Pursuing design excellence in a global CBD
The City of Sydney’s strategic plans, 1988-2008

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This study injects urban design into global city discourse which frequently brushes over the micro-production of the built environment. Yet at this scale, the adaptation of design strategies and controls as a neoliberalist policy tools to shape a global city becomes apparent. The study focuses on the Sydney experience. It analyses the urban design elements in two key strategic plans for the City of Sydney – the CBD of global Sydney – to explore thematic and methodological continuity and change in the pursuit of design excellence. The two plans – Central Sydney Strategy (1988) and Sustainable Sydney 2030 (2008) – bookend the two critical decades in Sydney’s rise to global status. Comparing them reveals an ascending importance of urban design translated into statutory regulations for design excellence. Thematically, the concerns of urban design moved from a singular economic-centric objective to a multiplicity of objectives including global competitiveness, environmental sustainability, innovative capacity, and physical and social connectivity. Methodologically, the urban design elements moved from a prescriptive, architectonic, elitist and intuitive approach to one of urban design as public policy, as place making, and as process of research, consultation and engagement. These findings underpin a new contextual understanding of the evolution of urban design policies for a global CBD at the turn of the century.

Keywords: urban design; global city; Sydney; neoliberal urbanism
Introduction

The global city discourse has always been economic-centric, focusing on contemporary urban transformations, in particular on the connected and competitive relationships between cities in an integrated world economy (Friedmann, 1986; Sassen, 2001; Taylor, 2004). The emergence of neoliberal urbanism in order to achieve a global city status and to enhance global competitiveness has been a major theme (Ancien, 2011). Overshadowed by the overwhelming interest in economic competitiveness and entrepreneurialised planning and governance has been the impact of these processes on the evolution of urban design approach and practice (Gunder, 2011). It is necessary to unravel the particularity of the transformations and roles of urban design in the new context of global cities.

This study injects urban design into the global city discourse through a case study of Sydney, Australia’s major gateway global city (Connell 2000). The CBD experienced a remarkable shift from a resigned and uncritical acceptance of design agnosticism in the post-World War Two decades to an increasing emphasis on urban design and the pursuit of design excellence especially from the late 1980s (Hu, 2012b; Punter, 2005). The year 1988 marked a key line as the city became the locus of the nation’s Bicentennial celebrations and staging of the 2000 Olympics provided a further fillip to design-driven planning in the Sydney CBD (Punter, 2005). By 2008 policies driving that aspiration were well established.

Our paper considers the urban design policy transformations of Sydney central business district (CBD) by comparing two major strategic plans of the City of Sydney, namely the Central Sydney Strategy (1988) and Sustainable Sydney 2030 (2008). The time span of two decades covered by these documents witnessed Sydney’s rise as a global city. The urban design elements in the two plans are examined under a neoliberal urbanism framework to interpret how design ambitions and strategies have evolved over this period. Rather than investigate individual design projects, comparing the two plans captures the transformative urban design policy making in the context of an emerging global city. The paper builds on and extends previous work: Punter’s (2005) work on post-war urban design in Sydney CBD to 2002; Hu’s (2012b) analysis of the City of Sydney’s planning transformation in the 1980s and 1990s; and McNeill’s (2011) examination of the City’s new design initiatives in 2008. In so doing the study offers a systematic understanding of the historical evolution of the urban design policies for Sydney CBD from the late 20th century to the first decade of the 21st century.

The paper is organised as follows. This introduction is followed by a brief contextualisation of the nexus between global cities, neo-liberalism and urban design. The next section sketches the emergence of global Sydney. The next two sections outline the urban design elements in the two plan documents from 1988 to 2008 for a historical comparison. The penultimate discussion section seeks to analyse the thematic and methodological continuity and change in urban design policies. The article concludes with a summary of major findings and relates the trends uncovered to the broader contours of neo-liberal economic and political philosophies.

The Global City

The global city discourse has emerged to respond to the urban impacts of contemporary globalisation and the emergence of a group of global cities that represent key nodal points in the
global economy (Friedmann, 1986; Friedmann & Wolff, 1982; Hall, 1998; Knox & Taylor, 1995; Sassen, 1995, 2001; Taylor, 2004). The increasingly integrated global economy has been generating simultaneous processes of dispersion and concentration – the dispersion of production and retailing activities across the world and the concentration of specialised services and command within a few global cities (Sassen, 2001). The increasing importance of transnational corporations (TNCs) as actors within an integrated global economy, accelerated global competition, and the macro transition towards a knowledge economy have led to greater complexity in managing, controlling and coordinating global activities and organisations. This has required greater use of advanced producer services, including finance, banking, accounting, law, advertising, and marketing and management (Sassen, 1995, 2001; Taylor, 2004). Global cities have become the command and control centres of the global economy and key locations of global firms of the advanced producer services (Sassen, 2001). These defining functions and activities of global cities are usually located in the CBDs (Sassen, 2001).

Related to this economic turn, theories of neoliberal urbanism – encompassing “neoliberalising urban regeneration” (Lovering, 2007) and emergence of a “new urban politics” in a broader sense (Cox, 1993) – have added considerably to the understanding of urban development in the past two decades, including the workings of urban entrepreneurialism, urban regimes, growth coalitions, urban growth machines, and public-private partnerships (Ancien, 2011). Neoliberal urbanism provides a useful framework to approach urban transformation driven by market forces and priorities including the role of urban design policy. Urban design has been increasingly incorporated into broader planning and local politics, constituting a decisive change agent in the global spread of “authoritative neoliberalism” (Lovering & Türkmen, 2011). In the reconfiguration of central cities and downtowns, the local policy role has also extended well beyond conventional regimes of regulation, in the form of development control and growth management, to include transformational visions and assertive implementation programmes (Hutton, 2004). Although locally based, neoliberal urbanism has played an important role in constructing a neoliberal globalism, making itself a “globalised” force.

Plans prepared for many large cities from the 1990s were geared towards enhancing their “world city” status, and were oriented to attracting inward investment, through particular institutional arrangements and strong private sector influence (Thornley, 1999). The logic was that economic globalisation was leading to increased competition for investment between cities. Within the planning sphere, urban design specifically was recognised as a ready tool in the making of global urban forms and spaces: as a largely elitist activity, it was readily deployed in the direct promotion of economic competitiveness, in the direct aspiration of capital interests and values, and in the direct attraction to the creative classes in their desire for gentrification and inner city living (Gospodini, 2002; Gunder, 2011).

**Global Sydney**

In line with this global city discourse, a global Sydney is now identified from the perspective of its growing employment in advanced producer services, and the concentration of these activities in or near Sydney’s CBD. Searle (1996) affirmed Sydney’s rise as a global city in the mid-1990s in terms of changes in employment structure, international economic connections, and growth in global
command and control functions. A global Sydney has since been strengthened through regional headquartering of TNCs, financialisation of economic activities, and continued growth in advanced producer services (O’Neill & McGuirk, 2003, 2005; Stein, 2002; Tonts & Taylor, 2010). “Sydney’s global city status is based firmly on an essentialisation of the CBD and historic core” (McNeill, Dowling, & Fagan, 2005, p. 939). Compared with the metropolitan Sydney region, the concentration of advanced producer services in the CBD was strengthened (Figure 1). As indicated in Figure 1, the location quotient (LQ) measures the concentration of employment by industries in the City Sydney in relation to metropolitan Sydney; the concentration of major advanced produce services increased in 2006-2011.

![Figure 1: Concentration of Advanced Producer Services in the City of Sydney, 2006 – 2011](image)

Source: Data from Australian Bureau of Statistics, diagram made by the authors.

Note: The location quotient (LQ) measures the concentration of employment by industries in the City of Sydney in relation to metropolitan Sydney; the sizes of the bubbles are proportional to the employment shares of the industries in the City of Sydney.

Economic transformations made profound spatial and workplace imprints on the Sydney CBD. As argued by O’Neill and McGuirk (2003), the CBD experienced complex reconfigurations of office work and office workers under the impact of economic financialisation, including association and interaction in office work, new knowledge workers, and shared and communisation space. The changes have been twofold. At the macro level, the CBD experienced a remarkable increase of living and urban amenity spaces (residential, visitor accommodation, and entertainment/leisure). Office space also had a substantive growth, although its share of total floorspace declined (Hu, 2014). At the micro level, there was a shift towards less workspace per worker in the move towards de-partitioned and open plan workspaces and this also increased shared space per person. These shifts reflect broader corporate, lifestyle and work practice trends affecting all major cities (Newmark Grubb Knight Frank 2015).
For Sydney, competitive globalisation presented a new urban context for the challenges of planning urban development. The success of planning a prosperous Sydney was linked to a richly informed and fine-grained understanding of the complex spatial outcomes of its ever-deeper global integration (O'Neill & McGuirk, 2002). This has been reflected in planning for both metropolitan Sydney and the CBD. From the 1990s, economic competitiveness was a central aspect of Sydney’s successive metropolitan strategies, heavily influenced by pro-development aspirations (Bunker & Searle, 2007; Searle, 2004, 2006). A similar transformation was observed in strategies for Sydney’s CBD, with a clearly articulated vision for a global Sydney (Hu, 2012b). Below we chart the implications of this for urban design as captured in two iconic strategies, twenty years apart. Both are briefly described in turn.

Central Sydney Strategy (1988)

The 1988 Plan was prepared by the Central Sydney Plan Unit jointly established by the New South Wales Department of Planning and the Council of the City of Sydney (Central Sydney Plan Unit, 1988). It was the first comprehensive revision of the innovative City of Sydney Strategic Plan 1971, the city’s first such goal-orientated statement, to accommodate growth challenges that had emerged. The 1988 Plan was later translated into a statutory Local Environmental Plan and Development Control Plan. An A3-sized document of 112 pages, the 1988 Plan was centred on three broad strategies for the future of Central Sydney:

- Sydney as the central place;
- Sydney as a special place;
- Sydney as a place for people.

“Sydney as the central place” addressed Central Sydney’s urban functions. The primary objective was to grow finance and commerce, tourism and recreation, retailing, and commercial port functions. The Plan also tried to seek new growth opportunities within the city centre and surrounding areas. Although urban design was not a major component in this strategy, it did suggest a need to facilitate the Port’s visual and physical integration with the city centre.

“Sydney as a special place” was filled with urban design issues, covering the city setting and the city centre. City setting issues included the harbour, the parklands, the gateways, shape, form, and colour. City centre issues included precincts, streetscapes, heritage, malls, squares, and parks. Both categories of urban design issues converged on two human-centric objectives: good accessibility and good visual image. The former referred to good pedestrian accessibility to public spaces (harbour, parklands, precincts, and streets) and facilities (malls, squares and parks). The latter referred to good visual images of city shape and form, streetscape, architectural characteristics, and gateways. These two thematic attributes were embedded in almost all objectives of this strategic direction. Here are two objectives to illustrate the pursuit of good urban design:

- Develop a city shape and form that creates a dramatic visual image (shape, form and colour);
Reinforce the City Centre’s distinctive street pattern and streetscapes with buildings which are compatible with each other and which create a sense of enclosure, human scale, order, comfort and enjoyment for people walking in the City (streetscapes). (Central Sydney Plan Unit, 1988)

“Sydney as a place for people” dealt with how to create an enjoyable environment for people moving and living in Central Sydney. The major issues included movement of pedestrians and vehicles, a comfortable environment, and a diversity of living spaces and facilities. The movement objective was to enhance the experience of pedestrians, encourage the use of public transit, and reduce traffic congestion. A comfortable environment was to be created through providing pedestrians with protection from rain, wind, and sun. A diversity of living spaces and facilities included housing, culture and entertainment, and community facilities and services. The element of creating a comfortable environment suggested very specific urban design recommendations for Central Sydney:

- Protect pedestrians from rain and summer sun in the City Centre’s streets (pedestrian protection);
- Develop a city form which helps sea and other pollutant-dispersing breezes to penetrate the City Centre and require building forms which reduce high wind speeds at street level (wind);
- Maintain sunshine in parks during winter lunch hours and ensure adequate sunshine for plant growth (sunshine).

The 1988 Plan established standards and guidelines to achieve the urban design objectives. It indicated a need to make development control “simple and clear”, and to create “a climate of certainty for both developers and the community and emphasise urban design” (Central Sydney Plan Unit, 1988, p. 77). The control plans of the City of Sydney Strategic Plan (1971) regulated the density of development without urban design controls, and had problems of a complex bonus system for floorspace and coding inconsistency. To redress these deficiencies, the 1988 Plan proposed principal controls on development design, heritage and height, used floorspace ratio as the upper limit on development potential, and offered only one bonus element for the conservation of heritage.

The 1988 Plan increased the basic floorspace ratio to 10:1 throughout the city centre (excluding the fringe districts of Millers Point, Ultimo and Pyrmont, and the areas under the control of the Sydney Cover Redevelopment Authority and the Darling Harbour Authority), and set the upper limit at 12.5:1. In comparison, the 1971 code set the maximum floorspace ratio range from 10:1 to 13:1 in the core centre, and range from 0.75:1 to 4:1 in the immediate surrounding areas. Building heights were governed by policies on overshadowing, heritage conservation, penetration of refreshing breezes, reduction of high winds, and reinforcement of streetscapes, squares, places and parks with prevailing parapet heights. Consequently, the building heights would range from 45m on the eastern edge of the core centre to 300m along much of the north-south spine. In addition, new development in the vicinity of heritage items needed to be consistent with and reinforce the existing character.

The 1988 Plan specified technical requirements to achieve the desired urban design (Figure 2). It provided 22 design principles for development applications to “create a comfortable, attractive and coherent setting for those who work, live, visit and walk around the city; and integrate new
development into the existing city” (Central Sydney Plan Unit, 1988, p. 92). These principles regulated streetscapes, vistas and views, skyline, building form, parks and squares, pedestrian protection, signs, sunshine, and wind. New buildings should respect the grid of the city in the orientation and form of building towers. Further, the 1988 Plan suggested characteristic building heights of Sydney at 30, 50, 70, 110, 180 and 240m by building setbacks, façade modulation, and articulation at those characteristic heights common to the immediate context. This was to respond to the overlay of all the buildings between King Street and Circular Quay that shows certain predominant building forms and heights characteristic of Sydney (Figure 3).

![Figure 2: Principles Diagram for Urban Design in Central Sydney](image1)
Source: Central Sydney Strategy, reworked by the authors.

![Figure 3: Central Sydney's Urban Form and Characteristic Building Heights](image2)
Source: Central Sydney Strategy, reworked by the authors.
Sustainable Sydney 2030 (2008)

Two decades later, the 2008 Plan comprised two documents: a mission statement of 215 pages and a support document of 356 pages (City of Sydney, 2008). It set a vision for Sydney as a “green, global, and connected” city. A green Sydney refers to an aspiration for recognition of outstanding environmental performance and fostering a new “green” economy. A global Sydney refers to enhancing its status as Australia’s most significant global city with premium spaces for business and global talent, innovation and global knowledge exchange. A connected Sydney refers to an accessible and integrated transport network, social connectivity of diversity and inclusion, and partnerships across multiple stakeholders.

The vision of a green, global and connected Sydney was underpinned by 10 strategies:

- A globally competitive and innovative city;
- A leading environmental performer;
- Integrated transport for a connected city;
- A city for pedestrians and cyclists;
- A lively, engaging city centre;
- Vibrant local communities and economies;
- A cultural and creative city;
- Housing for a diverse population;
- Sustainable development, renewal and design;
- Implementation through effective partnerships.

Urban design goals directly underpinned strategies concerning movement of pedestrians and cyclists, amenity space, and development and renewal. The Plan proposed a green corridors system for pedestrians and cyclists, consisting of a network of safe, linked pedestrian and cycle paths integrated with green spaces (Figure 4). Greater priority was given to cycle and pedestrian movements and amenity to promote green travel for major workplaces and venues. Pedestrian streets and dedicated cycle lanes were to be significantly increased. A lively, engaging city centre would be created through making more public spaces for activities, meeting, rest, and leisure. The Plan identified a central spine aligning major squares (Circular Quay, Town Hall, and Central Station) with a high level of attractiveness (Figure 5). Meanwhile, the Plan highlighted the need to increase and supply small scale amenity spaces for retail and small businesses on streets and lanes, such as diverse, new bars and restaurants. For development and renewal projects, the Plan proposed new approaches to achieve green development and design excellence through contrasting current practice and desirable practice (Figure 6). Urban design was used to achieve objectives of both a sustainable and a beautiful city:

- Ensure renewal areas make major contributions to the sustainability of the City;
- Define and improve the City’s streets, squares, parks and open space, and enhance their role for pedestrians and in public life;
- Plan for a beautiful City and promote design excellence;
- Continually improve development controls and approvals processes to minimise compliance and supply side costs;
• Ensure new development is integrated with the diversity and “grain” of the surrounding City;
• Plan for the longer term structure of the City. (City of Sydney, 2008)

**Figure 4:** Green Corridors System Source: Sustainable Sydney 2030

**Figure 5.** Central Spine of Public Spaces Source: Sustainable Sydney 2030
Urban Design Policies: Continuity and Change

The 1988 and 2008 Plans demonstrate both continuity and change in terms of approach, issues, process, and implementation of urban design. These characteristics are summarised in Table 1. In terms of continuities, both plans had a globalist aspiration and were pro-growth. Both plans were essentially urban design plans – urban design is a major tool to shape a global Sydney and guide the city’s growth. Both plans employed a human-centric design approach.
Table 1. Urban Design Policies for Sydney CBD, 1988 vs. 2008

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<tr>
<th>Continuity</th>
<th>1988</th>
<th>2008</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Globalist aspiration</td>
<td>Global competitiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pro-growth</td>
<td>Environmental sustainability</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Design-focused</td>
<td>Innovation and creativity</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Human-centric design approach</td>
<td>Integrated and connected transport</td>
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<tr>
<th>Change</th>
<th>1988</th>
<th>2008</th>
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<tr>
<td>Economic centrality</td>
<td>Global competitiveness</td>
<td>Environmental sustainability</td>
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<tr>
<td>Architectonic design</td>
<td>Design as place making</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Design for comfortable and beautiful space</td>
<td>Design for sustainable, amenity, comfortable, and beautiful space</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Elitist and intuitive solutions</td>
<td>Research, consultation, and engagement</td>
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Source: Authors

The 1988 Plan ushered in a series of design initiatives to shape a global Sydney (Hu, 2012b). All enterprises converged on a central goal of retaining and enhancing the dominance of Central Sydney as the national, state and regional centre for commerce, government, tourism, culture and entertainment. The Plan redefined Central Sydney, offered directions and locations for future growth, and established urban design and heritage principles. A human-centric approach was employed to achieve comfortable walking and access to quality light, air, and sunlight in the streetscape. For implementation, it provided detailed development control policies of floorspace ratio, height, heritage, urban form and design principles for streetscapes, vistas and view, skyline, building form, parks and square, pedestrians and sign, sunshine and wind.

The 2008 Plan emphasised more the City’s global competitiveness and innovation through growth and change. An equally important aspiration was the City as a leading environmental performer, to be achieved through weaving natural processes into built environment and green infrastructure. A human-centric approach was again employed to achieve both a sustainable and a beautiful urban form. The 2008 Plan recognised a need to improve the pedestrian networks and services to attract walking and cycling. To achieve this, the Plan proposed to increase the connectivity through integrating street spaces with sustainable transport, and to reinforce and revitalise public domains through place making in conjunction with preserving a unique natural setting, heritage and landmarks.

Underneath the pursuit for a global Sydney lay important changes of urban design policies between the 1988 Plan and the 2008 Plan. The first change was the expansion of prominent issues. In the 1988 Plan, economic growth was a primary issue, prioritising the City’s economic centrality in the region, state and nation. The 2008 Plan enhanced the aspiration for global competitiveness, and incorporated new dimensions of innovation and creativity. Further, the 2008 Plan put environmental sustainability and transport connectivity in parallel with economic competitiveness. In contrast, neither environmental sustainability nor transport connectivity was highlighted in the 1988 Plan. The overarching theme of sustainability was embedded in most strategies, objectives, and actions in the 2008 Plan to various degrees, which marks a major difference from the 1988 Plan.
Methodologically, the two plans demonstrated significant differences in urban design approaches. The 1988 Plan was highly prescriptive through detailed specifications on architectonic design. It not only provided a set of principles and requirements of urban design, but also suggested urban forms and building shapes to achieve desired design effects. The 2008 Plan, in contrast, was more reflective of “urban design as public policy” (Barnett, 1974). Architectonic design was a tool of spatial analysis to support the suggestions and effects of place making to be achieved. This allowed for flexibility and creativity during the process of designing individual projects. Compared to the 1988 Plan’s strong prescriptions on urban forms and building shapes, the 2008 Plan emphasised more the making of usable and attractive public spaces. Both plans employed a human-centric design approach, but the objectives were expanded. In addition to making comfortable and beautiful spaces in the 1988, the 2008 Plan expanded the scope to include the securing of sustainable development and amenity spaces.

While the 1988 Plan’s approach to plan making was elitist, in the sense of relying largely on intuitive solutions by specialists, production of the 2008 Plan was more research-based and participatory. Disciplinary consultants were commissioned to prepare study reports to inform the preparation of the plan. Two reports - Public Spaces Public Life Sydney (Gehl Architects, 2007) and The Fine Grain: Revitalising Sydney’s Lanes (Six Degrees Architects, 2008) - were incorporated into the 2008 Plan. These commissioned studies in particular informed the urban design strategies of “a city for walking and cycling” and “a lively, engaging city centre” (City of Sydney, 2008). The making of the 2008 Plan was also influenced by external agents, including international cases and inter-city learning from Melbourne (e.g., successful laneways) (McNeill, 2011). Apart from specialist research and consultancy, the 2008 Plan was said to be “a response to the community’s ideas”, and based on “the most comprehensive consultation ever undertaken in the city” (City of Sydney, 2008). The engagement process involved thousands of residents, business people, and arts, cultural and educational institutions and many community organisations. Every strategy contained a section on “what the community said” to indicate how the objectives were aligned to the community voices.

The 2008 Plan captured the City’s engagement with urban design excellence which was pursued through statutory urban design codes, launching special urban programs, renewing public spaces, and requiring design competitions for all major development projects. As a result, quite a few globally operative iconic architects (e.g., Renzo Piano, Norman Foster) attracted design commissions, their profiles helping to lubricate the planning approval process and to add value to the building (McNeill, 2007). Urban design was utilised to popularise the inner-city redevelopment of high-rise apartments through its “new urbanist” appeal (Bounds & Morris, 2005). A “finer grain” urbanism was promoted to create more amenity and attractive spaces, based around support for small shops and services, civic spaces oriented towards pedestrians, and the reinvigoration of intra-block laneways enlivened by small bars and cafés (McNeill, 2011).

The preparation of the 2008 Plan represented a maturation of the design thinking introduced in 1971, accelerated in the 1988 Plan, and highlighted through preparation for the Olympics in 2000. The City’s “Living City” vision from the early 1990s encouraged the search for a new direction for the CBD away from a homogenous business zone. The year 2004 was also a critical catalyst with two important events: the amalgamation of the City of Sydney with South Sydney with an enlarged working class residential population, and election of Clover Moore as an independent Lord Mayor. Moore campaigned on Central Sydney’s overdevelopment and planning problems, and received a
landslide victory from an enlarged community base. She orchestrated the 2008 Plan, and adopted it immediately upon her re-election in 2008. The 2008 Plan’s vision for Sustainable Sydney 2030 indicated significant shifts in direction through its green/global/connected mantra. Its pursuit of design excellence is institutionalised in the statutory Sydney Local Environmental Plan (LEP) 2012, and the Sydney Development Control Plan (DCP) 2012. Together, they are working to raise the bars of the City’s design quality and recognition in partnership with the private sector with a shared philosophy that acknowledges the financial, environmental and social dividends in a globally competitive development environment. Recognition of quality has come through the City already receiving over 40 national and international industry design awards. Among them, the Surry Hills Library and Community Centre won the Best New Global Design prize at the 2011 International Architecture Awards in Chicago.

Conclusion

This study approaches contemporary urban transformations from a different perspective by injecting urban design explicitly into global city discourse. Based on a case study of Sydney, it has analysed two strategic plans for the CBD through a critical period of development, one from the late 20th century, the other from the early 21st century: Central Sydney Strategy (1988) and Sustainable Sydney 2030 (2008). A comparison of their urban design elements reveals the transformations of urban design policies during the process of Sydney’s rise as a global city across the juncture of the new Millennium. An examination of the thematic and methodological continuity and change of these plans indicates the ascending importance of more nuanced urban design policies in shaping a global city. It reveals a multiplicity of urban design objectives for a global city in moving from an economic centrality to multiple dimensions including economic development, environmental sustainability, transport accessibility, place making, and social connectivity. This captures how urban design has evolved from being prescriptive and regulatory towards being a negotiable, competitive and place-bound commodity befitting the political economy of the neo-liberalist city (Brenner & Theodore, 2002).

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References


