

**Re-visioning Sydney from the Fringe:
Productive Diversities for a 21st Century City**

Sarah James

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy

University of Western Sydney

2009

Dedication

To my grandparents, whose commitment to social and environmental justice has always inspired me.

Acknowledgements

There are so many people whose assistance and generosity with their time, knowledge and experience was critical to the realisation of this research project. I would like to gratefully acknowledge and thank:

All those who participated in this research. In particular I would like to thank the farmers and Aboriginal groups who shared their experiences as well as their valuable time. I would also like to thank the various government representatives, at local and state level, and consultants who provided a broader perspective to my research.

My primary supervisor

Professor Kay Anderson, for her invaluable guidance, support and eternal patience in the crafting of this thesis. It has been a great privilege to learn from such a brilliant scholar and dedicated teacher. Thank you for believing in my ideas and for encouraging me to strive for ever-higher standards.

Other supervisors

Professor Ien Ang, whose encouragement and intellectual contributions were key to the development of this thesis.

Dr Fiona Allon, for her contributions to the formation and refinement of this thesis.

I would also like to express my thanks to:

Associate Professor Frances Parker, who generously shared her experience and knowledge from years of work with Sydney's culturally and linguistically diverse market gardeners. Her long-standing relationships with, and insight into, these groups made possible the principal empirical study on which this research is based

The Centre for Cultural Research, which provided a creative and supportive environment for research. The opportunities I have had as a postgraduate including going to conferences, attending seminars and workshops have made it a rich experience for me in many ways. Working at CCR has also provided the opportunity for contact with eminent scholars who have assisted in the development of the theoretical and empirical approach of my thesis, particularly: Professor Helen Armstrong, Dr Wendy Holland, Professor Bob Hodge, Dr George Morgan and Associate Professor Greg Noble

I would also like to make special mention of the ever helpful and resourceful CCR's administrative staff, particularly Maree O'Neill. The combination of efficiency and student care that she brought to all concerns and queries ensured the sometime difficult institutional hurdles and material practicalities of life as a postgraduate student could be smoothly navigated

Professor Philip O'Neill and the team at the Urban Research Centre, for being so accommodating and supportive of me in the final stage

There have also been a number of people, outside of the academic and institutional support provided by those at UWS, who have been very important to the 'life' of my PhD:

Therese, for all the conferences and reading groups, and for all her help and sympathy in the final days

My family: My mother who provided me with a retreat to get through the 'final' stage of writing. I cannot thank her enough for the many discussions and deliberations over my argument, as well as very helpful comments on various drafts. My brothers who made dinner and kept me company during the long, last stretch; and my dad for providing constructive feedback on drafts and discussions on the benefits of local food production

Ruth, who has shared this journey with me from the very first day at Penrith

Jayde, whose level headedness and practicality has always been an inspiration

Adam, for his unfaltering moral support all the way from Vanuatu

The other UWS postgraduates who also took on this difficult challenge, and provided support, entertain and incentive in equal measure:

Takeshi, Jo, Bryn, Farid, Glen, Cathy, Phillipa, Ash and Garth

The broader community of geography postgrads and academics who, in addition to providing a supportive network within Australian geography, have also provided encouragement and sympathetic ears throughout the various stages of my research. In this regard I would like to particularly thank: Fraser McDonald, Rachel Hughes, Don McNeill, Kim MacNamara, Mark Davidson, Kurt Iveson, Chris Gibson, Kevin Dunn and Emma Power

Vanessa Kirkpatrick, my copy editor

I would also like to acknowledge that the scholarship for this thesis came through Professor Ien Ang's professorial grant 'Cultural Intelligence for a Complex World: Engaged Cultural Research for the 21st Century'. I greatly appreciate being given this opportunity

Statement of Authentication

The work presented in this thesis, to the best of my knowledge and belief, is original except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in part or in full, for a degree at this or another institution.

Signature

Table of Contents

Dedication	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Statement of Authentication.....	v
List of Tables	viii
List of Figures	ix
Abbreviations	x
Thesis Abstract.....	xi
Chapter One Introduction.....	1
Sydney's Market Gardens: a Productive History of Farming on the Fringe.....	6
Re-visioning the City from the Edge: Cultural Complexity and Urban Agriculture ..	18
Research Design.....	23
Studying Sydney's South West: Methodology	28
Plan of Thesis.....	37
Chapter Two Growing Sydney	41
A Vision for a Global City	43
Growth as Development.....	46
Agriculture and Cultural Complexity.....	47
From Colonial to Global City	52
Environmental and Cultural Limits to Growth	54
Sprawl: The Messiness of the West	57
History of 'Growth' in Sydney's Plans	59
The 2005 Metropolitan Strategy	67
Responses to the Strategy	70
Green Zones	73
Conclusion	78
Chapter Three Multiple Urbanisms.....	81
Diversity and Planning	83
Public Consultations in the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy	85
Perspective of Government Planners	91
Development of Protocols.....	93
Protocol Meetings	95
Urban Aboriginality	96
Heritage and Urban Development.....	101
Token Participation	102
Control of Knowledge.....	102
Economic Aspects of Land Use	104
Speaking Positions	106
Analysis of Protocols	109
Towards an Intercultural Perspective.....	111
Conclusion	112
Chapter 4 Embodied Tradition: Migrant Market Gardens as Heritage.....	115
Market Gardens in South West Sydney	117
Chinese Gardens in Camden	117
Bringelly Exhibition.....	118
Other Exhibitions on Sydney's Agriculture Heritage	119
Migrant Heritage in Australia	121
Migrant Gardens as Heritage	126
Heritage Listed Market Gardens	128
Comparison to Other Heritages.....	131

Growers' Perspectives.....	133
A Translocated Tradition	133
A Practice to Protect?.....	135
Type of Crops Grown	137
Family Tradition	139
Connection to Land.....	140
Knowledge	141
Migration and Settlement.....	144
Farming as Migrant Employment	148
Providing for the Next Generation.....	152
A Means of Support	156
A Question of Value	157
Migrant Market Gardens as Heritage?	159
Conclusion	161
Chapter 5 Sustaining Sydney	165
Urban Agriculture in the Sydney Basin	168
Sustainability.....	170
Agriculture and Urban Sustainability	172
Toronto Fringe Farmers: A Comparison for Sydney	175
Sustainability in Sydney's Metropolitan Strategy.....	177
Urban Agriculture under Threat by Development	178
Sydney's Forgotten Farmers	180
Views of Growers	181
Valuing Sydney's Agriculture	182
Fresh Food.....	183
Difficulties of Moving	188
Owners and Lessees	190
The Challenge of Distance	194
Communities	196
Lack of Recognition for Urban Growers	199
Food Culture	200
Price of Vegetables	201
Re-visioning the Future of Farming: Productive Diversity.....	203
Green Zone.....	204
Agri-Business Park	206
Conclusion	207
Chapter Six Conclusion	211
Growth as Development.....	212
Land as Livelihood.....	213
Heritage and Sustainability	215
Productive Diversity.....	217
Significance of Thesis Findings.....	219
Implications for Further Study	223
Final Word... ..	224
References	227
Appendix 1: Questions for Semi-structured Interviews.....	257
Appendix 2: Information on Sydney Basin Agriculture	260

List of Tables

Table 1: Research participants	31
Table 2: Culturally and linguistically diverse farmers: detail.....	31
Table 3: Value of Sydney’s agricultural production (ABS).....	260
Table 4: The value of certain vegetable products across the Sydney Basin (ABS).....	260
Table 5: Estimated value of Sydney Basin agriculture using industry figures (NSW DPI)	261
Table 6: Estimated number of farms and types of vegetables grown by cultural group (Sydney Basin Market Garden Project)	262

List of Figures

Figure 1: Hydroponically grown Asian vegetables, Rossmore SWGC, 2006	2
Figure 2: The 2005 Sydney <i>Metropolitan Strategy: City of Cities</i> North-West and South-West Growth Centres	3
Figure 4: Map of culturally and linguistically diverse market gardeners in the Sydney Basin.....	9
Figure 5: An in-ground vegetable farm and 'igloo' greenhouses in Kemps Creek SWGC, 2006	10
Figure 6: Flowers produced in nurseries in Leppington SWGC, 2006.....	11
Figure 7: A lettuce farm in Austral and a cherry tomato farm, South West Sydney, 2006	11
Figure 8: Crops: bok choy grown by a Chinese farmer and bitter melon grown by a Vietnamese farmer in the SWGC, 2006.....	17
Figure 9: New housing estates on Sydney's South West fringe, 2006.....	44
Figure 10: 'Global Sydney' in the 2005 Sydney Metropolitan Strategy	44
Figure 11: Farming in an urbanising landscape, South West Sydney, 2007	51
Figure 12: Map of 'world' or 'global' cities	53
Figure 13: <i>County of Cumberland Plan</i> with green belt.....	61
Figure 14: Map of planned Rural and Lifestyle Zones or 'Green Zones' in the SWGC, 2004.....	74
Figure 15: Protest meeting at Rossmore School, SWGC, 2005.....	75
Figure 16: Protests at NSW Parliament House, Sydney CBD, 2005	76
Figure 17: A Darug artist creating an ochre (or clay-based) painting, NAIDOC week, Parramatta, 2006.	98
Figure 18: Map of Sydney's local Aboriginal land council boundaries, 2002.	108
Figure 19: On-line exhibition of 'Bringelly: A City on the Edge'.....	119
Figure 20: Exhibitions on Western Sydney's agricultural history.....	120
Figure 21: A Lebanese grower with his crop of greenhouse tomatoes, Leppington SWGC, 2006	138
Figure 22: Waves of migration: A Chinese grower's Asian vegetable farm that is rented from the Maltese chicken farmer whose sheds site behind it, South West Sydney, 2006.....	145
Figure 23: Valuing Sydney Basin agriculture: a Vietnamese grower with her crop of Thai basil, Leppington SWGC, 2006.....	183
Figure 24: 'Fresh' produce: tomato farm, Catherine Fields SWGC, 2007	184
Figure 25: Re-visioning farming in the city: A greenhouse on Darling Harbour?	204

Abbreviations

ABS:	Australian Bureau of Statistics
CALD:	Culturally and Linguistically Diverse
CSIRO:	Commonwealth Scientific and Research Organisation
DPI:	Department of Primary Industries
GCC:	Growth Centre Commission
HAL:	Horticulture Australia Limited
NSW:	New South Wales
SWGC:	South West Growth Centre
WSROC:	Western Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils

Thesis Abstract

The market gardening practices of Sydney's culturally diverse inhabitants have long been neglected in the plans for growth of this aspiring global city. Yet in providing fresh food for the city and local employment such market gardens arguably contribute not only to Sydney's globalising demographic and cultural fabric, but also to the city's environmental sustainability. Encroaching urbanisation, however, currently threatens 52 percent of the (predominantly) migrant-run market gardens on Sydney's peri-urban fringe.

With a focus on economic and housing development, official plans for Sydney's growth continue to deny the productive contribution that practices such as market gardening offer the city. These alternative land use practices are often (too easily) dismissed as the 'cultural traditions' of minority groups, separating them from the economic priorities seen as central to urban growth. The presence of multiple users and uses of land within the cityscape brings into question the narrow definition of 'growth as development' within urban planning – one that key urban scholars have recently and variously sought to critique and diversify.

In thinking from and 'with' the urban 'fringe', this thesis argues for greater recognition in urban planning of the diverse groups who inhabit the conceptual and (often) physical periphery of the city. Through interviews with relevant migrant, Indigenous, Anglo-Celtic and governmental groups, this thesis examined the efficacy of sustainability and heritage discourses, mobilised by grower advocates, in protecting market gardeners against plans for urban development. Analysis of interview data and relevant governmental reports, plans and legislation found that within planning policy these discourses tend to figure the land uses of culturally diverse groups as marginal to the developmentalist agenda.

More broadly conceived notions of 'sustainability' and 'heritage' are possible however, particularly ones that acknowledge that all inhabitants have a stake in the city – environmentally, economically and culturally. Taking this more comprehensive perspective on the land use values of market gardening, this research moves away from the narrow conceptions of diversity that are reproduced in multiculturalist and social cohesion discourses by noting the material contributions of the market gardeners livelihoods to Sydney's character and future. This thesis suggests a way of re-

conceptualising the common good of the city, viewing embodied practices such as market gardening as productive parts of a city seeking a sustainable future. ‘Thinking’ Sydney from its fringe, this thesis engages diversity in a vision for urban planning that is not just more inclusive in a standard liberal sense, but also more dynamic and alive to the challenges of 21st Century urbanism.

Chapter One Introduction

The smell of coriander fills the air. To my right are two large packing sheds housing a tractor and many crates. To my left is a small house. Children ride around out the front on tricycles and women and men crisscross the driveway between the buildings as lunchtime approaches. In front of me is a large in-ground vegetable garden, in the process of being transformed into an above-ground hydroponic system. This will grow popular Asian vegetables and herbs such as bok choy, gai lum and coriander for the Sydney market, similar to many other Chinese farms on the South West Fringe (see Figure 1). The farm is owned by an extended family of first, second and third generation Chinese migrants.

I was here to speak to the grandfather of this family about the planned development of a ‘Growth Centre’ in the suburbs surrounding Bringelly¹ in Sydney’s South West. Falling into the local government areas of Liverpool and Camden, the South West Growth Centre (hereafter SWGC) is one of two such areas designated for housing development on the peri-urban edge of Sydney (see Figure 2). These Growth Centres will hold an estimated 160,000 new homes (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b). With projections of around two people per house, these centres represent a city almost the size of Canberra, Australia’s capital, on Sydney’s peri-urban fringe (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b). The Growth Centres are part of 295,000 new houses planned for the surrounding South West and North West regions of Sydney, highlighting the extensive housing growth planned for these areas (New South Wales Department of Planning 2007a, 2007b). A report for Horticulture Australia Limited (hereafter HAL) and the New South Wales Department of Primary Industries (hereafter DPI) to be released in 2009 indicates that the areas designated for these

¹ This thesis uses the term ‘Bringelly’ throughout to refer to the area around the South West Growth Centre now designated for housing growth. The South West Growth Centre encompasses the actual suburb of Bringelly as well as that of Kemps Creek, Austral, Catherine Fields, Rossmore, Leppington, Marylands, Oran Park, and Edmondson Park. The term Bringelly is used for this whole area, reflecting public and governmental use this term (see Department of Environment and Planning 1988: Planning 1995). The actual suburb of Bringelly is delineated as such within this thesis from this broader use.

Growth Centres also currently contain approximately 52 percent of properties growing vegetables in the Sydney metropolitan Basin² (Peter Malcolm, DPI, pers. comm. 23-03-09). Further highlighting the concentration of these farms in the study site, 42 percent of all properties in the Sydney Basin were found in the SWGC compared to 10 percent in the North West Growth Centre (Peter Malcolm, DPI, pers. comm. 23-03-09).



Figure 1: Hydroponically grown Asian vegetables, Rossmore SWGC, 2006

(Photo: Sarah James)

² The term ‘Sydney Basin’ is used throughout this thesis to denote the greater Sydney Region as defined by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (see Figure 3). This includes Wollondilly Local Government area in the South and Gosford and Wyong in the North. Gosford and Wyong are sometimes separated from Sydney as part of the ‘Central Coast’ but are included in the ABS definition. The area of Sydney bounded by these regions is smaller than the geological greater Sydney Basin that stretches up to the Hunter region in the North (more than 4 hours away) and the city of Wollongong in the South. The smaller geographic area has been described as the Sydney Basin in this thesis reflecting the area described by this term in the various reports and public debates described within this thesis.

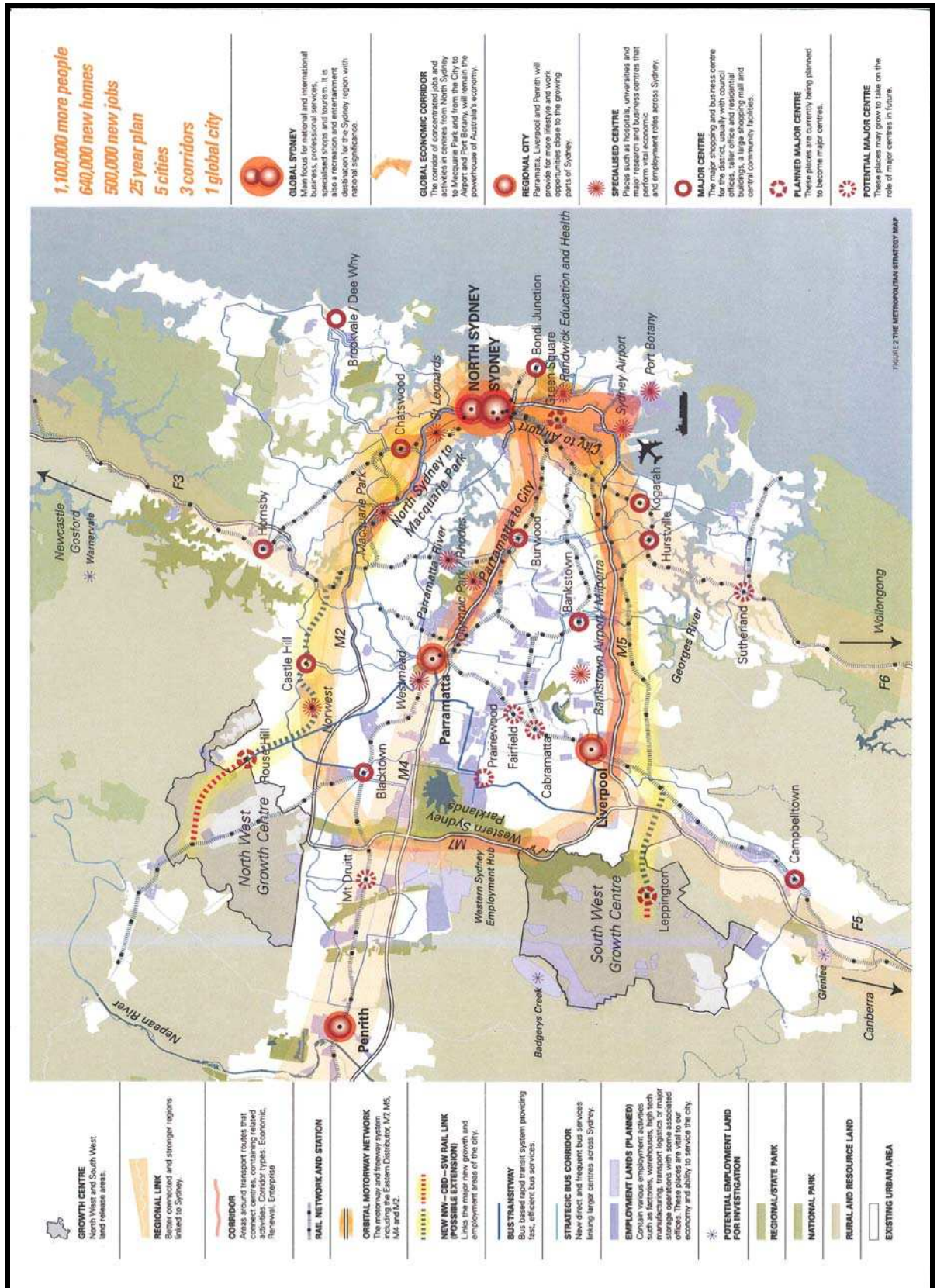


Figure 2: The 2005 Sydney Metropolitan Strategy: City of Cities North-West and South-West Growth Centres

(Map reproduced with the kind permission of the NSW Department of Planning)

The farm introduced at the start of the chapter is in the middle of the proposed development and, if development occurs, it will be replaced by housing. The grandfather does not speak English, so today we communicate through an interpreter. He is from mainland China where his family were subsistence farmers for many generations, and on migrating to Sydney they have continued this practice as a business enterprise.

Culturally diverse migrant groups have run market gardens in this area on Sydney's South Western fringe since (at least) post World War II (WW2), providing fresh market vegetables to the city for decades (Burnley 2001; Parker 2004). There is also a longer history of this form of farming in Sydney's South West as there were Chinese market gardens in the suburb of Camden, near Bringelly, in the early 1900s (Nixon 1976). In addition to the history of market gardens in this area run by culturally and linguistically diverse (hereafter CALD) growers, Bringelly also holds cultural heritage values for a number of Aboriginal groups in Sydney (Jo McDonald Cultural Heritage Management 2007a). The designation of this site on the peri-urban fringe for housing development thus poses a significant threat to the existing multiple users and uses of land in this edge space.

Sydney's latest Metropolitan Strategy and plan for growth, the 2005 *Metropolitan Strategy: City of Cities* document (hereafter Metropolitan Strategy) (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b), has been described by its executive officer as 'a vision for the kind of city we want to live in' (Jones 2004:36). That the development of the Growth Centres will result in the dislocation of a majority of the market gardens of CALD growers from the urban fringe raises the question of how this vision is being defined. Official planning for urbanisation on Sydney's fringe appears to continue 'without fully recognising the implications for employment and the economic and social wellbeing' of the CALD market gardeners who currently inhabit this area (Bayrante et al. 2003: vii). As these farms represent both the city's cultural diversity and its local fresh food production, the lack of planning for them in the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy raises critical questions: who is the 'we' creating this vision for the city, who is its imagined constituency and what kind of city does this vision suggest?

This thesis argues for greater recognition of the cultural, environmental and economic contributions of select forms of land use – in this case market gardening – to a sustainable Sydney. Sydney's urban growth, and its social and economic viability within a context of predicted environmental change, is examined as it bears on

questions of cultural diversity and complexity at the city's edge. Focusing on the land use values of CALD migrant and, to a lesser extent, Indigenous groups on the urban fringe this thesis examines the extent to which these 'diverse urbanisms' are addressed in plans for growth. Land uses such as market gardening represent multi-faceted cultural, economic and environmental values in land. This thesis argues that the way in which these land uses are recognised within urban planning, when this even occurs, serves to conceptualise these practices as 'minority' concerns. Due to a narrow definition of 'cultural' values in land, such traditions are too often viewed as marginal to the prevailing urban growth agenda. In an ostensibly 'multicultural' city, the marginalisation of these diverse land use practices brings into question the definition of Sydney's imagined community and values that underpin land use decisions in urban planning.

The focus of urban planning in the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy is housing and economic development, seeking to maintain a 'global city' status for Sydney (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b). Orientating cities towards competition in a global economy (Beaverstock et al. 1999; Sassen 2001), the prevailing global cities discourse neglects aspects of the city seen as unimportant to economic growth which is itself defined in narrow terms aligned to the financial sector (Amin and Thrift 1997; Robinson 2006). As it positions cities on a developmental hierarchy according to narratives of progress and modernity (Robinson 2006), the 'growth as development' agenda within the dominant definition of a 'global city' arguably holds an implicit bias against the land uses of diverse groups. In this narrow vision of a city, this thesis argues, diverse land values such as migrant market gardening are positioned as separate from the economic agenda driving urban development and recognised primarily as a concern of cultural minorities.

The dual pressures of predicted environmental change and increasing cultural diversity on cities such as Sydney bring into question the developmentalist path of contemporary urban growth. This research suggests the need to move beyond thinking about cultural diversity and the city that is limited to narrowly conceived concerns of 'social cohesion' and 'multiculturalism'. Current policies that emphasise assimilation for cohesion (Sandercock 2003b; Amin 2007) or focus on the 'cultural' markers of difference (Jupp 2008) do not sufficiently address the challenges of the 21st Century

city in western³ settings like Australia. Sustainability pressures force the concerns regarding diverse land use values into a new register beyond ‘social cohesion’ or ‘multi-culturalism’ that is not just more inclusive in a standard liberal sense but also more dynamic and future oriented. In relation to the South West sector of Sydney, this means that land uses such as market gardening do not represent merely ephemeral land uses but can also productively contribute to the growth of Sydney. In thinking about the city from and ‘with’ the fringe, this thesis draws attention to issues beyond land use decisions on the peri-urban edge. It brings into question how we might re-vision the complex intersections of cultural diversity, environmental concerns and urban growth in plans for Sydney’s future.

Sydney’s Market Gardens: a Cultural Economy of Farming on the Fringe

To date there has been little official recognition of the history of Sydney’s CALD market gardeners and their contribution to the city’s fresh food supply. It was only as recently as the early 1990s that the work of researchers, in particular sociologist Frances Parker, brought public attention to the CALD farmers on Sydney’s fringe in a number of reports and papers (Parker & Suriyabanadara 2000; Bayrante et al. 2003; Parker & Jarecki 2003a, 2003b; Parker 2004). Often directed at industry bodies these reports indicated the need to address issues such as improving information to farmers on pesticide use and the failure of service provision to these groups. More broadly, however, these reports sought to draw attention to the history of the different grower groups and their role in Sydney’s agricultural industry.. These reports also gestured to the lack of recognition the CALD farmers received from government agencies and the factors including difficulty communicating in English, a fear of outsiders and lack of land tenure that exacerbate a sense of social marginalisation for these growers. Described as ‘Sydney’s forgotten farmers’ (Moore 2001: 11), CALD market gardeners

³ The concept of the ‘western’ city is over-invested with notions of progress and development (Robinson 2006). This self-ascribed status of cities in the ‘west’ as pinnacles of civilisation and progress has been based upon a distinction from cities in the so-called ‘developing world’ (Robinson 2006) as well as the (attempted) exclusion of natural and cultural others such as Indigenous peoples and the natural environment in settler countries like Australia (Anderson 1993; Jacobs 1996; Blomley 2004). This thesis contributes to contemporary scholarship that troubles a narrow and homogenising definition of ‘the city’ (Amin and Thrift 1997; Robinson 2006) by drawing attention to the internal heterogeneity of ‘western’ cities such as Sydney due to the presence of such natural and cultural ‘others’.

on the physical and social margins of the city risk being overlooked in plans for urban growth.

While all of the agriculture in the Sydney Basin (see Figure 3) is potentially threatened by housing development, it is the market gardens of culturally and linguistically diverse farmers that are most affected by 2005 Metropolitan Strategy. As noted earlier, a recent study suggests that the majority of these vegetable farms are in the designated Growth Centres (Peter Malcolm, DPI, pers. comm. 23-03-09). Although there is also a tradition of Anglo-Celtic farmers on Sydney's fringe, they are particularly concentrated in the Hawkesbury region in Sydney's North West that has not been designated a Growth Centre (Parker & Suriyabanadara 2000). It is a key argument of this thesis that it is the intersection of culturally diverse groups and alternative land use values that is particularly 'invisible' and vulnerable in official visions for the city's growth.

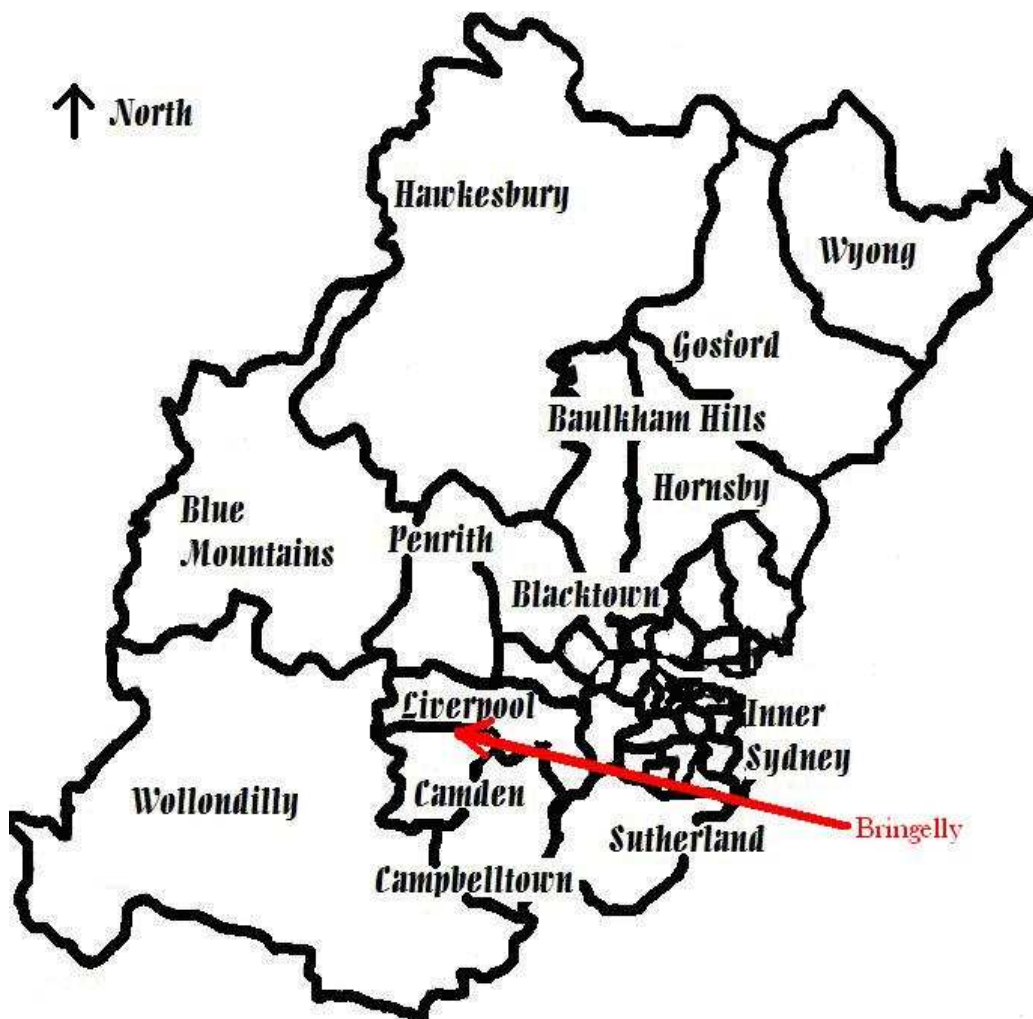


Figure 3: Map of Sydney Basin by local government area.

(Map: Sarah James, based on ABS Local Government Areas)

The history of market gardeners on the fringe and the contribution they can make to the city's food supply, outlined by the various reports, suggest strong reasons why they should be given greater consideration by governing bodies. In the face of urban encroachment advocates for growers have sought to highlight their role in the city's migration heritage (Sweeney & Liverpool Regional Library 2005; Yin-Lo 2005; Co. As. It. 2006; Wollondilly Heritage Centre 2006) and their contribution to urban sustainability through provision of a fresh food supply (Gillespie & Mason 2003; Mason 2007, 2008; Sydney Food Fairness Alliance 2009). In examining the efficacy of these recent discourses – 'heritage' and 'sustainability' – in ensuring the growers are recognised and considered within plans for urban development this thesis contributes to research on Sydney's CALD market gardeners.

The key aspects of urban agriculture seen to contribute to urban sustainability by its advocates are food production and local employment. The primary information on Sydney's agricultural industry to date derives from reports by the DPI and researchers working with growers (Parker & Suriyabanadara 2000; Bayrante et al. 2003; Gillespie 2003; Gillespie & Mason 2003). These reports utilise a mix of industry estimates and the Australian Bureau of Statistics (hereafter ABS) in describing Sydney Basin agriculture. The exact number of growers and farms ranges between different reports. Some (Gillespie and Mason 2003) estimate 2000 vegetable *farmers*, while other reports suggest there are over 1500 farms run by CALD migrant groups alone that would each have at least two farmers⁴ (Bayrante et. al. 2003). Although the exact number is hard to determine, these reports estimate that 80 to 90 percent of the vegetable growers in Sydney are migrants from CALD backgrounds (Gillespie & Mason 2003). While market gardeners comprise of over 50 different ethnicities, some of the main groups have Lebanese, Maltese, Vietnamese, Cambodian and Chinese backgrounds (Parker & Suriyabanadara 2000) (See Figure 4). Furthermore, the majority of Sydney's CALD growers, between

⁴ These different estimates of farms and farmers are indicative of a lack of exact information on the Sydney Basin agricultural industry. The count of 1500 farms does not distinguish between the vegetable market gardens and the orchards, turf or poultry farms run by these growers. The lack of precise data makes it difficult to pinpoint an exact number of market gardens in Sydney.

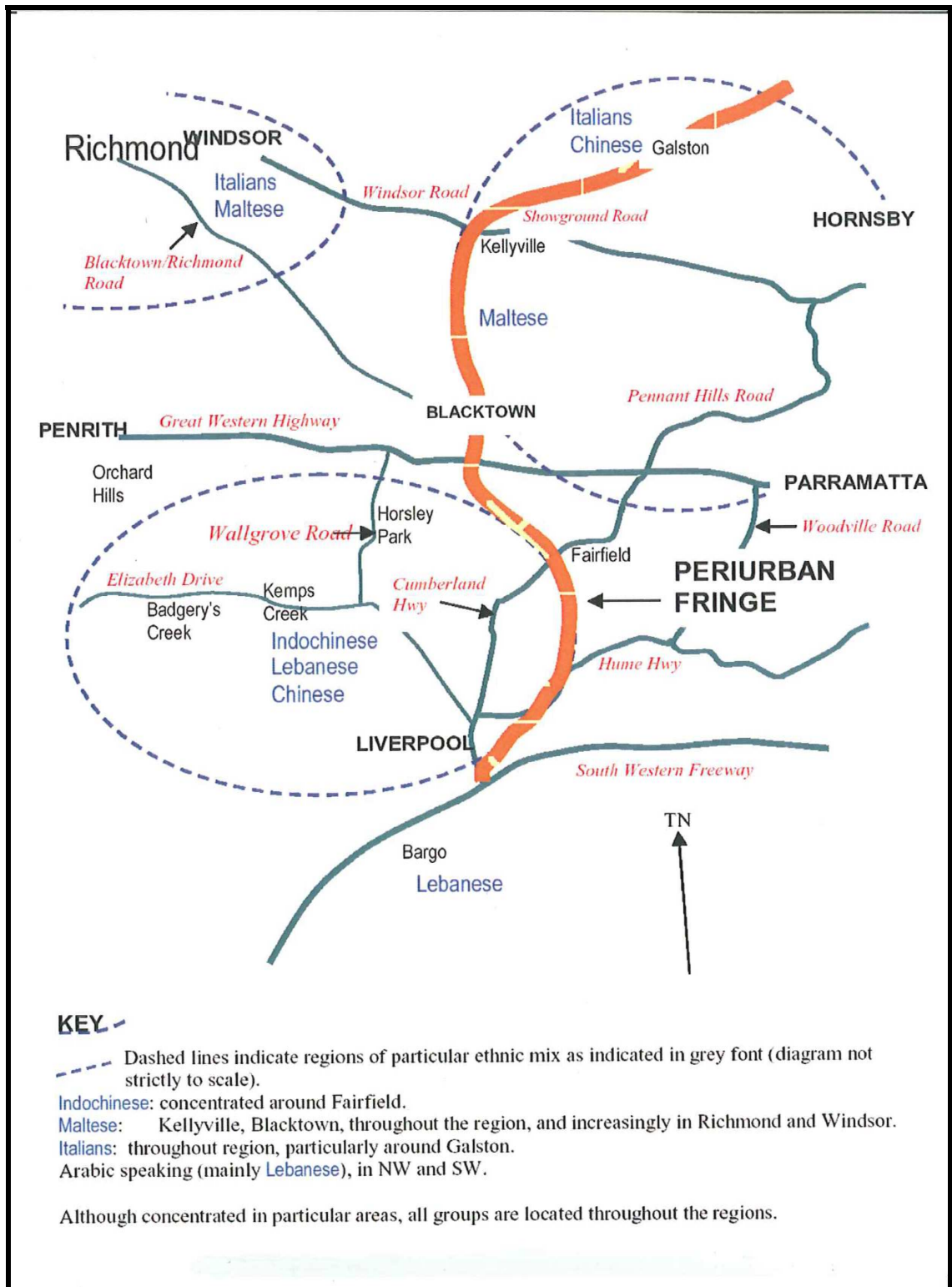


Figure 4: Map of culturally and linguistically diverse market gardeners in the Sydney Basin.
 (Reproduced with permission from Parker and Suriyabanadara 2000: 25)

65-70 percent, are first generation migrants (Brunton & Hall 2007). This does not necessarily indicate a short association with the Sydney area however, as many have been farming in and around Sydney for over 30 years (Parker 2004). Farming for some is a tradition that they continue from their country of origin, and for others it is a job taken up on arriving in Australia to ease the process of settlement, as we shall see in Chapter Four.

The vegetable industry in the Sydney Basin across all forms of production including ‘traditional field crops, Asian and traditional market gardens, hydroponics, greenhouses, igloos [and] polyhouses’ (see Figure 5) accounted in 2003 for 51 percent of all people employed in vegetable production in New South Wales (hereafter NSW) (Gillespie 2003: 6). As well as the highest number of vegetable farmers, the industry is also reported to have the highest number and largest percentage of CALD growers in Australia, comprising approximately 30 percent of the Sydney agricultural industry (Parker 2004). According to 2007 figures from the ABS, agriculture in the Sydney Basin also accounts for 47 percent of the value of turf produced in NSW, 43 percent (understated) of the value of NSW cut flowers (see Figure 6), 42 percent of the value of NSW poultry meat, 48 percent of its eggs, and 53 percent of its nursery industry (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008b, see Table 3 in Appendix 2).



Figure 5: An in-ground vegetable farm and ‘igloo’ greenhouses in Kemps Creek SWGC, 2006
(Photo: Sarah James)



Figure 6: Flowers produced in nurseries in Leppington SWGC, 2006

(Photos: Sarah James)

While representing approximately 8.5 percent of the value of all NSW agriculture, the Sydney Basin accounts for 43 percent of the value of vegetables produced for human consumption (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008b, see Table 3 in Appendix 2). According to the ABS, Sydney's agricultural industry represents a high percentage of the value of certain crops produced in NSW including 95 percent of Asian vegetables, 82 percent of cucumbers, 78 percent of lettuce, 74 percent of mushrooms and 65 percent of tomatoes (see Figure 7; Table 4 in Appendix 2). These crops represent high value perishable vegetables, the freshness and quality of which arguably benefit from being in close proximity to the city's markets. The ABS statistics indicate that Sydney's farms make a substantial contribution to the city's local fresh food supply and local employment, as well as their direct contribution to the city's economy.



Figure 7: A lettuce farm in Austral and a cherry tomato farm, South West Sydney, 2006

(Photos: Sarah James)

The relative importance and value of Sydney's agriculture is a contested issue however. One view is that it is undervalued and should be better incorporated into Sydney's planning (Gillespie & Mason 2003). In contrast others view it as a residual industry that is of little current and future significance to Sydney's food supplies and therefore doesn't need to be planned for, as we shall see in Chapter Two. The way in which different data is interpreted by various parties leaves considerable room for debate about the overall significance of Sydney's farms based on either the number of farms, as noted earlier, or the value of their output.

The contrasting perspectives on Sydney's agriculture are evident in the comparison between two recent reports produced by DPI staff. A 2003 report from Sydney DPI staff suggests the dollar value of Sydney agriculture is much higher than the ABS estimates (Gillespie & Mason 2003). The calculations in the DPI report indicate that the gross value of agricultural production in the Sydney Basin, across all industries, is over one billion dollars (see Table 5 in Appendix 2). This figure was over double the value attributed by the ABS in the 1997 census of 466 000 dollars, which they used as a comparison (Gillespie & Mason 2003). The value of horticulture, which incorporates vegetables, fruit, flowers and turf, was 536 000 dollars in the Gillespie and Mason report (2003), in contrast to the ABS estimate of approximately 100 000 dollars. Using the industry figures, Sydney agricultural production equates to 12 percent of the total value of NSW agricultural production (Gillespie & Mason 2003), in contrast to the 8.5 percent estimated by the ABS. The discrepancy between DPI and ABS figures is ascribed to a substantive undercounting of the value and productivity of Sydney's agriculture by the ABS data collection methods (Gillespie and Mason 2003).

One of the reasons given for this apparent undercounting is that the ABS does not count farms where the recorded farm-gate value is under a certain level (Gillespie & Mason 2003). Peri-urban Sydney has many small-scale farms, including the large number of vegetable market gardens run by CALD growers. These market gardeners are likely to be undercounted for a number of other reasons according to Kelleher (1997) that reflect not only the size of their farms but also the operation of a substantial cash economy, literacy constraints and a resistance to providing information to government departments (Kelleher 1997 in Gillespie & Mason 2003). Thus, these growers are less likely to be accurately recorded in the ABS data. An under-representation of CALD market gardeners would potentially result in a corresponding under-counting of

production value and number of farms, as they comprise the majority of Sydney's vegetable producers.

In contrast to the high production estimates in Gillespie and Mason's (2003) paper, the HAL report due out later in 2009 suggests that the number of farms and size of area under production is less than some had previously estimated (Peter Malcolm, DPI, pers. comm. 23-03-09). From a ground survey this study catalogued 1052 sites under vegetable production in the Sydney Basin. These findings also indicate that many of these plots are less than one hectare, bringing into question the level of productivity estimated by Gillespie and Mason (2003) (Peter Malcolm, DPI, pers. comm. 23-03-09). It also raises the question of whether these plantings should be considered 'hobby' farms rather than commercial properties (Peter Malcolm, DPI, pers. comm. 23-03-09). However, the HAL study only counted the number and size of farms during one particular period. Due to the very nature of agriculture, the size and number of plantings will potentially change throughout the year. While questions can be raised from the size of area under production, this on-ground survey also does not measure numbers of farmers, workers or productivity of farms (Peter Malcolm, DPI, pers. comm. 23-03-09). This leaves room for interpretation on the value – now and into the future – of Sydney's agriculture. Indeed, according to a contrasting perspective, Sydney agriculture is becoming increasingly intense and one hectare of greenhouses can be very productive, potentially employing up to seven people (New South Wales Department of Primary Industries 2008). These contrasting accounts of Sydney Basin agriculture – as a strong or residual industry – illustrate that any evaluation of the importance of small farms such as market gardens in planning for Sydney's growth is based on what (and who) is counted. What is defined as a farm (and a farmer) and how this is valued remain contested issues, and all the more so it seems as the pressure of residential development intensifies.

In addition to making a practical (if debated) contribution to the city in the form of fresh food, the history of CALD market gardens on Sydney's peri-urban fringe outlined in various reports (Parker & Suriyabanadara 2000; Bayrante et al. 2003) illustrate that they are also a part of the city's multi-layered cultural landscape. Successive waves of CALD migrants to Australia, particularly post WW2, have farmed in small-scale lots on Sydney's urban fringe to create a livelihood in a new country. As a form of employment that could be undertaken with little English, it was, and continues to be, a job that is attractive to new migrants, as we shall see in Chapter Four. Often

arriving in Australia through processes of chain migration, many new migrants were able to start working on market gardens run by family members (Burnley 2001). This migration trend also meant that many of the CALD growers on the South West fringe arriving from the same country were, and are, often from the same local area or village (Parker 2004). While many took up farming for the first time in Australia, growers from various ethnic groups often farm vegetables traditional to their country of origin (Parker 2004). This thesis focuses on five grower groups – of Chinese, Maltese, Lebanese, Vietnamese and Cambodian backgrounds – that are predominant in the Bringelly area (see also Table 6 in Appendix 2). As a background to this research the history of these different grower groups on Sydney's fringe will be briefly outlined.

The earliest CALD growers were Chinese migrants farming on Sydney's fringes. They had arrived as part of the 1850s gold rush, prior to the White Australia Policy of 1901 (Burnley 2001). There were also Chinese growers around the suburb of Camden in the South West sector of Sydney, which comprises part of the study site, in the early 1900s, as we shall see in Chapter Four (Nixon 1976). The now heritage listed gardens in the suburbs of Botany, La Perouse and Mascot in the South East of the city have also been farmed by Chinese growers from the late 1800s, as further discussed in Chapter Four (Humphreys et al. 2001). The restrictions on non-British migrants with the White Australia policy meant that there was something of a break in the early 1900s in the development of market gardens on the fringe by CALD groups before the arrival of new waves of migrants (Burnley 2001).

The current patterns of market gardening in Sydney were established primarily by the southern European groups that immigrated to Sydney around the WW2 (Burnley 2001; Bayrante et al. 2003). These include Italian, Maltese, Greek and people from the former Yugoslavia (Serbia, Croatia and Macedonia) (Parker 2004). While European groups settled in small numbers in the 1920s and 1930s, it was only with the weakening of the White Australia policy post WW2 that led to the substantial increase of CALD farmers on Sydney's fringe (Burnley 2001). Of these southern European groups, this thesis focuses on Maltese growers. While Italian growers are also still prominent in Sydney Basin agriculture, especially in cut flowers, many have also retired (Parker and Jarecki 2003) and proved difficult to access for this research (for a more detailed discussion of the selection of the participants, see Research Methods section). Maltese farmers settled in Sydney from the 1920s, with the biggest influx after WW2, and predominantly own their own land (Parker 2004). They are estimated to be the largest

single cultural group in vegetable farming in the Sydney Basin with an estimated 600 (Parker 2004) to 800 farms (Bayrante et al. 2003), many of which are on the South West fringe. The Maltese grow field vegetables such as brassicas (cabbages and cauliflowers), as well as hydroponic lettuce and tomatoes (Parker 2004). In addition, there are some Maltese farmers that run orchards and a large work number in poultry and turf (lawn grass) farming.

The Maltese and Italians have also been joined by another group of farmers who are variously described as European or Middle Eastern, those from Lebanon. The Lebanese who currently farm in Sydney have settled mainly since the 1970s, after the civil war in Lebanon. Earlier waves of migrants from Lebanon also ran market gardens for a period in the 1930s in the suburb of Thornleigh, on Sydney's North Shore (Burnley 2001). These were discontinued due to pressures of urbanisation and competition from farms outside of Sydney (Burnley 2001). According to Parker's (2004) research, Lebanese represent the largest group of Arabic-speaking growers in the Sydney Basin with estimates of between 80 (Bayrante et al. 2003) to 250 farms (Parker 2004) in Western Sydney. They are from diverse socio-economic and religious backgrounds with 40 percent estimated to be Muslim and 60 percent Christian (Parker 2004). These Lebanese growers, regardless of religious affiliation, can also be broken down into two groups of arrivals to Australia (Parker 2004). The first arrived in the 1970s, prior to the full escalation of the Lebanon war, while the second group came later, mainly through family reunion schemes or sponsorship (Parker 2004). The growers originate, predominantly, from a small number of villages in Lebanon which means that many Lebanese growers know each other and are often related (Parker 2004). The majority owns their own land or grows on the property of extended family, but many also lease their farms (Parker & Suriyabanadara 2000). Crops grown by Lebanese farmers are primarily Lebanese cucumbers, greenhouse tomatoes and capsicums, as well as eggplant and zucchini.

In addition to being the earliest group of CALD growers, Chinese farmers continue to be one of the largest groups on Sydney's fringe. It is estimated that there are 300 (Parker 2004) to 400 farms (Bayrante et al. 2003) run by Chinese growers in the Sydney Basin, with a working population of at least 1000 people (Parker 2004). These farms grow principally Asian vegetables and herbs, additionally producing other leafy green vegetables such as spinach (Bayrante et al. 2003; Parker 2004) (see Figure 8). The largest concentration of Chinese farms is in South West Sydney, in the suburbs of

Catherine Fields, Leppington, Rossmore and Bringelly that are all in the SWGC (Parker 2004). As a result of this concentration, the South West is potentially the 'single most important area in Australia for Asian vegetable production' while also being the focus for greenfield housing development (Parker 2004: 67). The heritage-listed farms at Botany, which will also be discussed in Chapter 4, growing predominantly anglicised crops, produced the bulk of Sydney's vegetables during the 19th Century (Humphreys et al. 2001; see Chapter Four). Sydney's contemporary Chinese growers include descendants from Chinese migrants who arrived during the gold rush and more recent groups, many of whom arrived after the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989 (Parker 2004). These more recent groups can also be divided into those who have been in Australia for between fifteen to forty years and own their own land, and those who have arrived in last two to seven years and who are primarily lessees (Parker 2004). The Chinese growers also comprise of Chinese from Vietnam, Cambodia and Hong Kong as well as mainland China (Parker 2004). Parker (2004) indicates that most of those who have arrived in the last two to seven years do not speak English and come from the same province of Kwantung in Southern China.

The newest group of migrant farmers looked at in this thesis were from Vietnam and Cambodia. Most of Vietnamese and Cambodian (Khmer) growers currently farming in Sydney arrived in Australia as refugees between 1975 and 1985 (Parker & Suriyabanadara 2000). Many had lived in refugee camps in Thailand, often having spent over four years in these camps (Parker & Suriyabanadara 2000). There are an estimated 60 Vietnamese farms in Sydney, concentrated in South West Sydney around the SWGC in suburbs such as Kemps Creek and Horsley Park (Bayrante et al. 2003). They produce bitter melon, herbs and other melons (Bayrante et al. 2003) (see Figure 8). The number of Khmer farms in the Sydney Basin is estimated at around between 60 and 70 (Bayrante et al. 2003; Parker 2004; Cambodian Growers Association pers. comm. 02-11-07). According to the Cambodian Growers Association around 48 to 50 of these farms are in the South West of Sydney (pers. comm. 02-11-07). These groups are focused around the suburbs of Cecil Park and Kemps Creek, Horsley Park that are situated in or alongside the SWGC and there is a separate group at Wallacia in Sydney's Central West. While there are a few Vietnamese growers who have bought land, often together with family members, both Vietnamese and Khmer growers are predominantly lessees (Parker 2004). An estimated 95 percent of the Khmer growers produce cherry tomatoes according to the Cambodian Growers Association (pers. comm. 02-11-07).

They also grow snowpeas, snake beans, zucchini, capsicum and strawberries (Bayrante et al. 2003).



Figure 8: Crops: bok choy grown by a Chinese farmer and bitter melon grown by a Vietnamese farmer in the SWGC, 2006

(Photo: Sarah James)

This creation of market gardens on the urban fringe by the various migrant groups is part of a layering of culturally diverse land use values in Sydney that has occurred since colonisation. The lands on which the market gardens are grown were once the property of large colonial landholders, granted as part of the settlement of the Sydney Basin away from the burgeoning urban hub around the Harbour as we shall see in Chapter Two. These were worked as farms to provide food for the new colony (Keating 1996).

This land was, and variously continues to be, the traditional lands of Sydney's Aboriginal people including those of the Darug, Gandangara and Dharawal nations (Goodall 1996). The Aboriginal landscape of the Sydney Basin is evident in the thousands of artefacts that continue to be found all over the Basin (Hinkson 2001) and the ongoing connection to land of the descendants of Sydney's Traditional Aboriginal Owners as we shall see in Chapter Three. These tangible and intangible cultural associations with land continue to exist even in those sites long utilised for agriculture such as the Bringelly area. The layering of migrant, settler and Indigenous histories make this area a complex cultural landscape with multiple values vying for incorporation into plans for urban development.

Through its role in the processes and sequences of migration to Australia, market gardens in the Bringelly area could be considered part of Australia's migrant and

migration heritage (Australian Heritage Commission 1996; Armstrong 2000; NSW Migration Heritage Centre 2007). This was conveyed in the aforementioned exhibition on Bringelly's farms (Liverpool City Library 2004) and follows the (also aforementioned) heritage designation of market gardens in the suburbs of Botany, La Perouse and Rockdale (Humphreys et al. 2001). As an ongoing commercial practice, the market gardens run by CALD groups stand in sharp contrast to the colonial architecture and pre-colonial Aboriginal artefacts that have been privileged in heritage discourses within Sydney's urban planning as we shall see in Chapter Three. Despite the official acknowledgement of the concept of 'migrant heritage', items of migrant heritage are still largely absent from heritage registers, particularly in Western Sydney (Kass 2005). The vulnerability of Bringelly's market gardens in the face of planned urban residential expansion brings into question the extent to which culturally diverse land use practices are valued and protected as part of the city's history and heritage.

Re-visioning the City from the Edge: Cultural Complexity and Urban Agriculture

In its focus on CALD market gardeners, this thesis presents a study of the city that draws attention to cultural and environmental features of Sydney often neglected in conventional visions of the globalising city preoccupied with housing and economic growth. The postcolonial diversity resulting from increasing migration (national and international) and resurgence of Indigenous peoples can be seen to mark ex-colonial migrant receiving cities like Sydney as 'mongrel cities' of the 21st Century (Sandercock 2003a). Such 'cities of difference' (Fincher & Jacobs 1998), have been shaped to a large extent by an increase in transnational migration since 1945 and particularly since the 1980s (Sandercock 2003a; Benton-Short et al. 2005).

Sydney's cultural diversity is particularly evident in its Western Suburbs, which is one of the most multicultural regions in Australia. Almost a third of the population of Greater Western Sydney were born overseas and over 50 percent of the residents of Local Government Areas such as Auburn and Fairfield were born in non-English speaking countries (Gleeson et al. 2002). Western Sydney's Indigenous population also represents the largest regional concentration of Indigenous people in Australia outside of the Northern Territory (Lee Shoy 2004). Seeking to define a common good for a 'mongrel' city such as Sydney is an ongoing challenge for urban planners as 'new and

more complex kinds of ethnic diversity come to dominate cities' troubling the 'very notion of a shared interest' (Sandercock 2003a: 20–21).

In Australia, processes such as Aboriginal land rights and increasing migration through globalisation, gestured to previously, have disrupted what was once conceived of as a 'White Australia' (Hage 1998; Ang 2001b; Anderson & Taylor 2005). The resulting ambiguous state of contemporary cultural politics in Australia serves to 'unsettle the ground beneath any privileged claims to ownership of a "core" culture, casting the full range of migrants, settlers, and Indigenes as *subjects in process of struggle over rights to belong*' (Anderson & Taylor 2005: 472 emphasis in original). The extent to which rights to belong, and associated stakes in land, of Indigenous and CALD migrant groups are still 'managed' by a governance structure based on Anglo-Celtic cultural values, however, requires continued analysis (Hage 1998; Dunn 2001; Hage 2003). This thesis takes up that challenge by drawing attention to the limited opportunity for Indigenous and other culturally diverse groups to participate in plans for development on Sydney's fringe and the ongoing 'struggle to belong' reflected in this process.

The cultural diversity evident on Sydney's fringe brings into question the narrow focus on economic development within prevailing global city discourses. Arising in part from increasing transnational flows, the diversity of cities such as Sydney is arguably as much a part of their 'global' nature as the international economic system of which Sydney is a part (Amin & Thrift 1997; Robinson 2006). This diversity constitutes the city and needs to be recognised within urban planning. In current global cities literature diversity is primarily addressed in terms of the disadvantage of migrant workers in global cities (see, for example, Sassen 2001; Massey 2007). Although important, this approach still maintains a focus on an international economic system. While discussing a form of migrant employment, this thesis examines the way in which Sydney's cultural diversity constitutes and arguably positively contributes to its local/global character.

The cultural complexity of Sydney's urban fringe reflects not only diverse groups within this 'global city' but also their multiple values in and uses of land. Considering the role of CALD market gardeners in the local fresh food supply of the city, this thesis also draws attention to the issue of productive land within the city as a sustainability concern. While urban environmentalism began as a social and political movement in Australia in the 1960s and 1970s, it has predominantly focused on the

preservation of non-productive green space such as parks and reserves (Roddewig 1978; Jakubowicz 1984; Frawley 1992). Contemporary environmental concerns such as climate change and scarcity of resources such as water and fuel turn our attention to other, arguably more fundamental, urban natures such as agriculture in the space of the city. Questions about the environmental and economic cost of transporting food long distances and securing the quality and quantity of food expected by so-called 'first world' consumers have made local food production a pressing issue for cities in western settings like Australia (Toronto Food Policy Council 1999; Christensen & Neil 2006; DuPuis et al. 2006; Centre for Education and Research in Environmental Strategies 2007; Feagan 2007; New York State Government 2007; Sydney Food Fairness Alliance 2009). Through its study of market gardening, this thesis thus brings into view the often neglected intersections of cultural diversity and environmental concerns that make up the multiple urbanisms of 21st Century Sydney.

It is important to note that while arguing that the 'growth as development' agenda requires re-visioning, this thesis does not seek to negate economic concerns in planning for Sydney's future. Instead it asserts that the interconnection between cultural, economic and environmental aspects of the city in land use practices such as market gardening need to be given greater attention. Viewing the culturally diverse globalising city in this more holistic sense illustrates that ways of life and enterprise such as market gardening of CALD groups are a productive part of Sydney. Such a perspective draws on the concept of 'productive diversity', describing the positive contribution culturally diverse groups can make in bringing a range of perspectives, ideas and traditions to a common goal (Cope & Kalantzis 1997, 2001). It was a term originally coined by the Federal government under Prime Minister Paul Keating to describe the benefits of a culturally diverse workforce for employers and adopted by scholars who applied it to a business context (Cope & Kalantzis 1997, 2001). This thesis discusses the productive nature of diversity, in relation to the role of land uses such as market gardening, in creating a sustainable Sydney.

Recognition of this productive contribution to Sydney as a whole requires a much keener and more rigorous acknowledgement than exists of the political and economic concerns associated with different land use practices and traditions. As suggested earlier, such practices and traditions have more than an aesthetic 'cultural value' aligned to minority groups. The question of land use has economic and political content, plus it entails environmental consequences bearing upon all residents, not only

those immediately marginalised. Including groups such as CALD market gardeners in planning for urban development requires recognition that their land use practices represent livelihoods. As livelihoods, they reflect economic as well as cultural and environmental values in land. Addressing the connections between cultural and economic concerns is necessary to ensure diverse groups can move towards equal participation in urban planning, as equal citizens of a culturally heterogeneous city (Fraser 2000; Iveson 2000; Fincher & Iveson 2008). Such recognition would have to engage with the intrinsic complexities of such diverse values in land rather than seeking to sideline them as minority concerns.

In drawing attention to the urban edge in a re-visioning of Sydney's growth, this thesis seeks to illustrate that the 'many different kinds of activities' on the urban fringe have much to contribute to the city as an assembled whole (Robinson 2006: 170). By bringing the whole city back into view 'in all its diversity and complexity', this thesis follows recent calls for a 're-territorialisation' of studies of cities that takes into account their social, political and economic specificity (Robinson 2006: 10). The peri-urban fringe of Australian cities are characterised by 'fiercely contested heritage, landscape and amenity values' as well as natural resources and endangered bushland (Bunker & Houston 2003: 304). An estimated 25 percent of the gross value of Australia's agricultural production comes from the peri-urban fringes of its major cities (Houston 2005). These figures suggest that the existing land uses on the edges of cities deserve greater recognition and consideration in contemporary Australian planning policy and practice.

Literature on rural-urban areas such as Bringelly, and indeed on competing stakes in land and cross-cultural interfaces, often utilises metaphors of frontiers or borders. The study area on the South West fringe of Sydney has been described as an urban, agricultural and historical 'frontier' (Keating 1996). The contested and complicated nature of this fringe area suggests that is not a border that allows for a clean separation of binaries such as urban and rural. Rather it is a space in which land uses and livelihoods – and for that matter, all manner of living presences (Whatmore & Hinchcliffe 2003) – come together and blur.

Up until recently there has been little attention given to these areas at the edges of cities in literature on urban policy in Australia (Bunker & Houston 2003; Buxton et al. 2006). Aside from a few notable attempts to create limits to growth such as a green belt for Sydney in the County of Cumberland plan of 1951 (Winston 1957), the peri-

urban fringe of Australian cities has been overwhelmingly conceived in urban planning as a site for housing development as Chapter Two will illustrate. The focus on the inner city as the engine for economic growth and cultural dynamism (Anderson 2005; McNeill et al. 2005), has meant the possible contributions of existing land uses on the fringe have been neglected. Consequently, the peri-urban edge has been seen as a transitional and transient zone that will move further out as urbanisation continues to spread, or as many city-centric commentators dismissively call it, 'sprawl' (Anderson 2005). In looking at the CALD migrant and Indigenous land use values on Sydney's peri-urban fringe, this thesis brings into question whether the loss of diverse land use values in this peri-urban area is, or should be, as inevitable as this discourse suggests.

Despite previous neglect, the expansion of peri-urban regions as a result of increased (national as well as international) migration to urban areas has been the focus of recent scholarly attention (Bunker & Houston 2003; Armstrong 2004; Sinclair et al. 2004; Allon 2005; Anderson 2005; Houston 2005; McGuirk & Dowling 2005; Kenna 2007; Land and Water Australia 2008; Low Choy et al. 2008). That peri-urban zones continue to grow around Australia's major cities makes them an important site for research (Armstrong 2004; Land and Water Australia 2008; Low Choy et al. 2008). Most significantly for this thesis, these reports highlighted that a key issue in further urban development on city fringes is the loss of farmland and the need for planning measures to protect it (Low Choy et al. 2008). The potential for Australia's east coast to become an almost continuous urban conurbation brings into question where Sydney's growers might move to that is safe from urban encroachment (Armstrong 2004; Land and Water Australia 2008; Low Choy et al. 2008).

The peri-urban fringe of Sydney can be seen, following geographer Ritchie Howitt (2001), as a liminal and multidimensional edge space. This conception of the fringe actually corresponds more directly with the real world of complexity and blurred divisions than does the notion of a clear-cut 'frontier' between urban and rural used by some scholars (Keating 1996). This is not to suggest that this conceptualised 'edge' space Howitt (2001) described exists only at the edge of cities. The rural-urban fringe of Sydney, nevertheless, offers a vivid example of such a complex space where the urban and rural meet and merge. It highlights the multi-layered and potentially contested nature of the space that constitutes the seemingly (soon-to-be) tamed landscape on the fringe of the fast-suburbanising city.

In its focus on the often-neglected urban fringe rather than the ‘global arc’ taking in Sydney’s CBD, this thesis draws together the concerns of cultural diversity and land use practice. Adapting Robinson’s (2006) critique of the developmental imperative within the global city narrative, this research examines the intra-city differentiation between the land use values ascribed to housing and market gardening. By viewing the diverse users and uses of the cityscape as a potentially productive and enabling aspect of city sustainability, rather than outside of its developmental trajectory, this thesis seeks to contribute to a productive reframing of how we think about cities especially in western settings like Australia. It highlights the importance of re-visioning cities such as Sydney to take stronger acknowledgement of their environmental and cultural specificity in plans for urban growth.

Research Design

This thesis aimed to examine the extent to which – in an ostensibly ex-colonial multicultural country – the values in and uses of land of diverse groups, in the form of Aboriginal and CALD migrant inhabitants of Sydney’s fringe, are recognised and incorporated into the planning vision and agenda for the city. The first step in this analysis was to examine official consultation processes that had been undertaken with the Indigenous and CALD migrant groups as part of the development of the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy, and the designation of the Bringelly area as a Growth Centre. In the examination of the information in official government statements as well as interviews with Department of Planning and Growth Centre Commission (hereafter GCC) Representatives, it proved very difficult to determine exactly who had been consulted, and where and when these consultations had taken place. It became clear from initial interviews with growers however, that they felt they had received little, if any, consultation as we shall see in Chapter Three. The consultation with Aboriginal groups regarding the Bringelly area illustrated that even when such consultation did occur, it didn’t even approximate full acknowledgment of land use values. These findings suggested that the question of inclusion of diverse groups in Sydney’s land use planning is not only one of recognition, but the *form* this recognition takes.

While interviews with Aboriginal groups comprise a core element of the thesis, the greater part of the empirical research focused on the CALD market gardeners. Analysis of the consultation with Aboriginal groups was limited to an extent, however,

due to the difficulties of gaining access to Aboriginal respondents, who were mostly volunteers in their organisations. Gaining information on Aboriginal heritage assessment processes from government representatives also proved a slow and difficult task. It was therefore the lack of any substantive official engagement with CALD growers and the potential for other forms of recognition that is examined in-depth in Chapters Four and Five. It was not, however, an evaluation of the consultation processes with Indigenous and CALD growers per se that I wanted to explore as my central thesis question. Rather my research came to interrogate the possibility of more systemic marginalisation of land use values of diverse groups that did not fit into the primary agenda of growth as (narrowly defined) economic and housing development.

Addressing this aim entailed examining the extent to which current forms of recognition ascribed to growers in the public sphere enabled the views of growers to be heard and incorporated into planning processes. To do so this thesis explores, in Chapters Four and Five respectively, the discourses of heritage and sustainability variously mobilised by advocates for growers. These advocates were not in most cases growers themselves but academics, governmental, institutional and industry representatives (Bayrante et al. 2003; Gillespie & Mason 2003; Liverpool City Library 2004; Adamson 2005). The mobilisation of these discourses of heritage and sustainability signify the primary means by which the presence of growers and their land use practices had been represented in the public sphere. The efficacy of these discourses in gaining acknowledgment (and potential inclusion) of the market gardens in urban planning processes had to be examined in current and historical contexts.

Discourses of heritage and sustainability have been highly significant in the history of Sydney's urban planning since the 1970s. In Chapter Two the account of this history illustrates that heritage and environmental concerns have represented the primary means through which alternate visions of the city have been formulated within plans for Sydney's growth (Roddewig 1978; Frawley 1992; Construction Forestry Mining Energy Union 2009). To take the definitions from the United Nations and Brundtland report respectively (Brundtland 1987; United Nations Environment Scientific and Cultural Organization 2008), heritage and sustainability concerns represent that which is valued from the city's past and important for the city's (environmental as well as social and economic) future. This thesis seeks to determine the extent to which these discourses can continue their historical role of intervening in

the dominant narrative of ‘growth as development’ to ensure recognition of ‘diverse urbanisms’ such as market gardening in plans for Sydney’s future.

In the sense they serve as discourses about what is valued the various articulations of heritage and sustainability bring into question whose values are represented within current plans. While the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy claims to reflect a ‘city we want to live in’ official definitions of sustainability and heritage arguably serve to include and exclude certain groups from the vision for the city’s future. This thesis examines the *deployment* of the heritage and sustainability discourses within prevailing planning policies, seeking to assess the extent to which they adequately represent the holistic nature of practices such as market gardening. While drawing attention to the limits of the current formulation of discourses, these chapters also signal to the potential for more inclusive and expanded conceptions of heritage and sustainability – ones that would recognise the multiple urbanisms that are constitutive of 21st Century Sydney.

In seeking to adequately nuance the different issues evident as Bringelly’s multi-layered cultural landscape faces urban encroachment, a complexity ‘lens’ has been adopted within this thesis. Given the minority status of the farmers and the apparent unwelcome urban encroachment planned by the NSW government, it would have been perhaps (too) easy to construct a narrative about the victimisation of these groups. This could equally apply to the Aboriginal groups interviewed who have a stake in the Bringelly area on the basis of cultural heritage. Contrasting views and positions among the CALD growers and Aboriginal groups themselves raised a caution against presenting any kind of simplistic account of plans for urban growth in Bringelly. This made it necessary to navigate between any neat binaries of minority ‘victims’ and a discriminating dominant culture, and the ‘bad’ growth of urban development and ‘good’ market gardens.

The apparent contradictions in this approach – that complexity could provide a framework, when it seems to inherently work against coherence – has proved a fruitful challenge. One of the central tenets of complexity theory is that ‘complexity’ is more than ‘complicated’, more than just a lot of parts that can be counted and catalogued (Thrift 1999; Reitsma 2003; Urry 2003, 2005). Rather complexity theory suggests that an assemblage (such as a city) generates new entities through the interconnections between different parts, troubling any attempt at a too simple delineation or categorisation (Manson 2001; DeLanda 2006). A research project is, or arguably should

be, more than an attempt to simplify or unveil a singular ‘truth’ of complex social relations (Law 2004). Instead it can be seen as an opportunity to bring to light particular social dynamics with an understanding that they are comprised of a multiplicity of positions and perspectives and open to change (DeLanda 2006).

A central tenet of this research is that the complexity of the 21st Century ‘western’ city is not adequately reflected in a narrowly defined vision for the future based on ‘growth as development’. The cultural diversity of cities like Sydney, it argues, serves to challenge any homogenising notion of what a city should look like and contain. In diverse cities around the world – particularly the variously ‘postcolonial’ cities of settler, independent and former imperial nation-states (Yeoh 2001: 457) – visioning the city is complicated by different values in and uses of land. The idea of a simply defined imagined city community (and city vision) is unsettled by multiple and often unequal and contested claims to citizenship and belonging (Siemiatycki & Isin 1997; Isin & Wood 1999; Isin 2000; Amin 2002; Amin & Thrift 2003; Blomley 2004). In Australia the dual processes of colonialism and transnationalism have created a cultural complexity that at once challenges the claim to ‘core citizenship’ of white Australians while at the same time arguably remains ‘managed’ within a citizenship hierarchy (Hage 1998; Anderson 2000; Ang 2001b; Anderson and Taylor 2005). The everyday co-existence of diverse groups in such ‘mongrel’ (Sandercock 2003a) cities demands further thinking on how to negotiate difference within the ‘shared’ space of the city, particularly in urban planning (Iveson 2000; Fincher 2003; Howe 2003; Sandercock 2004; Fincher & Iveson 2008). This co-existence also arguably creates the potential for thinking the city ‘interculturally’ and ‘across’ difference (Sandercock 2004; Wood and Landry 2008).

Bringelly represents a multi-layered cultural landscape in contemporary Sydney in which Aboriginal, migrant and Anglo-Celtic settler groups have various (and not always formal) overlapping stakes. In choosing this site on the South West fringe for this project, a specific intention was to incorporate both Indigenous and migrant perspectives within the same research agenda. This seemed important to highlight the breadth of the cultural complexity that exists even in one small section of the city.

In Australia, the pioneering postcolonial scholarship of authors such as Jane M. Jacobs (1996,1998), Kay Anderson (1993, 1998, 2000), Bain Attwood (1989; 1992), and Vijay Mishra and Bob Hodge (1991) (to name a few) focussed primarily on Aboriginal-settler relations. This drew attention to the historical attempts to exclude

Aboriginal people not only from the imagined community of the Australian nation (Attwood 1989), but also from physical spaces such as cities that represent its economic and political power base (Anderson 1993; Jacobs 1996). This area of inquiry has been continued by scholars such as Wendy Shaw (2006) and George Morgan (2003, 2006) and remains central to any postcolonial examination of Australia and Australian cities. The dominant settler culture, Ghassan Hage (1998) argues, still ascribes Aboriginal people a passive rather than active voices in, and belonging to, the nation.

Other scholarship has also addressed the history of exclusion of non-English speaking migrants from Australia's imagined community with the White Australia policy and its still lingering after-effects (see for example Hage 1998; Ang 2001b; Dunn 2001; Schech & Haggis 2001; Noble & Tabar 2002; Hage 2003; Wise 2005; Noble & Poynting 2008). Literature in this field further illustrates how the (uneasily) 'shared' space of the city, and Sydney specifically, has served as a background to ongoing (and sometimes violent) struggles over belonging and citizenship (Collins et al. 2000; Collins & Poynting 2000; Noble & Poynting 2004; Gow 2005; Morgan et al. 2005; Poynting 2006). In addressing both Indigenous and migrant groups, albeit to different extents, this study aims to bring together these too often separate histories of inclusion/exclusion in order to register the cultural complexity of the urban fringe.

In its focus on Bringelly this thesis seeks to bring into 'dialogue' the interconnected stakes in land of the settler, Indigenous and migrant inhabitants of Sydney (Anderson 2000: 381). While not tracing these intersections in detail, this thesis incorporates the experiences of both migrant and Indigenous groups to highlight the co-existent (and potentially competing) values in and uses of land in a city such as Sydney. Following Anderson (2000), the intention is to explore diversity in Australian cities beyond the perhaps too familiar settler/Indigenous or settler/multicultural dichotomy evident in the literature cited above. This research seeks to both acknowledge the uniqueness of these groups while at the same time illustrating the complex and overlapping nature of cultural landscapes in Sydney. Through this approach this research explores Sydney as a 'postcolonial' city – in the sense of a settler nation negotiating a plurality of citizenship (Yeoh 2001; Lovell 2007) – emphasising the co-presence of settler, migrant and Indigenous groups.

There is, it must be noted, important recent scholarship on contemporary Australian identity and cultural politics that has sought to address more holistically settler, Indigenous and migrant relations (Hage 1998; Ang 2001b; Dunn 2001;

Cowlshaw 2004; Lovell 2007). This thesis, however, seeks to not only draw together these (still distinct) politics in analysis of national identity but to think, as Anderson (2000) suggests, *across* and potentially beyond these frames of reference in considering co-existence within the city. While there has been some movement to clear a conceptual path for such a project (Pugliese 2002; Anderson & Taylor 2005; Lovell 2007), there remains considerable scope for further, particularly empirically-based, work in this area.

This thesis seeks to contribute to this field of scholarship by pursuing such an empirical study, within the limits of a doctoral thesis. It became evident that it is beyond the scope of a research project, with a single researcher and limited time frame, to engage in-depth with all the aspects of the intersections of Aboriginal, CALD migrant and Anglo-Celtic multiple stakes in land. The sheer time and effort required to access these groups for interviews for this thesis meant that it ultimately had to be limited to one group. Bringing these diverse Aboriginal, settler and migrant values in land into dialogue is further complicated by the distinction articulated by some members of the groups themselves. A number of Aboriginal spokespeople, for example, have indicated that Aboriginal people do not wish to be just another group within a multicultural Australian nation (Scott 1999). Despite the majority of the empirical research in this thesis focusing on migrant market gardeners the multi-layered nature of the study site is, however, not forgotten. The postcolonial nature of the city sets the backdrop for, and intervenes in, the whole research project.

Into the Field: Studying Sydney's South West

The following section outlines the methodological approach for analysing diverse land uses on Sydney's South-Western fringe. Current discussions on methodology in the field of urban geography in particular, but also urban studies more generally, provide a basis for the methodological framework for this research.

A 'new' approach to urban studies outlined by Lees (2003) calls for a return to sustained empirical investigations of the grounded realities of urban life. A focus on textual analysis of cities as epitomised by the so-called 'LA school' has meant that ethnographic forays in contemporary urban studies have been haphazard and limited (Lees 2003). In response to these perceived limitations, Lees advocates a move away from a 'reading' of the landscape as though it were a text, to a more grounded, qualitative and empirical mode of urban research. Rather than just looking at the symbolic meaning of city landscapes, she emphasises it is important to 'investigate the

ongoing social practices through which space is continually shaped and inhabited' (Lees 2003: 111).

In taking an empirically-based qualitative approach to research this thesis seeks an active engagement with Sydney as a city. It undertakes a 'geographical expedition' into Sydney's unique and complex cultural and environmental landscape (Lees 2003: 109). In advocating for such an approach, Lees (2003) and Merrifield (1995 in Lees 2003) before her seek to reinstate the tradition pioneered by the Chicago School of Sociology in the first four decades of the twentieth century and many other disciplines since. Bringing contemporary concerns to the methods of the Chicago School, Lees (2003) highlights the need to consider the ethical implications of any ethnographic fieldwork. Ethical concerns emphasise the importance of not simply studying the city and its inhabitants, but considering the long and short-term implications of research for participants and broader social justice agendas (Lees 2003). As my research project focuses on people from non-English speaking backgrounds and, to a lesser extent, Indigenous Australians, concerns about ethical practice were central to the entire research process and will be explored in greater detail later in this thesis.

As the aim of the fieldwork undertaken for this research was to gain insight into the views of respondents, semi-structured interviews formed the core data collection method (Dunn 2005) (see Appendix 1). The other forms of research undertaken served to 'flesh out' this data. Interviews were chosen as the preferred research method as other options such as surveys or group interviews did not offer, for the most part, the best way to access the views of the various participants. Transcribed interviews are, in many ways, 'wholly unlike any other form of data' (Dunn 2005: 183). Interviews allow informants to 'use their own words or vernacular to describe their own experiences and perceptions' reminding the researcher and the reader that it is 'lived experience' that is being shared (Dunn 2005: 183). Furthermore, use of interview quotes serves to remind those involved in the production and consumption of research 'that there are real people behind the data' (Dunn 2005: 183).

Due to the isolated and disparate nature of many of the research participants, in particular the market gardeners but also the Aboriginal groups, it was necessary to go to them for interviews and important to carry out these interviews 'face to face'. The difficulty noted by other researchers and government officials working with the Indigenous and CALD migrant groups in getting a response to written correspondence indicated that written surveys would not be a useful approach (Context 2006; Growth

Centres Representative 2, pers. comm. 25-06-07). Doing group interviews was also decided against, except in the instance of a single group interview with Khmer (Cambodian) growers, as getting people together generally proved unfeasible.

Overall, 58 interviews were conducted (see Table 1), some which were recorded and some not, at the discretion of the interviewee. The 28 individual interviews with culturally and linguistically diverse growers comprised of eleven Chinese growers, seven Maltese growers, six Lebanese growers, two Vietnamese growers, and two Khmer growers (see Table 2). Of these, twenty-five were market gardeners and three owned plant nurseries in Sydney's South West who farmed in and around the proposed 'Growth Centre'. There was also a group interview with approximately eighteen Cambodian growers, who as mentioned wanted to speak as a group rather than individually. They have not been counted individually as interviewees.

In addition, there were six Anglo-Celtic growers interviewed, these farmers were from either the Hawkesbury area or the South West region. These were not vegetable growers, however, reflecting the estimates that 80 percent of vegetable producers are CALD (Gillespie and Mason 2003). The Anglo-Celtic farmers I was able to contact were dairy farmers, flower growers and chicken farmers. These farmers, even those in the Hawkesbury, were faced with similar development pressures to the market gardeners. The Anglo-Celtic farmers who lived in the South West provide a comparison on the question of consultation undertaken by the Department of Planning explored in Chapter Three. There were also eleven interviews with NSW Government representatives, local council officials and private consultants, and twelve interviews with Indigenous representatives from various associations.

Research Participants	
CALD Growers	
Maltese	7
Lebanese	6
Chinese	11
Khmer (Cambodian)	2
Vietnamese	2
Anglo-Celtic Farmers	6
Aboriginal Groups	
Darug	5
Dharawal	4
Local Aboriginal Land Council	3
Government representatives and consultants	
Department of Planning	2
Growth Centres Commission	2
Department of Primary Industries	3
Local Council	3
Private Consultants	2
Total Number of Participants	58

Table 1: Research participants

CALD Farmers	Number of participants	First Generation	Second Generation	Land Owners	Lessees
Maltese	7	2	5	5	2
Lebanese	6	5	1	4	2
Chinese	11	10	1	6	5
Khmer (Cambodian)	2	2	0	0	2
Vietnamese	2	2	0	1	1
Total	28	21	7	16	12

Table 2: Culturally and linguistically diverse farmers: detail

The numerical difference in the representation of the participants from the various ethnic groups involved in market gardening can be attributed to two factors. The first is that the groups ranged in size. One estimate, as noted earlier, is that Lebanese growers have over 250 farms in South West Sydney, and Chinese growers 272 farms (Parker 2004). The second factor was access. While the intention was to ensure representation of all migrant groups currently farming in this area, the selection was dependent on who could be accessed. As will be discussed further on, access to the growers was heavily reliant on third parties, and then referral from other growers in a ‘snowball’ effect. This process, therefore, determined to a large extent which growers

were interviewed. As the research focuses on the perceived and actual effects of urban development on ongoing land use practices, it was those who were currently farming, as opposed to retired, who were sought for interviews.

The gender balance of interviewees for this research, with relatively few female market gardeners interviewed, is not reflective of the key role of women on farms in Sydney and beyond (Whatmore 1991; Parker 2004). Women have been historically underrepresented in government and research engagement with CALD market gardeners in Sydney (Parker & Jarecki 2005). A reason for this is that in many cases it is the men who, even if their wives work on the farms, do the general interactions at the Sydney Markets and with governmental representatives such as the Department of Agriculture (Parker & Jarecki 2005). This also meant that the men were often the growers known to the third parties I contacted, and they were more comfortable talking with a researcher. As I was primarily reliant on these third parties for introductions to the participants, whether I spoke to women or men depended on whom I was introduced to. From the three women I interviewed directly, and the responses of a number of wives who sat in on interviews, however, I noted no clear differences between their responses and that of the men. Greater representation of women in further research projects with CALD market growers in Sydney would be beneficial in ensuring that the perspectives of all participants in such enterprises were better represented.

While the market gardeners I interviewed were from CALD backgrounds, the majority of interviewees were competent, and happy to be interviewed, in English. In order to avoid additional interpretations by a translator of both questions and responses, potentially complicating the interview process (Kapborg & Berterö 2002), I chose to do as many interviews as possible in English. There were, however, five Chinese growers from mainland China who did not speak sufficient English to converse, and so an interpreter familiar with the growers was used in these five interviews. The group interview with 18 Khmer growers from the Cambodian Growers Association was also undertaken with a bilingual officer from the DPI. She was able to translate for those growers who had difficulty with or preferred not to speak in English.

Some studies have argued that researchers should have trained linguistic abilities and training in the research field to ensure the validity of their interpretations (see for example Kapborg & Berterö 2002). In the interviews undertaken for this research, however, it was decided it was better to employ someone who knew the growers so they would feel comfortable. While there is always concern about whether a

translator has presented a ‘correct’ interpretation (Temple & Young 2004), using interpreters who had previously worked with the respective Chinese and Khmer grower groups meant that they would also be familiar with the concepts discussed. I also spoke with both interpreters prior to the interviews and outlined the main objectives of my research and what I was seeking with the interviews. The quoted responses of the Chinese growers are labelled as ‘through interpreter’ to distinguish the interpretations from direct quotes from growers. The interpreted quotes are also presented in the third person in order to illustrate that it the interpreter’s, and not the grower’s, direct voice.

Working with non-English speaking migrants and Indigenous groups this research aimed to be conscious of the ‘colonising’ capacity of research as much as possible, following Maori researcher Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s (1999) work on this issue. In the case of the Aboriginal groups, there is criticism that they are over-represented in academic studies and often ‘pathologised’ in this research (Rigney 1997). The ethical approach to the research⁵ engaged the protocols recommended for interviewing and conducting research with Indigenous Australians in Western Sydney (Hurley 2003). Concerns about the use of certain Aboriginal traditional knowledge by researchers and the unequal power dynamics between researcher (often Anglo-Celtic) and research subject (Aboriginal) in the production of knowledge have made some Aboriginal people cautious about participation in research (Rigney 1997). As it was difficult to develop long-standing relationships with the many respondents in this project due to time constraints and the scope of the project, caution was evident among some Aboriginal respondents. A process of feeding back interview transcripts and written drafts to respondents was undertaken with the Aboriginal respondents in particular to ameliorate some of these issues and to ensure people were happy with the way in which they were represented.

While CALD growers have not necessarily been over-researched, previous studies have noted a distinct unease among such growers about engaging with outsiders, making them reluctant to speak to researchers and difficult to access (Parker & Suriyabanadara 2000). To become more familiar with the growers, a lot of time was spent attending events, meetings and workshops with growers that were not directly

⁵ It is a condition of all research undertaken at the University of Western Sydney that a researcher document and gain approval for the ethical approach of their research project. This research was given ethics approval from the University of Western Sydney’s ethics committee, under approval number H5186.

related to my research, as discussed further on. The intention was to meet with the different groups of growers and have an opportunity to let them know about my research prior to undertaking actual interviews. This distrust of outsiders and difficulty with access were also reasons why third parties were used to find participants for my research. Using the third party meant they would be contacted by someone they were familiar with and, it was assumed, may therefore feel more comfortable about considering participation.

Unlike the Aboriginal groups, the market gardeners on the whole did not seek to have transcripts and drafts returned to them for checking. For the Cambodian Growers Association members, however, there was particular concern about participating in research. A specific focus on them in a newspaper report on farming practices was felt by the community to have resulted in years of additional negative scrutiny by the government and media (Bilingual Officer, DPI, pers. comm. 24-09-07). This experience meant that the community were very reluctant to participate in any research, as they felt they could not control the outcome. The bilingual DPI worker believed that greater exposure was important in terms of lobbying for their rights, and therefore was positive about their involvement (Bilingual Officer, DPI, pers. comm. 24-09-07). As this research did not address or referring to farming practices the Khmer growers were eventually happy to be interviewed. A process of returning the transcripts and explaining the use of the survey information was undertaken to ensure that they were happy and felt in control over what was recorded.

The understandable wariness about participation in research among Aboriginal and CALD migrant groups, as a result of previous experience, meant that engagement with these groups had to be constantly negotiated. The difficulties of maintaining a sustained dialogue with research participants about the relevance of the research and how it was being undertaken were twofold. Due to the scope of this research and the number of different communities engaged, developing a relationship with all to a level of regular communication was not feasible. While at first the intention was to substantively involve participants in the research process, even gaining access to speak with them proved a long and drawn out process. The lack of time people had and their uncertainty about the returns from this project meant original intentions for a more participatory approach to research were not realised. Rather than a single 'community' in any sense, the interviews for this thesis involved a number of individuals, and attempts to get them talking at the same time generally proved unfeasible. This is a limit

of this research, as it did not involve people in the development of the questions or the research process, and – in the case of Aboriginal people – beyond returning transcripts and documents for approval. The other side of this issue was that while respondents were generally happy to participate, the majority did not wish their involvement to extend beyond giving their time for the interview(s). When data was fed back to people, for the most part there was no desire to meet and discuss it further. The issue of time was the single greatest factor in this response from participants.

This lack of desire for ongoing involvement indicates that, ultimately, the research process was initiated, conceptualised and driven by the researcher. While the intentions behind the research may be empowerment of minority groups, or bringing to light marginalised issues for a greater social good, it is confined by its form. The desire to subvert the colonising capacity of research can arguably only ever be partly successful. Working with an awareness of the power dynamics within research, however, and making as many checks as possible are important steps in this process (Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Falconer Al-Hindi & Kawabata 2002). While acknowledging its limitations, research with culturally diverse groups has the capacity to influence public and political debate, bringing to light certain contestations and processes that need public scrutiny if we (as a whole city) are to continue moving towards greater awareness and equality cross-culturally.

The mode of data analysis is also an important aspect of research methodology. It determines how knowledge is formulated, what is left out and what is focused on in transitioning from the interview data to the written word. As Smith (2001) argues, interpreting interviews is a means of ‘accessing the world as people think it is and has been. We are accessing a representation (a vision, an image, an experience) of a text (the world of lived experience) through a text (the interview transcript) that is itself open to interpretation’ (Smith 2001: 29). It is ‘in practice highly complicated and fraught with caveats’ (Smith 2001: 29).

For this research data was coded manually. Software packages such as NVivo were not used due to the relatively small size of the data set; the potential benefits of such a program were outweighed by the time it would take to become competent in their use given the restricted timeframe of a PhD candidature (Basit 2003). Data was coded based on themes that derived from those addressed in interview questions. This is a directed process of coding, based on ‘start lists’ or a list of issues oriented towards the project, rather than an alternative format of determining all themes through an iterative

process of analysing the raw data (Basit 2003). Interview questions were grouped around slightly different themes for each of the different groups interviewed. The starting categories used for coding interviews were derived from the different focus of each set of interviews. Market gardener transcripts were coded along responses to the topics of heritage and sustainability. Aboriginal transcripts were coded along responses to heritage. Government representative's responses were coded in terms of views on development and market gardeners, as well as Indigenous heritage concerns in relation to planning. This approach sought to gain the perspectives of the grower and Indigenous groups on the challenges and possibilities of pursuing alternative land uses in the city. For government participants, the intention was to determine how they viewed the 'multiple urbanisms' on the South Western fringe in terms of the broader plans for the city's development.

A number of complementary research methods were also utilised in the research process. As the research undertaken in this thesis was qualitative and based on individual interviews, it was considered valuable to have other information sources from which to draw on for the broader context of development at Bringelly. Getting information from other sources also served to mediate the views expressed by the participants, providing a more comprehensive perspective. This is not to suggest that there is a 'truth' that can be accessed by engaging multi-methods (Law 2004). Such an approach, however, brings in a range of perspectives that vie with, contradict or complement each other providing a more fuller picture of the subject being researched (Silverman 1993).

The first supplementary research method was document analysis. Newspapers from approximately the last five years have covered the debates and crises surrounding the most recent plans for Sydney's growth. The local newspapers of the Liverpool area, *The Liverpool Leader* and *The Liverpool Champion*, proved particularly useful in coverage of issues specific to the Bringelly area. These were accessed from archives in the Liverpool Public Library. Sydney Metropolitan papers were also drawn from, including *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Daily Telegraph*. These were accessed primarily from online archives.

Various government documents, relating to development in the Bringelly area and ranging from local to Federal level, were also examined. This included Department of Planning documents, Local Environment Plans, Cultural Plans, and also related documents such as heritage reports and consultations around planning that were used to

track decision-making. An archive of documents relating to Sydney's urban development plans post WW2, back to the original County of Cumberland Plan, provided data for the historical outline of Sydney's plans. This archive was kindly made available by Professor Kevin Sproats from the University of Western Sydney.

The practise of participant observation also informed my research findings. Participant observation in the sense of observing and participating in the activities of research informants (Waddington 2004) was not formally used as a research method. In the process of empirical research, however, it could be argued that some form of participant observation is almost inevitable. Attending a number of non-research events or days, such as the Chinese Growers annual Field Day, art prizes and NAIDOC (National Aboriginal Islander Day of Observance Committee) week activities, contributed to a better understanding of the various migrant and Indigenous groups that make claim to the area around Bringelly.

Attending the aforementioned events enriched my perspective of both the communities and how they represent themselves to a broader city public. I also attended numerous meetings of growers run by DPI and organisations such as Farmcare. Attendance at these meetings provided an insight into the broader, industry-related concerns of the growers as well as the challenges faced by government agencies in getting growers together and communicating policy issues to them across language barriers. Observing and interacting with the various grower and Aboriginal groups in these different settings was useful for reflection and to reconcile with interview data. It contributed an 'overview' of the broader social and political conditions in which market gardeners and Indigenous groups in South West Sydney exist, presenting the context in which to situate the study.

Plan of Thesis

This section illustrates how the subsequent chapters will pursue an analysis of the extent to which the land use values of culturally diverse migrant and Indigenous groups on Sydney's South Western Fringe are recognised and incorporated in plans for urban growth.

Chapter 2 explores Sydney's urban growth and how it has been defined in the city's plans for urban development since World War II. This chapter serves as background to subsequent chapters by outlining how these plans have addressed

questions of sustainability and the co-existence of culturally diverse groups over time. It examines how growth has been predominantly defined in a developmentalist paradigm from colonial times to the contemporary global city discourse, in which economic and physical expansion is seen as the destiny of the city. The chapter then looks at how changes, especially from the 1970s, have seen this growth agenda moderated by considerations of social goods such as the inclusion of culturally diverse values in land and of environmental sustainability concerns in the city. Through this analysis it is argued that in creating a 'sustainable Sydney' these 'other' aspects of the city need to be incorporated into plans for development, and as connected to, rather than separate from, economic concerns. The case of the 'Green Zones' created within the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy is drawn on to highlight the way in which land uses such as market gardening represent an intersection of economic, environmental and cultural values in land. This chapter serves to provide the context for the research as well as to introduce the empirical study, which will be elaborated on in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 3 examines more specifically the challenges around the participation of diverse groups with potentially different values in, and uses of, land outside the 'growth as development' paradigm. Engaging with the debate within urban planning theory and practice on how culturally diverse groups should be recognised, this chapter draws on interview material to examine how Indigenous and migrant groups were officially consulted in the Metropolitan Strategy planning process. This chapter initially illustrates the limited consultation market gardeners experienced as part of the overall public consultations. A more detailed analysis of the consultation with Aboriginal groups in relation to Aboriginal cultural heritage assessments within the Growth Centres is then presented. This analysis of consultations with Aboriginal groups illustrates the barriers to the incorporation of land use value systems in urban planning that cannot be easily subsumed into the 'growth as development' paradigm. As it examines the concept of heritage deployed in relation to Aboriginal values in land in the SWGC, this analysis highlights the limitations of such a form of recognition in ensuring that the economic aspects of an ongoing relationship to land are acknowledged. This study indicates that heritage discourses within urban planning privilege tangible objects and tend towards a memorialisation of diverse land use values. This highlights the potential challenges involved in the deployment of heritage discourses around CALD market gardens on the urban fringe that is examined in Chapter 4.

In Chapters 4 and 5, I further draw from interviews undertaken with migrant market gardeners of the SWGC to examine the efficacy of discourses of heritage and sustainability mobilised by grower advocates in gaining recognition of the diverse land uses on the urban fringe. These chapters develop on the previous chapters in exploring the extent to which diverse urbanisms such as market gardening are (or potentially could be) incorporated into plans for Sydney's future.

Chapter 4 considers market gardening as part of Sydney's migrant heritage. The Bringelly market gardens have been the subject of a recent exhibition that sought to record this way of life under threat from urban development. Heritage discourses, as illustrated in Chapter 3, provide a primary form of recognition of culturally diverse values in land within urban planning. There are limits, however, in viewing market gardens as heritage. This chapter suggests that the prevailing heritage discourses risk position them as a disappearing land use that should be memorialised before the farms are lost to the tide of progress and development enveloping the city's fringe. Through analysis of the discourses of heritage mobilised around migrant market gardens and interviews with growers, this chapter explores how well these discourses can preserve what is an ongoing, embodied practice that is part of Sydney's diverse cultural landscape. The history of CALD market gardeners in Sydney demonstrates that they have had a formative role in the development of the city's cultural and environmental landscape. While positioned on the 'fringe' of the city, CALD market gardeners have provided the city with fresh food supplies from the late 1800s. They have also facilitated the settlement of multiple waves of migrants that have made Sydney the diverse city that it is today. Recognising the historical role of these market gardeners as part of, rather than incidental to, Sydney's urban growth indicates that they also have a part to play in the city's future.

Chapter 5 discusses the contribution of market gardening in providing fresh food supplies to Sydney, examining the views of growers on the fate of the city's peri-urban agriculture. It seeks to determine the efficacy of sustainability discourses in ensuring acknowledgement and possible inclusion of the values in land of the CALD growers in Sydney's plans. The potential importance of peri-urban agriculture to the city's sustainability is highlighted by environmental concerns such as declining oil and water resources and climate change that will impact on the ability to transport food long distances. In contrast to the limits of prevailing heritage discourses, 'sustainability' discourses potentially provide market gardens with a place in future-oriented urban

planning. Highlighting their contribution to the city's environmental sustainability discourses potentially give these urban farms an ongoing relevance as an alternative form of land use, rather than scripting them as a relic of the past. This chapter discusses how sustainability concerns increasingly call into question the concept of 'growth as development'. Furthermore, it indicates that urban agriculture has (too) often been 'off the radar' in sustainability discourses within urban planning in developed nations such as Australia. This chapter argues that a more differentiated notion of sustainability is required, one that acknowledges land use practices such as market. A sustainability discourse for a city of multiple urbanisms, it maintains, needs to ensure political and economic support for practices such as market gardening that arguably create a sustainable Sydney.

Chapter 6 presents the conclusions of the thesis. It seeks to summarise how this research has analysed the planning vision for Sydney through themes of cultural diversity and complexity. It indicates the contributions of this thesis to urban and cultural theory, as well as more practical planning concerns. This chapter also outlines avenues for future research that arise out of this project.

Chapter Two Growing Sydney

Driving from the suburb of Liverpool towards the new ‘Growth Centre’ around Bringelly, the road passes through recently constructed housing estates into suburbs being built. Giant billboards promise new houses and happy, family-oriented lifestyles to those who will soon inhabit the lots of upturned dirt that currently sit behind these posters. Further along the Camden Valley Way the landscape changes, becoming semi-rural with occasional wooded paddocks and open market gardens in-between large houses on acreage. Through its designation for urban development as the SWGC in Sydney’s 2005 Metropolitan Strategy, this peri-urban area will soon come to replicate the undulating suburbia of the recently built estates. At risk are the food production, local employment, livelihoods and cultures of market gardening, as well as the cultural heritage of Aboriginal groups, destined to be replaced by housing development in this area. In its rather precarious position as still urbanising, the changes proposed for this fringe site raise questions as to how the concept of growth is defined in plans for the city.

The first chapter introduced Sydney’s urban fringe as a contested site in which plans for housing development potentially conflict with a range of land values and uses across a culturally diverse population. As a background to subsequent chapters, this second chapter seeks to highlight the limits that a narrow focus on housing and economic development has placed on thinking about the growth of a city. In arguing for recognition in urban planning of the multiple users and uses of land in Sydney, this thesis seeks to ‘think’ the city outside of the seemingly prevailing model of ‘growth as economic and housing development’.

The predominant view of growth (as development) is about expansion, a progression that is assumed to be ‘natural’, as the seed grows into the tree. In considering the potentially multi-faceted nature of growth, however, it can also be seen as a process of change and maturation. Extending this metaphor of nature, a central purpose of growth is for the tree to reach a state of maturation when flowers and fruit can be harvested. It is interesting, with this in mind, to consider the official government

focus on 'growth' through the question posed by Brendan Nelson, former leader of the Federal opposition: 'Towards what are we striving to grow?' (Gittins 2008: 11). When applied to planning for Sydney this can be rephrased as: what kind of a city is growing out of current urban planning? In re-framing growth as maturity, planning for the city suggests a broad scale consideration of what it is to grow into through a richer engagement of the multiple urbanisms that constitute the city.

The complex interweaving of economic, social and environmental issues in the study site on Sydney's fringe unsettles a framing of 'growth' in which 'development' has a single linear trajectory. The land use values of culturally diverse groups such as market gardeners on the fringe, this thesis argues, are not necessarily diametrically opposed to goals such as housing development or economic viability. The intention of this chapter is not to perpetuate the racial essentialism of Enlightenment thought by positioning culturally diverse groups such as the market gardeners in opposition to 'Western' developmental priorities. This research seeks instead to highlight that the ways of life of these diverse groups present different perspectives on the possibilities of land use in the city. Rather than simply asserting that urban growth should be halted in Sydney to protect minority land uses, this thesis works towards a broader vision of growth, one that is likely to be generative of economic sustainability as well as cultural inclusiveness.

To provide a background to the discussion of the potential for a multi-faceted conception of growth throughout the thesis, this chapter focuses on how 'growth' has been articulated within plans for Sydney's urban development. It begins with an examination of Sydney's urban growth from World War II, highlighting the ways in which cultural diversity, environmental concerns and economic development have factored in these plans over time. This analysis illustrates these issues have tended to be dealt with as distinct matters for urban planning. In contrast this chapter seeks to draw attention to the connections between economic, cultural and environmental values in practices such as market gardening on the urban fringe. The case of the Rural and Lifestyle Zones, or 'Green Zones', as they were commonly known, in the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy is examined to illustrate the importance of considering these interconnections in urban planning. Arguing that land represents the livelihood of market gardeners in Bringelly, this chapter suggests that planning for the Green Zones needed to address both economic and environmental agendas to keep these zones as productive land. The case of the SWGC Green Zone illustrates the argument of this

chapter, and thesis more broadly, of the need for a more complex and inclusive vision of growth in urban planning.

A Vision for a Global City

The 2005 *Metropolitan Strategy: City of Cities* plan for Sydney estimates that the city's population will increase by 1.1 million people by 2031 (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b). The question of where to house the predicted increase in population is a central concern of this plan as it has been for Sydney's urban planning since WW2. Despite efforts of urban consolidation within the Metropolitan Strategy that have meant 60-70 percent of new housing will be in established areas (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b), Sydney is still expanding on its peri-urban (non-coastal) fringe. The majority of new 'greenfield' (land that was previously semi-rural) development planned to accommodate this increase is, as noted in the Introduction Chapter, in two Growth Centres in the North-West and South-West of Sydney (see Figure 2, Introduction Chapter).

Replacing farmlands are the aforementioned housing estates or 'master planned estates' (Allon 2005; Gwyther 2005; McGuirk & Dowling 2005; Kenna 2007; McGuirk & Dowling 2007). These estates often comprise large houses, sometimes very large, that have been widely and uncharitably described as 'McMansions' (Allon 2005; Anderson 2005) (see Figure 9). Planning for this new housing has often been criticised for having big houses 'packed onto small blocks of land, with barely a tree in sight', and little infrastructure, requiring car use for residents (Hawley 2003: 11). This process has been decried by some commentators as contributing to urban 'sprawl' (Hawley 2003; Murphy 2003), and more sympathetically described as 'renovating' the standards of living on the Western suburbs (Duffy 2008: 28). That their ongoing creation means the loss of more arable land on Sydney's fringe, such as in Bringelly, brings into question the sustainability of urban growth within current plans.

The Metropolitan Strategy also incorporates another aim of Sydney's urban planning since WW2, the achievement and consolidation of Sydney's 'global city' status (see Figure 10). The Department of Planning document, *Sydney as a Global City*, serves to outline the planning implications stemming from the government's position that Sydney is 'Australia's primary link with the global economy' (Searle 1996: 9). The former NSW Premier Morris Iemma claimed that focusing on growth, defined in terms

of development, was imperative to Sydney's identity and survival as a city. In speaking to a meeting of the urban development industry, Iemma asserted that this form of growth was central to the very existence of Sydney, stating: 'Sydney is all about growth. The day we stop growing is the day we die' (cited in Harley & Tyndall 2005: 76). While Sydney's 'global city' agenda is primarily articulated as financial sector competitiveness, this is linked with a robust economy more broadly. The emphasis on 'growth as development' is also realised within urban planning as the push for new housing development for an expanding population, the city growing with the economy.



Figure 9: New housing estates on Sydney's South West fringe, 2006

(Photo: Sarah James)



Figure 10: 'Global Sydney' in the 2005 Sydney Metropolitan Strategy

(Reproduced with the kind permission of the Department of Planning NSW)

While the majority of the greenfield housing development is in the Western Suburbs, and more specifically on the peri-urban fringe, the 'global city' narrative in Sydney's plans seems to frame them as the 'sleepers suburbs' housing the workers for the dynamic, globally orientated inner city. Other prominent economic and cultural forces shaping the vision for the city contribute to this focus on the inner city. Processes such as gentrification (Davidson 2007) and the saliency of the creative cities and cultural economy discourses (Gibson & Kong 2005), generate a re-focusing on the inner city and a wealthy middle class aesthetic in city definition. This intently spatialised focus tends to marginalise the multiple urbanisms that constitute the city's complex cultural and environmental landscape, such as found on its urban fringe.

The exclusionary effect of a narrow vision of 'growth as development' is illustrated in the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy that, with its focus on housing, gave scant attention to the issue of urban agriculture (as well as many other issues such as Aboriginal and migrant heritages). This neglect can primarily be attributed to the fact that market gardening was not considered a significant issue for Sydney's future resource needs. As a senior bureaucrat involved in the development of the Metropolitan Strategy explained in an interview for this research:

[It] has probably never been made public, but if you went and talked to the Department of Primary Industries or Agriculture, they will tell you that while the Sydney Basin actually produces whatever percentage it is of our overall agricultural needs. We don't, NSW and the metropolitan area, don't actually need the Sydney Basin to survive. [This] was a critical factor that we never really pushed because it's politically unacceptable to say that you can get rid of all the agricultural land in the Basin with very little impact on the metro area or on the State's production... [But] our GDP [gross domestic product] would not be affected, you would still be able to get fruit and veg and everything else without having any agriculture in the Sydney Basin, which not many people believe when you tell them. At the end of the day if they were all relocated another 50/100 kilometres outside the metro basin it wouldn't make any difference to production. So, in some ways, that disappeared as an argument. You don't need agricultural lands (Department of Planning Representative 2, pers. comm. 15-05-07).

The question of whether the Sydney Basin's farms are 'needed' for the city's future, however, depends on what criteria are being used to assess their importance. Decisions

regarding land use in the Metropolitan Strategy, the Department of Planning representative went on to explain, were primarily based on the prevailing definition of 'best and highest use' of land with the greatest financial return (Dotzour et al. 1990). Choices about different land uses on the fringe, according to this representative, were driven by:

The economic factors of constraining expansion. What is the economic value of the natural resources versus the economic value of urban development?

Politically that was the reality, dollars came first and then the fuzzy, touchy-feely perceptions of the community, heritage and things like that came second (Department of Planning Representative 2, pers. comm. 15-05-07).

This (shrill) statement frames decisions over land use as a stark choice between resources and houses, a debate in which economic sustainability and viability continue to be defined in narrow terms and take precedence over other values, such as heritage. This equation of growth with narrowly defined economic development is not specific to this individual but rather a key aspect of prevailing understandings of urban development within global cities discourses (Robinson 2006). As this drive for development shapes official plans for Sydney's growth, urban agricultural land seems to be continually assessed in limited economic terms. As well as neglecting the cultural contributions of other forms of land use such as market gardening, defining urban growth in these terms appears to ignore the cost of loss of livelihoods or future economic costs such as food importation, if farms are forced out of the Basin. It also suggests, as will be argued later in this thesis, that economic concerns are prioritised over (and distinct from) issues of urban sustainability such as fresh food supply in the 'growth as development' agenda.

Growth as Development

The contemporary understanding of 'growth as development' privileged within plans for Sydney's development and the consequent marginalisation of diverse land uses and users has its roots in Enlightenment thought. In this influential line of thought, development through the taming of nature was considered to be a mark of peoples' civilised state (Anderson 2007). From Enlightenment philosophers such as Locke to many contemporary scholars, agriculture and cultivation of the land continues to be

seen as defining humanity's inevitable movement from a 'state of nature' to civilisation (Anderson 2007). Through this prominent perspective, agriculture is considered to be the practice through which people come to exert what would be their progressive mastery over nature.

In this civilisational discourse, the Western definition of development became racialised. Civilisation was aligned with evolutionary progress in opposition to Nature and those people who had yet to exhibit a passage out of nature. Humans seen to be in a 'state of nature' were considered primitive on a developmental hierarchy in which Western civilisation was the pinnacle. This notion of progress and civilisation underpinned ideas about the 'state of nature' of hunter-gather societies in colonial Australia (Anderson 2007). It was used to justify the colonisation of Sydney's Aboriginal land, as the lack of cultivation was taken to indicate that land was in a 'natural' and therefore ownerless state (Reynolds 1987; Carter 1988; Reynolds 1989).

Cities in the colonial period were seen to represent the ultimate human-made environment, epitomising the progression of humanity away from nature (Anderson 1995; Jacobs 1996; Anderson 2003; Blomley 2004; Thomson 2007). This meant that the land was developed to fit the ideals of progress and civilisation transmitted from England. The colonial city of Sydney was created to replicate European cities, illustrating a sense of 'environmental amnesia' (Carter 1996: 6). Inscripting a colonial urbanism on the Sydney region, Carter (1996) argues, was an attempt to build over (and effectively erase) the existing Aboriginal landscape. This colonial vision of the Australian city sought to exclude not only the Indigenous groups, which had a presence in the city from its earliest days (Jacobs 1998; Anderson 2007), but also the wild nature of Australian native flora and fauna (Anderson 2003; Thomson 2007). These natural and cultural aspects were positioned conceptually, if not physically, 'outside' the civilised space the city represented. While the resource needs of the city meant that it was not actually detached from its environs, the creation of the colonial farms further illustrates the inscription of settler land use priorities in the name of progress (Carter 1988).

Agriculture and Cultural Complexity

The neglect of the CALD market gardeners in current plans for growth on the urban fringe represents a further layer to a history of agriculture in the development of

Sydney. Agriculture served as a medium of Western civilisation in the process of colonising Australia, ordering the wild landscape of the new country and harnessing it for colonial capitalism (Carter 1988; Reynolds 1989; Keating 1996; Anderson 2007). It was a form of spatial ordering in the sense that ‘the brittle criss-cross of the newcomer’s gaze sliced up and fenced off what had formerly been imagined. The result was the collapse of Aboriginal space [and] its fragmentation into farms’ (Carter 1988: 345). Cultivation of land on Sydney’s outskirts in the process of settlement served both as a means through which to cultivate the land and also provided a secure food base from which the new colony could develop (Keating 1996).

The colonial process of civilising the ‘wild’ landscape around Sydney for agriculture was a catalyst for the city’s expansion further west and away from the settlement around the harbour. After the British arrived in the area now known as Greater Sydney, initial settlement around Port Jackson did not provide land appropriate for cultivation as the soil was considered poor (Kass 2005). Convicts were sent up river to establish land for cultivation, leading to the creation of the settlement of Parramatta and then a subsequent settlement at Toongabie in what is now Western Sydney (Kass 2005). This successful search for suitable farmland occurred in the first three years of colonisation, with each settlement serving as a hub for agricultural occupation of surrounding land (Kass 2005). The need to feed the growing colony provided the impetus for the clearing and settlement of land into Greater Western Sydney from the city’s early beginnings around the harbour.

The Camden area, in which the SWGC is now partly located, was accessed by Europeans as early as 1795, after the initial British settlement of Sydney in 1788 (Wrigley 1980). It was ‘found’ when, in 1795, cattle that had strayed from the colony at Farm Cove were discovered in the Camden area. This prompted Governor Hunter to visit the area and name it ‘Cowpastures’ (Wrigley 1980). The road from the suburb of Prospect to this area was called Cowpasture Road, a name it has to this day. Agriculture has thus underpinned the expansion of Sydney as a city and the creation of the South West region in which the SWGC now sits.

Further analysis of the history of agriculture in the Sydney Basin illustrates how cultivation has played a key role in the interface between different cultural groups in Australia since colonisation. Prior to colonisation by the British in 1788, historians indicate that Aboriginal people in Sydney harvested yams that grew along the banks of its rivers (Keating 1996). This is considered to have been a primary source of food, and

one that would have been protected by the different forms of ‘cultivation’ practised by Aboriginal groups such as controlled burning or ‘fire stick farming’ to encourage new growth. In this regard, Aboriginal people were arguably Sydney’s first farmers. These practices were not, however, recognised as a form of farming by the colonisers, failing to illustrate the modification of nature on which their Enlightenment definitions of cultivation and development were based (Anderson 2007). Decimation of the Indigenous crops by the land clearing and farming practices of the settlers meant that the local Aboriginal people were deprived of a primary food source and took to stealing Indian corn from the white farmers as a substitute (Keating 1996). While land represented much more than just a food source to Sydney’s Aboriginal people, its loss in this respect created an imperative in survival terms.

The conflict over the yams became a central trigger for what has been described as the ‘first Australian war’ (Keating 1996:13). It stimulated a clash between ‘two incompatible economies and approaches to land’ occurring from the co-existence of Indigenous and British settler populations (Keating 1996:13). Troops were posted at the Georges River in 1797 to guard crops and martial law was proclaimed in 1805 (Keating 1996). The final response from the settlers was a declaration of war in 1816 which led to a military sweep of the Hawkesbury and Cumberland Plain area, where according to some accounts, up to 400 Aboriginals were killed (Brook 1994). In the later half of 1816, according to Tobin (1997), the armed conflicts ended with the massacre of 14 men, women and children at Appin⁶ in Sydney’s South West by soldiers, and two corpses were hung in the trees to stop reprisals. After this, there were apparently less militant forms of resistance against the British colonisers (Brook 1994). This brief outline indicates how the expansion of the colonial settlement and development of what is now the city of Sydney was shaped by agricultural cultivation, the destruction of the food sources of the local Darug, Gandangara and Dharawal and the violent possession of their land. In the European view of development, the existing land use by the Aboriginal peoples in the form of yam farming was not considered cultivation of the land, leaving it ‘empty’ for colonial settlement.

The role of agriculture in shaping Sydney’s cultural landscape continues with the CALD market gardeners who have contributed to the expansion and development of

⁶ Appin now falls into the Wollondilly Local Government area, further south west than Camden and Liverpool where the SWGC is planned for, see Figure 3.

Sydney, particularly into the West. After WW2, when Southern European groups were settling in Sydney in large numbers, the focus of Sydney's urban planning was slum clearance through funding new outer-suburban housing precincts (Morgan et al. 2005). As CALD migrants moved further out West following offers of cheap land, they formed a 'fibro frontier', building fibrolite houses on the very edge of the city (Pickett 1997; Gwyther 2008). It was on these blocks of land that many migrants started market gardens as a way to earn a living when lacking in language or other skills to gain employment elsewhere (Burnley 2001; Parker 2004). In Sydney, peri-urban agriculture allowed these new migrants to make a living in their new country, turning the unwanted land on the city's edge into sites of food production. Farming of the land enabled them to support themselves and their families and provided the city's markets with a steady supply of fresh food for decades (Parker & Jarecki 2003b; Parker 2004).

The settlement of these culturally diverse migrant groups in the outer suburbs of Sydney, as well as more semi-rural land on the fringe, presented a challenge to the British Anglo-Celtic norms of suburbia (Morgan et al. 2005). The use of domestic gardens by migrants for vegetable growing, for personal use and sale, contrasted strongly with the Anglo-Celtic notion of the home as a private sphere and the garden as a site of 'aesthetic appreciation of nature' (Morgan et al. 2005: 94). In transgressing the norms of urban land use, these gardens symbolised different ways in which people and nature could (and do) co-exist within the bounds of the city.

In the outer-suburban gardens of migrants, and then in the peri-urban farms, the status of cultivation in the Sydney Basin can be seen to shift once again. It has become marginalised as a land use undertaken by socially isolated migrant groups in small-scale farms on the peripheral land of the city, and not seen as important to the growth of the city. In establishing their farms on the fringes of the city the newly arrived migrants have not been viewed as contributing to the process of nation-building like the first white settlers and unlike Sydney's Anglo-Celtic settler-farmers, they have not been embraced into the national narrative as heroic pioneers. Their farms have only been moved out of other once-fringe areas that are now filled with houses (Parker 2004). This pattern appears to be continued as farms in the Bringelly area are threatened by urban encroachment. As discussed later, however, they have also not been implicated (or felt implicated) in the dispossession of Sydney's Aboriginal people from the lands on which their farms grow.

This examination of agriculture as a land use in the Sydney Basin has illustrated its role in the various stakes in and contestations over land between Indigenous, migrant and settler groups on the city's western fringe. While deriving from very different cultural views on land use, the tensions arising from this interaction had clear material implications. The contestation over land that has occurred was, in part at least, an issue of competing livelihoods in which access to land was a central feature. The British 'settlement' and clearing of land meant that local Aboriginal people found themselves pushed off their land and in competition for food with the land hungry colonisers (Keating 1996). Later, cultivation of land on Sydney's fringe was to provide the livelihood for generations of culturally and linguistically diverse migrants to Australia. This is the form of agriculture in Sydney that is currently under threat from plans for urban development (see Figure 11), positioning it within a history of over land contestation that spans over 200 years.



Figure 11: Farming in an urbanising landscape, South West Sydney, 2007

(Photo: Sarah James)

This examination also indicates that only some forms of cultivation have historically been officially recognised and considered important to the city. Those that do not fit the Anglo-Celtic norms of land use and prevailing 'growth as development' agendas have tended to be marginalised or made 'invisible' in official visions of the city (Parker & Jarecki 2003a). For the Aboriginal inhabitants of the Sydney Basin at the time of colonisation this meant their land use was destroyed, this thesis seeks to

examine the extent to which their apparent ‘invisibility’ means the same fate for the growers.

From Colonial to Global City

Contemporary land use decisions in Sydney’s urban planning continue to be underpinned, as illustrated by the quote from the Department of Planning representative earlier in this chapter, by a desire to be progressive and competitive according to conventional criterion of ‘growth as development’. Recent scholarship in geography explores in more detail the processes driving Sydney’s aspiration to ‘global city’ status and the implications of this agenda for Sydney’s planning process (McGuirk 2004, 2005; O’Neil & McGuirk 2005; McGuirk 2007). Taking a political economy perspective, these commentators discuss how planning in Sydney has become increasingly neo-liberalised, moving from concerns about creating ‘social democratic equity’ to an economically ‘competitive city’ (McGuirk 2004). This shift in governance focus has been influenced by the perceived increasingly globalised nature of the economy and the predominance of the global cities discourse (McGuirk 2004).

In Australia, these global influences have seen a shift in the focus of the national and state governments from a national to an urban-centred economy. This has been particularly evident in relation to Sydney as Australia’s biggest city (McGuirk 2004). From the mid-1990s, as Sydney took on the mantle of ‘global city’, the policy focus of the NSW State Government became centred on re-shaping it as the ‘entrepreneurial city’ and then the ‘competitive city’ on a global stage (McGuirk 2004). This change is seen as both a ‘re-territorialising’ of focus from the state to the city scale, and a ‘de-territorialising’ of the city as it becomes increasingly oriented towards global flows and its place in them (McGuirk 2004) (see Figure 12). Both these re-scalings, as they serve to detach the way the city is envisaged from its immediate surroundings, are evident within the current vision of Sydney in the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy.

The extent to which the city is really ‘globalised’ and detached from the nation-state is arguably less than the tag ‘global city’ would suggest however. The process of shaping Sydney as a ‘competitive city’ is not purely neo-liberal and free-market based, but rather a hybrid in which state intervention and public funding mediates the neo-liberal agenda to create a competitive city in globalising economic conditions (McGuirk 2005). The NSW State Government has a pivotal role in determining how the plans for

urban development advance and how their implementation is regulated. It is government legislation, as will be discussed later, that regulates the extent to which issues such as heritage, sustainability and other aspects of the city's 'multiple urbanisms' mediate the narrow economic drive of urban development. While Sydney might be a 'global city', the NSW Government is a central player in the construction of this discourse and how it will influence planning for the city of the future. Influences from State as well as global scales intersect in the definition of Sydney's growth in current urban planning.

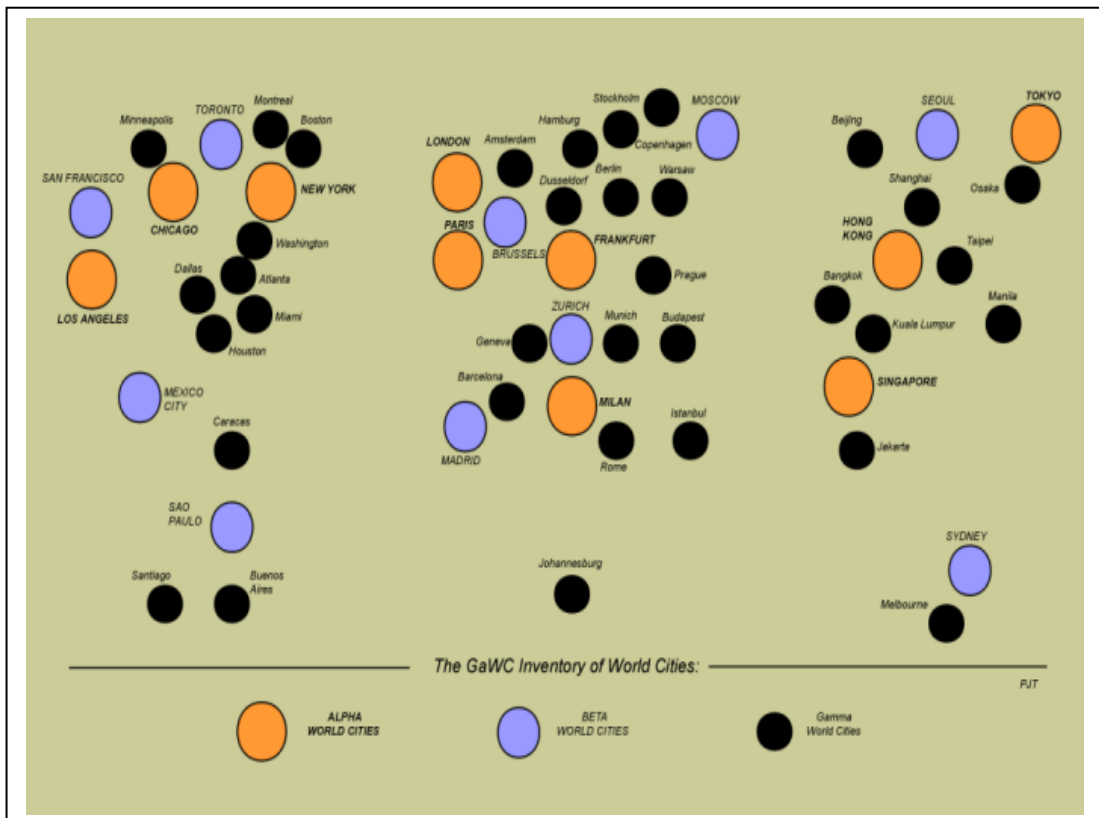


Figure 12: Map of 'world' or 'global' cities

(Map reproduced with permission from <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/citymap.html>)

Sydney's position as a globalising city mobilised by the State is tied to a self-identified position as a principal force in the Australian economy. In the analysis of Sydney's plans for growth since WW2 later in this chapter, it would appear that this focus has long been part of Sydney's planning agenda with 'Sydney: global city' only the most recent iteration. This focus arguably has and continues to rationalise a de-prioritising of other aspects of the city, such as its cultural diversity and even environmental concerns. The most recent 2005 Metropolitan Strategy affirms the

Sydney-centric emphasis of the NSW State Government's economic development mantra of recent years, suggesting that Sydney must continue to 'grow' to maintain its status as Australia's premier city.

Environmental and Cultural Limits to Growth

Despite this focus on 'growth as development', changes in recent decades have forced greater government planning attention to (certain) cultural and environmental aspects of the city. In Sydney, and Australia more broadly, previously neglected aspects of the city have built a substantial level of public support as a result of a significant change in societal perspectives on environmental and cultural diversity in Australia after World War II (Roddewig 1978; Frawley 1992; Anderson & Jacobs 1999; Byrne et al. 2003). From the 1960s in particular, environmental considerations were not only increasingly accepted as valid but also seen to represent a counterpoint to the dominant ethos of 'growth as development' (Frawley 1992; Doyle 2000). Additionally, this period saw recognition of culturally diverse heritage values in the form of Aboriginal cultural heritage for the first time in Australian legislation (Smith 2000b; Kijas 2005). These changes are discussed at length here to illustrate how discourses of environmental concern and cultural heritage have served to intervene in plans for Sydney's growth historically. This analysis also illustrates how these discourses have previously been articulated in relation to Sydney's urban growth and what form of heritage and environmental concerns they have sought to protect. Exploring what has been valued and fought for historically within the city provides a background for consideration in Chapters Three and Four of the efficacy of these discourses for recognition of market gardening in current plans for Bringelly.

During the 1960s and 1970s, conflicts such as the Franklin Dam, proposed drilling on the Great Barrier Reef, farming on the Little Desert and sand mining on Fraser Island raised the consciousness of the Australian public about the threat posed to the natural environment by unrestrained development (Kellow 1989; Frawley 1992; Herath 2002). While these sites were all 'wilderness', it was a battle for urban bushland in the origins of the 'Green Bans' movement in Sydney in the early 1970s that has been described as 'the most significant event in the birth of modern Australian environmental politics' (Frawley 1992: 229; Anderson & Jacobs 1999). The success of these Bans can be attributed to changes in social values around the protection and preservation of not

only environmental but also cultural heritage (Roddewig 1978; Jakubowicz 1984; Frawley 1992; Munday 1996; Anderson & Jacobs 1999).

The Green Bans movement was a response to a period of rampant development in Sydney. During the 1970s the push for development by powerful business interests and often complicit governments was resulting in the loss of historical buildings and sites like 'the Rocks' in inner Sydney, as well as remnant natural areas (Burgmann & Burgmann 1998; Construction Forestry Mining Energy Union 2009). The Bans were the result of a collaboration between a group of 13 women resident in Hunters Hill and the Builders Labourers Union headed by Jack Munday to save a piece of bush overlooking Sydney Harbour (Kalajzich 1996; Anderson & Jacobs 1999). The site, known as Kelly's Bush, was going to be developed into foreshore apartments by the Jennings development company with the council changing the zoning of the open space to allow for the development (Roddewig 1978). It was only through years of protests culminating in the world's first Green Ban that the development was stopped (Munday 1996). The impetus behind these Bans, according to Jack Munday, was a question of 'quality of life', when faced with unconstrained development that threatened colonial heritage and the natural environment (Munday 1996). While 'quality of life' is a rather nebulous concept, Munday argued that 'if we live in cities devoid of parks and open space' the quality of the urban environment is degraded (Munday 1996: 7).

Poet Kylie Tennant described the protest movement as 'the descendants of the first white settlers turning out to defend the last of the green foreshores' (Tennant 1996: 2). In ascribing this postcolonial framing, Tennant (1996) here gestures to the irony of Anglo-Australians now fighting those who wish to develop Sydney's bushland for housing, in place of the Aboriginal groups who would have originally fought the colonisation and development of the area by white settlers. Of course, this (too) neat alignment of white middle-class environmentalists at Kelly's Bush with Sydney's Indigenous population in the protection of Sydney's natural environment is problematic given the absence of Aboriginal voices in the process and issues of class politics in the 'battle'. Nevertheless, a societal shift, in which an ecological perspective on urban growth was accepted and supported by the social 'mainstream', is evident in this protest movement. The Green Bans movement brought environmental matters into the very heart of the city, gaining validity for the argument that such issues should be considered in planning for city development.

Legislature responded to this apparent shift in community values on issues of heritage and the natural environment in the 1970s. This period saw the introduction of bills such as the National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974, the Heritage Act 1977 and the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act (NSW) 1979 (EP and A Act (NSW)) providing for the protection of natural and cultural heritage in NSW law from the 1970s. The EP and A Act (NSW) of 1979 is particularly significant for this research, as it brings the other acts on environmental and cultural heritage protection to bear directly on urban development in NSW (New South Wales Government 1979).

Environmental concerns were recognised in the EP and A Act (NSW) of 1979, through the incorporation of the National Parks and Wildlife Act (1974). The sites that could be protected by this legislation were Aboriginal sites, national parks, nature reserves, historic sites, state conservation areas and regional parks (New South Wales Government 1974). Aboriginal heritage was defined and protected for the first time in NSW legislation in the introduction of this National Parks and Wildlife Act (1974). With this Act it became an offence to knowingly destroy Aboriginal ‘relics’ – thereby making material Aboriginal heritage an official limit to urban development (Byrne et al. 2003). The problems arising from defining Aboriginal heritage in terms of relics or artefacts, however, have been many as will be discussed in Chapter Three. The Heritage Act 1977 was focused on non-Aboriginal heritage, specifically environmental and colonial. The EP and A Act (NSW) of 1979 linked, for the first time, the other acts relating to cultural heritage and environmental protection explicitly in relation to urban development.

The EP and A Act (NSW) of 1979 represents the point from which heritage and environmental issues were legally made limits to urban development in New South Wales. The bringing together of these different acts marks a significant paradigm shift in conceptions of city growth, as now both environmental and Aboriginal heritage concerns would have to be considered in land use plans. This shift in societal values from the 1960s and 1970s suggests the dominance of ‘growth as development’ model of urban development was being challenged by other land use values. These ‘other’ elements of the cityscape – those of heritage and environmental concerns – brought into the public arena by protests against development would now have to be engaged, to some extent, in future plans for urban growth.

The current urban planning for Sydney’s next 25 years suggests that issues of environmental concern and recognition of Aboriginal heritage as defined in this period

are being increasingly engaged, at least at the level of rhetoric (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b). The intervening years since the EP and A Act (NSW) 1979 was created, however, have served to further complicate what might be considered cultural and environmental imperatives in city development. The increasing cultural diversity of the city population and environmental pressures such as climate change arguably present new dimensions to these imperatives. A focus on 'natural' spaces such as parklands and Aboriginal artefacts may not sufficiently account for the heritage and environmental values of 21st Century Sydney. Environmental and demographic changes in the globalising city since the 1970s suggest that issues such as productive peri-urban land and the history of CALD groups within Sydney deserve greater recognition. And going further, this thesis argues that the multiple uses and users of the cityscape such as market gardens in Bringelly need to be considered as part of, rather than only as limits to, growth priorities.

The shift this suggests in thinking about the city's growth is substantial. It builds on the changes in the 1970s to further challenge the binaries of culture and nature, rural and urban, civilised and primitive, and modern and traditional that underpinned the colonial vision of the city. In Sydney, this change would require recognition of what the existing land uses of the often-maligned western suburbs, and particularly its peri-urban fringe, have to offer the city as a whole.

Sprawl: The Messiness of the West

In the current 2005 Metropolitan Strategy, however, Western Sydney appears to remain conceived as a site for housing but not an area that offers a dynamic contribution to the city. The failure of the Metropolitan Strategy to acknowledge the market gardens on the city's South West fringe as a valuable and dynamic aspect of the city is arguably due to a prevailing negative stereotype of Western Sydney (Powell 1993; Mee 1994; Johnson 1997; Johnson et al. 1997; Symonds 1997; Mossfield 2000; Randolph et al. 2001; Morgan 2005). In both media and public discourse, the West has been constructed as a sort of urban wasteland 'lacking' in community, infrastructure, and order, and on the other hand being 'too much' in terms of the sprawl of a 'feral suburbia', crime, and the 'messiness' of cultural diversity (Johnson 1997; Allon 2005; Anderson 2005). Considered by some to be the metaphorical colonies of Sydney (Symonds 1993),

Western Sydney has long been seen as peripheral (and, arguably, inferior) to the rest of the city (Anderson 2005; Morgan 2005).

Part of the stigmatising and ‘othering’ of the Western suburbs can be linked to a racialised discourse of sprawl that negatively portrays the role of migrants in Sydney’s urban growth. This narrative echoes the colonialist notion of the city as a symbol of civilisation that was somehow sullied or even threatened by the presence of cultural ‘others’ (Jacobs 1996; Blomley 2004; Anderson 2007). Comments from the then Premier Bob Carr brought the issue to the forefront of public debate around urban growth in the mid 1990s. According to a report in the *Sun Herald* newspaper, Carr suggested that Sydney’s urban ‘sprawl’ was a result of international migration to Sydney (Parliament of New South Wales 1995). In order to control the city’s population and limit sprawl, Carr argued that migration levels should be cut. These comments led to a vigorous debate in parliament as well as in the broader public spheres.

In contrast to Carr’s assertions, many parliamentarians argued that immigration was only one factor contributing to the need for further urban development, and not one that was substantially significant (Parliament of New South Wales 1995). Professor of Geography Ian Burnley also contributed to the debate, arguing that only 33 percent of migrants who had come to Sydney from 1990 to 1995 had settled in Sydney’s west, and therefore immigration could not be seen as the principal cause of urban sprawl in Western Sydney (Burnley & Flannery 1995). In the NSW Parliament, parliamentarians Elizabeth Kirkby, Patricia Forsythe and James M. Samios argued that the role of decreasing household occupancy rates and internal migration from country to urban areas were more pertinent issues in terms of pressures on urban growth (Parliament of New South Wales 1995). It was concluded that Sydney’s urban growth was ‘a complex issue...embracing myriad factors, including immigration, but not solely a question of immigration’ (Hon. James M Samios cited in Parliament of New South Wales 1995). This conclusion indicates that the racialisation of sprawl served more to create a political scapegoat than accurately reflect the dominant influences on the expanding city limits. Nevertheless, the ‘othering’ of the Western Suburbs and its culturally diverse population in media and public discourses continues (Anderson 2005).

Seeking to separate themselves from this negative image of the West, are the generally wealthier inhabitants moving into the urban fringe estates (McNeill et al. 2005), such as those planned for Bringelly. Often dubbed ‘aspirational’, those choosing to live in these estates are seen to aspire to middle-class values of home ownership and

levels of (sometimes conspicuous) consumption (Gwyther 2002). While actual inhabitants can be quite culturally diverse, the aesthetic aspired to is very much of white middle-class suburbia (Kenna 2007). This is evident in the dominant image of white nuclear families in the marketing of these new estates described at the beginning of this chapter, the very homogeneity of design serving to convey a sense of order and prosperity (Kenna 2007). This image of order and Anglo-Celtic urbanism contrasts to the perceived ‘messiness’ of the broader Western Sydney Region.

Discourses of sprawl and messiness have shaped representations of the Western Suburbs as places in need of State management, validating a top-down approach to planning. This is evident in the area around Bringelly on which this study focuses, which has been designated for urban growth for decades prior to its current designation as a ‘Growth Centre’. It has been seen as ‘land-in-waiting’ for development, a site on which visions for growth can be ascribed without having to be negotiated with the inhabitants on the ground. In addition to housing development, it has also been determined as the site for a second airport for Sydney that did not eventuate (Davis 2008). More recently, it was to be the site of a new rail link, a project that is now in doubt (Besser 2008). These multiple plans for further development in Bringelly suggest that, echoing the colonial logic that determined the land of NSW empty for settlement (Carter 1988, 1996; Ryan 1996), this fringe space does not have to be seen as empty but *inappropriately* used to justify dislocation of existing land use. This attitude to the multiple uses and users of land in the West, and particularly on the fringe, needs to be challenged in order to realise the productive (in a number of senses) contribution they offer to the city.

History of ‘Growth’ in Sydney’s Plans

To further background current plans for growth in Bringelly, this next section traces the notion of ‘growth as development’ within these plans from the 1951 *County of Cumberland Plan* created in the post-war period to the current 2005 Metropolitan Strategy. Following on from the previous discussion of the Green Bans movement, this section also explores how cultural diversity and environmental concerns registered across the different plans. This analysis illustrates how these ‘other’ aspects of a city have been interpolated over time.

The first full scale plan for Sydney after WW2, the *County of Cumberland Plan* of 1951, was primarily focussed on limiting the outward growth of ‘urban sprawl’ and stopping inner city urban decay. A green belt around the city was designed to create a natural boundary to ‘promiscuous suburbanisation’ and to ensure that city dwellers had access to green environs close to home (Spearritt & Demarco 1988: 23) (see Figure 13). Key to this design was the need for satellite cities outside of the green belt to house growth. This was based on Ebenezer Howard’s ‘garden city’ concept (popular in England at the time) in which the concentric rings of house and garden lots and tree-lined streets were in close proximity to the agricultural land surrounding them (Spearritt & Demarco 1988).

One of the central priorities in the construction of this plan was the need to provide land close to the city for fresh food production. As Denis Winston, Professor of Town and Country planning at the University of Sydney in 1957, wrote of the plan (in some remarkably prescient comments):

Australia has nearly three million square miles of territory but really good growing land with adequate rainfall makes up a very small percentage of the total: where such favourable land occurs near a large population centre it is of double importance, for only from such areas can really fresh vegetables come to city markets. Good quality green vegetables are the rarest of all foods today: everybody knows there are a good many things wrong with the marketing of such vegetables, but the first essential [task for planners] is to preserve the land where they can be grown: to raise bungalows on first-class agricultural land may be profitable for the ‘developers’ but is a serious loss for everyone else (Winston 1957: 7-8).

Winston went on further to argue for the importance of agriculture in close proximity to Sydney:

In spite of all our canning and deep freezing, there is still no real substitute for fresh fruits and vegetables, gathered when they are ‘just right’ and eaten soon afterwards with the minimum of handling in between: but fruit and vegetables of this kind can only be had in the city if they are grown within a reasonably short distance away (Winston 1957: 48).

His comments about the productivity of the Basin, despite its relatively small size, reflect the contemporary situation:

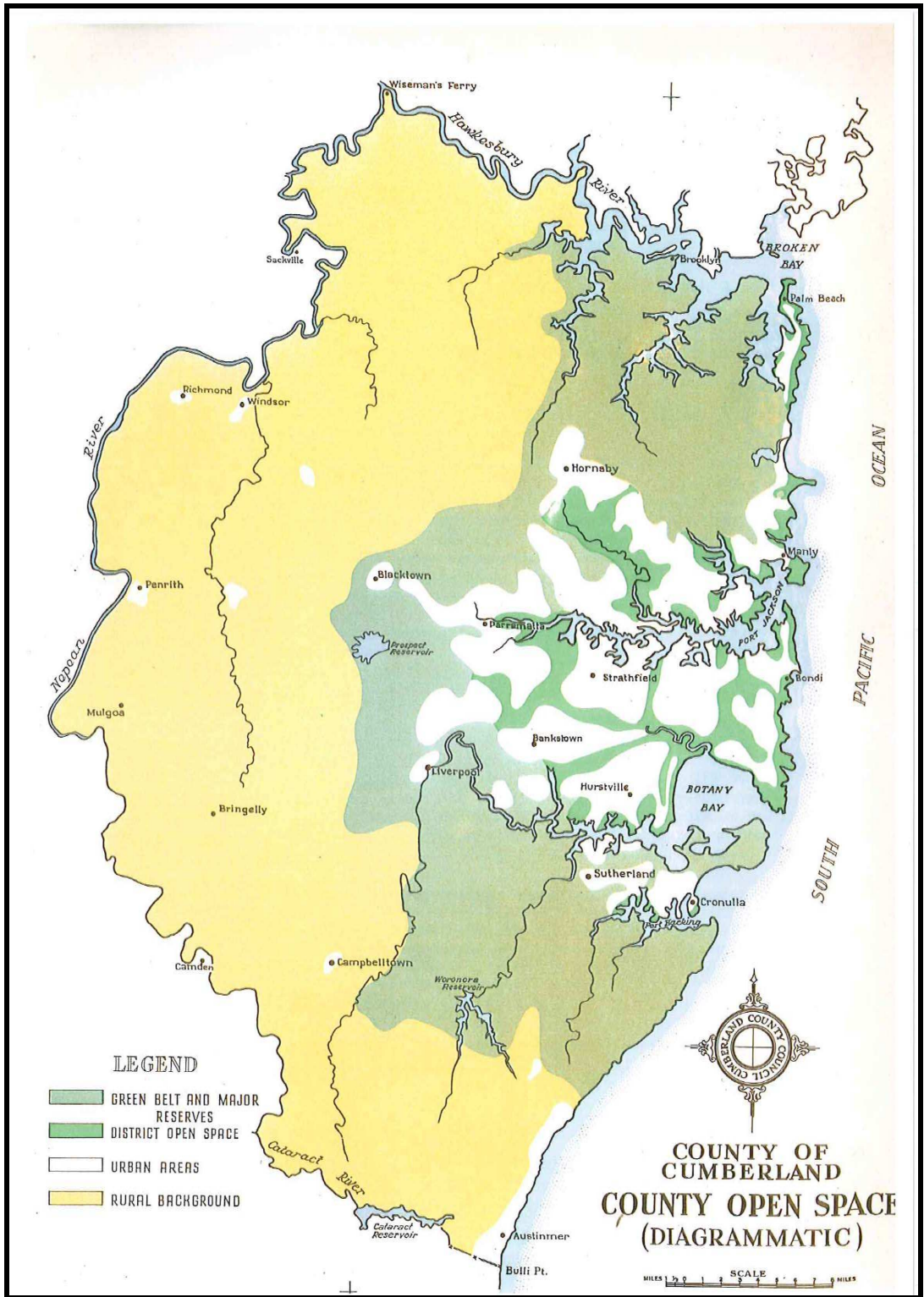


Figure 13: County of Cumberland Plan with green belt

(Reproduced with the kind permission of the Department of Planning NSW (Cumberland Country Council 1948: 142))

The county is a small area...and yet in 1947 it produced three-quarters of the State's lettuces, half the spinach, a third of the cabbages and a quarter of the beans; seventy percent of the State's poultry farms were in the county and more than eighteen percent of Sydney's milk came from the County; the preservation of farms and market gardens is therefore of considerable importance for the well-being of Sydney as well as for the economy of the State (Winston 1957: 49).

Illustrating the paradox of competing agendas for growth, that continued throughout the postwar period right up to today, a discourse of global economic competitiveness ran concurrent to Winston's argument about the need to protect agricultural land within these plans. As well as suggesting limits to its physical growth, Winston also asserted that:

To remain great in this time of worldwide communications, swift travel, new industrial resources and shifting centres of economic and political power, the great city must maintain its efficiency as a market, traffic terminal, centre of industry and living place (Winston 1957: 20).

The perceived importance of creating and maintaining a position for Sydney as a 'great city' on a world stage is evident even in discussions of the city's growth over 50 years ago. The subsequent increase in Sydney's population post WW2, however, was to challenge Winston's desire to retain land on the urban fringe through a green belt and satellite cities. The Cumberland plan failed to account for the increase of Sydney's population by 1.3 million between 1947 and 1971, more than double what had been anticipated. The majority of this growth pushed out onto the fringes of the urban area, and led to the eventual abandonment of the green belt that was to circle the city as development slowly ate away at the reserves of greenfield land (Spearritt and Demarco 1988).

In the subsequent plan in 1968, titled *The Sydney Region Outline Plan*, the focus on physical expansion of the city meant that the notions of the 'garden city' that featured so heavily in the *County of Cumberland Plan* were lost (State Planning Authority of New South Wales 1968). In the prelude to the release of this plan, a document titled *Sydney Region: Growth and Change* outlined its major themes (State Planning Authority of New South Wales 1967). A key issue was the perceived need to promote and maintain the status of the city continued with this plan, with Sydney being

touted as Australia's 'greatest city – a world city by any standards' (State Planning Authority of New South Wales 1967: 10). The 'world city' tag was a precursor to the contemporary global city discourses, illustrating further for my purposes in this chapter the historicity of this discursive construction of Sydney.

The driving imperative of this plan was growth in the shape of new land for housing. It was determined by the State Planning Authority that 'the need everywhere is for more space' which meant that 'new areas must be opened up for development on a major scale, as rapidly as possible' (State Planning Authority of New South Wales 1967: 10). In contrast with the 1951 *County of Cumberland Plan*, in 1967 planners were predicting increasingly high rates of population growth culminating in a population of 5 million people by 2000 with a predicted drop in housing density from 3.45 to 3.3 people per house (State Planning Authority of New South Wales 1967). The pressure for new land, however, was not simply due to an increased population. It was also fuelled by a desire among much of the city's population for low-density suburbs with large housing blocks (State Planning Authority of New South Wales 1967).

In line with the predicted increase in population, considerations such as green belts and fresh food production decreased in importance. The discourse of a 'lack of space' for anything other than housing was mobilised to support further greenfield expansion. It was claimed that 'land remaining for residential development in the zoned urban areas of Sydney will have been exhausted within a few years time' (State Planning Authority 1967: 10). It was a priority for the city to grow in size and economy, to continue to maintain Sydney as Australia's 'premier' city and port (State Planning Authority 1967). This definition of 'growth as development' in the form of housing development and economic competitiveness illustrates the clear parallels between these early plans and the current Metropolitan Strategy.

By the 1980s, the predicted population boom had not been realised, leading to a new plan, the *Review of the Sydney Regional Outline Plan* (New South Wales Planning and Environment Commission 1980). This new plan stated that land was not required as urgently, and it was now important to consider how rapid growth was affecting the environment and resources both human-made and natural (New South Wales Planning and Environment Commission 1980). This acceptance of environmental limits to urban growth can also be attributed to the release of this plan directly after creation of the Environment Planning and Assessment Act (1979). While the 1980 plan acknowledged these shifting social priorities, in subsequent plans the effects of these shifts regarding

recognition of environmental (and cultural) issues were more evident. This 1980 plan also continued to prioritise maintaining Sydney's position as Australia's main port and city, and a premier 'world city', illustrating it remained a central planning objective.

The subsequent 1988 Metropolitan Strategy saw the return of a focus on non-economic aspects of growth in terms of social equity, cultural diversity and environmental concerns (Department of Environment and Planning 1988). The emphasis on these issues indicates that the societal and policy shifts of the 1970s were being increasingly integrated into urban planning. According to the then planning minister Bob Carr, this strategy, titled *Sydney into its Third Century*, highlighted 'the pressing requirement to strike a balance between protecting the natural and built environment and encouraging economic development' (Department of Environment and Planning 1988: 1). While continuing plans for urban consolidation, it stated that 'the bulk of Sydney's population growth will be accommodated on the fringe' (Department of Environment and Planning 1988: 12). The challenges of balancing environmental concerns and housing development are echoed in contemporary plans for Sydney. Although today it is no longer the bulk of the population that is designated to the fringe, it continues to be a significant area of productive peri-urban land that is designated for housing.

This 1988 plan recognised that there were a number of significant environmental constraints to Sydney's continued physical expansion, including: national parks; water supply and catchments; flood liable areas; prime agricultural land; and land already developed or designated for other essential uses (Department of Environment and Planning 1988). It also acknowledged the need to protect Aboriginal heritage, stating that there are more than 5000 Aboriginal sites recorded in the Sydney area and many more that have not yet been recorded (Department of Environment and Planning 1988). This was recognised as an issue that would potentially compromise plans for growth, as 'significant Aboriginal sites will need to be protected from future urban development' (Department of Environment and Planning 1988: 27).

While gesturing to the need for agricultural lands to be protected, the 1988 plan did not present the area around Bringelly as being of importance in this respect. This area was already marked out in the plan as a potential transport corridor and therefore as a growth area. That the Bringelly area was already slated for development raises questions for today in terms of the land speculation this created, and the validity of the process of community consultation since undertaken regarding its release as a 'growth

area' of current plans. It would appear that it had been designated an area for development since at least 1988.

In the 1988 plan there was also recognition that the Western Suburbs were growing, and one-sixth of Sydney's population were born in non-English speaking countries and were increasingly settling in the Western suburbs (Department of Environment and Planning 1988). It also noted that around this period a large proportion of NSW Aboriginals were living in Sydney and it was expected that Aboriginal people would continue moving into Sydney (Burnley & Routh 1984). In acknowledging these factors, the 1988 plan offered the first real recognition of the cultural diversity of Sydney as an aspect of the city that should be accounted for in planning for growth. The adoption of multiculturalism as official Federal Government policy from the 1970s is likely to have influenced this engagement with diversity within Sydney's urban planning at this time.

Expanding on the 1988 plan, the 1995 *Cities for the 21st Century* highlighted the importance of recognising and planning for Sydney's multicultural society for 'social equity' without great detail (New South Wales Department of Planning 1995:11). The plan also professed to place a high priority on issues of environmental protection with water quality and air pollution also discussed in relation to the development of catchment management. There was little discussion, however, of keeping a green fringe for the city or protecting urban agriculture. Indeed it further confirmed Bringelly as a site for greenfield growth. The designation of the near-by Badgery's Creek site for Sydney's second airport occurred during this same period of urban planning (Davis 2008), further targeting this area on the South West fringe for future development.

A complementary planning document titled *Shaping Western Sydney* was created in 1998 as a response to the perceived fast pace of urban growth and concern about the uncontrolled nature of the development (New South Wales Department of Urban Affairs and Planning 1998). This plan marked the first overall planning strategy for the region and was significant to the extent it acknowledged that Western Sydney had not always received the attention and investment from government and industry to sufficiently reflect its contribution to Sydney as Australia's largest city. Today, as Western Sydney continues to be the site for most proposed greenfield growth, this increased 'attention' from government still appears to neglect the multiple uses of and values of land that co-exist in this culturally diverse area.

This historical overview of plans for Sydney's urban growth illustrates a number of consistencies and differences over time. The central challenge of managing population expansion within the context of both physical and socially imposed limitations is a constant theme. The prioritising of growth in terms of economic development and housing throughout the plans is tied to an assertion of Sydney's position as Australia's most important city and its place not only on a national but a world stage.

The overview of Sydney's metropolitan planning history also demonstrates that the ways in which cultural diversity and environmental concerns have been addressed has changed with the various plans, reflecting shifting political priorities. Accounting for environmental concerns and the city's increasing cultural diversity, however, has not always improved over time. The emphasis on the need for green space and fresh agricultural produce in the 1951 *County of Cumberland* scheme was certainly lost as a priority in subsequent plans. While there were subsequent plans that privileged green space and environmental concerns, this was not realised in the recognition of, or planning for, the role of peri-urban agriculture in producing fresh food for the city. The historical overview presented here did indicate an increasing awareness of issues of cultural diversity in planning, particularly in relation to addressing socio-economic equity. Following changes in legislation in the 1960s and 1970s, Aboriginal heritage has also been addressed in these land use plans.

The neglect of issues such as migrant heritages and the productive use of land such as market gardening undertaken by CALD migrant groups indicate the limits of recognition of cultural diversity within Sydney's previous urban plans. The absence of land use practices such as market gardening, as well as Indigenous natural resource management, in this overview also indicates that these plans made no link at all between cultural diversity and environmental issues. The cultural diversity and environmental character of the city were discussed separately, in relation to specific aspects of heritage and environmental protection. Due to this distinction in planning discourses, 'multiple urbanisms' of the city such as market gardening remained narrowly defined as either environmental (in the sense of agricultural) or cultural concerns. Neither of these concerns have had substantive attention in Sydney's planning history, aside from the exceptions of the 1951 green belt. While housing is likely to remain a priority in planning for Sydney, this thesis argues that taking into account the multiple urbanism

that constitute the city offers a more balanced and potentially more sustainable vision for the future.

The 2005 Metropolitan Strategy

The most recent plan for Sydney's growth, the *Metropolitan Strategy: City of Cities* was announced in April 2004 and released in 2005 (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b). This latest document maintained the priorities of previous plans with its focus on 'growth as development' and positioning Sydney as a competitive global city. According to the then NSW Premier Morris Iemma, the 2005 strategy 'allows the Government and the market to confidently respond to economic growth and housing and infrastructure needs' to ensure that 'managed growth will strengthen and secure Sydney's economic competitiveness' (Iemma in New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b: 3). Affirming Sydney's position as a 'global city' continues to be central to the planning vision for Sydney, and linked to its economic development. This was illustrated in the statement by the then Minister for Planning, Mr Frank Sartor, that 'Sydney is unquestionably the nation's leading metropolis...it is Australia's gateway to the world for economic development, business, tourism, and a major entertainment, recreation and retail destination' (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b: 4).

There were also, however, allusions to limiting housing development in the Metropolitan Strategy. The planning minister asserted that planned development would be measured against a triple bottom line, as 'above all it must be sustainable – economically, environmentally and socially' (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b: 4). When addressing what it refers to as the 'environmental' aspect of growth, the Metropolitan Strategy's stated objectives include protecting Aboriginal cultural heritage, containing Sydney's urban footprint, using energy efficiently and reducing greenhouse intensity of energy supply (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b: 3). The document suggested that:

The Metropolitan Strategy addresses Sydney's environmental challenges and supports rural industries. It includes actions to protect the loss of biodiversity, protect air quality, manage with less water, move towards cleaner energy, protect viable agricultural and resource lands, and respond to the risk of climate change (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b: 201).

On peri-urban agricultural lands, the 2005 plan provided an initially sympathetic approach. It indicates an official acknowledgment of the contribution of such lands to the city and the need to limit urban growth to protect them:

Rural and resource lands constrain expansion of the urban areas and reinforce a compact city where infrastructure and services can be sequenced and efficiently developed. They provide fresh local produce, reducing the need to transport food long distances and complement Sydney as a sustainable food capital. They also provide extractive materials essential to the region's building and infrastructure needs and coal resources. Rural and resource lands contribute to tourism, regional identity and character (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b: 205).

The 2005 Metropolitan Strategy incorporated Gillespie and Mason's (2003) estimates of the one billion dollar value of agriculture in Sydney (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b: 227). It also acknowledged the potential contributions of agriculture to urban sustainability and population health:

There are consumer benefits in retaining production of agricultural produce, especially highly perishable foods, in close proximity to major markets. This proximity also provides the opportunity to access farm-gate sales of fresh produce. Much of the interest in agriculture by cities internationally is in relation to improving the health and well being of the community. This is achieved by strengthening links to local food production, improving access to, and consumption of safe, nutritious, affordable food (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b: 222).

In what is described as the 'social' aspects of agriculture, the document acknowledges that agriculture is also a regional employer, with estimates of at least 8,000 full-time on-farm jobs in the Sydney region (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b: 205). The CALD market gardeners are also mentioned in reference to the 'self-employment opportunity for migrants from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, generally with poor English skills' that Sydney Basin agriculture provides (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b: 222).

In recognising the value of urban agriculture, the document goes on to state that part of the Metropolitan Strategy's plan for Sydney in 2031 is a containment of Sydney's urban 'environmental footprint'. The footprint of the city would have equated to 49 percent of the state in 2005 and is predicted to equate to 95 percent of the state by

2031 (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b). Part of reducing this ‘footprint’ the Metropolitan Strategy suggests is the retainment of the ‘rural and resource’ lands on the city’s edge:

Rural and resource lands are those places beyond the city’s urban areas. They are working lands that support diverse rural industries such as agriculture, extractive industry and mining and hold values that contribute to Sydney’s quality of life. They are not lands ‘in waiting’ for urban development (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b: 201).

New land for development will not, the Planning Minister states, be released unless it meets the Government sustainability criteria (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b).

While the promise of protection for rural and resource lands suggests potential support for urban agriculture it has not, as yet, been followed through with concrete plans for such protection. Just where these lands will be and how they will be protected remains ill-defined within the 2005 Strategy and subsequent 2007 subregional planning (New South Wales Department of Planning 2007a, 2007b). The principle actions outlined in the 2005 plan, and reiterated in the 2007 subdocument, are to undertake a: ‘[c]omplete mapping of regionally significant activities including agriculture, mining and petroleum uses, extractive industry and special uses, in partnership with the Department of Primary Industries’ (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b: 223). Despite the rhetoric, this does not amount to substantive protection for Sydney’s agricultural lands.

That the rural and resource lands are defined as ‘beyond the city’s urban areas’ also suggests that they are not intended to protect the farms, such as Bringelly’s market gardens, situated within an urbanising landscape. As the boundaries of the urban area continue to extend outwards, the definition of urban and non-urban land become increasingly blurry (Low Choy et al. 2008). While the Growth Centres were intended to create limits to development, the more recent subregional planning for the South West Sector indicates that only around 65 percent of new housing in this area will be in the Growth Centre (New South Wales Department of Planning 2007b). This indicates that at least 35 percent of housing in this region will be developed in the surrounding area placing pressure on the remaining agriculture lands supposedly protected by the development of the Growth Centres.

Cultural land use values are primarily addressed in the Metropolitan Strategy in the form of Aboriginal cultural heritage, with some mention too of colonial built heritage (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b). The discussion of Aboriginal heritage is one of the few mentions of cultural difference and diversity within the plan, and the only one that has a specific agenda attached. The aim was to create a set of protocols and a regional heritage assessment process that would involve all Aboriginal stakeholders from early on in the process and cover both the North and South Growth Centres (Context 2006). This assessment process and the extent to which it allows for participation of Aboriginal groups in urban planning processes will be discussed at length in the subsequent chapter.

The recognition of culturally diverse heritages and sustainability concerns, particularly in relation to urban agriculture, within the Metropolitan Strategy document, suggests a substantial and positive progression from previous plans. The statements on paper however, particularly where they fail to outline how they will be implemented, will not necessarily reflect how development will occur on the ground. While Aboriginal heritage and maintaining peri-urban lands for agriculture were flagged as important issues in the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy, how these concerns actually influence planned development can only be assessed in the implementation of the plans. The extent to which there is a gap between rhetoric and the reality of urban development on the issues of diverse heritage and urban agricultural land will be examined in the empirical research presented in subsequent chapters.

Responses to the Strategy

Criticism of the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy from both academic and public commentators provides further insight into the limits of this vision for Sydney's growth. Glenn Searle (2006), director of Planning at Sydney's University of Technology, argued that Metropolitan Strategy was, to a significant extent, aligned to the priorities of the private housing development sector. In his view 'the development industry vision is writ large across the *City of Cities* strategy and its supporting documents', following closely the requests made in the Property Council of Australia's document: 'Metro Strategy: A Property Industry Perspective' (Searle 2006: 553).

With its focus on housing development, the main gaps of the Metropolitan Strategy according to Searle (2006) were neglect of issues including: air and water

pollution, a water supply crisis, inadequate public transport, lack of housing affordability, areas of socio-economic stagnation and decline, and lack of skills or locational access to decent jobs for much of the workforce. While he acknowledged the need for recognition of issues relating to environmental protection and social equity, the issues that are of direct concern for this thesis – that of diversity, heritage and protection of land uses such as agriculture – go unnoted, both by Searle and the Strategy.

Some of these issues do feature, however, in *Authoring Contemporary Australia: A Regional Cultural Strategy for Greater Western Sydney* (Lee Shoy 2004), a response to the Metropolitan Strategy from the Western Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils (hereafter WSROC) (Western Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils 2007). In *Authoring Contemporary Australia* Tiffany Lee Shoy argued that it is of critical importance to recognise the cultural diversity of Sydney's Western Suburbs in urban planning. Echoing the arguments made within this thesis, Lee Shoy asserted that these plans should account for the diverse population that inhabits the space designated for new development (Lee Shoy 2004). As Lee Shoy, argued:

The well being of Greater Western Sydney communities depends on the effective inclusion of their diverse views in public and urban planning processes. Over the next 15 years, our physical environment will change dramatically to accommodate 510,000 more people. Failure to account [for the] influence [it will have on] people's lives can result in urban development that diminishes social capital (Lee Shoy 2004: v).

While the importance of economic development in planning for a city cannot be underrated, Lee Shoy (2004) suggested that the lack of awareness of cultural diversity in these plans for growth is also particularly a concern for the Western Sydney region. Planning that fails to acknowledge and account for cultural diversity potentially threatens communities already in existence in these areas, especially those of marginalised groups such as the market gardeners in the South West.

There were responses to the Metropolitan Strategy from a variety of sectors on a number of issues. Responses relating to the theme of urban green space, in particular urban agriculture, were of interest to this thesis. While not a direct response to the Strategy, the issues papers for the 2007 NSW State Government election from WSROC and the Greens Party directly addressed the subject of loss of agricultural land to urban development in Sydney. That these groups have highlighted this as an important matter

for the NSW government to address in 2007, two years after the Metropolitan Strategy, demonstrates that urban agriculture continues to be a topical political issue.

Emphasising the value of land for agriculture in the Sydney Basin, WSROC stated that the State Government should:

Ensure that any proposals to review and protect rural lands establish the extent, value and location of agriculture in the Sydney metropolitan area in terms of its contribution to the region's health through the provision of fresh food, environmental protection and open space (Western Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils 2007).

Following from WSROC's (2007) Election Issues Paper, the Greens Party indicated concerns about the availability of local fresh food in arguing for planning that protected agricultural lands. They stated that:

Given the likelihood of the twin effects of climate change and peak oil, we must conserve fertile agricultural land that grows the food that feeds Sydney's population. Concreting Sydney agricultural land and trucking food in from other regions does not make sense. All existing agricultural land should be protected for future food production (The Greens Party 2007).

These statements illustrate that urban agriculture has been positioned within a discourse of urban sustainability by both the Greens and WSROC. The value accorded to urban farmland by these groups suggests that productive green spaces are now being included with other aspects of the city historically considered environmentally important to preserve. Environmental sustainability for the city, in this reframing, is an issue that encompasses much more than just 'wilderness' areas, or even urban green spaces in the form of parks or fashionable city farms in inner areas (Galvin 2008).

The issues WSROC and the Greens raised during the 2007 elections, and in earlier documents such as *Authoring Contemporary Australia*, draw attention to aspects of cultural diversity and sustainability marginalised in current planning agendas. *Authoring Contemporary Australia* sought to highlight the cultural diversity of Western Sydney, arguing that this diverse population needs to be properly recognised and engaged in creating the vision for Sydney's urban growth (Lee Shoy 2004). In neglecting Sydney's agricultural lands, the 2007 papers suggest, current plans do not adequately account for the effects of increasing population size and predicted environmental changes on the city's sustainability. It is important to note, however, that neither the WSROC nor the Greens paper drew attention to the cultural diversity of

Sydney's market gardeners. In focusing on the intersection between the city's culturally diverse population and its local fresh food production this thesis seeks to address what continues to be a blind-spot in prevailing debates about sustainability and urban planning. It argues that attention to land uses such as market gardening in discussions about the Sydney's sustainability further highlights the role of culturally diverse groups in Sydney's growth. As an important part of the city, and providing its fresh food, the often-migrant run market gardens are not a 'minority' concern as such but are an integral part of the city itself.

Green Zones

The tension evident in Sydney's planning history between development defined by housing and issues of diversity and sustainability is perhaps epitomised by the recent debate over the Green Zones planned for the SWGC and North West Growth Centre. In the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy, the issue of providing green space for the new suburbs and ensuring that rural lifestyles could continue was presumed to be 'solved' by instituting 'Rural and Lifestyle Zones', known colloquially as 'Green Zones', in the two new Growth Centres (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005d) (see Figure 14). This would mean there would be large tracts of 'rural' land throughout the Growth Centres providing visual amenity for the new residents and protecting remnant areas of woodland and waterways. In the original plans, these Green Zones were to remain under current zoning, which was generally rural-residential (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005d). Landowners in the Green Zones would be able to continue land uses such as farming, but could not sell their properties for housing development. The debate that transpired about the proposed Green Zones illustrates that the economic and environmental aspects of urban growth need to increasingly be addressed as interconnected rather than as separate elements. The case of the Green Zones illustrates that the tension between urban development and farming in the Sydney Basin is a much more complicated issue than simply farmers opposing housing development. Taking a more holistic view is important, the debate illustrates, as much for political reasons as more ideological, ethical and practical ones.

Rather than applauding the attempt by planners to strike a balance between development and conservation, many residents (predominantly homeowners not growers) in the proposed Growth Centres protested strongly against these plans.

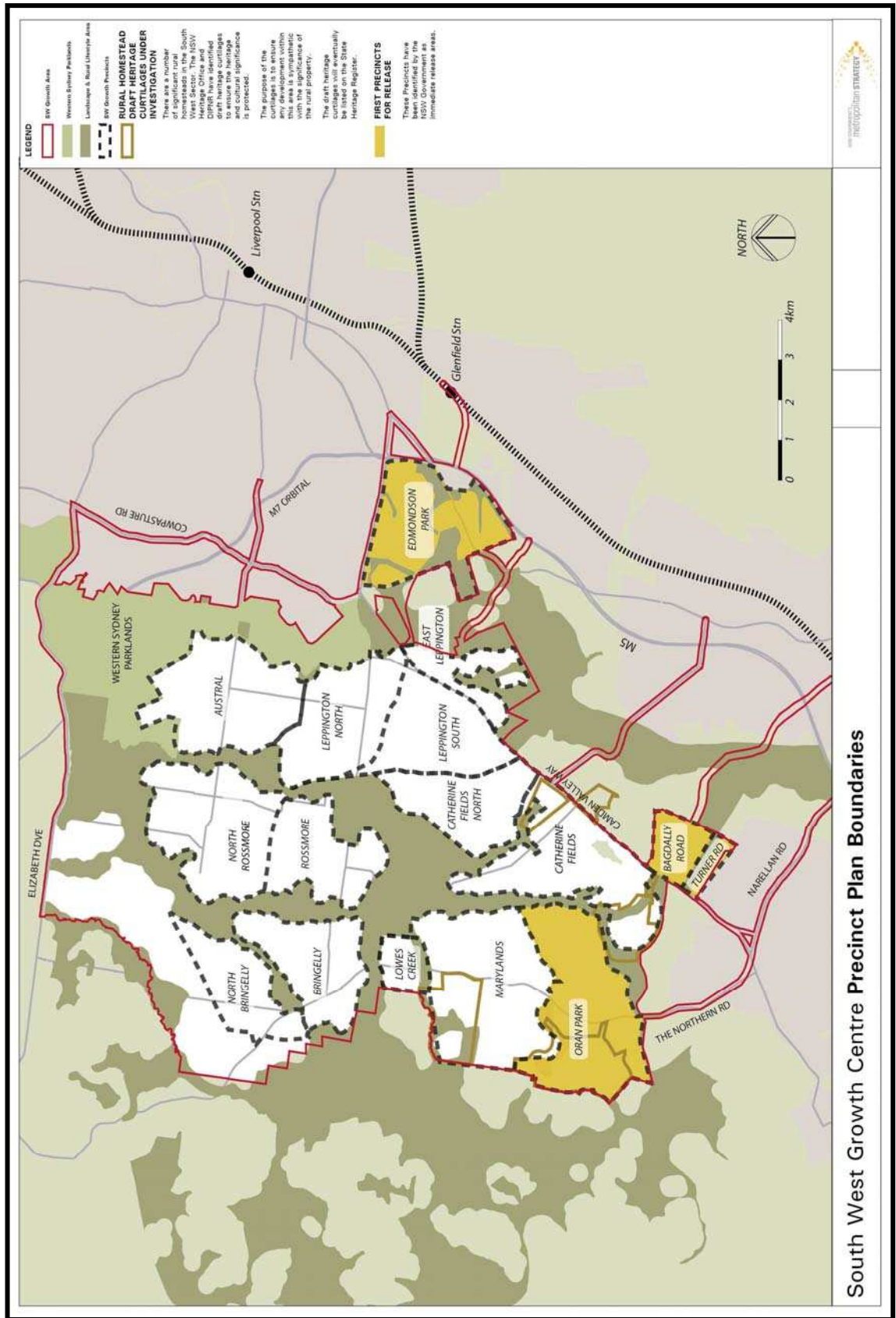


Figure 14: Map of planned Rural and Lifestyle Zones or 'Green Zones' in the SWGC, 2004
 (Map reproduced with the kind permission of the NSW Department of Planning)

Approximately 3000 letters were written in response to the planned Green Zones (GCC Representative 2, pers. comm. 25-06-07), and a number of rallies were staged with approximately 300 people attending one at Rossmore School (in the South West Growth Centre) (The Greens Party 2007) and rallies in the city at Parliament House (Parliament of New South Wales 2006) (see Figures 15 and 16). The primary reasons the landowners protested the Green Zones were:

- That they felt they did not accurately cover the areas of remaining truly ‘green’ space in the area, rather that they had been determined from old aerial photos and not ‘ground truthed’ (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005c; Parliament of New South Wales 2005b).
- That it would mean that people would lose the option of selling their land to developers, which some had been counting on as their ‘superannuation’. The fact that a number of people would be able to benefit financially, and their neighbours would not, seemed arbitrary and unfair to many residents (Goodsir 2005; New South Wales Department of Planning 2005c; Trute 2005).



Figure 15: Protest meeting at Rossmore School, SWGC, 2005

(Photo: Sarah James)

This agitation led to the political abandonment of the Green Zones with nothing to take their place (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005e). Government representatives took the repeal of the Green Zones as evidence that the public did not want Green Zones as part of Sydney’s urban growth. The protests about the Green Zones were also taken as a statement from the public about protecting farmland on

Sydney's fringe. A representative of the GCC asserted that 'one might argue that the original Green Zone allowed for [urban agriculture], [but] the community said its piece and said we don't want that' (GCC Representative 2, pers. comm. 25-06-07). The planned Green Zones did not, however, encompass all the market gardening in this area with the land of many of the growers interviewed for this research falling outside of its boundaries. Furthermore, the protests did not include many of the CALD growers interviewed for this thesis for they were reluctant to be involved in such public action.



Figure 16: Protests at NSW Parliament House, Sydney CBD, 2005

(Photos: Sarah James)

The conclusion of the GCC Representative represents a rather strained assessment of the residents' generally negative response to the plan for the Green Zones. Rather than not wanting agricultural land, the process by which the zones had been identified and the lack of associated community consultation were key reasons the Zones were problematic for many residents and commentators. As Mr Michael Richardson, Member for the Hills District, said in State Parliament of the Green Zones planning:

The draft maps the Government released were based on outdated aerial photographs. In most cases they did not even send in anyone on the ground. Wooded areas of high conservation value were included in the white zone – that is, land that can be developed – while the green zone included farms, chook sheds and homes. One property owner who barely has a tree on his two hectares of land was entirely in the green zone. Down the road, Frank and Mary Bonello's hydroponics lettuce farm, which I visited last week, had the boundary going right through the middle of a shade cloth. I went to a rally at Rouse Hill on the seventh of August, which was organized by the STOP group – Stop

Taking Our Property – and attended by 3,000 angry people. Landowners such as Councillor Ray Williams, John Kozor and Bernie Moriarty spearheaded the group. The Speaker of the House, whose electorate adjoins mine and is also affected by these proposals, was present. He told the crowd that areas in his electorate that were twelve feet underwater during heavy rain had been zoned for medium-density housing (Parliament of New South Wales 2005b).

Richardson went on to question the practicality of maintaining urban agriculture in a green zone that would run alongside residential developments:

How will chicken farmers and market gardeners be able to continue with their businesses next to townhouses and flats? Does any member of this Government have a clue as to what is involved in primary production?

(Parliament of New South Wales 2005b)

These questions suggest that in order for urban agriculture to continue in the Sydney Basin it must be properly planned for, in consultation with the primary producers themselves. Richardson's overall assessment was that the Green Zones were fundamentally flawed in the sense that they asked landowners to forfeit the potential to profit from selling their land for a greater good. He argued that 'the bottom line is if there are areas that require protection we should all pay for them. We should not expect individual landowners to bear the cost' (Parliament of New South Wales 2005b). This pertinent point illustrates that the planning for the Green Zones was problematic as it effectively forced growers to choose between continuing farming and being able to eventually sell their land for development. It offered them a choice of only one or the other rather than any options for those who wanted to eventually do both.

As indicated by Richardson there were a number of significant issues regarding the feasibility of the Green Zones that had not been addressed in the original plans for their development. These plans failed to address the potential for conflict stemming from different land uses or the inequality of economic outcomes for neighbouring landowners. This challenged the viability of the plan from the perspective of both residents and commentators. The negative reaction to the Green Zones by affected residents suggests that incorporating an environmental sustainability agenda into planning must take into account the economic value of land for all inhabitants.

Proper planning for these Zones including 'ground-truthing' and consultation with affected landowners could have seen them implemented in a way that was both desirable and feasible for the inhabitants of the area, including the farmers. The failure

to undertake such an assessment in planning for the Green Zones, however, meant that the perspectives of the actual residents of the area were neglected (APP General News Wire 2005; Liverpool Leader 2005). If green space in the city, and more specifically productive green space, is a social good as many suggest (APP General News Wire 2005; Capon & Dixon 2007), it should not simply be up to the farmers and other affected residents to bear the financial cost. The case of the Green Zones illustrates that issues of economics and environment are not inherently mutually exclusive in urban planning, and those residents who support environmental initiatives also have economic concerns that need to be addressed. The complexity of these positions requires a more holistic form of recognition and engaged approach from planners.

The analysis of the Green Zone debate in this chapter introduces the empirical evidence for the argument that will be developed in this thesis: that the land use values of the CALD market gardeners need to be heard in Sydney's urban planning. Greater and more holistic recognition is important, this thesis argues, not simply because these growers represent 'cultural minorities' but to ensure all the city's diverse inhabitants are incorporated in the 'vision of the city we (all) want to live in'. The question raised by the case of the Green Zones is not simply whether or not urban development occurs, but what kind of growth should be planned for and how this is being implemented to ensure equitable, sustainable outcomes.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to highlight the tension between the dominant vision of growth as economic development and housing, and the (increasing) influence of 'other' aspects of the 'global' city including its cultural diversity and sustainability. The continuing authority of such a narrow framing of growth indicates the persistence, from the colonisation of Sydney, of a 'development ethos' in shaping city visioning (Frawley 1992). Considering the concept of growth, this chapter has examined how 'othered' aspects of the city relating to culturally diverse communities and environmental concerns have been engaged over time. While these aspects of the city have often been marginalised or literally built over by 'growth as development', they are increasingly exerting a presence in current planning alongside issues of housing and infrastructure. The rise of the Green Bans in the 1970s was formative in the establishment of the urban environmental movement, foreshadowing the creation of the EP and A act (NSW) of

1979. Representing a shift in public perceptions of the city and its environmental circumstances, the Greens Bans movement served to conceptually situate Sydney within, rather than separate to, its natural environment. This shift brought the growing environmental movement into urban as well as wilderness areas. The parallel rise of legal protection for Aboriginal heritage at this time indicates a social ‘moment’ in which previously neglected aspects of the city were recognised within urban planning policy. The EP and A act (NSW) of 1979 meant that Aboriginal cultural heritage and environmental protection became legislatively defined limits to the notion of growth as unimpeded development. In the face of these changes, this thesis queries whether this definition of ‘growth as development’ can or should maintain its position of invariant privilege. In turn, this suggests the potential for a different vision for Sydney’s growth.

While significant, the aforementioned changes to urban planning that saw the inclusion of heritage and environmental concerns occurred in the 1970s. Well over three decades later, this thesis argues, it is now necessary to explore how concerns around the environment and cultural diversity have been redefined in the current context.

Influences at a global scale such as increased migration, concerns about climate change and international Indigenous rights movements have once again shifted the parameters of what is considered a social good in relation to urban growth. As a culturally diverse postcolonial landscape, Sydney is inscribed with values in land from the full range of Indigenous, settler and migrant groups. The increasing saliency of sustainability discourses in light of perceived threats such as climate change highlight the need to incorporate productive land uses such as market gardens into urban environmental concerns, in addition to the protection of parks and bushlands.

The different uses and users of land on the urban fringe evident in market gardening emphasise the need for a more diverse and inclusive vision for the city than the dominant ‘growth as development’ discourse. Re-visioning growth as maturation suggests a different way of conceptualising the notion of a city’s development and progress. If a more holistic aim of growth is to mature by fully integrating various aspects into a productive whole, the concerns of culturally diverse groups and sustainability could be seen as interconnected with economic concerns in planning for the city. As the case of the Green Zones demonstrated, the complex interconnection of these issues in land uses such as market gardening in the city requires planners to properly consult with those involved. This would mean making such plans with a grounded understanding of all the aspects affecting such a decision, rather than only

allowing for comments by affected residents on an already determined plan. It also requires greater space within planning visions of the city for land uses such as market gardening. If a narrow (and, arguably, exclusionary) notion of ‘growth as development’ continues to be privileged, land uses of culturally diverse groups such as market gardening are positioned as *always already* marginal in Sydney’s planning. The next chapter explores the official recognition, or lack thereof, of CALD growers and Indigenous groups in planning for Sydney’s South West fringe.

Building on this chapter, the following one will introduce the argument that culturally diverse values in land need to be considered beyond a too narrow definition of ‘culture’ that risks marginalising these values in land use decisions. It suggests, developing on this chapter, that ‘recognition’ must equate to engagement with the political, economic and environmental aspects of these land use values, as well as the cultural. While seeking to address the ‘politics of difference’ (Young 1990), recent planning scholarship has argued that ‘just diversity’ cannot be achieved through attention to the process of consultation alone (Fincher and Iveson 2008:3). Whether there is actually scope within the decision-making process to allow for the views of diverse groups to be acknowledged and addressed is also critical (Thompson and Dunn 2002; Fincher and Iveson 2008). Drawing on this scholarship, this thesis argues that it is a question of *how* diverse groups are recognised and what form this recognition takes that determines their capacity to participate in urban planning processes. A more holistic incorporation of culturally diverse groups as equals within the planning ‘vision’ for the Sydney’s growth requires an expansion of the imagined community of the city. Further it requires consideration of what might constitute the ‘common good’ of this city beyond a ‘growth as development’ agenda.

Chapter Three Multiple Urbanisms

The previous chapter discussed how the predominant developmentalist framing of ‘growth’ in urban planning has been challenged in recent decades by other social and environmental imperatives, specifically heritage and environmental sustainability. While these issues have become part of contemporary discourses around planning, the developmentalist paradigm continues to underpin current approaches to urban growth. Alternative land uses by culturally diverse groups such as market gardening, continue to be marginalised in this vision for growth and its focus on housing and economic development. Incorporating multiple uses and users of the cityscape into plans for Sydney’s growth would require, as the Green Zones example suggested, recognition of the interconnection of economic, environmental and cultural values in diverse land uses of which market gardening is an exemplary case.

This chapter develops on the previous one, arguing that official consideration and incorporation of the views and values of culturally diverse groups is essential for creating a more inclusive plan for Sydney’s future. For the holistic nature of land uses such as market gardening to be incorporated into plans for development, it argues, groups such as CALD growers need to have their views included in planning agendas and decision-making. While the Metropolitan Strategy’s aim of a ‘vision for the city we want to live in’ implies the engagement of a city public, the questions posed in the Introduction Chapter remain key: who is recognised as part of this imagined city community? And, crucially, are its inhabitants able to participate equally in creating this vision?

In exploring these questions, this chapter draws on data from interviews with Aboriginal and CALD market gardeners to examine the extent to which these groups are able to participate in plans for the development of the SWGC. As noted previously, the debate on exactly how culturally diverse groups should be recognised in urban planning continues to be a key theme for scholarship in this area (Fincher & Iveson 2008). By examining the extent to which Indigenous and migrant groups were included in planning for the SWGC, this chapter considers their place in the official vision for the

city's future. The failure to incorporate market gardening in final plans for the Growth Centre discussed in previous chapters suggests a neglect of CALD growers in consultation processes. In addition to investigating the barriers to their participation, this chapter also examines the consultations undertaken with Aboriginal groups in the SWGC.

These consultations regarding Aboriginal cultural heritage represented, as noted earlier, the main example of official recognition and engagement with culturally diverse land uses in planning for the Sydney Metropolitan Strategy. Through interviews with the Aboriginal groups involved, and analysis of associated documents, this chapter brings into question the validity of prevailing heritage discourses as a means of recognition. It considers whether the connotations of 'heritage' as a valuing of that which is historical or 'past' adequately represents the ongoing and multi-faceted stake in the city represented by CALD migrant market gardens. Analysis of this consultation process provides a useful comparison for discussions in the subsequent chapter about the efficacy of defining market gardens as heritage.

While there has been a focus on the processes of consultation in planning literature (Fincher and Iveson 2008), ensuring that different groups are 'heard' does not necessarily mean that their views are incorporated into final plans (Thompson & Dunn 2002; Lane 2005). The outcomes of any consultation, if indeed this occurs, are still mediated by planners and, more broadly, the prevailing agendas within the governing planning system (Lane 2005; Fincher and Iveson 2008). If a narrow definition of 'growth as development' remains one of the fundamental values that underpin planning decision-making, diverse urbanisms may continue to be excluded. In drawing attention to the land-use practices of Indigenous and Aboriginal groups in the context of urban growth, this thesis does not seek to imply that all such practices, and associated values, are intrinsically worthy of inclusion into plans for Sydney's future (Fincher and Iveson 2008). Rather it asserts that such land uses of culturally diverse groups should be acknowledged as a valid stake in the city and given equal consideration in decision-making processes. The dominance of the 'growth as development' ethos, this thesis argues, means that diverse values are too often positioned as superfluous to 'real' concerns of growth and not given equal consideration in planning processes.

Diversity and Planning

As cities have become increasingly culturally mixed through internal and international migration, the question of diversity⁷ has become a key concern in urban planning theory and practice as noted in the Introduction Chapter (see, for example, Iveson 2000; Hillier 2002; Fincher 2003; Howe 2003; Sandercock 2004; Cameron & Grant-Smith 2005; Lane 2005; Reeves 2005; Fincher & Iveson 2008). In the co-existence of different groups, the city is seen to epitomise the ‘being-together’ of strangers (Young 2002: 437). Trying to negotiate between the heterogeneity of the public and creating a plan that reflects some form of ‘common good’, however, has presented a challenge to planners since at least the 1960s (Fincher 2003; Fincher & Iveson 2008).

From the 1990s concerns for social justice and greater equality in culturally diverse cities has positioned the issue of ‘recognition’ as a central theme within planning theory (Iveson 2000; Fincher et al. 2002; Fincher & Iveson 2008). This focus represented a shift from the political economy perspective on the city, and its attention to themes of power and class, that dominated 1970s and 1980s scholarship (Fincher et al. 2002). Influential in urban and planning scholarship on participation in diverse cities has been the concept of a ‘right to the city’ (Lefebvre 1996; Amin & Thrift 2002; McCann 2002; Harvey 2003; Goonewardena & Kipfer 2005; Fincher & Iveson 2008). Originally discussed by Henri Lefebvre (1996), this concept suggests that ‘all urban inhabitants have a right to full participation in urban life as equals’ (Fincher and Iveson 2008: 9). The idea of a universal ‘right to the city’ is complemented by scholarship that has sought to draw attention to the structural and cultural barriers to participation faced by diverse groups (Young 1990; Fraser 2000). Emphasising the need to recognise the diverse citizenry of the city, the concept of the ‘politics of difference’ served to challenge any notion of a homogenous city community (Young 1990; Fincher & Jacobs 1998; Fincher et al. 2002).

Attention to the issue of difference in planning and urban theory brought into question an historical assumption that planners, as detached and objective observers, could determine what constitutes the ‘common good’ of the city (Young 1990; Johnson 1997; Iveson 2000). Rather than representative of a universal viewpoint, scholars such

⁷ This thesis discusses ‘diversity’ as cultural diversity. Debates about planning for diversity, however, also address differences within a population along lines such as age (such as youth and the elderly), gender, sexual orientation and religion (Young 1990; Iveson 2000; Fincher and Iveson 2008).

as Young (1990) argue that governance processes such as planning have served to institutionalise and naturalise dominant norms. The claim to impartiality in fact marks diversity as 'different' from, and marginal to, the perceived core (white, middle-class) citizenry of the city (Young 1990). Even when planners began to officially acknowledge cultural diversity in 1960s, a key objective was to regulate and manage the potentially disruptive 'disorder' it created (Howe 2003: 59). The 'common good' was, and arguably continues to be, primarily determined by dominant values that exclude those land use values and practices of culturally diverse groups that deviate from these norms (Young 1990).

To ensure diverse groups had greater opportunity to participate, a 'communicative turn' in planning led to the implementation of more representative consultation processes (Day 1997; Cameron & Grant-Smith 2005; Lane 2005; Fincher & Iveson 2008). As a consequence, recent planning practice has focussed on creating inclusive processes of consultation to ensure that diverse voices are heard. This has resulted in the development of valuable research on improving consultations with diverse groups (see, for example, Sandercock & Klinger 1998; Cason & Gelber 2001; Thompson & Dunn 2002). Such improvements in the processes and facilitation of consultation with particularly minority groups are clearly important. As this chapter will illustrate there is a significant need for improving the processes of consultation undertaken with groups such as the CALD market gardeners in Sydney's urban planning. The value of analysing the processes of consultation, or lack thereof, in order to ensure the voices of diverse groups are 'heard' in this respect is clear.

An approach to recognition that focuses primarily on the processes of consultation, however, does not ensure that the voices of these groups are 'carefully considered [or] incorporated into the decision-making process' (Thompson & Dunn 2002: 275). In seeking a 'just diversity' in which planning serves to 'craft more just cities in the context of diversity' it is necessary to consider the grounds on which decisions between different urban land use values are judged (Fincher and Iveson 2008: 3). This suggests that in addition to consultation, the values underpinning planning decision-making must be examined, determining whether they make 'space for difference' (Radher & Milgrom 2004: 20; Wood & Landry 2008). Drawing on this scholarship, this chapter argues that it is the *form* rather than (only) the process of recognition that is important if practices such as market gardening are to be given real consideration in urban planning. Diverse groups need 'parity of participation' to ensure

their views are not only heard but given equal consideration within planning decision-making (Fraser 2004: 127 cited in Fincher & Iveson 2008: 11).

As it threatens to maintain the very marginalisation of diverse groups that it is ostensibly intends to avoid, recognition that focuses on narrowly defined ‘cultural difference’ is also problematic. If culturally diverse groups are primarily addressed in planning as discrete and homogenous cultural entities, their views risk being sidelined as the concerns of a cultural ‘minority’ (Hage 1998; Ang 2001b). A focus on ‘difference’ therefore risks positioning Indigenous and migrant groups as outside of, and managed by, a white cultural core (Hage 1998; Dunn 2001). Further, if the concerns of diverse groups are conceived primarily in terms of a narrow definition of ‘culture’, the official recognition of cultural diversity risks being separated from issues of economic and structural inequality (Fraser 2000). While the ‘politics of difference’ scholarship drew attention to the injustices caused by a failure to recognise diverse groups as having equal status in planning, such ‘cultural’ inequality cannot be addressed in isolation from economic issues (Fraser 2000; Iveson 2000). Described as ‘spaghetti and polka’ multiculturalism (Kalantzis & Cope 1981), a too narrow definition of ‘culture’ privileges aestheticised traditions and objects while neglecting the political and economic concerns of diverse groups (Jupp 2008). This chapter, and thesis more broadly, argues that if the traditions and practices of Indigenous and CALD groups continue to be considered primarily ‘cultural’ in this depoliticised sense, then their land uses, such as market gardening, remain perpetually marginal to plans for urban growth.

The rest of this chapter examines the official consultations undertaken with settler, migrant and Indigenous groups in planning for the SWGC. It explores the extent to which they were consulted and what forms of recognition, if any, were ascribed to these groups.

Public Consultations in the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy

Aside from the consultations with Aboriginal groups, the majority of community consultations in the development of the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy took the form of general public meetings, mail-outs and the public exhibition of plans. This process of consultation will be examined in respect to the different experiences of settler and CALD migrants in the SWGC. These groups were not distinguished in the Strategy but represented as part of the overall community consulted.

Within the Metropolitan Strategy's initial consultation process, the total number of participants in public forums was 1000, comprising one-tenth of the 10,000 people that it was claimed were consulted during its development (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b). The public forums, the Metropolitan Strategy indicates, were undertaken in late 2004 in a series of 12 meetings (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b). The 1000 participants come from across Sydney, the Central Coast, the Lower Hunter and the Illawarra, which are identified as part of the greater Metropolitan region (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b). The Metropolitan Strategy states that participants were chosen on a random basis and asked to discuss what they valued most about where they live (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b). Participants were asked to identify things that will make the Sydney region a better place to live over the next 25 years and to say what they wanted the region to be like in 25 years (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b). The other 9,000 people, it must be assumed, were consulted through the public and private meetings run by the Department of Planning including two 'Sydney Futures Forums', a 'Local Government Forum' and presentations to groupings of councils and meetings with stakeholder representatives (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b).

The outcomes of the community forums are not available publicly as they are held as 'cabinet in confidence' (Department of Planning Representative 2, pers. comm. 15-05-07). This makes it difficult to ascertain their representativeness and leaves a number of questions unanswered including: What proportions of the people were from those areas most affected by the plans for growth such as the greenfield development areas? What percentage was Aboriginal? What percentage were migrants or, more specifically, CALD migrants of varying generations of settlement in the South West region? Even if, however, these questions could be answered, a 'checklist' of minority groups does not necessarily equate to engaged participation (Fincher and Iveson 2008). The extent to which diverse groups are able to shape the vision for the city depends on how they are constituted within such plans. It is a question of the extent to which their input is considered valid according to the value systems on which the decisions are made or whether 'participation' consists of mere comment on predetermined plans.

Despite the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy stating that extensive community consultation had been undertaken, there were many criticisms from public and political

sources that it failed to sufficiently engage the inhabitants of the SWGC (Parliament of New South Wales 2005a; Woodley 2005; Marchetta 2006). In response to these criticisms of inadequate consultation, Sam Hadda, then director of the Department of Planning, sent a letter to the *Liverpool Leader* newspaper outlining the consultation undertaken with residents in the SWGC (Hadda 2006). In his letter, Hadda stated that there was a mail-out of more than 30,000 information packs at the time of the initial Growth Centre plan, which included the Green Zones (Hadda 2006). He suggested that this ensured residents were informed about the exhibition of the plans. His letter states that draft planning documents were placed on display twice, the first time between June and October 2005 and the second from January to March 2006. In addition to this, Hadda's letter stated, 14,000 residents outside of the Growth Centres were also informed about the exhibition period. Hadda (2006) asserted that the information was also available via the website and the 1300 information line. When interviewed for this study, a GCC representative stated they had also placed advertisements in non-English language newspapers that were distributed to the designated Growth Centre areas, informing the residents of the plans (GCC Representative 2, pers. comm. 25-06-07).

Within the Bringelly area, the growers interviewed indicated that there was a great deal of unhappiness, innuendo and rumour surrounding the consultation process. Many people felt that they did not know what was going on with plans for development. This led to a sense of uncertainty among growers with many of them reporting a feeling that 'you don't know whether you are coming or going. Where you are going to end up in the next five years, what's going to happen? [Development] might happen next year, we don't know' (Lebanese Grower 5, pers. comm. 07-11-06). A number of CALD growers in the SWGC interviewed did state that they had received letters from the Department of Planning. For most of these growers, however, this generally amounted to only one letter in relation to the Green Zones.

Concern about the lack of consultation and communication with the residents in the South West Growth Area was also discussed in NSW parliament. The Hon. John Ryan stated that he had attended a meeting at Rossmore Public School in the Growth Centre about the rezoning of land and suggested that:

Most of the small landholders only found out about [-] the Government plans as a result of recent protest meetings. Few of them understand what they can say or do to challenge the impact of these new zonings. Their local council at Camden has run out of the information packs and many of the residents come from

culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds (Parliament of New South Wales 2005a).

The main problem Ryan highlighted was not that there had been no consultation, but that the consultation and, more importantly, the opportunity to influence preliminary land use decisions was unequal. The approach to consultation marginalised small landholders, who had been left out of the negotiations between the Department of Planning and large landholders in the area (Parliament of New South Wales 2005a). Between March and November 2003, Ryan indicated, landholders with an excess of 100 acres were invited to attend workshops run by the Department of Infrastructure, Planning and Natural Resources, but smaller landholders were not permitted (Parliament of New South Wales 2005a). This would have excluded most of the CALD market gardeners that, as noted previously, farm on small lots. It was in the meeting with large landholders, Ryan suggested, that decisions were made concerning which areas would be developed and where the Green Zones (discussed in the last chapter) would go (Parliament of New South Wales 2005a). This criticism was conveyed in the local media under headlines such as 'Big fish shaped land plan' (Marchetta 2006).

Ryan suggested that many of these large landholders knew the (then) Planning Minister Craig Knowles well and were subscribers to fundraisers of the (incumbent) Labor Party (Parliament of New South Wales 2005a). These accusations indicate that class issues of wealth and property ownership can influence land use decisions in a way that cuts across 'cultural' markers of marginalisation such as ethnicity. As scholars such as Fraser (2000) have argued, recognition of minority groups must also address the often interconnected issues of economic inequality. For the CALD market gardeners the fact that they are small-scale farmers compounds the marginalisation they experience as minority cultural groups.

While acknowledging the connection between economic and cultural marginalisation, some of the barriers to participation the market gardeners faced were quite specifically 'cultural' such as language difference (Parker & Suriyabanadara 2000). The number of letters sent out with numbers for translation services on the back is unclear. The representatives with whom I was able to obtain interviews from the Department of Planning and the GCC had not been around for the initial consultation process, which had been run by the Department of Planning. Since the development of the GCC, they had sent out only targeted mail-outs, only some of which provided

translation service phone numbers on the back (GCC Representative 2, pers. comm. 25-06-07). The perception of the growers interviewed, however, was that there was a general deficit of information, particularly translated information, which they felt meant that whether ‘you understand or not it’s your problem’ (Chinese Grower 2, pers. comm. 11-08-06).

The lack of official information forced a reliance on informal sources of translation, as one Chinese grower stated: ‘it’s lucky we have a person who understands both English and Chinese and he can explain it to us’ (Chinese Grower 2, pers. comm. 11-08-06). Echoing the sentiment of the Chinese grower, most respondents indicated that they relied on information from other people they knew, stating that their main sources were ‘[o]ther growers. Word of mouth. And that spreads like hotcakes’ (Maltese Grower 3, pers. comm. 17-11-06). Reliance on ‘word of mouth’ for information, however, is problematic if such information is incorrect or based on rumour rather than fact.

Accessing the information that is distributed through other media such as the internet or newspapers was also an issue for many growers. The physical isolation of the SWGC itself is a significant challenge in this respect. This was not recognised sufficiently by the GCC. As one grower argued: ‘[t]hey think that everyone buys the newspaper. This is not Liverpool. [The local newspaper] the *Liverpool Leader* doesn’t come to our doorstep’ (Maltese Grower 2, pers. comm. 17-11-06). For many growers their physical isolation also meant that going to council chambers required a trip into town, and they indicated that they did not always have the time or the resources to make such a trip to look at the plans. As one Vietnamese grower complained, the GCC assumed a level of mobility and access that was not necessarily easily available to all: ‘they can say they have [information at the council], are we expected to walk to the council?’ (Vietnamese Grower 2, pers. comm. 06-12-06). While a GCC representative stated that there were also phone and web options for information (GCC Representative 2, pers. comm. 25-06-07), lack of familiarity or access (to the internet) meant that these options were not utilised by the growers interviewed. This finding corresponds with earlier reports that have highlighted the difficulties for growers in obtaining information from government agencies who assume access to resources such as the internet (Parker & Jarecki 2003a). These obstacles to obtaining information from official sources meant that most respondents felt they did not know what was being planned for their land, particularly as plans changed and there were no updates sent out.

While the consultation described appears to primarily amount to provision of information that had to be accessed by growers, there were reported instances of more direct engagement. One grower noted that there were representatives from the Department of Planning and an interpreter at a meeting of one of the biggest migrant associations in the Bringelly area, the Chinese Growers Association. This initiative came from the community group, however, not from the Department, according to one grower. He stated that:

They come here 'cause our association has a lot of market gardener around here. Our chairman of our association asked them to come and give them an idea of what's going on (Chinese Grower 2, pers. comm. 11-08-06).

While it does represent face-to-face contact, the meeting described still essentially served to disseminate information rather than facilitate participation. This example does highlight that the local organisations such as the Chinese or Vietnamese Growers Association played a vital role in the dissemination of information for many of the growers interviewed, especially for those who had trouble with English (Vietnamese Grower 1, pers. comm. 25-08-06; Chinese Grower 10, pers. comm. 05-12-06).

Even when growers indicated they had received official notifications via letters or the newspapers, there was hesitancy, particularly among recently arrived migrants, to protest or comment on the official planning decisions. This was due to a combination of people feeling ambivalent about the efficacy of such engagement, and their reluctance to draw governmental attention to themselves (Parker & Suriyabanadara 2000). These hurdles often combined with a lack of knowledge about the process of making a submission regarding the proposed plans as, according to this Chinese grower, 'the main thing is, they don't know where to go' (Chinese Grower 2, pers. comm. 11-08-06). Both the lack of knowledge and reluctance to participate indicate a lack of a sense of 'cultural entitlement' to participate in political decision-making (Hage 1998: 49). This sense of a lack of cultural entitlement was evident in the sentiment expressed by many growers who felt that their participation would not make a difference to the government plans for development (Chinese Grower 1, pers. comm. 24-07-06).

Interviews with Anglo-Celtic residents of the SWGC illustrated the difference in experiences of participation and access between settler and CALD groups. While some of the Anglo-Celtic residents interviewed for this study also felt that they were not provided with enough information on what was happening, they were much more proactive in making submissions and seeking out information. Some wrote letters to the

departments and to the local press (Anglo-Celtic Grower 1, pers. comm. 09-11-06). Others were very proactive in rallying the community around particular issues of concern, such as the Green Zones (Trute 2005; Woodley 2005). It was the rallying action of these individuals that was pivotal to the repeal of the Green Zones from the plans for development (Liverpool Leader 2005).

For these Anglo-Celtic residents, the government was not a faceless entity, but a minister or councillor who could be addressed or visited. Those involved in the Green Zones protest were particularly effective at this mobilisation, arranging for senior bureaucrats from the GCC Representative to attend a meeting at their house (GCC Representative 2, pers. comm. 25-06-07). There was also a greater sense of connection into State political networks through events such as Labor Party functions where they could contact government officials (Anglo-Celtic Grower 1, pers. comm. 09-11-06; Anglo-Celtic Grower 2, pers. comm. 12-11-06). While still small landowners, these individuals appeared to have a greater sense of their own cultural entitlement as well as social and cultural capital than the growers from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, particularly those who spoke little English.

The consultation analysed here relating to the development of the Metropolitan Strategy illustrates the difference in ease of access to the political process and participation in planning for Anglo-Celtic groups. People from non-English speaking backgrounds face both the challenge of sometimes-limited English skills as well as often lacking the sense of 'cultural entitlement' (Hage 1998) to rights of access and participation held by Anglo-Celtic groups. This means that even within the limited opportunities for participation available, they experienced further disadvantage.

Perspective of Government Planners

In considering the apparent neglect of the CALD market gardeners in the process of planning for the SWGC, it is important to understand the logic driving the consultative decisions from the view of the government planners. As Fincher and Iveson argue the government, as the 'principle institutional actor in urban planning', represents the 'site of both injustices and their remediation in cities' (Fincher and Iveson 2008:16). This suggests that it is necessary to understand the logics within planning that perpetuate inequality in order to address it. Presenting views of actors in government, all of whom

interviewed for this thesis were also Anglo Celtic, also serves to present a more nuanced account of the cultural complexities involved in the planning of 21st Century Sydney.

Contrary to the view of the residents of the SWGC, the perspective of senior bureaucrats on the Metropolitan Strategy and at the GCC was that the consultation was extensive (Department of Planning Representative 2, pers. comm. 15-05-07; GCC Representative 2, pers. comm. 25-06-07). In their responses these bureaucrats also outlined the challenges of consultation from their view. They emphasised that undertaking consultation, particularly with those in minority groups, can be problematic as there is much debate among planners about the extent and best processes for such consultation (GCC Representative 2, pers. comm. 25-06-07). This debate around consultation processes, as noted, earlier has become a focus of planning scholarship in recent years (Fincher and Iveson 2008). There are, a GCC representative argued, many contingencies that could explain people's claims that they were not consulted (GCC Representative 2, pers. comm. 25-06-07). He suggested that people often fail to act until it literally affects them, which can be years after the rezoning has occurred and the project may, by then, be in the development application phase where it is difficult to alter (GCC Representative 2, pers. comm. 25-06-07). People might not have internet access or go into the council offices often. There is also the problem, in his view, that a lot of people might not read letters from the council or government, or not read the specific newspapers in which exhibitions are advertised. This to an extent is supported by responses of growers cited earlier; however they stated they didn't get the relevant newspapers due to their isolation rather than disinterest. Furthermore, he suggested that non-English speakers may not look at a letter that is in English even if there were options for a translator on the back. These ongoing challenges make consultation a difficult issue from the government's perspective, as they present obstacles they must overcome to engage diverse ethnic groups.

Despite the problems outlined by the GCC representative, however, the consultation process undertaken still failed to facilitate participation by the CALD growers in the planning process or even provide information for many of them. Even if all residents had been successfully informed about plans, equal participation of diverse groups demands more than people simply being informed (Cason & Gelber 2001; Thompson & Dunn 2002; Wood & Landry 2008). The consultation with growers in the Growth Centre suggests that diversity still seems to be a 'problem' that planners have to 'deal' with (Howe 2003), to check off a list (Fincher & Iveson 2008), rather than being

part of the city that might offer productive approaches to land use planning. The next section examines the more detailed consultations that occurred with Aboriginal groups in planning for the SWGC. This section serves to further explore the barriers to full participation of diverse groups and the inclusion of their land use values by too narrow forms of recognition as well its lack.

Development of Protocols

As noted previously, the primary official recognition of cultural diversity in the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy was of Aboriginality, specifically through Aboriginal cultural heritage assessments. The EP and A Act NSW (1979) contains special regulations pertaining to Aboriginal heritage, as discussed in Chapter Two, stating that it must be considered in any development application (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b). The inclusion of Aboriginal groups in planning for the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy was presented as a new form of consultation, addressing criticisms of previous Aboriginal heritage assessment processes (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b). These criticisms had focused on the perceived privileging of pre-colonial material heritage to the neglect of post-contact or intangible (in the sense of values/traditions and practices (United Nations Environmental Scientific and Cultural Organization 2003)) heritage and the protection of heritage on a site rather than landscape basis (Smith 2000a; English 2002; Hinkson 2002; Byrne et al. 2003; Byrne & Nugent 2004; Karskens 2005). In neglecting these issues, the previous Aboriginal cultural heritage assessments were seen to limit the way in which Aboriginal people could engage with processes of decision-making, recognising their stake in land only in terms of a historical connection to land and in the form of artefacts (English 2002; Byrne et al. 2003; Byrne & Nugent 2004). The following section examines how Aboriginal groups were addressed in cultural heritage assessments in the Metropolitan Strategy to analyse the form of official recognition given to ‘cultural difference’ within plans for the South West sector.

As part of the implementation of the Metropolitan Strategy, ‘Aboriginal Heritage Assessment Protocols’ were created to guide the development of ‘Regional Aboriginal Cultural Landscape Plans’ in the Growth Centres and beyond (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005b: 215). To create the protocols, a Melbourne-based consultancy firm called Context undertook a number of day-long meetings with

respondents from identified Aboriginal groups, as well as representatives from the GCC and the Department of Environment and Conservation (Context 2006). Two main tenets of the protocols were that, in heritage assessments for development, consultations with Aboriginal groups should include all relevant Aboriginal stakeholders and a 12 to 18 month time frame to ensure all issues are adequately addressed (Context 2006).

In seeking to address the criticisms of previous approaches to heritage assessment, the protocols were also intended to facilitate a major shift in approval process to protect heritage that had not only 'archaeological' but also 'cultural' significance (GCC Representative 1, pers. comm. 16-06-06). Cultural significance is seen to include the values of the groups themselves, tangible and intangible, in contrast to the scientific values of archaeology and its focus on artefacts (Byrne et al. 2003). According to the GCC representative interviewed for this thesis, recognition of the cultural significance of sites was an important issue for the Aboriginal participants in the consultation meetings (GCC Representative 1, pers. comm. 16-06-06). The Aboriginal participants, he indicated, were seeking to also include a historical or thematic history within heritage assessments. The aim would be to outline the (ongoing) Aboriginal association with the area gathered from known history, oral histories and commissioned history studies (GCC Representative 1, pers. comm. 16-06-06).

The protocols were also intended to demonstrate that the government was keen to protect Aboriginal heritage within the planning processes. At present, development approval for an area assessed for heritage significance is known as 'consent to destroy' (Kennedy 2005). It has been given this title as, under section 90 of the National Parks and Wildlife Act (1974), such approval allows for artefacts found to be destroyed (New South Wales Government 1974). The title of this development approval has been problematic for Aboriginal people as it implies that the focus of the heritage assessment process was to obtain consent from Aboriginal people to have their heritage destroyed rather than protected or moved to another area (GCC Representative 1, pers. comm. 16-06-06: see also Kennedy 2005). While the designation 'consent to destroy' has been changed in amendments to the National Parks and Wildlife Act (1974) in 2001 (Parliament of New South Wales 2001), the government appeared keen to allay remaining reservations about their agenda by emphasising their willingness to protect Indigenous heritage. By taking a regional approach, the GCC representative argued, the current protocols make it possible to ensure greater protection in the form of cultural

heritage landscapes rather than just individual sites (GCC Representative 1, pers. comm. 16-06-06).

On paper, these protocols represent apparently positive steps in improving the recognition of land use values of Indigenous groups in the city. In addressing previous concerns, the protocols promised greater participation and ‘voice’ for Aboriginal groups in terms of land use decisions. The extent to which the protocols and subsequent heritage assessments offer genuinely greater inclusion of Aboriginal people in land use decisions, however, requires further examination. The following sections analyse the efficacy of the protocols by focusing on their development and implementation on the first precinct to be released in the SWGC, Oran Park.

Protocol Meetings

According to its representative, the GCC took over the development of these protocols after they had been commissioned by the Department of Planning (GCC Representative 1, pers. comm. 16-06-08). The meetings with all Aboriginal groups, one of which was held at the GCC offices in Parramatta, one at Local Aboriginal Land Council offices in Picton and one in the Blacktown Workers Club, went for three and a half days in total (Darug Respondent 4, pers. comm. 01-03-07). Consultants also met with some Aboriginal people individually to optimise the number of people included (GCC Representative 1, pers. comm. 16-06-08). The intention with the consultation processes was to include all interested Aboriginal people, following the interim guidelines discussed earlier (GCC Representative 1, pers. comm. 16-06-08). Participants included representatives from Local Aboriginal Land Councils and Native Title groups. They could choose from two levels of participation in which they could be informed, but not actively participate or be considered for consultancy (GCC Representative 1, pers. comm. 16-06-08).

The meetings started out, the GCC representative indicated, with a high level of distrust from the Aboriginal participants (GCC Representative 1, pers. comm. 16-06-06). The GCC suggested that they sought to overcome this distrust by being as clear as possible about the process being undertaken and the likely outcomes (GCC Representative 1, pers. comm. 16-06-08). They attempted to avoid repeating the somewhat chequered history and shortcomings of previous consultations (GCC Representative 1, pers. comm. 16-06-06).

While the Aboriginal participants wanted the outcomes of the consultation process to shape planning decisions, the official decision-making structure meant that this was not assured. The GCC representative stated that the cultural heritage assessments would be part of recommendations to the Planning Minister, which would have to be balanced with other land use values such as housing or riparian (vegetation) (GCC Representative 1, pers. comm. 16-06-06). Through the official planning process, the Minister for Planning was given all the recommendations and makes the final decision. The role of the GCC was to give the Minister enough information for an informed decision (GCC Representative 1, pers. comm. 16-06-06). This process meant that the Aboriginal land use values were still evaluated in a framework underpinned by dominant land use values, with their apparent focus on ‘growth as development’.

That the heritage studies would only be part of a recommendation was difficult for many groups to accept as it seemed to limit their role in decision-making (GCC Representative 1, pers. comm. 16-06-06). This sense of concern was also compounded by the fact that when the ‘indicative plan’ went on public exhibition any member of the public could also make comment on Aboriginal heritage issues. This level of outsider influence and comment was very problematic to many of the Aboriginal people participating in the heritage assessments (GCC Representative 1, pers. comm. 16-06-06). The process by which land use decisions were made regarding the Growth Centres illustrates the general limitations of the consultation process as conceded by planning scholars. Being ‘heard’ in consultation processes does not necessarily equate to having influence in the decision-making process. The next section examines whether official heritage discourses enable recognition of the range of Aboriginal values associated with land, including economic and environmental. It probes whether the prevailing interpretations of Aboriginal cultural values in land do indeed position them as part of the city’s future.

Urban Aboriginality

The issue of recognition is central to any discussion of equality of access and participation in the government decision-making processes for Sydney’s Indigenous population. Equal participation can only derive from official recognition of a strong, ongoing Aboriginal presence, including Traditional Owner groups, in the city. This issue is pivotal as it disrupts a dominant narrative of national belonging in Australia that

has traditionally positioned Aboriginal people as 'outside' urban areas. As stated in the introduction, this narrative ascribes a 'passive' belonging to Aboriginal people (Hage 1998), a belonging that fixes a certain criteria of being 'outback' and beyond urban centres (Behrendt 2005).

This association of authentic Aboriginality with the 'outback' feeds a predominant public perception that Australian cities such as Sydney are no longer Aboriginal places due to a colonial history of dispossession (see, for example, Attwood 1996; Macdonald 2001; Morgan 2003; Behrendt 2005; Morgan 2006). The assumption underlying this notion is that 'real' Aboriginal people do not live in the city, they live in the desert (Behrendt 1994; Macdonald 2001; Behrendt 2005). As Indigenous academic Larissa Behrendt has argued, urban Aboriginal people continue to be seen 'to have lost [their] culture and to be completely integrated into non-Aboriginal life', losing also their connection to land (Behrendt 1994: 56). By de-legitimising the cultural authenticity of urban Aboriginal people and asserting that Aboriginality and the city are incommensurate, this dominant narrative challenges the position from which Indigenous people can assert 'rights to the city' and influence urban land use decisions.

The relationship between Aboriginal groups and the cityscape has, in contrast to this narrative of erasure, both a pre-and post-contact history (see Figure 17). Contemporary Indigenous inhabitation of Sydney, incorporating both descendants of Sydney's pre-colonial Aboriginal tribal groups and those who have migrated from elsewhere, constitutes the city as a site of political activism and resistance that has resonance at a national and international scale (see, for example, Anderson 1993; Behrendt 1994; Goodall 1996; Jacobs 1996; Morgan 2006). In her work on the inner city suburb of Redfern in Sydney, Kay Anderson (1993) has highlighted the key role this area has played in Aboriginal politics in Australia. The ongoing Aboriginal inhabitation of the urban heart of white settlement in Australia, Anderson argues, symbolises the assertion of 'a stake in a society that for two hundred years had been actively disempowering and dispossessing its indigenous peoples' (Anderson 1993: 331). A hub for the headquarters of many Aboriginal organisations including the New South Wales Land Council, Sydney also features in the link between these associations and global networks on Indigenous rights around the world (New South Wales Aboriginal Land Council 2008). The politically active presence of Aboriginal people in Sydney positions the city as an important site in an ongoing 'struggle to belong' (Anderson & Taylor 2005: 472).



Figure 17: A Darug artist creating an ochre (or clay-based) painting, NAIDOC week, Parramatta, 2006.

(Photo: Sarah James)

Continuing heritage assessments in Sydney further unsettle the notion that a ‘tide of history’ (Case 1999), in the form of European settlement and urban development, has wiped away the Aboriginal cultural connection to the land in urbanised Australia. The extensive material evidence of Sydney as an Aboriginal landscape (Hinkson 2001), continues to be ‘unearthed’ as the ground is disturbed for development. The study site of Bringelly has been cleared and cultivated for agriculture since British settlement, but artefacts such as stone flakes from axe carving are being found among the tomato beds in heritage surveys of these areas (Darug Respondent 2, pers. comm. 02-11-06). That the areas had been ‘settled’ and ‘cultivated’ actually makes the artefacts easier to find in many cases. As a Dharawal respondent explained:

They find artefacts in disturbed areas, exposed areas. Not areas full of grass. [When the area is full of grass] you can’t tell – they’ll be part of the landscape. So through disturbed areas you can tell landscapes of artefacts (Dharawal Respondent 3, pers. comm. 21-08-06).

The presence of artefacts combined with the more intangible cultural knowledge about place that has been passed down to current generations, including traditional stories associated with specific sites, indicate an ongoing relationship to place for these

Aboriginal groups (Darug Respondent 1, pers. comm. 09-08-06; Dharawal Respondent 1, pers. comm. 4-04-06). While heritage is discussed here in terms of artefacts, this quote is nonetheless important in illustrating that the Aboriginal landscape of Sydney has not been 'lost' to the 'tide of history'. It demonstrates that there are still tangible aspects of the past that convey the Aboriginal connection to these sites. The tangible and intangible heritage still evident in the Bringelly area is part of a 'living' culture for the contemporary Aboriginal people interviewed. This supports Behrendt's argument that urban Aboriginal people continue to 'have a very unique culture in our city community that reflects traditional cultural values' (Behrendt 1994: 56).

The way in which Aboriginal heritage is predominantly constructed in official heritage discourses, however, risks framing the connection of Aboriginal people to the land of the city primarily in terms of artefacts. A systemic bias towards this archaeological form of Aboriginal heritage has been the subject of much recent scholarship by heritage practitioners, many of whom are also archaeologists (see, for example, Macintyre & Dobson 1999; Smith 2000a, 2000b; English 2002; Byrne et al. 2003; Byrne & Nugent 2004). This bias towards artefacts appears to have been influenced by two factors. The first is that 'pre-history' Aboriginal culture is seen as more authentic, which means that 'there is more cultural capital involved in pre-contact Aboriginal heritage places (e.g. rock art sites) than post-contact heritage places (e.g. old fringe camps and mission sites)' (Byrne et al. 2003: 63). A second factor is that archaeological assessments of Aboriginal heritage are seen as more scientific means of assessment than determining the social significance according to Aboriginal communities (Smith 2000a, 2000b; English 2002). The result is that an archaeological approach is privileged within current planning legislation in New South Wales (English 2002).

The emphasis on 'technocratic and rational planning theories that give little consideration to social or cultural values' in the EP and A Act NSW (1979) meant that an archaeological definition of Aboriginal heritage fitted very well into its structure (English 2002: 219). The recognition of Aboriginal heritage principally as artefacts within planning practices arguably allowed for the retention of the myth of objective 'value neutral' planning discussed by Young (1990). Artefacts as objects are easily quantifiable, and easily managed and preserved, avoiding the 'complex issues associated with people's connections to place and their interaction with the landscape around them' (English 2002: 219). It avoided, in other words, addressing what the

Aboriginal people themselves viewed as their heritage and the potential challenge this would present to established modes of land use planning. The scientific focus in heritage assessments for development sites has limited the involvement of the Aboriginal community to primarily taking part in archeological digs (English 2002). They have not been considered the experts in the identification and protection of their own heritage.

The example of Aboriginal heritage assessments illustrates the problematic nature of recognition of diverse groups within urban planning processes that is based on a too narrow definition of culture. Recognition of Aboriginal heritage that is limited to 'cultural' forms such as artwork or artefacts serves to depoliticise and aestheticise the Aboriginal presence in the city (Jacobs 1998). While acknowledgement of Aboriginal heritage is important in illustrating that Sydney is an Aboriginal landscape, it is also important that such recognition is not reduced to the 'stones and bones' of heritage as one respondent called it (Dharawal Respondent 3, pers. comm. 4-07-06).

The equation of Aboriginal heritage with pre-colonial artefacts, in the words of this Aboriginal Land Council representative, is problematic as it fails to recognise the holistic nature of their relationship to land:

People just think about us in terms of [narrowly defined] cultural heritage. So we've been marginalised to a relic rather than being embraced to tell the story of the land in its entirety in terms of natural and cultural resource management. So natural resource management becomes an issue of protected species, little plants and animals but it still doesn't encapsulate the full story of the environment and its relationship with people and country. [This means that] we get marginalised and called a relic, but the living culture is about natural and cultural resource management and it doesn't get picked up [in current heritage assessments] (Land Council Representative 3, pers. comm. 09-03-07).

As this respondent indicated, the material aspects of Aboriginal connection to and stakes in land, including environmental resource management and use as an ongoing process, need to be recognised in Aboriginal heritage assessments in the city and elsewhere.

The limited formulation of Aboriginal heritage in governmental discourses could be attributed to an unwillingness to recognise urban Aboriginal people as a living presence in the city. The uncomfortable financial and political ramifications of acknowledging the legitimacy of Aboriginal inhabitation of, and stakes in, land in

Sydney arguably provides motivation for limiting recognition of the Aboriginal heritage of Sydney. In the view of this Darug respondent: '[the government] can't admit that there are Darug people here because then you come into the compensation argument. So we are never going to get recognition' (Darug Respondent 5, pers. comm. 07-03-07). Compensation for Aboriginal loss of land from colonisation could range from an apology, to financial reparations, to claims to the actual land of the city. The Wik and Mabo cases of recent years, in contesting the loss of native title with British settlement, have opened the way for acknowledgement of Aboriginal traditional ownership of land, even in the city (McNeill 1997; Bhuta 1998; Wright 2002). An underlying fear among Anglo-Celtic Australians, which was exacerbated by comments by the then Prime Minister John Howard, is that people's urban backyards could be 'lost' to Aboriginal land claims (Wright 2002). This scare mongering fails to acknowledge that such claims can only be made to unused crown land (Wright 2002).

This section has outlined some of the challenges faced by urban Aboriginal groups, particularly descendants of Traditional Owners of the Sydney region, in seeking public and governmental recognition of their arguably unique rights to the city. The following section seeks to examine the sense in which the prevailing approach to Aboriginal heritage assessments might be helping or hindering the recognition of Aboriginal people as a living presence in 21st Century Sydney.

Heritage and Urban Development

In contemporary land use planning on Sydney's Western fringe, legislation protects archaeological Aboriginal heritage, but the separation of Aboriginality and the city within the public and governmental imagination appears to continue. The recognition of Aboriginal heritage in the Environmental Planning and Assessment (NSW) Act 1979 states that each site scheduled for urban development must be surveyed for Aboriginal archaeological artefacts before any development can go ahead (New South Wales Government 1979). Currently, archaeologists rank the heritage significance of areas according to how 'disturbed' they are, which is categorised by the level of cultivation or urbanisation (Jo McDonald Cultural Heritage Management 2007a). Assessment occurs primarily through aerial photos of the site, and the areas of high significance are those that have had the least disturbance (Jo McDonald Cultural Heritage Management 2007a). However, attributing the status of 'high significance' to areas, precisely because

they are the least ‘urban’ and most ‘natural’ areas, risks perpetuating the predominant narrative that urbanisation and Aboriginal heritage are mutually exclusive. It fails to address that, according to the Aboriginal respondent cited earlier, artefacts are often found in disturbed areas. The limits of heritage discourses, particularly in relation to the recognition of continuing environmental and economic aspects of Aboriginal cultural attachment to land, in the view of the Aboriginal respondents in this research are examined in more detail below.

Token Participation

Aboriginal participants in this study had a number of criticisms of the cultural heritage assessment process that persisted despite the protocol development process. An overarching concern among respondents was that their participation in the cultural heritage assessments, even after the development of the protocols, would not be substantive. One Local Aboriginal Land Council representative argued that the promises of the protocols were viewed with suspicion because:

That type of large-scale development doesn’t give you scope for proper community or other stakeholder input. Because they are deemed of state significance, there is pressure on the State Government to release land for development. This puts pressure on us, the Land Council, and it ends up being sort of token participation rather than [a] full, proper assessment (Land Council Representative 3, pers. comm. 09-03-07).

A potential repercussion that concerned respondents was that a ‘token’ consultation could be used to validate a quick development approval process (Dharawal Respondent 4, pers. comm. 21-08-06). The broad scale of the assessments undertaken in the Growth Areas meant that a ‘blanket’ section 90 or permission to destroy heritage uncovered in the development process could be approved by the Department of Environment and Heritage (JBA Urban Planning Consultants 2007). In fulfilling these legal requirements for consultation and assessment, the entire area can be (quickly) developed without having to undergo further, potentially protracted, heritage protection measures (New South Wales Government 1974).

Control of Knowledge

The question of who controls the knowledge collected about Aboriginal heritage in Sydney and how these issues are represented in official discourse further illustrates a

potential systemic marginalisation of Aboriginal groups in planning. That predominantly Anglo-Australian archaeologists and government planners undertake the final reports on heritage and planning issues troubled many of the Aboriginal groups. Being positioned as those ‘consulted’ rather than decision-makers, restricts what say the Aboriginal people have over what is recommended and, therefore, what is officially protected as heritage.

While it is clear that the Aboriginal respondents do value protection of their heritage in the form of artefacts, the form this protection takes is equally important. For the Aboriginal participants in the protocol development meetings and subsequent site assessments, artefacts need to be protected as part of a living culture rather than for scientific cataloguing. This Darug respondent suggested that the current ‘salvage’ process of removing artefacts from the site on which they are found is not in accordance with the expectations of their elders:

We’ve been arguing lately that when we salvage [heritage] materials they should get reburied back on the land. But [not all the archaeologists] agree with that. So in [their] jobs I don’t think that will happen. But we would like to see everything reburied. I don’t really like digging it all up. I have the old people telling me off all the time. [They say:] “Shouldn’t be dabbling in that”. But you have to or it will get destroyed (Darug Respondent 5, pers. comm. 07-03-07).

This quote indicates a tension for this participant between following the wishes of her Aboriginal elders and wanting to ensure the artefacts are not destroyed by development. Not being able to protect heritage items as her elders would like is a source of disappointment with the assessment process for the respondent. The different approach of the archaeologists and the Aboriginal representatives to post-salvage preservation of items described here suggests that the bias towards the ‘expert knowledge’ of the archaeologists continues.

In order to obtain greater agency within the assessment process, there is a desire among some of the Aboriginal people to attain official recognition as archaeologists. Obtaining this qualification potentially creates the opportunity for Aboriginal people to shift the dynamics of the current processes of engagement with archaeologists and government officials. For some Aboriginal respondents their experience of engaging with these experts for heritage assessments in the past has been one of discrimination:

When we used to go out with a lot of archaeologists [in the past], they used to treat us like we were really dumb. There are a lot of people out there who think

that because you are Aboriginal [that] you are really stupid (Darug Respondent 5, pers. comm. 07-03-07).

Becoming an archaeologist arguably represents a means to have a greater voice in the process, and a greater opportunity to direct rather than make comment on the assessment process. For the Darug respondent, having greater influence over the heritage assessment process was important as she felt that ‘[i]f people are looking after Aboriginal archaeology, it should be an Aboriginal group’ (Darug Respondent 5, pers. comm. 07-03-07).

While this statement can be seen as invoking a form of cultural essentialism, it needs to be viewed in the context of addressing an imbalance in which Aboriginal people have had little voice in determining how their heritage is looked after. As previously noted, they have been excluded on the basis of lacking expertise. Obtaining this expertise and being able to converse in the dominant framework potentially gives Aboriginal groups greater voice in planning. It arguably provides them greater authority to assert different perspectives on and ways of valuing Aboriginal heritage in Sydney that are not provided for within the current heritage framework.

Economic Aspects of Land Use

The central disjuncture between official definitions of Aboriginal heritage and the perspectives of many of the Aboriginal participants turns on economic values in land. A Darug participant at one of the meetings about heritage assessments in the SWGC argued that recognition of Aboriginal heritage meant recognition of the economic or livelihood values associated with land use. He questioned the equity of current plans for land development in the South West:

What happens in five years when you have all your houses and we don’t have our land anymore? Once houses go up our community gets forgotten about. All that land is taken from us and we get nothing. We are selling our land on a big scale and we get nothing (Darug Respondent 1, pers. comm. 12-11-06).

Presenting Aboriginal heritage in Sydney as a stake in land, the argument implicit in this respondent’s statement is that economic values need to be considered as part of, rather than separate to, the process of heritage protection around urban development. This view was echoed by a number of the Darug respondents who argued that preservation of cultural heritage meant a broader engagement with economic and social

community development outcomes, as well as artefact salvage (Darug Respondent 5, pers. comm. 07-03-07; Darug Respondent 1, pers. comm. 09-08-06). While it seems to be neglected in the heritage assessment process, the perspective of the Aboriginal participant quoted above reflects the State Government's own statement on Aboriginal economic disadvantage. The NSW Government's 2003 *The Two Ways Together* document acknowledged that Aboriginal economic disadvantage should be a central issue in any engagement with Aboriginal people in the creation of government policy (New South Wales Department of Aboriginal Affairs 2003).

When discussing the process of heritage conservation, this Darug respondent stated:

I'd actually like to see a lot of those areas conserved and have a cultural centre or museum there that the schools could go to and go on bus tours and go and have a look at some of the [sites], where it's a good area. You know, [using conservation to assist] things like [education] in these communities, [to] get rid of the racism against Aboriginal people by educating school kids (Darug Respondent 5, pers. comm. 07-03-07).

As well as addressing the recognition and knowledge of the culture and history of urban Aboriginal people, this respondent also argued that issues such as health should be seen as an integral and important aspect of land use discussions for Aboriginal people in Sydney. She argued that her preferred outcome would be:

If they have land available, have your museum. But if Aboriginal people can't afford health and the rest of it, have some resources for that [as well]. Why couldn't you have a museum where you sold [Indigenous] artwork, and a percentage of it went into medical services or [other important issues] like that? (Darug Respondent 5, pers. comm. 07-03-07).

The connection between economic and social equity issues and cultural heritage protection clearly has a direct rather than abstract association for this respondent. In discussing Aboriginal culture as an ongoing presence in the city, the protection and preservation of the material welfare of Aboriginal groups is presented as an important aspect of heritage protection, as is promotion of greater community awareness of Sydney's Aboriginal heritage. The construction of Aboriginal cultural heritage as 'stones and bones' fails to recognise the political, economic and environmental implications of the historical connection to land for Sydney's contemporary Aboriginal population. Furthermore, it fails to acknowledge that the cultural relationship to land of

these Aboriginal groups is about livelihoods not just aestheticised artefacts. The ongoing practices of natural resource management (English 2002), and the relationship of housing and health concerns to land use is not encompassed in the ‘stones and bones’ construction of Aboriginal heritage (see also Hemming 2006).

Speaking Positions

In addition to the question of how heritage is defined, the ripples of colonialism’s aftermath further complicate recognition of Aboriginal groups in land use decision-making. As noted earlier, Sydney’s Aboriginal population comprises both those who claim descent from the Traditional Owners of the area and those who have migrated to Sydney from other areas. As the issue of authenticity is so fraught for urban Aboriginal people, and limited resources are available to Aboriginal groups to participate, there is a certain level of tension over which groups are brought into and recognised in consultation processes.

The contestation over rights to speak for country in Sydney arises in part due to the fact that the boundaries of the land attributed to the various tribal groups often overlap or conflict within the accounts of different Aboriginal groups, historical texts and governmental reports. This lack of agreed boundaries is a legacy of the history of dispossession, dislocation and disruption of family and tribal groups experienced by Traditional Aboriginal Owner groups in Sydney (see for example Brook 1994; Goodall 1996; Morgan 2006). The right to speak for country asserted by the descendants of these Traditional Owner groups also co-exists with the authority over land claimed by Aboriginal Land Council bodies invested with statutory responsibility by the NSW State Government (see New South Wales Government 1983). These overlapping assertions of authority over land complicate Indigenous participation in Sydney’s urban planning processes. To avoid accusations of not consulting the right groups, the Department of Environment and Conservation interim guidelines suggest the inclusion of all Aboriginal groups expressing interest in planning processes (Department of Environment and Conservation 2004). This was evident in the open consultation policy adopted by the GCC in creating official protocols (Context 2006).

The complex nexus of Indigenous rights to and ownership of Sydney’s land is highlighted in the area of Bringelly where there are intersecting Native Title claims in the names of two of the main Aboriginal groups of Sydney: the Darug (also spelt

Dharug) and the Dharawal. Bringelly is on the border of the governance areas of two Land Councils, Gandangara and Tharawal (another spelling of Dharawal) (see Figure 18), as well as the intersection of Native Title claims by at least three Darug groups and one Dharawal group (Dharawal Respondent 4, pers. comm. 21-08-06; Darug Respondent 3, pers. comm. 01-03-07). While the local Aboriginal Land Councils have been invested with the names of Sydney Aboriginal groups such as Gandangara and Tharawal, they are not groups that are primarily or even necessarily majority-run by members of these tribal groups in the way in which Native Title groups are. They are, instead, councils formed from all the Aboriginal inhabitants of the area by a majority vote (New South Wales Government 1983). As a result they can, and often do, comprise of Aboriginal people who reside in Sydney but do not claim traditional ownership to it, as their traditional lands are elsewhere.

This situation potentially creates a tension between groups who claim traditional ownership of Sydney's lands and the Land Councils over who should be considered the legitimate representative of Aboriginal Sydney in land use decisions. While a number of the groups report reasonable relationships between the different bodies, there is at least one Land Council, respondents assert, that does not recognise any living Traditional Owners in the Sydney Region. The position of this Council intensified pressure on (particularly Darug) descendants to create separate Aboriginal corporations. This move has been undertaken by a number of groups to ensure that they would be included in discussions with government bodies regarding land use. As this Darug respondent indicates:

We only pushed to make ourselves known publicly as Darug people when we did the [family] genealogy with Darug Link twenty years ago. We then had to form ourselves into corporations in order to participate in heritage assessments in our own country, as the local Land Council will not let the Darug people become members (Darug Respondent 4, pers. comm. 01-03-07).

For the Bringelly area, the issue of who is recognised as having the legitimate right to speak on behalf of land is particularly complex. The contestation and confusion surrounding historical accounts means that there is often conflicting information in regards to tribal boundaries. This can cause problems when particular versions are recorded in reports and then become 'evidence' or truth on which the decision to exclude people is made.

Even the two consultant reports for the first release suburb in the SWGC around Bringelly, that of Oran Park, make different statements in relation to tribal ownership of the land. The Godden Mackay Logan (2007) report stated that the area is the traditional land of the Gandangara while the Jo McDonald (2007b) report stated that the Camden area lies near the boundaries of Gandangara, Darug and Tharawal territory. The ambiguity over traditional boundaries evident in these reports would explain the different perspectives on boundaries among participants at the protocol development meetings.

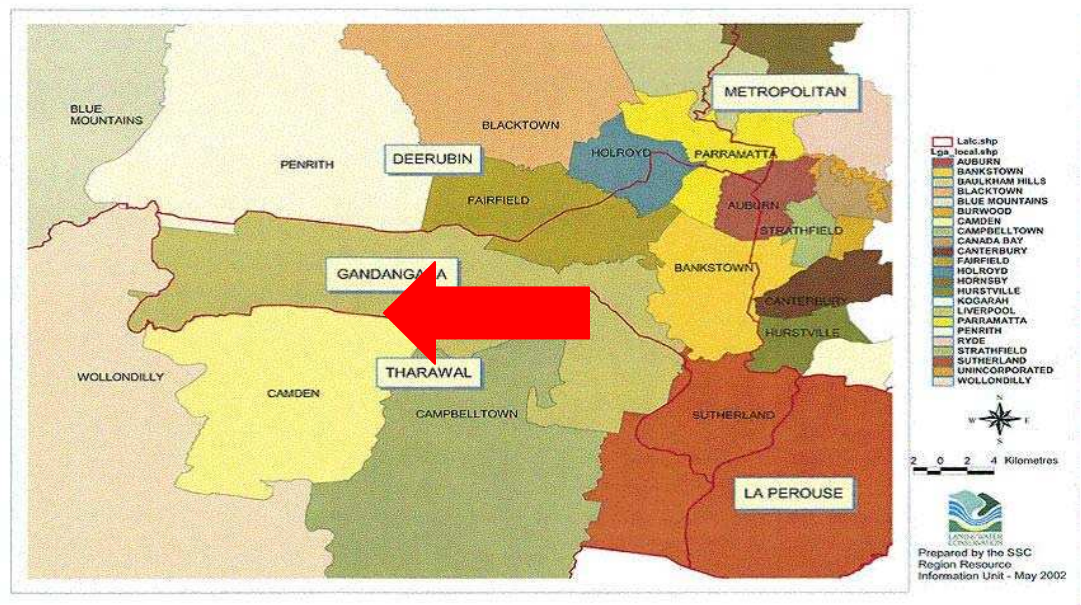


Figure 18: Map of Sydney's local Aboriginal land council boundaries, 2002.

Bringelly area is indicated by arrow.

(Map reproduced with the kind permission of Gandangara Local Aboriginal Land Council)

The difference between these reports on the tribal ownership of the Bringelly area illustrates how the history of dispossession and the subsequent internal migration of Aboriginal people to Sydney have created a lot of ambiguity over who has a legitimate stake in city land, and what this level of participation entitles them to. The contestation over rights to speak for country further illustrates the cultural complexity that must be negotiated in incorporating diverse groups in Sydney's urban planning, challenging simple explanations of governmental exclusion. The ambiguity over who should be consulted creates challenges in land use decision-making in a diverse city such as Sydney. For Aboriginal groups, particularly those who claim descent from

Traditional Owners of the Sydney Region, the question of authenticity and legitimacy presents challenges to their assertion of ongoing values in land.

Analysis of Protocols

While in principle the protocols offered a great improvement on previous approaches to heritage assessment, its implementation did not appear to live up to its promise for greater attention to the values expressed by Aboriginal groups. As indicated in the statements by one of the Darug participants, a sense of optimism that ‘hopefully there will be a lot of conservation that comes out of this’ was tempered by the experience of frustration and insufficient action in terms of heritage protection that ‘I mean you talk about it to people and it just doesn’t happen’ (Darug Respondent 5, pers. comm. 07-03-07). Overall, there was a sense of dissatisfaction with the process, as reflected in the view of this respondent:

I don’t really think that they are using them very well at all. There are a lot of things in the protocols that I can’t see they are using [in current assessment process] (Darug Respondent 5, pers. comm. 07-03-07).

The outcome of site assessments continued the pattern noted earlier by Aboriginal respondents as they uncovered extensive evidence of Sydney as an Aboriginal landscape. The various Aboriginal and archaeologist teams found evidence of extensive artefacts on areas ‘walked over’, the colloquial term given to the physical process of site heritage assessment (Jo McDonald Cultural Heritage Management 2007b). This included an area considered to be an old corroborree site within the grounds of the Denbigh colonial homestead that comprises a significant section of the Oran Park suburb (Jo McDonald Cultural Heritage Management 2007a). The ‘walk over’ was limited in providing an opportunity to adequately assess the heritage of the entire Oran Park site. It did not include the whole area to be developed, only those sections considered to be of ‘high significance’. These sections, as noted earlier, are not necessarily where all the artefacts are.

The extent of time allotted to Aboriginal groups within these assessment processes did not meet the amount suggested in the protocols. The whole process of the Oran Park/Turner Road assessment was based on a consultation and reporting process that was only a few months duration and not the 12 to 18 months set out in the protocols. The actual on-site consultation was also divided unequally between the

different groups, with only two groups being paid for the full assessment period of ten days. This was seen to highlight a further failure for one respondent of the promises for greater participation in the protocols (Darug Respondent 2, pers. comm. 2-11-06).

In the final plan, the areas for the conservation of Aboriginal heritage fell mainly within the already heritage listed curtilage of the Denbigh colonial homestead (Growth Centres Commission 2007; Jo McDonald Cultural Heritage Management 2007b). A conservation zone was to be determined that would incorporate some of the land most likely to contain artefacts, but the sections of this 'highly significant' land that fall outside the zone would be able to be developed (JBA Urban Planning Consultants 2007). This zone would also incorporate areas already deemed to be important for reasons of environmental conservation, including riparian corridors and waterways.

The majority of the site, which has been zoned as also having good potential to contain artefacts, was examined only in part and will fall under a 'whole of development' section 90 (JBA Urban Planning Consultants 2007). Through this process, the protection of Aboriginal heritage occurs primarily in sites already protected as colonial or environmental heritage and is therefore not further interrupting or changing the plans for housing development. These precinct plans indicate that Aboriginal heritage in this area has still been addressed primarily in terms of archaeological heritage, neglecting the intangible or post-contact heritage the protocols indicated would be considered.

Overall, the protocols presented the capacity for greater inclusion of the views of Aboriginal people to balance out the previous bias towards archaeological knowledge. The development of the protocols was significant as it was based on considerable consultation, and this aspect does suggest an acknowledgement of the unique place of Indigenous Australians in the city. The implementation of the protocols in Oran Park case has fallen far short of such promises, however. From all the consultations and documents created, the first application of the protocols in the Growth Centres saw Aboriginal heritage preserved according to traditional archaeological methods. Critically, the areas in which this heritage was protected would have been preserved already as European heritage and environmental conservation zones.

The protocols also failed to address contemporary economic and social issues for Aboriginal people in Sydney. The Aboriginal interviewees in this study felt these issues were central rather than peripheral to the preservation of their cultural heritage in land use planning decisions. The neglect of economic and social issues meant there was

no recognition or recompense for the material implications that dispossession and deprivation has had for the living culture of Sydney's Aboriginal people. While they have been consulted (unlike the migrant participants in this thesis examined further in the next chapter), the views of these Aboriginal participants still appear to be addressed only in relation to a narrowly defined notion of heritage as relic artefacts. While recognising the descendents of Sydney's Traditional Aboriginal Owners, the protocols still focus on the 'stones and bones' of pre-contact and material heritage, with insufficient consideration for ongoing cultural protection and practice.

Towards an Intercultural Perspective

In unpacking the various aspects of Aboriginal values in land relating to Bringelly, this chapter has sought to highlight the cultural complexity to be addressed in planning for diversity on Sydney's urban fringe. The sense of land as livelihood, inscribed with concurrent economic, environmental and cultural values, gestured to by the Aboriginal groups in this chapter is also shared by other diverse groups, such as CALD market gardeners, who make claim to Bringelly. This will be illustrated in subsequent chapters that focus on these market gardeners. Recognition of this multi-faceted relationship to land of Indigenous and CALD migrant groups is necessary, this thesis argues, in creating any sense of 'parity of participation' for diverse groups (Fraser 2004 in Fincher and Iveson 2008: 11). Such recognition arguably forms the basis of a 'right to the city' (Lefebvre 1996; Fincher and Iveson 2008), an acknowledgment that all groups have an equal, if differently articulated, stake in the city and its future, and should be included in the planning for it.

In looking at these stakes in land as points of connection beyond the perhaps more obvious points of difference between culturally diverse groups, this thesis adopts an 'intercultural' perspective (Radher & Milgrom 2004; Wood & Landry 2008). Following Wood and Landry, this thesis seeks to examine ways in which Sydney might move from a 'multicultural city of fragmented differences to the co-created intercultural city that makes the very most of its diversity' (Wood & Landry 2008: 14). This perspective can be distinguished from prevailing policies of multiculturalism critiqued earlier in this chapter because 'acknowledging and living at ease with the landscape of diversities is different from focusing on differences' (Wood & Landry 2008: 23). Such a shift requires that urban planning processes allow for a greater openness to different

perspectives and to debate that potentially challenges the established views of planners (Radher & Milgrom 2004).

As a new approach to the ongoing challenge of living 'together-in-difference' (Ang 2001b: 193), an intercultural perspective reflects recent urban and cultural scholarship that seeks to explore that which 'binds' as well as that which differentiates city dwellers (Amin & Thrift 2002). This approach aspires towards the generation of common goals and city visions for a heterogeneous public. Rather than a return to a homogenising 'common good', taking an intercultural perspective suggests instead the need to consider the various goals aspired to and the social, environmental and economic 'goods' that we value as a (whole) city. Considering the value of an intercultural approach to the multiple 'problems of our age' (Wood & Landry 2008: 23) also allows for the development of a more differentiated vision for growth beyond housing and economic development.

In looking at land uses of culturally diverse groups, this thesis seeks to emphasise the way in which they can be seen as contributing to common goods of Sydney as a whole. Environmental resource management by Aboriginal groups, although only gestured to this chapter, presents one example of how their land use values can be part of creating a more sustainable city into the future (English 2002). For the 'productive' capacity of diversity to be recognised (Cope & Kalantzis 1997, 2001), however, these groups must be recognised as equal participants in shaping the city's future. This requires recognition that all citizens have material and economic stakes in land use decisions in the city, even as these intersect with cultural traditions and practices. The diverse ways of life of Aboriginal and CALD migrant groups in the city represent cultural *and* economic values in land.

Conclusion

In investigating how Indigenous, settler and migrant were addressed in planning for the SWGC, this chapter did not aim to provide an analysis of the consultation processes per se. Rather it explored whether the values underpinning planning processes continued to effectively marginalise, and even exclude, diverse users and uses of land. In looking at the experiences of CALD growers and Aboriginal groups this chapter indicated that a narrow form of recognition, while an improvement on no recognition at all, still fails to ensure the incorporation of their land use values in planning. This analysis indicated

that despite different experiences of ‘consultation’ neither group had the holistic nature of their values in land acknowledged in the planning process.

As the CALD growers were not directly consulted about the planned development and the future of farms within it, there was little opportunity for their views to even be heard in decision-making processes. While there was a degree of consultation through information provision, this also provided a number of challenges for the CALD market gardener groups. The difficulty of accessing and understanding the information provided meant that many growers interviewed for this research felt that they had little idea of what was being planned. The failure to substantively consult with the CALD market gardeners suggests that their farms are considered as peripheral to the city’s future growth. The subsequent analysis of the consultations with Aboriginal groups indicated that the limited form of recognition they received within the planning process also failed to address the holistic nature of their values in the cityscape. The examination of Aboriginal participation in heritage assessments in the SWGC suggests that when cultural values in land are too narrowly conceptualised political and economic concerns are neglected.

Addressing the limits of current forms of recognition, this chapter suggests, requires more than simply ensuring culturally diverse groups are ‘heard’ in consultation processes. It requires their land use values being given equal consideration in the agendas that are set for urban planning decision-making. When the processes and fundamental value system underpinning urban planning privilege narrow definitions of ‘culture’, culturally diverse groups cannot hope to have their views on planning heard equally. For the vision for the city’s growth to be co-created by the full range of its inhabitants, it would have to be more inclusive and based on a more heterogeneous notion of the city public. Such a broader vision of ‘growth’ is arguably necessary in ‘sustaining’ Sydney as a culturally diverse city facing environmental change into the 21st Century. Considering diverse heritages and associated land use values as important aspects of the city ‘we want to live in’ offers a potential re-visioning of the common good (or goods) that is more reflective of Sydney as a whole city.

This chapter has brought into question the validity of current forms of recognition in ensuring equal representation and consideration of stakes in land of Indigenous and migrant groups. The next chapters further explore the issue of recognition of multiple urbanisms within urban planning through a focus on the migrant market gardens in the Bringelly area. These chapters examine the mobilisation of

heritage and sustainability discourses by grower advocates with the aim of gaining recognition (and potentially protection) for the market gardeners in the face of urban development. Through these examples, the subsequent chapters will further illustrate why the *form* of recognition accorded to diverse users and uses of land is so critical. They will also demonstrate how outside of the limited articulations of heritage and sustainability within planning processes, these concepts can serve to highlight the place of market gardens in an ‘intercultural’ city.

Chapter 4 Embodied Tradition: Migrant Market Gardens as Heritage

This chapter and the following one seek to further unravel the lack of engagement of urban planning with migrant gardeners as their farms are being threatened by urban encroachment (as identified in Chapter Three). These chapters examine the efficacy of heritage and sustainability discourses for gaining recognition and incorporation of the growers' land use values in Sydney's planning processes. Through the mobilisation of these discourses around market gardens in the Bringelly area (non-grower) advocates sought to draw attention to two heritage and sustainability values: the role of these farms in the history of Sydney's migrant communities and the value of fresh produce from Sydney's farms to the city's food supply (Bayrante et al. 2003; Parker & Jarecki 2003b; Liverpool City Library 2004; Mason 2008). The extent to which prevailing discourses of heritage and sustainability position the market gardens of CALD growers as important in Sydney's urban planning, however, requires further examination. As for the discussion of Aboriginal participants in the previous chapter, the following two chapters will examine the form of recognition these discourses provide. As argued in the previous chapter, this is critical in determining the extent to which each constrains or enables participation in planning for the city as a whole.

This chapter examines the 'heritage' discourse by addressing a two part question: whether market gardeners themselves saw it as a tradition that should be maintained and whether prevailing heritage discourses represent, and can facilitate the preservation of the dynamic nature of this land use practice. Looking at the role of market gardens in the process of migration and settlement of these growers on the urban fringe, this chapter also tells of the development of Sydney as a migrant-receiving culturally diverse city.

The original attention to discourses of heritage developed in response to a range of exhibitions around Sydney's Western Suburbs in 2005-2006 in which market gardening was presented as part of the heritage of this region threatened by housing development. The various exhibitions on Sydney's peri-urban agriculture sought to preserve a record of farming life on the peri-urban fringe before development occurs. As

the exhibitions served to position the market gardens as part of the city's past, however, the efficacy of a heritage framing to represent the ongoing farming practices of the CALD growers was not clear-cut. Exactly what is being valued and by whom, and the possible implications of this all need to be considered in ascribing heritage value to these farms.

As the example of Aboriginal heritage illustrated in the last chapter, recognition of values in land as 'heritage' can serve to aestheticise and memorialise the association with land of cultural minorities. This can result in the protection and preservation of a narrow definition of cultural values in official processes, with economic and environmental dimensions of land use practices being neglected. The mobilisation of heritage discourses therefore must be considered carefully to determine whether they appropriately reflect, and potentially preserve, the practices and traditions associated with market gardening for Bringelly's CALD growers. While heritage recognition has the capacity to highlight the role of migrant groups such as the market gardeners in the development of Sydney, it also risks associating them with the city's past rather than its future. This raises questions about the wisdom and political implications of viewing market gardens as heritage in the face of the threat to their existence from housing development.

In order to examine the relevance and efficacy of heritage discourses for Bringelly's market gardeners, of the kinds the exhibitions promote, this chapter first outlines and then analyses these discourses. The first section of the chapter examines prevailing heritage discourses and comparative sites as a context for considering market gardens as heritage. The second section then examines the growers' practices and traditions associated with market gardening to analyse the extent to which these could or should be considered heritage. This section considers the practice of market gardening through two interconnected themes – as a translocation of tradition from their country of origin and as part of the processes and cultures of settlement into the new country. This division was important in determining where the heritage value in market gardens might lie and the different implications this might have in relation to gaining recognition in urban planning.

This chapter also argues that the history and traditions associated with market gardening are an (often neglected) part of Sydney's urban growth, past and present. As part of the settlement culture of new migrants to Sydney – the process of settling into and making a life in a new country (Hage 2005) – practices such as market gardening

arguably reshape the cultural and material geographies of the city. The threat posed to the Bringelly farms by urban encroachment suggests the need for greater recognition of the place of these farms in the city's history in planning for its future. Such recognition would potentially require a more broadly conceived notion of heritage than is suggested in the exhibitions. This broader definition would also have to acknowledge that market gardening represents both a tradition and an ongoing practice, a 'living' heritage. A practice that, in its historical role of assisting the settlement of new migrants and producing fresh food, not only contributes to but *constitutes* the city.

Market Gardens in South West Sydney

Chinese Gardens in Camden

In Sydney's South West, around the area of the new Growth Centre, there is a history of Chinese market gardens dating back to the early 1900s as noted in the Introduction Chapter. Research undertaken for the Camden Historical Society discovered that there were Chinese gardens in Camden from the early 20th Century (Nixon 1976). Nixon (1976) described up to six farms, which employed many of the 75-80 Chinese men in Camden during this period. This group of men, and it was mainly men in the area with only three or four Chinese women noted, represented approximately ten percent of Camden's adult male population at this time. They mainly grew what appear to be anglicised crops: potatoes, pumpkins, vegetable marrows, long green cucumbers, melons, beans, lettuces, cabbages, cauliflowers, tomatoes, carrots and parsnips (Nixon 1976). This is in contrast to the predominantly Asian vegetables currently grown by Chinese growers on the South West fringe (Bayrante et al. 2003).

Nixon (1976) noted that in 1976 there were only two farms left in the Camden area. This, he assumed, had had much to do with restrictions on migration by people of Asian descent under the 'White Australia' policy that came into effect in 1901, and the choice of second generation Chinese to go into other better-paid and easier work (Nixon 1976). The loss of these farmers, however, is not an indication that market gardening was not continuing on the South West urban fringe. As also noted in the Introduction Chapter, other groups such as the Italians, Maltese and Yugoslavians were farming on the fringe including the South West from before WW2, and from the 1970s other groups such as Lebanese and newer waves of Chinese migrants were also establishing farms (Burnley 2001; Parker 2004). The presence of Chinese market gardens in Camden

approximately 100 years ago illustrates the substantial history of this practice for CALD migrant groups on the South West fringe. It draws attention to a connection between contemporary land use practices of migrants in this area and those of the early 1900s.

Bringelly Exhibition

The market gardens in the SWGC have, more recently, been ascribed heritage values as part of a series of exhibitions and a symposium on agriculture on Sydney's peri-urban fringe. In the face of encroaching development, cultural institutions such as museums and libraries in Western Sydney have mounted exhibitions to draw attention to the history of these farming landscapes on the fringe. Directly focussed on the suburbs within the SWGC was *Bringelly: A city on the Edge*, an exhibition run by the Liverpool City Library under the auspices of the WSROC *Agricultural Heritage Initiative* (Liverpool City Library 2004) (see Figure 19). It ran from the 30th November 2005 to the 27th March 2006 at the Liverpool Library and was then exhibited at other libraries around Western Sydney. In creating the exhibition, the curators stated they were seeking to explore the diverse cultural backgrounds, landscape, labour practices, memories, power relationships and working lives associated with the Bringelly market gardens (Liverpool City Library 2004).

Through addressing these themes, one of the aims of the project was to document the significant contribution of these various CALD communities to South West Sydney (Liverpool City Library 2004). In recognising the diversity of the farmers of the Bringelly area, the exhibition focused on Australian-born English speakers, first- and second-generation Italian, first- and second-generation Maltese and first-generation mainland Chinese (Liverpool City Library 2004). These included current and past farmers. In documenting their contribution, this project intended to provide recognition of these communities and to ensure they felt their lifestyles and contributions had been valued and were remembered (Liverpool City Library 2004).

The report to WSROC in the initial stages of the project described it as:

A community-based study of the Western Liverpool area and other significant areas located in the South West Sydney Region. This will take the form of contemporary portraits/landscape and archival photographic records as well as fresh oral history/documentary recordings on digital video (Liverpool City Library 2004: 1).

The overall aim of the project, the curators stated, was to ‘record and document the current way of life of the rural fringe, before this dramatic transformation takes place’ in the form of urban development (Liverpool City Library 2004: 1). Importantly, this project did not overtly claim to seek to stop or protest the urbanisation of the fringe that threatens the market gardens in Bringelly, but rather aimed to document the current land use and so create ‘a baseline to measure and evaluate these changes against’ (Liverpool City Library 2004: 3). It therefore seemed primarily intended to memorialise these farms rather than argue for their preservation as part of the city’s heritage in current urban planning. Perhaps inadvertently the stated aim of the exhibition seemed to imply an acceptance of the inevitability of their loss.

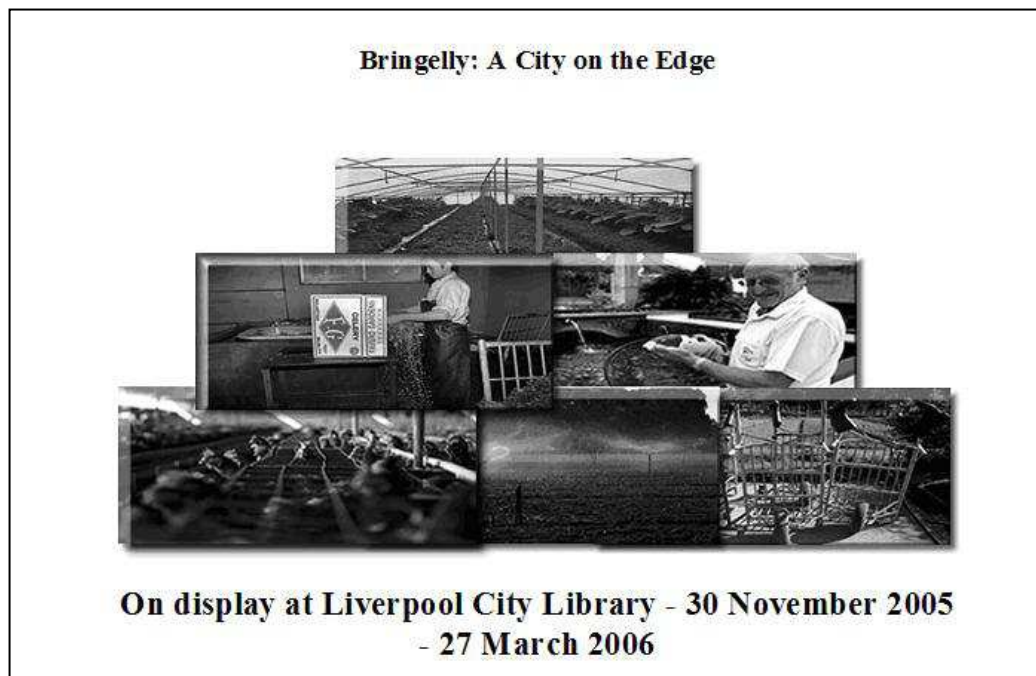


Figure 19: On-line exhibition of ‘Bringelly: A City on the Edge’.

(Photos: Therese Sweeney; Exhibition: Liverpool Library)

Other Exhibitions on Sydney’s Agriculture Heritage

The other exhibitions and seminars on agriculture on Sydney’s Western fringe also mainly served to document rather than overtly advocate for the preservation of such sites. It appears these forms of presentation were created with a similar intent as that behind the Bringelly exhibition. They aimed to capture and record this land use and associated communities before urbanisation changed the peri-urban landscape. Between

2005 and 2006, at least three other exhibitions and a seminar were run in Sydney on peri-urban agriculture with particular foci on the farms of Chinese and Italian communities (see Figure 20). These were:

Agri-Culture: Re-creating the living landscape. This exhibition focused on contemporary and historical agriculture in the Hawkesbury, engaging settler, Aboriginal and migrant perspectives. The curator was Cheryle Yin Lo. The exhibition ran in Hawkesbury Regional Gallery from the 25th June – 4th September 2005.

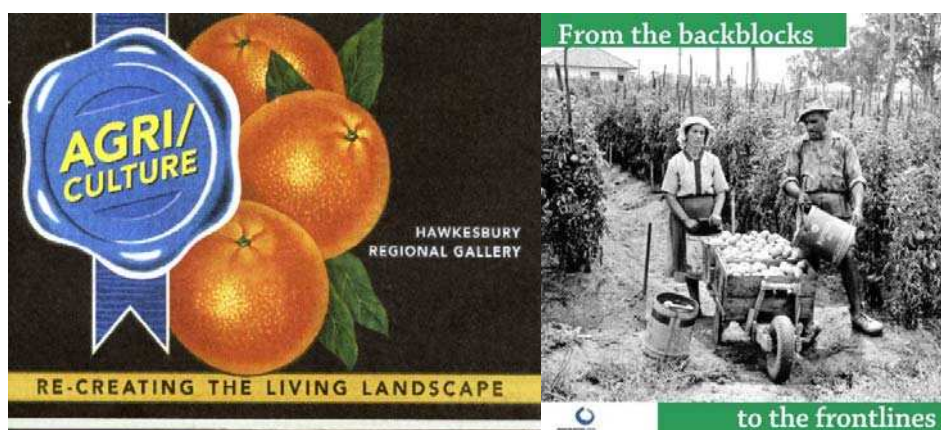


Figure 20: Exhibitions on Western Sydney's agricultural history

(Images reproduced with the kind permission of Hawkesbury Regional Gallery and Co.As.It. respectively.)

From the Backblocks to the Frontlines: celebrating Italian settlement in South West Sydney. This exhibition took a historical perspective on post-World War II Italian migration to South West Sydney, including the development of market gardens. It was run by Co. As. It. (the Italian Association of Assistance), with assistance from the NSW Migration Heritage Centre. The exhibition was launched in March 2006 and has been exhibited around Sydney through 2007 and 2008.

Chinese Market Gardens of NSW. This symposium looked at the history of Chinese Market Gardens in NSW, ranging from the heritage-listed gardens in La Perouse to contemporary market gardens in the South West. It was presented by the Chinese Historical Society in Alexandria Town Hall on the 8th April 2006 as part of the 2006 National Trust Heritage Festival titled: *Industrial Heritage – Our Working Lives.*

From Estonia to Thirlmere. This exhibition focussed on the history of Estonian poultry farmers in Thirlmere, a suburb in Sydney's south-west (beyond the local government areas of Camden and Liverpool which house the Growth Centre) in the

Wollondilly Local Government Area. These farms were established in the 1930s, with many post-war Estonian migrants creating further farms in the area. The exhibition began in 2006 at Wollondilly Heritage Centre, and is now available on-line through the NSW Migration Heritage Centre website (Wollondilly Heritage Centre 2006).

This proliferation of exhibitions and seminars within a year of each other around the release of the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy suggests a desire to record traditions now potentially at risk from planned housing development. That larger, more established Chinese and Italian migrant groups set up two of these exhibitions and seminars could be attributed to a greater sense of ‘cultural entitlement’ (Hage 1998) among more established migrant groups to assert their place in Sydney’s history. Out of these four displays of the heritage of agriculture on the urban fringe, however, two were predominantly about the past (*From the Backblocks* and *From Estonia to Thirlmere*) and another memorialising what is about to be lost (*Agri-Culture*). It was only the seminar on ‘Chinese Market Gardens in New South Wales’ that addressed the protection of this tradition as an ongoing practice for the future.

Migrant Heritage in Australia

The rest of this chapter seeks to uncover the tensions within prevailing heritage discourses in gaining recognition and consideration of Bringelly’s market gardens in Sydney’s urban planning. In such an undertaking, it is worth initially considering the definition of heritage in prevailing international and national heritage discourses. The broad United Nations definition of heritage is ‘our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations’ (United Nations Environment Scientific and Cultural Organization 2008). The definition from the Australian National Heritage register is also quite broad, stating that Australia’s heritage is ‘the places we want to keep’ (Department of the Environment Water Heritage and the Arts 2008b). The emphasis in both these rather vague definitions is on the value ascribed to these possible heritage items by a particular ‘community’, whomever that is determined to incorporate. It can be argued, therefore, that ‘not everything is heritage but anything could become heritage’ (Howard 2003: 7). These definitions do not provide much illumination on the question of what constitutes heritage, and the place of migrant heritage within this, however. This suggests that determining the efficacy of prevailing heritage discourses for Bringelly’s market gardeners requires an analysis of how these discourses are

actually deployed in the designation of certain aspects of the city's past as 'heritage' while neglecting others.

From the outset, the idea of market gardens as heritage is a contentious one. It does not fit conceptions of heritage in Australia that have traditionally privileged built form or historical objects, and neglected more intangible practices and traditions that might be associated with land (Armstrong 1995a; Byrne et al. 2003). And as a heritage designation itself, the category of migrant heritage, or migration heritage as it is also termed, is only relatively new in Australia, recognised by the NSW Heritage Council in the 1990s (Armstrong 1995b, 1997). In December 1995, the Australian Heritage Commission launched a guide for migrant groups to 'use as a way of identifying their heritage places in Australia', based on the work of Professor Helen Armstrong (Australian Heritage Commission 1996). In the guide, the Australian Heritage Commission emphasises the place of migrant heritage within the broader national heritage (Australian Heritage Commission 1996). It states that '[t]he places associated with the history of migration and the contribution of successive migrants to our distinctive cultures and environments, are part of our shared cultural heritage' (Australian Heritage Commission 1996: 1). The definition of a migrant heritage place it offers is:

Those places that tell the history of migration in Australia... There are many places that are important to different migrant groups that may not be known to the wider community, such as places of worship, places of work, local shopping areas or places associated with people or events that have significance for particular migrant communities (Australian Heritage Commission 1996: 9).

While this definition focuses on heritage 'places', following the National Heritage Register, the orientation of the guide itself suggests migrant heritage also refers to more than just place in the sense of a building, for example. The questions asked of groups seeking to identify their heritage through the guide refer to heritage from the country of origin as well as practices and living traditions (Australian Heritage Commission 1996). This suggests that the values of migrant groups the guide is seeking to elicit go beyond the value of an historical building to the history and cultural traditions of the migrant group.

The more recently created on-line Migration Heritage Centre presents a broader definition of migration heritage that goes beyond 'place' defining it as:

A range of things associated with the processes of migration or a person's cultural background. Migration heritage includes but is not limited to oral histories; buildings; photographs; stories; community; recreational and sporting clubs; music; place in the natural environment and so on (NSW Migration Heritage Centre 2007).

These definitions too remain quite broad and inclusive. This is, according to the Australian Heritage Commission, partly because there is still a 'need to work out what migrant heritage is, and partly because many of the stories about settling in Australia are yet to be shared' (Australian Heritage Commission 1996: 10). A certain breadth in heritage as a concept is perhaps inherent, as there is always the capacity for something to become valued as discussed earlier (Howard 2003). The sense of stories 'yet to be shared' however also stems from an ambiguity among migrants themselves as to the extent that their history in Australia should or could be valued as 'heritage' noted in previous research (Armstrong 2000). Migrant heritage remains a relatively 'fluid' and (often contested) concept (Armstrong 1997: 23). While these different definitions are differently titled 'migrant' and 'migration' heritage these terms appear to be interchangeable in both definitions, and are used as such in this chapter.

In her PhD thesis, Armstrong offers a more detailed criterion for determining migrant heritage places. She suggests that recognition of migrant heritage requires that places reflect one or more of these themes:

- The choice to migrate and live in Australia;
- An enterprising or pioneering attitude towards living in Australia;
- The experiential process of settling in a new country, making the unfamiliar familiar;
- The unselfconscious transported cultural practice from another country;
- Or illustrate aspects of transformed cultural practice as a result of living in Australia.

(Armstrong 2000: 312)

Migrant heritage can, for example, be sites of labour such as a factory, representing the process of settlement in the new country (Armstrong 2000). It can also be the evidence of a continued cultural practice from their country of origin such as Greek men's coffee shops that represent sites of social gathering. In this sense it can be both a site and a practice, and reflect both the translocation of cultural practices and the process of settlement (Armstrong 2000).

Recognition of migrant heritage has been part of a changing perception of heritage to ensure that the values of diverse groups (particularly) can be incorporated into heritage designations. While the United Nations definition quoted previously is ostensibly broad and inclusive, heritage is a powerful discursive practice, determining what is kept from the past in the present for the future (Hall & McArthur 1996; Graham et al. 2000). Prevailing heritage discourses in this sense define official national memories and histories, the inclusions and exclusions of which suggest the constitution of the imagined community of the city, and the nation more broadly (Graham et al. 2000; Ang 2001a; Yeoh 2001; Allon 2002; Anderson and Taylor 2005). In the context of Sydney's development, heritage designations can be seen to indicate what is officially valued and recognised from the city's past to be maintained and protected as the city grows. In this way the mobilisation of heritage discourses are more a reflection of often contested contemporary values and notions of identity than any sort of objective rendering of the past (Graham et al. 2000; Howard 2003). In ex-colonial migrant-receiving cities such as Sydney what is recognised and recorded as the city's heritage determines whose story is told and what place different groups might have within a hierarchy of national belonging (Graham et al. 2000; Ang 2001a; Yeoh 2001; Anderson & Taylor 2005).

Self-reflexive heritage practitioners have critiqued official heritage discourses in recent decades, particularly since the 1990s. Similar to the critiques of urban planning, this scholarship asserts that heritage discourses have historically privileged the values of the dominant groups in society and neglected or excluded the voices of others (Hall & McArthur 1996; Armstrong 1997; Rea 1999; Armstrong 2000; Lee Long 2000; Smith 2000a; Byrne et al. 2003; Smith et al. 2003; Byrne & Nugent 2004; Markell et al. 2004). In Australia this is reflected in a privileging of settler heritage, evident in a bias towards colonial built homesteads in heritage listings (Byrne et al. 2003). An official account of the history of Western Sydney, titled *Western Sydney Thematic History: State Heritage Register Project*, illustrates this bias towards colonial histories as heritage and the marginality of migrant histories in official registers (Kass 2005). This is a problem, in part, of visibility, as often 'what is publicly visible as a landscape is a landscape filled up with the heritage of white settlement' (Byrne et al. 2003:49). The lack of recognition of migrant heritage in plans for Bringelly, however, is also due to a failure to allow for the participation of migration groups. Often the absence of migrant heritage is because 'immigrants themselves are never consulted or given a voice ... leading to reports [and]

findings which privilege built form over cultural practices' (Sandercock & Klinger 1998: 224).

In addition to being the heritage of the dominant cultural group, protection of colonial built form is supported by a scientific approach to heritage noted in the previous chapter. This approach to defining heritage, especially as articulated within urban planning, privileges tangible buildings and objects (English 2002; Byrne et al. 2003). The 'scientific' conservation approach to heritage facilitates the recognition of objects and built forms that are intended to stay preserved as they are, unchanging (Byrne et al. 2003; Howard 2003). This form of heritage discourse has resulted in a lack of recognition of intangible and post-contact Aboriginal heritage as well as migrant heritage as it fails to account for ongoing and seeming immaterial practices and traditions that cannot be frozen in time (Byrne et al. 2003; Byrne & Nugent 2004). The predominance of this conservation approach means that recognition of the traditions of diverse groups within prevailing heritage discourses, as explored in Chapter Three, risks positioning them as a relic of the past rather than as part of an ongoing or living culture (Byrne 1996; Jacobs 1998).

The recent official recognition of migrant heritage in Australia is representative of an international shift to officially acknowledge *intangible* heritage in order to make designations of heritage more inclusive (Galla 1994; Truscott 2000; Byrne et al. 2003; Howard 2003; Ito 2003; Petzet 2003; United Nations Environmental Scientific and Cultural Organization 2003). The official introduction of this term was particularly intended to ensure recognition of traditions and practices of culturally diverse groups not associated with material values in official registers filled with listings of buildings and monuments (Truscott 2000).

A key aspect of this more inclusive conceptualisation of heritage has been the call for acknowledgment of the heritage of the 'everyday' (Sandercock and Klinger 1998; Truscott 2000; Howard 2003). This is a definition of heritage that would acknowledge 'the continuity of a way of life as opposed to the preservation of a building' (Sandercock & Klinger 1998: 224). Rearticulating heritage values in this way arguably enables society 'to extend our ability to conserve things, objects, into an ability to conserve ways of life, languages and dialects, sports and activities' (Howard 2003: 47). Including ways of life within the prevailing definition of heritage allows for recognition of the values associated with practices such as market gardening. Just what this recognition implies, however, is a key question as 'it is essential that intangible values

are not made frigid and static by insisting that the values stay the same through time' (Truscott 2000: 29). The concept of the 'everyday' as heritage is central to the concept of migrant heritage as discussed by Armstrong (2000). Considering the heritage value of ongoing practices and ways of life presents challenges to the dominant orientation of heritage discourses to conservation, and particularly conservation of buildings and objects.

In valuing the process of change as well as continuity, this re-imagining of heritage can also be seen to potentially better reflect the history of a nation shaped by colonisation and migration (Armstrong 1994; Rea 1999; Ang 2001a; Allon 2002). Indeed it has been argued that it is the narrative of discontinuity that is the most unifying heritage of all Australians (Armstrong 1994). This view positions all Australians – settler, migrant and Indigenous – as being both 'in' and 'out' of place; all cultures having been disconnected to an extent from their autonomous 'origins' and now having to negotiate their relationship to a (necessarily) shared space. Reviewing heritage values so they better reflect Australia's culturally diverse inhabitants serves to 'recognise that the national historical record consists of divergent, unequal but intertwining histories' (Ang 2001a: 8). As the various migrant, settler and Aboriginal groups continue in their 'struggle to belong' (Anderson & Taylor 2005), acknowledgement of Australia's heritage of discontinuity potentially displaces the privileging of settler heritage above all others.

Migrant Gardens as Heritage

Migrant market gardens can be considered migrant heritage as: sites of work; sites of migration; sites of settlement; sites of enterprise and of translocation of culture according to Armstrong's (2000) criteria. In a brochure accompanying a 2005 exhibition on migrant gardens in Brisbane, Armstrong suggested that these gardens are 'a distinct expression of cultural difference' and come from 'the urge to create the familiar within the unfamiliar' as part of 'counteracting the apprehension inherent in the act of migration' (Armstrong 2005b: 1). While these gardens were not specifically commercial operations, as with the Bringelly farms, there are many parallels in terms of gardening as part of the process of migrating to a new country.

Armstrong's findings are reflected in other recent work on the private gardens of migrants in Sydney, such as that of Connell and Graham (2006) on Vietnamese and

Greek gardens in the suburb of Marrickville (in Sydney's Inner West), and Morgan et al. (2005) on migrant gardens in the suburb of Fairfield (in Sydney's Western suburbs). These authors argue that the gardens illustrate 'diverse yet everyday cultural practices in backyard gardens that are microcosms of migrants' engagement with place' (Connell and Graham 2006: 375). These 'everyday' practices are perceived to be part of the settling process, through which 'migrants reconstruct the past through the standpoint of the present in order to feel at home' (Morgan et al. 2005: 104). That many of Sydney's CALD market gardeners produce crops from their country of origin (Parker 2004) suggests that this gardening practice also represents a link between the past and the present. The line between the private and commercial garden is further blurred as some market garden businesses have developed from first generation migrants selling produce grown in their own backyards (Parker 2004).

The value of migrant gardens lies not just in their materiality but what they represent, as '[m]igrant gardens not only reveal different cultural practices, they also convey a range of migrant stories' (Armstrong 2005b: 1). Contemporary migrant gardens illustrate the multi-layered cultural landscape of Australia, reflecting a 'complex mix of eras of migration, countries of origin, and stages in the dwelling process' (Armstrong 2005b: 2). For these reasons, Armstrong argues, they can be seen as an 'important aspect of Australia's cultural heritage' (Armstrong 2005b: 2).

Whether the heritage value of such gardens creates a preservation imperative, however, is quite a contested issue. For Armstrong, the gardens are 'ephemeral heritage', as they will not last and are not to be passed down as an inheritance (Armstrong 2005b: 4). While the market gardens in Bringelly are run as businesses and not private gardens, many of the same values associated with the translocation of traditions and settlement culture in Australia can be ascribed to them. The attitude of the Department of Planning representative quoted in Chapter 2, and certain academics and media commentators (Verity 2003b) is that these market gardens are also transitory. In asserting that the residents can simply move further out, such views position these farms as also passing and ephemeral land uses on the urban fringe. While settler homesteads are protected as heritage within plans for development on the fringe, the history of CALD migrant groups in this area appears to remain unacknowledged and unprotected. This would appear to neglect their role in shaping Sydney as a very culturally diverse city and providing it with fresh food for over a century. The extent to which the market

gardens of CALD migrant groups should be considered to be ephemeral, and therefore not in need of preservation, is a key question of this chapter.

Heritage Listed Market Gardens

In contrast to the notion of migrant gardens as ephemeral, the official heritage listing of market gardens in Sydney's La Perouse region suggests that such land uses can be maintained within urban areas. There are three market gardens in La Perouse, Botany and Rockdale (all areas around La Perouse), which have been officially heritage listed for their place in Australia's migrant history (Humphreys et al. 2001). The rationale behind this listing provides an insight into the paradox of defining a practice that is both 'living' and changeable by its very nature as heritage. The market gardens in these areas have arguably been designated as heritage because there were no plans for development on these sites (Heritage practitioner, pers. comm. 14-06-06). Analysis of the designation of these gardens proves a useful contrast to the Bringelly gardens, and their yet-to-be ascertained heritage status. It brings into question whether recognition and protection of such land use practices is conditional on the land in question being unnecessary in a 'growth as development' agenda.

The market gardens in the La Perouse area were created in the 1830s and are said to be the oldest in the country (Gardening Australia 2001; Humphreys et al. 2001). European settlers initially worked the market gardens in this area, but after the gold rushes of the 1850s, many Chinese migrants took them over for the opportunity to grow and sell their own produce (Gardening Australia 2001). Karl Zhao, Chinese Heritage Officer at the NSW Heritage Office, explains this process: 'Chinese immigrants came to prospect for gold but soon realised not everyone could get rich from the gold fields and so started growing vegetables' (New South Wales State Heritage Register 1999). Chinese growers Sung Kuong War, Lee How and Sin Hop Sing were original creators of one of three remaining heritage-listed market gardens – the one in Botany – in 1892 (New South Wales Heritage Council 1990).

Many of the gardens in the La Perouse area survived well into the 20th Century (New South Wales State Heritage Register 1999). The gardens were heritage-listed in 1997 as part of an initiative by Heritage NSW to encourage recognition of migrant heritage by getting migrant groups to nominate places of importance to them (Heritage Practitioner, pers. comm. 14-06-06). The La Perouse gardens have special significance

for the Chinese groups in Sydney, as '[f]or many people, especially those from the Yiu Ming district of Guangdong, market gardens were their starting point in Australia. They worked hard and saved and then opened restaurants, grocery shops; their own businesses' (Karl Zhao in New South Wales State Heritage Register 1999). The gardens in La Perouse are of particular significance as they are 'so old. Many generations, many owners, many gardeners have connections with the La Perouse market gardens' (Karl Zhao in New South Wales State Heritage Register 1999). While there were other groups that also ran these gardens in the early 1900s, Chinese groups have managed the gardens for over 90 years, passing the tradition on from one generation to another without a break (New South Wales Heritage Register 1999).

In addition to the significance of these gardens in the history of Chinese settlement in Sydney, it is also valuable to note their importance to the city as a whole. The heritage assessment of the garden in Botany stated that market gardens have been important sites of fresh food production during the Great Depression and after WW1 and WW2 (New South Wales Heritage Council 1990). During the Great Depression Chinese market gardens were often the only source of vegetables for urban Australians (New South Wales Heritage Council 1990). While it probably should be assumed this statement refers to vegetables commercially produced and does not including private gardens, it still highlights the historical role market gardens have had in providing fresh food to cities such as Sydney.

The report on the market gardens at La Perouse describes the uniqueness of their designation as heritage. It highlights that their heritage status derives, rather unusually, from the practice undertaken within the site rather than from an artefact or built form. The assessment indicated that:

Their greatest significance resides in their continuity of use as market gardens over a period of 150 years. Unlike most heritage places this is not primarily embodied in physical fabric, although extant fabric reflects evidence of that process, but in a continuing use. This use resides in the bodies and works of the people who work the market gardens and continually remake the cultural landscape in the process of earning a living (Humphreys et al. 2001: 143).

This statement highlights the fact that it is the way of life represented by the market gardens that has been valued in the heritage designation. It is the continued practice of market gardening rather than the physical fabric of the site itself that is recognised as 'heritage' and in need of preserving.

As their heritage value is not conditional on their being maintained as a static memorial to the past, the La Perouse gardens further transgress the norm of heritage designations in Australia. The report emphasises that they are ‘active’ forms of land use that must be treated as such in any measure of protection. It states that:

While the market gardens are superficially a reminder of a time when Rockdale was on Sydney’s suburban periphery, they are not and never have been a literal snapshot of a past way of life. Apart from the fact that they are of considerable age, the market gardens are very similar to many modern gardens on Sydney’s outer fringes. They are active farms and need to be managed as farms that have been active for 150 years or more...The market gardens are treated as a dynamic phenomenon that can still change and survive, which is how they will continue to remain significant (Humphreys et al. 2001: 143-144).

While suggesting that they are ‘dynamic’ these three farms still serve to represent a past way of life. The practices used to farm are methods historically used – hand tools and in-ground farming – in contrast to the greenhouses and hydroponic systems used by many farmers in the Bringelly area (New South Wales Heritage Register 1999). The fact that there are now only three farms left of what was once considerable number suggests that they are, to a degree at least, conserved as a historic ‘sample’ of the farming landscape that once was.

The recognition of these market gardens as heritage can also perhaps be seen as an anomaly, rather than a precedent. The gardens were allowed to continue, a heritage practitioner involved with the listing stated, as the land had been designated as the site for a potential freeway (Heritage practitioner, pers. comm. 14-06-06). As government land and wetlands, there was no compelling imperative to develop the site and so the gardens were allowed to continue until the land was needed (Heritage practitioner, pers. comm. 14-06-06). This took so long, however, that values had changed and by the 1990s these gardens were seen in a different light – as migrant heritage to be valued (Heritage practitioner, pers. comm. 14-06-06). A recent proposal to extend the Botany cemetery led to an assessment of the continued viability and relevance of these gardens, which has not yet been made public (New South Wales Department of Lands 2008). Whether the heritage designation will be sufficient to preserve the land in its current usage in the face of alternative plans for its use will be an important test of the recognition of the civic asset that is currently – though manifestly variably – defined as

‘migrant heritage’ worthy of protection. Initial reports suggest that the overwhelming public sentiment is that these market gardens should be preserved (Creagh 2008).

While historically market gardens have tended to be transitory or ephemeral, moving out with the spread of urbanisation, this is not, nor should it necessarily be, always the case. This chapter argues that in the face of urban encroachment, the preservation of the farms in Sydney’s South West needs to be further considered rather than displacement assumed. The sites in La Perouse and Botany present an example of where preservation of market gardens run by CALD growers has occurred due to recognition of their heritage value. Whether preservation of the Bringelly farms in a similar way would be desirable for Bringelly’s growers is not straightforward, however. As the Green Zones case illustrated in Chapter Two, many growers want the opportunity to sell their land. The form of farming undertaken in Bringelly is also a dynamic practice and while the area has been continually farmed, the farms have shifted locations over time. These issues draw into question whether the focus on conservation and stasis in the prevailing heritage discourses, even though minimised in the La Perouse gardens, can both offer protection to Bringelly’s market gardens (in their large numbers) and allow for change.

Comparison to Other Heritages

In examining the efficacy of heritage discourses for assisting the recognition and potential protection of Bringelly’s market gardens, it is important to further consider what form of heritage is protected within the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy. If market gardens can be considered a heritage of migration, there is almost no recognition of this in terms of current plans for development in Sydney. While there is a one-page statement in the Metropolitan Strategy (2005) recognising the importance of farming for CALD communities, there is no statement in regards to plans for preservation, protection or even assisted relocation of farms. Certainly there is nothing like the heritage recognition of the farms at La Perouse.

As the processes of assessing and protecting Aboriginal heritage in the Growth Centre have already been examined in Chapter Three, this section examines the preservation of colonial heritage in the new South West Growth Area. It considers whether settler heritage continues to be privileged by official heritage discourses, as suggested by scholars such as Byrne et al. (2003), despite moves towards more

inclusive forms of recognition. A report to the National Trust on the colonial landscapes of South West Sydney argued for the heritage listing of all the colonial homesteads in the area on the basis that they would soon be facing pressure from urban growth (Britton & Morris 2000). In the SWGC, this includes Denbigh, Oran Park, Raby, Glenfield and Maryland homesteads (Britton & Morris 2000). Subsequent to the report, these areas were given heritage recognition with the full support of the relevant local councils, NSW Government and the State Heritage Office (Sartor 2006).

In the letter asking for this preservation, the consultants argued that ‘there are, unfortunately many instances of important early estates being incorporated into new housing subdivisions in a way that seriously compromises the significance of these places’ (Britton and Morris 2000: n.p.). It is not only the preservation of these areas that is required, they assert, but also the ‘sense of unencumbered rural space’ (Britton and Morris 2000: n.p.). In the case of Harrington Park, residential zoning has been ascribed to an area ‘less than 150m from the front door of the mansion’ (Britton and Morris 2000: n.p.). This change from a semi-rural to urbanised landscape is seen to be particularly detrimental to the ‘integrity’ of the homesteads and their ‘important historical views’. The changing landscape was seen to impinge substantially on the sense of rural space enjoyed by some homestead owners. At least one family decided to sell their property as part of the garden of the estate would be accessible to residents of the new subdivisions (Family representative, pers. comm. 2006).

While the encroachment of urban development may be unsettling to the current residents of these homesteads and threatens the view of a rural landscape, the homesteads themselves are now comparatively well preserved in current growth plans. In the first area to be released for development, the Oran Park precinct, the homestead of Denbigh, which continues to be a working farm, is preserved on a large curtilage (Growth Centres Commission 2007). The Aboriginal heritage in the area, as discussed in Chapter Three, will be protected to the extent that such preservation coincides with areas designated for conservation. This includes environmental conservation zones as well areas like the Denbigh estate that is being preserved as settler heritage. This means that in sites such as Denbigh there is awareness of the overlap between Aboriginal and colonial heritages of the South West.

While there is at least acknowledgment of Aboriginal heritage as requiring conservation, the protection afforded it does not measure up to the level of conservation of the area’s settler heritage in the Metropolitan Strategy. The treatment of the different

heritages on the urban fringe indicates a sliding scale of preservation in the plans for growth as the colonial homestead is ascribed a large curtilage and full protection, Aboriginal heritage provided protection where it is convenient, and migrant heritage not even mentioned. The lack of recognition of migrant heritage in this area can in turn be contrasted to the market gardens in La Perouse where recognition (of a kind) has taken place.

Growers' Perspectives

In light of the various exhibitions that incorporate Sydney's agriculture, particularly market gardens in the South West, the idea of market gardens as 'heritage' is one that deserves further critical consideration. Of particular importance to the broader project of this thesis is whether recognition of market gardening as heritage would serve an agenda of advocacy for greater recognition and protection or only their memorialisation in the face of urban encroachment.

In this section the concept of market gardening in the SWGC as heritage will be considered in relation to the traditions and values associated with farming by growers. It explores what they would want to have addressed and protected or maintained in the face of development and whether this fits with prevailing heritage discourses. The first section discusses the extent to which market gardening represents a tradition associated with the country of origin. This is differentiated from the next section, which examines the role of the gardens for the CALD growers in their process of settlement in Australia. The following sections explore the role that market gardening had and continues to play in shaping Sydney and examine the relevance of prevailing heritage discourses in protecting this. In drawing attention to the limits of heritage discourses that position the fringe farms as an antiquated and ephemeral land use, the possibility is also raised of a more expansive view of the history and tradition of Bringelly's market gardens.

A Translocated Tradition

As noted earlier, traditions continued by migrants in their new country represent a 'translocation' of practices, values and ways of life (Armstrong 2000: 264). Brought from the country of origin to be incorporated into and transformed by life in the new country such traditions have become integral to Sydney's rich cultural fabric. Whether the practice of market gardening among migrant groups in Sydney's South West

represents a valued tradition from the country of origin, however, is somewhat disputed. One reason for this is that there are a variety of experiences across the different growers, and only some continue a practice that they or their family undertook in their country of origin. Further complicating matters, those who have continued a tradition of farming from their, or their parents, country of origin do not necessarily view it as 'heritage'. This section explores a number of themes from interviews with growers to consider the extent to which they value farming as a 'translocated tradition'.

For many interviewees across all the groups – Maltese, Vietnamese, Chinese, Lebanese and Cambodian – farming was part of the lifestyle of the area from which they came. For this Lebanese grower, it was a way of life: 'the village my family comes from in Lebanon was 90 percent agricultural. So it is a heritage' (Lebanese Grower 6, pers. comm. 07-03-07). As part of their everyday life, it was something with which they were familiar, and something everybody did. In the Chinese province of Go Yui where many of the other Chinese growers came from there was no industrialisation. According to this Chinese grower, there was:

No factory, just the land, growing the rice, veggie...all the growers come from the same place...the village really, really close. One village here, one village here. About one or two kilometres. So we can see each other all the time (Chinese Grower 10, pers. comm. 05-12-06).

They also describe farming as an everyday practice and a shared occupation that created a sense of community in their country of origin, China.

This Khmer grower presents a picture of a farming lifestyle similar to that described by the Chinese grower from Go Yui:

[In Cambodia] we do not have factory, we don't have money...time to have a good education. And when we don't have an education we cannot find business or government jobs, we just live in the field growing our chicken, rice and whatever, we live out there. Some that we have over we sell it for cloth, you know, some other stuff...Over there we work by hand – hoes, broom, ox. Here we use machinery, we use town water, pumps, everything. Too easy (Khmer Grower 1, pers. comm. 30-11-06).

The comments of this grower suggest that farming in Cambodia is of a subsistence nature. The grower also indicates the difference between farming in Australia and farming in Cambodia in terms of the level of mechanisation in Australia, and how this improves the lifestyle for the farmer. While it was a practice continued in Australia

from Cambodia, the move to Sydney had also changed the practice of farming for this grower. This illustrates practices of farming are not static, in the sense of an artefact, but dynamic and adaptive that would have to be maintained as such.

The interviews suggested that there were a number of farmers, however, who did not farm in their country of origin and have taken up farming since coming to Australia. When asked whether farming had a sense of tradition for him, this Chinese grower said ‘for other Chinese people, yes. They are farming in China. They know what to do’ (Chinese Grower 2, pers. comm. 11-08-06). His own situation, he stated, was quite different, ‘because, first of all, I come from Hong Kong. I am sitting in an office there. I have round about thirty people under my control’ (Chinese Grower 2, pers. comm. 11-08-06). He was not only in a white-collar office job, in his country of origin, but was in a position of seniority managing a number of other workers.

This story was echoed by that of another Chinese grower from Hong Kong, who stated that ‘I migrate from Hong Kong in 1991 and I was with the professional chartercy [sic] of engineers. And [farming] is a sea change for me’ (Chinese Grower 4, pers. comm. 24-10-06). This grower had a profession prior to coming to Australia, but could not work as an engineer here as his qualifications were not recognised. For these growers who were professionals or white-collar workers in their place of origin, Hong Kong, farming became part of the process of migration, rather than continuing a practice he had undertaken in his country of origin. The role market gardening has had in the process of settlement for CALD migrants to Australia illustrates that it is not only a translocated tradition but also part of the history of migration in Sydney.

A Practice to Protect?

When asked initially, growers were for the most part dismissive of the idea of farming as ‘heritage’ as they regarded it primarily as a job. Functioning as a form of employment, one Khmer (Cambodian) grower argued, farming is not a cultural tradition that forms part of his heritage. He stated that ‘we don’t make farming to really make Australia to Cambodia, but farming is a free work’ (Khmer Grower 1, pers. comm. 30-11-06). He does not perceive farming to be part of establishing a Khmer cultural identity in Australia, rather as a form of employment that enables him to be independent or ‘free’ in his work.

For some growers, particularly those from Asian countries, the tradition of farming in their country of origin was not a practice held in high esteem. In other words, as this Chinese grower suggests, farming is just what people do to get by:

[Chinese growers] just take it as a job and earn a living and bring up their family and that's just it. And also another [attitude related to] culture background is that, in Asian culture, people look down upon farmers. They think of themselves as low class, they didn't have a say in anything. [We started] because we didn't have any [other] skill. That's why we try to earn a living and bring up our children and educate them so they won't be a farmer again. That's why a number of Asian growers, if they have a piece of land...they would like to sell it instead of keep it... (Chinese Grower 6, pers. comm. 01-12-06).

The perceived lack of prestige of farming could be connected to the poverty associated with growers in their country of origin. Growers, particularly those from Vietnamese and Chinese backgrounds where farming is often at subsistence level, articulated this stigma associated with farming: 'what is that saying? As poor as a farmer, is it? Nothing is more poor than a farmer' (Vietnamese Grower 2, pers. comm. 06-12-06). The low social status of farmers in their countries of origin for these Asian growers is a key factor in their rejection of the idea of farming as heritage.

Many of the other growers from Lebanese and Maltese backgrounds who were interviewed had a more positive view of farming. To the question of whether farming is a cultural tradition one Lebanese grower responded:

Yes, yes definitely. Particularly with my own people, Middle Eastern. They don't just do it for the business; it's what they know best too. And it keeps them out of trouble (laughs)...it's what they know best, they know how to run this sort of industry, especially fresh produce. Like my dad, back home he's a farmer. My grandfather is a farmer. They used to live off the land (Lebanese Grower 2, pers. comm. 07-11-06).

While the Maltese and Lebanese respondents were similar to the growers from Asian backgrounds in perceiving farming primarily as a means of making a living, they generally associated greater status with market gardening as a way of life. This is evident in this Maltese grower's statement on why she continues to farm:

I like farming, I like the outdoors. One time, when I got married, I wanted to find an indoor job but...then I ended up [back] working on the farm and that's where I been. Farm life is good (Maltese Grower 3, pers. comm. 17-11-06).

For many of the Maltese and Lebanese growers, there is a sense of farming as a tradition transferred from the homeland, as will be further illustrated throughout this section. There was a greater sense of pride in farming as an occupation than among the various Asian farmers interviewed.

In summary, the growers interviewed were pretty consistent in their view of farming as an occupation rather than 'heritage'. There was a marked difference, nevertheless, between the Asian growers and those from Southern European backgrounds as to whether farming was a cultural tradition. Despite the lack of self-identification of farming as heritage, it is clear that for some growers there continues to be a sense of value around farming as a tradition. Just what is valued about farming and the extent to which this is seen as a reason to maintain the market gardens in the face of urban encroachment is further considered in this next section.

Type of Crops Grown

Although growers were hesitant to describe market gardening as 'heritage' there are aspects of this practice that would indicate it is a 'translocated cultural tradition'. One such feature is that each ethnic group tends to specialise in specific crops, as outlined in Chapter One. These are often crops that are grown in their country of origin, as also noted earlier. Maltese specialise in field brassicas (such as cabbage and cauliflowers), lettuce and hydroponic tomatoes (Parker 2004). As one Maltese grower stated: 'lettuce is a traditional crop in Malta, and continued to be the dominant crop of Maltese growers' (Maltese Grower 4, pers. comm. 13-12-06). Chinese growers tend to specialise in Asian vegetables, Vietnamese grow herbs like Thai basil and coriander and a range of melons, and people from Arabic speaking backgrounds, particularly the Lebanese, grow Lebanese cucumbers and hydroponic tomatoes (see Figure 21), with Italians growing field tomatoes (Parker 2004). The pattern of growing crops from their homeland continues with more recent waves of migrants, such as those from Africa. A Congolese man in Sydney's north-west has started a farm producing a number of crops including 'cassava, okra and rosella, as well as sweet potato, pumpkin and four varieties of amaranth, which he calls "African spinach"' (Galvin 2009: 17). He established his farm to supply traditional African vegetables to other migrants from the region, and to eventually introduce it to the broader Australian public (Galvin 2009).

As most of the growers follow these patterns of crop specialisation, there are those who didn't farm in their country of origin are now growing these crops. The

choice of crops would appear to be more representative therefore of a tradition associated with their country of origin rather than necessarily one they have personally continued through the processes of migration.



Figure 21: A Lebanese grower with his crop of greenhouse tomatoes, Leppington SWGC, 2006
(Photo: Sarah James)

Additionally, there are some growers for whom the choice of crop was a response to circumstances experienced after migrating to Australia. In this sense, it can be seen less as cultural heritage than migration heritage. This is the case for Khmer growers who farm cherry tomatoes. The story of this Khmer grower explains the process by which he came to farm this crop after arriving in Australia:

[At first] I decide to grow big tomatoes. I grow peach, nectarine [and] all stone fruit. I learn from an Italian family [who] adopted me and taught me how to do stone fruit. Including apple. And I can work this technique because we have home correspondence course, I call the Department of Agriculture to teach me how to grow good fruit and vegetables. That [Italian] man, before he passed away, he told me the quicker return is vegetable, [and] because I am a refugee [this is important to me]. If I am doing stone fruit, I have to spend three or five years to get a crop. If I grow vegetables like big tomatoes, it only takes two to

three months. I believe him and he teach me all the tricks, Department teach me all the techniques so I combine them all together. First the Department teach me [and then I learn a] second, traditional Italian way to be growing tomatoes and then I be growing tomatoes until now. And after 1995, [when] I move up here, we decide to convert [from] big tomato to cherry tomato because of the consumer. Because I believe consumer need cherry tomato more than big tomato. So we [have been] growing cherry tomato until now (Khmer Grower 2, pers. comm. 02-11-07).

The quote from this grower demonstrates that another reason many new migrants go into vegetable farming is the quick return from produce they can sell at the markets. This grower's decision to farm cherry tomatoes led to the majority of Khmer farmers in Sydney growing this crop, as he shared his knowledge with others wishing to go into farming (Khmer Grower 2, pers. comm. 02-11-07). In this example, the choice to grow vegetables relates to the process of migration and settlement to Australia, as it allowed these migrants a relatively quick income through which to establish and support themselves. While some growers seek to create a market for their native produce, such as the African grower, the Khmer grower has adopted the crop of an earlier generation of Italian growers to create a viable business for himself on settling in Sydney. The practice of market gardening and choices about what crops are produced is presented as dynamic and adaptive in these quotes. These examples challenge a 'heritage' discourse that argues for preservation of the farms as static or unchanging. These farms are complex sites of migrant adaptation to a new country that has involved translocation and transformation of tradition, creating a new dynamic productive diversity at Sydney's fringe.

Family Tradition

In discussing the concept of farming as a family tradition, it became clear that some growers considered farming as part of their heritage in the sense of something they want to 'keep' (Department of Environment Water Heritage and the Arts 2008). For the growers quoted below farming was a valued tradition within the family that had continued from their country of origin. This was the case for one Lebanese grower was proud of the fact that: 'generation after generation of my family have been farmers' (Lebanese Grower 6, pers. comm. 07-03-07). Farming is something that also continued in his generation, as he is one of four brothers who are all farmers. He said that his

father was a farmer, who had started farming when he was very young. His parents started farming when they moved to Australia because they used to be farmers in Lebanon. When his older brother was old enough he went to work with his father and then his other two brothers did the same. He then joined the family business by becoming a farmer as well.

There is also a sense of this tradition of farming as something of an innate heritage passed down through the generations. When asked if he considered farming as part of his heritage, this Maltese grower replied:

Yeah I do (pause). To carry on in this sort of game, you have to be, I don't know...born for it to a degree, because it is demanding and does require a lot of dedication. So it does need to be in your veins to some degree (Maltese Grower 6, pers. comm. 02-02-07).

The suggestion that it is something that you are 'born for' or have 'in your veins' conveys a sense of farming as an inherited tradition, passed down through the family. This echoes responses from growers, particularly Maltese growers, in other reports (Parker 2004).

The value it held as family tradition seemed to transcend the challenges of dislocation and relocation, whether it was from country to country or from their current place in Sydney to somewhere else. For one Lebanese grower it '[d]oesn't matter where we go, we'll still buy land and do the same job' (Lebanese Grower 6, pers. comm. 07-03-07). As the responses from this section suggest, it was predominantly Lebanese and Maltese growers who indicated they valued farming as a family tradition translocated from their country of origin. As the Lebanese grower indicated in the quote above, the tradition of farming is one he wanted to, and asserted he will, continue in the face of urban encroachment. Rather than ephemeral or an antiquated tradition that is only a reflection of the past, these quotes illustrate that market gardening is a 'living' heritage for these growers. Recognition of the 'living heritage' value of these farms for growers above would involve ensuring that it could be continued as an ongoing dynamically changing practice rather than only memorialised for posterity.

Connection to Land

The value of farming as a family tradition was also evident in a sense of connection to the farm itself. This was articulated when growers were discussing farms being lost to development. According to one young Lebanese grower, the loss of their farms would

have a great effect on many growers as ‘you’re like taking a part of their body away from them. So if you say we have to sell up, I’d be a bit sad because that’s where I grew up and that’s where I am now’ (Lebanese Grower 6, pers. comm. 07-03-07). The sense of connection to the farm described by this grower came through his family having a history on the land. For this second generation grower, the land held a particular significance: ‘I was born in that house there [on the farm] and I’m still living there’ (Maltese Grower 2, pers. comm. 17-11-06). The sense of connection to the land was again particularly evident among Lebanese and Maltese Growers.

The following description of farming in Malta illustrates the significance of farms within Maltese culture. It indicates why this approach to farming may persist among Maltese migrants within Australia:

Sarah: And in Malta do people pass their farms down from father to son in the family?

Grower: Yeah they pass it down to their kids...I know people there, like the father and the wife, they got none of their kids interested in the farm. So they would rather rent it out to somebody...they don’t sell it in Malta, you know, they don’t want to sell (Maltese Grower 4, pers. comm. 13-12-06).

This grower suggests that in his country of origin, Malta, farmland is considered part of a family heritage that is passed down through the generations, the selling of which is highly frowned upon. The sense of association with the farm itself further suggests that some growers view farming as a valued tradition, as part of their personal history. The value of farms in Malta suggests that this is also an aspect of farming that has been ‘translocated’. The sense of heritage around farming for some growers, as a family tradition and a connection to land, represents a reason for them to maintain their farms in the face of development. This attachment to the farm itself suggests that the site is valued as well as the value attached to the practice of market gardening. For these farmers who have grown up on their farms market gardening is not an ephemeral land use but rather, like the growers in Malta, a valued tradition and way of life.

Knowledge

There were also other aspects of farming which some growers considered part of its value as a ‘tradition’ that do not directly correspond to the definition of tradition translocated from the country of origin. One example of this is the knowledge that is passed on between farmers. For some growers, farming is a practice that requires

knowledge developed from experience, or potentially generations of experience. As this Maltese grower argued:

Do you think a bank manager is going to know how to grow vegetables? I get people till today that do not know what a cabbage is. Till today. So how I see it is that you have to have some heritage, you have to have some knowledge (Maltese Grower 2, pers. comm. 17-11-06).

The quotes of the Lebanese and Maltese respondents, in particular, in this chapter suggest a sense of worth in the skills and knowledge associated with farming. Their responses indicate a sense that this accumulated knowledge, and by extension the farmers themselves, should be protected against the threats to their livelihood such as urban encroachment.

The sense of pride in the usefulness of their knowledge to the community is mixed with a concern about the trend of transience through the industry. As a Lebanese grower noted, 'people aren't staying in it to inherit the knowledge and the information, people going out and new people coming in... (Lebanese Grower 1, pers. comm. 21-07-06). This grower expressed a sense of dismay that such transience may result in the accumulated knowledge being lost.

There are also, however, those growers who are sceptical about exactly what this 'knowledge' comprises, and so implicitly question the idea of tradition claimed in regards to an accumulated knowledge. This Vietnamese grower was quite adamant that it was not a tradition in this sense:

No, it's just a job [with] nothing that is passed on. Unless it's something really [unique]...like how some farmers they have some special kind of crop that they produce and it runs in the family. Any person can be a farmer as long as they grow crop, but they only learn over the years (Vietnamese Grower 2, pers. comm. 06-12-06).

The above quote indicates that the value of farming as a tradition, in the sense of knowledge passed on, is disputed. Furthermore, those who see this knowledge as valuable and important to pass on do not necessarily connect it to their country of origin. This finding may not directly support the description of market gardening as a translocated tradition, and therefore as 'migration heritage' according to prevailing definitions. It does suggest, however, a broader sense of value in, and desire to maintain, the practice of farming as it has been developed by migrants on Sydney's fringe. The emphasis on the importance of farming knowledge currently held by

migrant market gardeners, by the Lebanese grower quoted above, indicates he values farming as an ongoing tradition. For this grower the aspect of farming that should be maintained is learnt through the *practice* of farming and passed on. Building on the responses from growers quoted earlier, this example further illustrates that farming is a dynamic practice and for those that value it as a tradition it is as a *living* heritage. In this sense it would not be adequately represented as heritage that is either ephemeral or unchanging.

In this section on migrant heritage, growers have indicated a range of perspectives on the idea of farming as a cultural tradition from the country of origin. Some of those interviewed indicated a sense of value in farming as a way of life, one that was often a tradition of their family or country of origin. These growers expressed a desire to continue farming and keep their farms in the face of change. There are also those who see it as *only* as a job, one that ‘anyone’ can do. For these growers, even if their family or others in their country had a tradition of farming this was not seen as something that should be construed as heritage. It was not something they valued as a cultural tradition that should be maintained. There is, again, evidence of a split between the European growers, Maltese and Lebanese, and the ‘Asian’ Vietnamese grower cited above on this issue. Even in the rather dismissive comment of the Vietnamese grower quoted above, however, it is noted that there is something to ‘learn over the years’, and that for some groups this knowledge is passed down within families or communities and for others just accumulated. These responses suggest that, overall, the views on farming as a cultural heritage differ between the growers from what might be broadly grouped as ‘European’ and ‘Asian’ backgrounds. While both groups described farming as a way of life, it was only those from a Maltese or Lebanese background that indicated that it had heritage value for them. The quotes from these growers suggest market gardening is something they would wish to ‘keep’ for the future, but prevailing heritage discourses would appear problematic in maintaining this ongoing tradition.

The value ascribed to farming as a tradition by some growers fits with the more recent articulations of heritage that value ‘ways of life’ (Sandercock and Klinger 1998; Howard 2003). As argued earlier, the growers’ diverse views do not support an argument for protection of farming as primarily a cultural tradition from their country of origin or since settlement in Sydney. Those growers who indicated that farming held a sense of heritage for them articulated its value as a ‘way of life’ and a ‘living heritage’. These values are not reflected in heritage discourses that memorialise them as part of

the city's past or argue for preserving their farms fixed and unchanging into the future. The growers' responses directly challenge the prevailing heritage discourses that position these farms as ephemeral or a symbol of the past. New heritage discourses that value 'ways of life' need to be mobilised to defend the continuing value of market gardening as part of the productive diversity of Sydney's urban fringe.

Migration and Settlement

This section seeks to further analyse the relevance and efficacy of heritage discourses for greater recognition of the values in and uses of land of Bringelly's market gardeners. It examines the extent to which the practice of market gardening could be considered part of the heritage of the migration to and settlement within Australia, a second element of prevailing definitions of 'migrant heritage' (Australian Heritage Commission 1996; Armstrong 2000; NSW Migration Heritage Centre 2007). Distinct from its place in the practices and traditions brought from a country of origin, this section looks at the role of market gardening in the settlement culture of new migrants. This section indicates that there is a range of views among the growers as to the extent to which this role is one that should be protected and maintained as the farms are threatened by growth. The responses of the growers on this issue further illustrates the values associated with market gardening and the extent to which these values suggest the farms should be protected against development through a new 'way of life' heritage discourse. The analysis in this section also draws attention to the way in which farming has facilitated the settlement of many new and culturally diverse arrivals into a city that is now a heterogeneous amalgam of cultures. The position of market gardening as one of the multiple urbanisms that have historically and continue to constitute the city is illustrated in this analysis.

This Lebanese grower conveys how the arrival of new groups of migrants has built up a farming landscape on Sydney's fringe that now comprises many different groups:

[It] used to be owned by the Maltese [and the] Italians. They used to be the only community that ran the marketing. Then...the Lebanese community started hydroponic. And now it's Vietnamese, Chinese. Always the latest migration, the latest wave of migration goes to the hard work. [This is because] its hard work. Farming is hard work. And they don't have the skill to do something else and its

something they think they can adopt and do without the higher qualifications or the training. They can learn from each other, they can depend on each other (Lebanese Grower 1, pers. comm. 21-07-06).

Reflecting the history of the various migrant groups in the Introduction Chapter, the above quote describes the role of market gardening in the process of migration and settlement for many CALD migrants to Sydney. The resulting landscape is layered with various generations of farmers and the array of crops and livestock their farms have brought to Sydney (see Figure 22). Its place in the settlement culture of new migrants suggests that market gardening is not only a translocated heritage for some growers but part of Australian migration history and heritage of the city of Sydney.



Figure 22: Waves of migration: A Chinese grower's Asian vegetable farm that is rented from the Maltese chicken farmer whose sheds site behind it, South West Sydney, 2006

(Photo: Sarah James)

The role of farming in the process of migration and settlement is further reflected in the following quote from a Chinese farmer, who noted that for young Chinese migrants farming continues to be seen as a good occupation to take up when settling into Australia. The farmer states that:

This [last] ten years I see a lot of people come from China. They get married, the old generation they come here, and they can apply their son and daughter to come...their daughter can marry and they can start a new farm. [This last] ten

year, so rapid growing. Before you only got around 120 market gardens around here, now it's over 250. That's a lot (Chinese Grower 2, pers. comm. 11-08-06). That many newly arrived Chinese are, according to this grower, taking up farming indicates that it is still a form of employment for many new migrants to Sydney. The numbers indicated by the Chinese grower cited above suggest that market gardening is not necessarily an industry in decline. While older farmers may retire, this grower's statement suggests there continues to be many new farms starting up as new groups of migrants arrive. This is supported by the reports, such as that of the African farmer referred to earlier (Galvin 2009), that other new migrant groups continue to enter farming. These examples suggest that market gardening can be seen as an ongoing tradition, taken up by new groups, rather than relegating it to the past as was the focus of various earlier exhibitions.

There is also a sense among growers of post WW2 migrant market gardens, such as those in Bringelly, now having a relatively long tradition in Australia. In the view of some growers, this provided another reason to preserve them. As a Lebanese grower asserted, 'to me it's important to keep farming in the Sydney Basin. You've got farmers that have been here for 30 or 40 years' (Lebanese Grower 6, pers. comm. 07-03-07). For this grower at least the relative longevity of these farms is a reason they should be considered valuable as part of Sydney's migrant heritage.

Some growers drew attention to the connections between market gardens as a practice of culturally and linguistically diverse migrants and a broader Australian agricultural tradition. For this Maltese grower, the heritage value of farming by CALD groups in Sydney was its connection to the history of Australia since colonial settlement:

Farming has always been there since the white man basically came to Australia. It's like, ok, you can see how far it's gone back, without farming the vegetables people had no food...Vegetables has always been thing [that has been necessary for settlements] (Maltese Grower 3, pers. comm. 17-11-06).

Through this narrative, this grower is connecting CALD market gardeners to the valued and mythologised position of agriculture in Australian settlement history. The heritage value of farming for this grower derives, from the place of farming within Australian traditions rather than those of a country of origin. The market gardens in La Perouse that passed from European to Chinese growers are tangible evidence of the link to Sydney's history of migration since colonisation. As Chapter Two illustrated in its

analysis of the history of agriculture in Sydney, the gardens and farms of CALD migrant groups have historically, however, been seen as marginal rather than central to the growth of the city. This could, and arguably should, change, however, if the role of urban farms once again becomes considered important for the sustainability of the city, which the next chapter explores.

In aligning their practice with Australia's settlement history however the growers did not connect their farming with the past and ongoing dispossession of Aboriginal groups in Bringelly. When asked about their views on Aboriginal values in the area the responses ranged from a question in reply: 'there aren't any left in Sydney are there?'; a concern that they 'don't claim it all back'; and a sense of sympathy for their dispossession but a disassociation from any responsibility for this. This disassociation from a sense of colonial guilt is common among CALD migrants to Australia (Pugliese 2002). In seeking to bring the diverse stakes in land on the fringe into 'dialogue' (Anderson 2000), however, it is important to draw attention, if only briefly, to the (unintended) role of market gardeners in the continued occupation and farming of land previously inhabited by Aboriginal people. Illustrating the postcolonial complexity of land use politics on Sydney's fringe these growers are at once occupiers of Aboriginal land and marginalised cultural minorities fighting for their own recognition and protection. In thinking the city 'interculturally' and 'across' different cultural groups in order to create inclusive planning visions for the city (Sandercock 2003b, 2004; Wood & Landry 2008), it is arguably important to draw attention to these lines of friction and fracture in Sydney's land use histories. However, drawing out the complexities of these Aboriginal-migrant relations in more detail, is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Due to the potential threat to Bringelly's market gardens by development and pressures within the industry, many growers are concerned that '[i]t's coming to a stage where we are going to lose all this' (Maltese Grower 3, pers. comm. 17-11-06). The Chinese grower who noted the increase in the new farms among the Chinese community previously is also concerned for the future of the industry in the face of development. He states:

We are just worried...that in the future, it's no more, no more farms. If the government starts [developing this area] in the future, around about 50 years or so, there will be not many farming in there. Just like before, [like the] farms in Mascot and Botany there. But now they pushed back in here, pushed right back

in here. Pushed from here, push us there (Chinese Grower 2, pers. comm. 11-08-06).

This statement expresses the grower's concern that the planned development for the South West may mean there is no space for farming to continue in the Sydney Basin as it keeps getting pushed further out of the city. This grower suggests that the farms in the South West are following the fate of most of the farms that used to occupy space in the La Perouse/Mascot /Botany area, of which only a couple remain as heritage sites. This may threaten, he indicates, the role of farming to provide employment and community for newly arrived migrants to Sydney and so the future for market gardens. The farmer's statement above also suggests that the protection of only three farms in Botany and Mascot, under a heritage designation, did not represent the protection of the farming culture, and many farms, that were once there. This inference further brings into question the efficacy of prevailing heritage discourses in gaining recognition and potential protection of Bringelly's (many) market gardens as an ongoing practice in Sydney's planning. Maintaining the numerous market gardens on Sydney's South West, rather than only one or two as 'representative' of a former farming landscape, requires more than the form of heritage recognition ascribed to the Botany farms.

Farming as Migrant Employment

For many new CALD migrants to Sydney farming presented a number of benefits as a form of employment further highlighting its role in Sydney's migration history. These included the ease of entry; self-employment; lack of language barriers and avoiding racism in the workplace, explored in greater detail below. The central role of market gardening in the migration process for these growers, however, did not always mean that they attributed a positive value to it. One reason for this might be that the sense of cultural dislocation and exclusion and material struggles that can be associated with migration (Castles 2000; Ang 2001b) may not always be something that people would seek to memorialise or ascribe value to.

A number of growers suggested that they or their families took up farming due to a lack of other skills or opportunities. The father of this Maltese grower entered a farming community in the South West when he arrived in Sydney: '[he] come from Malta and came and stayed in Horsley Park, where it was all farming, basically everyone went into farming' (Maltese Grower 3, pers. comm. 17-11-06). It was through

this connection to and settlement in a Maltese farming community in Sydney that his father entered into farming in Australia.

Often growers indicated that to find employment they often had a choice between farming and jobs such as factory work and later taxi driving, or other kinds of manual labour. This Lebanese grower describes his (re)turn to farming after such a form of manual labour:

It was [19]87 I think, [when I went back to farming], till then I was working in the steel industry. The work did slow down and I think maybe I can find better work and maybe I can find something for my own, and I start here (Lebanese Grower 3, pers. comm. 16-11-06).

Farming was seen as a job that had certain appeal to new migrants, including autonomy. Due to its various challenges, it could also be seen as a form of employment, like taxi driving, available to new migrants as it is not highly desired by the rest of the population. This was the case for the family of one Chinese grower (through translator), who asserted that:

He doesn't see it as heritage or family business. [He took it up] because his parents, when they came here, they don't have other skills. They don't know how to drive and it's very difficult to get a job. The other relatives like growing the farm and [so] they just [went] back to growing. If he had a chance he would rather be doing another job (Chinese Grower 9, pers. comm. 05-12-06).

That a number of growers took up farming despite its undesirability in their view illustrates the key role it has played for migrants, providing a means of income and support as they establish themselves in their new country. The above quote from the Chinese grower further illustrates that farming is not something that all growers value or want to 'keep'. Viewing market gardening as a form of migrant employment does emphasise the role it plays in settlement, however, and for some it is seen as 'better work' than other available options.

The role of farming in facilitating the settlement of CALD migrants to Sydney is further illustrated in considering the issue of language. One of the major hurdles for many migrants of non-English speaking backgrounds to Australia is their lack of proficiency in English, both verbal and written (Dunn 1998). This can severely constrain their options in terms of accessing work, and often makes working with other migrant from the same ethnic background desirable and sometimes the best means for finding work (Dunn 1998).

A lack of proficiency in English was the reason one Chinese migrant started farming. As he explained through a translator,

He came here to work as a farmer because he has no choice. Language is a great barrier, he can't speak the language and so there is nothing he can do. This is the only thing he can do (Chinese Grower 8, pers. comm. 05-12-06).

For people with low levels of English, it is an occupation that is relatively easy to get into, both due to the autonomous nature of the work and the fact that the majority of established market gardeners are also from non-English speaking backgrounds. That market gardening is not a job that requires constant communication with the outside world enhances its attractiveness to CALD migrants. In undertaking the usual work of the farm, growers require only minimum levels of English for the markets in terms of communicating with agents or shopkeepers.

Many growers have taken up farming as it allows them to be self-employed or work with other migrants from the same language group. This can potentially ease the process of settlement in allowing growers to make a life for themselves in Sydney removed to an extent from experiences of racism and discrimination within broader society. As one Khmer grower explained:

Farming is a free work. Some people...if they were at a factory and the boss was talking in a nasty way, swearing or racist they [may not be able] to control themselves. So ok, to get themselves calm to get the same level of working with the factory they rather become farmers, to get themselves away from those [people]... (Khmer Grower 1, pers. comm. 30-11-06).

The ability to work for himself meant that he could escape racism in the workplace. As the following quote from a Chinese grower illustrates, however, racism is not something that is necessarily avoided by moving to the farm. He has a neighbour to his farm that has made racist remarks to him. The grower asserts that 'I do everything right, but he wants to make trouble...sometimes he come to the fence and say "Oh I don't want you, I hate the Asian people", like that "Asian people rubbish"' (Chinese Grower 6, pers. comm. 01-12-06). The occurrence of racism in this instance, however, did not cause this Chinese grower as much personal anxiety as the Khmer grower discussed in the previous quote. For the Chinese grower, he did not have to have anything to do with this neighbour, stating that 'neighbour is neighbour, is not living with you. He doesn't want to talk to me; I don't want to talk to him' (Chinese Grower 6, pers. comm. 01-12-06). This is quite different to a workplace like a factory, and an employer-employee

relationship, which has a structural power differential and presents a situation in which the antagonist cannot be so easily avoided. Many of the people interviewed felt that they were more in control of their lives on the farm as opposed to working in a factory. That farming allows growers to feel more in control of the process of settling into Sydney has been of great value for new migrants and has been an important part of its role in Sydney's migration history.

The responses in this section suggest that there are a number of reasons why people choose to go into farming as new migrants to Australia. This includes the fact that farming is perceived as a relatively easy occupation to undertake in the absence of other skills or language; it was perceived to be the only job they were able to do in Australia; and it allowed them to avoid racism and prejudice in the workplace. These responses all suggest that farming on market gardens can be viewed as part of the process of migration in Australia. As these quotes indicate, the growers do not always value the role of market gardening in their migration and settlement to Australia as it often represented the difficulties they faced in this process of settlement. For others however, farming represents 'free work' valued as it provides independence and self-sufficiency.

This section further illustrates that market gardening can be seen as a valued 'way of life' for some growers. Viewing farming in this way emphasises the relevance of recent iterations of heritage that recognise intangible and ongoing traditions rather than only objects or buildings. As well as a tradition continued from a country of origin, it also represents the new life created in the process of settling in Sydney. It is therefore arguably part of the city's migration history and heritage in addition to its value to individual farmers. The role it has and continues to play in providing employment to CALD migrants positions the practice of market gardening as an integral part of the large, diverse city that is Sydney. Acknowledging this history of migrant groups in Sydney is important creating a more inclusive narrative of the city's history and, by extension, the imagined city community. Recognition of these farms is also recognition of the CALD farmers, positioning migrant groups as constitutive of, rather than peripheral to, Sydney. The historic role of market gardens on the South West fringe in the settlement of new migrants to Australia suggests that they should be given greater attention in plans for development on the fringe. What form this recognition should take, as its heritage values are not such that it can or should be preserved unchanging, continues to be a difficult question.

Providing for the Next Generation

Although farming has provided a livelihood for many first generation migrants, its role in the lives of second (and third) generations is also arguably an aspect of migration heritage. While such intergenerational aspects are not overtly addressed in official definitions of migrant heritage in Australia, the question of what to 'keep' for the next generation is a key aspect of both the Australian and United Nations definitions of heritage quoted earlier (Department of Environment Water Heritage and the Arts 2008; United Nations Environment Scientific and Cultural Organization 2008). Establishing a better life for children is often considered one of the main reasons to migrate to a new country and part of this is often a desire for children to have jobs with better pay and higher status than their parents (Burnley 2001; Grogger & Trejo 2002; Burnley 2005). The extent to which growers value the idea of succession is an important question in analysing the relevance and efficacy of mobilising discourses of heritage around these farms in the face of urban encroachment.

When discussing what they wanted for the next generation, many of the growers indicated a very strong desire to provide for their children. Farming, however, may or may not be a part of this. As this Khmer grower explains:

My kid, for example, I say that I come here with no piece of gold, no piece of land, no everything for you...And all I can teach is farming. And recommend they come to work with me in the heat, 30-40 degrees and then, you know, six o'clock in the morning finish 10 o'clock at night. Oh dear, I don't say anything; I just concentrate on the schooling...Of course everybody wants to keep something for the kid (Khmer Grower 1, pers. comm. 30-11-06).

From the interviews, the question of whether people wanted their children to be growers could be broken down into a number of themes. These include the issue of education, progress and providing an inheritance.

The most common response to the question 'do you want your children to be farmers?' related to the issue of education. While there was a split among growers between those who did not want their children to farm and those who would be happy if their children took over their farm, both groups believed that a good education was essential. For all the growers interviewed education was valued as it gave their children options other than having to farm. Even if parents were quite positive about the idea of

their children taking on the farm, they saw education as providing security, something their children could fall back on or use if they changed their minds about farming.

For many parents, the difficulties associated with farming meant that they did not want their children to continue farming. The desire for the next generation to have a better life than that of the first generation of migrants can be seen as central to this. As one Lebanese grower stated,

[People are] not training their children [as farmers] because it's been hard work and if they can find better jobs then people try to progress forward, and that's in everything I guess (Lebanese Grower 1, pers. comm. 21-07-06).

The notion of intergenerational progress, of the process of migration being one that sees the next generation in a better position than the first or even second generation of migrants (Grogger & Trejo 2002; Burnley 2005), is suggested by this response. It was a sentiment also echoed in the responses of other growers. This meant that there was not always a simple answer as to whether they wanted their kids to continue farming. When asked if he would like his children to continue with farming, this Maltese grower said:

Well, that's the thing that's facing us now. My kids, well, the eldest boy he's quite interested in the business. The eldest daughter, she's doing her year 12. And she's one of these gifted students who get 98 percent in English all the time... so I don't think she's going to be here. She might turn her hand to law and be a brilliant lawyer or journalist...but as far as the eldest boy, and the other boys too, yeah they like coming here and helping out (Maltese Grower 6, pers. comm. 02-02 07).

A preference for a professional career for the bright student is evident in this response. The aptitude and tendency of the child, however, seems to be a primary determinant of whether parents consider the viability of their children taking on farming, rather than it simply being undesirable.

While the sons of this Maltese grower enjoy working on the farm, and so may continue their interest into a career, the children of this Khmer grower have quite a different perception of farming according to the grower. He states that:

When I go to work on the farm, my kid helping me. They find it very hard to work in the heat, in the wet, in the cold, you know?...they said 'Oh, I don't want to be a farmer, a grower' (Khmer Grower 1, pers. comm. 30-11-06).

According to the grower, the physical difficulties of farming have been an incentive for Cambodian children to work very hard at their education:

[I have] this friend...who working on the farm. Honestly, eighty percent of their kids [are] very good...Eighty percent [have] finished uni, at least college or TAFE. The reason they get [those] high [scores at school] is they don't want to work in the heat (laughs) (Khmer Grower 1, pers. comm. 30-11-06).

This Chinese grower supported this sentiment, stating that:

Our kids won't be doing farming again. Especially [the kids of] people who were of that background before. They know that agriculture is hard work, ok, because in our country agriculture is labour intensive. And in this country, all machinery, therefore they think that if you have a good education you won't be doing this hard work. This is why they try to earn the money and [ensure] their kid [has] a good education background and [can] move on to do some other thing. They won't do agriculture again (Chinese Grower 6, pers. comm. 01-12-06).

This grower noted that the desire for their children to do something other than farming is particularly strong in 'Asian culture' (Chinese Grower 6, pers. comm. 01-12-06). The devaluing of farming among Chinese, Vietnamese and Cambodian groups appear to be intergenerational, with most parents and children not favouring succession. This indicates that for most farmers from these groups farming is not a heritage to 'keep' for the next generation.

While this negative view of farming was not as prevalent among Maltese and Lebanese growers, the difficulties associated with the contemporary farming lifestyle are changing people's views. As this conversation with a Maltese grower illustrates, the challenges faced by farmers in the current climate have altered the views of people who would otherwise want their children to take on farming. Their experiences of the financial hardships and the difficulties of ensuring a market for produce, discussed in Chapter Five, have created a sense of pessimism about the future for this Maltese grower and his wife that was evident in our conversation:

Sarah: So you really wouldn't like to see your son go into farming?

Grower: You've got us on a bad week.

Sarah: Everything is looking rather bleak?

Grower: It is, it's disastrous.

Wife: Yeah, we're going to plough in lettuce...and you just think...it's hard.

Yeah, as each generation goes along, what's [our son's] generation going to be like? (Maltese Grower 5, pers. comm. 18-12-06).

These growers were forced to 'plough in' lettuce due to the cancellation of a contract from one of the two main Australia supermarket. The negative effects of this monopoly on farm viability are discussed further in Chapter Five. The relatively positive perspective of Maltese and Lebanese growers on farming as a career that has been previously noted is, nevertheless, still evident within quotes from these growers. While equally extolling the importance of education, this Lebanese grower is still very open to his children taking on the farm:

I encourage them a lot, even if they are educated and informed and have higher qualifications they could be farmers anyway. So it's always something that I lean towards...It's a very hard business, at this stage as you know, import/export, the world is changing and sometimes the big dollar is not there. But I think it's a good lifestyle and a good thing to be in and [can be] their 'spare' qualification (Lebanese Grower 1, pers. comm. 21-07-06).

While there remains a more optimistic perspective on farming as an occupation and lifestyle among the Lebanese and Maltese, and less among the Chinese and Khmer growers, the main reasons given by those who do not want their children to take up farming are quite similar. The physically demanding nature of the work and the poor financial returns that many are experiencing at present means it is not something they desire for their children. The pattern of children of migrants shifting away from the often physically demanding and low paid jobs of their parents is one that has been noted in previous research on migrant groups in Sydney and elsewhere (Grogger & Trejo 2002; Burnley 2005).

Despite the growers' responses, it is not always the case that the second generation leave farming for other careers. While most growers are first generation migrants (Brunton & Hall 2007), it is important to note that some of the growers interviewed are themselves second generation. This indicates that there are a number of growers who have chosen to continue the practice of farming their parents started in Australia. This was particularly true for the Maltese growers interviewed, of whom five out of seven were second generation. While the Lebanese farmers had generally been in Australia for less time, there was also a second-generation grower among those interviewed. The most interesting case perhaps is that of one of the Vietnamese growers who arrived in Australia as a child and has continued the farming business her mother established as a newly arrived migrant. While she went to university, following the pattern of educational achievement indicated above, she chose to study agriculture and

then return to farming (Vietnamese Grower 2, pers. comm. 06-12-06). This grower's story illustrates that even among growers from Asian backgrounds there are children of first generation migrants who choose to continue farming as a way of life in Sydney.

The existence of these second generation growers suggest that market gardening is not only a practice of newly arrived migrants, but also a tradition that can continue with successive generations. That it continues to provide a livelihood and sometimes a connection between their ancestral country and Australia for second-generation migrants further illustrates the important role it has played in the settlement culture of many migrants to Sydney. As an ongoing practise and a form of employment these growers suggest that even if farming is valued, it cannot be 'kept' for the next generation in the same way an artefact or object might be if it is not financially viable. This indicates that any attempt to protect and preserve the market gardens by positioning them within Sydney's migrant heritage needs to address it as a dynamic and changing livelihood. This requires recognition of a 'living' heritage of ways of life (Sandercock and Kliger 1998; Howard 2003) rather than a memorialisation of an ephemeral land use, as suggested by the aforementioned 2005-2006 exhibitions on Sydney's peri-agriculture. It is not simply a matter of preserving the market gardens as representations of an antiquated tradition, as has occurred with the Botany farms. Rather, preserving the heritage associated with the Bringelly farms entails protecting the *embodied tradition* evident in the continuing practice of both first and second-generation growers.

A Means of Support

Further problematising the idea of farming as heritage in the sense of a tradition to be preserved in stasis, growers may value farming because it provides the capacity to materially support their children rather than being the inheritance itself. One farmer built his son a house on his property. While this may not fit into an official definition of heritage, the provision for the next generation through farming evident in this house building process situates it within the process of migration and settlement. The Chinese grower built the house because:

My son likes to live with me [and] my son cannot afford to buy a house outside. That's why. They're very expensive. And he knows about that. Normally to buy a house now is four hundred and fifty thousand. Over. But now I build this one,

and everyone say very good, very big, only 350 [thousand dollars]. That's 100 thousand saved. Why not! (Chinese Grower 2, pers. comm. 11-08-06).

For those whose children are working with them on the farm, they feel that they can pass on infrastructure and associated property such as vehicles. There is a sense that this is what they can offer to pass on – what they have to give to their children rather than necessarily it being about the farming per se. In terms of his child taking on farming, this Maltese grower said:

You can't push them you know. I like, [my son] I got working with me, I want to give him everything to work with you know. I got the hydroponic, I got the truck, I got the stand in the market, and I got the forklift. You know, if he wants to use them he doesn't have to buy them. They're just there... (Maltese Grower 4, pers. comm. 13-12-06).

In terms of their children's 'inheritance', the responses of these growers suggest that they see farming as having provided things of material value, be it money or land or property. These are the 'pieces of gold' that they have accumulated through years of hard work as market gardeners and from this they are seeking to set their children up in whatever way they can, whether it be in the provision of housing, infrastructure for a business or an education. The quotes from these growers further illustrate the way in which market gardening facilitates the settlement process of many CALD migrants into Sydney. It is a 'way of life' that has offered these growers the opportunity to establish a degree of financial security through which they can assist and improve the life of the second generation (Grogger & Trejo 2002; Burnley 2005). It is apparent that for some growers this is more important than the farming itself being passed on. While this response doesn't overtly support the preservation of farming as 'heritage' in the sense of a valued cultural tradition to be passed on, it does illustrate the role of market gardening in the settlement of CALD groups in Sydney inter-generationally. This example further illustrates that farming is a changing practice that has a different role for growers over time and cannot be represented by simply memorialising it as an antiquated tradition.

A Question of Value

The question of the heritage value of market gardens was rather complicated for growers, who as the previous sections illustrated often felt heritage did not adequately apply to a form of work that many associated with the difficulties of migrating to a new

country. As with the previous section there were other aspects of farming that the growers valued that did not necessarily fit into the official migrant heritage criteria as directly related to the process of migration (Australian Heritage Commission 1996; Armstrong 2000). Despite the hardships, one Maltese grower stated: 'you feel like you want to keep going, you know. You see these things there, you get like attached to it somehow. You sort of don't want to see it go away, you know' (Maltese Grower 4, pers. comm. 13-12-06). This suggests a value in the practice of market gardening for the growers themselves, not necessarily as a cultural heritage or for its role in settlement per se, but in the farming itself. There is a sense of value in the actual everyday practices of growing vegetables.

This value is also strong among growers from other groups. For this Vietnamese grower, the satisfaction she derives from farming was a primary reason why she continued to farm instead of taking up something that offers a more stable and reliable income:

When you first grow something and it slowly grows, it's like raising a child. You see it slowly transform itself and produce its fruit. When you see that and you pick it, you realise, you know, I don't know, that's the fascination thing. And you know the end result is that you pick it and you've got good produce and everything. It is a big deal to be able to sell and have money [coming] in, but sometimes just picking it and saying wow, we've done this, you know. It's this good, can anyone get it as this good? It's that real satisfaction, that satisfaction you know. I think that's the thing that keeps us going and I mean, both my partner and I, we can go and look for work somewhere else, in a factory, a stable \$700 a week...both people earning a base \$700 a week and we can plan it out, but with farming its income isn't very stable. But hoping to get the big crop every year (Vietnamese Grower 2, pers. comm. 06-12-06).

This grower conveys a sense of optimism connected to the practice of farming, which keeps her family farming despite the option of more predictable work such as in factories.

The sense of potential in the process of farming is also valued by this Lebanese grower, '[w]hen you work in this industry and when you plant...and see it grow you can't give up doing it again and again and again' (Lebanese Grower 3, pers. comm. 16-11-06). It is also more than just 'hope' that keeps a person farming. In the response of this grower, there is a sense of emotional attachment to the farm that goes beyond its

exchange value, '[t]o me it's like you are raising a small baby when you are raising a small plant...It's like a part of your body. Everywhere I go my mind is on my crop' (Lebanese Grower 6, pers. comm. 07-03-07). These statements suggest why people continue to farm despite the financial and other challenges of the industry. The satisfaction of growing produce is presented in these quotes as being more than just related to money, and so more than just the economic returns of employment. While it does not speak directly to the process of migration or fit easily into even recent definitions of migrant heritage the value ascribed to farming by these growers emphasise that it is a 'living' practice. In this sense, in an indirect way, these responses further illustrate the place of market gardens in the settlement culture of migrants. This is not so much the direct role it plays in settling into Australia, which has been the focus of analysis so far, but its value to the groups themselves as part of the life they create in Australia. The above quotes reiterate the emphasis in previous sections on market gardening as a 'living' and 'embodied' practice, that is also a tradition for many growers. It is on these grounds, rather than as an object or item that has to be conserved as a snapshot of the past, that market gardening should be considered and incorporated into planning.

Migrant Market Gardens as Heritage?

Heritage as a concept, from the broad and yet prevailing United Nations definition, is supposed to represent what 'we' value from the past for the future (United Nations Environment Scientific and Cultural Organization 2008). The question of who is this 'we' when considering heritage in a city like Sydney speaks to questions of imagined community, identity and belonging as noted earlier (Howard 2003; Ashworth et al. 2007; Graham & Howard 2008). It resonates with the problem posed by the Metropolitan Strategy's vision for the city: who is the imagined community included in the processes of determining what should be part of the city of the future. The issues of what is valued of the multiple aspects of the (shared) past of a city (and who by) brings into question whose story is, or should, be told. As Chambers argued heritage is not a simple description of the past, rather it represents the process by which 'history is harvested and collected, to be assembled, made to speak, re-member, re-read and rewritten' (Chambers 1994: 3). This process has material implications, as this chapter

illustrates, in the sense that heritage values can also determine whose way of life should be protected in the face of change in an ex-colonial migrant-receiving city.

The plans for development on Sydney's peri-urban fringe and their neglect of the Bringelly growers suggested that the values in land of these growers had not been considered, incorporated or even heard in planning decision-making. Considering the idea of Bringelly's market gardens as heritage, as the exhibitions around Sydney's urban agriculture appeared to suggest, this chapter examined the values and traditions growers associate with these farms. A key aim here was to determine whether heritage discourses provided a valid lens through which to view these values, especially as there were conflicting accounts of what growers felt about maintaining the farms in the face of development.

Having explored the practice of market gardening in relation to the definition of migrant heritage, it is worth considering further how heritage is defined in NSW. This suggests the extent to which market gardening, as a way of life, might be incorporated into planning through a heritage discourse. The NSW State heritage register, under which the Botany gardens are listed, protects items that are defined as 'places, buildings and objects' (New South Wales Government 2008). Its broad criterion would potentially serve to encompass market gardens as sites under two aspects:

Criterion (b) – an item has strong or special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in NSW cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area);

Criterion (d) – an item has strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group in NSW (or the local area) for social, cultural or spiritual reasons (New South Wales Government 2008).

These could potentially account for the role of these gardens in Sydney's migration history and the value ascribed to farming by a number of growers as a translocated cultural tradition from their country of origin. In practice, however, the broad definitions of heritage at a state and national level have still resulted primarily in heritage lists that comprise of objects rather than 'ways of life'. The deployment of these discourses needs to be broadened to include the 'living heritage' of migrant market gardening.

The continued focus on tangible buildings and artefacts in the items that are actually recognised as heritage in official plans and registers indicates that migrant heritage continues to be a fledgling concept in New South Wales. This suggests the need to

continue thinking and pushing the boundaries of heritage practices to be more inclusive. The conceptualisation of a set of 'principles for culturally diverse heritage practices' can be seen as such a step towards acknowledgement of the role of diverse migrants within the city as a whole and respect their traditions and practices. This definition created for a State Heritage Office funded project called 'Rich Rewards' sought to emphasise again the need to address the heritage of migrant groups in NSW (Rea 1999). These principles stated that:

1. Diverse heritage practices are those that recognise that all communities have places, sites and items of value.
2. The cultural diversity of our community should be recognised and pursued as an integral part of any heritage identification or activity.
3. Diversity heritage practices can be achieved through consultation with, and the inclusion of, ethnic communities at all levels of heritage practice.
4. Communities should be approached with openness and sensitivity to cultural differences.
5. It should be recognised that no community is homogeneous, and that adopting culturally diverse heritage practices will require flexibility, depending on profile of the community, the population of the place and the size and resources of its cultural network (Rea 1999).

It is the adoption and implementation of such principles in thinking about the heritage of all of Australia's diverse groups that there will be more recognition of migrant heritage in the Sydney's heritage landscape. The absence of migrant heritage in official registers, however, suggests that actually protecting and preserving of ways of life and living practices is still challenging prevailing definitions of heritage. There remains reluctance among heritage practitioners and migrant groups themselves in seeing the 'everyday' as heritage. If the official designations of heritage are to be more representative of Sydney's diverse inhabitants there needs to be greater recognition of ongoing ways of life, as vital to the city's dynamic living heritage.

Conclusion

As the Bringelly farms face the threat of urban residential encroachment, this chapter considered whether heritage discourses offered a useful and appropriate means for gaining recognition of these land use values in current planning processes. The

Bringelly Exhibition's stated aim to record rather than preserve farming on the fringe, suggests these market gardens have been considered an 'ephemeral' heritage. In this framing, the position of the market gardens on the city's fringe is perpetually conditional on the outward growth of the city. Its survival as a land use and way of life is considered tied to a semi-rural environment and a suitable low density of housing. Even if the market gardens were preserved as heritage in the same way as the Botany gardens they risk being positioned as part of past, a token reminder of a former farming landscape. This would fail to recognise that these farms are continuing a historical role as part of, rather than separate to, Sydney's growth. Offering a way of life for new migrants to Sydney as well as representing translocated cultural traditions, the market gardens on the South West fringe have facilitated the interweaving of new arrivals into Sydney's urban fabric.

The question, therefore, remains as to whether any recognition of the heritage value of market gardens in the face of development only serves as a 'memorialising [of the] the ephemeral' (Armstrong 2005b: 4). The market gardens in Sydney's South West contribute to the city's physical and cultural landscape are part of a history of agriculture in the Sydney Basin that links migrant, settler and Aboriginal groups. How they might be maintained as a 'way of life' in the face of encroachment, rather than only memorialised, needs to be considered. Are they only kept, rather like the case of Aboriginal heritage at Oran Park, when it aligns with an area of land no one wants to use such as the La Perouse market gardens? Can there be less of a gap between the recognition and protection given to settler agricultural heritage, such as the Denbigh homestead, and the limited support for the heritage of minority groups such as CALD market gardeners? Or are these groups to remain on the margins not only of the physical but also the cultural landscape of the city as it grows?

In light of the ambiguous relationship to market gardening as a heritage among different growers, it would seem that as part of migration and settlement heritage its practice is more important than any specific site. Market gardening might be usefully considered as an embodied tradition for many CALD growers, creating a sense of continuity with a way of life rather than only a preservation of the past. Building on Armstrong (2000) as well as others (Sandercock & Klinger 1998; Howard 2003), this definition of migration heritage challenges prevailing concepts of 'heritage' as built forms and artefacts. The Bringelly farms, as one of the layers of culturally diverse values in land co-existent on the fringe of an ex-colonial city, are part of what has been

termed Australia's heritage of discontinuity and change (Armstrong 1994; Ang 2001a). Lack of appropriate recognition of the role of practices such as market gardening in shaping Sydney can result in the (continued) marginalisation of the history of Indigenous peoples and non-English speaking migrants within the city.

Rethinking heritage discourses so that they allow for a more inclusive sense of national and urban history serves to better recognise the multiple ways of life that comprise a city such as Sydney. In this respect the new iterations of heritage in recent decades as 'intangible', 'living' and valuing the 'everyday' (Sandercock & Kliger 1998; Truscott 2000; Howard 2003), offer a way of recognising the place of diverse traditions within a broader city community. Such perspectives allow for an honouring of the layers of histories and traditions that constitute the shared space of the city but are not always afforded official protection.

This indicates that perhaps it is both ephemeral in terms of specific farm sites but also a continuing tradition for CALD migrants on the city's peri-fringe. As a working tradition, market gardens by their nature are always changing to survive – just preserving them in stasis would therefore not necessarily be the best option (Humphreys et al. 2001). This suggests that development of housing and continuation of the practice of market gardening on the peri-urban fringe do not have to be mutually exclusive. Plans for co-existence, however, should not simply entail the farms to continuing moving with the city fringe as it shifts ever outwards. Such a 'plan' or lack therefore, threatens not only the viability of farming for the growers, but also its contribution to the city's fresh food supply, as the next chapter argues. This chapter suggested that market gardens as a migration heritage can be seen as a living presence that need not inevitably pass.

The next chapter further explores the possibilities for recognition and consideration of market gardening in Sydney's urban planning. Focusing on sustainability, this next chapter examines the logics and efficacy of this discourse and its increasing contemporary currency for highlighting the value of the peri-urban farms. As growers indicated the overwhelming view of market gardening is as a way of life, urban sustainability discourses could provide a productive framing through which to highlight the value of such uses and users of land for the common good of the whole city for the future. By illustrating how practices such as market gardening contribute to a common good (or goods), and should therefore not be dismissed as only ever a minority concern, sustainability arguments potentially provide further recognition of

market gardening in urban planning. The following chapter also outlines the limits of prevailing sustainability discourses, particularly in relation to recognising cultural diversity and the multiple ways in which people relate to their environment. The next chapter also complements this one in elucidating the way in which diverse urbanisms such as market gardens constitute cities such as Sydney.

Chapter 5 Sustaining Sydney

‘The last thing we need is concrete and cement from the mountains to the sea’. The Hon. Ian MacDonald, Minister for Primary Industries, on agriculture in the Sydney Basin (Parliament of New South Wales 2005c).

It is 8 a.m. on a Wednesday morning and already the markets at Flemington in Sydney’s West are closing down for the day. The air hums as multiple forklifts move deftly between sheds negotiating people, carts and pallets with an ease that resembles a choreographed dance. I am here meeting a Chinese grower whose day is just finishing having sold his truckload of freshly picked vegetables packed the night before and driven from his farm (in the area designated as the SWGC) in the early hours of the morning to sell to buyers before dawn.

The Sydney markets at Flemington serve as a distribution hub for fresh produce from around Australia. Produce is brought here from all over the country to be sold to the large supermarket chains of Woolworths and Coles as well as smaller retailers. It is here that most of the produce of the Sydney Basin’s estimated 2000 (or more) vegetable farmers are sold, either by growers themselves or their agents. As noted in the Introduction to this thesis, Sydney Basin farms account for a high percentage of the value of certain perishable vegetables produced in NSW, including Asian greens, mushrooms, tomatoes, lettuce and other perishable green vegetables (see Table 5 in Appendix 2). Furthermore, this fresh produce is part of what some estimate to be a one billion dollar a year agricultural industry in the Sydney Basin (Gillespie & Mason 2003). The contribution of these small-scale farms to the city’s fresh food supply is now threatened by the planned housing development on Sydney’s South Western fringe.

The last chapter illustrated that, as a way of life, market gardening has both an historical and ongoing role in the employment and settlement of new migrants to Australia, as well as providing fresh food to the city. Their contribution to the city’s fresh food supply further highlights the need to maintain and protect Bringelly market gardens to ensure local food systems of Sydney’s sustainability according to a number

of advocates (The Greens Party 2007; Western Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils 2007; Cohen 2008; Sydney Food Fairness Alliance 2009). This chapter seeks to build on the previous one in examining the efficacy of sustainability discourses in providing greater recognition of, and engagement with, the CALD market gardeners around Bringelly in urban planning.

Concerns about the ecological sustainability of current patterns of consumption and development in the prevailing logic of 'growth as development' have led to increasing awareness of environmental limits to development such as the loss of unrenewable resources and possible impacts such as climate change in recent decades (Brundtland 1987; Low et al. 2005). Cities, in particular, have become a focal point of efforts to reduce the damage to the natural environment and ensure continuing availability of natural resources such as water, food and fuel (Haughton & Hunter 1994; Rees 2001; Commonwealth of Australia 2005; Low et al. 2005; McManus 2005; Smith & Scott 2006). Bringelly's market gardens arguably contribute to Sydney's 'urban sustainability' in this sense through providing a local fresh food supply. The displacement of farms on Sydney's fringe by housing threatens this supply for the growing city. If farmers move out of the Sydney Basin they are faced with the costs of relocation, produce has to be transported further and more arable land on the coast is turned into houses. These potential problems echo rising international concern about the supply, transport and availability of fresh produce in the face of environmental, biological and terrorist threats (London Development Agency 2006). Often discussed under the tags of 'food security' (access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food) (Toronto Food Policy Council 1999; Jones et al. 2003; Mason 2008; World Health Organization 2008; Sydney Food Fairness Alliance 2009) and 'food miles' (the distance food travels and the pollution this causes) (Gairdner 2006; Centre for Education and Research in Environmental Strategies 2007), these debates tie into other areas of current concern such as health (Capon & Dixon 2007; Capon 2008; National Preventative Health Taskforce 2008). Furthermore, peri-urban developments continue to spread further out along the east coast of Australia threatening to create an almost continuous urban conurbation as noted in the Introduction Chapter (Armstrong 2004; Land and Water Australia 2008; Low Choy et al. 2008). In these circumstances moving farms out of the Sydney Basin does not 'solve' the question of finding arable land where farming might continue unthreatened by development. These concerns about a fresh and viable food supply suggest that different conceptions of growth, and the role of ways of life such as

market gardening, need to be given greater consideration when planning for the future of the city.

Urban farming by both settler and CALD groups is not highly valued in official plans for Sydney's future. This chapter argues, however, that CALD market gardeners are doubly marginalised as migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds *as well as* urban growers. When it does gain public attention, discussions of Sydney's urban agriculture have still generally neglected the contributions of the CALD market gardeners. In contrast to prevailing heritage frameworks that arguably focus too much on a notion of culture as artefactual, this chapter argues that the prevailing form of sustainability discourse as applied to city planning is problematic in being ostensibly a-cultural, in the sense of being 'diversity blind'.

This chapter seeks to bring the concerns of urban sustainability and cultural diversity into critical contact by highlighting the need for greater recognition of CALD market gardens in planning. Sustainability provides a framing through which the embodied practices of market gardening undertaken by diverse groups are seen to play an important role for the whole of the city. Through their contribution to the city, such diverse users and uses of land present an example of 'productive diversity' in the context of urban planning (Cope and Kalantzis 1997, 2001). To incorporate practices such as market gardening by CALD migrants, this chapter argues, prevailing discourse of sustainability needs to be re-visioned to take account of diversity. The continued focus on 'growth as development' within prevailing deployments of the concept of 'sustainable development' allows little space for the recognition of 'alternative' diverse land use practices that serve to sustain the city. This chapter argues for a broader conception of 'sustainability' by highlighting the limits of this prevailing focus on 'development' in sustainability discourses within Sydney's urban planning. Further, it asserts that there is a need to 'think' sustainability and cultural diversity together in planning for Sydney's growth. In considering the fresh food and local employment that agriculture offers the city, there needs to be greater acknowledgment of the contribution of the market gardens run by CALD growers. The contribution of diverse urbanisms such as market gardens to Sydney's sustainability, this chapter argues, should be given greater official recognition and support so they can continue to make this contribution into future.

Following the framework of the discussion in the last chapter, this chapter first examines the prevailing discourse of urban sustainability and how it has been mobilised

in relation to farming in the Sydney Basin by a range of advocates. It also outlines the limits of prevailing sustainability discourses in recognising the value of market gardening. This chapter then draws on interviews with growers to determine the efficacy and validity of these discourses in representing their values in land in the face of development. The analysis of these interviews outlines the need for, and aims to contribute towards; a more differentiated and nuanced discussion of sustainability in the Sydney Basin that engages with the productive diversity of the city's multiple urbanisms.

Urban Agriculture in the Sydney Basin

The value and importance of Sydney Basin agriculture to the city has become a subject of interest, particularly in recent years, to both government and non-government bodies. A forum titled 'Sydney's Agriculture – Planning for the Future' run by the NSW DPI in December 2008 was the latest in a number of official forums which have drawn attention to the vulnerability of urban agriculture in Sydney (Elton Consulting 2009). This forum emphasised the value of Sydney's agriculture on economic viability and sustainability grounds. It highlighted the need for greater planning for agriculture in Sydney through options such as transferable development rights and designated land for agriculture (Elton Consulting 2009), echoing responses from growers interviewed in this research discussed later in the chapter. Presentations from the Commonwealth Scientific and Research Organisation (hereafter CSIRO) and the Oxford Health Alliance at the 2008 annual meeting of WSROC also emphasised the need to plan for local food production for (Western) Sydney's sustainability (Capon 2008; Inman 2008). These recent platforms for discussion reiterate the sentiments of the Minister for Primary Industries, Mr. Ian McDonald, who stated in 2005 that 'we need a diverse Sydney Basin with a strong agricultural base [and] we must protect [the] \$1 billion agricultural output from the Basin' (Parliament of New South Wales 2005c). When questioned about the threat to urban agriculture by greenfield housing development in Sydney, Mr. McDonald stated that it was necessary 'to protect agricultural land wherever we can' as 'the Sydney Basin is an important part of agricultural production in New South Wales' (Parliament of New South Wales 2005c).

The current focus on Sydney's urban agriculture among government departments and agencies has been underpinned and, in many instances, driven by

research from a variety of sources. In addition to the reports on the CALD growers mentioned previously, there have been a number of reports and papers on the Sydney Basin agriculture more broadly from consultants, academics, and NSW DPI (New South Wales Agriculture 1998; Gillespie 2003; Gillespie & Mason 2003; Sinclair et al. 2004; Knowd et al. 2005; Knowd 2006; Mason 2007). These reports can be seen to advocate (to an extent) for greater recognition of Sydney agriculture as they highlight its value for the city's economy, fresh food supplies and sustainability (New South Wales Agriculture 1998; Gillespie 2003; Gillespie & Mason 2003; Knowd et al. 2005). The importance of Sydney farmland in providing scenic amenity and management of natural resources for the wider city community has also been emphasised (Gillespie & Mason 2003; Sinclair et al. 2004). In addition to discussing its perceived benefits, reports on Sydney Basin agriculture point to urban encroachment as a major threat to its long-term viability (Sinclair et al. 2004; Knowd et al. 2005; Elton Consulting 2009). These concerns for the loss of Sydney agriculture, and the market gardens specifically, have been brought into the public sphere more directly through numerous newspaper articles (Moore 2001; Verity 2003a, 2003b; Newton & Chipperfield 2004; Adamson 2005; Dick 2005; Galvin 2006a, 2009).

As a result of the increasing public awareness of the threat to Sydney's agriculture, advocacy for Sydney Basin agriculture, particularly in the last few years to 2009 has also come from political organisations such as the Greens Party and WSROC (The Greens Party 2007; Western Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils 2007), and non-government organisations such as the Sydney Farming Network and the Food Fairness Alliance and Hawkesbury Harvest (Hawkesbury Harvest 2008; Sydney Food Fairness Alliance 2009). These groups echo the arguments in the reports previously mentioned but tend to take a more overt advocacy position about the importance of agricultural land to the city's food supply. To generate awareness and support for urban farms in Sydney among the general public and government, these groups draw on popular discourses such as food miles and food security.

Despite its apparent contributions to the city's fresh food supply, the size and significance of Sydney Basin agriculture are contested, as discussed in Chapter One. There are questions as to the estimates of farm production by Gillespie and Mason (2003) after a recent study indicated that the average size of Sydney's vegetable farms is relatively small, averaging about one hectare (Peter Malcolm, per. comm. 23-03-09). There is also a prevailing assumption articulated by a Department of Planning

representative (pers. comm. 15-07-07) in Chapter Two that farms could move further out of Sydney with little effect on the fresh food available in the Sydney market. As indicated in the Introduction Chapter, the fact that a high proportion of vegetable farmers are from CALD backgrounds and operate small farms makes it likely they are often not counted in the official statistics (Gillespie and Mason 2003). The relationship between these conflicting accounts of Sydney's agricultural industry needs to be re-evaluated before the industry is pronounced robust or in decline. Through its focus on CALD market gardeners, this thesis argues that the cultural diversity of Sydney's growers needs to be taken into account in determining its value to the city, and how this should be protected.

As with many issues in the discursive and political field of 'sustainability', the value of local farming for the contemporary and future city is something that defies absolute facts. While Sydney's agriculture is arguably highly productive, it would not be sensible to suggest that these farms are absolutely necessary to ensure the city has sufficient food. Food can still currently be transported to Sydney from interstate and overseas. This thesis argues that the key factor in determining the importance of Sydney's agriculture is likely to be the value ascribed to it by the city's population rather than purely the quantity of produce it generates. A pivotal argument in discussions around sustainability is that current conditions are seen to be changing on a number of levels, and it is difficult to predict how this will impact current systems (Lerch 2007). As discussed in greater detail below, food has become a central topic in contemporary sustainability discourses in Australia and overseas. This suggests that issues such as local food production will become increasingly important to Sydney's inhabitants.

Sustainability

Any discussion of sustainability requires acknowledgment of the various and sometimes-conflicting meanings ascribed to this concept (Brown et al. 1987; Mebratu 1998; Marshall & Toffeel 2005; Smith & Scott 2006; Sneddon et al. 2006; Whitehead 2007). Since the Rio de Janeiro 'Earth Summit' in 1992, following the initial 1987 Brundtland report bringing world attention to the need for 'sustainable development', sustainability has become a popular term used to describe a wide number of policies and practices (Sneddon et al. 2006). To analyse the relevance and efficacy of sustainability

discourses in relation to CALD market gardens it is important to explore the official definitions of this concept and its limits. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, the official definition of sustainability as 'sustainable development' in the original 1987 Brundtland report has meant that, in prevailing definitions at least, environmental sustainability is synonymous with sustaining human life (Brundtland 1987). Establishing, as an aim, development that 'meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' this prevailing definition of sustainability addresses the ongoing viability of social and economic as well as environmental systems (Brundtland 1987: 43). The Australian Government adopts a similar approach, defining ecological sustainable development as 'using, conserving and enhancing the community's resources so that ecological processes, on which life depends, are maintained, and the total quality of life, now and in the future, can be increased' (Department of the Environment Water Heritage and the Arts 2008a).

What has come to be known as a 'triple bottom line' of environmental, social and economic sustainability has proven problematic when 'sustainability' has become co-opted to mean 'maintaining' current (environmentally unfriendly) practices of consumption and economic development (Marshall & Toffeel 2005; Solecki & Leichenko 2006). This 'business as usual' approach has often led to the relative marginalisation or cooption of environmental concerns in a focus on economic viability in urban development (Smith & Scott 2006). Discussions of 'social sustainability' have also been abstracted from an environmental context and discussed only in terms of social welfare or improving connectivity in urban planning (Polese & Stren 2000).

This chapter, as also noted in the Introduction Chapter, looks at contributions of the market gardens to Sydney's sustainability in the sense of ensuring the city's environmental resources while also maintaining the economic and social viability of the growers, and arguably the city as a whole. It also adopts somewhat of a 'triple bottom line' approach in this sense, but seeks to highlight that the city's sustainability might best be served by maintaining and supporting the existing practices and social structures that contribute to the city's environmental resource needs and arguably reduce the city's environmental impact. This means a broader vision of sustainability that acknowledges the role of 'alternative' land uses such as market gardening as well as those historically privileged in plans for the city's growth such as housing and transport.

Agriculture and Urban Sustainability

Since the 1992 Earth Summit, the position of cities has only continued to gain importance in these global discourses of sustainability (Rees 2001). The city is considered by some commentators to be the most important arena for developing sustainable practises, as 'cities are where it is all happening. If we are going to succeed in sustainability it is going to live or die in the cities' (Dr Harry Blustein cited in Commonwealth of Australia 2005:7). By 2025, it is estimated that two-thirds of humanity will live in cities, creating an estimated urban population of five billion people worldwide (Toronto Food Policy Council 1999). According to many commentators, these ever growing cities are at present highly unsustainable, covering two percent of the earth's surface and consuming 75 percent of its resources (Toronto Food Policy Council 1999; Rees 2001; Solecki & Leichenko 2006). The 'conundrum of urban sustainability' is that 'even as urbanites lose their sense of direct connection to nature, the city demands ever-greater quantities of food, material commodities, and energy - which must often be shipped great distances - to sustain the increasingly consumer lifestyles of its inhabitants' (Rees 2001:38). For a highly urbanised country like Australia the issue of urban resource consumption is particularly a concern; 83 percent of Australians live in cities, 60 percent in six cities, and 40 percent in Sydney and Melbourne alone (Commonwealth of Australia 2005). This makes Australia one of the most urbanised populations in the world, and arguably positions urban sustainability as a national concern.

The increasing saliency of urban agriculture within sustainability discourses concerning Sydney echoes similar shifts at a global level where it is becoming a topic of concern in 'developed', as well as so-called 'developing', countries (Bryant & Johnston 1992; Mbiba 1995; United Nations Development Programme & United Nations Habitat II Conference 1996; Kaufman & Bailkey 2000; Bodlovich 2001; Halweil 2002; Fraser & Mabee 2004; Howe et al. 2005; Knowd et al. 2005; LeMaistre & Thomas 2006; Wendy et al. 2008). Ensuring the city can sustain itself and provide for its resource needs, urban agriculture is based on the idea that the city itself becomes the grounds for food production. Urban agriculture can be broadly defined as a practice that encompasses 'small areas (e.g. vacant plots, gardens, verges, balconies, containers) within the city for growing crops [as well as] farm units close to town which operate intensive semi- or fully commercial farms to grow vegetables and other horticulture,

raise chickens and other livestock, and produce milk and eggs' (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations 2008). It can range from rooftop gardens, (so-called 'green roofs') to community gardens or allotments (as found throughout Europe) (Bartolomei et al. 2003; Whatmore & Hinchcliffe 2003), and commercial agricultural production within the city bounds (Toronto Food Policy Council 1999; Mason 2007). This thesis, as will be clear by now, focuses specifically on small-scale commercial agriculture in the form of market gardens in peri-urban areas.

In Australia, concerns about the security of fresh food production are gaining prominence in both public and governmental spheres. The effect of the recent long drought on food production in Australia has been a cause for concern in public debates, and with recent climate change predictions this has intensified (Allan, G 2007; Kleinman & Wilkinson 2007; Rehn 2007; Taylor 2007b, 2007a; Wiseman 2007). A report by the CSIRO released in September 2007 offered predictions on changing weather patterns on the eastern seaboard of Australia, indicating greater temperature increases and lower rainfall in inland Australia relative to coastal regions (CSIRO & Australian Bureau of Meteorology 2007). These predictions suggest that drought conditions currently experienced in areas of agricultural production away from the coast such as the Murray-Darling Basin, which has been considered the 'food bowl' of Australia, are likely to continue or worsen over the long term (Allan, T 2007; Taylor 2007b, 2007a; ABC News 2008; Bryant 2008). The reduced capacity for food production in areas such as the Murray-Darling due to water shortages puts a still-sharper spotlight on the fate of agriculture on the urban fringe.

The ability to access sufficient arable land for growing food raises concerns about capacities for local food production (Toronto Food Policy Council 1999; Sinclair 2002; Houston 2005; Rehn 2007; Hilts et al. 2008; Low Choy et al. 2008; Mason 2008), leading some commentators to describe it as a situation of 'peak soil' (Chambers 2008). When combined with concerns regarding carbon emissions of long distance food transport, the 'greenhouse' factor is a substantial and potent issue in the debate on urban sustainability and, in particular, the place of agriculture in it. While there continue to be debates about the reality of climate change and its future implications for issues such as food production, these concerns create what has been described by the think tank the Post Carbon Institute as 'the new challenge of uncertainty' (Lerch 2007: 1).

The role of urban agriculture as a local source of fresh food is increasingly being valued in relation to urban sustainability around the world. The concept of 'food miles',

particularly, is a 'hot topic' in public and media discourse in countries such as the USA, UK and Canada (Toronto Food Policy Council 1999; Pirog et al. 2001; Smith et al. 2005; Saunders et al. 2006; Smith et al. 2006; The Economist 2006). The food miles discourse, as noted earlier, is concerned with the carbon emissions produced by food being transported across interstate and international lines and, additionally, the lack of freshness in food consumed. Cities such as Shanghai, Tokyo and Singapore have focused on urban agriculture to secure a food supply for the city, following many densely populated cities of the so-called 'developing' world which provide up to 30 percent of their food requirements from within city boundaries (Toronto Food Policy Council 1999). The value of urban agriculture can also be seen in countries such as in the USA where the 1990 census indicated that 40 percent of the dollar value of USA agricultural production is from metropolitan areas (Mason 2007). This echoes a similar situation in Sydney, which produces 40 percent of the dollar value of vegetables produced for human consumption in NSW (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008b). The importance of issues such as fresh food in urban sustainability discourses is clear in the increasing salience of the concepts of food security and food miles in major cities such as New York and London (London Development Agency 2006; New York State Government 2007; Zukin 2008).

The popularity of the local food movement is due in part to the perception that it is an everyday way of making a contribution to sustainability through consumption. In *Post Carbon Cities*, a guide for local governments, the US think tank the Post Carbon Institute states that 'the most direct strategy for achieving these goals [of reducing carbon emissions and depletion of resources] is to reduce consumption and produce locally' (Lerch 2007: v). Public concern around these internationally relevant issues of sustainability has led to a shift towards local and locally produced foods in countries such as the USA, Canada and the UK (Halweil 2002; Frisken & Wallace 2003; Zukin 2008). The increasing popularity of local farmers markets and other such marketing platforms in cities like New York is indicative of this shift (Zukin 2008). The effect of the popularity of these concepts on public policy is evidenced in the growing number of food policies in cities like London (London Development Agency 2006). According to London's then mayor Ken Livingstone, the aim of this policy was to 'develop the capital's food system to make London a truly sustainable world city' (London Food Link 2005). Other 'western' cities, states and countries including Vancouver (City of Vancouver 2007), Toronto (Toronto Food Policy Council 1999), New York State (New

York State Government 2007) and Scotland (The Government of Scotland 2008) and even Western Australia (Western Australia Department of Agriculture and Food 2008) have also begun developing food policies in recent years.

It is also important to note, however, that there are a number of questions about the validity of the popular emphasis on 'local' food on the sole basis of 'food miles'. Recent technical studies and academic literature suggest that distance per se is only one factor in determining the environmental and social impact of the life cycle of food (production, consumption and disposal) (Nichol 2003; DuPuis & Goodman 2005; Born & Purcell 2006; Wallgren 2006; Breitbach 2007; Feagan 2007; Helenius et al. 2007; Edwards-Jones et al. 2008; Larsen et al. 2008). Other key concerns are the environmental footprint of local farming methods as well as patterns of consumption and waste disposal (Larsen et al. 2008). Another other issue is whether the current local food system is socially just for small local producers, ensuring their economic viability (Markowitz 2008). These accounts suggest that any assertion of the value of Sydney's agriculture needs to adopt a 'reflexive' approach to localism (DuPuis & Goodman 2005; Breitbach 2007; Higgins et al. 2008). Such a reflexive approach implies that the support for local food must also equate to material and political support for a food system that attends to social justice for local growers and environmental issues. As this chapter will illustrate, if urban farming is seen as important to the city then the social and economic viability of the growers must also be accounted for. In giving more rather than less consideration to urban farming it is also possible, as discussed later in this chapter, to improve its environment impact through practices such as recycling of urban water (New South Wales Agriculture 1998).

Toronto Fringe Farmers: A Comparison for Sydney

Concerns around the urban supply of fresh food have become increasingly important in terms of public policy in Canada, particularly in the city of Toronto. This provides an interesting comparison to Sydney, particularly in relation to protection of urban growers. Discussing Toronto's food supply, the Toronto Food Policy Council (1999) states that 60 percent of produce consumed in Canada is imported, mainly from Florida, Mexico and California. In Australia, increasing imports relative to exports have made the nation a net importer of primary horticultural produce (Department of Agriculture Fisheries and Forestry 2008). From 2003-04 to 2006-07 there has been a 27 percent

increase in the dollar value of imports of primary produce (Department of Agriculture Fisheries and Forestry 2008). In Canada, the report argued, local farmers have to confront challenges such as artificially low prices of food products because of cheap food policies pursued by governments in western countries (Toronto Food Policy Council 1999). A small number of actors also control many sectors of the food economy in Canada, meaning growers have little control over how much they get for their produce. Both these issues of food prices and the monopoly of food retail by large supermarkets chain stores also affect Australian growers. This will be examined in more detail further on in this chapter.

The farmland around Toronto, Canada's largest city, is of particular importance for sustainability, the Toronto Food Policy Council (1999) claims, as it is the best farmland in Canada with the best growing season. The threat of urban expansion, this advocacy group asserts, should be curtailed in order to ensure that Canada has 'future farmlands for food security' (Toronto Food Policy Council 1999: 5), which would involve retention of all land zoned agricultural and the addition of new food producing lands and areas. These discourses of preservation draw on macro issues of globalisation and food supply in order to support the micro-politics of farmland preservation. While the Toronto Food Policy Council (1999) recognises that there is other viable farmland outside of the city, it argues that in protecting this land the city government are supporting the only farmland it has control over. As in Australia, urban farmers in Canada face structural and business challenges and, in addition, extremely high land costs. Without government support and protection, the Council warns, the incentives for the farmers in this are to sell their land and not continuing to farm (Toronto Food Policy Council 1999).

Many of the issues faced in Toronto are mirrored in Sydney as will be illustrated in discussions with market gardeners from Bringelly and other farming areas in the Sydney Basin. As Sinclair (1999) notes, the issue of the sustainability of Sydney Basin agriculture is complicated by economic ('the capacity of making a net farm profit from the use') and social viability (in the face of land use conflict) (cited in Sinclair et al. 2004: 31). There are also additional concerns regarding social viability, as this chapter argues, in regards to the social networks that 'sustain' practices such as market gardening, particularly for CALD groups. While market gardens may contribute to the city's capacity to sustain a fresh food supply, their viability cannot be considered outside of these other economic and social concerns. These factors above also illustrate

that to explore the role of growers in promoting urban sustainability, it is necessary to look at how the city population as a whole, as well as the growers, value it, and the terms its viability may turn on.

Sustainability in Sydney's Metropolitan Strategy

Despite the value placed on urban agriculture by growers and advocates, there is little substantive planning for urban agriculture in the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy document. While the Strategy claims to be a plan for a 'sustainable Sydney' (New South Wales Department of Planning 2005a), exactly how sustainability is defined and engaged in the current plan for urban development in Sydney requires further examination. This chapter argues that while there are sustainability concerns articulated in the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy, it fails to adequately plan for land uses that would arguably mitigate such concerns.

In a speech in 2004 on the issue of sustainability in the Metropolitan Strategy, the head of the planning reference panel, Professor Ed Blakely, argued that any discussion of sustainability in Sydney begins with the premise that it will continue to be a very big city. In terms of ecological sustainability, Blakely asserted that Sydney 'must reconnect ourselves to the land' in urban planning (Blakely 2004). This reconnection was defined in terms of resource use, specifically energy and water resources, and concerns about not expanding its ecological footprint. There was, however, no discussion of food production and land use decisions in this respect. The 'Sustainability Commissioner' for the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy, Professor Peter Newman, also neglected this issue, focusing on transport as the primary strategic concern for Sydney's sustainability into the future (Newman 2004). In this context, the central issues for sustainability were identified as jobs, transport and housing (Newman 2004). The imperative, reiterated by Blakely, was to 'grow' jobs and housing together, and so create jobs closer to home to lessen the need for transport (Blakely 2004).

While it addresses principles of sustainability, this approach focuses on the built environment of the city and fails to address issues such as urban agriculture. Blakely clearly articulated his plan for sustainability within the priorities of economic growth evident in the Metropolitan Strategy, justified by the assertion that Sydney is now a 'global city servicing the world' (Blakely 2004). This approach to Sydney's sustainability echoes the focus of many sustainability discourses within government and

business that seek to maintain, rather than re-consider, existing modes of growth (Smith & Scott 2006). This ‘business as usual’ approach to ‘sustainable development’, as noted in the introduction, often fails to challenge the fundamental priorities of urban development in relation to environmental concerns that are (seen as) less directly related to economic aspects of growth (Smith & Scott 2006). While Chapter Two illustrated that urban agriculture was mentioned in the actual Metropolitan Strategy document, Blakely’s (2004) and Newman’s (2004) outlines of the Strategy’s focus on sustainability, and the statement by the Department of Planning representative, illustrated that it is not considered a central concern. This echoes a noted neglect of urban agriculture in scholarship (in recent decades at least) on sustainability in Australian cities more broadly (McManus 2005).

Urban Agriculture under Threat by Development

While this thesis focuses on Sydney’s South West, in the area around Bringelly, the pressure of urban development on small-scale urban farms is being felt across Sydney’s urban fringe. Farmers from English-speaking or Anglo-Celtic backgrounds, particularly in the Hawkesbury area in Sydney’s North West (see Figure 3, Introduction Chapter), as well as the CALD growers, are experiencing this pressure. While the Hawkesbury is not part of the official Growth Centres, which were supposed to keep rural land protected from further development, it too is under threat from plans for housing. The area of Pittown in the Hawkesbury area is an example of productive farming lands outside of the growth areas that are being rezoned for housing development. This again brings into question how well the Growth Centres serve to contain urban development on Sydney’s fringe, as discussed in Chapter Two. One of the advocates from the Pittown area described their situation in words worthy of their lengthy quotation here, highlighting the widespread relevance of questions concerning the place of agriculture in the urban area:

Basically what we are talking about here is class two agricultural land. It used to be citrus orchards, but there hasn’t been a lot of money in citrus in the last 15 years so those trees got bulldozed. But you know a good farmer doesn’t stop just because one crop is no good. You swap and go to something else. In our case, my father’s a nurseryman, he does roses, we also do plants, pecan nuts, and we rent some of the property out to a friend who does cut flowers. We do beef cattle

as well. And we do horse adjustment. So our property is still productive. Another property next door that is earmarked for development is a free-range chicken farm. Chook eggs, beautiful ones from Claredon Farms. But he's only a tenant, so he'll get moved on. But [this illustrates that] the land is still being used for agriculture. And it's irrigatable too, from the Hawkesbury River. [The idea that the planned growth centres would limit growth] means nothing in my book. Absolutely nothing. I mean, the proof is in the Planning Minister's actions in a place like Pittown. I mean if you can approve this development in a place like Pittown you can approve a similar thing anywhere. Because Pittown has more restraints than most. But it doesn't matter. It's still [a case of] they want it to happen, and this developer has supplied sufficient pressure that they've gone here it is, bang. Rubber stamp. The problem with all of these – the 25 year plan, the Metropolitan Strategy and all of that stuff – is that it's really good at saying where the houses are going to go, but it's not good at saying where the farms are going to go. There is no allowance for rural industries. The only thing it says is it gives you green belts [currently designated 'rural and resource lands'] or whatever, which seem to have no power. Pittown falls into one of those green belts, but it doesn't matter. So, instead of saying 'this land will remain ideologically agricultural forever' – or for the next 25 years at least – it says 'we're going to develop here, we're going to develop here, we're going to develop here [and although] all the rest of this stuff is green, if you developers and councils want to develop here, just make a case. We'll be the city that can't feed itself, if we don't keep [farmland near the city]. In the South-West where all the Asian vegetables are grown and all the rest, there is absolutely no planning for where those displaced farmers are going to farm (Hawkesbury Grower 1, pers. comm. 27-02-07).

This Pittown farmer illustrated how rural livelihoods are under threat from urban development all around the fringe of Sydney, and points to some of the impacts that need to be considered in this 'growth'. Sydney is perhaps not yet forced to be a city that is completely self-sustaining in food production, as this grower implies, due to interstate and international imports. Nevertheless, the apparent absence of planning and support for Sydney's agriculture suggests a failure to acknowledge the local fresh food source and amenity values it provides. Prioritisation of housing by those making decisions about future land use in Sydney, as this grower argues, has meant that

considerations of the location of agriculture have been neglected, not only in the Growth Centres but also across Sydney's fringe.

Sydney's Forgotten Farmers

While acknowledging the threat of urban encroachment to farms across Sydney, it is the CALD growers, as noted earlier, that are under the most direct threat from the current Growth Centres created by the Metropolitan Strategy. The North West and South West Growth Centres, as noted, contain 52 percent of Sydney's vegetable farms (which are estimated to be 80-90 percent CALD (Parker & Suriyabanadara 2000)), with approximately 42 percent in the SWGC alone (Peter Malcolm, DPI, pers. comm. 23-03-09).

The neglect of Sydney's CALD farmers, grower advocate Frances Parker argued, is due to a large extent to the fact that the farmers are not seen to fit the image of the Aussie farmer (Parker & Jarecki 2003a). As 'Sydney's invisible farmers' (Galvin 2006b), many CALD growers interviewed for this research felt that they weren't adequately included in Sydney's urban planning because they were smaller scale farmers than those 'over the mountains' beyond the Sydney Basin and particularly focussed in the Murray Darling Basin:

Those big farmers, they may have this kind of say. They know that their output contribute big sector in the economy, this is why they have a good say. But to us, no matter how many billions our farm gate is, we didn't sense that we do have this kind of influence. We [might] say, "Oh, we going to stop produce one day. This economy will be lost, billions." [But it is not recognised]. This why the [Sydney] grower, the farmers have to show their production, they make a big sector in this economy and they justify their existence. If not, who care?

(Chinese Grower 6, pers. comm. 01-12-06).

That these farmers get 'forgotten' or neglected means they are overlooked in planning, their contributions are not recognised and they are seen as expendable. Even many of the advocates for Sydney agriculture discussed above fail to acknowledge, and consider the implications of, the cultural diversity of the majority of vegetable producers in the Sydney Basin. This echoes a lack of attention to cultural diversity in the prevailing (extensive) academic and government discussions on urban (and peri-urban)

sustainability in Australia and other western nations (for example Haughton & Hunter 1994; Low et al. 2005; McManus 2005; Smith & Scott 2006), including those around the creation of Sydney's 2005 Metropolitan Strategy noted previously (Blakely 2004; Newman 2004). Where it appears in sustainability discourses, cultural diversity is primarily discussed in relation to the connection between poverty and environmental injustices (see for example Pudilo 2000), and the traditional land use knowledge of indigenous peoples (Williams et al. 1993; Berkes 1999; Turner et al. 2000). While these topics are clearly important, the very emphasis in this literature on the marginality of these subjects continues to position them as 'minority' issues. As a result, they remain outside of, and exceptions to, the ostensibly a-cultural sustainability issues facing the Sydney population as a whole.

In bringing cultural diversity and sustainability into contact, this chapter seeks to move beyond this narrative of exceptionalism. As a land use undertaken by minority groups, market gardening by CALD growers falls outside of dominant developmentalist priorities. But while these farms often represent a translocated tradition and a culture of settlement in Australia for many CALD growers, as discussed in Chapter Four, they are not simply a concern of cultural minorities. As a livelihood that contributes to the city, these market gardens require recognition to continue producing fresh food for all of Sydney.

Views of Growers

In their interview responses, as detailed in the rest of this chapter, the majority of the market gardeners on Sydney's South-West Fringe felt that their farms provided a service to the community and contributed to the greater good of the city. They saw their contribution to the city as suppliers of both fresh produce and employment within the local area. Many growers stated that they were disappointed with the lack of support from the government at the state and local council level, as they felt the broader contribution of their work should be recognised. While indicating a desire to contribute to Sydney's sustainability, through fresh food production, most viewed farming as a business and assessed its viability in economic and social as well as environmental terms. While all saw market gardening as a livelihood, as noted in the last chapter, there was a range of views among the growers about the effect of development on their way of life and its contribution to the city. Some growers articulated the response assumed

by the Department of Planning, as they were happy to sell their land and move further out to the new edge of growth or to the Central Coast or Southern Highlands. The attitude towards moving was very different between lessees and owners; however, as for lessees there was no benefit in moving. For the majority of growers, across both owners and lessees, moving was considered very disruptive to unfeasible, and a threat to the future of farming in Sydney. The following section examining the efficacy of prevailing sustainability discourses, and their apparent 'diversity blindness', for the recognition and incorporation of market gardens as a livelihood in Sydney's urban planning.

Valuing Sydney's Agriculture

The importance of having farmland in close proximity to the city, one Maltese grower argued, means that it needs to be incorporated into Sydney's land use planning. He stated that:

All societies need to have a balanced approach. You need your parklands, you need your farmlands and you need your residential lands. And there is always going to be this competition – there are the developers there, there are people who want to sell their land and retire and there is a younger generation who says I'm just not ready for this. So you've always got a whole multitude of different opinions. But over all I think there needs to be a consensus that we need our parklands, need to keep them clean and unpolluted, we need to live somewhere so we've got to have our residential, but we need to eat so we need to have our agricultural land. And we need good quality land to grow good quality food. I think the sooner people are aware of all that [the better]. I think people think 'oh yeah there is land out there, just keep going', but there is a limit to the quality land that we have at our disposal here for growing crops and the good land where the water is too. I mean you just can't move out to the middle of nowhere (Maltese Grower 6, pers. comm. 02-02-07).

The response from this grower illustrated an understanding of the range of competing interests in land use planning on the urban fringe, but emphasises the value of having land to grow fresh food close to the city (see Figure 23). The tension between growth in the form of housing, and growth in the form of fresh produce is clearly evident in the grower's concern about future land use decisions for the South West. He challenges the position of the Department of Planning representative stated earlier by arguing that

growers cannot simply move further out as housing expands, calling for greater policy consideration of urban agriculture in plans for the future of the city.



Figure 23: Valuing Sydney Basin agriculture: a Vietnamese grower with her crop of Thai basil, Leppington SWGC, 2006

(Photo: Sarah James)

As the following sections illustrate, the role of market gardens in providing fresh food to the city was a clear reason, in the view of many growers, to protect it from urban encroachment. As noted in the Introduction Chapter, simply assuming these farms can continue to move further out of the city fails to acknowledge that there is not really anywhere that is ‘safe’ from the housing development that continues to spread across Australia’s east coast (Low Choy et al. 2008). In the sense that it provides a necessary resource to the city, urban sustainability discourses would seem both relevant and useful in gaining greater recognition for Bringelly’s growers. The extent to which these growers are ‘seen’ as important and protected within prevailing sustainability discourses within Sydney’s urban planning, however, requires further examination.

Fresh Food

According to the growers interviewed, there are a number of reasons why urban agriculture, and particularly in the form of their market gardens, is valuable to the city’s sustainability. For many there is an altruistic aspect to their work, as they feel that it

supports the community. The primary, and most obvious, way is ensuring food is as fresh as possible (see Figure 24). As this Lebanese grower suggested:

[Growers] do help the local community a lot, because the community does rely on local produce. I even have people come to my farm and just buying produce off my farm, like tomatoes or cucumbers. Not because it's cheaper but because it's fresher. No more, no less. They enjoy that.

In the end, that's it. We invest not for us but for the community. What do you think? I work hard not for me but for the community. If I sell my farm now what's left for it for me really is nothing, you got to pay for the profit [through tax], so what you do now is really for the community, you pay it to the tax man anyway...(Lebanese Grower 2, pers. comm. 07-11-06).

This grower does not see the option of selling his land making him a substantial profit from his farm, and therefore argues that the greatest beneficiaries of farms like his are the broader city community.



Figure 24: 'Fresh' produce: tomato farm, Catherine Fields SWGC, 2007

(Photo: Sarah James)

Many growers feel that they also produce a better quality food than equivalent imported products and that this should be protected, so they can compete with cheaper import prices. This Vietnamese grower argued that cheap imports threaten farm viability and their ability to provide fresh food:

It's already hard, and it will affect Australia nationally. This is fresh produce.

We are getting the best produce in NSW. If people don't want this they can

import it at a cheaper price, but they should consider that they are getting the best food... We're very lucky we have everything in Australia, and we're more lucky in NSW that we can grow it and get it to the markets and people can eat it, it's fresh. You know, it's fresh locally (Vietnamese Grower 2, pers. comm. 06-12-06).

As the growers source labour from the local area and it allows for self-employment, farming also provides local employment especially for CALD migrant groups. This reflects estimates from Gillespie and Mason (2003) that agriculture in the Sydney Basin provides close to 9,000 full time jobs. While it is slightly lower, the ABS puts the figure at 8,500 (across the category of agriculture, fisheries and forestry), which accounts for approximately 11 percent of employment in agriculture in New South Wales (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006a, 2006b). Other Department of Primary Industry sources suggest that there are over 3,000 CALD farmers and farm workers in Sydney Basin agriculture (Brunton & Hall 2007). These are industry estimates and due to the casual nature of much of the employment of farm workers, and general lack of information on Sydney Basin agriculture, the exact figure is difficult to determine (as noted in the Introduction Chapter). These estimates do indicate that Sydney agriculture provides a significant number of jobs, particularly for CALD migrant groups. The local employment that farming provides will be affected if houses replace farms. As one Lebanese grower stated:

Can you imagine if 400 farms close how many people will go on Centrelink, out of work? That's very important to the local community and the economy. 400 farms, average two [people per farm] unemployed. That's almost 1000 people overnight and that's only local (Lebanese Grower 2, pers. comm. 07-11-06).

These estimates indicate a substantial loss of local jobs if the farms have to move, without factoring in the flow-on effects on related businesses. This highlights that there are other economic aspects that need to be considered in planning for housing development in this area. In providing this employment, the market gardens arguably already represent the sustainability goal of the Metropolitan Strategy articulated by Newman (2004) to create jobs nearer to where people live. The apparent 'diversity blindness' of prevailing sustainability discourses, alluded to earlier, is illustrated by the fact that this form of employment is ignored in current land use plans for the fringe.

The current plans for housing development, in the view of some growers, threaten their ability to make this contribution to the community and by impacting negatively on the price of fresh food for the city. In the words of a Lebanese grower:

The way things are going, maybe five years down the road new developers are going to start buying blocks out here. And we've got 8, 500 houses that are going to be built in the next seven, eight [or] ten years. Now with the local growers, I think they are doing a great deal for the community, in a sense, it's local produce, and the pricing is not going to be expensive, like whether it's tomatoes, whether it's Asian, Chinese herbs, food vegetables or stone fruits... Can you imagine say ten years down the road we have no local growers as far as the Blue Mountains, for example? Now, by the couriers and the transport for fresh produce from outer state and further out, it's almost like outer state when you go further than the Blue Mountains, everything is going to become very costly and very expensive. So there will be more demand and less supply. And when you have more demand and less supply, automatically the price will increase (Lebanese Grower 2, pers. comm. 07-11-06).

If growers have to move further out, beyond the Blue Mountains, transport costs will go up and may mean that it is no longer viable for some to continue. This, as the grower suggests, may impact negatively on supply and increase costs to consumers of the fresh perishable vegetables on which these growers concentrate. The exact impact on this for Sydney's food supply long-term, is difficult to determine.

Without greater recognition of farmers that results in incorporation of their farms into current plans for urban growth, they may have to retire from farming. It also may mean that it is not taken up by a new generation as discussed in the previous chapter. Such recognition is important, this Maltese grower argued, because without farmers:

You are not going to get your fruit and vegetable and meats. And if they don't help them the future generation won't [get into farming] because they know all the hard work what's involved in it and they've got no income at the end. They'll look twice, they say no, not going to do this. I'm going to do something else (Maltese Grower 2, pers. comm. 17-11-06).

The importance of investing in farming for the communal good is a sentiment echoed by a Lebanese grower. He suggests that a 'lack of support will mean that new

generations will not see it as viable or desirable livelihood to take up' (Lebanese Grower 1, pers. comm. 21-07-06).

While asserting the value of their enterprise to the wider city community, the growers also emphasised that economic imperatives remain a key concern in the running of their farms. The complexity of their position is indicated in the response of a Lebanese grower. He argued:

We are more business people, that's how it should be. That's the way things are becoming unfortunately with the world. It's not, as I said, more the ideal and the principle of being good to the land. No. Personally, I love 'em. I like my house because my children were born in it and everything. But in the end it's an asset and we have to accept the fact that [this] new society is about that. It's not any more we love it because we love it. No. In the end that supports my way of life. [The question becomes] does it enhance my income? Does it make me live in a better condition or prosperity? (Lebanese Grower 1, pers. comm. 21-07-06).

Despite emphasising that his farm is primarily an economic concern, however, the grower goes on to reiterate the contribution he sees farming making to the city. It is, he argued:

An investment. An investment for the community. Even if it costs some money at this stage it's going to be a lot harder in the future. Plus if we make life hard for the farmers, what's the alternative? (Lebanese Grower 1, pers. comm. 21-07-06).

The statements by this grower illustrate that, as a livelihood, farming cannot be seen as something done purely for its cultural or social value, but it is also not something undertaken only for economic gain. This builds on the point made by Mr Michael Richardson in Chapter Two, that it is perhaps unreasonable to expect growers to carry the costs of this enterprise without any government support (Parliament of New South Wales 2005b). In their responses the Bringelly growers asserted that if Sydney does not protect its farmland, farming livelihoods will be lost, as they need support. They argued that they aid the city as a whole in provision of quality fresh food for the market, and local employment. It is on the basis of these contributions to Sydney's sustainability that growers interviewed asserted that farming should be valued in more than narrowly defined economic terms. The incorporation of land uses such as market gardening into a diversity-aware vision for a sustainable Sydney, however, would also have to address the social aspects of these practices. The social facet of sustainability in this sense can

be seen as supporting ways of life that are contributing to the sustainability of the broader city. The question remains, however, whether this role will be recognised by the city more broadly, and political decision makers more specifically, as important enough to generate this support and protection (which could take a number of different forms, as discussed later).

Difficulties of Moving

The implication in the statement from the Department of Planning representative in Chapter Two was that moving the fringe farms is a straightforward relocation process. The statement suggested that the displacement of the Bringelly farms was not a concern for the city's food supply or particularly inconveniencing growers. The view of certain academic and media commentators was that growers saw their farms as their 'superannuation' and were all happy to 'cash it in' and retire, as noted earlier (Verity 2003b). The responses from growers interviewed for this research, however, suggest that such a position does not capture the complexity of the choices they are faced with. This represents a failure to recognise and consider the views of the growers themselves. While many growers did view their land as their 'superannuation' this was often expressed at the same time as a desire to keep farming. The willingness to sell was dependent on the owner making a substantial amount of money, as this Maltese grower stated:

Yeah, it's not an easy [thinking about selling]...it's like I said to you, if they offered me or my dad six million [dollars]...yeah, no worries...you can buy another property (Maltese Grower 3, pers. comm. 17-11-06).

The desirability of selling is also linked to the current pressures on their farming livelihood, outlined later in this chapter. Rather than being a simple option, the case for many growers, this Lebanese grower argued, is often that 'moving is not easy. It would be one of the hardest things [about loss of farmland to development], if not the hardest' (Lebanese Grower 2, pers. comm. 07-11-06). The challenges involved in moving include increased costs of transporting food to market, accessing labour, cost of relocation and disruption of communities. These issues are discussed in greater detail below.

While it could be assumed that growers selling their land will now make a lot of money and therefore will be able to start again by buying land elsewhere, this is not necessarily the case. As this grower argued, through a translator:

The price of the land goes up very high, it's not like 30 years ago or 10 years ago, when the land is very cheap. And then you can sell the farm and get another farm. Now if he sells this one he has to put more money in, invest more money to get another one. The money selling this farm is not enough to buy a new farm (Chinese Grower 10, pers. comm. 05-12-07).

The cost of moving a farm that has a lot of infrastructure like the hydroponic set ups or green houses will incur substantial extra costs for the farmers. These growers outlined the potential associated expenses of moving:

Like now, really, if I go for hydroponic [systems or greenhouses], if I want to move and get a million dollars extra, that's not enough for me. Because if I want to put in the proper greenhouses, it's going to cost me a lot more than a million dollars. And that's what it is... (Lebanese Grower 1, pers. comm. 21-07-06).

[To move] you have to start from scratch, basically. You have to take everything out and start again. To move out of here, [it would take at] minimum a month. To start packing is minimum thirty days, if not more, maybe two months. And that's not including the new premises you get [where] you have to start erecting all the new igloo houses. Minimum it will take three to four months before you start making any money. And that's not cheap (Lebanese Grower 2, pers. comm. 07-11-06).

If he had to move, this Lebanese grower went on to argue, it may no longer be viable to farm:

I would stop farming if I couldn't find the right premises and the area is too far, [as] it's not going to be feasible. Because I live local, if I have to travel [a long distance I won't move]...maximum I'll travel is an hour. Any further than that it's not worth it. Once you move further out, [the labour is] very hard to get. 'Cause they probably don't have the transport and maybe it's not worth it. 'Cause pickers and packers, it's not a great deal of money (Lebanese Grower 2, pers. comm. 07-11-06).

The prospect of moving further out from the city presents farmers with a range of costs. They will potentially lose money already invested on infrastructure, as well as having the cost of replacing it on the new farm. The time it takes to move and re-establish the farm equates to a loss of revenue and farmers are also faced with the cost to their business of losing labour resources. These factors make moving an expensive, and potentially unviable, option for most growers. If these farmers chose to stop farming

rather than move their potential contribution to Sydney's sustainability into the future through provision of local fresh food is lost. The failure to account for the social and economic viability of farmers in the face of urban encroachment further illustrates that they are not 'seen' as part of the official vision for urban sustainability. Their contribution to and stake in the city – including their literal investment in their farms – are neglected in prevailing sustainability discourses within the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy and Department of Planning more broadly that see them as expendable and easily relocatable.

Owners and Lessees

There was also a further split among growers along the lines of lessees and owners as to the desirability of selling farmland for development and the ease of relocation. The majority of those interviewed who own their land, Chinese, Maltese and Lebanese growers, are from earlier waves of migration (see Table 2, Chapter One). As later arrivals, and therefore less established, the majority of Cambodian growers and those more recently from Mainland China, lease their land. This general pattern reflects the findings of earlier reports on growers (Horticulture Australia Limited 2005). While one of the two Vietnamese growers interviewed owned their land, the majority of Vietnamese growers lease (Horticulture Australia Limited 2005). For lessees, land being sold had only negative connotations, but as they do not own the land, they have little opportunity to protest the development. The multi-faceted responses from growers to the issue of moving, in the event of their land being sold, illustrate that there is not a singular view from the growers on the issue of development. The responses from growers suggest they are not essentially anti-development. A willingness to move or sell their land in the face of development, however, does not indicate that they do not value or wish to continue farming. This Lebanese grower, who leases, discusses the situation:

Some of the farmer here they own the land, they are waiting for the land to be subdivided. But most people, they don't want [land to be subdivided for development], they want to make a living from this business. 'Cause here the percentage of farmers, especially [in] greenhouses, 70 percent they rent the land not own the land, over 75 percent. They will have nowhere to go. And, believe me, later on, no one around [this area of South Western Sydney] will be vegetable grower. Only in this area [of] Rossmore, Kemps Creek where you can find Sydney water. If you go past Northern Road there is no Sydney water, only

in this area. Even from Leppington would be very hard later on (Lebanese Grower 3, pers. comm. 16-11-06).

This grower emphasises the importance of areas close to the city, such as Bringelly for growing crops, due to access to city water. While the Sydney Water operations will extend to the new housing estates in this area (Sydney Water Representative, pers. comm. 26-03-09), if growers have to move beyond these areas they face potentially limited water access. In this grower's concern that 'they will have nowhere to go', he contests the notion that lessees can simply continue moving further out without facing any substantial challenges to the viability of their farms.

In contrast, some of the owners see the position of the lessees as having greater flexibility and so assume that they would not be significantly affected by development plans. This Lebanese landowner does not evince the same sympathy for lessees as the previous grower:

Well, I don't see what's the problem. They can go and lease somewhere else. I mean, I don't think it's much of a problem for them; I mean more of a problem for them than for owners. It's going to be very far and they'll find it very hard for transport. The way I look at it for lessees in this area, I mean definitely it's going to hurt them more but [they are still leasing land]. I like to tell the truth because I know the truth, for lessees the investment in land is not very high (Lebanese Grower 1, pers. comm. 21-07-06).

Some of those who own property are of the view that development is a certainty, but are also positive as they can make money and move elsewhere. This grower argues that:

[Development] will have to happen. People buy property here thinking, hoping, that it's going to be worth something, say, in 20 years time. It's going to happen and I hope it happens so we can sell here and move out. So if it's good timing, that's what we'll do (Lebanese Grower 4, pers. comm. 13-02-07).

The money that owners will potentially make on sale of their farms compared to the low returns on farm production makes development a favourable prospect for some:

Going by my brother's thinking and other local landlords, if the price is right they prefer to sell. [They would sell] because they don't make that sort of money [on the farm]. This property is earning them say 80,000 a year. If the property is worth 1.5 million and the developer offers them 3 million, they won't make that money in ten years. They don't make that in the greenhouses. No way. So it's quick money, in out and they probably retire or go further out and buy another

property, a house that they live in and take it nice and easy (Lebanese Grower 2, pers. comm. 07-11-06).

Not all landowners hold the view that selling land is desirable, however. For one Chinese grower, who wishes to stay in the area around Bringelly even after he retires, selling his land does not present an attractive option. He argues, echoing the responses of growers earlier, that the financial windfall people expect from development often does not meet expectations, and the price of other land has gone up at the same time:

Once you sell the land in here...you cannot get a piece of land to build another house in this area. You cannot. Because everyone say they are going to develop, develop. And they think that, you know, that the developer [equals] big money. And of course they do make money [when they sell]. But nowadays they don't make a lot of money like before (Chinese Grower 2, pers. comm. 11-08-06).

From the point of view of the lessees, however, there is not even the possibility of making money from development. The lessees interviewed associated moving with financial loss and the risk of losing the business all together. The impact is compounded for those growers that do not have a high level of English, which are generally also those who lease, as they are the newer migrants. This puts them in a position of double disadvantage and vulnerability. As this Vietnamese grower explains:

The one that doesn't speak English is the one that will lose out most; the one that rents the land is the one that will lose out even bigger. Because people, who rent out land, just say they rent the land and they build the greenhouse. Something they just put it up and then the council sets this out and they have to, and they go 'I just put this in and now in one or two years I have to move'. They plan that, in one or two years they may not get the money back for putting the structures in. That's the big problem; people who lease the land don't tend to have [security]. They grow things on the ground; they don't do greenhouse or not much of greenhouse, just an open space kind of a crop. So if they have to move, they move. But it's really hard for them too you know. All of a sudden, you have a stability of getting on and all of a sudden you have to move. It's very difficult you know. Most [Vietnamese growers] would lease (Vietnamese Grower 2, pers. comm. 06-12-06).

Lessees are in a very vulnerable position from the threat of development as they are generally at the whim of the landlord. Their position is precarious as they are often

without leases, brought onto properties by landlords who are seeking tax exemption by having primary industry on their land. As this Khmer grower, who leases, explains:

The life of the farmer not stable. One day good, one day bad. But the landlord always acts like that, always, all the landlords here. If the landlord not doing farm the land taxes increase a lot. 'Cause when he bought the land he told the council the land [is] for farming, so the council had to charge the land tax on the farming rate – very low. And if he does not do any farming in the land, the council inspector will check and increase the land tax. That's what the landlord don't want to do, he have to offer some farmer to lease the land until he can sell and then he say you have one month [or] two months and then move out. And to start the farm it's not easy. Myself, starting cost me 50 thousand dollars. Just only the tractor, the implements and the equipment in the farm. Some other farmers it cost them cheaper 'cause they don't buy tractor, they only get the machine and pumps and spray pumps and things like that. They feel themselves like one day the landlord going to kick them out so they have to spend less [to] start with (Khmer Grower 2, pers. comm. 02-11-07).

Due to their general lack of formal leasing contracts, the lessees have no means of redress if they are given short notice to vacate the premises when the owner decides to sell. This, echoing earlier statements from growers about the cost of relocating, is problematic as it often results in the loss of (substantial) infrastructure investment made in the property. This is particularly a challenge for the more recently arrived migrants such as those from Cambodia as nearly all are lessees. As this Khmer grower who leases explained:

When the landlord says I sell this property for the developer, you better move within a certain period. You better move. Of course [the lessees] have difficulty, it impact [on] them because everything is set. And then when they have to move, they have to pay (Khmer Grower 1, pers. comm. 30-11-06).

As many have only a little or no English, the lessees often feel that they cannot protest about the changes to local government or Planning Department authorities. The lack of a sense of entitlement to such protests comes, as this Chinese lessee explained through a translator, from the fact that:

He's not the owner [and so] he can't have a say in this issue even though you get into the street and get a riot, no one will hear you because you are not the owner. No time and no chance (Chinese Grower 9, pers. comm. 05-12-07).

Owning land is considered by many as an aspiration, as has been noted in earlier research (Parker & Suriyabanadara 2000), but it is made very difficult due to land prices. Lack of land ownership means they have little opportunity for protesting land development and therefore a lack of security for their farming practice. These benefits from land ownership meant for one Vietnamese grower that 'if you don't have the land, you don't have anything' (Vietnamese Grower 1, pers. comm. 25-10-06). This grower stated his family would 'love to get our own land, but it's so expensive' (Vietnamese Grower 1, pers. comm. 25-10-06). Areas he suggested his family could afford to get their own land included Goulburn or Canberra, which they considered very far (two and a half to three hours away) from the Sydney markets (Vietnamese Grower 1, pers. comm. 25-10-06). For lessees, who generally come from the newer migrant groups, with less English skills and little sense of cultural entitlement to make any protest about the development, moving out of the Basin has many problems and no apparent benefit. For those who own the land, however, even if they wanted to continue farming on their current land, selling their land would potentially provide the money to buy another property elsewhere. Nevertheless, where they can continue to farm and afford to purchase may not be close to the city or within the Sydney Basin.

The Challenge of Distance

The increased transport requirements were a significant factor in concerns expressed about moving, making it potentially unviable for growers to continue. For some it would have a negative effect in a number of aspects including higher costs for the farmer:

You have to remember now, the farmer is going to get pushed out from here and have to go out but he's going to get higher costs – water and transport. He needs to get stuff from wherever he is. A good example: my friend is a grower up in Milton, in the Maitland /Singleton area [about 170 kms from Sydney's CBD]. Now he has to transport the stuff. It's costing him so much to transport all the time now he's leasing another farm in Peats Ridge in Gosford [about 75 kms from Sydney CBD]. So when he cuts all the [produce], he's going to bring it down here and pack everything at Peats Ridge and take it from there (Maltese Grower 3, pers. comm. 17-11-06).

Having to move further out, as this grower states, makes the chain of supply less direct, increases costs for the producers and potentially increases costs to the consumer. From

the perspective of one Lebanese grower, if growers stop growing rather than move out, it will negatively affect prices of produce in the Sydney market:

In the long run, it affects the consumers. They'll have to pay more money because there will be more demand, less crop. Therefore, it becomes very expensive. Now a kilo of tomato is about \$4 retail. But if there are no local growers? Whatever we put into the market it helps the community a lot in the pricing sense. There is enough supply for the demand, so it keeps everything at balance. But if you get rid of the [local growers], if we move on [this could change]. I'm one of probably 1200 growers in this area, if you go to Tamore [in Sydney's South West] and up to Glenorie [in Sydney's North West], you've got easily over 1000 growers if you put all the Lebanese, Vietnamese, Maltese and the Italian [growers together]. So just imagine if all these people aren't growing vegetables or fresh produce. It will affect the community in the sense of pricing, and, as you know, people are struggling at the moment with high interest rates and petrol prices and council rates and it creates more pressure on the poor and the middle-lower class. So [the loss of Sydney Basin farms] does, it affects everyone (Lebanese Grower 2, pers. comm. 07-11-06).

This grower presents a number of concerns about the potentially negative effect of losing Sydney's farmland. While the estimate given here of grower numbers in the Sydney Basin is considerably less than in other reports, the official estimates would only add to his argument. The concern that development would equate to the potential loss of many of the small farms in the local area is echoed in the response of a Vietnamese grower:

I think if a lot of people have to move to other areas to do farming they would probably give up. 'Cause this area is quite good, the weather is not so bad, other areas could be too hot or too cold, and so the crops may not grow. That's one reason they might give it up; another reason is [it is] too far (Vietnamese Grower 2, pers. comm. 06-12-06).

These growers suggested that moving away from the city to areas where land is available presents a number of potential problems that may detrimentally affect the city's local fresh food supply.

In the view of certain Department of Planning and Department of Primary Industry staff interviewed in this research discussed previously the loss of small farms would have little effect on the supply of fresh produce to the Sydney Markets. They

asserted that bigger agribusinesses would develop further out of the city, replacing the production of the Sydney growers with a small number of larger farms. Furthermore, some argued that Sydney's agriculture is not essential as food can always be transported from elsewhere to feed the Sydney population. These arguments imply a dismissal of the role of small-scale growers for Sydney's food supply. The assertion is that these growers are unimportant due to their size and don't need to be protected. The growers quoted above argued, however, that local food production is important to the city's sustainability, and having to move threatens their capacity to continue farming. This suggests the need for a more inclusive concept of sustainability, beyond the prevailing focus on 'business as usual' forms of urban development, to acknowledge and protect the contributions of alternative land uses such as market gardening. Moving is not always easy or desirable and the benefits of proximity to Sydney's markets and arability of the land mean that many would only continue farming if they are close to the city. The absolute necessity of Sydney Basin agriculture to simply ensure that Sydney has food is contested, as noted in this and the Introduction Chapter. The affect of its loss on price competitiveness, freshness of produce, local employment and the character of Sydney's peri-urban land, however, has yet to be seen.

Communities

Another reason many of the CALD farmers interviewed were reluctant to move further out and start again is that it would mean leaving behind the established networks of their local communities. This further indicates that the idea farmers will simply 'move out' is a problematical assumption. They often have large social networks within their local areas with concentrations of ethnic groups in particular areas. The South West, for example, as discussed earlier, has a particular concentration of Chinese growers (Parker & Suriyabanadara 2000).

Many of these social networks stem from associations in their country of origin. The Chinese and Lebanese growers in the South West interviewed, for example, came to a large extent from the same areas in their countries of origin. For the Chinese, it was predominantly the same province in China, and for the many of the Lebanese growers it was neighbouring villages in Lebanon. This resulted from the fact that, as described in the Introduction Chapter, many growers came to Australia through processes of chain migration (Burnley 2001; Parker 2004). The process of chain migration led to many setting in the same areas, as one of the Lebanese growers explained:

When we were new migrants to Australia we came [because] our village was displaced in Lebanon, because of the war, and we had to migrate and everybody decided we come to Australia. Like my wife, [she] followed her sister. We came to Liverpool because [my wife's] sisters were farming in Liverpool. That's purely the reason at the time, why she wanted to come this way... You see that's the trend, anyway. You see people getting absorbed in to the community. The language was the thing, where you couldn't communicate with everybody else. People tried to group in one place, like the Vietnamese in Cabramatta. That's the reason behind it. More than that... they feel not involved with every community they live in because of the language barriers and the tradition barriers and things like that (Lebanese Grower 1, pers. comm. 21-07-06).

The geographic concentration of different migrant groups, such as Vietnamese in Cabramatta, is often viewed negatively as a failure to integrate into Australian society but it can provide important support networks to aid the settlement process (Dunn 1998). This Lebanese grower went on to outline the potential impacts of moving on these networks:

It will have effects on our community, definitely, if a decision is made [to develop]. Everybody is going to be... everybody's going to go different ways. Some people maybe will think we'd better go back to Lebanon. Maybe. I'd love to retire back in my village in Lebanon, if I can, you know.

Speaking to a fellow grower, he continued:

Your dad, maybe if he doesn't have the farming, I tell you from now, your parents aren't going to live in Bargo [about 100 km south of Sydney CBD]. No way. They will go and live in Punchbowl [a Sydney suburb where many Lebanese-Australians live] or go to Lebanon, you know (Lebanese Grower 1, pers. comm. 21-07-06).

These comments indicate that in having to sell their land, people may stop farming. They would also have to relocate which could mean people are likely to spread out into other Sydney suburbs, or even potentially return to their country of origin. The need to move threatens to disrupt the strong ties of established networks within the different migrant groups.

For the Khmer growers who also have strong community ties, the situation is different. Their sense of community was not created through pre-migration relationships in the same way as described by the Lebanese grower. The majority of Khmer growers

did not know each other in their country of origin (Cambodian Growers Association, pers. comm. 02-11-07). One reason for this could be that many had spent years prior to arrival in Australia in the disrupted living of refugee camps (Parker 2004). Since arriving in Australia, however, they have built strong networks and they rely on each other for support. As they are predominantly lessees, an estimated 90 percent live in nearby suburbs like Cabramatta that, as noted, have a large Indo-Chinese population and travel to their farms each day (Cambodian Growers Association, pers. comm. 02-11-07). The example of the Khmer growers highlights that from many growers the practice of farming is tied into a sense of community established in the processes of settling into Australia. The networks of farmers further emphasises the importance of acknowledging and attending to the social aspects of practices such as market gardening within urban sustainability discourses. That they come from CALD backgrounds as new migrants and have unique social patterns and networks that make farming viable needs to be addressed in considering the fate of Bringelly's farmers. Creating a diversity aware vision for a sustainable Sydney therefore means also accounting for the social and cultural systems that support practices such as farming that produce fresh food for the city.

The Khmer farmers who participated in a group interview indicated that they do not wish to be separated from their community. For many, having to move further than an hour or so from their current homes would potentially make farming unfeasible (Cambodian Growers Association, pers. comm. 02-11-07). There are, however, those growers who do not see moving as a big problem, as long as the community moves. The importance of the communal ties and being able to continue farming overrides attachment to a particular area. According to one of the Khmer growers:

All the farmer want is to get a secure place. One person said it depend on the climate, some place have a good climate. What I am looking at is the Central Coast. It's a good climate to grow. It's not too far west, which is not good because it's frosty and we can't afford to grow that much because we don't have a team [of farm workers] (Khmer Grower 2, pers. comm. 02-11-07).

If the community will not or cannot move with him, however, the decision to move is no longer so favourable:

If you can move 10 or 20 family together we are happy to do this. I say this on behalf of my group because if I go alone, no [I won't be happy to move] (Khmer Grower 2, pers. comm. 02-11-07).

The desire to maintain the community was reiterated by other growers, but there was a concern for some that if people had to move house to a new area this would change, and possibly break up, the existing community. This made the idea of moving further undesirable for many growers (Cambodian Growers Association, pers. comm. 02-11-07).

The view expressed by Department of Planning officials that Bringelly's farms could be easily relocated outside of the Sydney Basin is based primarily on an economic logic, ignoring the social and cultural imperatives that underpin many of the farming networks on the city's fringe. It therefore fails to address the social aspects of sustainability. The challenges of moving range from economic to social and are far from simple to negotiate for the majority of growers. The idea that farmers can 'simply' move further out, and potentially outside of the Sydney Basin, fails to acknowledge that for many farmers these hurdles will prove insurmountable and they may simply stop farming. It also fails to acknowledge that these growers are part of, rather than outside, the city. Socially and culturally, through their settlement histories and attachments to their farms as well as supplying food to the city these growers are woven into Sydney's urban fabric.

Lack of Recognition for Urban Growers

The failure to incorporate Bringelly's market gardens into plans for the development of the South West Growth is connected to a broader lack of recognition of their contribution to the city. This thesis argues that *if* local fresh food production, as represented by Bringelly's market gardens, is considered important to the city's sustainability this industry needs to be supported and protected as other industries are. In drawing attention to the negative affect of broader issues such as consumption patterns and supermarket monopolies on Bringelly's farms, the following section also further highlights the significance of these farms to the wider city in areas such health. Illustrating the multiple threats to the viability of these farms, this section outlines the need for economic and political support for Bringelly's growers to continue providing fresh food to the city.

Food Culture

The previously noted increasing awareness of concerns such as food miles has seen a rise in the purchase and consumption of local produce in Sydney through venues such as farmers markets (Stapleton 2008). Despite this shift, the majority of groceries are still purchased at supermarkets, particularly the two main chains of Coles and Woolworths which sell over 50 percent of fresh produce consumed in Australia (Australian Competition and Consumer Commission 2008). While people may want fresh food that is produced locally, the growers perceive a gap between this desire and the feasibility of accessing this food, such as going to farmers markets on a regular basis:

I mean, you get your people that would go to the farmers market rather than going to Coles...but for a Mum, with four kids hanging off her, that sort of thing would be a little bit too difficult (Maltese Grower 5, pers. comm. 18-12-06).

The lack of time, or potentially knowledge about the benefits of local produce, among the general public is seen by growers to create the reliance on supermarkets. As one grower explained:

People are going for convenience. People are forgetting how to cook. I was at Coles on Saturday and I watched a woman buy a bagged lettuce and it looked shocking. Had that left our farm to go to the agent, he would have fed it to the cows. Yet here's this woman in Coles [who] had it in her shopping trolley. Like, its butt was really brown and yuck, and you could see from the core up it was browning. She obviously just looked at the top of the lettuce and not the base. People are buying their bagged lettuce... (Maltese Grower 5, pers. comm. 18-12-06).

Of concern for this grower is the decreased quality of fruit and vegetables purchased at a supermarket compared to what they can produce fresh off the farm. Freshness is a key reason that people purchase local produce (Gairdner 2006). In buying from supermarkets that, in Australia at least, do not often provide information about the provenience of food consumers are given little choice between food produced close to the city and that transported in from interstate. This supermarket culture of convenience in grocery shopping is coupled, in the view of this grower, with a decline in people eating fresh produce:

If we could go back to the ways of four, five vegies on a plate and a piece of meat, what my mum and dad and my grandparents did, and farmers would

probably have a chance. But how many times a week do families eat out?

(Maltese Grower 5, pers. comm. 18-12-06).

The lack of fresh vegetable consumption this grower discusses is an issue that is problematic not only for the livelihood of farmers but also for the wider city. A recent study by a national health taskforce estimated that the fruit and vegetables consumed in the general Australian diet is only half the recommended daily intake (National Preventative Health Taskforce 2008). This decline in consumption is being linked to a range of serious health conditions such as obesity and diabetes, the financial costs of which are estimated to be over eight billion dollars a year for obesity alone (National Preventative Health Taskforce 2008).

Health initiatives at a state and national level have responded to this research by seeking to increase the demand for and consumption of fruit and vegetables of the general public. Key to this initiative is promoting greater knowledge about food – how it is grown, when it is in season and what it tastes like fresh (New South Wales Department of Health 2004; SA Health 2008). These reports draw attention to the value of local food production as it gives people the opportunity to purchase and learn about food production directly from those who grow it. This presents another reason for retaining farms close to the city. The current patterns of consumption, and the dominance of the supermarkets, however, threaten to make farming further unviable for the small grower. For farmers nationally, the dominant market share of only a few supermarkets, particularly Coles and Woolworths, compounds a sense of lack of control over their livelihood (Nettlefold 2005; The Land 2008; Thomson 2008; West 2008). The inequalities created by the supermarket monopoly in Australia suggest the need for development and support for alternative forms of food distribution in cities like Sydney. Options like community supported agriculture (where groups buy in bulk direct from growers) or increasing access to farmers markets throughout suburban areas represent such ‘alternative’ measures beginning to be explored in Australia (Adams 2009; Food Connect 2009).

Price of Vegetables

While growers’ capacity to deliver fresh produce to Sydney is threatened by development, the low prices they currently receive for their produce further threatens the viability of Sydney’s farms. At present, the price of vegetables, the Bringelly growers reported, is often so low that they are operating at a loss, or only breaking even,

on what they are selling. This is one of the major factors that threaten the economic viability of farming in the Sydney Basin, and has led a number of growers interviewed to question how long they can continue to farm. This Lebanese grower conveyed the severity of the situation in discussing the current economies of his farm:

Like, now, my egg tomatoes here cost me 18 dollars a box to grow and gas.

Now, they sell it 18 dollars at the market. **I'm working for nothing.** On a round tomato you lose 5 dollars on each box now you send to the market (Lebanese Grower 3, pers. comm. 16-11-06, emphasis added).

The low price of vegetables compared with the high price of production commented on by this grower starkly demonstrates how unviable such business operations are becoming in the long term without support from the government and broader public.

The CALD growers in the Sydney Basin interviewed for this thesis felt that they are making a contribution to 'big picture' sustainability concerns such as the fresh food supply to Sydney. In addition to urban development, the growers face a number of obstacles to farm viability, which can be directly assisted by government assistance in promoting and protecting their industry. Any 'recognition' of growers and the contributions they offer the broader city community must also address financial and social viability for growers to ensure they can continue long-term. As one Lebanese grower argued:

What I'm trying to say is that farming is not the same [as it once was, in terms of being a viable business], unless there is help, anyway. And with help, I don't mean begging or nothing. We're primary producers, we need assistance (Lebanese Grower 1, pers. comm. 21-07-06).

This request for support, in the view of the grower, is not simply a request for charity. It is, instead, from his perspective a request for acknowledgement and support of the productive role of these farms in providing fresh food to the city. Planning for a city that incorporates local food production arguably increases its potential to feed itself and keep its citizens healthy into the future. In accounting for market gardens in Sydney's plans as one of the 'many different kinds of activities' (Robinson 2006: 170) that comprise the city a more inclusive and potentially more sustainable vision for its future is possible.

Re-visioning the Future of Farming: Productive Diversity

In their interviews, growers not only emphasised the value of farms for the city as a whole but also illustrated the capacity to adapt these farms as part of, rather than separate to, plans for urban growth. When asked to consider the future of farming on the fringe, the growers did not see the need for more housing as incompatible with the continuation of market gardening. Instead, what the growers highlighted was an understanding of the problems faced by their farms in current plans and the potential for different ways of thinking about farming in the city. They argued that both innovation and different forms of land use could be applied to the current situation to provide a way in which housing and market gardening could both be part of the city's growth. In their suggestions about how farming might be able to adapt as the city develops, these growers further illustrated the productive potential of diverse users and uses of land to 'sustain' Sydney.

The intensive nature of market gardens means that they do not utilise a large amount of land to produce fresh food for the city. The possibility, with continual technological innovation, is that even less land would be necessary in the future (New South Wales Department of Primary Industries 2008). This means that maintaining agriculture on the peri-urban fringe, or even closer to the city, on a commercial scale could remain viable. What this requires, however, is urban planning that creates space for agriculture to continue – that agriculture is planned into, rather than planned out of, the vision for the city (see Figure 25). A Lebanese grower who also uses a hydroponic system in a greenhouse for his tomatoes argued that for farmers:

[Land is] a traditional barrier. Grazers and people who are farming land, but for us, greenhouse intensive, we do not need a huge land you see. That's the thing. If they give us the buildings in the city, we can put greenhouses on top, we can farm in there. Every time I go in the city with clear topping level topping on them, [I think] God, I wish I were allowed on top of Darling Harbour to put a greenhouse (Lebanese Grower 1, pers. comm. 21-07-06).

Putting a greenhouse on top of Darling Harbour, a custom-built entertainment district in the middle of Sydney, does not perhaps present an immediate solution for Bringelly's market gardeners. It does, however, suggest the value of innovative thinking about urban agriculture in Sydney, to ensure it still has access to the city's market and resources such as water. There are already examples of community gardens and

(increasingly) planning for green roofs within Sydney's inner city (Bartolomei et al. 2003; Ramachandran 2007; Elliot 2008). In interviews, growers raised the possibility of options such as different kinds of green zones and agribusiness parks.



Figure 25: Re-visioning farming in the city: A greenhouse on Darling Harbour?

(Photos: Sarah James)

Green Zone

Revisiting the idea of a green zone on Sydney's urban fringe within or near new residential developments was one option presented by growers. There were a number of growers who still thought that such a green zone would be a good idea. As one Chinese grower stated, via an interpreter:

It is good to have such a place. It is good to set a green zone where people can continue to grow. He said that his area is not like it used to be [as there are now many more] houses. If he were in the green zone he would be happy to stay and grow (Chinese Grower 9, pers. comm. 05-12-07).

Rather than being dictated from above, however, as with the Green Zones in the Metropolitan Strategy discussed in Chapter Two, growers argued that the choice to sell or stay should lie with the landowner:

If you don't want to work, you can sell it. But if you want to keep, and I want to stay here, I don't want to sell the farm, [then the] government [shouldn't] force me to sell it (Chinese Grower 6, pers. comm. 01-12-06).

Development of a new green zone would have to involve greater consultation and engagement at the community level than occurred with the Metropolitan Strategy. This consultation would be necessary to design a green zone in a way that was fair and equitable for landowners, as one Lebanese grower argued:

What I would like to see [is] a fair way for people to be given options. [The process] should be fair, evaluate the thing – what's the value for farming? And somehow compensate [the farmer], or the others put in a special tax.

Compensate to make it fair. If his land is going to be nice and my land is going to be better value because his land is going to be used for views for my land, then I should be contributing to that, or the people who are going to be living here should contribute to that. Not him be the guinea pig... and have to pay the price for it. I think that's unfair (Lebanese Grower 1, pers. comm. 21-07-06).

The grower went on to suggest that in addition to compensation, there might be the possibility of transferring zoning rights:

If this area is going to be zoned for agriculture only, then it's going to be done wrongly. While some people living in the other [zone], they'd love to be for agriculture, if they are compensated, they can swap... And it would be good for everybody, because in the end the higher the cost for this produce, it's going to cost us a lot to produce these things, the higher the community's going to pay. So it's community investment in a way. These things, if we do them right – the politicians or the planners – if they do things right then they are making good investment for the community (Lebanese Grower 1, pers. comm. 21-07-06).

In his discussion of compensation or swapping of land, this Lebanese grower gestures to the idea of tradable development rights, also suggested by other reports on the Sydney Basin and other peri-urban farm regions (Sinclair et al. 2004; Armstrong 2005a). This process allows for developers to build at a greater density in some areas by paying for other areas to remain undeveloped (Armstrong 2005a). It is currently being examined in countries such as Canada that also have significant peri-urban agriculture (Armstrong 2005a), but has yet to be considered in government planning for the Sydney Basin (Sinclair et al. 2004). Potentially such schemes would allow those who wanted to farm to continue to do so without losing out on the financial benefit of selling land to developers. In light of the comments made by many growers in this situation, such an approach would provide a means for farming to continue alongside development of housing in the future.

Another consideration for the creation of a green zone, however, would be the potential problems that would arise if it were also to serve as a nature conservation zone. One of the Chinese growers outlined some of these concerns, through a translator:

The design is not that ideal, of keeping some veggie growing in the green zone. First thing is that they might spray some pesticides that will affect the park and things. And the other thing is that they have to put in fertilisers and the chicken manure is very smelly... (Chinese Grower 9, pers. comm. 05-12-07).

This grower indicated the value for a zone or area for agricultural production that is distinct from other uses on the fringe to accommodate farming practices.

While the original plans for a green zone within the SWGC failed due to resident protest, it is clear that the idea of a green zone is still appealing to some growers. As these quotes highlight, however, there are a number of issues such as equity and potential land use conflict that would need to be resolved if this idea were to be revisited. It would require, in other words, an in-depth grounded assessment that was based on speaking to those affected. This would contrast to the top-down decision based on aerial photos of the area that determined the original Green Zones.

Agri-Business Park

The option of an agri-business park is another way of maintaining an agricultural presence in the metropolitan area. This was suggested by some of the growers in lieu of a 'green zone' where there may be a range of competing land use interests. Such a park would potentially reduce conflict with residential neighbours and allow growers to work closely with one another. As has been illustrated, maintaining close proximity to other growers is important to many of the groups involved in farming. An agri-business park also has the potential to encourage more efficient and environmentally sound practices, one grower suggests through a translator, as all the farms are together. He stated:

It's good to have a land for growing things near the city, but he [wonders] why couldn't the government gather all the growers together and find a land for them like those industrial area [where farmers are] growing all together in one area. [This would be] good to provide water. There [also] should be different levels of water. Now they use drinking water to water their plants. They could [instead] recycle it, the water... (Chinese Grower 9, pers. comm. 05-12-07).

The potential for using recycled or grey water from urban systems discussed by this grower echoes earlier reports on the potential for improving the environmental

sustainability of Sydney's agriculture (New South Wales Agriculture 1998). The potential for utilising urban 'wastes' presents a further reason why practices such as market gardening should be included into prevailing visions of a sustainable Sydney.

An agribusiness park would provide also security of tenure for growers, which has a number of growers very enthusiastic about the idea, as the statement from this grower illustrates:

They should pick an area [for such a park], say Kemps Creek. There is a big open area [there]. The government can buy the property and they do own most of the property there and lease it out to someone like me for on 10 to 20 year or even 50-year leases. And that becomes a local business. And if I decide I want to get out of it, I can always sell the business and it helps the community working, it helps the community with labour and with fresh produce. I think that would be a very good thing to do. I don't know whether we're going to be here the next five, six [or] eight years. But if there is an area allocated for the growers like they have industrial areas, it's just going to be specifically for growers [and they won't have to compete with other interests] (Lebanese Grower 2, pers. comm. 07-11-06).

This view of an agribusiness park suggests a model in which land would be leased and then could be transferred to new growers when people retired. The option of an agribusiness park the growers raised would deal with a number of the main challenges facing farmers on the urban fringe. This would include concerns about uncertainty of tenure noted by growers in this chapter and the practical difficulties of farms neighbouring houses alluded to by Michael Richardson in Chapter Two.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the efficacy of sustainability discourses for gaining greater recognition and support for Bringelly's CALD market gardeners in plans for urban growth. While relatively neglected in Sydney's 2005 Metropolitan Strategy, urban agriculture has seemingly much to offer to the city in terms of environmental sustainability. It provides a localised source of fresh food at a time when concerns about the accessibility and quality of food supplies are gaining increasing attention in public discourse and popular media at national and international levels. As issues relating to climate change and international trade are increasingly seen to threaten the global

supply of food, concerns about food security and food miles gain currency. The contribution of local fresh food to the health of the city's populace indicated by recent research further emphasises the value of urban farms, such as the market gardens, to the broader city. Urban sustainability concerns, including supplies of fresh food, suggest that 'growth' in relation to the 'global city' should no longer simply be a byword for economic or housing development. The lack of planning for urban agriculture in relation to issues of sustainability in Sydney's plan for the next 30 years continues, however, to raise the question echoed throughout this thesis: what kind of city is being 'grown' through current plans?

It must also be noted that there are a range of views on the importance of urban agriculture to Sydney's future food supply. On one hand, farming in the Sydney Basin can be seen to produce only a percentage (8.5 percent) of NSW's overall agricultural produce according to the ABS (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008a). It does, however, represent a substantial amount of the value of fresh perishable produce grown in NSW. Urban agriculture in coastal areas such as Sydney is also increasingly well placed in relation to predictions of climate change creating continued drought and increasing temperatures in the inland (CSIRO & Australian Bureau of Meteorology 2007).

Whether there will be enough food to feed Sydney, in absolute terms, is not the only question to consider when assessing the need to plan for agriculture on the urban fringe. The efficacy of sustainability discourses in protecting urban agriculture is likely to be equally determined by the public perception of its importance. As the development of food policies and increasing popularity of locally produced food in Britain, the US and Canada (Toronto Food Policy Council 1999; London Development Agency 2006; New York State Government 2007; Zukin 2008) suggests, the socially determined value of fresh local food to the city is about more than 'hard facts'. Whether there is a place for market gardens and other agriculture in the 'city we want to live in' is likely to be determined, to a large extent, by public support for the issue. The question of how important factors such as local production of food are for the sustainability of the city are difficult to determine in any absolute sense as the impacts of environmental change are essentially still unknown (Lerch 2007). The assumption, however, that 'business as usual' in the global food system can and will continue indefinitely is potentially problematic given the concerns about declining fuel resources and the pollution caused by food transport. Generating the political will to include rather than neglect urban

farms will require an affirmation from the city's populace that they should be included in planning for peri-urban growth.

Although urban agriculture has broadly been neglected in recent plans for urban development, this is perhaps particularly true for the CALD market gardeners in the South West Growth Centre. As culturally diverse groups farming on small plots of land, Bringelly's market gardeners are vastly different from the traditional image of the 'Aussie' (Anglo) farmer with the akubra hat on the broad acre lot in the 'outback', away from the city. Even in the mobilisation of sustainability discourses around urban agriculture in the Sydney Basin, the cultural diversity of the majority of vegetable producers is often ignored. This exemplifies the apparent 'diversity-blindness' in prevailing sustainability discourses as articulated in relation to land use planning.

In focusing on the Bringelly market gardens, this chapter has sought to draw attention to the intersections between sustainability and cultural diversity in Sydney. Concerns of environmental sustainability present a challenge to the current definition of 'growth as development'. They create an imperative to adopt a more inclusive vision for the city's future, in which the contributions of diverse urbanisms such as market gardening to its sustainability are given greater weight in planning decisions. While sustainability concerns have been incorporated into the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy, in areas such as urban agriculture this appears to be more token than substantive. A more differentiated view of sustainability is needed for Sydney to allow for the recognition and incorporation of diverse land uses, such as market gardening. This re-visioning of urban growth must take into account the multi-faceted nature of these farms as a livelihood in which environmental, economic and cultural values intersect.

The complex nature of values attached to these farms means that market gardens cannot simply move and continue elsewhere without significant environmental, economic and social costs. The networks built up within the different migrant groups provide an ongoing source of support and information to growers. Moving may further prove unfeasible due to the substantial costs for groups that are already socially marginalised and struggling financially. This illustrates that the social and economic structures that support practices such as market gardening need to be accounted for in discussions about urban sustainability. This represents a definition of 'triple bottom line' sustainability as supporting – economically and socially – the existing practices that protect and preserve the environmental resources such as food the city needs to survive.

Growers arguably also need greater consultation and recognition because they can contribute to different ways of thinking about planning on the urban fringe. In discussing the future of their farms, growers presented a number of options including agribusiness parks and transferable development rights. These options potentially create ways of making farms more environmentally sustainable, particularly in regards to issues such as water use. In thinking beyond a farm/housing dichotomy, their discussion of alternative planning options illustrates the benefits of greater inclusion of growers in planning processes. This can potentially achieve more than ascribing ill-fitting pre-determined plans that do not sufficiently account for the values of existing land users. Creating a planning vision for a sustainable Sydney, this chapter argues, would benefit from engagement with, rather than neglect of, its diverse urbanisms.

Chapter Six Conclusion

Drawing on the analysis of previous chapters provides support for the central claim of this thesis – that agricultural land use practices engaged by the city’s diverse inhabitants while reflecting cultural traditions, are also economically, environmentally and culturally significant to the contemporary city at large. As embodied traditions, market gardening practices contribute to the sustainability of Sydney by providing fresh food supply for the city and local employment. The presence of such multiple users and uses of land within the cityscape requires greater attention in urban planning and policy, this thesis argues, as the aspiring ‘global city’ of Sydney continues to grow in the 21st Century. Through its focus on CALD market gardens in Bringelly, this thesis not only questions the inevitability of the developmentalist notion of growth, but also offers a rationale for a more robust consideration of the different urbanisms that characterise life on the urban fringe.

In presenting the conclusions and contributions of this thesis, this chapter will first provide a summary of the thesis. It will outline what the main aims were, why these aims were chosen, how these aims were achieved, and the main results. The results will then be reviewed in the context of the overriding objective. Following this, the implications of the research will be considered and possible agendas for future research suggested.

Through a series of interviews with CALD migrant, Indigenous, settler and government representatives, this thesis examined planning visions for Sydney’s future in relation to the complexity of cultural diversity at the city’s edge. Originally intending to explore the nature of the consultation processes in and around the SWGC, the research instead emphasised the inadequacies of such processes. That there was only a limited engagement with Indigenous and CALD migrant groups in planning processes indicates a failure to address the multi-faceted nature of their land use values – cultural, economic, and environmental. In drawing attention to this lack of recognition, the concern of this thesis was not simply whether minority voices were being ‘heard’ in planning. It focussed instead on the extent to which the *forms* of recognition ascribed to these Indigenous and CALD migrant groups ensured equal consideration and

incorporation in land use plans. This entailed examining the official representation of Indigenous values in land as ‘heritage’, and the heritage and sustainability discourses that have been mobilised around the CALD growers facing encroachment in the South West. Analysis of these discourses assessed their relative efficacy in achieving both recognition and incorporation of land use values of these groups in plans for growth.

In its focus on environmental and cultural diversity on the South West Fringe, this research has brought into question the narrow definition of urban ‘growth as development’ in Sydney’s plans. The orientation towards globalised notions of city development means that many of the geographic, demographic and historical specificities that constitute Sydney as a city are overlooked in plans for growth. The view from the fringe of the complexity of Indigenous and migrant land uses presents a vision of the city that incorporates rather than neglects these diverse urbanisms. While primarily focusing on the multiple urbanisms of a culturally diverse population, this research also brought into view the little studied outlying peri-urban areas of Sydney. The following sections outline the primary conclusions from this examination of diverse land use values in Sydney’s South West.

Growth as Development

Interrogating the planning vision for Sydney as an aspiring ‘global city’, this research indicates a ‘business as usual’ approach to growth within the 2005 Metropolitan Strategy that focuses on economic development and housing. Global city agendas, scholars such as Robinson (2006) argue, create a developmental hierarchy that positions certain cities and, more specifically, certain aspects of cities as advanced and others inferior and awaiting improvement. In Sydney this means that dynamism and change is seen as generated in the inner city, with the outer urban areas continuing to be positioned as residual land for servicing the ‘harbour city’ (Anderson 2005; McNeill et al. 2005). This intra-city binary is problematic as it fails to recognise that practices such as market gardening on the fringe are part of Sydney and can contribute to its growth. This thesis thus followed Robinson (2006) in arguing that visions for a city’s future need to be based on more than ‘development’, which neglects many unique and potentially valuable aspects of the city.

The appeal to a normative logic of ‘growth as development’ in Sydney’s current Metropolitan Strategy is not anything new in visions for the city’s growth, however.

While the global city ideal takes the abstraction to new levels, this thesis illustrated that the focus on ‘growth as development’ has shaped Sydney since the city’s creation by English colonisers over 200 years ago. It has been the economic interests of successive generations of Anglo-Celtic settlers that have primarily determined the dominant land use values. The marginalisation or destruction of land use practices of culturally diverse groups as the city developed was illustrated in Chapter 2 through the example of agriculture. The land uses of Indigenous and CALD migrant groups on the city’s fringe have historically been considered remnant, replaceable by uses of land considered more progressive. Labelling of land as ‘in waiting’ for development has served to validate the predominantly top-down approach to planning on the fringe throughout Sydney’s planning.

Although this narrow vision of ‘growth’ for Sydney has persisted long beyond its origins in colonial urbanism its limits are increasingly evident. In a very diverse ‘mongrel city’ facing the threat of environmental change, other aspects of the city that call attention to global realities – environmental concerns and demographic diversity – need to be reconceived in relation to urban growth. The 1960s and 1970s saw a range of changes in the recognition of both environmental concerns and culturally diverse heritages in urban development. While ground-breaking at the time, the public and policy shifts in the 1970s focused on protection of archaeological and built cultural heritage and ‘natural’ spaces like parks. These definitions of heritage and environmental considerations for the city are arguably no longer sufficient to address the demographic diversity and concerns of environmental sustainability shaping 21st Century Sydney. To allow for recognition and inclusion of diverse urbanisms, another fundamental shift in official conceptualisations of nature and culture in the city is required.

Land as Livelihood

Such a shift, however, requires greater recognition of the holistic nature of the land use values of culturally diverse groups. An examination of the official consultations undertaken with Indigenous and CALD groups around the development of the SWGC suggested that diverse land use values were ascribed little, if any, recognition. The consultation experienced by CALD growers was primarily informative. The growers were not engaged in discussions about how their farming practices might be included in the plans for development. Even when a so-called Green Zone was set aside in the

South West Growth area, where farms arguably could have been maintained, the growers were not involved in its planning. When the cultural land use values of Indigenous groups were officially incorporated into planning processes, there arose the question of how these values were defined and recognised. The consultations regarding Aboriginal cultural heritage assessments demonstrated that official recognition can result in an essentialised notion of culture and stakes in land.

The problems outlined in the consultations in the SWGC reflect ongoing debate in urban planning theory and practice on how culturally diverse groups should be 'recognised' (see for example Iveson 2000; Fincher 2003; Howe 2003; Sandercock 2004; Fincher & Iveson 2008; Wood & Landry 2008). Drawing on this scholarship, this thesis has argued that it is not enough for the voices of culturally diverse groups to be 'heard' if there is no real opportunity for their views to affect planning decisions. Through examination of engagement with Indigenous and migrant groups in the planning for the Metropolitan Strategy, this thesis maintained that it is the values underpinning planning decisions that must be more openly acknowledged. Consultation is not sufficient in itself if the diverse land use values expressed are always already marginal to the primary 'growth as development' agenda.

Prevailing forms of 'recognition' of diversity risk reducing alternative land use values to antiquated cultural traditions from migrant homelands, or in the case of Aboriginal groups, the 'stones and bones' model of archaeological heritage. While clearly valuing their heritage in the form of artefacts, Indigenous participants in this study suggested that, as the primary form of recognition, the heritage paradigm was problematic. The official Aboriginal cultural heritage assessment process continues to privilege definitions of culture that position Indigenous stakes in the cityscape in the past, disengaged from ongoing political, environmental and economic concerns. These concerns from which the Aboriginal participants felt alienated included natural resource management and economic aspects of land use – including housing and revenue for issues such as health. Additionally, the prevailing heritage paradigm even restricted how artefacts and sites were protected. The Aboriginal people interviewed saw their cultural heritage as more than artefacts, ascribing value to the land itself. Despite this, protection and preservation of land as part of heritage was only realised in the final plans if there were other heritage values, such as environmental or colonial, associated with the site. This prevailing formulation of heritage therefore severely limits the extent to which

Aboriginal groups could participate in planning decisions, and neglects the economic and environmental aspects of their values in land.

The responses of both Aboriginal people and CALD migrants in Sydney's South West who participated in this research emphasised that land use is an issue of livelihood. Viewing land as livelihood suggests that recognition of diverse groups in planning needs to address more than cultural concerns narrowly defined as antiquated traditions or artefacts. Urban planning also needs to acknowledge the interconnection between political, economic, environmental and cultural values in land for many culturally diverse groups. Economic and cultural concerns should not be considered as binary opposites in plans for development.

Heritage and Sustainability

The extent to which diverse users and uses of land on the city's fringe are acknowledged and incorporated in plans for Sydney's growth, this thesis has argued, depends on the form of recognition they receive within official planning processes. Through its focus on the CALD market gardeners in Bringelly, this thesis examined the efficacy of discourses of heritage and sustainability in providing recognition for the multi-faceted values in land associated with market gardening. Mobilised by grower advocates these discourses presented both limits and possibilities for the holistic recognition and incorporation of diverse urbanisms in plans for Sydney's growth.

The analysis of prevailing heritage discourses indicated that they threaten to position market gardens as part of the city's past, as antiquated forms of cultural tradition. The 2005 *Bringelly: City on the Edge* exhibition presented the history of market gardens in this area, memorialising these farms as registers of past land use practices in South West Sydney (Liverpool City Library 2004). Positioning these gardens as a form of land use that will inevitably pass, this heritage discourse fails to acknowledge the fact that these farms and farmers represent ongoing ways of life within the city that provide fresh food and employment. This analysis, as outlined, builds on from the examination of the Aboriginal heritage consultations to argue that if cultural values in land are reduced to aestheticised and depoliticised artefacts of difference, they will always be considered marginal to urban growth.

The ostensibly a-cultural definition of sustainability privileged within Sydney's urban planning, with its attention to sustaining conventional models of urban

development, also neglects practices such as market gardening. Focusing on issues such as transport, the sustainability priorities of the Metropolitan Strategy were directed at making the current form of growth as housing and (dominant forms of) economic development more sustainable rather than exploring alternative visions of growth. While peri-urban farmland was acknowledged as an issue that should be considered in planning, this appeared as a token rather than substantive concern. Furthermore, rhetoric about protecting Sydney's 'rural and resource lands' did not result in consultation with the actual CALD farmers in the South West Growth Area about the future of their farms or concrete plans for their protection. The diversity blindness of prevailing sustainability discourses mean that different ways of using city space, including ones that potentially contribute to the broader goal of environmental sustainability, are neglected.

In outlining the limits of prevailing heritage and sustainability discourses this thesis suggested that a broader conception of these issues would be productive. In positioning cultural and environmental values in land separately, the dominant sustainability and heritage discourses fail to recognise ways in which these values are interrelated in practices such as market gardening. As an ongoing and dynamic practice, market gardening is an historical tradition that continues to enrich the city culturally, economically and environmentally. This thesis argued that bringing heritage and sustainability discourses into contact beyond the limitations of official formulations provides a mode of re-visioning the place of diverse land use values in the vision for Sydney.

As an embodied tradition, both from the country of origin and developed through the processes of migration and settlement, market gardening as a way of life is part of the history and 'living' heritage of Sydney. Such culturally diverse heritage unsettles the privileged position of colonial built form in prevailing Australian heritage discourses and practices. Official acknowledgment of the heritage value of migrant places and practices brings into view the (dis)continuity of histories and traditions shared by all Australians, be they Indigenous, settler or later migrants (Armstrong 2004). Apart from those Indigenous to the area prior to colonisation, all the inhabitants of 21st Century Sydney have descended from or constitute migrants (including Aboriginal people from across the continent), highlighting the 'intertwining' (Ang 2001a: 8) of different histories (and land use values) that shape the city. By drawing attention to such shared histories, the embodied tradition of market gardening serves to

illustrate the place of diverse groups within, rather than outside of, a nationalised narrative of citizenship and belonging.

Sustainability discourses, if reformulated, might also usefully emphasise the broader role of the Bringelly market gardens in the city. While a more inclusive articulation of urban sustainability discourses would arguably incorporate the issue of local food production more generally, as it has been long neglected in Australia's urban planning (McManus 2005), it would also need to clearly acknowledge culturally diverse urban farmers. The 'diversity blindness' of much sustainability literature and government documents (Haughton & Hunter 1994; Newman & Kenworthy 1999; Commonwealth of Australia 2005; Low et al. 2005; McManus 2005; Smith & Scott 2006), including research on agriculture on the peri-urban fringe's of Australia cities (Bunker & Houston 2003; Low Choy et al. 2008) has arguably been a key factor in the neglect of Sydney's market gardeners in contemporary (and historical) plans for urban growth. The proximity of the Bringelly farms to the city with predicted declines in resources such as water and fuel will potentially make them even more important for the city's fresh food supply in the future. In order for the contribution of Bringelly's market gardens to be reflected in plans for urban development, however, the vision for the city must be underpinned by a broader articulation of sustainability than currently prevails. In bringing cultural diversity and sustainability into contact through its analysis of Bringelly's market gardens, this thesis highlights the way in which a more holistic recognition of the multiple users and uses of land in Sydney can contribute to the growth of a sustainable city for the 21st Century.

Productive Diversity

Recognising the productive capacity of diversity – of bringing different perspectives to collective aims – is one way of thinking about interconnections within a diverse city. As an amalgam of heterogeneous actors and practices, culturally diverse cities continue to pose many challenges in fields such as urban planning (Sandercock 2003a; Fincher & Iveson 2008; Wood & Landry 2008). Recent scholarship on an intercultural perspective to the city, however, suggests that it is important to think about what binds the city's diverse population as well as what differentiates it (Wood & Landry 2008). The theme of sustainability that has arisen within this thesis presents one such potentially collective aim or common good in which the participation of diverse groups can be more openly

acknowledged. If the CALD market gardeners are given greater recognition and the opportunity to participate in the planning processes, they can offer ways of thinking about planning for sustainability that are potentially valuable for the city as a whole as indicated in Chapter Five. In this way cultural diversity can be seen a productive force in city life rather than a disruptive one that needs to be regulated and assimilated.

Illustrating that market gardening is not just a remnant tradition, the options suggested by growers for agribusiness parks and transferable development rights point to a dynamic and future-oriented industry. Rather than seeing farming and housing as mutually exclusive, as seems to be the position of the NSW Department of Planning, options that growers suggested would allow farming to coexist with housing in the Sydney Basin. To pose moving out as the (only) solution for farmers in the South West faced with urban encroachments presents an option that may not be feasible for many growers. In addition, this apparent lack of alternative solutions indicates a failure to engage the knowledge and experience of the growers themselves.

Greater public and official recognition of the productive capacity of growers is needed to ensure the political support that will allow them to continue. Many of the growers see their practice as contributing to the common good (or goods) of the city, but for this to continue they need the assistance of governments. If peri-urban agriculture is left to individual growers, as it is at the moment, it will not be viable for long. In order to remain viable there needs to be recognition by the government and the public of the environmental, cultural and health significance of their land use practices to the city as a whole. This requires the uptake among decision-makers of a more differentiated conceptualisation of sustainability – one that accounts for the place of diverse users and uses of the cityscape and that supports these land use practices politically and economically.

In arguing that the market gardening practices of CALD growers require greater recognition in urban planning, this thesis does not suggest that they hold *the* solution to Sydney's sustainability challenges. Recognition of these users and uses of the cityscape serves to expand rather than replace an urban growth agenda that focuses on economic development and housing. Multiple urbanisms such as market gardening should not be considered as an exception – even an obstacle – to this agenda. They need to be acknowledged, instead, as part of a more differentiated and inclusive vision for the sustainable city's future.

Significance of Thesis Findings

Drawing attention to the multiple urbanisms on Sydney's fringe, this research highlighted the importance of considering the city's cultural complexity in plans for growth. The complexity on the urban fringe encompasses not only the diversity within and between the various cultural groups that make claim to it, but also the multi-faceted nature of their land use values. Contributing to the city economically, environmentally and culturally, practices such as market gardening are embodied activities and traditions that have a role to play in the city's future. In demonstrating this in the Sydney case, this thesis contributed to contemporary thinking about the 'intercultural' city (Radher & Milgrom 2004; Wood & Landry 2008) and specifically the possibilities for expanded notions of sustainability and heritage. It also builds on current urban theory in relation to planning for peri-urban areas.

This thesis has drawn attention to aspects of the city that have traditionally been undervalued or marginalised in the developmental impulse of plans for Sydney's growth. In doing so it illustrates the strength of a recent call for a re-territorialisation of urban studies that focuses on the geographic and cultural specificities of cities (Robinson 2006). Building on Robinson's (2006) critique of global city agendas that artificially rank cities internationally, this thesis has focused on the implications of intra-city differentiation within a single 'western' city aspiring to 'global city' status. In emphasising the exclusionary effect of a dominant and narrowly economic developmental discourse, this thesis presented an example of a more detailed, context-specific examination of the socio-spatialised complexities to be found in cities. In thinking from and 'with' the urban fringe, this thesis affirmed the need to bring back into view unique aspects of the city often overlooked in planning for development and international status.

This thesis suggested that 'thinking' diversity in cities differently has implications beyond the conventional goal of social cohesion. It explored the productive contribution culturally diverse groups can make to common goals such as sustainability, as constitutive of (rather than marginal to) the growing city. As scholars such as Wood and Landry (2008) and Radher and Milgrom (2004) suggest, an intercultural approach to planning would ideally allow diverse groups to challenge and change pre-determined notions of what constitutes a city and how it should develop. The example of the CALD market gardeners suggests that incorporating different ways of life in the city does not

have to imply or induce separatism or disorder. Paying greater (rather than less) attention to diverse land users in planning for growth illustrates the way in which a range of land use practices can contribute to a more sustainable Sydney for all its inhabitants.

In its focus on the urban fringe, this thesis highlighted the co-existence of Aboriginal, migrant and settler stakes in land. Within the limits of a thesis, this research endeavoured to undertake the challenge outlined by Anderson (2000) in bringing these multiple, and sometimes conflicting, values in land into dialogue. Due to the limits of the thesis form, including time and a single researcher, this thesis did not attempt a detailed analysis of the direct interactions between these groups per se. There clearly remains scope for substantial further work in this area, particularly regarding the oft-neglected dynamic of relationships between Aboriginal and migrant groups (Pugliese 2002). Instead, in drawing attention to a common exclusion of the land use values of Indigenous and migrant groups within plans for Sydney's future, this research sought to contribute to an understanding of the postcolonial complexity of this city. The study of the Bringelly area illustrated that the land of the city is multiply inscribed by diverse values in land that are not (only) chronologically layered but also co-present.

By addressing, albeit unequally, both Aboriginal and migrant stakes in land in the Bringelly area, this research highlighted that market gardeners have not been singularly marginalised in plans for Sydney's future. It gestured instead to a more systemic exclusion of the values in and uses of land of culturally diverse groups in urban planning processes, *even when* these values were overtly 'recognised' in official rhetoric. Arguing that the city now ultimately represents a (somewhat uneasily) shared space that must be negotiated, this research pointed to the challenges of such negotiations. The failure to acknowledge the holistic – economic, environmental and cultural – land use values of Indigenous and migrant groups restricts the potential to create a truly inclusive 'vision for the city'. The denial of the full spectrum of their stake in (and potential contribution to) Sydney offers these groups only ever partial and mediated participation in plans for the city's growth. This fails to address the shared reality of 'land as livelihood' for many diverse groups and the commonalities of the needs and (arguably) rights this generates. Acknowledgement of the multiple urbanisms

of Sydney potentially opens the way for recognition of diverse groups as equal inhabitants of the city beyond a narrow definition of 'growth as development'.

While drawing attention to the difficulties Indigenous and migrant groups face being included within land use planning, this thesis also avoided presenting a narrative of minority groups as 'victims'. As the points of overlap between Aboriginal, migrant and settler voices in this thesis illustrated, there are many levels of values in and rights to the cityscape that trouble any simplistic reading of Sydney's urban cultural politics. Taking an unequivocal 'anti-growth' stance, or positioning government planners and consultants as agents of a universally discriminating and exclusionary dominant culture fails to account for the complexity of intercultural relations in a city such as Sydney. This thesis argued that it is only in addressing this complexity, by looking at all perspectives including those of, and within, migrant, Indigenous *and* governmental groups, that it is possible to move towards more equal and fluent 'intercultural' relations. It is essential to seek to understand the various logics that lead to the exclusion of certain groups if the aim of a more 'just diversity' (Fincher and Iveson 2008: 3) is to be realised. The complexity of settler, migrant and Indigenous relations in this sense needs to be acknowledged before it is possible to plan for a truly 'common' future in 21st Century Sydney.

Viewing Sydney as a culturally diverse city increasingly aware of its environmental circumstance, this thesis presented a potential re-visioning of urban growth as 'maturation' rather than only 'expansion'. This maturation entails addressing diverse aspects of the city in creating plans for its development, ensuring a more holistic consideration of what kind of city is being 'grown'. Expanding the conceptions of heritage and sustainability articulated in urban planning, as has been pursued in this thesis, is to position diverse groups as part of the city's past and future growth. Market gardening is, after all, intertwined with, rather than separate from, economic growth. Diverse land use practises represent more than the 'cultural' concerns of minority groups, and are arguably integral rather than peripheral to the life and maturation of the city. This implies a vision for cities such as Sydney, and potentially a sense of a common good (or multiple 'goods'), which is comprised of, rather than troubled by, multiple urbanisms.

In discussing the way in which Sydney's market gardens constitute the city, environmentally and culturally, this thesis also contributed to debates in Australia and

internationally concerning the incorporation of agriculture within peri-urban planning (Toronto Food Policy Council 1999; Low Choy et al. 2008). As this study has highlighted, urban food production incorporates a diverse range of economic, social and environmental issues, and require more rather than less scholarly and governmental attention in light of contemporary sustainability concerns. Whether agriculture should be protected in urban planning is a question of more than the quantity of vegetables produced. The increasing emphasis on local food production in national and international public, media and governmental discourses suggests that the social value ascribed to urban agriculture is not limited to its absolute (current) percentage of the urban food supply. In addition to benefits such as local employment, there are also links between agricultural land use decisions and other areas of concern for urban inhabitants such as health (Department of Health and Aging 2008). As a range of diseases in developed nations are increasingly linked to lifestyle and consumption patterns, issues such as local food production have implications for growing not only a large but healthy city.

Noting that peri-urbanisation is an expanding state and condition in Australia's metropolitan regions (Low Choy et al. 2008), the proposed solution of the NSW Department of Planning representative— that the farms can simply move out – seems self-defeating. More realistically, strategies need to be put into place to accommodate these farms within the existing landscape and trajectories for growth. Further peri-urbanisation also raises questions about the environmental sustainability of these regions given current climate change predictions. If the arable land on the coastal regions of Australia is further fragmented into residential areas (Low Choy et al. 2008), the issue of farm location is increasingly urgent and salient.

The a-cultural character of prevailing sustainability concerns in Sydney's land use planning, examined in this thesis and discussed earlier in this chapter, continues even in recent reports such as the one discussed above. This thesis has argued that neglecting the cultural diversity of the population in planning for cities such as Sydney fails to address the productive capacity of this diversity for the future of the city. In discussing the issue of peri-urban land use in relation to cultural diversity, this thesis brings to light the sense in which the erasure of market gardening would also entail the loss of migrant labour, expertise and settlement cultures.

To address their historical neglect, planning for peri-urban fringes could better engage the diverse land users who inhabit these areas. These people, as this Sydney-

based study illustrates, include first-generation migrants whose livelihoods are often connected to agricultural land uses. Their ‘on-ground’ knowledge can present practical and valuable solutions to potential land use conflicts stemming from the co-existence of housing and farms. Planners, and associated policy-makers, should also give greater consideration to the range of land *uses* that exist in these still-urbanising areas. This study has emphasised the importance of considering peri-urban areas as more than land empty and waiting for housing. These areas need to be seen as unique, complex landscapes that have potentially much to offer the city as a whole. Heritage and sustainability discourses could be formulated more broadly in urban planning and deployed so as to recognise and protect the diversity of peri-urban land uses. Engagement with culturally diverse land use practices and values does not equate to stopping growth or denying house construction. It does, however, suggest the need to think about growth differently, to account for these diverse land uses that already contribute to the city’s food supply and (arguably) sustainability.

Implications for Further Study

The principal direction for further study arising from this thesis is further examination of the engagement of culturally diverse groups in the practices and agendas of urban sustainability. This could include examining cities in Australia and internationally, as well as further work in Sydney, providing an analysis of comparative planning decisions. The case of Toronto in Canada, as a migrant receiving ex-colonial city like Sydney with extensive urban farms, would be one such potential study site.

Further study in Sydney could also undertake a broader survey of the CALD and other growers in Sydney. This would potentially be useful in producing statistically relevant results that tend to be highly valued by government departments. Further interviews with staff from the NSW Planning Department and related government agencies and consultants would also provide further insight into the institutional process determining land use planning. It would also provide an opportunity for greater analysis of the different perspectives and approaches within these official bodies, to further highlight the internal heterogeneity of the various groups within an intercultural city (Radher & Milgrom 2004; Wood & Landry 2008).

There is also scope for further study of community gardens created within city suburbs by culturally and linguistically diverse groups. In addition to the examples in

Sydney (such as those in Waterloo) (Bartolomei et al. 2003), there is a case in South Central Los Angeles where CALD migrants are fighting against development that threatens their long-standing community garden (South Central Farmers 2009). The character of such international examples would make an interesting step from this research, further exploring the intersection of cultural diversity and sustainability concerns as they bear on food production in the city.

This study also suggests the potential for further research in Sydney. In particular, this would include research on the issue of food production and sustainability. An on-the-ground study into how urban farming might be incorporated into Sydney's future planning would be useful to guide the implementation of issues brought up by this research. This could examine the feasibility of agribusiness parks and transferable development rights in keeping farms in the Sydney Basin. Such a study could also examine how Sydney's farming might be made more sustainable, looking at the potential for recycling urban wastes such as grey water in the farming process. The crucial aspect of such a study, my research suggests, would be that it engaged growers themselves in determining how farms and houses might coexist. This would also, as noted, serve to force into recognition the limits of the diversity-blind urban environmental planning that currently characterises both scholarship and planning in this area.

Final Word...

The cultural diversity resulting from the flows of people across national borders, together with concerns about environmental change, are gaining increasing recognition and importance in public discourses at a national and international level. These factors are likely to create an escalating pressure to expand the existing narrow definition of urban growth as economic and housing development. Certainly the 'mongrel city' of the 21st Century poses challenges that demand new perspectives from both government and scholars, and, this thesis suggested, some in relation to peri-urban regions.

Environmental sustainability and cultural diversity are vital considerations as cities grow in the future. Although these 'other' aspects of cities in western settings like Australia have historically and variously been constructed as too messy, backward, ordinary and as such constraining of 'progress', they can potentially be reframed and

recognised as productive forces in Sydney. In seeing the city as a whole, in all its diversity, the

framing of its common good is also expanded. As the 'we' of Sydney's imagined community is broadened through recognition of diverse values in and uses of land, the vision for the city can also become more inclusive and cosmopolitan

Cities like Sydney have been culturally diverse and faced environmental limits from their inception. Currently, however, through changing views and circumstances, the colonial vision that sought to exclude the diverse users and uses of the city is no longer hegemonic. Official recognition of cultural diversity and environmental concerns substantially shifted prevailing notions of growth within Sydney's planning over 30 years ago. This thesis suggests that the scope of these concerns needs to now encompass land use practices such as market gardening by CALD groups. In making this argument, the evidence of progress towards recognition of cultural diversity, in the form of Aboriginal heritage in the current Metropolitan Strategy, is acknowledged. The step from this to recognising the multi-faceted economic, political, environmental and cultural aspects of multiple urbanisms such as market gardening within planning decisions is, however, substantial. It entails a shift in the values that underpin such planning processes to incorporate diverse values in and uses of land. This is likely to be an ongoing process of negotiation, as ensuring equal access to and participation in the decision-making process still has a long way to go.

This thesis has argued that enabling greater participation for diverse groups is less about recognising 'minorities' and more about re-visioning the city as an assemblage of multiple urbanisms. A more differentiated vision of urban life is needed to register the complexity that constitutes a city such as Sydney, shaped by processes of globalisation and (post) colonialism. It is these multiple urbanisms that need to be recognised and engaged in creating a vision for the city we all want to live in.

References

ABC News 2008, 'CSIRO charts rainfall decline in SE Aust', 23 May, Australian Broadcasting Corporation viewed 12 August 2008, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2008/05/23/2253652.htm>>.

Adams, J 2009, 'Australian farmers markets', paper presented to *Invigorating Town Centres through Alternate Local Fresh Food Marketing Strategies*, Penrith Council Chambers, Sydney, 4 May.

Adamson, J 2005, 'From the basin: Sydney growers', *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 4, p. 12.

Allan, G 2007, 'Climatology in agriculture-DPI climate risk management project', paper presented to *NSW Climate Change Impacts and Adaptation Summit*, NSW Trade and Investment Centre, Sydney, 23 February.

Allan, T 2007, 'No water in the food bowl', *ABC Rural*, 15 June, Australian Broadcasting Commission, viewed 24 October 2007, <<http://www.abc.net.au/rural/content/2007/s1952209.htm>>.

Allon, F 2002, 'Translated spaces/ translated identities: the production of place, culture and memory in an Australian suburb', *Journal of Australian Studies*, vol. 72: Jumping the Queue: New Talents, pp. 101-10.

——— 2005, 'Suburbs for sale: buying and selling the great Australian dream', in K Anderson, R Dobson, F Allon & B Neilson (eds), *Post-Suburban Sydney: The City in Transformation* proceedings, University of Western Sydney, Parramatta, Sydney, 22-23 November

Amin, A 2002, 'Ethnicity and the multicultural city: living with diversity', *Environment and Planning A*, vol. 34, pp. 959-80.

——— 2007, 'Thinking past integration and community cohesion', paper presented to *Centre on Migration Policy and Society (COMPAS) Annual Conference*, Oxford University, 5-6 July.

Amin, A & Thrift, N 1997, 'The ordinary city', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. 22, pp. 411-29.

——— 2002, *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*, Polity, Oxford.

——— 2003, 'Guest editorial: cities and ethnicities', *Ethnicities*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 291-300.

Anderson, K 1993, 'Place narratives and origins of inner city Sydney's Aboriginal settlement 1972-3', *Journal of Historical Geography*, vol. 19, no. 3, pp. 314-35.

—— 1995, 'Culture and nature at the Adelaide Zoo: at the frontiers of 'human' geography', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 275-94.

—— 1998, 'Sites of difference: beyond a cultural politics of race polarity', in R Fincher & JM Jacobs (eds), *Cities of Difference*, The Guildford Press, New York and London, pp. 201-25.

—— 2000, 'Thinking 'postnationally': dialogue across multicultural, Indigenous, and settler spaces', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 90, no. 2, pp. 381-91.

—— 2003, 'White natures: Sydney's Royal Agricultural Show in post-humanist perspective', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. 28, pp. 422-41.

—— 2005, 'Introduction: after sprawl: post-suburban Sydney', in K Anderson, R Dobson, F Allon & B Neilson (eds), *Post-Suburban Sydney: The City in Transformation* proceedings, University of Western Sydney, Parramatta, Sydney, 22-23 November

—— 2007, *Race and the Crisis of Humanism*, Routledge, London and New York.

Anderson, K & Jacobs, J 1999, 'Geographies of publicity and privacy: residential activism in Sydney in the 1970s', *Environment and Planning A*, vol. 31, no. 6, pp. 1017-30.

Anderson, K & Taylor, A 2005, 'Exclusionary politics and the question of national belonging: Australian ethnicities in "multiscalar" focus', *Ethnicities*, vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 460-85.

Ang, I 2001a, 'Intertwining histories: heritage and diversity', in *Annual History Council Lecture* proceedings, The History Council of NSW with the assistance of the Migration Heritage Centre, Government House, Sydney, 24 September 2001.

—— 2001b, *On Not Speaking Chinese: Living Between Asia and the West*, Routledge, New York.

APP General News Wire 2005, 'NSW: green zone plan scrapped by NSW govt', *APP General News Wire*, 3 November, p. 1.

Armstrong, H 1994, 'Cultural continuity in multicultural sub/urban places', in S Watson & K Gibson (eds), *Metropolis Now: Planning and the Urban in Contemporary Australia*, Pluto Press, Leichhardt, Sydney, pp. 102-13.

—— 1995a, 'Cultural pluralism in Australia's heritage spaces', *National Trust Quarterly*, vol. July 1995, pp. 17-8.

—— 1995b, *Migrant Heritage Places in Australia: How to Find Your Heritage Places: a Draft Guide*, Australian Heritage Commission, Canberra.

—— 1997, 'Migrant heritage places in Australia', *Historic Environment*, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 12-23.

—— 2000, 'Cultural Pluralism within Cultural Heritage: Migrant Place-Making in Australia', PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, Sydney.

—— 2004, 'New forms of green for mega-cities: peri-and inter-urban agricultural space', in *200 Mile City: Designing Sustainable Urban Future* proceedings, Australian Institute of Landscape Architects, Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, 28 September - 2 October.

—— 2005a, *Draft Rural Lands Protection Toolkit*, Cultural Landscape Research Unit, Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane.

—— 2005b, *Migrant Gardeners in Brisbane*, Museum of Brisbane, Brisbane, 19 August to 27 November, Exhibition Catalogue.

Ashworth, GJ., Graham, B & Tunbridge, JE 2007, *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies*, Pluto Press, London and Ann Arbor

Attwood, B 1989, *The Making of the Aborigines*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

—— 1996, 'The past as the future: Aborigines, Australia and the (dis)course of history', in B Attwood (ed.), *In the Age of Mabo: History, Aborigines and Australia*, Allen and Unwin, St Leonards.

Attwood, B & Arnold, J (eds) 1992, *Power, Knowledge and Aborigines*, La Trobe University Press, Bundoora, Vic.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006a, *New South Wales: Industry of Employment by Occupation*, Cat.no. 2068.0_2006, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra.

—— 2006b, *Sydney (Statistical Division) NSW: Employment by Industry*, Cat. no. 2068.0_2006, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra.

—— 2008a, *Agricultural Commodities: Small Area Data, Australia, 2005-06 (Reissue): NSW*, Cat. no. 7125.0, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra.

—— 2008b, *Agricultural Commodities: Small Area Data, Australia, 2006-07: NSW-State and SD-All Commodities*, Cat. no. 7125DO002_200607, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra.

Australian Competition and Consumer Commission 2008, *Report of the ACCC Inquiry into the Competitiveness of Retail Prices for Standard Groceries, July 2008*, Commonwealth Government of Australia, Canberra.

Australian Heritage Commission 1996, *A Guide to Migrant Heritage Places in Australia: How to Find Your Heritage Places*, Commonwealth Government of Australia, Canberra.

Bartolomei, L., Corkery, L., Judd, B & Thompson, S 2003, *A Bountiful Harvest: Community Gardens and Neighbourhood Renewal in Waterloo*, University of New South Wales and New South Wales Department of Housing, Sydney.

Basit, TN 2003, 'Manual or electronic? The role of coding in qualitative data analysis', *Educational Research*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 143-54.

Bayrante, T., Jarecki, S., Kelman, R., Lee, N., Luckhurst, F., Ma, J., McDonald, L., Parker, F., Strong, V & Tam, B 2003, *Progress Report: The Sydney Market Garden Project* South West Area Health Service, NSW Health Women's Health at Work Program, Australian Chinese Community Association and NSW Department of Primary Industries, Sydney.

Beaverstock, JV., Smith, RG & Taylor, PJ 1999, 'A roster of world cities', *Cities*, vol. 16, no. 6, pp. 445-8.

Behrendt, L 1994, 'Aboriginal urban identity: preserving the spirit, protecting the traditional in non-traditional settings', *Australian Feminist Law Journal*, vol. 4, pp. 55-61.

——— 2005, 'The urban Aboriginal landscape', in K Anderson, R Dobson, F Allon & B Neilson (eds), *Post-Suburban Sydney: The City in Transformation* proceedings, University of Western Sydney, Parramatta, Sydney.

Benton-Short, L., Price, MD & Friedman, S 2005, 'Globalization from below: the ranking of global immigrant cities', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 29, no. 4, pp. 945-59.

Berkes, F 1999, *Sacred Ecology: Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Resource Management*, Taylor and Francis, Philadelphia.

Besser, L 2008, 'Push to axe south-west rail', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 October p. 1.

Bhuta, N 1998, 'Mabo, Wik and the art of paradigm management', *Melbourne University Law Review*, vol. 22, pp. 24-41.

Blakely, E 2004, 'Keynote address', paper presented to *Sydney Futures Forum*, Australian Technology Park, Redfern, 18-19 May.

Blomley, N 2004, *Unsettling the City: Urban Land and the Politics of Property*, Routledge, New York and London.

Bodlovich, A 2001, 'Urban agriculture in sustainable cities', Master of Sustainable Agriculture thesis, University of Sydney, Sydney.

Born, B & Purcell, M 2006, 'Avoiding the local trap: scale and food systems in planning research', *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 195-207.

Breitbach, C 2007, 'The geographies of a more just food system: building landscapes for social reproduction', *Landscape Research*, vol. 32, no. 5, pp. 533-57.

Britton, G & Morris, C 2000, *Colonial Landscapes of the Cumberland Plain and Camden*, NSW, National Trust (NSW), Sydney.

Brook, J 1994, *Shut Out From the World: The Sackville Reach Aborigines Reserve and Mission 1889-1946*, J Brook, Seven Hills, NSW.

Brown, BJ., Hanson, ME., Liverman, DM & Merideth, RW 1987, 'Global sustainability: towards definition', *Environmental Management*, vol. 11, no. 6, pp. 713-9.

Brundtland, G (ed.) 1987, *Our Common Future: The World Commission on Environment and Development*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Brunton, V & Hall, D 2007, 'Evaluating the benefits of bilingual officers in providing training and advice to non- English background farmers in the Sydney Basin', paper presented to *The Australasian Evaluation Society International Conference*, Melbourne, 3-7 September

Bryant, CR & Johnston, TR 1992, *Agriculture in the City's Countryside*, Belhaven Press, London

Bryant, N 2008, 'Australia's food bowl lies empty', *BBC News*, viewed 13 October 2008, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/7289194.stm>>.

Bunker, R & Houston, P 2003, 'Prospects for the rural-urban fringe in Australia: observations from a brief history of the landscapes around Sydney and Adelaide', *Australian Geographical Studies*, vol. 41, no. 3, pp. 303-23.

Burgmann, M & Burgmann, V 1998, *Green Bans, Red Union: Environmental Activism and the New South Wales Builders Labourers' Federation*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney.

Burnley, I 2001, *The Impact of Immigration on Australia: A Demographic Approach*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.

——— 2005, 'Generations, mobility and community: geographies of three generations of Greek and Italian ancestry in Sydney', *Geographical Research*, vol. 43, no. 4, pp. 379-92.

Burnley, I & Flannery, T 1995, 'Sydney's problems are many, not just overpopulation: setting a target for our fragile environment', 24 May, p. 1.

Burnley, I & Routh, N 1984, *Aboriginal Migration to Sydney: Interim Report*, School of Geography, University of New South Wales, Sydney.

Buxton, M., Tieman, G., Bekessy, S., Budge, T., Coote, M., Mercer, D & Morcombe, J 2006, *State of the Peri-Urban Regions: A Review of the Literature*, RMIT University, Melbourne.

- Byrne, D 1996, 'Deep nation: Australia's acquisition of an Indigenous past', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 20, pp. 82-107.
- Byrne, D., Brayshaw, H & Ireland, T 2003, *Social Significance: A Discussion Paper*, NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, Hurstville, NSW.
- Byrne, D & Nugent, M 2004, *Mapping Attachment: A Spatial Approach to Aboriginal Post-Contact Heritage*, Department of Environment and Conservation (NSW) and Heritage Council of New South Wales, Hurstville, NSW.
- Cameron, J & Grant-Smith, D 2005, 'Building citizens: participatory planning practice and a transformative politics of difference', *Urban Policy and Research*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 21-36.
- Capon, AG 2008, 'Health and sustainability: confronting the epidemic of chronic disease', paper presented to *Sydney-The Other City: Building a Sustainable Western Sydney by 2030*, Joan Sutherland Performing Arts Centre, Penrith, 29 -30 April 2008.
- Capon, AG & Dixon, JM 2007, 'Creating healthy, just and eco-sensitive cities', *NSW Public Health Bulletin*, vol. 18, no. 3-4.
- Carter, P 1988, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History*, Knopf, New York.
- 1996, *The Lie of the Land*, Faber and Faber, London.
- Case, N 1999, 'Tide of history or tsunami? The members of the Yorta Yorta Aboriginal Community v the State of Victoria & Ors (1998)', *Indigenous Law Bulletin*, vol. 9, University of New South Wales, Sydney, viewed 12 October 2007, <<http://www.austlii.edu.au/cgi-bin/disp.pl/au/journals/ILB/1999/9.html?query=+%28%28justice+olney%29+and+%28on%29%29>>.
- Cason, L & Gelber, K 2001, *Ideas for Community Consultation: A Discussion on Principles and Procedures for Making Consultation Work*, NSW Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, Sydney.
- Castles, S 2000, 'International migration at the beginning of the twenty-first century: global trends and issues', *International Social Science Journal*, vol. 52, no. 165, pp. 269- 81.
- Centre for Education and Research in Environmental Strategies 2007, *Food Miles in Australia: A Preliminary Study in Melbourne, Victoria*, Centre for Education and Research in Environmental Strategies, Melbourne.
- Chambers, I 1994, *Migrancy, Culture and Identity*, Routledge, London.
- Chambers, J 2008, 'Peak Soil', *New Scientist*, vol. 198, no. 2662, 25th June, p. 24.

Christensen, P & Neil, B 2006, 'Feeding the cities – case studies from Australia, Brazil, USA and Canada exploring the role of urban agriculture and rural family farms in community food security', in *Practice Change for Sustainable Communities: Exploring Footprints, Pathways and Possibilities* proceedings, Australia Pacific Extension Network, Beechworth, Victoria, Australia, 6-8 March.

City of Vancouver 2007, *Vancouver Food Charter*, City of Vancouver, Vancouver.

Co. As. It. 2006, *From the Backblocks to the Frontlines: Celebrating Italian Settlement in South West Sydney*, Co.As.It (Italian Association of Assistance) and NSW Migration Heritage Centre, Sydney, Exhibition Catalogue.

Cohen, I 2008, *Ian Cohen -MLC*, The Greens Party, Sydney, viewed 23 November 2008, <<http://www.iancohen.org.au/issue.aspx?id=24>>.

Collins, J., Noble, G., Poynting, S & Tabar, P 2000, *Kebabs, Kids, Cops and Crime: Youth, Ethnicity and Crime*, Pluto Press, Annandale, NSW.

Collins, J & Poynting, S 2000, *The Other Sydney: Communities, Identities and Inequalities in Western Sydney*, Common Ground Publishing, Haymarket, NSW.

Commonwealth of Australia 2005, *Sustainability and Cities*, Commonwealth Government of Australia, Canberra.

Connell, J & Graham, S 2006, 'Nurturing relationships: the gardens of Greek and Vietnamese migrants in Marrickville, Sydney', *Australian Geographer*, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 375-93.

Construction Forestry Mining Energy Union 2009, *Green Bans: Campaigns to Protect the Environment*, Construction Forestry Mining Energy Union, Sydney, viewed 17 January 2009, <<http://www.cfmeu.asn.au/construction/history/green.html>>.

Context 2006, *Protocol for Aboriginal Stakeholder Involvement in the Assessment of Aboriginal Heritage in the Sydney Growth Centres*, New South Wales Department of Planning Growth Centres Commission, Sydney.

Cope, B & Kalantzis, M 1997, *Productive Diversity: A New, Australian Model for Work and Management*, Pluto Press, Sydney.

——— 2001, "'Multiliteracies" as a framework for action', in B Cope & M Kalantzis (eds), *Transformations in Language and Learning: Perspectives on Multiliteracies*, Common Ground, Melbourne, pp. 19-32.

Cowlshaw, G 2004, *Blackfellas, Whitefellas, and the Hidden Injuries of Race*, Blackwell, Carlton, VIC.

Creagh, S 2008, 'Gardeners suddenly at centre of a plot', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 October, p. 3.

CSIRO & Australian Bureau of Meteorology 2007, *Climate Change in Australia - Technical Report 2007*, Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO), Canberra.

Cumberland Country Council 1948, *County of Cumberland Planning Scheme Report*, Cumberland County Council NSW, Sydney.

Davidson, M 2007, 'Gentrification as global habitat: a process of class formation or corporate creation', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 490-506.

Davis, M 2008, 'Second airport, but not at Badgerys Creek', *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 11, Travel, p. 5.

Day, D 1997, 'Citizenship participation in the planning process: an essentially contested concept?', *Journal of Planning Literature*, vol. 11, pp. 421-34.

DeLanda, M 2006, *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity*, Continuum, London and New York.

Department of Agriculture Fisheries and Forestry 2008, 'Australian Horticultural Fact Sheet', pp. 1-4, viewed 2 February 2008, <http://www.daff.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0003/196662/hortfactsheet-oct08.pdf>.

Department of Environment and Conservation 2004, *Interim Community Consultation Requirements for Applicants*, Department of Environment and Conservation (NSW), New South Wales Government, Sydney.

Department of Environment and Planning 1988, *Sydney into its Third Century: Metropolitan Strategy for the Sydney Region*, New South Wales Government, Sydney.

Department of Environment Water Heritage and the Arts 2008, *National Heritage List Criteria*, Commonwealth Government of Australia, Canberra, viewed 13 December 2008, <<http://www.environment.gov.au/heritage/about/national/criteria.html>>.

Department of Health and Aging 2008, *Australia: the Healthiest Country by 2020: a Discussion Paper*, Commonwealth Government of Australia, Canberra.

Department of the Environment Water Heritage and the Arts 2008a, *Ecologically Sustainable Development*, Commonwealth Government of Australia, Canberra, viewed 18 July 2008, <<http://www.environment.gov.au/esd/>>.

— 2008b, *National Heritage List Criteria*, Commonwealth Government of Australia, Canberra, viewed 13 December 2008, <<http://www.environment.gov.au/heritage/about/national/criteria.html>>.

Dick, T 2005, 'Concrete sprawl devours daily veg', *Sydney Morning Herald*, p. 12.

Dotzour, M., Grissom, T., Liu, C & Pearson, V 1990, 'Highest and best use: the evolving paradigm', *The Journal of Real Estate Research*, vol. 5, no. 1.

- Doyle, T 2000, *Green Power: The Environmental Movement in Australia*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney.
- Duffy, M 2008, 'How the west was renovated', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 December, p. 27.
- Dunn, K 1998, 'Rethinking ethnic concentration: the case of Cabramatta, Sydney', *Urban Studies*, vol. 35, no. 3, pp. 503-27.
- 2001, 'The cultural geographies of citizenship in Australia', *Geography Bulletin*, vol. Summer, pp. 4-8.
- 2005, 'Interviewing', in I Hay (ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, Vic, pp. 79-105.
- DuPuis, EM & Goodman, D 2005, 'Should we go "home" to eat?: Toward a reflexive politics of localism', *Journal of Rural Studies*, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 359-71.
- DuPuis, EM., Goodman, D & Harrison, J 2006, *Just Values or Just Value? Remaking the Local in Agro-Food Studies*, 10571922 (ISSN); 076231317X (ISBN); 9780762313174 (ISBN), <<http://www.scopus.com/scopus/inward/record.url?eid=2-s2.0-33750611758&partnerID=40>>.
- Edwards-Jones, G., Canals, LM., Hounsome, N., Truninger, M., Koerber, G., Hounsome, B., Cross, P., York, EH., Hospido, A., Plassmann, K., Harris, IM., Edwards, RT., Day, GAS., Tomos, AD., Cowell, SJ & Jones, DL 2008, 'Testing the assertion that 'local food is best': the challenges of an evidence-based approach', *Trends in Food Science & Technology*, vol. 19, no. 5, pp. 265-74.
- Elliot, T 2008, 'Green roofs growing in popularity', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 September, p. 19.
- Elton Consulting 2009, *Sydney's Agriculture - Planning For The Future (Forums Outcomes Report)*, New South Wales Department of Primary Industries, Sydney.
- English, T 2002, 'More than archaeology: developing comprehensive approaches to Aboriginal heritage management in NSW', *Australian Journal of Environmental Management*, vol. 9, December, pp. 218-27.
- Falconer Al-Hindi, K & Kawabata, H 2002, 'Toward a more fully reflexive feminist geography', in *Feminist Geography in Practice: Research and Methods*, Blackwell, London, pp. 103-15.
- Feagan, R 2007, 'The place of food: mapping out the "local" in local food systems', *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 23–42.
- Fincher, R 2003, 'Planning for cities of diversity, difference and encounter', *Australian Planner*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 55-8.

Fincher, R & Iveson, K 2008, *Planning and Diversity in the City: Redistribution, Recognition and Encounter*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Fincher, R & Jacobs, J (eds) 1998, *Cities of Difference*, Guildford Press, New York.

Fincher, R., Jacobs, J & Anderson, K 2002, 'Rescripting Cities with Difference', in J Eade & C Mele (eds), *Understanding the City: Current and Future Perspectives*, Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 27-48.

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations 2008, *Urban and Peri-Urban Agriculture*, United Nations, Rome, viewed 12 December 2008, <http://www.fao.org/unfao/bodies/coag/coag15/x0076e.htm#P106_11554>.

Food Connect 2009, *Food Connect: A Collaboration between Farmers and City Folk*, Food Connect, Brisbane, viewed 2 February 2009, <<http://www.foodconnect.com.au/>>.

Fraser, E & Mabee, W 2004, 'Identifying the secure city: research to establish a preliminary framework', *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, vol. 13, no. 1 pp. 89-99.

Fraser, N 2000, 'Rethinking recognition: overcoming reification and displacement in cultural politics', *New Left Review*, no. 3, pp. 107-20.

Frawley, K 1992, 'A "green" vision: the evolution of Australian environmentalism', in K Anderson & F Gale (eds), *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography*, Longman Cheshire, New York, pp. 215-34.

Frisken, F & Wallace, M 2003, 'Governing the multicultural city-region', *Canadian Public Administration*, vol. 46, no. 2, pp. 153-77.

Gairdner, J 2006, *Local Food is Miles Better: The Farmers Weekly Food Miles Campaign*, Triodos Bank and Farmers Weekly Group, Sutton, Surrey.

Galla, A 1994, 'Authenticity: rethinking heritage diversity in a pluralistic framework', in *Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention* proceedings, UNESCO World Heritage Centre, Nara, Japan, 1-6 November 1994.

Galvin, N 2006a, 'Ripe for development', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 November, Good Living, pp. 10-3.

——— 2006b, 'Sydney's invisible farmers', *Sydney Morning Herald Science Blog*, 29 November, viewed 17 November 2007, <http://blogs.smh.com.au/science/archives/2006/11/where_does_our.html>.

——— 2008, 'Imagine, a cow pasture at Callan Park', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 October, p. 5.

——— 2009, 'When food is a link to home', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 February, p. 17.

- Gardening Australia 2001, *La Perouse Market Gardens Fact Sheet*, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Sydney, viewed 11 September 2006, <<http://www.abc.net.au/gardening/stories/s280354.htm>>.
- Gibson, C & Kong, L 2005, 'Cultural economy: a critical review', *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 29, no. 5, pp. 541-61.
- Gillespie, PD 2003, *Agricultural Trends in the Sydney Region 1996-2001: Census Comparisons*, New South Wales Agriculture, Orange, NSW.
- Gillespie, PD & Mason, D 2003, *The Value of Agriculture in the Sydney Region: February 2003 (Draft)*, New South Wales Agriculture, Orange, NSW.
- Gittins, R 2008, 'When growth turns into a monster', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 May, Business, p. 11.
- Gleeson, B., Holloway, D & Randolph, B 2002, *Western Sydney Social Profile*, Urban Frontiers Program, University of Western Sydney, Western Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils, Sydney.
- Godden Mackay Logan Heritage Consultants 2007, *GCC Oran Park Precinct Heritage Assessment*, New South Wales Department of Planning Growth Centre Commission, Sydney.
- Goodall, H 1996, *Invasion to Embassy: Land in Aboriginal Politics in New South Wales 1770-1972*, Allen and Unwin, St Leonards, NSW.
- Goodsir, D 2005, 'Owners' joy as state dumps green zone plan', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 September, p. 11.
- Goonewardena, K & Kipfer, S 2005, 'Spaces of difference: reflections from Toronto on multiculturalism, bourgeois urbanism and the possibility of radical urban politics', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 670-8.
- Gow, G 2005, 'Rubbing shoulders in the global city: refugees, citizenship and multicultural alliances in Fairfield, Sydney', *Ethnicities*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 386-405.
- Graham, B., Ashworth, GJ & Turnbridge, JE 2000, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Graham, B & Howard, P (eds) 2008, *The Ashgate Companion Guide to Heritage and Identity*, Ashgate, Hampshire.
- Grogger, J & Trejo, S 2002, *Falling Behind or Moving Up? The Intergenerational Progress of Mexican Americans*, Public Policy Institute of California, San Francisco.
- Growth Centres Commission 2007, *Growth Centres: Oran Park and Turner Road Precincts Plans*, New South Wales Department of Planning, Sydney.

- Gwyther, G 2002, *Socio-Spatial Differentiation and the Master Planned Community in the Global City*, University of Western Sydney, Campbelltown.
- 2005, 'Planned paradise: community formation and the master planned estate', *Urban Policy and Research*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 57-72.
- 2008, 'Once were westies', *Griffith Review*, vol. 20, pp. 153-64.
- Hadda, S 2006, 'Growth Plans', *The Liverpool Champion*, 1 November, Forum, p. 5.
- Hage, G 1998, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*, Pluto Press, Annandale, NSW.
- 2003, *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society*, Pluto Press, Annandale, NSW.
- 2005, 'A not so multi-sited ethnography of a not so imagined community', *Anthropological Theory*, vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 463-75.
- Hall, CM & McArthur, S 1996, 'The human dimension of heritage management: different values, different interests, different issues', in C Hall & S McArthur (eds), *Heritage Management in Australia and New Zealand: The Human Dimension*, 2nd edn, Oxford University Press South Melbourne, pp. 2-21.
- Halweil, B 2002, 'Home grown: the case for local food in a global market', *Worldwatch Paper*, no. 163, pp. 5-79.
- Harley, P & Tyndall, F 2005, 'NSW slashes the red tape', *The Australian Financial Review*, 30 September, p. 76.
- Harvey, D 2003, 'The right to the city', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 27, no. 4, pp. 939-41.
- Haughton, G & Hunter, C 1994, *Sustainable Cities*, Jessica Kingsley, London.
- Hawkesbury Harvest 2008, *Hawkesbury Harvest: Incorporating the Farm Gate Trail* Sydney, viewed 5 August 2008, <<http://www.hawkesburyharvest.com.au/>>.
- Hawley, J 2003, 'Crowded land of giants', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 August, The Good Weekend, p. 11.
- Helenius, J., Aro-Heinila, E., Hietala, R., Mikkola, M., Risku-Norja, H., Seppanen, L., Sinkkonen, M & Vihma, A 2007, 'Systems frame for multidisciplinary study on sustainability of localising food', *Progress in Industrial Ecology*, vol. 4, no. 5, pp. 328-47.
- Hemming, S 2006, 'The problem with Aboriginal heritage', in G Worby & LI Rigney (eds), *Sharing Spaces: Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Responses to Story, Country and Rights*, Australian Public Intellectual Network, Perth, pp. 305-28.

- Herath, G 2002, 'The economics and politics of wilderness conservation in Australia', *Society and Natural Resources: An International Journal*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 147-59.
- Higgins, V., Diben, J & Cocklin, C 2008, 'Building alternative agri-food networks: certification, embeddedness and agri-environmental governance', *Journal of Rural Studies*, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 15-27.
- Hillier, J 2002, *Shadows of Power: An Allegory of Prudence in Land-Use Planning*, Routledge, London and New York.
- Hilts, S., Smith, I & Watkins, M 2008, 'Saving the land that feeds us', *Alternatives Journal*, vol. 34, no. 3, pp. 9-11.
- Hinkson, M 2001, *Aboriginal Sydney: A Guide to Important Places of the Past and Present*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- 2002, 'Exploring 'Aboriginal' sites in Sydney: a shifting politics of place?', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 22, pp. 62-77.
- Horticulture Australia Limited 2005, *Vegetable Growers with a Language Other Than English*, Horticulture Australia Limited and Ausveg, Sydney.
- Houston, P 2005, 'Re-valuing the fringe: some findings on the value of agricultural production in Australia's peri-urban regions', *Geographical Research*, vol. 43, no. 2, pp. 209-23.
- Howard, P 2003, *Heritage: Management, Interpretation, Identity*, Continuum, New York.
- Howe, B 2003, 'Planning for diversity: social inclusion in the Australian city', *Australian Planner*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 59-63.
- Howe, J., Bohn, K & Viljoen, A 2005, *Continuous Productive Urban Landscapes: Designing Urban Agriculture for Sustainable Cities*, Architectural Press, Oxford
- Howitt, R 2001, 'Frontiers, borders, edges: liminal challenges to the hegemony of exclusion', *Australian Geographical Studies*, vol. 39, no. 2, pp. 233-45.
- Humphreys, A., Wright, M., Fowler, A., Tinslay, P., Gojak, D & Tooker, M 2001, *Rockdale Market Gardens Conservation Management Plan*, Architectural History Services, Sydney.
- Hurley, A 2003, *Respect, Acknowledge, Listen: Practical Protocols for Working with the Indigenous Community of Western Sydney*, Community Cultural Development New South Wales, Liverpool, Sydney.
- Inman, M 2008, 'Building a sustainable Western Sydney by 2030', paper presented to *Sydney-the Other City: Building a Sustainable Western Sydney by 2030*, Sydney, 29-30 April 2008.

- Isin, E 2000, *Democracy, citizenship and the global city*, Routledge, London and New York.
- Isin, E & Wood, P 1999, *Citizenship and Identity*, SAGE, London.
- Ito, N 2003, 'Intangible cultural heritage involved in tangible cultural heritage', paper presented to *ICOMOS 14th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium*, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, 27-30 October 2003.
- Iveson, K 2000, 'Beyond designer diversity: planners, public space and a critical politics of difference', *Urban Policy and Research*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 219-38.
- Jacobs, J 1996, *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*, Routledge, London.
- 1998, 'Staging difference: aestheticization and the politics of difference in contemporary cities', in J Jacobs & R Fincher (eds), *Cities of Difference*, Guildford Press, New York, pp. 252-78.
- Jakubowicz, A 1984, 'The green bans movement: urban struggle and class politics', in J Halligan & C Paris (eds), *Australian Urban Politics: Critical Perspectives*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, pp. 149-66.
- JBA Urban Planning Consultants 2007, *Precinct Planning Report: Oran Park Precinct, Camden*, New South Wales Department of Planning Growth Centres Commission, Sydney.
- Jo McDonald Cultural Heritage Management 2007a, *Archaeological Investigation of the Turner Road and Oran Park Precincts within the South West Growth Centre, Camden, NSW. Stage 1*, New South Wales Department of Planning Growth Centres Commission and Camden City Council, Sydney.
- 2007b, *Archaeological Investigation of the Turner Road and Oran Park Precincts within the South West Growth Centre, Camden, NSW. Stage 2* New South Wales Department of Planning Growth Centre Commission and Camden City Council, Sydney.
- Johnson, L 1997, 'Feral suburbia? Western Sydney and the "problem of urban sprawl"', in H Grace, H Ghassan, L Johnson & M Symonds (eds), *Home/World: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West*, Pluto Press, Annandale, pp. 31-65.
- Johnson, L., Langsworth, J & Symonds, M 1997, 'Introduction', in H Grace, H Ghassan, L Johnson & M Symonds (eds), *Home/World: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West*, Pluto Press, Annandale, pp. 1-30.
- Jones, E 2004, 'Sydney's Metropolitan Strategy - towards a sustainable city', in *NSW Clean Air Forum* proceedings, Department of Environment and Conservation (NSW), Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, pp. 36-8.
- Jones, R., Immig, J., Adams, J., Fanton, J., Fanton, M., Grayson, R., Campbell, F., Morahan, J., Shorter, M., Hill, S., Neale, B., Lyons, K., Brisbin, J., Duncan, T & Statham, S 2003,

'The case for food security in the sustainable city blueprint', *Submission to the Parliament of Australia Standing Committee on Environment and Heritage Inquiry into Sustainable Cities*, 12 November

Jupp, J 2008, 'A pragmatic response to a novel situation', in GB Levey (ed.), *Political Theory and Australian Multiculturalism*, Berghahn Books, New York, pp. 225-41.

Kalajzich, P (ed.) 1996, *The Battlers for Kelly's Bush: Thirteen Women and the World's First Green Ban*, Battlers for Kelly's Bush, Sydney.

Kalantzis, M & Cope, B 1981, *Just Spaghetti and Polka? An Introduction to Australian Multicultural Education*, Catholic Education Office, Broadway, NSW.

Kapborg, I & Berterö, C 2002, 'Using an interpreter in qualitative interviews: does it threaten validity?', *Nursing Inquiry*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 52-6.

Karskens, G 2005, 'Water dreams, earthen histories: people, country and urban environmental history at the Penrith Lakes Scheme and Castlereagh, Sydney, Australia', paper presented to *Committee of Historical Sciences Conference*, Sydney, July 2005.

Kass, T 2005, *Western Sydney Thematic History: State Heritage Register Project*, NSW Heritage Office, Sydney.

Kaufman, J & Bailkey, M 2000, *Farming Inside Cities: Entrepreneurial Urban Agriculture in the United States*, Working Paper, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Cambridge.

Keating, C 1996, *On the Frontier: A Social History of Liverpool*, Hale and Ironmonger, Sydney.

Kellow, A 1989, 'Dispute over the Franklin River and south west wilderness area in Tasmania, Australia', *Natural Resources Journal*, vol. 29, pp. 129-46.

Kenna, T 2007, 'Consciously constructing exclusivity in the suburbs? Unpacking a master planned estate development in Western Sydney', *Geographical Research*, vol. 45, no. 3, pp. 300-13.

Kennedy, J 2005, 'Operative protection or regulation of destruction? The validity of permits to destroy Indigenous cultural heritage sites', *Indigenous Law Bulletin*, vol. 57, viewed 2 November 2008, <<http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/ILB/2005/57.html>>.

Kijas, J 2005, 'The survey: an historical overview', in J Kijas (ed.), *Revival, Renewal and Return: Ray Kelly and the NSW Sites of Significance Survey*, Department of Environment and Conservation (NSW), Hurstville, pp. 1-11.

Kleinman, R & Wilkinson, M 2007, 'Australia's parched future: farmers, many facing disaster from the failure of spring rains, are warned of worse to come from climate change', *The Age*, October 3, p. 1.

- Knowd, I 2006, 'Tourism as a mechanism for farm survival', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 24-42.
- Knowd, I., Mason, D & Docking, A 2005, 'Urban agriculture: the new frontier', in *State of Australian Cities Conference proceedings*, Griffith University, South Bank, Brisbane, 30th November-2nd December.
- Land and Water Australia 2008, *Change and Continuity in Peri-Urban Australia: Fact Sheet*, Social and Institutional Research Program, Land and Water Australia, Canberra.
- Lane, MB 2005, 'Public participation in planning: an intellectual history', *Australian Geographer*, vol. 36, no. 3, pp. 283-99.
- Larsen, K., Ryan, C & Abraham, AB 2008, *Sustainable and Secure Food Systems for Victoria*, Victorian Eco-Innovation Lab and Australian Centre for Science Innovation and Society, University of Melbourne, Melbourne.
- Law, J 2004, *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research*, Routledge, Oxfordshire and New York.
- Lee Long, D 2000, 'Cultural heritage management in post-colonial polities: *not* the heritage of the other', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 317-22.
- Lee Shoy, T 2004, *Authoring Contemporary Australia: A Regional Cultural Strategy for Greater Western Sydney*, Western Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils, Sydney.
- Lees, L 2003, 'Urban geography: 'new' urban geography and the ethnographic void', *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 107-13.
- Lefebvre, H 1996, *Writings on Cities*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- LeMaistre, J & Thomas, K 2006, 'Planning for food - Canada and Australia', *Plan Canada*, vol. 46, no. 4, pp. 27-9.
- Lerch, D 2007, *Post Carbon Cities: Planning for Energy and Climate Uncertainty*, Post Carbon Institute, Portland.
- Liverpool City Library 2004, *Bringelly: A City on the Edge: Revised Project Budget, Plan and Curatorial Rationale*, Western Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils, Liverpool City Council and NSW Ministry for the Arts, Liverpool, Sydney.
- Liverpool Leader 2005, 'Green backflip', *Liverpool Leader*, 14 September, p. 2.
- London Development Agency 2006, *Healthy and Sustainable Food for London: The Mayor's Food Strategy*, London Food and Mayor of London, London.

- London Food Link 2005, 'Mayor unveils strategy to improve London's food', 30 September, London Food Link, London, viewed 21 February 2009, <<http://www.sustainweb.org/news.php?id=156>>.
- Lovell, M 2007, 'Settler colonialism, multiculturalism and the politics of postcolonial identity', paper presented to *Australasian Political Studies Association Conference* Monash University, Melbourne, 23-26 September 2007.
- Low Choy, D., Sutherland, C., Gleeson, B., Sipe, N & Dodson, J 2008, *Change and Continuity in Peri-Urban Australia: Peri-Urban Futures and Sustainable Development*, Monograph 4, Griffith University, Brisbane.
- Low, N., Gleeson, B., Green, R & Radovic, D 2005, *The Green City: Sustainable Homes, Sustainable Suburbs*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney.
- Macdonald, G 2001, 'Does "culture" have a "history"? Thinking about continuity and change in central New South Wales', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 25, pp. 176-99.
- Macintyre, K & Dobson, B 1999, 'Factoring Aboriginal environmental values in major planning projects', *Australian Environmental Law News*, no. 2, pp. 59-66.
- Manson, SM 2001, 'Simplifying complexity: A review of complexity theory', *Geoforum*, vol. 32, pp. 405-14.
- Marchetta, I 2006, 'Big fish shaped land plan', *Liverpool Champion*, 11 October, p. 3.
- Markell, K., Stevenson, D & Rowe, D 2004, 'Footsteps and memories: Interpreting an Australian urban landscape through thematic walking tours', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol. 10, no. 5, pp. 457-73.
- Markowitz, L 2008, 'Produce(ing) equity: Creating fresh markets in a food desert', *Research in Economic Anthropology*, vol. 28, pp. 195-211.
- Marshall, JD & Toffeel, MW 2005, 'Framing the elusive concept of sustainability: a sustainability hierarchy', *Environmental Science and Technology*, vol. 39, no. 3, pp. 673-82.
- Mason, D 2007, *Urban Agriculture*, The Winston Churchill Memorial Trust of Australia, Sydney.
- 2008, 'Local balance promotes food security', *Agriculture Today: NSW Department of Primary Industries Research, Advisory and Management Newspaper*, 26 July, p. 7.
- Massey, D 2007, *World City*, Polity, Cambridge.
- Mbiba, B 1995, *Urban Agriculture in Zimbabwe: Implications for Urban Management, Urban Economy, Urban Poverty, the Environment and Gender*, Avebury, Aldershot, England

- McCann, E 2002, 'Space, citizenship, and the right to the city: A brief overview', *GeoJournal*, vol. 58, pp. 77-9.
- McGuirk, PM 2004, 'State, strategy, and scale in the competitive city: a neo-Gramscian analysis of the governance of "global Sydney"', *Environment and Planning A*, vol. 36, pp. 1019-43.
- 2005, 'Neoliberalist planning? Re-thinking and re-casting Sydney's metropolitan planning', *Geographical Research*, vol. 43, no. 1, pp. 59-70.
- 2007, 'The political construction of the city-region: notes from Sydney', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 179-87.
- McGuirk, PM & Dowling, R 2005, 'Master-planned estates and suburban complexity', in K Anderson, R Dobson, F Allon & B Neilson (eds), *Post-Suburban Sydney: City in Transformation* proceedings, University of Western Sydney, Parramatta, Sydney, November.
- 2007, 'Understanding master-planned estates in Australian cities: a framework for research', *Urban Policy and Research*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 21-38.
- McManus, P 2005, *Vortex Cities to Sustainable Cities: Australia's Urban Challenge*, UNSW Press, Sydney.
- McNeill, D., Dowling, R & Fagan, B 2005, 'Sydney/global/city: an exploration', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 29, no. 4, pp. 935-44.
- McNeill, K 1997, 'Co-existence of Indigenous and non-Indigenous land rights: Australia and Canada compared in light of Wik decision', *Indigenous Law Bulletin*, vol. 30, viewed 12 August 2008, <<http://search.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/ILB/1997/77.html>>.
- Mebratu, D 1998, 'Sustainability and sustainable development: historical and conceptual review', *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, vol. 18, no. 6, pp. 498-520.
- Mee, K 1994, 'Dressing up the suburbs: representations of Western Sydney', in S Watson & K Gibson (eds), *Metropolis Now. Planning and the Urban in Contemporary Australia*, Pluto Press, Leichhardt, Sydney, pp. 60-77.
- Mishra, V & Hodge, B 1991, *Dark Side of the Dream: Australian Literature and the Postcolonial Mind*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.
- Moore, M 2001, 'Sydney's forgotten farmers', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 April, p. 11.
- Morgan, G 2003, 'Autochthonous Australian syncretism', *Current Sociology*, vol. 51, no. 3/4, pp. 433-51.
- 2005, 'A city of two tales: distinction, dispersal and dissociation in Western Sydney', in K Anderson, R Dobson, F Allon & B Neilson (eds), *After Sprawl: Post-Suburban Sydney* proceedings, University of Western Sydney, Parramatta, Sydney, 22-23 November.

—— 2006, *Unsettled Places: Aboriginal People and Urbanisation in New South Wales*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, SA.

Morgan, G., Rocha, C & Poynting, S 2005, 'Grafting cultures: longing and belonging in immigrants' backyards', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 26, no. 1-2, pp. 93-105.

Mossfield, T 2000, 'Yoorang Gorang - strong place', in J Collins & S Poynting (eds), *The Other Sydney: Communities, Identities and Inequalities in Western Sydney*, Common Ground Publishing, Altona, Melbourne, pp. 228-42.

Munday, J 1996, 'Jack Munday', in P Kalajzich (ed.), *The Battlers for Kelly's Bush: Thirteen Women and The World's First Green Ban*, The Battlers for Kelly's Bush, Sydney, pp. 5-8.

Murphy, S 2003, 'Urban Sprawl', *Landline*, viewed 6 March 2006, <<http://www.abc.net.au/landline/stories/s791453.htm>>.

National Preventative Health Taskforce 2008, *Australia: The Healthiest Cities by 2020*, Commonwealth Government of Australia, Canberra.

Nettlefold, J 2005, 'Farmers fear their days are numbered', *The 7.30 Report*, 22 July 2005, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Sydney, viewed 18 September 2008, <<http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2005/s1398435.htm>>.

New South Wales Aboriginal Land Council 2008, *New South Wales Aboriginal Land Council*, New South Wales Government, Sydney, viewed 2 February 2008, <www.alc.org.au>.

New South Wales Agriculture 1998, *Strategic Plan for Sustainable Agriculture: Sydney Region*, New South Wales Agriculture, Orange.

New South Wales Department of Aboriginal Affairs 2003, *Two Ways Together: NSW Aboriginal Affairs Plan 2003-2012*, New South Wales Government, Sydney.

New South Wales Department of Health 2004, *Eat Well New South Wales*, New South Wales Government, Sydney.

New South Wales Department of Lands 2008, *Draft Assessment of Crown Lands: Chinese Market Gardens, Phillip Bay*, New South Wales Government, Sydney.

New South Wales Department of Planning 1995, *Cities for the 21st Century: Integrated Urban Management for Sydney, Newcastle, the Central Coast and Wollongong*, New South Wales Government, Sydney.

—— 2005a, 'Background analysis: sustainable Sydney: protecting the natural environment', *New South Wales Government Metropolitan Strategy: City of Cities: A Plan for Sydney's Future*, New South Wales Government, Sydney, viewed 16 February 2007, <<http://www.metrostrategy.nsw.gov.au/dev/uploads/paper/introduction/index.html>>.

—— 2005b, *City of Cities: A Plan for Sydney's future*, New South Wales Government, Sydney.

—— 2005c, 'Fact sheet: new ground rules for the north-west and south-west land release areas', 3 November New South Wales Government, Sydney, viewed 8 August 2008, <http://www.metrostrategy.nsw.gov.au/dev/digitalAssets/1350_1130983357783_051103%20fact%20sheet%201.pdf>.

—— 2005d, 'Growth centres: your questions answered', 1 August, New South Wales Government, Sydney, viewed 5 September 2006, <<http://www.metrostrategy.nsw.gov.au/dev/ViewPage.action?siteNodeId=59&languageId=1&contentId=407>>.

—— 2005e, 'New ground rules for green space in growth centres ', 03 November 2005, New South Wales Government, Sydney, viewed 5 July 2007, <<http://www.metrostrategy.nsw.gov.au/dev/ViewPage.action?siteNodeId=59&languageId=1&contentId=417>>.

—— 2007a, *North West Subregion: Draft Subregional Strategy*, New South Wales Government, Sydney.

—— 2007b, *South West Subregion: Draft Subregional Strategy*, New South Wales Government, Sydney.

New South Wales Department of Primary Industries 2008, *Sydney's Agriculture: Planning for the Future: Program*, New South Wales Government, Sydney.

New South Wales Department of Urban Affairs and Planning 1998, *Shaping Western Sydney: The Planning Strategy for Western Sydney*, New South Wales Government, Sydney.

New South Wales Government 1974, *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974*, <http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/nsw/consol_act/npawa1974247/>.

—— 1979, *Environmental Planning and Assessment Act (NSW) 1979*, <http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/nsw/consol_act/epaaa1979389/>.

—— 1983, *Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983*, <http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/nsw/consol_act/alra1983201/s53.html>.

—— 2008, *Heritage Branch, Department of Planning*, New South Wales Government, Sydney viewed 04 July 2008, <<http://www.heritage.nsw.gov.au>>.

New South Wales Heritage Council 1990, *Arncliffe Market Gardens*, Heritage Branch, New South Wales Department of Planning, Sydney, viewed 1 June 2007, <http://www.heritage.nsw.gov.au/07_subnav_02_2.cfm?itemid=5045744>.

New South Wales Planning and Environment Commission 1980, *Review: Sydney Region Outline Plan*, New South Wales Government, Sydney.

New South Wales State Heritage Register 1999, 'Chinese Market Gardens', October Heritage Branch, New South Wales Department of Planning, Sydney, viewed 3 June 2007, <http://www.heritage.nsw.gov.au/heritagensw/oct99/9_art.htm>.

New York State Government 2007, 'Governor signs executive order creating council on food policy: council will coordinate policies to promote agriculture, health and nutrition', 20 May, New York State Government, New York, viewed 2 February 2009, <<http://www.state.ny.us/governor/press/0520071.html>>.

Newman, P 2004, 'Keynote address', paper presented to *Sydney Futures Forum*, Australian Technology Park, Redfern, 18-19 May.

Newman, P & Kenworthy, J 1999, *Sustainability and Cities: Overcoming Automobile Dependence*, Island Press, Washington D.C.

Newton, J & Chipperfield, M 2004, 'Frontline Farmers', *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 22, The Sydney Magazine, p. 40.

Nichol, L 2003, 'Local food production: Some implications for planning', *Planning Theory and Practice*, vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 409-27.

Nixon, RE 1976, *The Chinese Community of Camden: 1910 Onwards*, Camden Historical Society, Camden, Sydney.

Noble, G & Poynting, S 2004, *Living with Racism: The Experience and Reporting by Arab and Muslim Australians of Discrimination, Abuse and Violence since 11 September 2001*, The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, Sydney.

——— 2008, 'Neither relaxed nor comfortable: the affective regulation of migrant belonging in Australia', in R Pain & S Smith (eds), *Fear: Critical Geopolitics and Everyday Life*, Ashgate Publishing, England, pp. 129-38.

Noble, G & Tabar, P 2002, 'On being Lebanese-Australian: hybridity, essentialism, strategy', in G Hage (ed.), *Arab Australians Today*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp. 128-44.

NSW Migration Heritage Centre 2007, *Migration Heritage Centre New South Wales: Our Memories, Belongings and Places*, New South Wales Government, Sydney, viewed 29 July 2007, <<http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/>>.

O'Neil, P & McGuirk, PM 2005, 'Reterritorialisation of economies and institutions: the rise of the Sydney Basin economy', *Space and Polity*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 283-305.

Parker, F 2004, *Farming Women of Non-English Speaking Background: Developing Innovative Access Strategies Through Partnerships*, New South Wales Department of Women, Sydney.

Parker, F & Jarecki, S 2003a, 'Peri-urban agriculture and public policy: Sydney's forgotten farmers', paper presented to *Social Inequality and the Knowledge Society Conference*, Macquarie University, Sydney, 12 November.

—— 2003b, 'Transitions at the rural/urban interface: "moving in ", " moving out" and "staying put"', paper presented to *State of Australian Cities Conference*, Parramatta, Sydney, 3-5 December.

—— 2005, 'Engaging farm women from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds in education and training', paper presented to *Engaging Communities Conference*, Brisbane, Australia, 14-17 August.

Parker, F & Suriyabanadara, K 2000, *The Safe Use of Farm Chemicals by Market Gardeners of Non-English Speaking Background: Developing an Effective Extension Strategy for the Sydney Basin*, RIRDC Publication No 00/180, Rural Industries Research and Development Corporation, Commonwealth Government, Canberra.

Parliament of New South Wales 1995, 'Migrant population distribution', *Legislative Council (Hansard)*, New South Wales Government, Sydney, viewed 10 October 2007, <<http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/Prod/Parlment/HansArt.nsf/V3Key/LC19950524010>>.

—— 2001, *National Parks and Wildlife Amendment Bill 2001*, <<http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/parlment/nswbills.nsf/0/49105D07F46450ADCA256B060001952A?Open&shownotes>>.

—— 2005a, 'Bringelly and Northwest Sector land rezoning', *Legislative Council Hansard*, New South Wales Government, Sydney, viewed 29 August 2006, <www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/parlment/hansart.nsf/V3Key/LC20050622053>.

—— 2005b, 'North-West and South-West Sydney land rezoning', *Legislative Council (Hansard)*, New South Wales Government, Sydney, viewed 21 August 2007, <<http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/parlment/HansArt.nsf/V3Key/LC20050913099>>.

Parliament of New South Wales 2005c, 'Sydney Basin agricultural land', *Legislative Council (Hansard)*, New South Wales Government, Sydney, viewed 29 May 2006, <www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/Parlment/hansArt.nsf/V3Key/LC20050303015>.

Parliament of New South Wales 2006, 'South-Western Sydney land rezoning', *Legislative Council (Hansard)*, viewed 2 February 2007, <<http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/parlment/hansart.nsf/5f584b237987507aca256d09008051f3/9302593ce1e9c221ca257135007933ec!OpenDocument>>.

Petzet , M 2003, 'Place - memory - meaning: preserving intangible values in monuments and sites', paper presented to *ICOMOS 14th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium*, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, 27-31 October.

- Pickett, C 1997, *The Fibro Frontier: A Different History of Australian Architecture*, Powerhouse Publishing, Sydney.
- Pirog, R., Van Pelt, T., Enshayan, K & Cook, E 2001, *Food, Fuel and Freeways: An Iowa Perspective on How Far Food Travels, Fuel Usage, and Greenhouse Gas Emissions*, Leopold Centre, Ames, Iowa.
- Polese, M & Stren, RE 2000, *The Social Sustainability of Cities: Diversity and the Management of Change*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- Powell, D 1993, *Out West: Perceptions of Sydney's Western Suburbs*, Allen and Unwin, St Leonards NSW.
- Poynting, S 2006, 'What caused the Cronulla riot?', *Race and Class*, vol. 48, no. 1, pp. 85-92.
- Pudilo, L 2000, 'Rethinking environmental racism: white privilege and urban development in southern California', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 90, no. 1 pp. 12-40.
- Pugliese, J 2002, 'Migrant heritage in an Indigenous context: for a decolonising migrant historiography', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 5-18.
- Radher, B & Milgrom, R 2004, 'The uncertain city: making space(s) for difference', *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 27-45.
- Ramachandran, A 2007, 'Plan of green gables for concrete jungle', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 August, Environment, p. 7.
- Randolph, B., Pang, L & Hall, J 2001, *Who Cares About Western Sydney?*, The Urban Frontiers Program, University of Western Sydney and The Planning Research Centre, University of Sydney, Sydney.
- Rea, K 1999, *Rich Rewards: Cultural Diversity and Heritage Practise*, Migrant Heritage Centre and NSW Heritage Office, Sydney.
- Rees, WE 2001, 'The conundrum of urban sustainability', in D Devuyst, L Hens & Wd Lannoy (eds), *How Green is the City? Sustainability Assessment and the Management of Urban Environments*, Columbia University Press, New York, pp. 37-42.
- Reeves, D 2005, 'Diversity poses many challenges to everyone involved in planning', *Planning*, no. 1632, p. 20.
- Rehn, A 2007, 'Can desolate Australia feed itself?', *The Daily Telegraph*, viewed 25 November 2007, <<http://www.news.com.au/dailytelegraph/story/0,22049,21593387-5009640,00.html>>.
- Reitsma, F 2003, 'A response to simplifying complexity', *Geoforum*, vol. 34, pp. 13-6.
- Reynolds, H 1987, *The Law of the Land*, Penguin, Ringwood, Vic.

— 1989, *Dispossession: Black Australians and White Invaders*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

Rigney, LI 1997, 'Internationalisation of an Indigenous anti-colonial cultural critique of research methodologies: a guide to Indigenist research methodology and its principles', *The Journal for Native American Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 109-21.

Robinson, J 2006, *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development*, Routledge, London and New York.

Roddewig, RJ 1978, *Green Bans: The Birth of Australian Environmental Politics. A Study in Public Opinion and Participation*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney.

Ryan, S 1996, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

SA Health 2008, *Information for SA organisations: Helping South Australians Eat Their 2 fruit and 5 Vegetables Every Day*, South Australian Department of Health, Adelaide, viewed 2 February 2008,
<<http://admin.gofor2and5.hstprdweb01.perthix.net/DataStore/files/images/Campaign/SA%20Health%20Jan%2008/SAORGINFOJan08.pdf>>.

Sandercock, L 2003a, *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel Cities of the 21st Century*, Continuum, London New York.

— 2003b, 'Planning in the ethno-culturally diverse city: a comment', *Planning Theory and Practice*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 319-23.

— 2004, 'Towards a planning imagination for the 21st Century', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, vol. 70, no. 2, pp. 133-41.

Sandercock, L & Kliger, B 1998, 'Multiculturalism and the planning system: part two', *Australian Planner*, vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 223-7.

Sartor, F 2006, *Colonial History Preserved On A Grand Scale*, New South Wales Department of Heritage, Sydney, viewed 19 May 2007,
<<http://www.heritage.nsw.gov.au/docs/mediareleases/Colonialproperties061206.pdf>>.

Sassen, S 2001, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, 2nd edn, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford.

Saunders, C., Barber, A & Taylor, G 2006, *Food Miles: Comparative Energy/Emissions Performance of New Zealand's Agriculture Industry*, Lincoln University, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Schech, S & Haggis, J 2001, 'Migrancy, multiculturalism and whiteness: re-charting core identities in Australia', *Communal / Plural*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 143-59.

Scott, E 1999, 'Reconciliation and multiculturalism: bridging the gaps', paper presented to *National Conference of The Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia*, Darwin, Northern Territory, 24 September.

Searle, G 1996, *Sydney as a Global City*, Department of Urban Affairs and Planning Department of State and Regional Development, Sydney.

——— 2006, 'Is the 'City of Cities' metropolitan strategy the answer for Sydney?', *Urban Policy and Research*, vol. 24, no. 4, pp. 553-66.

Shaw, W 2006, 'Decolonizing geographies of whiteness', *Antipode*, vol. 38, no. 4, pp. 851-69.

Siemiatycki, M & Isin, E 1997, 'Immigration, diversity and urban citizenship in Toronto', *Canadian Journal of Regional Science*, vol. 20, no. 1-2, pp. 73-102.

Silverman, D 1993, *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction*, SAGE, London.

Sinclair, I., Docking, A., Jarecki, S., Parker, F & Saville, L 2004, *From the Outside Looking In: The Future of Sydney's Rural Land: Background Issues and Workshop Outcomes*, University of Western Sydney, Sydney.

Sinclair, IW 2002, 'Preserving rural land in Australia', paper presented to *Joint New Zealand Planning Institute / Royal Australian Planning Institute National Congress*, Wellington New Zealand, April 2002.

Smith, A., Stancu, C & McKenzie, S 2006, *Food Miles- Practical Steps for New Zealand Exporters*, Landcare Research, Auckland.

Smith, A., Watkiss, P., Tewedde, G., McKinnon, A., Browne, M., Hunt, A., Treleven, C., Nash, C & Cross, S 2005, *The Validity of Food Miles as an Indicator of Sustainable Development: Final Report*, Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, Oxon, United Kingdom.

Smith, G & Scott, J 2006, *Living Cities: An Urban Myth?*, Rosenberg, Dural, NSW.

Smith, L 2000a, "'Doing archaeology": Cultural heritage management and its role in identifying the link between archaeological practise and theory', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 309-16.

——— 2000b, 'A history of Aboriginal heritage legislation in south-eastern Australia', *Australian Archaeology*, vol. 50, pp. 109-18.

Smith, L., Morgan, A & Van der Meer, A 2003, 'Community-driven research in cultural heritage management: the Waanyi Women's history project', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 65-80.

- Smith, S 2001, 'Doing qualitative research: from interpretation to action', in M Limb & C Dwyer (eds), *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: Issues and Debates*, Arnold, London, pp. 21-40.
- Sneddon, C., Howarth, R & Norgaard, R 2006, 'Sustainable development in a post-Brundtland world', *Ecological Economics*, vol. 57, pp. 253-68.
- Solecki, WD & Leichenko, RM 2006, 'Urbanization and the metropolitan environment', *Environment*, vol. 48, no. 4, pp. 10-23.
- South Central Farmers 2009, *South Central Farmers Los Angeles*, viewed 02 January 2009, <<http://www.southcentralfarmers.com/>>.
- Spearritt, P & Demarco, C 1988, *Planning Sydney's Future*, Allen and Unwin in conjunction with the New South Wales Department of Planning, Sydney.
- Stapleton, J 2008, 'Eat-local movement provides shot in the arm for struggling farmers', *The Australian*, August 4, p. 31.
- State Planning Authority of New South Wales 1967, *Sydney Region: Growth and Change*, New South Wales Government, Sydney.
- 1968, *Sydney Region: Outline Plan 1970-2000 A.D.: A Strategy for Development*, State Planning Authority of New South Wales Sydney.
- Sweeney, T & Liverpool Regional Library 2005, *Bringelly: A City on the Edge*, Western Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils and NSW Ministry for the Arts, Liverpool, Photographic Exhibition.
- Sydney Food Fairness Alliance 2009, *Sydney Food Fairness Alliance: Working Towards Food Security and Sustainable Food Systems*, Sydney Food Fairness Alliance, Sydney, viewed 15 January 2009, <www.sydneyfoodfairness.org.au>.
- Symonds, M 1993, 'Imagined colonies: on the social construction of Sydney's Western Suburbs', *Communal / Plural*, vol. 1: Identity/Community/Change, pp. 63-72.
- 1997, 'Outside the spaces of modernity: Western Sydney and the logic of the European city', in H Grace, H Ghassan, L Johnson & M Symonds (eds), *Home/ World: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West*, Pluto Press, Annandale, pp. 66-98.
- Taylor, R 2007a, 'Drought catastrophe stalks Australia's food bowl', *Reuters NetAlert*, viewed 15 December 2007, <www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/SYD21535.htm>.
- 2007b, 'Drought empties Australia's food bowl', *MSNBC*, viewed 10 October 2007, <<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/20492192/>>.
- Temple, B & Young, A 2004, 'Qualitative research and translation dilemmas', *Qualitative Research*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 161-78.

Tennant, K 1996, 'Boil the billy', in P Kalajzich (ed.), *The Battlers for Kelly's Bush: Thirteen Women and The World's First Green Ban*, The Battlers for Kelly's Bush, Sydney, pp. 1-4.

The Economist 2006, 'Voting with your trolley', *The Economist*, vol. 381, 7 December, pp. 73-5.

The Government of Scotland 2008, *National Food and Drink Policy for Scotland*, The Government of Scotland, Edinburgh, viewed 2 February 2009, <<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Business-Industry/Food-Industry/national-strategy>>.

The Greens Party 2007, 'Response to WSROC paper from the Greens NSW March 2007', p. 24, viewed 15 November 2007, <http://www.wsroc.com.au/downloads/Greens_Response_WSROC_2007_Issues_Paper.pdf>.

The Land 2008, 'Vegie farmers lash supermarkets', *The Land*, viewed 12 August, <<http://theland.farmonline.com.au/news/state/agribusiness-and-general/General/vegie-farmers-lash-supermarkets/1241888.aspx?src=email>>.

Thompson, S & Dunn, K 2002, 'Multicultural services in local government in Australia: an uneven tale of access and equity', *Urban Policy and Research*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 263-79.

Thomson, J 2008, 'Include us in grocery price inquiry: farmers', *The West Australian*, 26 January, Country, p. 11.

Thomson, MS 2007, 'Placing the wild in the city: "thinking with" Melbourne's bats', *Society and Animals*, vol. 15, pp. 79-95.

Thrift, N 1999, 'The place of complexity', *Theory, Culture and Society*, vol. 16, no. 3, pp. 31-69.

Tobin, C 1997, *The Dharug Story: An Aboriginal Story of Western Sydney from 1788*, Christopher Tobin, Sydney.

Toronto Food Policy Council 1999, *Feeding the City from the Back 40: A Commercial Food Production Plan for the City of Toronto*, Toronto Food Policy Council, Toronto.

Truscott, M 2000, '"Intangible values" as heritage in Australia', *Historic Environment*, vol. 14, no. 5, pp. 22-30.

Trute, P 2005, 'Seeing red over city's green plan', *The Daily Telegraph*, 4 October, p. 12.

Tuhiwai Smith, L 1999, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Zed Books, London and New York.

Turner, N., Ignace, M & Ignace, R 2000, 'Traditional ecological knowledge and wisdom of aboriginal peoples in British Columbia', *Ecological Applications*, vol. 10, no. 5, pp. 1275-87.

United Nations Development Programme & United Nations Habitat II Conference 1996, *Urban Agriculture: Food, Jobs and Sustainable Cities*, United Nations Development Programme, New York

United Nations Environment Scientific and Cultural Organization 2008, 'World Heritage', United Nations, Paris, viewed 3 September 2008, <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/>>.

United Nations Environmental Scientific and Cultural Organization 2003, *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, United Nations, Paris.

Urry, J 2003, *Global Complexity*, Polity, Oxford.

——— 2005, 'The complexities of the global', *Theory, Culture and Society*, vol. 22, no. 5, pp. 235-54.

Verity, W 2003a, 'Cry for help from Sydney's undervalued farms', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 February p. 5.

——— 2003b, 'Up the garden path', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 February, Insight, p. 11.

Waddington, D 2004, 'Participant observation', in C Cassell & G Symon (eds), *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research*, SAGE Publications, London, pp. 154-64.

Wallgren, C 2006, 'Local or global food markets: A comparison of energy use for transport', *Local Environment*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 233-51.

Wendy, M., Kevin, B., Terra, K & Amanda, R 2008, 'Using land inventories to plan for urban agriculture', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, vol. 74, no. 4, p. 435.

West, M 2008, 'Did the investigators visit a supermarket?', *The Age*, 8 August, Business p. 4.

Western Australia Department of Agriculture and Food 2008, *Food Strategy WA: Building a Healthy Food Future: Discussion Paper*, Department of Agriculture and Food, Perth.

Western Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils 2007, '2007 State election issues papers', Western Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils, Sydney, viewed 15 November 2007, <<http://www.wsroc.com.au/page.aspx?pid=221&vid=1>>.

Whatmore, S 1991, *Farming Women: Gender, Work and Family Enterprise*, Macmillan Academic and Professional, Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire.

- Whatmore, S & Hinchcliffe, S 2003, 'Living cities: Making space for urban nature', *Soundings: Journal of Politics and Culture*, vol. 22, pp. 137-50.
- Whitehead, M 2007, *Spaces of Sustainability*, Routledge, London and New York.
- Williams, N., Baines, G & Brownlee, A 1993, *Traditional Ecological Knowledge: Wisdom for Sustainable Development*, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Winston, D 1957, *Sydney's Great Experiment: The Progress of the Cumberland County Plan*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney.
- Wise, A 2005, 'Hope and belonging in a multicultural suburb', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 26, no. 1-2, pp. 171-86.
- Wiseman, J 2007, 'Food shortages "worst since World War 2"', *The Australian*, 1 October p. 6.
- Wollondilly Heritage Centre 2006, *From Estonia to Thirlmere: Stories from a Unique Community*, New South Wales Migration Heritage Centre, Sydney, Photographic Exhibition, <<http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibitions/fromestonia/index.shtml>>.
- Wood, P & Landry, C 2008, *The Intercultural City: Planning for Diversity Advantage*, Earthscan, London.
- Woodley, R 2005, 'Not happy, Bob', *Liverpool Leader*, 6 July, pp. 1,3.
- World Health Organization 2008, *Food Security*, World Health Organization, Geneva, viewed 12 December 2008, <<http://www.who.int/trade/glossary/story028/en/>>.
- Wright, J 2002, 'Apartheid Australian style', *Australian Universities Review*, vol. 45, no. 1, viewed 5 October 2008, <<http://www.nieuw.org.au/publications/aur/4501/4523>>.
- Wrigley, JD 1980, *A History of Camden*, Camden Historical Society, Sydney.
- Yeoh, BSA 2001, 'Postcolonial cities', *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 456-68.
- Yin-Lo, C 2005, *Agri/Culture: Re-creating the Living Landscape*, Hawkesbury Regional Gallery, Hawkesbury, 25th June - 4th September, Exhibition Catalogue, <<http://www.hawkesbury.nsw.gov.au/community/1013/17803.html>>.
- Young, IM 1990, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- 2002, 'The ideal of community and the politics of difference', in G Bridge & S Watson (eds), *The Blackwell City Reader*, Blackwell Publishing, Malden pp. 430-9.

Zukin, S 2008, 'Consuming authenticity: from outposts of difference to means of exclusion', *Cultural Studies*, vol. 22, no. 5, pp. 724-48.

Appendix 1: Questions for Semi-structured Interviews

Questions for Growers

Background

What is the history of your farm? How long have you been here?

What was the area like when you first moved here?

When did you or your family migrate to Australia?

Have you always been a farmer?

Why did you choose to be a farmer? What do you like about it?

Is farming a family tradition? In what sense?

Do you have a sense of farming as heritage? If so why/ if not why not?

What does your farm mean to you? Is it economic /family etc?

Development

Have you been informed about the planned development by government or council? If so, (how? If not, how much do you know about it?

What do you think about this development? Do you want to sell your farm or stay?

Will you farm elsewhere? What do you think it will mean for your industry ?

Is farming something that should be protected in face of development? If so, how?

Do you think there is enough support from the government and wider community of growers in the Sydney Basin?

Consultations

Have you been consulted about the development – by either government or private developers? If yes, how and when?

Have you attended meetings run by residents or government on the issue of development?

Did you feel you were able to participate in the planning for this area, that you had the opportunity to be 'heard'? If so, how?

Have you made any submissions or protests to the government about the development, or other issues affecting you as a grower? Why/why not?

Were you affected by the green zones? Did you protest about these?

A common complaint from government departments is that growers are difficult to contact and do not respond to letters or phone calls. Is this the case in your experience? If so, why do you think this is so?

Other stakes in land

Do you have connections with other grower groups – older/newer migrant groups?

What do you think about other claims to land in Sydney, such as Aboriginal?

Questions for Indigenous Groups

Background

What is the history of your organisation?

What is its role?

What is your connection to the South-West/ Bringelly Area?

What does the land mean to you?

What do you think about the urban development in this area?

Consultation

Have you been involved in consultation processes on heritage in the area around Bringelly?

How have you been consulted?

What did you think of these processes?

Were you able to communicate your position on this site to planners?

What were the problems with the process?

How could these consultations be improved?

Heritage

Were you satisfied with the way in which they addressed the issues of heritage?

In relation to:

- How they asked about it
- What they suggested they would do about it
- How it is being conserved in planning process
- Do you think that land is being sufficiently protected in Sydney?
- Why do you think is important?

Questions for Planners

These were less interview questions than subjects for discussion with representatives from the Department of Planning. There were also a number of interviews with government and consultants that focused more specifically on certain aspects such as Aboriginal heritage, migrant heritage and protection of agricultural land.

- Metropolitan Planning – what were the priorities in the development of the Metropolitan Strategy?
- The strategy appears to have a focus on the ‘global city’ and housing development, how were these measured against other priorities such as sustainability and heritage?
- What was the process of consultation for the development of the Metro Strategy? How was diversity engaged in this process?
- Consultation with inhabitants of area affected by growth centres
- There have been criticism about lack of consultation, and information for current residents, how do you respond to this?
- Is there on going consultation with residents?
- How have you addressed issues such as language barriers, which may affect participation by culturally diverse groups in the Growth Areas?
- How have issues such as sustainability been addressed in relation to the growth centres with the cutting of the green zones and the loss of prime agricultural land?
- How have issues of heritage been engaged in the Metropolitan Strategy, particularly in relation to Aboriginal Heritage?

Appendix 2: Information on Sydney Basin Agriculture

Product	NSW	Sydney	Sydney as a Percentage of NSW
Total Value of NSW agriculture	7,728,556,854	659,357,353	8.5
Vegetable production for human consumption	428,888,417	183,564,876	43
Cut Flower	74,534,968	43,641,859	43
Turf	61,820,786	29,000,270	47
Poultry	428,332,914	179,876,139	42
Eggs	102,215,232	49,291,259	48
Nurseries	221,311,207	117,101,183	53

Table 3: Value of Sydney's agricultural production 2006-2007 (ABS)

(Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008b)

Product	NSW- Number of farms (2005-2006)	NSW- value of production (2006-2007)	Sydney- number of farms (2005-2006)	Sydney- Value of production (2006-2007)	Sydney as percentage of value of NSW production
Asian Vegetable	201	25,645,462	180	24,357,899	95
Herbs (other than parsley)	101	4,791,427	63	4,707,056	98
Lettuce	220	65,604,871	141	51,038,023	78
Tomatoes (for fresh market)	330	9,943,997	206	6,431,675	65
Cucumber	242	8,436,179	168	6,949,889	82
Mushrooms	44	68,615,061	29	50,972,704	74

Table 4: The value of certain vegetable products across the Sydney Basin 2006-2007 (ABS)

(Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008a, 2008b)

Crop	Growers	Farm gate value	Full time job numbers
Vegetables grown in the field	200	58,490,000	500
Vegetables Asian Market Gardens	350	33,000,000	875
Vegetables Traditional Market Gardens	1200	11,250,000	2,5000
Hydroponic Lettuce	65	21,450,000	195
Greenhouse cucumbers	110	38,500,000	220
Greenhouse Tomatoes	90	53,000,000	225
Cut Flowers	360	185,000,000	2,000-2,500
Nursery	350	65,000,000	1,500
Mushrooms	26	71,000,000	560
Turf	70	55,000,000	270
Forest and Christmas trees	N/A	100,000	N/A
Fruit	600	50,000,000	1,500
Citrus	157	5,600,000	N/A
Grapes	6	1,459,902	N/A
Nuts and Berries	75	5,000,000	N/A
Other extensive horticulture	N/A	3,000	N/A
Dairy	34	35,300,000	160
Eggs	74	55,312,150	200
Poultry meat	148	223,505,720	800
Bees	985	1,239,000	N/A
Pigs	29	9,261,000	20
Cattle	482	7,148,580	N/A
Sheep	45	65,000	N/A
Wool	38	240,000	N/A
Horses	N/A	36,010,050	N/A
Goats	10	34,610	N/A
Exotic animals	29	N/A	N/A
Lucerne	46	774,130	N/A
Field Crops	N/A	178,830	N/A
Hay	199	500,940	N/A
TOTAL		1,023,422,912	

Table 5: Estimated value of Sydney Basin agriculture using industry figures 2003 (NSW DPI)

(Gillespie and Mason 2003)

Language group	Number of farms	Location	
Chinese (mostly Cantonese)	400	SW Sydney, Llandilo, Blacktown, Schofields, Hills District, Mascot Area	Asian vegetables, spinach
Khmer (Cambodian)	70	Horsley Park, Wallacia, Kemps Creek, Cecil Park	Cherry tomatoes, snow peas, snake beans, zucchini, capsicum, strawberries
Vietnamese	60	SW Sydney, Horsley Park, Kemps Creek	Asian vegetables, Asian herbs
Arabic (Lebanese)	80	Kemps Creek, Maroota, Maraylya, SW Sydney	Lebanese cucumbers, greenhouse tomatoes, capsicum, eggplant, zucchini
Arabic (Iraqi)	20	Rossmore, Leppington, SW Sydney	Field tomatoes, capsicum, eggplant, zucchini
Korean Taiwanese (Mandarin)	5	Kemps Creek, Hills District, Hawkesbury	Asian vegetables, herbs, chillies, Orchard
Maltese	800	Hawkesbury, Baulkam Hills, SW Sydney	Field vegetables, hydroponic lettuce, orchard
Italian	120	Hills, Hawkesbury, SW Sydney	Field tomatoes, cut flowers, hydroponic lettuce

Table 6: Estimated number of farms and types of vegetables grown by cultural group 2003 (Sydney Basin Market Garden Project)

(Bayrante et. al. 2003: 6)