBY? Exploring the Deeper Meanings of Community Resistance to Proposed Housing Density Increases.* Paper presented at the Lunchtime talk by Dr Wendy Sarkissian LFPIA, Harvard University.

Saussure, F. (1916). *Course in General Linguistics* (W. Baskin, Trans.). New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Scally, C. P., & Tighe, J. R. (2015). Democracy in Action?: NIMBY as Impediment to Equitable Affordable Housing Siting. *Housing Studies, 30*(5), 749-769. doi:10.1080/02673037.2015.1013093

Schively, C. (2007). Understanding the NIMBY and LULU Phenomena: Reassessing Our Knowledge Base and Informing Future Research. *Journal of Planning Literature, 21*(3), 255-266. doi:10.1177/0885412206295845

Schonhardt-Bailey, C. (2005). Measuring ideas more effectively: an analysis of Bush and Kerry's national security speeches. *PS: political science & politics, 38*(4), 701-711.

Schonhardt-Bailey, C. (2013). BOOK APPENDIX I: METHODLOGY. In C. Schonhardt-Bailey (Ed.), *Deliberating American monetary policy: a textual analysis*: MIT Press.

Searle, G. (2003). *The Limits to Urban Consolidation*. Sydney:

Searle, G. (2004). Planning Discourses and Sydney's Recent Metropolitan Strategies. *Urban Policy and Research, 22*(4), 367-391. doi:10.1080/0811114042000296308

Searle, G. (2007). *Sydney's urban consolidation experience: Power, politics and community*. Brisbane:

Searle, G. (2010). Too concentrated? The planned distribution of residential density in SEQ. *Australian Planner, 47*(3), 135-141.

Searle, G. (2013). *Strategic Planning and Land Use Planning Conflicts: The Role of Statutory Authority*. Paper presented at the AESOP-ACSP Joint Congress, Dublin.

Searle, G., & Bunker, R. (2010). New Century Australian Spatial Planning: Recentralization under Labor. *Planning Practice & Research, 25*(4), 517-529. doi:10.1080/02697459.2010.511022

Searle, G., & Filion, P. (2011). Planning Context and Urban Intensification Outcomes: Sydney versus Toronto. *Urban Studies, 48*(7), 1419-1438. doi:10.1177/0042098010375995

Shapiro, G., & Markoff, J. (1997). A Matter of Definition. In C. W. Roberts (Ed.), *Text Analysis for the Social Sciences: Methods for Drawing Statistical Inferences from Texts and Transcripts*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Shaw, K. (2013a). Australia's Unintended Cities: The Impact of Housing on Urban Redevelopment. *Urban Policy and Research, 31*(3), 379-383. doi:10.1080/08111146.2013.807003

Shaw, K. (2013b). Docklands Dreamings: Illusions of Sustainability in the Melbourne Docks Redevelopment. *Urban Studies*. doi:10.1177/0042098013478237

Shearer, P. (2012, 01 December). Central location helps attract unit investors. *The Courier Mail*.

Shemmings, D., & Ellingsen, I. T. (2012). *Using Q methodology in qualitative interviews*: SAGE.

Shields, R. (2013). *Places on the Margin : Alternative Geographies of Modernity* Retrieved from http://QUT.eblib.com.au/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=1581599

Shoemaker, P., & Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content* (2nd Edition ed.). New York: Longman Publishers.

Sies, M. C. (2001). North American Suburbs, 1880-1950: Cultural and Social Reconsiderations. *Journal of Urban History, 27*(3), 313-346. doi:10.1177/009614420102700304

Sivam, A., Karuppannan, S., & Davis, M. (2012). Stakeholders' perception of residential density: a case study of Adelaide, Australia. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 27*(4), 473-494. doi:10.1007/s10901-011-9265-2

Skorkjær Binderkrantz, A., & Green-Pedersen, C. (2009). Policy or Processes in Focus? *The International Journal of Press/Politics, 14*(2), 166-185. doi:10.1177/1940161209333088

Smallman, M. (2015). *What has been the impact of public dialogue in science and technology on UK policy making? .* (Doctor of Philosophy), University College London, London.

Smith, C. A., & Billig, N. S. (2012). Public Perceptions of Compact Suburbia in Progressive, Burgeoning Communities. *Journal of Urban Design, 17*(3), 313-335. doi:10.1080/13574809.2012.683401

Snary, C. (2004). Understanding Risk: The Planning Officers' Perspective. *Urban Studies, 41*(1), 33-55. doi:10.1080/0042098032000155678

Sochacka, N., Jolly, L., & Kavanagh, L. (2011, April 11 - 13). *Understanding Rapid and Opportunistic Socio-technical Change in the Context of Urban Water Management.* Paper presented at the 2011 Georgia Water Resources Conference, Georgia.

Sorensen, A. (1982). Planning Comes of Age: A Liberal Perspective. *The Planner, November*, 184-187.

Spencer, A., Gill, J., & Schmahmann, L. (2015). *Urban or Suburban? Examining the density of Australian cities in a global context* Paper presented at the State of Australian Cities, The Gold Coast

Stainton Rogers, R. (1995). Q methodology. In J. A. Smith, R. Harré, & L. Van Langenhove (Eds.), *Rethinking methods in psychology*. London: Sage.

Steele, W. (2007). *Where is the Vision? Critically exploring the professional role of the Australian urban planner within a governance framework*. Paper presented at the State of Australian Cities, Adelaide.

Steele, W. (2009). Australian urban planners: hybrid roles and professional dilemmas? *Urban Policy and Research, 27*(2), 189-203.

Steele, W., & Dodson, J. (2014). Made in Queensland: planning reform and rhetoric. *Australian Planner, 51*(2), 141-150. doi:10.1080/07293682.2013.877511

Steele, W., & Gleeson, B. (2009). *Planning in Climate Change: Towards a relational framework for action*. Brisbane

Steele, W., & Ruming, K. J. (2012). Flexibility versus Certainty: Unsettling the Land-use Planning Shibboleth in Australia. *Planning Practice & Research, 27*(2), 155-176. doi:10.1080/02697459.2012.662670

Steelman, T. A., & Maguire, L. A. (1999). Understanding Participant Perspectives: Q-Methodology in National Forest Management. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, 18*(3), 361-388. doi:10.2307/3325903

Stephens, K. (2014a, 07 February). Brisbane's City Plan big on green space. *The Brisbane Times*.

Stephens, K. (2014b, 30 May). Buildings Taller, lots smaller in the new City Plan. *The Brisbane Times*.

Stephenson, W. (1980). Consciring: A general theory for subjective communicability. In D. Nimmo (Ed.), *Communcation Yearbook 4*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Stibbe, A. (2001). From Flu-Like Virus to Deadly Disease: Ideology and the Media. *Journal of Media Psychology, 6*(2).

Stockwell, S. (1995). The Brisbane Model: Considering A Unique Experiment. *Urban Policy and Research, 13*(2), 89-96. doi:10.1080/08111149508551660

Stretton, H. (1970). Ideas for Australian cities.

Swaffield, S. R., & Fairweather, J. R. (1994). *Preferences for land use options in the Mackenzie/Waitaki Basin : a Q-method analysis of stakeholders' preferences for visual images of six land uses on four land forms*. [Lincoln, N.Z.]: Agribusiness & Economics Research Unit, Lincoln University.

Sweetman, T. (2008, 8 February). The inequity in home equity. *The Courier Mail*.

Sweetman, T. (2009, 11 December). How dense can we be? *The Courier Mail*.

Talen, E., & Ellis, C. (2002). Beyond Relativism: Reclaiming the Search for Good City Form. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 22*(1), 36-49. doi:10.1177/0739456X0202200104

Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. (1998). *Mixed methodology: Combining qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. (2003). *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioral Research*. Sage: Thousand Oaks.

Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. (2008). Quality of inferences in mixed methods research. In M. Bergman (Ed.), *Advances in mixed methods research: Theories and applications*. London: Sage.

Taylor, B., Wallington, T., Heyenga, S., & Harman, B. (2014). Urban Growth and Climate Adaptation in Australia: Divergent Discourses and Implications for Policy-making. *Urban Studies, 51*(1), 3-21.

Taylor, E. J. (2013). Do House Values Influence Resistance to Development?—A Spatial Analysis of Planning Objection and Appeals in Melbourne. *Urban Policy and Research, 31*(1), 5-26. doi:10.1080/08111146.2012.757735

The Age. (2003, 4 August). House prices likely to stay high. *The Age*.

The Courier Mail. (2008, 09 February). Forecast for solid gains. *The Courier Mail*.

The Courier Mail. (2011). Buyers seek city-centric living options. *The Courier Mail*.

The Courier Mail. (2012a, 30 June). Gabba apartments take high view of city fringe. *The Courier Mail*. Retrieved from http://gateway.library.qut.edu.au/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=anh&AN=200707261005366017&site=ehost-live

The Courier Mail. (2012b, 21 January). New life to iconic location. *The Courier Mail*.

The Courier Mail. (2012c, 21 July). your postcode. *The Courier Mail*.

The Courier Mail. (2014, 28 February). Around the block. *The Courier Mail*.

Thomas, L., & Cousins, W. (1996). The compact city: successful, desirable and achievable? In M. Jenks, E. Burton, & K. Williams (Eds.), *The compact city. A sustainable urban form?* (pp. 53-65). London: E&FN Spon.

Throgmorton, J. A. (1996). *Planning as persuasive storytelling: The rhetorical construction of Chicago's electric future*: University of Chicago Press.

Tighe, J. R. (2010). Public Opinion and Affordable Housing: A Review of the Literature. *Journal of Planning Literature, 25*(1), 3-17. doi:10.1177/0885412210379974

Todolí, J. (2007). Disease metaphors in urban planning. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines (CADAAD Journal), 1*(2), 51-60.

Troy, P. N. (1996). *The perils of urban consolidation: a discussion of Australian housing and urban development policies*. Leichhardt, N.S.W: Federation Press.

Trubka, R., Newman, P., & Bilsborough, D. (2008). *Assessing the Costs of Alternative Development Paths in Australian Cities*. Perth:

Tuchman, G. (1972). Objectivity as Strategic Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen's Notions of Objectivity. *American Journal of Sociology, 77*(4), 660-679.

UDIA, U. D. I. A. (2013). *The 2013 UDIA State of the Land Report*. NSWS:

UDIAQld, U. D. I. o. A. (2015). *Building Better Communities: Queensland Advocacy Agenda 2015*. Brisbane:

Valenta, A. L., & Wigger, U. (1997). Q-methodology: definition and application in health care informatics. *Journal of the American Medical Informatics Association, 4*(6), 501-510.

Vallance, S., Perkins, H. C., & Moore, K. (2005a). *The effects of infill housing on neighbours in Christchurch*

Vallance, S., Perkins, H. C., & Moore, K. (2005b). The results of making a city more compact: neighbours' interpretation of urban infill. *ENVIRONMENT AND PLANNING B-PLANNING & DESIGN, 32*(5), 715-733. doi:10.1068/b31157

Van Dijk, T. A. (2013). *News as discourse*: Routledge.

van Eeten, M. (2000). Recasting environmental controversies: A Q study of the expansion of Amsterdam Airport. In J. L. R. Proops & H. Addams (Eds.), *Social discourse and environmental policy: an application of Q methodology*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

van Manen, M. (1977). Linking ways of knowing with ways of being practical. *Curriculum Inquiry, 6*(3), 205-228.

Voelklein, C., & Howarth, C. (2005). A Review of Controversies about Social Representations Theory: A British Debate. *Culture & Psychology, 11*(4), 431-454. doi:10.1177/1354067x05058586

Vogler, S. (2010, 03 November). Chermside set to go sky high. *The Courier Mail,* p. 18. Retrieved from http://gateway.library.qut.edu.au/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=anh&AN=201010251013682841&site=ehost-live

Vraneski, A., & Richter, R. (2003). What's news? Reflections of intractable environmental conflicts in the news: Some promises, many premises. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly, 21*(2), 239-262. doi:10.1002/crq.60

Wagner, W. (1994). Fields of research and socio-genesis of social representations: a discussion of criteria and diagnostics. *SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION-PARIS THEN LONDON-, 33*, 199-199.

Wagner, W. (1998). Social Representations and beyond: Brute Facts, Symbolic Coping and Domesticated Worlds. *Culture & Psychology, 4*(3), 297-329. doi:10.1177/1354067X9800400302

Wagner, W., Duveen, G., Farr, R., Jovchelovitch, S., Lorenzi-Cioldi, F., Marková, I., & Rose, D. (1999). Theory and Method of Social Representations. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 2*(1), 95-125. doi:10.1111/1467-839X.00028

Wagner, W., Elejabarrieta, F., & Lahnsteiner, I. (1995). How the sperm dominates the ovum — objectification by metaphor in the social representation of conception. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 25*(6), 671-688. doi:10.1002/ejsp.2420250606

Wagner, W., & Hayes, N. (2005). *Everyday Discourse and Common Sense: the theory of social representations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Walton, D., Murray, S. J., & Thomas, J. A. (2008). Relationships Between Population Density and the Perceived Quality of Neighbourhood. *Social Indicators Research, 89*(3), 405-420. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11205-008-9240-9

Watts, S., & Stenner, P. (2005). Doing Q methodology: theory, method and interpretation. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 2*(1), 67-91. doi:10.1191/1478088705qp022oa

Watts, S., & Stenner, P. (2012). *Doing Q methodological research: Theory, method & interpretation*: Sage.

Webler, T., Danielson, S., & Tuler, S. (2007). *Guidance on the Use of Q Method for Evaluation of Public Involvement Programs at Contaminated Sites*. Greenfield, MA:

Weston, P. (2007, March 11). Concrete Coast is on the way. *The Sunday Mail*.

Wexler, M. N. (1996). A SOCIOLOGICAL FRAMING OF THE NIMBY (NOT-IN-MY-BACKYARD) SYNDROME. *International Review of Modern Sociology, 26*(1), 91-110.

While, A., Jonas, A. E. G., & Gibbs, D. (2004). The environment and the entrepreneurial city: searching for the urban 'sustainability;fix' in Manchester and Leeds. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 28*(3), 549-569. doi:10.1111/j.0309-1317.2004.00535.x

Williams, K. (2004). Can Urban Intensification Contribute to Sustainable Cities? An International Perspective *City Matters*.

Wilson, D. (1996). METAPHORS, GROWTH COALITION DISCOURSES AND BLACK POVERTY NEIGHBORHOODS IN A U.S. CITY*. *Antipode, 28*(1), 72-96. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8330.1996.tb00672.x

Wilson, D., & Grammenos, D. (2005). Gentrification, Discourse, and the Body: Chicago's Humboldt Park. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 23*(2), 295-312. doi:10.1068/d0203

Wilson, D., & Mueller, T. (2004). Representing "Neighborhood": Growth Coalitions, Newspaper Reporting, and Gentrification in St. Louis. *Professional Geographer, 56*(2), 282-294.

Wolsink, M. (1994). Entanglement of interests and motives: Assumptions behind the NIMBY-theory on facility siting. *Urban Studies (Routledge), 31*(6), 851.

Wolsink, M. (2004). Policy beliefs in spatial decisions: contrasting core beliefs concerning space-making for waste infrastructure. *Urban Studies, 41*(13), 2669-2690.

Wolsink, M. (2006). Invalid Theory Impedes Our Understanding: A Critique on the Persistence of the Language of NIMBY. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 31*(1), 85-91. doi:10.2307/3804421

Woodcock, I., Dovey, K., Wollan, S., & Robertson, I. (2011). Speculation and Resistance: Constraints on Compact City Policy Implementation in Melbourne. *Urban Policy and Research, 29*(4), 343-362. doi:10.1080/08111146.2011.581335

Wulff, M., Healy, E., & Reynolds, M. (2004). Why don't small households live in small dwellings? - Disentangling a planning dilemma. *People and Place, 12*(1), 57-70.

Wulff, M., Reynolds, M., Arunachalam, D., Hulse, K., & Yates, J. (2011). *Australia's private rental market: the supply of, and demand for, affordable dwellings*. Melbourne:

Yates, J. (2001). The rhetoric and reality of housing choice: The role of urban consolidation. *Urban Policy and Research, 19*(4), 491-527. doi:10.1080/08111140108727895

Yiftachel, O. (2001). Can Theory be Liberated from Professional Constraints? On Rationality and Explanatory Power in Flyvbjerg's Rationality and Power. *International Planning Studies, 6*(3), 251-255. doi:10.1080/713672902

Yigitcanlar, T., & Velibeyoglu, K. (2008). Knowledge-based Urban development: The local economic development path of Brisbane, Australia. *Local Economy, 23*(3), 195-207. doi:10.1080/02690940802197358

Yin, R. K. (2014). *Case Study Research design and methods* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Yip, N. M., & Forrest, R. (2002). Property owning democracies? Home owner corporations in Hong Kong. *Housing Studies, 17*(5), 703-720.

Zenor, J. (2012). Go to our website for more (of the same): Reassessing Federal policy towards newspapers mergers and cross emdia ownership and the harm to localism, diversity and the public inerest Retrieved http://works.bepress.com/jason_zenor/3/

Appendix A: Detailed Pragmatic Textual Analysis Process Description

1. Data Collection

a) Corpus Collection

As previously stated, the corpus consisted of 440 newspaper articles derived from five local, metropolitan and state-wide papers circulating in Brisbane (see page 78 for a more detailed description of the articles). The time frame and search terms were designed to collect pertinent articles concerned with higher density housing, infill and urban consolidation in Brisbane. These articles generated a corpus of over 100,000 words, substantially surpassing the 10,000 words deemed necessary to generate a statistically relevant output using Computer Assisted Text Analysis (Schonhardt-Bailey, 2005). This use of specific articles is essential to effective Pragmatic Textual Analysis as a coherent thematic focus is necessary to obtain meaningful results (Hohl et al., 2012). Newspapers are an example of a natural, bottom-up corpora (Chartier & Meunier, 2011) and provide a useful contrast to the provoked, or investigator-created nature of the interview and q-sort data collected in later stages of this research.

2. Data Modelling

This phase of the process involved the computer assisted modelling of corpus data.

a) Vectorisation

This phase results in a mathematical model of the empirical data. The Vectorisation process constructs a vector space from the parts of the corpus. It comprises of two processes: word selection and word weighting. Selection of relevant words requires several word reduction processes. It involves the lemmatisation of words, i.e. reducing variants of words to their root-forms. For example, *consolidating* and *consolidation* would be lemmatised to *consolidate*. In addition, this phase collates nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs (referred to as content words) and removes articles, prepositions, and pronouns (called function words).

Very high frequency words and very low frequency words are also filtered out as they are deemed 'uninformative' (Chartier & Meunier, 2011). For example, verbs such as 'said' or 'commented,' common to newspaper reporting were not analysed in the PTA. Similarly, the word 'yolk' occurred only once in the corpus and so was filtered out of the analysis. Word weighting is based on the principles of representativeness and discrimination. Simply, IRaMuTeq places high weighting on words that occur frequently in one part of the discourse and occur less frequently in other parts of the corpus.

b) Similarity Calculations between Parts of Discourse

The goal of this step is to associate to each pair of vectorised parts of discourse a value representing their degree of similarity (or difference). The computation of these similarity relations is at the root of the discovery of the SR's classes of meaning. It is based on the Saussurian observation that language is not a collection of names for objects but belongs to a system. Saussure used the analogy of a game of chess, noting that the value of each piece depends on its position on a chessboard (Saussure, 1916). This explanation is similar to Firth's (1957, p. 11) insight that "You shall know a word by the company it keeps." In other words, meaning can be analysed by assessing the way people use words in combination with other words in their discourses. Two vectorised parts of discourses that share the same vocabulary (i.e. similar word co-occurrence patterns) are interpreted as semantically close to each other. By classifying together statements that contain similar words, the semantic territories behind the construction of these lexical worlds can be observed. This process results in the production of a vector space that graphically represents the semantic proximity relations between all parts of discourse wherein the studied SR is linguistically instantiated (Chartier & Meunier, 2011).

IRaMuTeq applies a series of statistical processes to achieve similarity calculations. It does this through the treatment of statements, text segments and words. The corpus is divided into three types of 'context units': Initial Context Units (ICUs), Elementary Context Units (ECUs) and larger context units comprised of several ECUs. ICUs are the formalised segments or discrete articles of text that comprise the corpus. In the current study, each separate newspaper article is an ICU. ECUs are natural sentences or natural fragments of sentences, delineated by punctuation such as full stops and commas.

Operationally, the software achieves a similarity calculation by creating a data matrix that places each lexeme (words presented in their root form) in a column and each ECU in a

row. At the intersection of the sentence row and the word column, the presence (1) or absence (0) of that word is recorded as occurring in the sentence. For each sentence, there will be a row marginal total that gives the number of content words in the sentence, and indicates the weight or proportionate contribution that the ECU makes to the total table. Similarly, for each word a column marginal is produced that gives the number of times that word appears in the text and illustrates the weight of proportionate contribution that the word makes to the total table (Bara et al., 2007). The software runs this process twice using slightly different ECU lengths and compares results in order to obtain 'goodness-of-fit' and relative stability of results. The final output is a series of classes that are typified by maximum similarity between statements in the same class and maximum differences between classes. These classes are the result of a descendant hierarchical technique designed to split classes into sub-clusters (Smallman, 2015).

3. Data Interpretation

This phase consisted of interpreting the SR's semantic map, which involves generating a class structure from the parts of discourse, extracting salient lexical content from every class and categorizing its content.

a) Automatic Classification

Automatic classification occurs based on the similarity calculations undertaken in the previous step. The IRaMuTeq creates a semantic map that graphically plots words based on analogy and contrast, with highly correlated words appearing close together. Lahlou gives the following definition to a text classification operation:

> *"The statements are classified by analogy and contrast, on the basis of their lexical content. This gives classes that contain statements. Similar statements are classified together in one class, and as different as possible of the statements of the other classes." (Lahlou, 1996a, p.77, in Chartier and Meunier 2011).*

In other words, the automatic classification step groups together the similar parts of discourse and separates the different ones. The technique allows for an extensional description of the semantic classes of the discourses in which the SR is embodied.

b) Salient Contents Extractions

IRaMuTeq generates a series of salient words and typical statements that can be used to interpret the data. The salient lexical content is the set of words strongly associated with the parts of discourse grouped together in a particular class. The strength of association between each word and its class is expressed by a chi2-value, and all words exceeding a certain chi2-value are listed (Hohl et al., 2012). The algorithm used to identify these words places an emphasis on words that occur frequently in a given class but are uncommon in other classes. Therefore, salient words are not merely a function of frequency but are also highly representative and distinctive to a particular class. The typical statements are representative ECUs that contain multiple salient words and are indicative of the content and style of the word class.

c) Categorisation

This final step involves what Lahlou (1996) referred to as 'the art of comprehension.' It requires the researcher to intentionally identify, name and hypothesise about classes based on the statistical clues presented by the analysis. This involves an observation of the salient words identified for the class, and acknowledgement that they are part of the same underlying semantic category. The classes are named and explained based on statistical and graphical outputs and knowledge of the source domain (i.e. media portrayals of urban consolidation). Statistical clues include the salient words, word frequencies and typical statements that all provide insight into representative words and 'the company they keep.' Graphical clues include the IRaMuTeq-generated visual that co-locates associated words and correlates word size with word frequency. In addition, the program plots words on a vector space, placing words that occur frequently in all classes near the centre and words that are highly specific to one class at the periphery. This provides additional insight into core and peripheral elements of social representations.

Appendix B: Round One Interview Guides for Residents, Developers and Planners

Resident without community group involvement

1. Why did you choose to live where you live?
    a. Can you see yourself remaining there in the future?
    b. What do you value most about your neighbourhood?
    c. Why do you think most people who live in apartments/ detached housing choose this housing option?
2. Do you rent or own?
3. Have you ever lived in low density? Will you?
4. How have you found raising kids in higher density? Do others have kids in your apartment?
5. Are there any downsides to higher density?
6. Do you feel there is a sense of community in higher density housing?
7. Connection btw HD and consumer lifestyle, wealthy playground
8. Do you think Brisbane should be aiming for higher densities?
9. What do you think is driving the push towards higher density?
10. Do you feel Brisbane does density well?
11. What will be the benefits and negatives of urban consolidation on Brisbane and yourself personally?
12. Do you feel like attitudes towards urban consolidation are changing?
13. Do you think Brisbane has the capacity to support a higher population?
14. Based on your experience why do you think most people oppose high density?
15. Do you think there is an element of NIMBYism or it is mostly well founded?

Resident with community group involvement

1. Why did you choose to live where you live?
    a. Can you see yourself remaining there in the future?
    b. What do you value most about your neighbourhood?
    c. Why do you think most people who live in apartments/ detached housing choose this housing option?
2. Do you rent or own?
3. What is your preferred vision for [your suburb] and Brisbane over the next 20 years?
4. How do you think [your suburb] and Brisbane will change over the next 20 years?
5. What (or who) do you think is driving this change?
6. What were your main reasons for opposing [insert key projects]?
7. Who do you think will live in high density in the future?

8. What will be the benefits and negatives of urban consolidation on Brisbane and yourself personally?
9. How would you characterise the power of community groups in development decisions in Brisbane?
10. What do you think about the concept of NIMBYism? How would you balance the need to accommodate a growing population with the desire to avoid 'over development?'
11. You've been heavily involved in development debates in Brisbane and [your suburb] more specifically. How do you think the majority of community members feel about higher density development?

Developer

1. Do you think the current policy of 50% infill dwellings in SEQ and 88% in Brisbane by 2031 is feasible?
2. Do you think urban consolidation is a contentious planning strategy?
3. Have you found it difficult to get government approval and social license for developments?
4. Greenfield development and the suburbs often get vilified as environmentally unsustainable – do you think that is the case?
5. Who buys [your company's] developments and why?
6. Who buys higher density dwellings and why?
7. Who buys low density dwellings and why?
8. How do you think demand for housing will change in the future?
9. How do you think supply of housing will change in the future?
10. What are the main barriers constraining/ opportunities promoting development in Brisbane?

Planners

1. Do you think the current policy of 50% infill dwellings in SEQ and 88% in Brisbane by 2031 is feasible?
2. Do you think urban consolidation is a contentious planning strategy?
3. Do you think that focus on nodes is a good thing? And do you think we should be trying to preserve our backyards?
4. Do you think planners and residents often think of higher density as a burden on a neighbourhood?
5. Do you think there has been a move towards a more industry-lead and less regulated way of planning currently?
6. Greenfield development and the suburbs often get vilified as environmentally unsustainable – do you think that is the case?
7. What is the main argument for urban consolidation?
8. Do you think we have been quite successful in densifying SEQ?
9. Do you think community opposition to higher densities is a substantial issue in Brisbane?

10. Do you think community attitudes toward higher densities will change as they become more used to it? That they are opposed to change rather than the built form per se?
11. Do you think developers struggle with that level of opposition? Do you think that is a big barrier or are there bigger barriers to development in high and low density housing?
12. Have you found that the local government has a culture of slowing down development?
13. Research suggests that higher density is more commonly purchased by investors than other forms of housing. Do you think that is a problem for planning or that's just the way the market works and that's fine?
14. How did the public react to the CityShape process? Was there a general acceptance of higher densities and a nodal structure?
15. Is there a target demographic that is more likely to live in and purchase higher density housing?
16. Do you think we are designing to support people who are not poor or transient and who may have families or be wealthy?

Appendix C: Q-Methodology Participants

Developer	Size based on number of employees	Development Focus
1	Small (<50)	Infill
2	Large (>200)	High Density
3	Large (>200)	Greenfield Development
4	Medium (50 – 200)	Mix
5	Large (>200)	Mix
6	Medium (50 – 200)	Greenfield
7	Large (>200)	High Density

Table 17: Breakdown of developer participants

High Density[3] Residents					Low Density Residents				
	Tenure	**Gen[4]**	**Gend**	**Comm Group**		**Tenure**	**Gen***	**Gend**	**Comm Group**
ResHD1	Rent	Y	M		**ResLD1**	Rent	Y	M	
ResHD2	Own	Y	F		**ResLD2**	Rent	Y	F	
ResHD3	Rent	Y	M		**ResLD3**	Own	Y	M	
ResHD4	Rent	X	F		**ResLD4**	Rent	Y	M	
ResHD5	Own	X	F		**ResLD5**	Rent	Y	F	
ResHD6	Own	X	F		**ResLD6**	Own	Y	F	
ResHD7	Rent	X	M		**ResLD7**	Own	X	F	Y
ResHD8	Own	BB	M	Y	**ResLD8**	Own	X	F	Y
ResHD9	Own	BB	F	Y	**ResLD9**	Own	X	M	Y
ResHD10	Own	BB	M		**ResLD10**	Own	X	F	
ResHD11	Rent	BB	M		**ResLD11**	Own	BB	F	
					ResLD12	Own	BB	F	Y

Table 18: Breakdown of resident participants

[3] Density is defined in the following way; low density refers to detached dwellings, high density refers to attached dwellings from townhouses through to high-rise apartments. Definitions are deliberately non-prescriptive as the purpose of this thesis is to investigate media and stakeholder definitions of density rather than apply researcher-defined definitions.

[4] Generations have been defined by the following year brackets: Generation Y born between 1981 and 1994, Generation X born between 1963 and 1980, Baby Boomers born between 1946 and 1962.

Appendix D: Information and Consent Sheets

Queensland University of Te Brisbane Australia	**PARTICIPANT INFORMATION FOR QUT RESEARCH PROJECT – Interview – Group One – Councillors –**

Investigating multiple 'discourses of density':
Examining salient social representations of urban consolidation in Brisbane

QUT Ethics Approval Number 1400000939

RESEARCH TEAM

Principal Researcher:	Katrina Raynor, PhD Student
Associate Researchers:	Dr Severine Mayere, Dr Tony Matthews
	Property and Planning, Science and Engineering Faculty, Queensland University of Technology (QUT)

DESCRIPTION

This project is being undertaken as part of a PhD for Katrina Raynor.

The purpose of this project is to uncover the attitudes and beliefs held by various stakeholders about urban consolidation in Brisbane. For the purpose of this study, urban consolidation is defined as the increase of population and/or dwellings in an existing urban area. It can be delivered through medium and high-rise apartments and town houses. It is currently a key planning policy in South East Queensland (SEQ).

You are invited to participate in this project because you are a local councillor with a significant involvement in development outcomes in Brisbane. Your opinion and attitudes towards this phenomenon form an important part of contemporary urban consolidation debates. Better understanding of opinions and attitudes towards increased housing densities is important in creating more appropriate urban forms and informing land use negotiations. Understanding how various stakeholders view urban consolidation may result in unexpected areas of consensus or conflict, a finding which may support greater cooperation between stakeholders in future projects.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation will involve an audio recorded interview at a location and time that suits you and will take approximately 1 hour of your time. Within the interview you will be asked to sort a number of statements written on cards on a most agree to most disagree basis and explain why you have made these choices. Statements may include:

- Communities should have the right to have a strong say in how their neighbourhoods develop
- Brisbane has an obligation to make room for a growing population in existing neighbourhoods
- Increased density will result in an unfair loss of privacy for existing residents

Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary. If you do agree to participate you can withdraw from the project without comment or penalty at any point. If you withdraw within 2 months of taking part in an interview you can request that all information relating to your participation be destroyed and this will be done. Your decision to participate or not participate will in no way impact upon your current or future relationship with QUT or the research team.

EXPECTED BENEFITS

It is expected that this project will not benefit you directly. However, it may benefit future communities through the improvement of urban consolidation policy, communication and design.

RISKS

There are no risks beyond normal day-to-day living associated with your participation in this project.

PRIVACY AND CONFIDENTIALITY

All comments and responses will be treated confidentially unless required by law.
You will have the opportunity to verify your comments and responses prior to final inclusion. Only the research team will have access to the audio recording. The audio recording will be destroyed at the completion of the project and will not be used for any other purpose. It is not possible to participate in this project without being audio recorded.

Please note that non-identifiable data collected in this project may be used as comparative data in future projects or stored on an open access database for secondary analysis.

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

We would like to ask you to sign a written consent form (enclosed) to confirm your agreement to participate.

QUESTIONS / FURTHER INFORMATION ABOUT THE PROJECT

If have any questions or require further information, please contact one of the research team members below.

Katrina Raynor		k.raynor@qut.edu.au
Severine Mayere	3138 5351	severine.mayere@qut.edu.au
Tony Matthews	3138 1188	tony.matthews@qut.edu.au

CONCERNS / COMPLAINTS REGARDING THE CONDUCT OF THE PROJECT

QUT is committed to research integrity and the ethical conduct of research projects. However, if you do have any concerns or complaints about the ethical conduct of the project you may contact the QUT Research Ethics Unit on 3138 5123 or email ethicscontact@qut.edu.au. The QUT Research Ethics Unit is not connected with the research project and can facilitate a resolution to your concern in an impartial manner.

Thank you for helping with this research project. Please keep this sheet for your information.

Queensland University of Te Brisbane Australia	CONSENT FORM FOR QUT RESEARCH PROJECT – Interview – Group One – Councillors –

Investigating multiple 'discourses of density':
Examining salient social representations of urban consolidation in Brisbane

QUT Ethics Approval Number 1400000939

RESEARCH TEAM CONTACTS

Katrina Raynor		k.raynor@qut.edu.au
Severine Mayere	3138 5351	severine.mayere@qut.edu.au
Tony Matthews	3138 1188	tony.matthews@qut.edu.au

STATEMENT OF CONSENT

By signing below, you are indicating that you:

- Have read and understood the information document regarding this project.
- Have had any questions answered to your satisfaction.
- Understand that if you have any additional questions you can contact the research team.
- Understand that you are free to withdraw without comment or penalty.
- Understand that you can contact the Research Ethics Unit on 3138 5123 or email ethicscontact@qut.edu.au if you have concerns about the ethical conduct of the project.
- Understand that the project will include an audio recording.
- Understand that non-identifiable data collected in this project may be used as comparative data in future projects.
- Agree to participate in the project.

Name .....

Sign .....

Date .....

MEDIA RELEASE PROMOTIONS

From time to time, we may like to promote our research to the general public through, for example, newspaper articles. Would you be willing to be contacted by QUT Media and Communications for possible inclusion in such stories? By ticking this box, it only means you are choosing to be contacted – you can still decide at the time not to be involved in any promotions.

☐ Yes, you may contact me about inclusion in promotions.

☐ No, I do not wish to be contacted about inclusion in promotions.

Please return this sheet to the investigator.

Queensland Unive
Brisbane Australia

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION FOR QUT RESEARCH PROJECT
– Interview – Group Two – Professionals –

Investigating multiple 'discourses of density':
Examining salient social representations of urban consolidation in Brisbane

QUT Ethics Approval Number 1400000939

RESEARCH TEAM

Principal Researcher:	Katrina Raynor, PhD Student
Associate Researchers:	Dr Severine Mayere and Dr Tony Matthews
	Property and Planning, Science and Engineering Faculty, Queensland University of Technology (QUT)

DESCRIPTION

This project is being undertaken as part of a PhD for Katrina Raynor.

The purpose of this project is to uncover the attitudes and beliefs held by various stakeholders about urban consolidation in Brisbane. For the purpose of this study, urban consolidation is defined as the increase of population and/or dwellings in an existing urban area. It can be delivered through medium and high-rise apartments, town houses and villas. It is currently a key planning policy in Brisbane.

You are invited to participate in this project because you are a built environment professional with a significant contribution to urban consolidation policy and/ or delivery in Brisbane. Your opinion and attitudes towards this phenomenon form an important part of contemporary urban consolidation debates. Better understanding of opinions and attitudes towards increased housing densities is important in creating more appropriate urban forms and informing land use negotiations. Understanding how various stakeholders view urban consolidation may result in unexpected areas of consensus or conflict, a finding which may support greater cooperation between stakeholders in future projects.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation will involve two audio recorded interviews at locations and times that suit you. Both interviews will take approximately 1 hour of your time. The first interview will seek to gain an insight into your opinions about process and outcome of urban consolidation projects in Brisbane, including their popularity, feasibility and value

Questions may include:

- Do you think urban consolidation is a contentious issue? Why/ Why not?
- How and where do you think Brisbane's growing population should be housed?
- Is there market demand for higher density developments?

Within the second interview you will be asked to sort a number of statements on a most agree to most disagree basis and explain why you have made these choices. Statements may include:

- Communities should have the right to have a strong say in how their neighbourhoods develop
- Brisbane has an obligation to make room for a growing population in existing neighbourhoods
- Increased density will result in an unfair loss of privacy for existing residents

Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary. If you do agree to participate you can withdraw from the project without comment or penalty at any point. If you withdraw within 2 months of taking part in an interview you can request that all information relating to your participation be destroyed and this will be done. Your decision to participate or not participate will in no way impact upon your current or future relationship with QUT or the research team.

EXPECTED BENEFITS

It is expected that this project will not benefit you directly. However, it may benefit future communities through the improvement of urban consolidation policy, communication and design.

RISKS

There are no risks beyond normal day-to-day living associated with your participation in this project.

PRIVACY AND CONFIDENTIALITY

All comments and responses will be treated confidentially unless required by law.

You will have the opportunity to verify your comments and responses prior to final inclusion and only the research team will have access to the audio recording. The audio recording will be destroyed at the completion of the project and will not be used for any other purpose. It is not possible to participate in this project without being audio recorded.

Please note that non-identifiable data collected in this project may be used as comparative data in future projects or stored on an open access database for secondary analysis.

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

We would like to ask you to sign a written consent form (enclosed) to confirm your agreement to participate.

QUESTIONS / FURTHER INFORMATION ABOUT THE PROJECT

If have any questions or require further information please contact one of the research team members below.

Katrina Raynor		k.raynor@qut.edu.au
Severine Mayere	3138 5351	severine.mayere@qut.edu.au
Tony Matthews	3138 1188	tony.matthews@qut.edu.au

CONCERNS / COMPLAINTS REGARDING THE CONDUCT OF THE PROJECT

QUT is committed to research integrity and the ethical conduct of research projects. However, if you do have any concerns or complaints about the ethical conduct of the project you may contact the QUT Research Ethics Unit on 3138 5123 or email ethicscontact@qut.edu.au. The QUT Research Ethics Unit is not connected with the research project and can facilitate a resolution to your concern in an impartial manner.

Thank you for helping with this research project. Please keep this sheet for your information.

Queensland University of Te
Brisbane Australia

CONSENT FORM FOR QUT RESEARCH PROJECT
– Interview –

Investigating multiple 'discourses of density':
Examining salient social representations of urban consolidation in Brisbane

QUT Ethics Approval Number 1400000939

RESEARCH TEAM CONTACTS

Katrina Raynor		k.raynor@qut.edu.au
Severine Mayere	3138 5351	severine.mayere@qut.edu.au
Tony Matthews	3138 1188	tony.matthews@qut.edu.au

STATEMENT OF CONSENT

By signing below, you are indicating that you:

- Have read and understood the information document regarding this project.
- Have had any questions answered to your satisfaction.
- Understand that if you have any additional questions you can contact the research team.
- Understand that you are free to withdraw without comment or penalty.
- Understand that you can contact the Research Ethics Unit on 3138 5123 or email ethicscontact@qut.edu.au if you have concerns about the ethical conduct of the project.
- Understand that the project will include an audio recording.
- Understand that non-identifiable data collected in this project may be used as comparative data in future projects.
- Agree to participate in the project.

Name .....

Sign .....

Date .....

MEDIA RELEASE PROMOTIONS

From time to time, we may like to promote our research to the general public through, for example, newspaper articles. Would you be willing to be contacted by QUT Media and Communications for possible inclusion in such stories? By ticking this box, it only means you are choosing to be contacted – you can still decide at the time not to be involved in any promotions.

☐ Yes, you may contact me about inclusion in promotions.

☐ No, I do not wish to be contacted about inclusion in promotions.

Please return this sheet to the investigator.

Queensland University of Te
Brisbane Australia

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION FOR QUT RESEARCH PROJECT
– Interview (Group Three – residents) –

Investigating multiple 'discourses of density':
Examining salient social representations of urban consolidation in Brisbane

QUT Ethics Approval Number 1400000939

RESEARCH TEAM

Principal Researcher:	Katrina Raynor, PhD Student
Associate Researchers:	Dr Severine Mayere and Dr Tony Matthews
	Property and Planning, Science and Engineering Faculty, Queensland University of Technology (QUT)

DESCRIPTION

This project is being undertaken as part of a PhD for Katrina Raynor.

The purpose of this project is to uncover the attitudes and beliefs held by various stakeholders about urban consolidation in Brisbane. Urban consolidation is the increase of population and/or dwellings in an existing urban area and can be delivered through medium and high-rise apartments, town houses and villas. It is currently a key planning policy in Brisbane.

You are invited to participate in this project because you own or rent a home in a Brisbane neighbourhood and represent a valued insight into community attitudes towards increased housing densities. Better understanding of opinions and attitudes towards increased housing densities is important in creating more appropriate urban forms. Understanding how various stakeholders view urban consolidation may result in unexpected areas of consensus or conflict and therefore inform future projects.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation will involve two audio recorded interviews at locations and times that suit you. Both interviews will take approximately 1 hour of your time. The first interview will seek to gain an insight into the character of your neighbourhood, your attitude toward housing types and your opinions about increased housing density in your area

Questions may include:

- What do you value most about your neighbourhood at present?
- Do you think urban consolidation is a contentious issue? Why/ Why not?
- How do you think your suburb will look in 10 years' time?
- Who do you think has the power to influence development decisions in Brisbane?

Within the second interview you will be asked to sort a number of statements on a most agree to most disagree basis and explain why you have made these choices. Statements may include:

- Communities should have the right to have a strong say in how their neighbourhoods develop
- Brisbane has an obligation to make room for a growing population in existing neighbourhoods
- Increased density will result in an unfair loss of privacy for existing residents

Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary. If you do agree to participate you can withdraw from the project without comment or penalty at any point. If you withdraw within 2 months of taking part in an interview you can request that all information relating to your participation be destroyed and this will be done. Your decision to participate or not participate will in no way impact upon your current or future relationship with QUT or the research team.

EXPECTED BENEFITS

It is expected that this project will not benefit you directly. However, it may benefit future communities through the improvement of urban consolidation policy, communication and design.

RISKS

There are no risks beyond normal day-to-day living associated with your participation in this project.

PRIVACY AND CONFIDENTIALITY

All comments and responses will be treated confidentially unless required by law.

You will have the opportunity to verify your comments and responses prior to final inclusion. Only the research team will have access to the audio recording. The audio recording will be destroyed at the completion of the project and will not be used for any other purpose. It is not possible to participate in this project without being audio recorded.

Please note that non-identifiable data collected in this project may be used as comparative data in future projects or stored on an open access database for secondary analysis.

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

We would like to ask you to sign a written consent form (enclosed) to confirm your agreement to participate.

QUESTIONS / FURTHER INFORMATION ABOUT THE PROJECT

If have any questions or require further information, please contact one of the research team members below.

Katrina Raynor		k.raynor@qut.edu.au
Severine Mayere	3138 5351	severine.mayere@qut.edu.au
Tony Matthews	3138 1188	tony.matthews@qut.edu.au

CONCERNS / COMPLAINTS REGARDING THE CONDUCT OF THE PROJECT

QUT is committed to research integrity and the ethical conduct of research projects. However, if you do have any concerns or complaints about the ethical conduct of the project you may contact the QUT Research Ethics Unit on 3138 5123 or email ethicscontact@qut.edu.au. The QUT Research Ethics Unit is not connected with the research project and can facilitate a resolution to your concern in an impartial manner.

Thank you for helping with this research project. Please keep this sheet for your information.

Queensland University of Te
Brisbane Australia

CONSENT FORM FOR QUT RESEARCH PROJECT
– Interview –

Investigating multiple 'discourses of density':
Examining salient social representations of urban consolidation in Brisbane

QUT Ethics Approval Number 1400000939

RESEARCH TEAM CONTACTS

Katrina Raynor		k.raynor@qut.edu.au
Severine Mayere	3138 5351	severine.mayere@qut.edu.au
Tony Matthews	3138 1188	tony.matthews@qut.edu.au

STATEMENT OF CONSENT

By signing below, you are indicating that you:

- Have read and understood the information document regarding this project.
- Have had any questions answered to your satisfaction.
- Understand that if you have any additional questions you can contact the research team.
- Understand that you are free to withdraw without comment or penalty.
- Understand that you can contact the Research Ethics Unit on 3138 5123 or email ethicscontact@qut.edu.au if you have concerns about the ethical conduct of the project.
- Understand that the project will include an audio recording.
- Understand that non-identifiable data collected in this project may be used as comparative data in future projects.
- Agree to participate in the project.

Name .....

Sign .....

Date .....

MEDIA RELEASE PROMOTIONS

From time to time, we may like to promote our research to the general public through, for example, newspaper articles. Would you be willing to be contacted by QUT Media and Communications for possible inclusion in such stories? By ticking this box, it only means you are choosing to be contacted – you can still decide at the time not to be involved in any promotions.

☐ Yes, you may contact me about inclusion in promotions.

☐ No, I do not wish to be contacted about inclusion in promotions.

Please return this sheet to the investigator.