

Urban Sustainability and Quality of Life: Complements and Contradictions

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A paper to be presented at the World Forum on Cities and the Quality of Life: Global Challenges, Local Solutions, Geneva 18-20 May 2006.

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Abstract

Urban sustainability is an increasingly ubiquitous term littering all manner of policy documents and promotional material. As an ambitious attempt to address social, economic and bio-physical environmental issues it *appears* to balance philanthropic ideals, such as improving urban residents' quality of life, with environmental concern. It is often unclear exactly how this is to be achieved, however. This paper explores some of the complements and contradictions between the concepts of urban sustainability and quality of life. Based on a case study of Christchurch, New Zealand, we conclude that although the two concepts are not necessarily contradictory, 'sustainability' tends to center on bio-physical environmental issues. While this often just a simple response to the vagaries of the sustainability concept, the concern can also be cruelly misanthropic.

Introduction

Urban sustainability and its associated terms such as sustainable development and sustainable management are nothing if not ubiquitous¹. As Kates, Parris and Leiserowitz (2005) have noted, the concept of sustainable development alone figures on the masthead of *Environment* magazine, is a feature of over 8,720,000 Web pages, and has been adopted enthusiastically by 'countless' programmes, organisations, and institutions. Indeed, as Netting (1993, in Stone, 2003) observed, sustainability has 'buzzed rapidly into the popular consciousness trailing clouds of positive affect'.

'Quality of life' is another term frequently adorning policy documents and vision statements. It represents an evolution of the notion of 'standards of living' made possible by the improvement in material conditions for many in 'the West', dissatisfaction with the bio-physical environmental effects of modernisation and the subsequent placement of higher order wants on the political agenda (Fischler, 2000). The standards of living approach, with its inherent minima and maxima, sat comfortably within the scientific discourse of quantification, but 'quality of life' acknowledges more tenuous, subjective elements that are qualitative in character.

Both 'sustainability' and 'quality of life' have become standard components of the discourse surrounding urban governance and urban planning. The question addressed in this paper is how the concepts of urban sustainability and quality of life complement and contradict each other in the practices of urban management and urban life more generally. Using data from a study of urban practitioners in Christchurch, New Zealand, we argue that the discourse of sustainability manifests largely as a simplistic eco-concern that is subservient primarily to economic

¹ In New Zealand, recent publications with this focus include: *Towards Sustainable Development* (1992); *The Government's Approach to Sustainable Development*, (2002); *Towards Sustainable Development in New Zealand* (2002); *People, Places, Spaces* (2002); *The Sustainable Development for New Zealand Programme of Action* (2003); *Urban Sustainability in New Zealand* (2003); *The New Zealand Urban Design Protocol* (2005) including the *Action Pack* (2005), *A Summary of the Value of Urban Design* (2005) and *Urban Design Case Studies* (2005). 'Sustainability' also features in numerous pieces of legislation: *The Environment Act* (1986), the *Conservation Act* (1987), the *Resource Management Act* (1991), the *Fisheries Act* (1996), the *Hazardous Substances and New Organisms Act* (1996) and the *Energy Efficiency and Conservation Act* (2000) (Wheen, 2002), and *The Resource Management Amendment Act* (2004).

imperatives. Genuine discussion about ‘social sustainability’ and quality of life are therefore marginalised in the discourse of urban sustainability in New Zealand.

Social Sustainability and Quality of Life

The discourses of urban sustainability and quality of life are by no means interchangeable but they do have elements in common. While there is a significant literature which vehemently advocates a narrow view of sustainability and the protection of the bio-physical environment as seen in, for example, that model associated with the quantitative ecological footprint (Rees, 1997a and 1997b; Wackernagel and Yount, 2000; Willers, 1994, 2003), an increasingly common tripartite includes bio-physical, economic and social elements. Although the recognition of bio-physical environmental limits was central to the advancement of the notion of sustainable development, many works in this area, including the seminal Brundtland Report (1987), also tend to include notions of equity and justice. Since the publication of the Report, the relatively simple notion of ‘sustainability as a desire to work within bio-physical environmental limits’ has been expanded to include social and economic concerns. This extended version of the concept, which attempts to balance environmental, social and economic goals, has found its ‘institutional home’ in the UN Development Programme (Wise 2001, p. 47, but see also Roseland, 1997 and 1998; Cameron, 2000). Its expansion enabled sustainability, standards of living and quality of life to share some of the same policy spaces. It is in the context of interest in the social aspects of urban sustainability that the connections between quality of life and sustainability are most obvious.

The application of sustainability concerns to urban management has seen urban sustainability, as an abstract ideal, come to enjoy widespread endorsement and support; yet it has its critics². Among these are academics and practitioners specifically concerned about the confusion surrounding the ‘social’ dimension of sustainability (Perkins and Thorns, 1999a and b, 2000, 2001; Barkin, 2000; Chiu, 2003; Redclift, 2000). Social sustainability has been addressed in three somewhat different ways, each of which can be traced to separate antecedents³. The first might be termed ‘socio-cultural sustainability’, and concerns the ways in which the social and cultural characteristics of cities might be maintained in the face of global connections and influences, technological innovation and issues associated with immigration, employment and other forces of change. The writers associated with this discourse are attempting to find ways of reconciling those elements of urban life which should be sustained with those that should be changed in processes of development (Kates, Parris, and Leiserowitz, 2005; Munro, 1995; Borja and Castells, 1997; Redclift, 2000).

The second strand relates more specifically to poverty and inequitable access to resources in both a global and intergenerational sense (Polese and Stren, 2000; Smail 2002; Goodwin, 2003). Harris and Goodwin (2001, p. xxvii), for example, define social sustainability as ‘progress toward enabling all human beings to satisfy their essential needs, and to share fairly in all opportunities for health and education’. They also note that ‘Thus defined, human development is a final goal: an end to which

² Aasen (1992); Lele and Norgaard (1996); Lele (1991); Carvalho (2001); Glasby (2002); Yanarella and Bartilow (2000); Smail (2002); Dovers and Handmer (1992); Willers (1994); Frazier (1997); Godlovitch (1998); Overton and Scheyvens (1999).

³ A similar schema has been proposed by Chiu (2003).

other important pursuits, such as economic development, are the means'. Although the links between ecological degradation and poverty are often made (Boyce, 1995), particularly under the rubric of the so-called 'brown agenda' (Polese and Stren, 2000, p. 15), these are often presented in terms of how a healthy bio-physical environment is just one part of an approach to all-round well-being as a goal in itself. This type of social sustainability in urban areas is the focus of UNESCO's Management of Social Transformations Programme that was initiated in 1994 and which sees cities as 'arenas of accelerated social transformations' (Polese and Stren, 2000, p. ix). Cities, in this view, are key in moves towards increased solidarity, justice and equity. This thread thus elides 'social sustainability' with 'well-being' and a focus upon humanity.

The third strand talks about social sustainability in terms of how society must change in order to be more ecologically sustainable. Foladori (2005) calls this 'bridge sustainability' because the ultimate aim is bio-physical environmental, rather than social, sustainability. In this view, society needs to change, sometimes radically, rather than maintain its current patterns of behaviour. Discussion in this vein tends to centre on consumption patterns, recycling or travel habits, particularly private motor-vehicle use in developed countries and on the over-exploitation of resources in poverty-stricken areas (Pacione, 2001; Finco and Nijkamp, 2001; the WCED, 1987; Ackerman, 2001; O'Meara Sheehan, 2001). The consumption patterns of people in developed countries are fairly well well-documented, with strong ties to Rees' (1997a and b) notion of ecological footprints and the adverse effects of profligate lifestyles.

Much of the remaining sustainability literature addresses social concerns in a fairly cursory way and uncritically assumes that the bio-physical, economic and social aspects of sustainability are more or less easily integrated. Furthermore, in many conceptualisations, commentators assume that social sustainability, of which quality of life is part, is compatible with bio-physical and economic sustainability because it is a *consequence* of them. This environmental and economic determinism is an underlying discourse in many strategies designed to help achieve urban sustainability including New Zealand's urban design strategy, and planning movements like Smart Growth and New Urbanism. They incorporate vague references to quality of life and social sustainability whilst, in practice, focusing almost exclusively on the bio-physical and material tangible aspects of the city. Writers who have identified and are critical of this trend have started to question whether the three elements of sustainability can be balanced, or whether they are not, in fact, somewhat contradictory (Farrell, 1998; Perkins and Thorns, 2000, 2001; Redclift, 2000; Vallance, Perkins, Moore, 2005).

Background to the Study

In New Zealand, both 'sustainability' and 'quality of life' have become standard components of the discourse surrounding urban governance and urban planning but it is often not clear what is meant by these concepts and how, if at all, they might be operationalised. We therefore set out to answer our research question by studying how sustainability strategies were being worked out in Christchurch, New Zealand's second largest city. The city is

located on the east coast of the South Island, has a population of approximately 325 000 people, and is part of an urban region with a population of over 400,000 residents. Christchurch, and the province of Canterbury of which it is a part, was established by British colonists in the mid 1800s and the city's most enduring image is that of the 'Garden City' for which it has won a number of international awards. Levels of home-ownership are generally high with about 70 per cent of homes being owner-occupied. Home ownership rates are generally higher in the outer suburbs (as high as 90 per cent in some areas) that also have lower residential densities, and rental accommodation tends to be concentrated adjacent to the central city's four avenues and to the south and east of the city.

Christchurch covers a substantial 45,240 hectares of land. While reflecting the luxury of the low population densities that characterise New Zealand's urban areas, the flow-on effects in terms of sustainability are critical, with sprawling growth making demands on land and infrastructure that are at odds with requests from some quarters to increase urban intensification. The current extensive growth patterns reflect major legislative changes and neo-liberal economic policies which have taken effect over the last 20 years.

These policies have been actively promoted by New Zealand's central government. It has undertaken a programme of restructuring, reducing the extent of state activity and re-regulated (Le Heron and Pawson, 1996) to encourage economic development. At the same time, a number of functions and responsibilities of central government have been transferred to territorial authorities and regional councils. Resource management law-reform began in January, 1988 (Memon, 1993; Wheen, 2002) and culminated in the Resource Management Act 1991 (known colloquially as the RMA), which replaced 50 laws and 20 major statutes relating to the environment (Memon and Perkins, 2000) including the Town and Country Planning Act. The goal of the Resource Management Act 'is to promote the sustainable management of natural and physical resources' where sustainable management is defined as:

Managing the use, development, and protection of natural and physical resources in a way, or at a rate, which enables people and communities to provide for their social, economic, and cultural well-being and for their health and safety while-

- a) Sustaining the potential of natural and physical resources (excluding minerals) to meet the reasonably foreseeable needs of future generations; and
- b) Safeguarding the life-supporting capacity of air, water, soil, and ecosystems; and
- c) Avoiding, remedying, or mitigating any adverse effects of activities on the environment (Section 5 in *Your Guide to the Resource Management Act*, 1999, p.2).

The statute is not aimed at urban management which was to be left largely to the market. The Resource Management Act is thus primarily concerned with managing the *effects* of activities rather than governing the distribution and scale of activities themselves. Within certain parameters, so long as the effects are "no more than minor", an activity is permissible and now, under the Act, potential subdivisions need only meet minimum size requirements and have a minimal effect on the bio-physical environment. Social Impact Assessments are no longer required. This new flexibility was designed to reduce development application processing times and allow for

increased innovation and entrepreneurship. Although this approach has its critics (Perkins and Thorns, 1999a and b, 2000, 2001, Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 1998), it is consistent with the generally more liberal attitude expressed by central government in the 1980s and 1990s.

Under some pressure from urban interest groups favouring a stronger government involvement in urban management the present Labour Government has instituted a limited urban programme. It has produced an urban design strategy and legislated for the development of Long Term Council Community Plans, but it is too early to say what the effects of these strategies will be. Reminiscent of Molotch's (1976) 'city as a growth machine' metaphor, urban change is driven strongly by economic interests seeking the best opportunities for profit, ably supported by the private sector design, engineering and planning professions. Local government regulates but does not plan strategically, at least, not to any significant extent.

Method and results: Investigating the 'popular consciousness'

In-depth interviews with 35 urban practitioners working as developers, architects, builders, planners and residents' association representatives showed sustainability to be a very slippery concept, one that they had trouble defining in a coherent way. The default definition can be described loosely as 'having something to do with the environment', and the conflation of 'sustainability' and 'bio-physical' was pervasive. The general difficulty with definitions and the subsequent emphasis on the bio-physical environment is clearly expressed in the following quotation:

What it means is that an area...of forest, in land use, doesn't matter what it is, whether it's water, timber, soil, whether it's social structure, infrastructure, whether it's what – it all amounts to the same thing. That what you put in place doesn't interfere with the natural course of events so that the actual land and its use becomes unsustainable. Does that help? – *Mr Friar⁴, Residents' Association representative*

The confusion over definitions, their implications for practice and the subsequent elevation of the bio-physical environment to a place of pre-eminence in the sustainability discourse has clearly pushed many social concerns to the periphery. This marginalisation is evident in the following excerpt from an interview with Professor Kirk, formerly a professional geographer and coastal expert, and now a politician and committee chair at the Canterbury Regional Council:

The [regional] councillors are creatures of statute in the sense that what they can and can't do is dictated very much by law... particularly the RMA. So if I want to think about issues like intergenerational equity, I have to think about it in terms of the RMA. The RMA bothers me about that. Because I was taught that in a democracy like ours parliament proposes and the courts dispose...So what legislators should do is write a principle which can then be subject to tests in particular circumstances...So if I go to the RMA and I look at the bit that talks about sustaining the life-giving capacity of air, water and ecosystems and so on and I ask

⁴ Pseudonyms have been used to protect the anonymity of some interviewees.

how I can do that...and if I look at the part of the Act right next to that which talks about future generations and I ask how I am to do that, I have to say about those two pieces of the Act, frankly, I'm damned if I know. When I'm trying to decide on an issue 'yes', 'no' or 'yes with conditions', what's the test? At that point I say the Act is not actually a principle but an ethic. And it's an ethic to which I might subscribe but as a creature of statute called a councillor I don't know how to work with it. But right after that I come to a thing which says I have an obligation to avoid remedy or mitigate the effects of my actions on natural and physical resources. Then my eyes open wide and I say 'here is a test'. That I can do. I can say this activity which is proposed is or is not likely to generate adverse effects. I can avoid, remedy or mitigate those effects by not cutting down the foredunes or whatever. So the only one of these three related things in the Act which I think has any meaning to a creature of statute is that third one...That's the bit I can see makes sense in terms of what I understand the law to be and I understand the decision-making process in relation to the law to be – *Environment Canterbury*.

This emphasis on addressing aspects of sustainability that 'I can do' has some interesting implications, particularly in terms of urban planning. Sustainability in this situation is abbreviated to technical fixes for bio-physical environmental problems and 'social sustainability' is reduced to 'bridge' sustainability whereby particular socio-cultural conditions are targeted for change in order meet bio-physical environmental goals.

Some of the interviewees clearly felt the ends justified the means and that urgent, rather drastic changes are required if we are not to 'hit the wall'. As one Christchurch City Council employee explained 'We almost need more disasters, or we need more floods in the North Island. We need these events that wake people up to seeing the global picture'. Another Council employee told me 'I thought the world was a bad place and that people didn't deserve much help so I thought I'd help the environment instead'. In its extreme form whereby more disasters are required to educate an undeserving public, the bio-physical environmental focus of sustainability as expressed by these study participants can appear cruelly misanthropic.

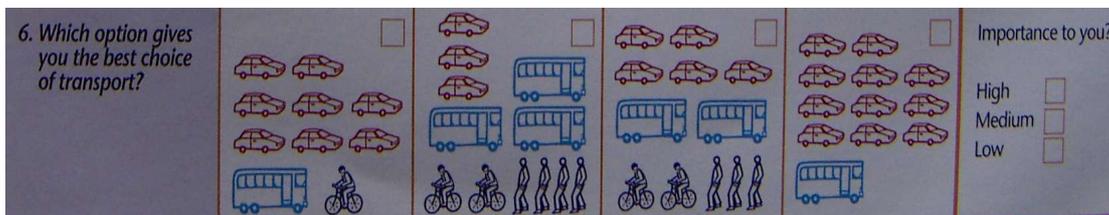
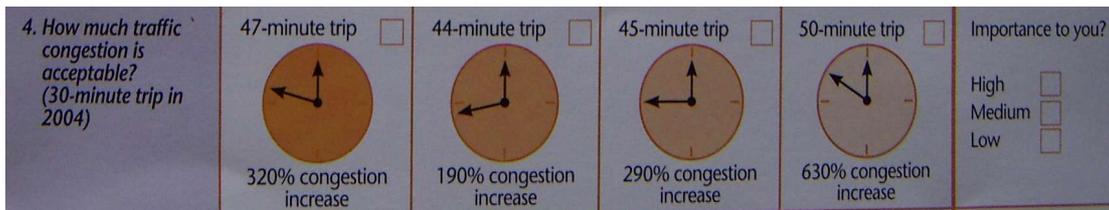
While lacking the somewhat pitiless edge of the previous comments, it is still common to find bridge sustainability rhetoric being deployed in ways which allow quality of life issues to be neglected. Some ready examples from the case study area include efforts to minimise landfill waste, banning home fires to combat air pollution, and increasing urban densities. All of these have significant repercussions for residents' quality of life, and all of these have raised the ire of the public. Whilst the measures appear reasonable, neglected are those generally prosaic aspects of everyday life: the implications of reduced numbers of city council funded rubbish bags per household are significant, affecting daily activities like shopping and eating. Home heating is a major concern in a variable climate serviced by an increasingly suspect national electricity grid. Expression of community concerns about the adverse effects of these technical measures are dismissed as NIMBYism by some urban managers, as demonstrated in the following quotation from an interview with a planner at the Christchurch City Council:

Interviewer: What about if something is sound in a technical environmental sense but it's something that the community doesn't want?

Steve: That happens all the time. That's your cell phone tower, your landfill. They fight them and it's more difficult under the RMA to fight it from a NIMBY point of view. Why shouldn't it happen if it's environmentally sound?

Residential density is perhaps one of the more contested aspects of sustainable urban planning in New Zealand, and efforts to make the city more compact have met with fierce resistance from some urban residents. Suburbs have become a popular pejorative associated with urban sprawl among those who subscribe to bio-physical environmental concerns, but it is undeniably true that many people like living in them because of the lifestyles they allow. Our research has brought us into contact with a number of fervent advocates of urban intensification who live in detached housing in the suburbs or, in the case of one keynote speaker at a New Urbanism conference espousing the benefits of higher density living, while dwelling in his 'own little vineyard on the outskirts of town'. It seems higher living densities are required – but only for other people.

One of the reasons urban intensification is so contested is that many of the purported benefits leading to a better quality of life, such as 'vibrancy' or 'informal surveillance' are either unwelcome in quiet living areas, or fail to occur (Vallance, Perkins and Moore, 2005). These failures are easily overlooked within a planning framework that focuses ostensibly on the bio-physical and built environments. A good example of this is the Greater Christchurch Urban Design Strategy, a faltering piece of strategic planning being undertaken by the five local authorities comprising the Christchurch metropolitan region. The survey addressing residents' views on the strategy included the following items:



And over-page:

9. How important is protecting water quality in Greater Christchurch?

Very Important 1 2 3 4 5 **Not Important**

10. How important is retaining the character of existing urban and rural areas in Greater Christchurch?

Very Important 1 2 3 4 5 **Not Important**

A meeting conducted to discuss the strategy's options centred on residential densities rather than quality of life issues such as city identity, safety, justice, facilitating caring neighbourhoods, recreation facilities, the survival of local community centres and businesses and so on. The discussion was limited to particular manifestations of the built form, from which, presumably, certain social benefits would accrue.

Indeed, our research suggests that rather than being seen as an aspect of social sustainability, a concern for social issues in urban management is labelled pejoratively as 'social engineering' and is explicitly excluded from certain policy spaces as a result. More than one planner interviewed during the course of this study made comments along the following lines:

Isla: [Planning] also gets back to whose values you're trying to promote. Which part of society is going to benefit from your decisions and that sort of thing. When I say that's to do with planning, it's a very dangerous area to get into if you're going to start engineering society and trying to tell people what's good for them and what values they should aspire to.

This raises some interesting questions about urban governance and the ways in which residents' aspirations and values are transposed into the built environment. If planners are reluctant to interfere unduly in residents lives, who should? A planner from the World Bank has argued that in culturally diverse cities, quality of life issues should be developed by concerned representatives at the level they will be applied, such as the neighbourhood, city or region (Leitman, 1998, in Fischler, 2000). As noted earlier, in New Zealand, such community goals have begun to be articulated in local authorities' Long Term Council Community Plans, however, these are still under development and previously, the Environment Court constituted the primary mechanism through which residents might affect the planning process. This has not been altogether successful. As a number of interviewees including Residents' Association representatives pointed out, they are not always seen as credible presenters in the Court and, importantly, legal representation is prohibitively. The Resource Management Act has come to be known as the Rich Man's Act because, as one Christchurch City Council Community Advocate put it:

Well I think sustainability, at the end of the day, is for those who can afford the lawyers to argue the case as opposed to a bunch of residents who come in and argue for something. The RMA says you can do what you like whereas [the former Town and Country Planning Act]...told you what you couldn't do. Now it's quite open for interpretation and for some people to make mileage out of it. And I think a lot of people make big miles out of the RMA. And sustainability is just two lawyers debating it out forever and a day. It's just that one group of lawyers will be paid by someone longer than the other group of lawyers.

This pointedly sceptical definition of sustainability betrays a profound disillusionment with a concept that held such promise; a number of interviewees simply rolled their eyes and sighed when asked what sustainability meant to them. Sustainability can, and often does, include vague references to quality of life, yet it is very unclear what this means in practice. The safest way forward, as demonstrated in Professor Kirk's quotation above, is to avoid references to nebulous issues such as 'equity' and 'needs' and 'cultural well-being' and adhere to tangible, scientifically identifiable, bio-physical resource management, despite the fact that even there, in reality, politics, values and economic interests are central elements underpinning decision-making (Molotch, 1976; Perkins and Thorns, 2001).

Discussion: The elusive concept of social sustainability

We began this paper with a tripartite schema, highlighting the multiple strands in the literature, which can broadly be conceptualised as 'socio-cultural sustainability' concerned with the sustaining or preservation of norms and traditions, social sustainability as 'well-being' with a universal humanitarian perspective, and finally, 'bridge' sustainability where social change is considered a necessary step to achieving bio-physical environmental goals (Foladori, 2005). In some interpretations and applications, quality of life can conceivably complement any of these three versions of social sustainability. What might be said about such a project on the basis of our New Zealand research?

First, we have shown that unless one is a specialist given to serious reflection on the matter, 'sustainability' tends to conjure images of nature and 'the environment'. This is partly because of the biological or ecological metaphor underlying the concept (Perkins and Thorns, 2000), bolstered in New Zealand by a legislative framework, the ambiguities in which cause practitioners a high level of perplexity. They are 'damned if they know' what to do with it and prefer, instead, to default to a far less contentious use of the term which focuses on bio-physical environmental management. The inclusion of references to 'equity' and 'well-being' enable it to emit 'clouds of positive affect' (Netting 1993, in Stone 2003) without actually having to face the challenges and intricacies of social sustainability head-on.

Our research has also demonstrated some profoundly contradictory and difficult problems with the urban sustainability concept. Measures involving bridge sustainability, for example, are more welcome among sustainability advocates than maintaining social norms or addressing equity, justice and resource distribution, general well-being and quality of life for urban residents. The fora in which quality of life issues might be addressed have been curtailed, and replaced by those which suit people who have the social and cultural capital and interest in making submissions on the City Plan or those who can afford to go to the Environment Court and argue their case using 'sound technical assessments'. This is consistent with a scientific discourse of 'rational use of resources', 'expert witnesses' and 'demonstrable evidence' but which subtly works against intangible elements that play such an essential role in residents' quality of life. As Crookston, Clarke and Averly (1996, p. 135) noted a decade ago, genuine discussion about the quality of life in cities seems to be overlooked amidst the debate about housing density, housing numbers and housing forms.

When discussion surrounding quality of life moves beyond mere numbers, it is often associated with those features of urban living that are thought to appeal to mobile, skilled workers – the ‘creative class’ (Florida, 2003) - and that add a competitive edge to cities, such as theatres, nightclubs, bars, casinos and so on. These urban features make up one of the city’s ‘two faces’ (Thorns, 2002, pp. 75-76); it is glitzy and ostensibly prosperous. The other face, the one that demands a deeper discussion about quality of life and what else might be valued in the community other than consumption opportunities, is made up of many people who have limited incomes, some of whom rarely see their children because they are working in two jobs to pay off mortgages up to five times the median household income (Demographia, 2005). Others are considerably more disadvantaged and some are homeless.

This lack of engagement with social concerns is naturalised by the city’s physical form (Knox, 2005; Zukin, 1991), where gated communities and seats in public areas with arm rests which prevent the homeless from sleeping on them are normalised. Dubbed ‘Vulgaria’ (Knox, 2005), many new subdivisions have become places of conspicuous consumption and ‘moral minimalism’ that emphasise gross disparities in wealth and opportunity (Kotkin, 2005). The resultant tension affects all residents’ quality of life, by making parts of the city and the people there feel alien and threatening. Yet, because the demonstrable ‘adverse environmental effects’ are ‘no more than minimal’ they can be described as sustainable.

Conclusion

While it remains popular to suggest that sustainability holds the potential to promote a wide range of social, economic and bio-physical environmental goals, our research has revealed how the domination of ‘the environment’ in the discourse works against genuine discussion surrounding quality of life in cities. It also has a very real effect on the built form of the city and this naturalises trends that work against social justice and equity, such as ‘exclusive’ gated and semi-gated communities which range from being ‘insidiously pleasant’ to pretentiously ‘over-the-top’ (Knox, 2005, p. 43).

Other urban manifestations support this: glitzy casinos, ‘hip’ bars and clubs, shopping malls, well-tended public gardens with sprinklers strategically placed to discourage the unwary vagrant. On one hand these facilitate a particular version of quality of life that is consistent with a discourse of global competitiveness, yet, on the other, they work against citizens feeling safe and confident because they fail to deal with fundamental unmet social needs. Though less glamorous than shiny new convention centres and spectacular art galleries, dealing with such social concerns is crucially important in considerations of urban quality of life. That they are often not dealt with should serve as something of a caution against blithe inclusions of social issues under the rubric of social sustainability. Serious engagement with these issues, and the limiting effects of the urban sustainability discourse are overdue.

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