TRANSFORMING INDUSTRIAL URBAN WATERFRONTS:

INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE AND TOURISM

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Statement of Authentication

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

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF TABLES

ABBREVIATIONS

AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse
ATC	Australian Tourist Commission
BLF	Builders Labourers' Federation
CBD	Central Business District
CCC	Cumberland County Council
DURD	The Department of Urban and Regional Development
EDC	Enterprise Development Company
EPA	Environmental Planning and Assessment
ICOM	International Council of Museums
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
MLC	Mutual Life & Citizens Assurance Company
MSB	Maritime Services Board
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSW	New South Wales
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
SCRA	Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority
SFHA	Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority
SPA	State Planning Authority
TICCIH	The International Committee for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage
TNCs	Transnational Corporations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNSW	University of New South Wales
UTS	University of Technology Sydney

ABSTRACT

The transition from Fordist production to post-Fordist flexible production since the late 1960s has affected cities in spatial, economic and social ways. Throughout the world, former industrial sites located in urban centres have witnessed deindustrialisation as a prominent change, and have been threatened by the rise of neoliberal urban and economic transformation interventions, such as gentrification and waterfront redevelopment. These two forms of urban transformation have started to create globally renowned tourist precincts, but at the same time they have exposed both heritage and the community to the prospect of insolence. This thesis examines the Sydney waterfront areas of Darling Harbour and The Rocks, which have been transformed in different socio-political contexts and at different times.

Tourism is now a global phenomenon involving hundreds of millions of people, and urban tourism is acknowledged as an essential component of a city's economy. Urban centres are investing in viable forms of tourism and growth, encouraging major infrastructure developments such as waterfront precincts. Waterfront areas have always played an important role in urban environments – in the early stages as working ports, which acted as hubs for trade and shipping. However, in the latter part of the 20th century, there was a shift from production to consumption on the waterfront. Due to the modernisation of shipping technologies, many port areas were left abandoned, forcing city councils to search for different usages to mitigate economic decline. Attempts to transform waterfronts from industrial spaces into tourism/leisure precincts became a popular approach, but have also triggered concerns for the heritage of these places. Industrial heritage, which consists of both physical remains and memories of places and the industrial processes themselves, is considered as an indication of development.

Since European settlement, the area from Sydney's Darling Harbour to West Circular Quay was developed as a working port and as a hub for the marine industries. These areas have remained part of the main urban centre in Sydney. However, when they became redundant, development decisions by the state government of New South Wales changed these industrial landscapes through a long-term strategy that aimed to transform the city's waterfront into a world-class tourist destination.

The study explores the significance of the industrial heritage assets of Darling Harbour and The Rocks and the implications of the transformation procedures. The case-study areas have always been considered success stories of transformation with mixed touristic, recreational, residential and commercial activities. However, this research examines and evaluates how the significant industrial historical and heritage values have been affected. It argues that tourism/leisure-led developments create urban landscapes in which cultural identity and historical assets are sacrificed.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION: SETTING THE SCENE

> The redevelopment scheme destroys the character of this historic area and ignores the position of the people affected. Working class residents were being driven out of inner-city areas because of the government's lack of courage to tackle the 'sole right' of the developer.
>
> (Jack Mundey, quoted in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 23/08/1973)

> I am bulldozing it through, and that is the whole purpose of the exercise. We only have four years to get rid of any unnecessary delays. I would like to see the bulldozers down in Darling Harbour in the next couple of months.
>
> (Neville Wran, quoted by Ross Dunn in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 2/05/1984)

In the span of the 200 years since British settlement, Australia has transformed from a convict colony to a nation (Ireland, 2002) of 24 million people with one of the highest living standards in the world. Industrial facilities embody the heart of a nation's economic development, with considerable historical and social significance. However, they also present difficult challenges for conservationists due to their transformation over time into prestigious areas suitable for redevelopment and financial return. In Sydney, a number of industrial areas have been transformed to accommodate new uses. A lack of political will to conserve these places or the willingness to erase the working class history has resulted in the destruction of significant heritage values. 'We have already lost too much', according to Ian Baxter[1], who states that greater efforts should have been made to conserve the industrial past (Baxter, 2000).

This thesis provides a theoretical framework to explain the transformation of industrial waterfronts from places of production to places of consumption, which has become the driving force of cities and has affected the visual form of cities (Thorns, 2002). Consumption refers to any activity associated with the selection, purchase,

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[1] Ian Baxter is the Director of the Heritage Council of Western Australia. He argues that industrial facilities represent the core of a nation's economic development; thus they need to be considered within the realm of aesthetic, historic, social and scientific values.

use, maintenance, repair, and any disposal of any product or service (Campbell, cited in Thorns, 2002). Within this context, consumption is used as the consumption of goods manufactured in industrial production; however, in a post-industrial society, it is more about the consumption of services, knowledge and ideas. These changes have also influenced how we see places - increasingly for shopping, tourism, and recreation and leisure activities as well as high value residential precincts, and how we approach heritage and tourism sites (Lash and Urry, 1994).

The overall aim is to examine the redevelopment of two case study areas, and the consequent transformation of their industrial history and cultural significance. The study discusses how industrial heritage has been considered during the conversion process of former industrial areas located on inner city waterfronts in Sydney. It assesses the role that tourism has played in the process.

This thesis is therefore broadly concerned with the two former industrial waterfronts – The Rocks and Darling Harbour – which have been transformed and repositioned largely as leisure precincts as a result of economic and urban restructuring processes that have occurred between the 1970 and the 1990. This process has led to the transformation of industrial cities into decentralised urban agglomerations. Production has been removed from the city centre and mass consumption has given way to more differentiated and specialised consumption (Logan and Swanstrom, 1990).

This research argues that industrial heritage reflects the traces of an industrial past that has contributed to the economic development of a country, and that it should be included within the scope of preservation in order to provide a reminder of and connection to the past, to benefit the city and its publics. Through adaptive conservation, industrial heritage can be reintroduced into contemporary urban life, with their suitable functions and unique identities sustained. The conservation of industrial heritage should protect the material fabric of such heritage and maintain its cultural significance. Emphasising the historical and cultural significance of industrial areas, this research argues that industrial heritage is primarily impacted by political and economic thinking rather than by informed heritage and conservation issues. Waterfront redevelopment projects create similar landscapes around the world, transforming industrial identities and cultural significances. In the case of The Rocks and Darling Harbour, the goal of redevelopment was the creation of employment opportunities, and the provision of places to work, live and shop, through tourism promoted by the NSW State Government (Huxley and Kerkin, 1988).

The timeframe, between the 1970s and the 1990s, addressed in this research is also vital for heritage debates and a change of direction in the discourse. Interest in heritage has been growing, and the concept of heritage evolving as a result of the changing attitudes, needs and expectations (Herbert, 1995; Misiura, 2006). Harvey (2001) argues that people produce heritage and with this production, contemporary concerns come from their experiences. Society's relationship with its past, whether to understand or to ignore, varies according to what to remember and what to forget. Forgetting allows for the provision of living spaces for present projects. He explains this as the formation of a new identity (Connerton, 2008). The creation and recreation of identity are the concerns of heritage (Smith, 2006). In this research heritage is understood as a concept related to postmodernity and it is discussed together with the post-Fordist economic restructuring process that began in the 1970s. This approach exposed the economic dimension of heritage and the link between the heritage and the marketplace became apparent (Harvey, 2001). The economic thinking of the time enabled the commodification and commercialisation of heritage with the modern mode of leisure (tourism) as a new form of consumption (Harvey, 2001; Urry, 2002).

Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) state that people choose and decide an inheritance to be passed on to an imagined future. In this respect, the need to preserve the past is in conflict with the reconfiguration of the old. Smith (2006) alerts us to the problematic of the Authorised Heritage Discourse[2] (AHD) and the reconfiguration of the past. If heritage is to bring the past to the present, this research argues that the industrial heritage of Darling Harbour is completely lost. And if heritage is a discourse that sits in negotiation between the past and the present, as described by Laurajane Smith, then this research argues that the past of The Rocks has been negotiated with the tourism future. The industrial and commercial past of Darling Harbour has not been employed in the present; nor has the industrial and working-class residential past of The Rocks been brought to the present. Both areas signify the new form of consumption. This context highlights the paradox between heritage and tourism. Patrick Wright (1985) claims that heritage is a threat to heritage and is a bogus history. This argument is supported by Hewison, who claims that postmodern heritage destroys history, because the presentations of historic areas

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[2] "The authorised heritage discourse (AHD) focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations 'must' care for, protect and revere so that they may be passed to future generations to forge a sense of common identity based on the past" (Smith, 2006, p. 29).

are placed within the context of political agendas used in promoting tourism and heritage has become a 'popular entertainment' (Hewison, cited in Harrison and Schofield, 2010, p. 131). Old industrial lands, particularly industrial waterfronts located in city centres have come under the pressure of change (Baxter, 2000). Governments realised their significant potential for re-creating economic and social purpose through recreation, leisure, residential and commercial use. These areas have been transformed into luxury housing, offices, tourist attractions, cultural amenities and shopping centres (Craig-Smith, 1995; Hoyle, 2000). This pressure has started to lead to familiar usages for industrial structures and similar landscapes for industrial lands. The conservation and conversion of industrial heritage has focused on attraction rather than on historical importance or cultural significance (Spearritt, 1991).

Within this framework, this research seeks to answer several research questions:

- What were the governments' intentions in developing the industrial landscapes located on the urban waterfronts of Darling Harbour and The Rocks?

- How was industrial heritage regarded within the transformation decisions?

- How were the communities considered in the development decisions?

- What role has tourism played in the redevelopment of two contrasting industrial landscapes?
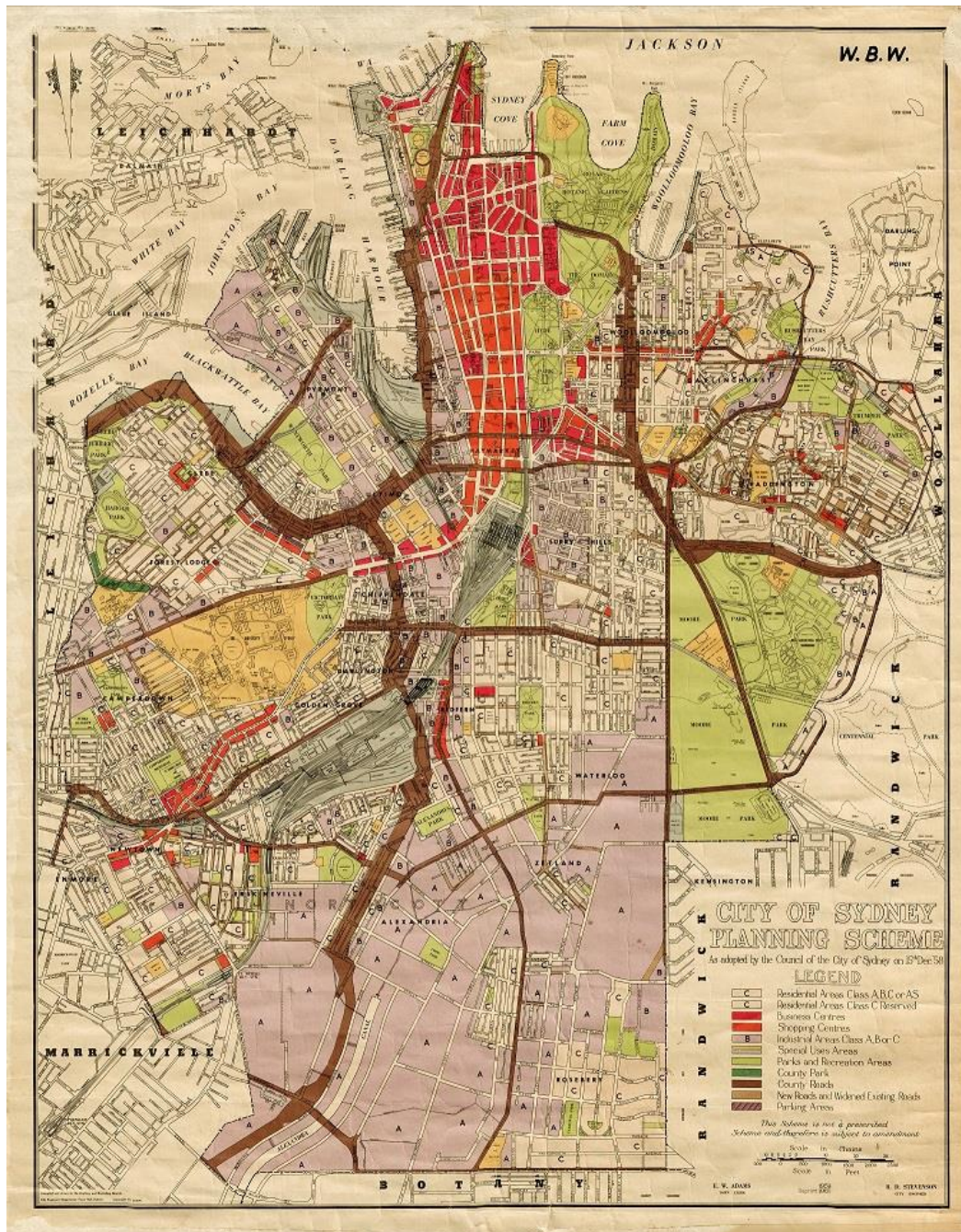
Fig 1.1: A map of the city of Sydney Planning Scheme, 15 December 1958

(Source: City of Sydney Council Archives)

Figure 1.1 shows an overview of the residential, business, industrial and recreational areas to introduce the locations of the study areas, Darling Harbour and The Rocks (on the western side of Sydney Cove).
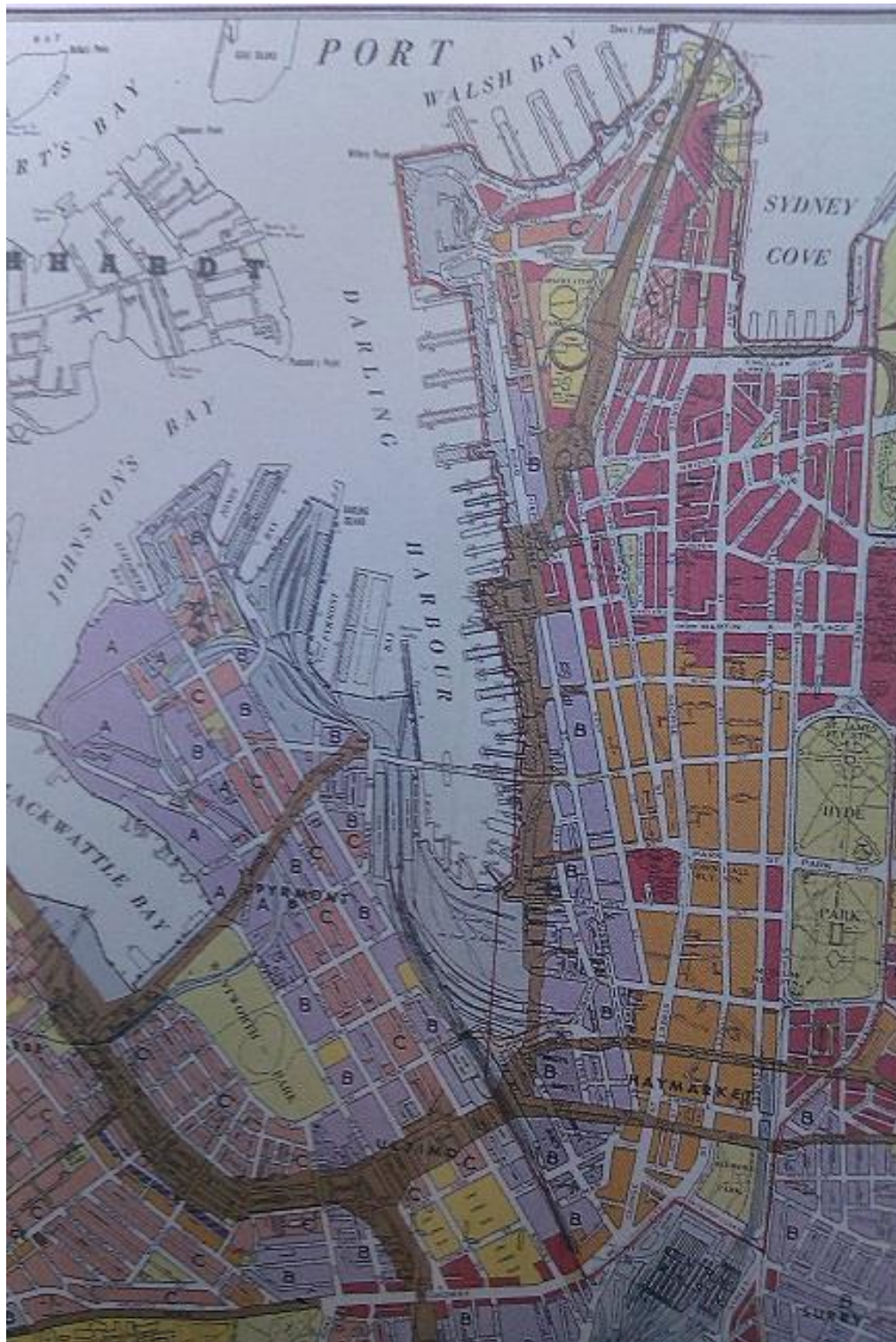
Fig 1.2: Part of the map of the City of Sydney Planning Scheme, 15 December 1958, focusing on the study areas

(Source: City of Sydney Council Archives)

Figure 1.2 defines the Darling Harbour area by means of the purple colour, which refers to industrial areas (class B). The Rocks is designated via white and red colours, which refer to residential areas and business centres. The Rocks and

Darling Harbour were pivotal to the European industrial development of Sydney. Sydney Cove was one of the largest commercial wharves used to handle cargo in Australia (Stephensen, 1996). I argue, together with many historians, planners and heritage experts, that these areas have not received the due diligence deserved in regards to their significance to the industrial history of Sydney and modern Australia:

> Australia's major ports have been the birthplace of the nation, home to the tight-knit communities … The waterfront is our greatest asset and our greatest vulnerability, but we've given it cavalier treatment. (Duncan McNab, 2015, p. VII)

The Transformation of Old Industrial Sites into Prestigious Working, Living and Leisure Spaces

Industrial cities have been associated with the old and the past as well as with polluted workplaces. However, the post-industrial city has been seen as the new future for the unpolluted consumption space and the opportunity for leisure rather than work. Sydney is one of many cities moving away from the negative connotations of industrial influence within the post-industrial context (Short et al., 1993). With this shift, industrial heritage has been considered as a residual or less important category in Australia (Spearritt, 1991). Therefore, throughout the 1970s and 1980s many historically and architecturally important buildings and places were demolished; a process that was almost unhindered (Spearritt and DeMarco, 1988, p. 103).

The economic restructuring and deindustrialisation of the 1970s affected the industrial centres of the early 20th century in particular. Only a decade later, the production function of the city centre was replaced by the service sector (Sassen, 2006). Following this economic restructuring urban economies and spaces had to adapt to the new system of production and capital accumulation, which also led to new methods of reproduction and consumption (Weber, 2002). Different fundamental transformations influenced the urban structures of many cities. As advances in transport and communications freed production from dependence on the accessibility advantages of big urban agglomerations, cities were transformed from centres of manufacturing into centres for advanced services and consumption. The most basic implication of economic restructuring was a game of musical chairs in the urban space, involving changes of the location of production, consumption and residence (Logan and Swanstrom, 1990). Gentrification of working-class

neighbourhoods is a tell-tale sign of that process. The term 'gentrification' first introduced by Ruth Glass in 1964 (Ley, 1986; Schaffer and Smith, 1986; Smith, 2002), refers to the process whereby a new urban 'gentry' transforms working-class quarters. It has been defined as "the conversion of socially marginal and working-class areas of the central city to middle class use" (Zukin, 1987, p. 129). Gentrification was seen initially in major, specialised, capitalist cities such as London, New York, Paris and Sydney (Smith, 2002). Although the process initially referred to residential restructuring, it implies a broader change in the neighbourhood. Along with residential restructuring, the process involves commercial redevelopment (Bridge and Dowling, 2001) and a new development of recreational facilities (Schaffer and Smith, 1986). As a result, gentrification has caused "the changes in the face, composition, and ambiance of many older neighbourhoods; improvement on the housing quality and social service levels; a reduction in the low-rent housing stock and displacement of hundreds of residents" (Bourne, 1993, p. 185).

A new urban management paradigm dawned after the 1980s, channelling investment towards the making of attractive cities. The 1990s ushered in the age of mega-cities (Thorns, 2002). In this context, the redundant industrial waterfronts which had been perceived as socio-economically and spatially problematic suddenly became opportunities for cities' beautification and adaptation to the post-industrial economy. Henri Lefebvre's 1991 book Production of Space suggests that the restructuring of capitalist relations of production affects urban space through changing the pre-existing and creating the new. The pressure of capitalist development since the 1960s has been reflecting on urban development (Gospodini, 2001), and the industrial places have been transformed into places for technology, services and tourism within the process of transition from the modern city to the postmodern city. Many of the (re)development/renewal initiatives have been signified by mobilisation of the 'cultures of the cities', urban lifestyles for the imagined 'urban' future along entrepreneurial lines (Zukin, 1995, 1998; Hubbard, 1998, p. 199), which has helped to turn cities from 'landscapes of production' into 'landscapes of consumption' (Zukin, 1998, p. 825). This period witnessed an astonishingly rapid phase of deindustrialisation as discussed by Urry (1995) in *Consuming Places*. He argues that this deindustrialisation has resulted in a deep loss of technology, factories, steam engines and of the social life patterns that developed around these technologies (Urry, 1995). It was inevitable that economic recession, the search for new markets, environmental pollution and new

developments in transportation would bring about the decentralisation of industrial places that had traditionally been a fundamental component of the cityscape (Harvey, 1989).

The transformation of former industrial waterfront sites revealed concerns about the heritage of these areas. As redevelopment initiatives became a dominant concept in the second half of the 20th century through deindustrialisation, globalisation and the rise of the new economy, the approaches to heritage were also changing. Heritage benefited from new developments, new definitions and new perceptions, which contributed to map out a new agenda for the discipline. These changes and the new concept of heritage are discussed by Rodney Harrison (2013) in *Heritage Critical Approaches.* He states that broad changes to heritage have occurred following the introduction of the World Heritage Convention in the early 1970s. He also argues that heritage shifted conceptually, from a past-oriented notion to a concern about the relationship between the past and the future. Hence, heritage should not only be considered as means of preserving the remains from the past, but also, importantly, as an active process that mirrors the present, associated with specific values that we wish to carry into the future. And it matters to involve government, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), communities and other individuals within this active process (Harrison, 2013, p. 4).

Harrison's work has been influential in my consideration of industrial heritage as a representation of industrial pasts in the present, as a reflection of an industrial culture and an important part of the histories of industrial cities. The literature of the 1970s refers to the concept of industrial heritage as technical monuments and technical heritage. However, the terms 'industrial monuments' and 'industrial heritage' came into common usage following the meeting of The International Committee for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage (TICCIH[3]) in Sweden in 1978 (TICCIH, 2003). Judith Alfrey and Tim Putnam (2003), in *The Industrial Heritage: Managing Resources and Uses* use industrial heritage as 'new' heritage and they argue that the extended boundary of heritage concern had succeeded in including the remains of industrial civilisation. They also argue: "industrial heritage was

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[3] TICCIH is the primary body that is responsible for advising UNESCO, and is a world organisation established in 1973 to protect, document, research and improve industrial heritage. The scope of activities of this organisation includes industrial structures, the machinery, equipment and industrial products inside these structures, and settlement areas. This committee plays an increasingly directive role in the importance of the industrial past (Palmer and Neaverson, 1998).

unknown a generation ago, even in the academy, but now it has become an element of the regeneration of areas devastated by the decline of key industries" (pp. 1–2).

Following the decline of key industries, tourism has become a significant feature of the economy and urban structure in many cities around the world, and has also played a major role in the redevelopment of industrial districts within cities that have traditionally accommodated commercial port activities. Redundant areas have been substantially redeveloped, with little of the original fabric remaining. Historic waterfront areas have therefore emerged as a distinctive type of tourist district/precinct (Griffin and Hayllar, 2006). Henri Lefebvre (1991), in *The Critique of Everyday Life*, argues that leisure has been institutionalised by capitalism and that leisure looks like work; both standardised by the same mode of production that also generates tourism as a controlled consumption of leisure.

A Spatial Approach to the Transformation of Former Industrial Waterfronts

This thesis explores the industrial heritage issues surrounding The Rocks and Darling Harbour which used to be the major commercial ports of Sydney - places of manufacturing, of warehouses and woolstores, places dedicated to the production, distribution and transportation of goods (Turnbull, 1999). They have been subjected to redevelopment in different time periods in line with the intentions of different governmental approaches. At this point, two case studies provide an examination of continuity and discontinuity (Saukko, 2003) in the politics during the transformations. These transformations, carried out with the intention of altering the character of the entire city, significantly changed the urban places (Marshall, 2001; Zukin, 2010). This research, derived from a spatial approach, utilises a multi-sited study. The study of different locations allows the researcher to look at a social phenomenon from different perspectives and evaluate it within different contexts, but it also pinpoints existing connections between locations and their social processes (Saukko, 2003). This approach refers to Soja's (cited in Saukko, 2003) notion of 'space', which claims that 'first space' expedites the process of urbanisation and that this process fuels itself by increasing the attraction. Moreover, 'space' is associated with the division of labour and reproductive powers and is clearly related to property. 'Space' is also integrated with exchange relationships and patterns, institutions and knowledge. 'Space' can be bought; it has exchange value as well as change value. Thereby, 'space' intervenes in the mode of production in terms of results, reason

and justification. But also, it changes along with the mode of production. This change shows that space evolves in conjunction with society. Thus 'space' has a history (Lefebvre, 1991).

Inspired by the first approaches to waterfront developments that occurred in Boston, Baltimore, Seattle, San Francisco and London (Florio and Brownill, 2000; Bruttomesso, 2004; Gospodini, 2006; Jones, 2007; Fainstein, 2008; Smith and Ferrari, 2012), The Rocks and Darling Harbour have been transformed into highly attractive tourism precincts. These two central areas of Sydney have become the spaces that are compatible with the pleasures and preferences of the new middle class, formed by professional staff, top-level managers working in multinational companies, architects and artists. Business centres, shopping centres, and new office and residential areas have been developed as a part of the capital that was directly absorbed by the spatial investments (Harvey, 1990).

This research links these types of transformations to the creation of fashionably produced urban spaces and to a reconstructed past (Soja cited in Saukko, 2003). The reconfiguration of former industrial places has been accepted as a success story with the construction of high-rise and office spaces, pubs and shops, restored buildings and, most importantly, with a mix of public- and private-sector investments in many cases, such as in Darling Harbour, London's Canary Wharf, New York's Battery Park City, San Francisco, the Baltimore and Boston inner harbours and Shanghai Pu Dong (Breen and Rigby, 1996; Hall and Hubbard, 1998). However, failure to integrate the industrial history and cultural significance of the community should also be considered. Most historic city centres, such as in London, Prague and Singapore, have new functions and commercial activities and the historic urban fabric has been changed. Very few have maintained the integrity of their heritage, such as in Toledo, St Petersburg and Siena (Bandarin, 2012). The Rocks may have been physically preserved, but the industrial history of its community has not. Soja's (cited in Saukko, 2003) 'third space', here, allows an examination of space from a point of view of local and lived space, as this describes the industrial historical concept of study areas.

In this research, transformation refers to the change of the industrial economy and landscape, with the resultant loss of industrial heritage and local community. Redevelopment and urban renewal allowed the loss of connection of the tangible

artefacts with the memory of the industrial past. This research considers the industrial past as integral to the cultural significance of these places. Cultural significance, as argued in the Burra Charter[4], enriches people's lives, and can provide a connection to community and landscape (Burra Charter, 1999). This study further adopts the approach of Dicks (2000) and Bruner (2005) by arguing that heritage has become part of a burgeoning new 'culture of display' that capitalises upon new forms of cultural consumption, which can be problematic because, on the one hand, heritage has the potential to offer a representation of local life that is thought-provoking, accessible and that provides an expression of local identities but, on the other, it can become a form of commodification and performance that is increasingly alienated from either local communities or forms of new culture, or both.

Within the specific timeframe (1970–1990) of this research, tourism has also emerged as an alternative tool to support economic growth. Inskeep (1991), Page (1995) and Kreag (2001) discuss both the positive and negative impacts of tourism. Tourism is commonly seen as a valuable driver of economic growth; however, its impact on cities is double-edged. MacCannell (1976), Lash and Urry (1994), Rojek (1995), Wang (2000) and Urry (1995, 2002) have further discussed tourism as a modern way of consuming leisure activity. This research argues that the increase in tourism precipitates the loss of city centres' historical identity. Cities, originally and legitimately meant to be places of social, cultural and economic action for people, have evolved into realms of commerce and business under the pressure of the self-reproduced production–distribution–consumption cycle of capitalism (Tafuri, 1976). Social and economic change in historic cities, the centres of which have become places of culture and leisure, has caused the loss of many traditional functions and meanings. Tourism-led transformations such as in those Venice, Quebec, Marrakech and Lijiang show that those places have lost their traditional life during the process (Bandarin, 2012). Through the case studies, this research reveals that The Rocks and Darling Harbour have also experienced this loss.

The stated objectives – to investigate the process of the redevelopment of the industrial waterfront of The Rocks and Darling Harbour, to explore the political

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[4] The Burra Charter is a set of principles that have been adopted to create a nationally accepted standard for heritage conservation practice in Australia. The Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance, known as the Burra Charter, was first adopted at Burra in 1979. The Burra Charter defines the basic principles and procedures to be followed in the conservation of heritage sites (Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter, 1999).

decisions and debates relating to the waterfront redevelopment, the need for the transformation and the demolition of industrial buildings, to analyse the role of tourism and to understand the perceptions towards industrial heritage within the process as well as to evaluate the changing understanding of heritage– have guided the research design. The similarities and differences between the two case study areas highlight the effect of gentrification and urban renewal in the 1970s (The Rocks) and waterfront redevelopment in 1980s (Darling Harbour). Gentrification/renewal and redevelopment are considered as two common forms of urban transformation, aiming to stimulate economic activity via the improvement of existing urban spaces. Both schemes were used not only to revitalise redundant/disused spaces located on increasingly valuable waterfront sites with good transportation links, but also to utilise these areas to revive the entire city and to stimulate economic growth. While there is no exact separation point between these forms, the gentrification/renewal schemes were more common in the 1970s but the redevelopment schemes were characteristically developed in the 1980s (Roberts, 2000). Figure 1.3 shows the locations of the two case study areas and Table 1.1 provides an overview of the study and how the two case studies reflect the transformation in thinking about 'heritage', 'development' and 'community'.

Table 1.1: An overview of the ideas explored throughout the thesis

The conceptual shifts	The Rocks	Darling Harbour
Urban restructuring, 1970–1990	1970s	1980s
Different governments – different jurisdictions but similar intentions – to transform disused industrial places	The Federal Labor Whitlam government	State Labor government with Premier Neville Wran and Public Works Minister Laurie Brereton
Changing authorities and government processes	Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority established	The Darling Harbour Authority established for the development

Change of place from production to consumption	Formerly a place of industry, a port and warehouses, a place of work and a residential area for the working class	Formerly a major port, a place of manufacturing, factories, warehouses, mills, railway goods yards and power plant
Urban transformation	Urban renewal	Waterfront development
Heritage debates and concerns, cultural significance		
Industrial heritage	Industrial buildings preserved and have gained new purpose and usage; the place transformed into a tourism precinct, however, the heritage preserved selectively does not reflect the industrial history of the place	Industrial buildings and structures demolished and the area completely rebuilt; industrial history ignored; heritage not preserved
Loss of community	Residents of The Rocks, a living community, helped to save the heritage; however, the community has changed due to the transformations	Darling Harbour was not considered as having a community but, rather, as a place of work with industrial workers, not residents; they did not constitute an effective community to defend the heritage of the place
The rise of tourism and the role of tourism in heritage places integral to the transformation processes	Tourism identified as the major economic tool to transform the area	Tourism was considered as a positive tool to develop the area

Fig 1.3: An aerial photograph showing the locations of the two case study areas
(Source: *Australian Property News*, 21/05/1987)

The Structure of the Thesis

This introductory chapter has presented the major concerns of this thesis; in particular, the impacts of tourism-led transformations on the industrial historical waterfront in the context of urban restructuring and deindustrialisation. It has also introduced the core concepts of the thesis in order to provide an overview for the relationship between the case studies and the theoretical framework. In this chapter, the case study locations have been introduced and the approach of the thesis has been outlined. Also, deriving from an international context, a brief alignment of urban transformation with The Rocks and Darling Harbour has been provided.

Chapter 2 presents the research methodology and design. Explanations regarding the selection of the case study and the conduct of the fieldwork are provided. This chapter details how the interviews were conducted and how the archival research and field observations were undertaken, and it also discusses how the data were analysed. It also provides a transition towards the theoretical chapters.

Chapter 3 examines the period of urban and economic restructuring between the 1970s and 1990s, focusing on the concept of urban transformation and its consequences as a convergence process of places of production towards places of consumption. The discussion centres on industrial waterfronts that used to be

working-class residential areas and places of work. Chapter 3 provides a broad theoretical and conceptual framework, focusing on the shift from the industrial (Fordist) to the post-industrial (post-Fordist) economy, and the development of neoliberal urban policies, which also triggered the decline of the waterfront, resulting in the decentralisation and deindustrialisation of the city centres.

In relative terms, the change in the industrial landscape is presented; gentrification, urban regeneration and waterfront redevelopment terms are briefly introduced; gentrification and urban renewal are examined in detail in the first empirical chapter (Ch. 6) and waterfront redevelopment in the second empirical chapter (Ch. 7) regarding the case study locations. The importance of the waterfront and the connection between the city and the water is described to provide an overview of Sydney as a post-industrial waterfront city, focusing on The Rocks and Darling Harbour. This chapter also maps the restructuring of Sydney, explaining how the introduction of a new economic system relocating the industry and replacing it with blue- and white-collar workers in the city centre led to the decentralisation of the urban waterfront, and framing the relationship of this process with the creation of tourism and leisure centres, middle-class residents and the demolition or the commodification of heritage.

Chapter 4 examines the heritage concept and frames a theoretical perspective for industrial heritage, focusing on the commodification of industrial waterfronts. It explores heritage as a key argument and emphasises how and why the interest in heritage, and the level of expertise across a broader range of disciplines, have changed between the 1970s and 1990s, within the timeframe that this thesis examines. The relationship between heritage and community is also discussed to explain the increased level of the wider community's attachment to heritage and the concerns about the preservation of heritage. Chapter 4 also reviews the conventions and charters that deal with the protection and use of heritage, to set a backdrop for the heritage movement in Australia. It explores industrial heritage, its worldwide recognition and its consideration in Australia, and provides an overview of industrial archaeology. To highlight the connection to the case study areas, Sydney and its industrial heritage practices, applications and conservation works in Sydney are screened. The link between heritage and tourism is indicated, in preparation for further discussion in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5 explores the theoretical arguments and approaches with regard to tourism and development. It focuses on the ways in which tourism as a concept has evolved in conjunction with the economic and urban restructuring process. In

relation to this focus, tourism is examined as a new economic development tool within urban transformation strategies, but also as a devastating factor as far as the historic urban fabric is concerned. Urban tourism is discussed in connection with the increased commercialisation of local communities and heritage.

Chapter 6, the first empirical chapter, discusses the transformation of The Rocks in the 1970s. It introduces gentrification and urban renewal as specific forms of urban transformation experienced in the area. This part of the thesis focuses on the link between industrial history and heritage and the loss of local community as a result of tourism-led development. A detailed understanding of the historical development of industry and the working class in the neighbourhood is instrumental in this context. This development is also examined as the first transformation of the area. Chapter 6 looks into the specific authority responsible for the gentrification process of The Rocks and evaluates the decision-making process, political discussions and community involvement. It assesses the consideration and representation of industrial history during the process and critically examines tourism by arguing that it commodifies the heritage and the identity of the local place.

Chapter 7, the second empirical chapter, evaluates the transformation of Darling Harbour in the 1980s. It presents waterfront redevelopment as another form of transformation applied in the area and provides a broad overview of the industrial development of the area. It focuses on the historical background of Darling Harbour, once the main working port of Sydney. Chapter 7 discusses the responsible authority and the intentions lying behind the transformation; it compares the project to other worldwide industrial waterfront transformations around the world, driven by similar concerns and designs; it assesses the influence of political decisions and the prioritisation of tourism and leisure activity over the preservation and adaptation of industrial heritage structures.

Chapter 8 provides a systematic summary of the key discussions and presents the major evaluation regarding the findings from the case studies, as well as the overall contribution of this research.

CHAPTER 2: THE RESEARCH APPROACH

Space is a social product and each production type produces its own space, along with new, specific social relations (Lefebvre, 1991). Capitalism builds its own representations via a well-built environment in space production, and spatial practices are formed as a result of the interaction between these representations and social relations. According to Lefebvre (1991), urban planning and urbanism have become strategic tools of capitalism. He mentioned that classical urban planning ignores the fact that space is socially produced. He criticised the fact that urban planning regards space as a pure, apolitical, objective, neutral, scientific and innocent working object, as an ideological approach. However, space is not a scientific object, purified of ideology or politics; it has always been political and strategic. Moreover, there should be a scientific working area aware of the presence of people using a given space, and of their influence on its physical formation or function (Lefebvre, 1976).

Harvey (1996) argues that capital is not the only thing that becomes urbanised: so does consciousness. In other words, the contrast between effort and capital is denominational, one of value. In this context, four separate focuses of consciousness are characterised: the individual, the community, the family and the government. However, social forces and structures should be accorded importance and should be strengthened against the government. The government is considered as a means of collecting different interests within an urban region. The government, in Harvey's explanations, is functional in respect of capital. Harvey handles the concept of postmodernism as well as his approaches to the city. In postmodernism, the human mind is not holistic or consistent, not a conscious subject that creates history, but rather an identity deprived of consistency, engaged in a constant process of formation, effecting and being affected. Postmodernism evokes the rejection of universally accepted theories, pluralism instead of holism and imagery being shattered, emphasising instead discrepancy and diversity. When we apply this to urbanism, space is regarded as independent, an area in which aesthetic concerns are at the forefront and do not have much of a relation with social purposes (Harvey, 1996; Smith, 2002).

The Spanish sociologist Manuel Castells, also influenced by Lefebvre's studies, has conceptualised the reproduction process at the urban level. According to Castells

(cited in Gottdiener, 2001), the city and urbanism are concepts that have essentially ideological content. This opinion assumes that the formation of space, urban life and urban affairs can only be understood within the framework of relationships between capitalism and urbanism. Cities are primarily spaces of collective consumption. The tools of collective consumption, such as residence, education, health, culture, commerce, transportation and so on, are organised on the basis of the daily lives of all social groups. The government, devoted to the procurement of these tools of consumption, interferes in the reproduction of the labour force (Castells, cited in Gottdiener, 2001).

Urban affairs should be approached on the basis of class struggles and social movements. The government's interference intensifies while failing to resolve the urban conflict, because the tools for collective consumption provided by the government tend to serve the sole benefit of the capital-owning class and the rich. The way of understanding cities departs from comprehending how spatial forms are comprised and become transformed. Architectural features and plans for cities and neighbourhoods reflect conflicts and struggles between different social groups. For example, skyscrapers are not only built in order to gain profit or to maximise space land in a limited commodity, but they also symbolise the strength of money in the city through technology and confidence or represent the aesthetic of the architect to make his mark. Furthermore, these giant buildings are the cathedrals of the rise of capitalism (Gottdiener, 2001).

This research examines how urban transformation projects are essentially politically constructed, and have paved the way for a 'consumption' of urban waterfronts within the proliferation of the capitalist system. It argues that such transformation projects destroy significant parts of cities by gentrifying these places as waterfront renewal and attracting cafés, retail outlets and restaurants, and art galleries. While regarded as 'authentic', the authenticity of the urban space is dependent on its economic function in capitalist society and the political dimension of the city is negated because, in modern capitalism, the spatial order derives from economic processes rather than political ones (Castells, cited in Gottdiener, 2001). Zukin (2009) connects these processes to a crisis of authenticity and argues that "urban development projects bring about an undesirable change in urban experience and reduce the social and aesthetic diversity which have been a historical element of city life" (p. 545). Tourism contributes to this transformation as places are reimagined and reconstructed for touristic consumption. In this reconstruction, making places more

attractive is the first and foremost concern, and undesirable elements are removed from the urban landscape.

As a cultural form of power, reimagined spaces put pressure on the cities' working-class neighbourhoods until they can no longer afford to live or work in their local environments (Zukin, 2010). "I couldn't keep up with the rate of change", said writer and director Woody Allen in reference to 1970s New York, engaged in a transformation process that changed former industrial docklands to 'gold' (quoted by Zukin, p. 221). These changes affect the meaning of these places. In this sense, selective image-making helps tourist consumption, commodifies the culture of the local communities, yet creates inauthentic places while pursuing authenticity (Zukin, 1995; Wirth and Freestone, 2003). This argument brings up MacCannell's (1976) notion of 'staged authenticity' and Judd's (1999) term the 'tourist bubble'. Accordingly, Urry (2004) claims that "tourist places are produced spaces and tourists are co-producers of such places" (p. 10) even as they search for authenticity. In fact, many heritage places, now, are also active places of food, accommodation, work and leisure. Tourism's demands influence the way that places shape and transform. As a result, authenticity becomes more elusive.

This chapter presents the methodological approach employed in conducting this investigation. It explains why this qualitative research project rests principally on the case-study method, discusses the data collection process, highlighting the data sources and the tools used in retrieving data, and outlines the approach to data analysis.

This research has been developed as a thematic study utilising mixed qualitative methods to enable flexibility and provide a rich depth of information (Royse, 2008). Qualitative research allows a wider exploration of the experiences, the understandings and the institutions, and it reveals the significance of the meaning of social realities (Mason, 2002). Qualitative research involves an interpretative and naturalistic approach to its subject matter in an attempt to make sense of, or interpret, the meanings (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). The use of an interpretative paradigm in this research allowed the researcher to understand social settings, cultures and relationships between people and urban issues as well as governments. Meaning emerges from the research process (Denscombe, 2010). An interpretative approach in qualitative research also provides a data-driven and context-sensitive approach that proves more flexible and exploratory in character (Mason, 2002).

Both exploratory and explanatory designs have been used in this research. The exploratory approach draws on literature search and talks with experts in the field to determine the most productive focus for the research (Gray, 2014). The explanatory design assists in determining the relationship between the transformation and the loss of industrial structures, and in developing an understanding of how the case-study areas have changed in relation to development within post-industrial economic restructuring between the late 1960s and 1990. This type of design further helps analyse the changing nature of heritage and tourism during the same period. An explanatory research design builds on evidence from previous studies and looks for the causes of things (Denscombe, 2010). These two types of research design support a qualitative approach to understanding the changing nature of the case-study areas.

This research is concerned with the transformation processes of The Rocks and Darling Harbour waterfronts, the nature of the spaces and the ways in which these spaces were changed and are now consumed. In this it attempts to answer the following questions and illustrate the economic, social, historical and political reasons inherent in the change processes:

- What were the governments' intentions in developing the industrial landscapes located on the urban waterfronts of Darling Harbour and The Rocks?
- How was industrial heritage regarded within the transformation decisions?
- How were the communities considered in the development decisions?
- What role has tourism played in the redevelopment of these two contrasting industrial landscapes?

The exploratory nature of the questions buttresses the decision to adopt a qualitative approach - for a "qualitative approaches usually entails formulating questions to be explored and developed in the research process, rather than hypotheses to be tested by or against empirical research" (Mason, 2002, p. 19).

The Case Studies

A case-study design is considered appropriate when the research endeavours to answer 'how' and 'why' questions, and when the researcher seeks to uncover contextual understanding relevant to the subject of the study (Yin, cited in Baxter and Jack, 2008). The qualitative approach of case studies "ensures that the issue is not explored through (only) one lens, but rather a variety of lenses which allows for

multiple facets of the context to be understood" (Baxter and Jack, 2008, p. 544). Urban economic restructuring, industrial heritage and urban tourism are amongst the multiple facets of the transformation context.

The case-study approach of this research is based on a constructivist epistemology that claims meaning-making and understanding depend on one's perspective. Here, in this research, the researcher's perspective creates the subjective notion of seeking the meaning. Constructivism is built upon the premise of a social construction of reality, which cannot be grounded in an objective reality (Searle, cited in Baxter and Jack, 2008). In this sense, according to Lefebvre, one of the most important urban issues is the high-level passivity of the relevant parties - that is, the communities that use a place - and the reasons for their quietness (Lefebvre, 1970). A socially constructed place needs the involvement of its residents, visitors and workers in the transformation decisions. The transformation of daily life should be carried out together with the well-rooted transformation of space, as they are strictly dependent (Lefebvre, 1970). In light of these arguments, the case-study areas are politically and economically reproduced, and social construction is engaged through the restructuring of places as centres for consumption (Urry, 1995).

This study adopts a multiple case-study approach conducted in two areas:

> A multiple case study enables the researcher to explore differences within and between cases. The aim is to evaluate findings across cases. It is imperative that the cases are chosen carefully so that the researcher can predict similar results across cases, or predict contrasting results based on a theory. (Yin, cited in Baxter and Jack, 2008)

Both case studies examined in this research share key values, but also have key differences. For example, The Rocks case study explores gentrification and urban renewal, while the Darling Harbour case study explores waterfront redevelopment. These two different contexts require a deeper analysis within and across each setting to better understand the characteristics of the two cases (Baxter and Jack, 2008). The two case studies were selected because of their differences. The intention of using two case studies was not comparing them but show the similarities between the governments' decisions in transformation, changing understanding of heritage preservation in time and uses of tourism in these areas. The cases enable an examination of similar approaches towards the preservation or demolition of industrial heritage in the same city, but at slightly different times, with different

political decisions and interventions. Hence, they convey the evolving periods and perspectives that determined heritage as an inherently political process and as a tool to reflect cultural power (Harvey, 2001).

Data Collection

Utilising the multiple case-study strategy with a qualitative approach, this section details how a large volume of empirical data was retrieved from a variety of sources. These sources were selected based on their relevance to the research questions. The fieldwork and data collection were carried out using extensive archival document analysis and interviews. Various documents were collected from the libraries of the Australian Institute of Architects, the City of Sydney Council Archives, the Parramatta Heritage Office of NSW, the Historic Houses Trust, the National Trust, the NSW State Archive, the NSW State Library, the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority Archives and the University of Sydney.

In addition to these readily available sources, formal and informal interviews with government and professional personnel assisted in the analysis and assessment of direct and indirect effects. The initial stages relied on the analysis of archival materials, and the outcomes of this phase informed and determined the ongoing methodological approaches.

To supplement the other two data collection methods (documentation review and interviews) and monitor the spatial changes in the study area, site observations and visual analyses of the industrial textures were developed. The site observation reflected an epistemological position that claims that knowledge can be generated by observing and experiencing real-life settings. This position provides meaningful visual knowledge that cannot be generated via interviews (Mason, 2002). In this respect, The Rocks and Darling Harbour areas were visited numerous times. The first visits were unstructured, in order to gain familiarity with both spaces and to systematise the observations. To understand Darling Harbour and The Rocks as working ports of Sydney, maps from between the 1950s and the 1990s were used to discover the spatial changes and the usage of the area over this period of time.

Observational data was crucial in order to develop a personal analysis of place. Observations were recorded primarily through written field notes and photography. In this case, observations helped to answer 'how' questions such as how these waterfronts were first developed as industrial centres, how they have been subjected to change and how they have been transformed. This qualitative strategy

provided a dynamic, active and reflective process (Mason, 2002). The site observations aimed to discover:

- An overview of the uses of the waterfronts (both former and current), such as industrial areas, housing, leisure and business.
- Heritage items, especially industrial heritage items located in the two areas.
- The daily life of the two spaces, in order to understand their levels of connection to the local communities.
- The structural transformation of the spaces, to reflect what has been preserved and what has been lost.

Archival Research and Document Analysis

"The term 'documents' covers a wide range of different kinds of sources" (Bryman, 2012, p. 543). Personal documents such as letters and photographs, official documents derived from government institutions and private organisations, and media output such as newspaper articles and media reports were collected via an extensive archival process.

Document analysis was employed as the primary technique to obtain information. Document analysis refers to the "collection, review, interrogation, and analysis of various forms of text as a primary source of research data" (O'Leary, 2004, p. 177), as well as to the "systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating printed and electronic documents" (Bowen, 2009). In this qualitative research, document analysis allowed examination and interpretation of the collected data in order to gain understanding and develop meaning.

It was imperative to establish the history and heritage inherent to each site and to explore the histories of the waterfronts as well as the industrial communities of the locations. An understanding of the communities of the port locations and their industrial development helped to differentiate the unique qualities of the two sites. By recognising the backgrounds for each case, a more accurate spatial evaluation of the waterfront and its connection to the city was made possible. The document analysis also provided written evidence in support of, or in contradiction to, the information gathered during interviews and observations.

Public documents, primarily newspaper articles and design plans, were analysed to identify possible differences in motives and to determine the process of implementation of the waterfront redevelopments. It was also important to obtain historical photographs and descriptions, to understand how the waterfronts had

been altered. The newspaper articles were reviewed to investigate the government's intentions, the economic expectations and public opinion about the two developments. Site maps covering different time periods were identified to provide a richer understanding of the changes occurring in the urban landscape and how the developments had affected the areas. The newspaper articles and editorials examined provided an insight into many aspects of the projects, reflecting the history and heritage of both sites. These materials are documented in the empirical chapters (Chapters 6 and 7) of the thesis, to contrast the differing approaches of successive governments, private companies and the community, and the policies that have been implemented to transform the study areas. They provided considerable insight into what has been considered as 'heritage' and what type of interventions and implications have been applied. They also assisted in the development of a critical evaluation of political decisions on these former industrial waterfronts.

The City of Sydney Council Archive was visited to collect extensive materials on the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority (SCRA) between 1969 and 1980, and on the Darling Harbour Authority between 1985 and 1989. These materials were examined and evaluated considering the places' industrial structures. Different redevelopment plans for The Rocks and Darling Harbour were considered, from government, community and private developer perspectives. Annual Reports regarding the transformation strategies were used to examine and to understand the intentions in developing both areas. These reports allowed confirmation that the major goal behind the decision to develop the area was to provide an attraction for visitors, and also provided extensive information about the revitalisation and renewal projects (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: A list of the data explored at the City of Sydney Council Archives

The Rocks scheme. Several plans for the area. The Government had received three or four schemes for the redevelopment of The Rocks area, the Premier (Mr. Cahill) said yesterday. (*Daily Telegraph*)	Item	13 Feb 1959 – 13 Feb 1959
New bill to encourage home unit ownership. Most Australians want to own their own homes. (Model of Civil and Civic scheme for the redevelopment of 'The Rocks' area.) (*Daily Mirror*)	Item	23 Jul 1959 – 23 Jul 1959

Govt. plan to sell The Rocks. The state Government plans to sell or lease The Rocks area east of the Bradfield Highway for a vast city redevelopment scheme. (Plan of proposed redevelopment.) (*Daily Telegraph*)	Item	24 Jun 1960 – 24 Jun 1960
No split on Rocks plan says Hills. 'Difference' denied. The Minister for Local Government (Mr. Hills) said yesterday no difference existed between him and the Premier (Mr. Heffron).	Item	28 Jun 1960 – 28 Jun 1960
Developers invited to rebuild The Rocks. 'Opening' the gateway to a city. The Premier (Mr. No Suggestions) invited land developers in Australia and overseas to submit plans for redevelopment of The Rocks.	Item	16 Sep 1960 – 16 Sep 1960
Redevelopment project. City of Sydney, New South Wales. The date for the receipt of offers to undertake the redevelopment of The Rocks area in the City of Sydney has now been extended to 31st March.	Item	02 Dec 1961 – 02 Dec 1961
Properties in Gipps Ward. Appln. By J. Child and Co. (Aust.) as economic and planning consultants for redevelopment of Rocks Area.	Item	21 Sep 1961 – 06 Dec 1961
Committee will assess The Rocks redevelopment. The Minister for Local Government, Mr. P. D. Hills, yesterday announced the appointment of a specialised committee to assess offers for redevelopment.	Item	28 Feb 1962 – 28 Feb 1962
New look' Quay proposal. £50 million. The redevelopment plans for The Rocks. A £50 million plan is one of 10 proposals submitted to the State Government for the redevelopment of The Rocks, on the western side of Cove.	Item	03 Apr 1962 – 03 Apr 1962
The Rocks report due. A special committee will make recommendations next week on plans for the £50-million redevelopment of The Rocks area. (*Daily Telegraph*)	Item	20 Jul 1962 – 20 Jul 1962

An impressive gateway. Two views of the £50 million proposals by L J Hooker Investment Corporation Ltd for the redevelopment of The Rocks. (Photo showing a view of the project's tower-shaped buildings.)	Item	24 Jan 1963 – 24 Jan 1963
'An Impressive Gateway'. Professor Winston last April described the Rocks redevelopment scheme as 'the most exciting of its kind in Australia's history.' (Artist's Impressions of two views: the project's buildings, and proposed marine plaza area) (*Daily Telegraph*)	Item	25 Jan 1963 – 25 Jan 1963
This is for Sydney. £50 million plan is accepted. The State Government has accepted a £50 million plan for redevelopment of The Rocks area. (A model showing how Circular Quay would look after the completion of the £50 million plan by L J Hooker Investment Corporation Ltd for redevelopment of The Rocks.	Item	25 Jan 1963 – 25 Jan 1963
Denial of the plan for The Rocks. The Minister for Local Government, Mr. Hills, yesterday denied a report that the Government had accepted a tender for the redevelopment of The Rocks area in Sydney. (*Sydney Morning Herald*)	Item	26 Jan 1963 – 26 Jan 1963
Government plan: The Rocks Redevelopment – Illustrating lands described in Schedules for proposed Legislation [Land bound by Grosvenor St, George St, Alfred St, Bradfield Highway, Circular Quay West].	Item	12 Jan 1970 – 12 Jan 1970
Government plan: The Rocks Redevelopment – Plan of part of the land vested in the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority [Land bound by Grosvenor St, George St and Argyle St]. [M-CRS99]	Item	25 Oct 1971 – 01 Feb 1973
Circular Quay and The Rocks Area. Redevelopment Scheme.	Item	18 Mar 1959 – 14 Mar 1973

Government plan: Plan of land at Darling Harbour - NSW Government Gazette – New Darling Harbour Authority Act 1984 - Notification of acquisition of land [Land bound by Harbour St] [M-CRS99]	Item	21 Sep 1948 – 30 Jan 1985
Government plan: Land resumed for the New Darling Harbour Authority [Land bound by Harbour St, Day St, Harbour Place, James St, Jessup St, Liverpool St, Darling Harbour Railway Station, Pier St].	Item	03 Apr 1985 – 15 Apr 1985
Government plan: Darling Harbour Authority Gazetted lands [Showing land surrounding Darling Harbour]. [M-CRS99]	Item	15 Aug 1985 – 15 Aug 1985
25–29 Dixon Street Sydney – Erect partition, level 7 – Darling Harbour Authority	Item	26 Mar 1985 – 04 Sep 1985
Barker St (4/6) Sydney. Structural alterations. The Darling Harbour Authority. [M]	Item	01 Jan 1985 – 31 Dec 1985
Government plan: Darling Harbour Authority Development Area. [M-CRS99]	Item	01 Sep 1986 – 01 Sep 1986
Government plan: NSW Government Gazette – No. 95 – 3rd June 1988 – Darling Harbour Authority Act 1984 [EXCERPTS]. [M-CRS99]	Item	03 Jun 1988 – 03 Jun 1988
Acts and Gazettes Book.	Series	01 Jan 1906 – 01 Nov 1989
Darling Harbour Authority.	Item	04 Dec 1989 – 28 Feb 1990

The NSW Office of Environment and Heritage library provided an overview of the industrial heritage items of Darling Harbour and The Rocks, as well as a historical background for the two areas. Archaeological investigations, heritage studies, studies of environmental issues, historical and archaeological assessments (see

Table 2.2) have been sourced to understand the lost industrial heritage items of both areas.

Table 2.2: A list of the data explored at NSW Office of Environment and Heritage

Archaeological Investigation of the Darling Harbour Development Project by Andrew Wilson / Interim Report	18/10/1985
Archaeological Investigation of the Darling Harbour Development Project by Andrew Wilson / Barker's Mill Preliminary Report	12/12/1985
Circular Quay Heritage Study by Urban Design Research Unit of the Graduate School of the Built Environment, UNSW	1985
Darling Harbour Redevelopment Proposal by The Maritime Services Board of NSW	08/1974
A Historical Illustration of the Changing Face of Darling Harbour through the Use of a Series of Contemporary Maps 1788–1998 by Charlie Wornes / Charles Sturt University	09/1999
Darling Harbour Redevelopment Study of Environmental Issues by NSW Department of Environment and Planning	09/1983
Historical and Archaeological Assessment of Wharves 9 and 10, Darling Harbour, prepared by Kate Rode	04/1998
Quay Visions / A publication for the CAA/RAIA Conference / Editor, Ken Maher	13–17/06/1983
A Place for People The Transformation of Sydney's Darling Harbour by Mark Aarons	2009

The State Library of NSW provided various documents (see Table 2.3) about the case study sites prior to the developments, as well as the authorities of the two areas. Tourism strategies and tourism characteristics 1986–1992 have been reviewed.

Table 2.3: A list of the data explored at the State Library of NSW

Darling Harbour redevelopment: transport study / prepared for the Darling Harbour Authority by Ove Arup Transportation Planning	1985
Darling Harbour redevelopment: site investigation report / prepared for New Darling Harbour Authority by Arup Geotechnics	1984
The Darling Harbour Development Project / by R. Pentecost; Telecom Society, NSW Division, Historical Branch	1987
Visitors study prepared by Coopers and Lybrand W.D. Scott for the Darling Harbour Authority	1985
Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority Annual report / Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority	1971–1997
Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority The Rocks: a revitalisation project / by the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority	1981
The Rocks: from the past to future / Sydney Cove Authority	1991
Visit The Rocks: the birthplace of Australia	1977
Historical research report on the Argyle Bonded and Free Stores, 18 Argyle Street, Sydney / Fox and Associates	1976
Proposal on The Redevelopment of The Rocks Area by James Wallace Pty. Ltd	1964
Directions For Tourism prepared by The Department of the Arts, Sports, The Environment, Tourism and Territories	08/1988

The NSW State Archives hold newspaper collections about the redevelopment of Darling Harbour and The Rocks, urban transformation in Sydney's central business district (CBD) and changes of the wharves (transformation of the waterfronts). The Maritime Service Board Newspaper Clippings 1979–1988 and the SCRA Property Files 1953–1960 were reviewed to monitor the public perceptions against or for the proposed developments (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4: A list of the data explored at the State Archive of NSW

Newspaper Clippings – Maritime Service Board	9853 Series	1979–1988 (4/10607–10643.1)
Property Files	13964 Series	1950–1970
The Rocks Development Project Scheme of James Wallace Pty Limited	B3470/1 Item	06/08/1963–02/03/1965
The Rocks Redevelopment Proposals – Exhibits	13413 Series	03/1962

The National Trust of Australia (NSW) had a tremendous store of archival information (see Table 2.5), mostly confidential, dating back to the time of the redevelopment of Darling Harbour. Letters between the National Trust, the Department of Public Works, Ports and Roads and the New Darling Harbour Authority had the utmost significance, as they allowed my research to reveal how the State Government bypassed local government's jurisdictions and ignored planning laws.

Table 2.5: A list of the data explored at the National Trust of Australia (NSW)

Media Release by the Local Government Association of NSW and the Shires Association of NSW	23/05/1984
Media Release by the Local Government Association of NSW and the Shires Association of NSW	06/06/1984
Letter from Richard Rowe (President of the National Trust of Australia, NSW) to Neville Wran (Premier of NSW) about the heritage significance of Darling Harbour	13/06/1984
Letter from The President of the Royal Australian Planning Institute to the Executive Director of the National Trust of Australia (NSW) about the New Darling Harbour Authority	14/06/1984
Press Release from the Royal Australian Institute (NSW Division) and the Royal Australian Institute of Architects (NSW Chapter) concerning the future of Darling Harbour following of New Darling Harbour Authority Act	14/06/1984
Notes taken at second meeting of National Trust Council Sub-Committee and trust Officers, concerning the proposed Darling Harbour Redevelopment, held at Trust Centre	19/06/1984
Darling Harbour Seminar Report held on 26 June 1984 / Memorandum File Note	25/07/1984
Letter from P.C. James (Executive Director of the National Trust of Australia, NSW) to Laurie Brereton (Minister for Public Works, Ports and Roads) about the New Darling Harbour Authority Act	27/08/1984
Letter from Michael Forbes (Director of the Zig Zag Railway Co-op Ltd) to the Secretary of the National Trust of Australia (NSW) about The Darling Harbour Wool Shed	05/09/1984

Letter from Richard Rowe (President of the National Trust of Australia, NSW) to the Chief Executive of the State Rail Authority of NSW about Darling Harbour Double Tiered Goods Shed	25/09/1984
Letter from Chris Pratten (Environment Director of the National Trust of Australia, NSW) to G. Gleeson (Secretary, Premier's Department)	26/09/1984
Letter from Chris Pratten (Environment Director of the National Trust of Australia, NSW) to Michael Forbes (Director of the Zig Zag Railway Co-op Ltd) about Darling Harbour Woolshed	26/09/1984
Letter from Laurie Brereton (Minister for Public Works, Ports and Roads) to P.C. James (Executive Director of the National Trust of Australia, NSW)	28/09/1984
From Richard Mackay, Don Gooden and Chris Pratten to Richard Rowe (President of the National Trust of Australia, NSW) about Darling Harbour Double Tiered Goods Shed / Memorandum	17/10/1984
Letter from Richard Rowe (President of the National Trust of Australia, NSW) to Laurie Brereton (Minister for Public Works, Ports and Roads) about Darling Harbour Double Tiered Goods Shed	18/10/1984
Letter from Laurie Brereton (Minister for Public Works, Ports and Roads) to Richard Rowe (President of The National Trust of Australia (NSW)	19/10/1984
Letter from P.C. James (Executive Director of the National Trust of Australia, NSW) to Hank Laan (General Manager of New Darling Harbour Authority) about Darling Harbour Double Tiered Goods Shed	16/11/1984
Letter from Chris Pratten (Environment Director of the National Trust of Australia, NSW) to Laurie Brereton (Minister for Public Works, Ports and Roads) about Darling Harbour Railway Goods Yard	20/11/1984
Industrial Archaeology Committee Meeting IAC/146, held at the National Trust of Australia (NSW) Centre / Minute paper	21/11/1984

Letter from P.C. James (Executive Director of the National Trust of Australia, NSW) to Hank Laan (General Manager of New Darling Harbour Authority) about the proposed redevelopment of Darling Harbour – Pyrmont Bridge	23/11/1984
Letter from McBean and Crisp Pty. Ltd to the Director of the National Trust of Australia (NSW)	03/12/1984
Darling Harbour Outwards Goods Shed Report on Structural Condition prepared by McBean and Crisp Pty. Ltd	03/12/1984
News Release about Darling Harbour Project by Premier of NSW Australia	14/12/1984
Media Release on behalf of Laurie Brereton (Minister for Public Works, Ports and Roads) about Darling Harbour	14/12/1984
Letter from Richard Rowe (President of the National Trust of Australia (NSW) to Laurie Brereton (Minister for Public Works, Ports and Roads) about the Darling Harbour Scheme – Pyrmont Bridge	17/12/1984
Letter from The Royal Australian Institute of Architects, NSW Chapter to Laurie Brereton (Minister for Public Works, Ports and Roads) to congratulate the government on its initiative in promoting the redevelopment of Darling Harbour	16/01/1985
Letter from Kevin Rice (President of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects, NSW Chapter) to the General Manager of New Darling Harbour Authority to welcome the draft development plan and strategy for the Darling Harbour Project	16/01/1985
Letter from Laurie Brereton (Minister for Public Works, Ports and Roads) to Hank Laan (General Manager of New Darling Harbour Authority) about the National Trust Submission on the proposed redevelopment of Darling Harbour	18/01/1985

Item no. 17 City Planning Committee – Darling Harbour Authority's Planning Proposal Submission to State Government / Minute paper	24/01/1985
News Release from the Premier's Department about the announcement of the plans for the development of the Darling Harbour area of Sydney	01/05/1985
Item No. 8 Report No. 203/85 The Iron Wharf, Darling Harbour, Information Report prepared by Heritage Council of NSW	03/06/1985
Report on Heritage Conservation Matters Relating to the Darling Harbour Basin, Sydney prepared by the National Trust of Australia (NSW)	05/1984; revised 06/1984
Industrial archaeological sites list / produced by the National Trust of Australia (N.S.W.) for and on behalf of the Australian Heritage Commission	1980–1983

The Australian Institute of Architects gave access to the *Architecture Bulletins* between the years 1981 and 1989 to enable the researcher to examine the discussions about the plans to redevelop Darling Harbour as well as the news of the day about the projects happening in Sydney, and to acknowledge the interviews with the developers, planners, designers and contractors of Darling Harbour.

Interviews

During the archival research process, an ethics application was lodged to permit the conduct of interviews. Following approval from the Western Sydney University Ethics Committee, semi-structured interviews were carried out in conjunction with the document analysis. The interviews were conducted as a second research technique to gain more detailed information and additional data about the transformation processes of the two areas.

Interviews are considered a valuable research method as they allow respondents to move back and forth in time; they also allow the interviewer to probe, to create new questions or to make clarifications (Westbrook, 1994). Interviews were undertaken

with various authorities and organisations, and focused on the key players directly involved in the planning, design and construction of the sites:

> The informants must feel that they are contributing to something whose completion will be quite satisfying to them. (Argyris, 1958, p. 39, quoted in Westbrook, 1994)

Interviews were conducted with these people involved in the redevelopment process in order to investigate the decisions made at that time and the policies regarding the transformation of the industrial waterfronts. Urban planners, architects and designers involved in the planning process helped understand the planning policies and heritage preservation at the time of the redevelopment. People from heritage and preservation disciplines provided guidance on heritage items and the legislation applicable to industrial heritage areas.

Nine interviewees (see Table 2.6 for a summary of their expertise) were identified using purposive and snowball sampling methods. Purposive sampling allows the researcher to establish a good correspondence between the research question and sampling. This technique provides an opportunity to sample people who are relevant to the research question (Bryman, 2008, p. 458). The goal of this sampling is to find participants in a strategic way (Bryman 2008, p. 415), which helps to ensure that there is a good variety of participants regarding the purpose of the research.

Snowball sampling allows a researcher to make initial contact with a small group of people highly relevant to the research topic and who in turn help to establish new contacts with other respondents (Bryman, 2008, p. 184). Here, the initial informant was an architect and heritage consultant with over 20 years' experience in heritage conservation and architecture, including work on a range of public and private-sector projects and active involvement in the philosophy, practice and guidelines for conservation in NSW and Australia. His crucial help allowed the researcher to recruit other interviewees who matched the requirements of the research questions.

Table 2.6: The list of interviewees and their professional backgrounds

Interviewees	Date of interview	Expertise
Richard Mackay	9/11/2012	He had a subsequent role in the preparation of heritage impact assessments of Darling Harbour prior to its redevelopment. He also provided consultancy for The Rocks Heritage Management Plan.
Philip Thalis	14/11/2012	He has more than 25 years' local and international experience across a broad spectrum of architecture and urban projects. He has won commendations and competitions for architecture, urban design, planning, and public domain and heritage projects, such as The Sydney Olympic Village and the Barangaroo/East Darling Harbour International Competition, which have generated strong public interest in Sydney's urban future.
Richard Dinham	24/01/2013	He was one of the architects at Leighton Contractors (the major contractor of Darling Harbour Redevelopment).
Ian Kelly	13/12/2012	He is a former Heritage Manager at Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority. He was also the Principal Heritage Officer of NSW Heritage Office.
Niall Macken	31/01/2013	Head of Heritage at Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority at this time. His team is responsible for the work undertaken in restoring and revitalising important heritage buildings at The Rocks.

Anthony Wayne Johnson	31/01/2013	He is an archaeologist and curator of The Rocks Discovery Museum, and an historical interpretation leader for Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority. He is a world leader in the development of community-based forms of place activation, including events, installations and exhibitions that re-purpose Future Heritage data, archaeological objects and historical narratives.
Iain Stuart	25/10/2012	He has over 25 years' professional experience in historical archaeology, archaeological surveying and assessment, heritage management, historical research, industrial archaeology, cultural landscapes, maritime archaeology, conservation planning and management, archaeological excavation, site analysis, community liaison and consultation.
Jean Rice	19/10/2012	She has over 25 years' experience and is a registered architect and a member of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects. Although it has not been considered during the transformation process, she had a role in preparing the conservation study of Darling Harbour Bicentennial Development Project and evaluating the cultural significance of the historic items.
Anne Higham	29/10/2012	She is a retired heritage officer and heritage consultant for the Australian Institute of Architects and the Institute, NSW Chapter.

The interviewees were first contacted by e-mail and by telephone. I identified myself as a PhD candidate interested in the significance of industrial heritage and, in particular, the period in which The Rocks and Darling Harbour were transformed. The preliminary phone conversation was used to explain briefly the topic of the research and to establish the relevance and role of the interviewee to the research

process. Interview times and dates were established, when possible. All interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner, with open-ended questions.

Five essential questions were asked to structure the conversation:

- What was the government's intention in developing industrial sites along the West Circular Quay and Darling Harbour, and what political forces were behind the redevelopment of The Rocks and Darling Harbour?

- What were the concerns about the impacts on communities that shaped the developments at both sites?

- How has the industrial heritage been considered in the developments?

- What role did tourism play, or can we discuss the role of tourism?

- Do you think that the developments would be the same if they were to take place today?

These questions were designed to allow the interviewer to guide the conversation about the developments. Supplementary and probing questions were also asked as needed. The interviews were conducted in the work premises of the interviewee or in a quiet café, and typically lasted between 30 minutes and one hour. Tape recording and note taking were the primary means of data collection, with the permission of each interviewee.

Data Analysis

According to Prior (2003), documents can be used in two different dimensions in qualitative research, both as a resource and as a topic: this research focuses on the content as well as on the use and function of the documents. Examining the content provides a focus on what the document covers, while looking at the use and function provides a focus on how the documents are used as resources (Prior, 2003). Documents used as a resource in this qualitative research concentrate on content in the text via a form of thematic analysis. The thematic analysis allowed the identification, analysis and reporting of themes within the data, by organising and describing the dataset in detail. It also helped to interpret various aspects of the research topic (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Compatible with constructionist epistemology, thematic analysis is a research tool that assists in extracting rich detail from complex data and that provides welcome theoretical flexibility. However, thematic analysis offers no clear and precise guidelines, and can mean "anything goes critique of qualitative research" (Antaki et al., cited in Braun and Clarke, 2006,

p. 5). The adoption of thematic coding to examine the qualitative data in the form of words, phrases, sentences or paragraphs helped bolster the data analysis methodology. Thematic coding allows the researcher to identify one or more passages that exemplify the same ideas (Strauss, 1990; Gibbs, 2007).

Lists of codes were developed into a hierarchy to establish a relationship between the codes and sub-codes – which means that the major codes became the themes and the sub-codes became the codes and labels (see Table 2.7). Literal and interpretative readings were conducted to take notes in the form of a memo (Mason, 2002). Confidential documents such as letters between government offices and conservation organisations, reports, notes and minutes taken during meetings were read in a literal way, as the concern was the structure of the documents and the way they were constituted. Archaeological investigation reports, historical assessments, conservation plans and heritage assessment reports were read in an interpretative way, to generate meaning. Interview transcriptions were treated in the same way, as the focus was to reflect the respondents' interpretations and elaborate on them through the researcher's understanding.

Table 2.7: The themes and codes deduced from the data

THEME	CODES	SUB-CODES
⬇	⬇	⬇

Transformation

- Changing landscape in time
- Reasons for transformation
  - Economic restructuring
  - Urban restructuring
  - Industrial redundancy of the waterfronts
- Rushed urban redevelopment
  - Copied transformation projects and creation of similar landscapes
- Political forces behind the development
  - Government's intention in development decisions
  - Political ambitions
  - Decision-making process
  - Bypassing the Acts and the creation of new authorities
  - Involvement of private partnerships

Heritage/industrial heritage
- Industrial history
- Recognition of heritage
- Representation of heritage items
- Adaptive reuse of heritage structures
- Demolition of heritage assets
- Significance
  - Industrial significance
  - Heritage significance
  - Cultural significance
  - Historical significance

Tourism
- New place identity
- Economic benefits
- Creation of public spaces
- Role of tourism

Community involvement
- Social change
- Public perception
- Power of community involvement

According to Charmaz (2003), the researcher looks for external ideas apt to substantiate codes that predate in their mind. This is how this research unfolded. The themes and codes were produced based around the key research questions.

Limitations

This thesis is an evaluation of the transformation of the two case study areas and the relationship between industrial heritage and tourism. In this sense, it does not intend to provide future policy implementation on how the economy can be integrated into heritage imperatives. However, the formulation of a policy that can facilitate the priorities of the community for an attractive urban tourism is identified as continuing challenge for both the public and private sectors. This particular problem will be considered for future research and publication opportunities.

The communities in both areas have been affected by the transformations. They are mostly not available to discuss the impacts of the development decisions. Most members of 'the community' involved in the 1970 - 1990s study period have either

left or been displaced or maybe deceased. Therefore providing a comprehensive view of the perspectives of then communities has not been feasible in this research. The major aim was to show that community participation can make a difference in the process of transformation but did not reflect the industrial significance either of the cases.

The expectation of visitors to an historic city centre is discussed in relation to the concept of authenticity in Chapter 5. But, the thesis does not intend to include tourists as participants in the research. In this respect, understanding tourist perspective is not the major aim of the research. Rather, tourist perspective and tourists' perception towards industrial heritage is suggested for further research.

Conclusion

The research approach has explained why and how a qualitative approach with a case-study method was used to examine the effects of urban transformation on post-industrial waterfronts, and the role of tourism within the transformation process in the context of urban and economic restructuring in the post-industrial period, focusing on the industrial heritage values of two significant urban waterfront areas in Sydney: The Rocks and Darling Harbour. It has illustrated the sources of data connection, the data analysis methods, the nature and use of research tools.

A qualitative approach based on intensive archival research and supporting interviews has been used to facilitate the research to:

- Examine the impacts of urban transformation on industrial heritage by considering gentrification and urban renewal, and the implications of the waterfront redevelopment of the 1970s and 1980s.

- Evaluate the changing understanding towards heritage and tourism, discuss their relationship, and explore the role played by urban tourism in the transformation of the heritage sites.

- Explain how the former industrial urban waterfronts became spaces of consumption by using the notion of authenticity.

- Understand the urban restructuring and economic development, with an emphasis on the governmental decision-making process.

The qualitative approach enabled two case studies to be conducted to answer the questions 'how' and 'why'. At that point, the interpretative perspective allowed the researcher to provide a subjective point of view about the historical and cultural

context explored in the thesis. These case studies reflect the findings and results derived from the thematic analysis.

The theoretical background to the research and the focal points of the concepts will be explored in more detail in chapters 3, 4 and 5.

CHAPTER 3: TRANSFORMATIVE URBAN AND ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING

> Cities suffered from an image crisis, they needed a new strategy for growth. Cities would target investors and visitors – people with money – by re-building city centres and making themselves attractive.
>
> (Zukin, 2010, p. 5)

In the 1970s, when industry and industry-related functions were decentralised, the adaptation of vacant and deprived areas in city centres to the new functions of the post-industrial city became a central objective of urban policy. As policy solutions evolved alongside problems in the 1980s and 1990s, urban redevelopment and urban regeneration emerged as entrepreneurial policies focusing on the conditions and problems of the post-industrial city (Tallon, 2010). This period is examined within the context of neoliberal economic restructuring, and the influence of the subsequent socio-economic transformations on urban development as well as on working-class communities (Hamnett, 2003). Drawing upon Lefebvre's urban approach, the chapter theoretically addresses the new orientation of former industrial places, and the process of deindustrialisation. In this framework, urban transformation and deindustrialisation share common ground: the relocation of the working class in urban settings, and the creation of office and residential blocks, and leisure-focused attraction places. It is through this process that neoliberalism[5] has become associated with 'creative destruction' and the 'production of space' (Harvey, 2007, p. 33).

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[5] Neoliberalism, defined as a "utopia of unlimited exploitation", has been known for its destructive effects since the crisis of the Fordist–Keynesian development model of capitalism in the early 1970s (this conceptualisation belongs to Pierre Bourdieu, quoted in Brenner and Theodore, 2002).

Neoliberal Economic Restructuring: 'Place from Production to Consumption'

From the perspective of capital accumulation, deindustrialisation is considered as the destructive face of the orientation of capital in that it displaces the organised labour and life-space of the settled population. From the side of capital, however, this displacement provides the opportunity to "undercut the constraints that tie it to a particular set of geographical conditions" (Thorns, 2002, p. 37). Former industrial sites have created empty spaces in cities, bringing new opportunities to these cities as an inevitable result of capitalist development, which requires the most profitable production of space (Edensor, 2005). Capitalist societies have seen the preservation of industrial structures 'as redundant and economically wasteful' (Severcan and Barlas, 2007, p. 676). Deindustrialised waterfronts worldwide have all been changed into similar mixed developments, comprised of residential components together with commercial/tourism/leisure/museum developments. However, each location has a different goal. This new mentality or approach to urbanism, based on infrastructure for market-orientated, service-led - as opposed to industrial-based - economic growth and commodification, has created the steps to transform the previous industrial landscape through investment. This transformation of the city is reflected in what we now consider as the 'city'.

Davis (cited in Hubbard, 2006 p. 1) defines the city as "concentrations of many people located close together for residential and productive purposes". A decade later, Saunders (cited in Hubbard, 2006 p. 1) argued that "cities are places where large numbers of people live and work". However, cities are not only places for people, but also places for government, economic activity, leisure and recreational activities (Thorns, 2002). Especially in old industrial cities, local governments found it hard to attract new promising economic functions and activities in the inner-city, bristling with derelict industrial areas and impoverished as the flight of capital and affluent residents weighed on tax income. Rebuilding hence became the main concern. Altering the image associated with old industrial cities on the part of city entrepreneurs meant the recruitment of particular, but not all, representations of space (Lefebvre, 1991).

The evaluation of suburban areas in capital cities in the developed countries and the devaluation of central urban regions were carried out simultaneously, shedding light on the unearned income deficit and making it profitable again to invest in urban centres (Brenner, 1998). Zukin (1987, 1991, 1995, 1998) provides detailed accounts of how the remaking of contemporary cities has been realised through the integrated workings of culture and capital, boosted by urban policies for redevelopment to

aestheticize the cities. Urry (2002) defines the contemporary city as 'the locus of consumption'. The fall of industrial production within urban centres has been followed by the rise of creation of new spaces. Capitalist society started to create a space in which it could reproduce itself (Lefebvre, 1991):

> Reproduction of the relations of production leaves its imprints upon the pre-existing space and upon the production of a new space. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 325)

The various state interventions in different political geographies and different sociopolitical contexts can create no less various results in the construction of urban space (Jessop, 2006). Capitalist urbanisation cannot be subsumed under a general narrative that contains every political geography and every form of sociopolitical relationship, and that focuses on capital accumulation. In other words, capitalist urbanisation is realised together with regulatory mechanisms that vary according to political, social and cultural contexts along with forms of sociopolitical relations (Gottdiener, 1994). Investigating the different state interventions and regulatory mechanisms in the light of their respective social and political contexts allows to develop an understanding of Marxist urban politics, and to open the debate about how and to what extent these interventions–mechanisms reproduce socio-spatial relations (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Smith, 2002).

Fundamental and rapid reorganisation of the world economy after 1970 has caused city landscapes, as well as the socio-economic structures of cities, to change substantially. This reorganisation period has developed beneath the surface of the transition from Fordism – an aggregate, hierarchical and strident production model based on the work of American industrialist Henry Ford, who developed a way of working and of organising industry associated with the factory system of mass production – to post-Fordism, a system underpinned by information technologies and global networking which provides flexible production (Knox and Pinch, 2010). The key concept in these two systems is the mode of production and the associated mode of consumption. Working practices in the post-Fordist phase, which is associated with neoliberal policies, involve fewer people than that of former manufacturing industry. With the emergence of free markets in the realm of the nation states (the United States and Australia) and the effective spread of globalisation, low-cost production outside the Western countries became prevalent; as a result, industrial cities experienced a massive transformation (Knox and Pinch, 2010).

Traditional production industry has regressed substantially while the service sector experienced a sharp rise. Within this period identified as 'deindustrialisation', the industrial cities, once the centres of active production, manufacturing and industrial trade and management, have incurred large-scale losses of business and population in previous city sites (Judd and Parkinson, 1990). In parallel with this decline, new industrial spaces have been created in the outer parts of city centres. These new industrial clusters have brought about the suburban development that exemplifies the urbanisation of the flexible accumulation regime (Knox and Pinch, 2010).

Within the increasingly competitive global economy cities have developed a new urban management model in order to provide the investment required for their economic development. The urban management model, which was previously established on social state values, has given way to a new form of management, described as the entrepreneurial urban management model (Harvey, 1989). Risk-taking and creative, driven by promotion and profit, and closer to the logic of the private sector (Hall and Hubbard, 1998), this new model bases local development and economic growth upon the marketing of the location under the stewardship of private-sector partnerships and local government. It has been widely embraced, especially by post-industrial cities that had experienced a long-term economic recession. Glasgow, Liverpool, Cleveland, Detroit, Milan and Marseille are examples of major cities that have gone through the process of deindustrialisation because of the collapse of their traditional production industry, and are among the first examples of enterprising cities (Hall and Hubbard, 1998). This enterprise is not only designed to increase the competitiveness of the city and encourage investment in the region, but is also intended to restore the image of the city and to generate new economic activities to reflect and bolster this new image.

From this point of view, theories of economic restructuring explain urban spatial and political change with efforts of reproduction of capitalist relations of production. Logan and Swanstrom (1990, 2005) argue that economic restructuring is an elusive concept that can be attributed various meanings and they identify three main themes common to these theories: historical rupture, primacy of economic forces and structure over the agency. They state that historical rupture is "the idea that the world economy is undergoing a radical break with the past" and they refer to Harvey (1989) and Castells (1985), who identify the crisis in the regime of industrial capital as a historical rupture, which led to the post-industrial economic order (cited in Logan and Swanstrom, 2005, p. 32).

Rearrangement of production across space is considered as a part of the solution to this crisis, and in this sense restructuring is a transition from an old economic structure to a new one. It is common for theories of economic restructuring to view economic relations as more deterministic than political or social ones. The term 'structure', which contrasts with 'agency', implies that the process is dependent on an economic logic, that of cost reduction and competition, and not on human will (Logan and Swanstrom, 1990, 2005). With this common understanding, theories of restructuring argue that it is an attempt to resolve the crisis of Fordist accumulation, associated with the effects of the 1973 oil crisis caused by the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) on the global capitalist economy (Logan and Swanstrom, 1990).

Urry (2002) defines the notion of 'restructuring' as "the shift in understanding of the place that occurred from the late 1970s onwards" (p. 2). It was during this period that the participation of the private sector began. In Harvey's renowned formulation, urban entrepreneurialism "rests … on a public–private partnership focusing on investment and economic development with the speculative construction of place rather than amelioration of conditions within a particular territory as its immediate (though by no means exclusive) political and economic goal" (1989, p. 8). Policies based on privatisation, deregulation of state power, flexibility, capital mobility and rectification of welfare policies (Harvey, 2000; Brenner and Theodore, 2002) worked to usher the free-market discipline into the organisation of social life. Professional employees working in proliferating business, governmental, corporate services became significant (Jessop, 2001). During the years 1960–1980, urban revitalisation emerged as a projection of the liberal policy in the Western world for the purpose of planning the post-industrial cities. During this period, the revitalisation of urban areas and the preservation of historical city centres were internalised understandings.

In the 1970s, the introduction of new production techniques and the changing organisational styles made it difficult for even the large companies involved in traditional production to compete and led to the key issue of the abandonment of industrial areas (Harvey, 2002). This major economic transition from the production of goods to the service industries emerged as a new era and, together with the 1973 oil crisis, has been regarded by scholars in the field of urban planning as a crucial turning point. It was during this period that the notion of the post-industrial society and the post-industrial landscape, in which industrial production once happened but no longer does, came into existence (Storm, 2014). Bauman claims that this period

represents a break in history that marked an important change in "places in the land, places in society and places in life". He states that "the world was re-tailoring itself because factories vanished together with the job and the place was foul with putrid waste" (Bauman, 1996, p. 29).

The economic restructuring followed by the deindustrialisation of the 1970s affected industrial city centres in particular, because the rationale for industrial cities in the 19th and early 20th centuries was industrial production, industry-related commerce, and housing for mass consumers and workers. In their place, tourism and culture (art, food, fashion and music) became instruments within the restructuring of the urban space, creating new investment opportunities, as demonstrated by the rapid growth in the building of hotels and leisure precincts, houses, offices, museums, and shopping and dining malls. According to Zukin (1995), urban commercial culture has become entertainment aiming to attract consumers. Similarly, she refers to urban waterfronts such as Boston's Faneuil Hall, South Street Seaport in New York and Harborplace in Baltimore as 'consumers' [meaning tourists'] playground' (Zukin, 1995, p. 19).

The scale of investment in cities has become significant; cityscapes have gone through an infrastructure transformation in order to be attractive to tourists, and transport systems and urban amenities have been developed. The service sector has become dominant in the deindustrialised towns. Cities' history, built environment, cultural assets and heritage items, and even clusters of amenities, were seen as opportunities to make cities into marketable tourist destinations. Consequently, cities have become transformed places that create contemporary commodities (Hoffman et al., 2003).

Demolition has taken place in many historical locations to boost the city's attractiveness to tourists, since incoming tourists mean a flow of foreign capital for that city. Tourists' accommodation, shopping, catering and entertainment expenses make a significant contribution to the city's economy. Hence inter-city competition, which we mentioned previously, tends to be exacerbated by tourism. In this context, as Urry mentions (1995), the growing concern for both the physical and the built environment is meant to consolidate people's, politicians' and future employers' positions. They wish to make the old cities coherent with the contemporary environment and place images. Therefore, cities have been presenting their historical and cultural features to catch the attention of tourists, and transforming their historical city centres for the sake of tourist-friendliness.

The purpose of these attempts is to create suitable places and a suitable substructure apt to draw global capital to cities and help them secure a lead in the global competition for capital. This aim has played a significant role in organising economic activities all round the world - including in Sydney. The ambition to make Sydney a global city has transformed its city centre into one of service by clearing it of industry. The continuity of consumption that began with forging the city's culture, as well as its natural and historical beauty, is possible through the city's continual self-renewing. The city renews itself by displaying its existing resources in different ways. Zukin (1995) describes this new economic foundation as a symbolic economy based on finance, investment, knowledge, culture and tourism activities and products that have gradually been forming the economic infrastructure of cities.

Lefebvre's (1976) critique of the governance of cities relates to his observation of the failure of governments to prevent the destruction of the well-ordered city form and social space, which held a certain power. He argues that capitalism has changed since the time of Marx in order to survive, and that its very nature has evolved. Lefebvre associates the ultimate survival of capitalism with the fact that the social production relationships required by this style of production could be produced again as a continuous foundation. This started with the spatial usage of capitalism and realised its dominant status again through production by means of creating a different place for itself. And then capitalism achieved its dominant status by producing a different place for itself. He notes that capitalism managed to soften [while not solve] its own internal conflicts for a century and also succeeded in ensuring its 'growth'. We could not understand what the cost was, but we already know its instruments: by means of settling in a place and producing places (Lefebvre, 1976). Lefebvre asserts that capitalism has become the fundamental conceptual approach to city planning, with an emphasis on the role of the reproduction process.

The essence of the city centre as a social place is composed of daily life appearing as a condition of social intensity that is intimately and directly associated with the [historical] city before the capitalist process. According to Lefebvre (1991), "the exact place of the reproduction of the production relationships is the [historical] city before the capitalist process which has settled on a wider place while it is fragmented into some pieces" (p. 66). Moreover, this is why the reproduction of the production relationships ensures that the continuity of the capitalist system is dependent on the agglomeration effects and is realised in a spatial manner; that is, in the city centre.

In recent periods, this centre has been subjected to divisions and separations based on its functions and have become extended into the metropolitan region. This situation has given rise to some problems in the reproduction of capitalist relationships. In short, the city is not composed of just a structured environment, and it is the object of capitalist development. In this space, capitalism reproduces all of its relationships; hence the capitalism developed through the arrangement of the urban space. According to Lefebvre, social activities, space and interaction are interconnected. Space is used for social interaction, but these interactions also create the space. As Lefebvre discusses insistently, capitalism settles in and produces the space, making it sustainable under changing conditions (Lefebvre, 1991).

The transition from an industrial to an urban base of modern capitalist production represents what Lefebvre refers to as 'urban revolution'. The concept of urban revolution is not limited to the physical space of the city, but involves the urban lifestyle in general. According to Lefebvre, 'urban' is defined by three interrelated concepts: space, daily life and reproduction of capitalist social relations. In this sense, 'urban' is referred to as a global spatial context within which production relations are reproduced by people's daily life experiences. Capitalist social relations are reproduced during the daily use of space (Lefebvre, 2003). According to Lefebvre, what is important for capitalism is not the material use value of space, but its abstract value; that is, its exchange value. The concept of abstract space considers space not as a physical plot with a given use value, but as a means to gain profit and income. Neither the historical reproduction and use of space nor the social values that it represents have significance alone. They are only significant as long as they contribute to the exchange value of space. For capitalism, spaces with very different historical qualities from each other are nothing but abstract plots or buildings that can be exchanged on the market. Lefebvre refers to the space used for investment by government or business investors as 'abstract space' (Lefebvre, 1991).

The Change of the Industrial Landscape

> Let us not forget that cities are like human beings. They are born, they go through childhood and adolescence, and they grow old and eventually die.

> (Shams of Tabriz,[6] quoted in Elif Shafak, 2010, p. 46)

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when the European Industrial Revolution took place, the developments in the manufacture, communication and transportation industries affected social, economic and cultural conditions. It was the beginning of a transformation from an agrarian to an industrialised economy (Henderson, 1961). This new economic system was extremely productive, providing food and raw materials, labour and capital for employment in industry, services and marketing (O'Brien and Quinault, 1993). Three technological innovations were the main impulse of the Industrial Revolution: improvements in the cotton industry, the development of the steam engine, and progress in iron founding. The raw materials used by industry also changed with the technical developments: metals replaced wood in the construction of harbours, bridges, machinery and railway tracks; coal was used instead of wood for heating and industrial establishments; and the steam engine replaced the water wheel in the factories (Henderson, 1961). The innovations of the period – surfaced roads, improved water and railways, new materials such as iron and steel, and steam power – provided speed in addition to continuity of delivery and lowered the costs of transportation (O'Brien and Quinault, 1993). Railway systems in particular became the major transportation network within Europe, supplying raw materials and energy sources for factories and delivering finished goods to distant markets – and have remained so.

The success of the new technologies developed in Britain in the late 18th century aroused interest in other European countries (Trinder, 2008). Led by Belgium, Germany and France, continental European countries underwent fundamental changes in their economies with the rise of industrialisation, and they caught up with Britain in a short period of time. Growing progress in production whetted the appetite for new products and technologies. Industrialisation brought forth social and intellectual changes in societies during the 19th century. Labour and capital became

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[6] Shams of Tabriz was credited as the spiritual instructor of Rumi, who was a 13th-century Persian poet, jurist, theologian and Sufi (Harvey, 1996).

concentrated in large-scale manufacturing plants, many of which were located in cities (Trinder, 2008). This gave rise to the modern city.

One criticism of the first generation of industrial cities was their search for creating utopian settlements, which depended on manufacturing but were isolated from the temptations of urban life (Trinder, 2008). Despite the criticism, the tradition continues even today: most industrial sites have company dwellings and social facilities – such as sports fields and public open spaces – that are located close to factories. This is an inevitable need rather than a political strategy. From the mid-19th century, together with the development of modern settlements, large-scale public works such as the development of networks to supply drinking water, electricity and gas or the construction of sewerage systems, were undertaken in major cities to create healthier living conditions (Trinder, 2008). This intention to sanitise living conditions led industrial cities to develop into post-industrial cities, which aimed to relocate industry and bring about the transformation of economic and social life. Cities that had completed their industrialisation have therefore moved towards an age of consumption. Industrial landscapes have been transformed into places of consumption and have experienced dramatic changes resulting in the cities losing their uniqueness and their heritage - in part to their image and branding.

The transformation of industrial landscapes [7] has been introduced after decentralisation. From the 1960s, reuse of industrial buildings has been addressed with more informed policies. Within the scope of the subject matter, the re-functionalisation and reuse of industrial buildings induce significant economic, environmental and social improvement (Stratton, 2000). Empty giant industrial structures, seen as dysfunctional and ugly in earlier periods of modernist transformations and redevelopment of inner urban areas, are now arguably gaining acceptance as cultural heritage (Stratton, 2000). This approach ensures the sustainability of the industrial heritage as well the continuity of the associated cultural landscape. The Rocks experienced tourism as a form of commodification and performance alienated from local communities (Bruner, 2005). However, the industrial buildings in Darling Harbour were seen as post-industrial scars[8], caused

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[7] The term "industrial landscape" is used to express the dwelling units of the manpower enabling the production and the environmental texture that they form (Cossons, 1993).

[8] Anna Storm uses the term "post-industrial scars" as polluted ground, abandoned and overgrown, a bustling urban area or a dilapidated factory (Storm, 2014).

by an industrial activity that embodied another aspect of modern society (Storm, 2014).

The recognition of industrial landscapes and structures is important in order to remember the significant industrial culture. But unfortunately, "the conservation of industrial heritage is determined primarily by taste and money rather than by historical importance or cultural significance" (Spearritt, 1991). Two categories of contemporary industrial heritage recognition are considered in this study in order to examine the post-industrial landscapes. Using Storm's (2014) terms, the 'reused post-industrial landscape' is the first, which can be associated with The Rocks area in Sydney - as an old commercial port and the small industrial site are being reused for new purposes. 'Undefined post-industrial landscape' is the second category used to describe sites such as Darling Harbour, Sydney, that have not been acknowledged as important signifying places from a heritage perspective by the time of their redevelopment.

Making Cities Attractive: Urban Transformation under Capitalist Influence

> To Le Corbusier, we owe the powerful images of high-rise residential "towers in the park" and elevated highways serving segregated traffic flows swooping through cities. (Larice and Macdonald, 2013, p. 91)

Urban transformation strategies were initially developed as a response to the post-war industrial decline of inner cities (Smith, 2007). In the 1960s, suburbanisation moved the middle classes to the periphery, leaving the city centre to production functions and to the blue-collar workers. However, only a decade later, the blue-collar class either followed the production facilities out of the city, or stayed to face unemployment and poverty; socio-economic problems such as sectoral unemployment characterised the city centre in the early post-industrial era (Fraser, 2008). A new social order was soon created as the post-industrial inner-city was colonised by highly paid professionals and 'the creative class' (Florida, 2005), together with the low-paid and/or informal workers of the service sector and the unemployed. The city centre was hence expected to spatially and culturally accommodate the extreme ends of the new social structure; yet the gap between the new classes of the service sector was wider than the gap between the blue-collar and white-collar classes of the industrial city. As a result, inner-city urban space became physically differentiated between "playgrounds for the gentry and wastelands for the legions of low-paid service workers or denizens of the

underground economy" (Logan and Swanstrom, 1990, p. 12). This increasing spatial and social gap is the major factor that gave new directions as well as new forms to urban policy, such as the transformation of those inner-city 'waste lands' with valuable locations into consumption spaces for the 'gentry'. City centre renewal and urban highway projects began during the 1950s and 1960s, in America. The ideas and intentions to develop city centres by building high-rise office towers and residential blocks spread through Europe and Australia (Larice and Macdonald, 2013). However these applications have been insufficient with regard to economic and social problems in the inner areas of cities, as the transformations have created newly gentrified spaces in the middle of the most deprived areas (Imrie and Thomas, 1997; Hall and Hubbard, 1998).

The transformation of urban landscapes has increasingly been driven by economic development issues. These concerns were dominant in urban transformation applications that started in South American and European countries in the late 1970s. Urban transformation projects aimed at achieving such objectives as the inversion of a long-term economic recession cycle, the expansion of consumer services industries, the improvement of habitability of cities by supporting environmental and infrastructural developments, and the improvement of external perceptions of the city have sprung up (Bianchini and Schwengel, 1991). This economic-conscious urban management model paved the way for the 'urban redevelopment', a neoliberal model of intervention commonly launched in the 1980s, usually by central government agencies willing to reverse the decline of urban economies and real estate markets. The emphasis in neoliberal urban transformation policies was on sites with diminished exchange values rather than compromised use values. Intervention on vacant or derelict areas was aimed at ensuring physical improvements in areas labelled as 'short-turnover', that had the potential for high exchange value, usually being in or close to the central business district (CBD) (Weber, 2002). Government incentives of this period were typically not available to spaces that showed transformation needs but had only a small chance of attracting investment in the short run, and hence termed 'long-turnover' in the real estate markets (Weber, 2002). In many cities of Europe and North America, urban redevelopment projects were launched in the 1980s to transform formerly industrial key areas. These schemes have been converting large and functionally diverse urban areas, aiming mainly to benefit investors. In this period, a public–private partnership was the characteristic institutional form for urban redevelopment projects (Hall and Hubbard, 1998). In these partnerships, the public sector was

more of a facilitator, while the private sector managed and implemented the development. According to Smith (1996), the state bore the cost of de-valorisation by acquiring devalued land at market value and returning it to developers at lower prices. The high degree of involvement of central governments in these projects was significant. In many cases, local governments were completely excluded from the institutional organisation – this is best exemplified by the Urban Development Corporations in the United Kingdom.

The term 'urban regeneration' is another transformation model commonly utilised by neoliberal policies throughout the 1990s. In the international literature today, regeneration is used to describe any effort and scheme addressing problems of an already developed urban area or bringing about an improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change. Couch (1990) simplifies its meaning as a tool for the state or local community to bring back investment, employment and consumption and enhance the quality of life. Hausner (1993) on the other hand emphasises that the regeneration approach tends to be "short term, fragmented, ad hoc and project-based without an overall strategic framework for city-wide development" (p. 526). As Weber (2002) indicates, neoliberal urban transformation policies - including both redevelopment and regeneration - are concealed by the state by ensuring trickle-down benefits and collaborative political processes. Keeping this in mind, the term 'regeneration' is used in this study to indicate the most recent phase of evolution in urban transformation policy, which is considered to involve more participation by local actors, more consideration of the social impacts of an intervention, modesty in the scale of the physical development and more emphasis on complementary socio-economic programs than the earlier 'redevelopment' approach.

All in all the way in which 'the city' was reshaped during the second half of the 20th century was a transformation from an industrial city into a global city. In a context of global competition between cities, the purpose of neoliberal-based entrepreneurial urban transformation applications has been identified as city marketing, image configuration and physical renewal aimed at boosting the image. The post-industrial inner-city sites abandoned by production functions appeared as opportunities for transformation schemes aiming to create high-quality and prestigious built environments that would accommodate global capital. Cities were advertised as favourable locations for both business and leisure through mega-projects and mega-events (Savitch and Kantor, 1995): "In the midst of the 1980's property boom, the large-scale physical redevelopment of the city itself took the centre stage in this

process of enhancing the city's image" (Hall and Hubbard, 1998, p. 7). These large-scale schemes were mostly adopted by the advancing finance centres of the global economy, in order to attract international investment from global finance and the advanced service sector, via impressive physical elements symbolising power and prestige; these include office towers as well as luxury residence and consumption spaces (Couch and Fraser, 2008). These 'mega projects' have become the most important element of city marketing (Bianchini and Schwengel, 1991).

Cities have been aiming at making themselves more attractive to investors and tourists by presenting their social, physical and cultural differences through these projects, such as hotels, convention centres, shopping malls and cultural facilities, historical heritage parks, the transformation of historical heritage to new functions, prestigious office buildings and housing settlements. This new urban structure, which focuses on tourism activities and services related to entertainment and retailing has also led to the transformation of former industrial areas within cities. The social, political and economic structure of these cities based on production has shifted to places of collective consumption and a substantial impairment of local identity (Wynne and O'Connor, 1998).

The urban redevelopment schemes of the 1980s revealed the prioritisation of attracting global investment and global consumption, such as tourist activity, rather than improving urban conditions for the citizens and the local economy (Loftman and Nevin, 1996). These highly central, property-led urban redevelopment schemes of the 1980s were heavily criticised for their top-down approach and financial failure (Brownhill, 1990; Colenutt 1991; Smith 1991; Fainstein, 1994). Critics also pointed out the negative social impacts of these schemes, such as the withdrawal of funds and efforts from welfare budgets (Harvey, 1989), the encouragement of low-paid service-sector employment (Loftman and Nevin, 1996) and the creation of the dual city (Castells and Mollenkopf, 1991). Not only scholars but also local governments and community groups have been opposing the private investment–orientated approach to urban transformation, creating pressure on the central governments responsible for these schemes. This political pressure, together with the heavy financial burdens of conducting these long-term projects, low levels of financial success and continuation of the socio-economic problems of inner-city residents, who are merely relocated, showed that this form of intervention in declining urban areas was not sustainable.

Although the government can be credited with positive intervention with the working class, it also holds its share of responsibility in capital's pernicious effect over urban

spaces. It is the government which produces the abstract space of managerial and economic dominance, which denies the communal or social relationships supporting the reproduction of daily life (Lefebvre, 1991). To Lefebvre, the work of Haussmann who destroyed the historical spatial use values evident in Paris for the sake of strategic space, exemplifies the deterioration of urban life under governmental action. Haussmann's strategy was to direct workers towards the peripheral areas, to replace the space with the ruling class and to halt deterioration in the city centre.

The government's intervention also plays an effective and critical role at different scales and in every phase of the capital accumulation process, the excess of which always seem to precede major global crises. Great infrastructure projects, such as the railway builds carried out in Europe in the middle of the 19th century, require huge-scale investments that can only be realised with the support of the government and of a highly developed financial system. By backing such infrastructure development, the government encourages excessive accumulation which provides the opportunity to fictionalise the investments and opens the door for economic meltdown (Harvey, 2011). As Lefebvre (1976) exposed, state interventions and capital, the rise of new sectors including tourism and leisure, bureaucratically administrated consumption and rapid urbanisation have all given rise to the deepening of capitalism in everyday life. Through observing and critically interpreting such alienating and commodifying socio-spatial relations, Lefebvre revealed that the serialised production of abstract space was internalised in everyday life through the moral principles and consent that provide a hegemonic ideological power over the definition of political priorities. Thus, Lefebvre's conception of the production of space could be considered as an urbanised conception of hegemony, which gives rise to the commodification, alienation, homogenisation and fragmentation of everyday life practices (Lefebvre, 2008). Urban development projects play key roles in the rise of the alienation and commodification of the contemporary capitalist city.

The Restructuring of the City of Sydney and the Role of Government

Sydney is now a city of consumption[9] as much as production.

(Freestone, 2000, p. 123)

The government had a major impact on the urban development of Sydney, as an initiator of urban change and as a reactive force to control the changes stimulated by external and internal effects. Three levels of government, including government departments, semi-independent agencies and advisory bodies, have been involved in development and planning decisions and have made direct and/or indirect impacts (Rich et al., 1982).

In the post-war period, as part of the capitalist world, Australia continued its "land and urban development including real estate, building, construction, road building, car manufacture, sales and repairs" (Alexander, 2000, p. 98). The Local Government Amendment Act was passed by the NSW government in 1945, to enable the preparation of a land-use plan for metropolitan Sydney as guidance for local planning schemes (Evans and Freestone, 2010). Regarding the urban sprawl and the growth, the first metropolitan planning documents were prepared by the Department of Main Roads, NSW in 1945.

These blueprints were largely incorporated with the Cumberland Planning Scheme, a plan prepared by the Cumberland County Council (CCC) in 1948 and intended to serve the needs of the entire city of Sydney (Rich et al., 1982; Turnbull, 1999). The main issues considered were the size and location of arterial roads; the zoning and usage of land; water supply; the location and size of greenbelts and recreational areas; and the areas where the new settlements and new population should be located (Turnbull, 1999). The Cumberland County Plan, enforced in 1948 and then enshrined in the law in 1951, specifically emphasised the classic understanding of the CBD, and promoted the redevelopment of residential, industrial and commercial land use, without any consideration for late Victorian and Federation heritage buildings (Alexander, 2000). The plan aimed to rectify two major problems of the time; the overcrowding of the inner suburbs by the working-class, and the congestion and incompatibility of land uses within the central areas such as Redfern and The Rocks. It meant to disperse the population and industry away from the

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[9] This consumption is symbolised by its precincts such as Darling Harbour that contain a museum, a festival marketplace, a hotel, a casino, a restaurant, a conference centre, an exhibition facility and the general ambience of a theme park (Freestone, 2000).

core, arguing it would help capitalise on the cheaper periphery land and ensure employees greater geographical proximity to their workplace (County of Cumberland Council 1948). Subsequently, the plan encouraged the construction of railways and promoted motor transport.

Although spearheaded by local administrations and the government, this top-down planning approach had been shaped by landowners and promoters of estates, inspired by a profitable desire to open up a new country. "The CCC was a new type authority sitting between local councils and the state government" (Evans and Freestone, 2010, p. 225). This was Sydney's first move towards decentralisation. This restructuring of the city by means of zoning plans resulted in the land allocation and has introduced the suburbanisation of Sydney by embracing the American Dream.[10] This development created fragmentation in the neighbourhoods, as the mobility became uncontrolled, and caused a decline in local shopping and employment in the city centre. The population moved out towards the cheap suburbs such as Liverpool (Green Valley), Blacktown (Mount Druitt) and Campbelltown (Macquarie Fields, Minto, Claymore & Airds), generating 'characterless' social communities (Spearritt and DeMarco, 1988, p. 12). Encountering a process similar to that experienced in a number of American cities, such as Detroit and Philadelphia, Sydney also experienced a change in the mix of economic activities between 1947 and 1957: the CBD saw a sharp decline in manufacturing, wholesaling and retailing - the city lost 22,000 industrial employees - and a growth in office-based industries such as finance and property, public administration, and community and business services. Post-industrial society was shaping up with the provision of personal and business services and developing faster than the production of goods (Rich et al., 1982). Figure 3.1 gives references to living and industrial areas, business and commercial centre, rural, green belt, parks and recreation areas, as well as county roads and railways within the Cumberland County Plan. Figure 3.2 shows the planned business and commercial centre which subjected the decentralisation.

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[10] The suburbs were developed as an opportunity and an alternative to the crowding of central cities. The American Dream was known as an ideal and frequently associated with homeownership, if all metropolitan residents were confined to central-city boundaries. Development activity outside central cities has been enabled by innovations in transportation as well as public subsidies that have borne the cost of infrastructure such as roads, water supply and electricity. The trend towards deconcentrated urban form was further advanced by the advent of the automobile culture (Calthorpe, 1993).

Turnbull (1999) describes the post-war years from 1949 to 1965 as politically and culturally 'steady as he goes' during the Menzies era. Politically, this was a time of belief in technology and its development, "willing to let the resources be plundered as long as there were some crumbs for the rest of the cake baked for the few rich" (p. 20). In 1955, Australia welcomed its one millionth post-war immigrants (p. 188). In that immediate post-war period, the social changes were below the surface. However, by the middle of the 1960s, they had become more obvious. The decades of the 1950s and 1960s were also marked by political conflict, with the Korean War in 1950, the Cold War following World War II and the rising spectre of communism. The post-war economic boom did not gather momentum until the early 1950s, when the building boom began. In the second half of the 1950s, industrial expansion was increasing and was substantial. This was a time when Australian cities began to be marketed as places of entertainment in a bid to capture increased tourist disposable income, and city governments invested in large-scale developments with a greater tourism and leisure focus.
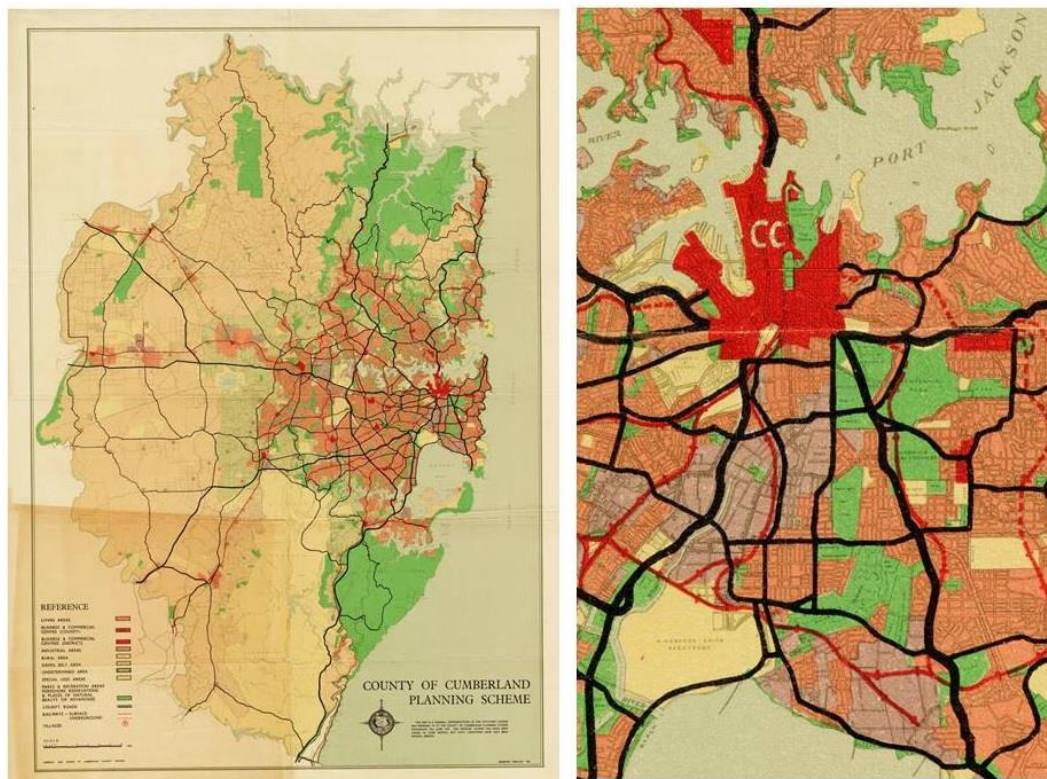
Figs 3.1 & 3.2: The Cumberland Planning Scheme, 27 June 1951

(Source: City of Sydney Council Archive)

Mundey (1981), as a conservationist, argues that the 1950s led to much destruction in Australia. Over this decade, Sydney witnessed spatial changes similar to Lefebvre's analysis: in 1958,[11] the opening of the controversial Cahill Expressway (Figure 3.3) cut the city–water connection [12] (Freestone, 2000; Farrelly, 2002). Although the connection continues from different ways, the structure is an eyesore. Drawing from the experience of the Cumberland planners, who had pointed out that the uncontrolled mobility and private car usage had turned Sydney into a 'hopeless maze' (Spearritt and DeMarco, 1988, p. 17), the planners began discussing more road spaces with long-distance links and considering proposals for motorways and expressways providing connections between the outer suburbs and the city centre. Regardless of the destructive effect of these plants on the communities based in The Rocks and of the extensive regeneration of properties involved, the Cahill Expressway (in 1962) and the Warringah Freeway (in 1968) were built (Spearritt and DeMarco, 1988). Figure 3.4 indicates the locations of the Cahill Expressway and the Western Distributor.

Fig 3.3: An aerial view of the construction of the Cahill Expressway in 1957, looking east from the Bradfield Highway

(Source: Denis Winston, 1957, *Sydney's Great Experiment*)

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[11] Cahill Expressway in central Sydney completed in 1962 (Alexander, 2000).

[12] See Appendix 7

Moreover, around 1958, the high-rise building boom in abandoned city centre was incipient. The Height of Buildings Act had been amended in 1957 and plans were made to build the first skyscraper – the AMP Building (Figure 3.5), with 26 storeys – at Circular Quay (Spearritt and DeMarco, 1988). Soon, tall buildings were spreading on the foreshores. In addition to the AMP project, Caltex House on the Southern approaches to the Harbour Bridge and the earlier MLC building in North Sydney are examples of commercial office blocks in CBDs.
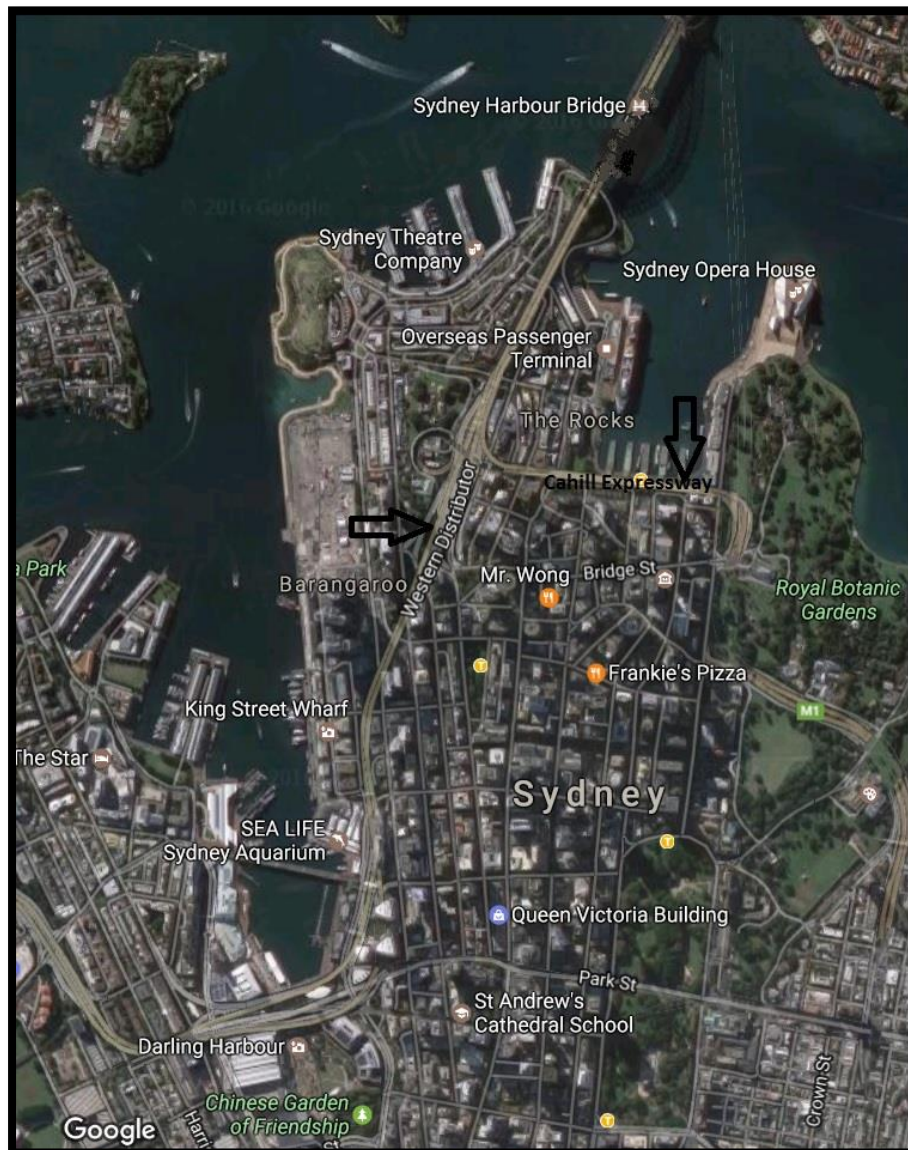
Fig 3.4: A location map of the Cahill Expressway and the Western Distributor

(Source: produced by the researcher, using a base map from Google Earth, 2016)
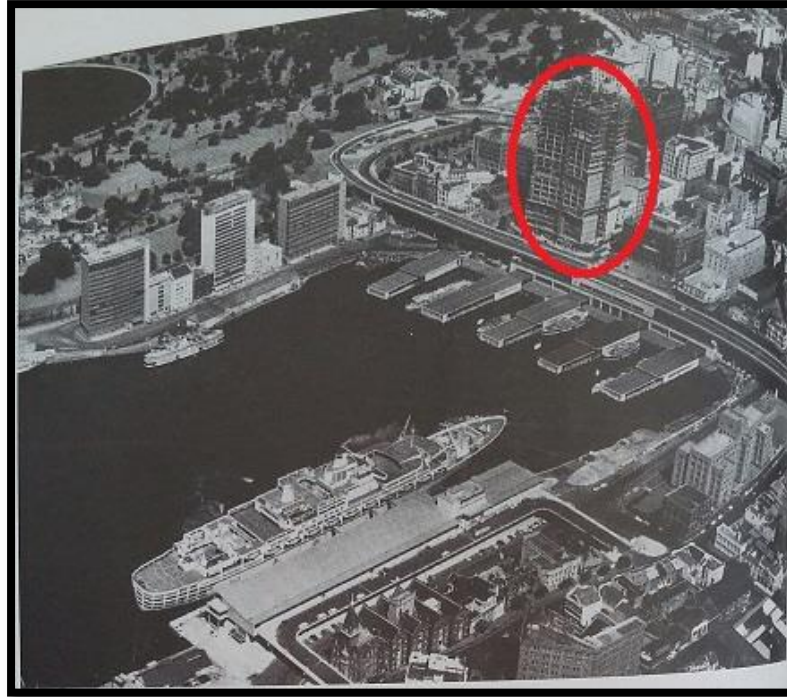
Fig 3.5: The construction of the AMP Building in 1960

(Source: Spearritt and DeMarco, 1988, p. 90)

This furthered the industrial replacement process. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, lighter industries, wholesaling, storage and transport firms migrated from the central area towards the inner-city areas and other minor maritime-related activities were displaced because of the rising land values in the CBD. They moved through inner-city areas, especially Alexandria–Waterloo. These activities were classified as shipping agents, fire- and marine-related insurance companies, shipowners related to shipping companies and agents, stevedores, shipbuilding industries, bond stores, travel agents, marine manufacturers and engineers, wharf construction companies, oil merchants and refineries, cargo and marine surveyors, ship provedores, nautical instrument makers, brokerage firms, and importers and exporters (Proudfoot, 1996). Along the East Circular Quay, the bond stores have been demolished to make space for the redevelopment of the Unilever curtain-wall building as an international hotel (Spearritt and DeMarco, 1988, p. 90).

The Sydney Regional Outline Plan was published in 1968, as a strategic plan by the State Planning Authority of NSW (SPA) under the Liberal government led by Robin Askin. The major concerns of the plan were to accommodate growth and maintain Sydney as Australia's major city, to cope with new demands but also ensure the adequate use of the existing facilities, and to further relocate industrial land by

decentralising jobs (Rich et al., 1982). Having removed the (Labor) City of Sydney Council from its position of responsibility in 1967, Askin gave the SPA the power to control and overturn councils' decisions along with the authority to control developments over 45 metres in height. The SPA was ready to use its power to encourage changing 'the city almost beyond recognition' (Turnbull, 1999, p. 187). Development applications - in particular, millions of square metres of office space - were approved one after another by the commissioners (Ashton, 1995). This introduces a period known as 'the long boom', which refers to the intensification of industrial change in the central industrial areas. Figure 3.6 shows the increase in the numbers of office workers, retailing and services between the years 1945 and 1981. The city centre having become unsuitable as a place for production, the historical industrial production sites were increasingly relocated towards Alexandria, Waterloo, Zetland, Beaconsfield and Mascot (Turnbull, 1999; Fagan, 2000). Harvey (1990) associates this post-industrial period with the era of 'late capitalism', when capital accumulation and the distribution of labour and markets became more flexible while spatial mobility increased, facilitating relocations (cited in Harrison and Schofield, 2010).

	1945	1961	1981
Office workers	85 000	127 620	139 860
Retailing	40 000	21 500	13 200
Services	na	16 770	13 300
Manufacturing, building, communications	na	51 200	22 640
Total	200 000	217 090	189 000
Proportion of metropolitan workforce	30%	22%	13%

Sources: County of Cumberland Planning Scheme
        Report 1948
        Australian Bureau of Statistics Census 1961,
        1981

Fig 3.6: Employment in the CBD and the Sydney region, 1945–1981

(Source: Spearritt and DeMarco, 1988, p. 99)

The change in the workforce continued over time. According to an analysis of the jobs held by the workforce in City of Sydney in 2011, financial and insurance services (77,938 people), professional, scientific and technical services (73,544 people) and public administration and safety (30,990 people) became the three most popular industry sectors. Figure 3.7 shows the largest changes in the jobs held by the workforce between 2006 and 2011 in the City of Sydney were for those employed in professional, scientific and technical services (+12,333 people), financial and insurance services (+8,479 people), education and training (+3,866 people) and information media and telecommunications (+3,688 people).
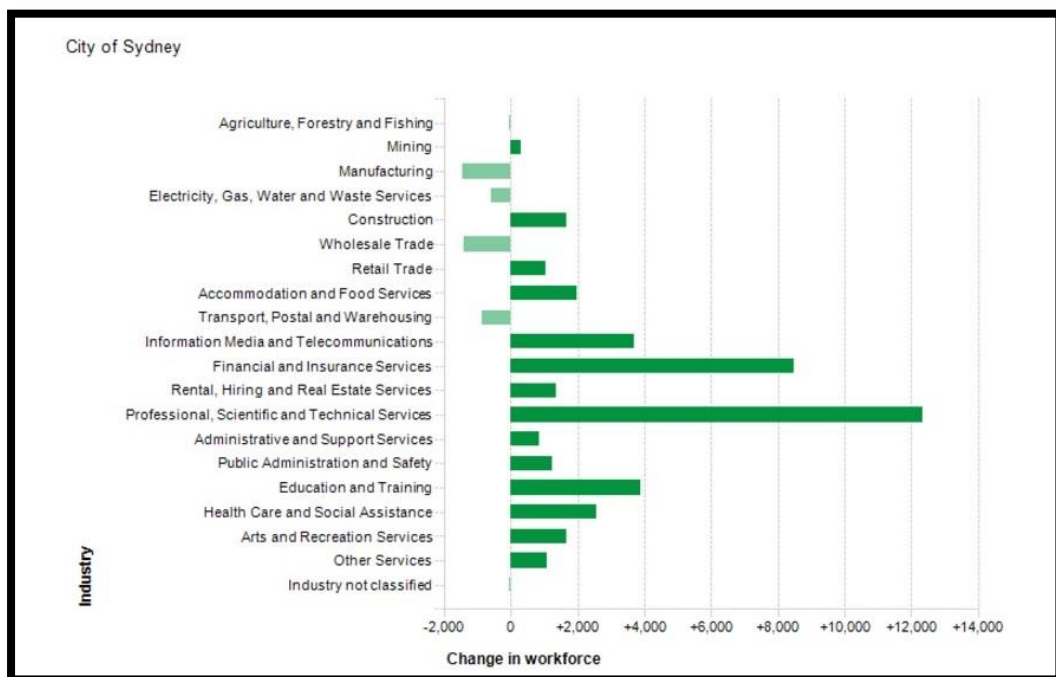
Fig 3.7: Change in employment (Census) by industry sector, 2006 to 2011

(Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census of Population and Housing, 2006 and 2011)

The City of Sydney Strategic Plan, prepared by the Council of the City in 1971, formally outlined the future development of Sydney. The plan assigned the city the roles of a communication centre, a cultural and recreational centre, an educational centre, an administrative, commercial and financial centre, an entertainment and tourist centre, a retail trading centre and a residential centre. It accepted the decline in wholesaling, storage and manufacturing in the CBD, but kept them close to adjacent wharves (Pyrmont, for example) (City of Sydney Strategic Plan, 1971).

As a consequence, the 'long boom' continued from 1968 until 1976: 210 buildings were built in the CBD, 84 of which went up after 1971 (Turnbull, 1999). Figure 3.8 refers to the growing number of new office buildings from 1956 to 1986. Factory

sites, warehouses and associated import–export offices faced rising costs and were forced to relocate to industrial sites linked to the interstate highways, as decided by the zoning policy introduced in the 1950s (Fagan, 2000). The decentralisation of Sydney's manufacturing was further affected by the rise of the Australian mining industry from 1965 to 1975. New construction projects within the suburban peripheries, such as in Bankstown and Liverpool, created new demands on capital industries. These demands took the form of the establishment of subsidiary plants of transnational corporations (TNCs). It was impossible for them to develop in the central city areas. Hence, Sydney's manufacturing had become orientated towards the national and local markets. The most dramatic changes in Sydney's urban economy were to take place in the late 1970s, when newly industrialised countries created pressure through the manufacture of high-technology goods at low cost, hindering Sydney-based firms' attempts to break into new export markets (Fagan, 2000). Investment portfolios were diversified and provided capital for the development of hotels and shopping centres as well as offices (Rich et al., 1982).
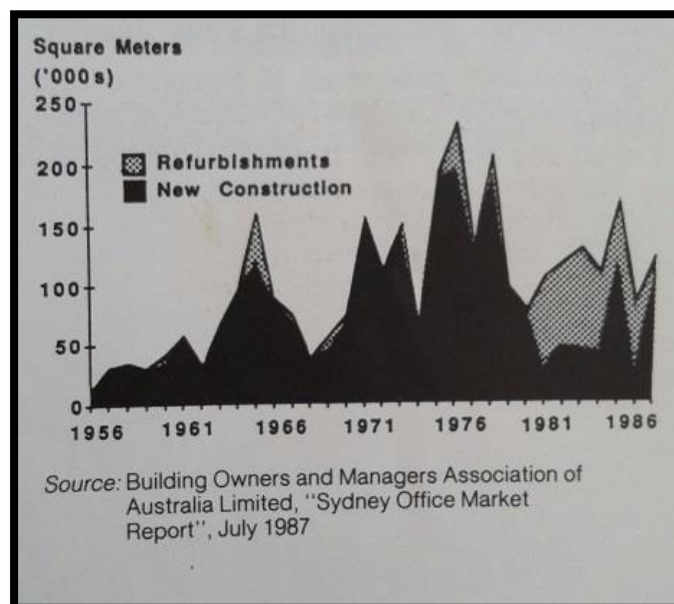
Fig 3.8: New office construction in the Sydney CBD, 1956–1986

(Source: Spearritt and DeMarco, 1988, p. 91)

Land values started rising from the 1970s onwards (Turnbull, 1999). The revival of post-Fordist flexible accumulation production systems spurred economic concerns during the 1970s (Searle and Cardew, 2000): "Excessive government intervention was seen to generate bureaucratic decision making, which stifled competition and efficiency. High levels of taxation needed for public spending drained the

'productive' private sector" (Taylor, cited in Searle and Cardew, 2000, p. 357). Sydney's urban development has been influenced widely, at both metropolitan and local scales. By 1971, more than 60 federal and state government departments were directly influencing the decisions in the City of Sydney Local Government Area - meaning that government policies were having urban impacts. Market forces and government policies have been in conflict with urban planners, environmentalists and urban conservationists. In Sydney, the CBD had become a place of conflict between the state government and the city council over planning decisions (see Appendices 1 and 2). The projects were backed by powerful executive decisions, suspending the council authority and creating special state legislation that transferred responsibility for planning to special development corporations (Freestone, 2000), such as The Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority, established in 1970 to develop The Rocks, and the Darling Harbour Authority, established in 1984 to develop Darling Harbour[13].

Market liberalisation has dominated Sydney's economic development planning since 1976. In 1976, the Wran–Unsworth Labor government came to power in NSW and continued until 1988. In their policies, the NSW state governments used planning to secure major investments. The economic development of Sydney is associated with the changing "state powers under Australia's federal system, the state land legacy of a long mixed economy tradition, and state political influences, notably government ideology and the potential for premiers to be separate 'agents' in economic development planning" (Searle and Cardew, 2000, p. 356).

In 1983, the Labor government looked to stimulate the Australian economy by developing neoliberal policies of deregulation. This shift in policies enabled the city to attract foreign investment, which had impacts on property development, real estate and service industries. This rapid development brought pressure on land use. Industrial areas neighbouring the CBD faced deindustrialisation and were forced to be decentralised by the early 1980s (Fagan, 2000). By the middle of the 1980s, the approach of the Bicentenary (the celebration of the second century since the arrival of the First Fleet of British convict ships in Sydney) created another building boom, which would leave indelible landmarks on the city's landscape (Turnbull, 1999) such as the construction of the Western Distributor (Figure 3.9).

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[13] The detailed exploration of these two special development authorities is included in the case study chapters (Chapters 6 and 7).

Fig 3.9: An early 1984 aerial photograph of the construction of the Western Distributor
(Source: Darling Harbour photographs, SHFA Archives)

Premier Neville Wran and the government decided to exploit the potential of overseas tourism growth by constructing international hotels by leasing historic government sites such as the old Treasury building in Sydney's CBD. Attracting mobile investment to compete with global cities was the focus of the government, regardless of location within the city (Searle and Cardew, 2000). Many of Sydney's international hotels, such as the Park Hyatt, the InterContinental, the Ritz Carlton and the ANA Hotel [in The Rocks], were built in the 1980s (Turnbull, 1999). This approach soon resulted in the redevelopment of Darling Harbour by creating "a major entertainment and leisure destination for tourists as well as locals, generating thousands of badly needed jobs" (Searle and Cardew, 2000, p. 365).

Sydney: The Post-industrial Waterfront City

The harbour is central to Sydney's distinctive image and identity. The idea of the port city was derived from the central role played by the port in the city - though this is open to interpretation in multiple dimensions, including political, socio-economic, functional and technological aspects depending on space and time (Hoyle and Pinder, 1992). One of the most important factors behind the development of port cities was the potential increase in commercial advantage. Coastal cities have always enjoyed the commercial benefit of a port function, and the emergence of the

railroads and the development of waterways fit for the operation of ships in the 19th century further sharpened this edge (Hoyle and Pinder, 1992). They have all experienced a similar cycle of development and transformation in different periods, depending on their economic and local conditions, their geographical locations and their sizes (Hoyle, 1993).

Hoyle explains the development of modern port cities in five stages (Figure 3.10). At first, the port cities of the early periods and the Middle Ages required maximum functional dependency and a very close spatial relationship to the city. Second, the growing port cities of the 19th century crossed the traditional borders as a result of Europe's developing foreign policy and the improvements brought about by industrialisation and technological advancements such as the introduction of the railways and steamboats. Third, the modern industrial port city evolved a distinctive spatial separation of the port and the city, and that provided opportunities for oil refineries, industries that required large amounts of space and container terminals. Fourth, the emergence of maritime industrial development areas boosted port development and, as a result, strengthened the withdrawal from the coastline to the city centre. Finally, the concept and issue of coastal revitalisation emerged in many of the world's port cities (Hoyle et al., 1988):

> The stages of the evolution of waterfronts can be illustrated from San Francisco to Sydney, from Southampton to Singapore … Each case is unique, but the underlying principle remains largely the same. (Hoyle 1993, p. 333)

STAGE	SYMBOL	PERIOD	CHARACTERISTICS
I Primitive port/city		Ancient/medieval to 19th century	Close spatial and functional association between city and port
II Expanding port/city		19th-early 20th century	Rapid commercial/industrial growth forces port to develop city confines, with linear quays and break-bulk industries
III Modern industrial port/city		mid-20th century	Industrial growth (especially oil refining) and introduction of containers/ro-ro require separation/space.
IV Retreat from the waterfront		1960 s-1980 s	Changes in maritime technology induce growth of separate maritime industrial development areas.
V Redevelopment of the waterfront		1970 s-1990 s	Large-scale modern port consumes large areas of land/water space; urban renewal of original core.

○ city   ● port

Fig 3.10: The evolution of the port/city interface
(Source: adapted from Hoyle, 1997–1998, p. 268)

Ports emerged and developed in areas where commercial activities were available (Hoyle and Pinder, 1992). When these activities started to move away from cities during the decentralisation period, the physical and social changes brought with them economic and social dilapidation in urban spaces. The storage and transportation facilities that used to be crucial for ports became useless and were abandoned. The relocation of ports and their associated functions from their original locations to spatially isolated sites accelerated, and as the zone was deserted, reuse of these abandoned spaces and buildings increased (Ashworth, 1992) as part of the urban transformation. Industrial use has been determined according to the size of the area, the availability of buildings and parking lots, and the water and electricity supply. These factors enabled the transformation of such areas into recreational sites (Craig-Smith, 1995). Selected parts were refurbished with shopping centres, hotels and a variety of services. The successful operation of historic resources as cultural heritage has supported the growth of touristic–historic cities.

Sydney has had a significant demand for waterfront land for decades, with its substantial wharves, a variety of bond stores, warehouses, woolstores and maritime offices. Furthermore, customs and insurance offices, provedores and ship's chandlers were built along the quays (Davison and McConville, 1991). This close and distinctive relationship between the city and the port was evident in Sydney until the late 1960s. The waterfront of The Rocks (Sydney Cove and Walsh Bay) and Darling Harbour used to be the sandstone foreshores of the Port of Sydney, where maritime commerce and industry, and road and railway networks were established (Proudfoot, 1996). With the development of the port facilities, the settlement at Sydney Cove strongly determined the form of the early township and the urban morphology of central Sydney, to the extent that the European settlements at Sydney Cove became the contemporary CBD. As the city was extended during the 19th and early 20th centuries, maritime activities continued to influence land use (Proudfoot, 1996). Sydney's docklands were the main arrival and landing places until the 1970s. Waterfront docks, wharves and quays played a significant role in Australia's history of trade, colonisation and settlement.

Global restructuring since the 1960s has brought about important changes in the economic reorganisation and physical structure of urban waterfront areas. The 1971 City of Sydney Strategic Plan had suggested the redevelopment of Darling Harbour to cater for the massive tourist trade. In this manner, the Sydney waterfront site would have served the city and accommodated an increasing number of tourists,

and the elements of national heritage would have been preserved (Proudfoot, 1996). However, the idea of redevelopment went beyond preservation. On the site of the old ports, the former railway goods yard and the power station, the planning processes were advocating place-marketing, city imaging via the rise of the tourism sector, lifestyle retailing, luxury hotels and entertainment (Freestone, 2000). The Maritime Service Board (Sydney's port authority at that time) eventually decided to redevelop the port facilities to cater for new uses (Rimmer and Black, 1982; Proudfoot, 1996). This was the last, but most significant, phase of the development of the Port of Sydney. It included the redevelopment of all the finger pier wharves to the north of Pyrmont Bridge in Darling Harbour and the development of the Passenger Terminal at the waterfront of The Rocks (West Sydney Cove) to accommodate facilities for overseas passengers and visitors (Proudfoot, 1996). The Mort Bay, Balmain, Glebe Island and White Bay container terminals were built, and insufficient facilities to handle increased trade led to the commissioning of Port Botany. Industrial growth and maritime activities extended from Darling Harbour to Port Botany (Turnbull, 1999). A variety of bond stores, warehouses, woolstores and maritime offices, and substantial old harbour wharves became obsolete (Kelly and McConville, 1991). Although the railway goods yards were still operating at that time, Darling Harbour and the south-western side of the city were seen as 'run down relics of Sydney's industrial past' (Turnbull, 1999, p. 315).

Three maritime land-use surveys, for the years 1950, 1971 and 1985, show the significant seaport constructions in Sydney Cove, Walsh Bay and Darling Harbour and the structural zones with their component elements of the central area (Figure 3.11) (Proudfoot, 1996). These surveys also reveal significant changes in the maritime commerce and industry elements in the CBD during those past years. The difference between the 1950 and 1971 surveys clearly reflects the removal of the finger pier wharfage and its replacement with lineal quayage in Darling Harbour.

The opportunity to reclaim these wide-spanning abandoned spaces within the city centre's higher material value area affected the decisions of governments to transform these areas. Transformation projects were skewed towards water activities and recreational and tourism facilities, together with green and open areas offering people a getaway from the oppressive built environment. Rehabilitation was considered to renew ecological cycles, and to turn compromised historical values into thriving components of the city itself (Hudson, 1996).
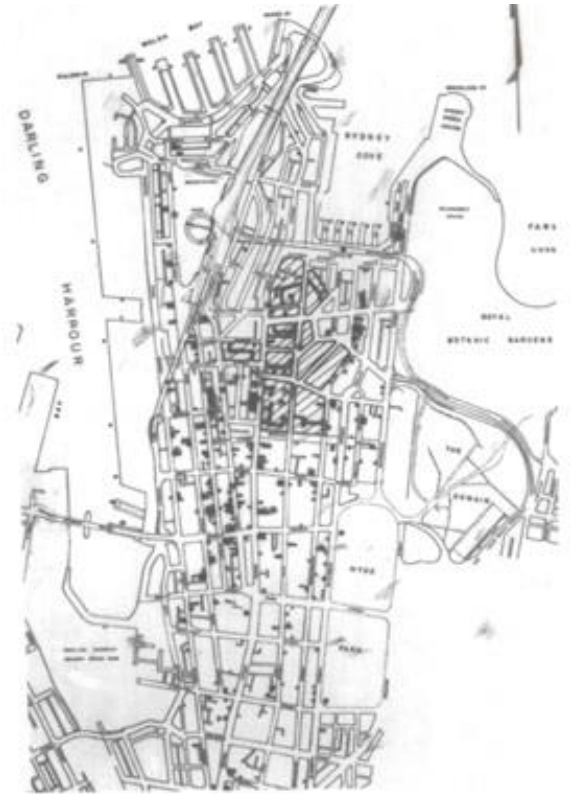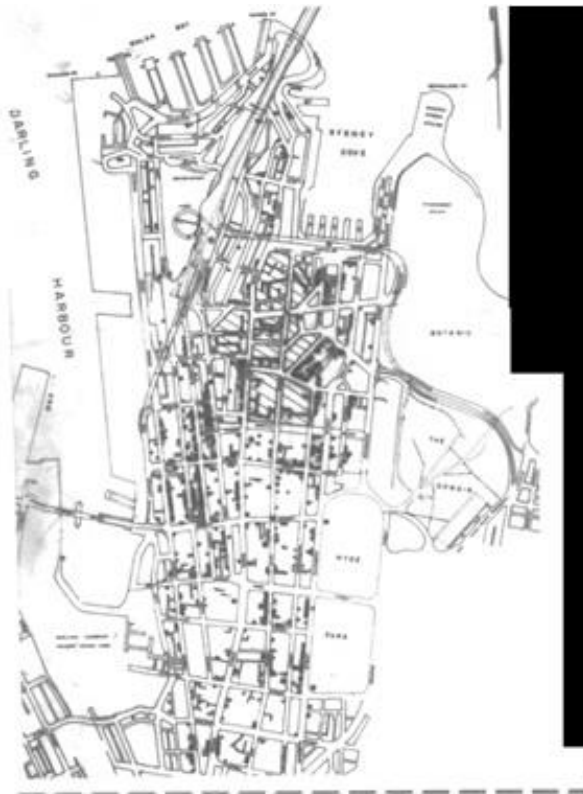
Fig 3.11: Land-use survey maps, 1950, 1971 and 1985

(Source: Proudfoot, 1996)

The Rocks and Darling Harbour, located on the waterfront in Sydney, were transformed for entertainment, commercial and recreational purposes (Proudfoot, 1996).

Conclusion

The work of Urry (1995), from his sociological perspective, is highlighted to explore the transformation of places of production into centres of consumption in which people can purchase and use goods and services. Urry's argument has a greater relation to the major argument of this thesis, as he discusses the decline of manufacturing industries and the rise of the service sector in Western countries. In this chapter, it has become evident that the development of multinational companies has affected the economic position of governments and that the private sector has become more effective (Urry, 1995). Urry's approach towards post-industrial cities and his exploration of space corresponds to Lefebvre's and Harvey's perspectives. Through neoliberal urban policies, attempts are being made to define and position these ideas as a technical device that facilitates planning investment, increases the value of immovable urban properties, re-attracts investment for idle sites in terms of economic return, and ensures that the city can be branded and marketed. These projects and transformations are aimed at a 'new production of the city', with an embraceable planned approach to providing a healthier economic and urban life. Sydney's urban waterfront, as in many other such cities, was looking for a place in the global world, for the creation of a new identity and for the marketing of this new identity in the process (Hoyle et al., 1988).

The discussion showed the transformation of maritime infrastructure and historic city centres has become the focal point of this transition from the industrial to the post-industrial city. But it has also argued how this period of deindustrialisation has brought about the demolition of industrial history and a Disneyfication[14] of cities. Thus former industrial waterfronts and historic city centres became places of consumption as a result of competitive urban transformation strategies promoted by professional and business groups as well as by governments. Moreover, these strategies have led historic city centres to share the same strategies and the same

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[14] "Disneyfication" represents the detachment of cities from their histories and the standardisation of consumer culture (Zukin, 2009).

fate - the loss of their cultural and historical values against overwhelming tourism pressure. Instead of creating new ideas to promote the areas and provide more distinctive strategies for each different destination, it is more achievable to make cities look just the same (Zukin, 2009). The argument of this thesis is to examine the intersection of this restructuring process and the changed approach to heritage within historic city centres. Chapter 4 explores the 'heritagisation' [15] process associated with the creative destruction of neoliberalism, which transforms places into socially and economically attractive sites by representing selective histories. Chapter 4, therefore, will examine the loss of the industrial heritage and working-class communities that reflect the cultural and historical significance of industrial places.

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[15] "Heritagisation" is a phenomenon related to the discussion of production and consumption in terms of transforming historic places into touristic attraction center and promoting them by avoiding the experiences of those places during their transitions (Lowenthal, Hewison, Samuel and Urry, cited in Harvey, 2001).

CHAPTER 4: HERITAGE

Heritage is no joking matter. Wearing national costume is a mark.

(Harrison, 2004)

By now, there appears to be no element left intact and untouched from the original pre-1788 settlement around Sydney Cove. Only the cut rock faces, the waters of the harbour (albeit polluted) and the sky serve as man-modified links of that earlier landscape, and have survived as essential ingredients of the natural heritage of the place.

(NSW, Department of Environment and Planning, 1985)

Heritage is an ambivalent mixture of the authentic and the manufactured, and it aims to offer 'ordinary people now' the chance to encounter and learn about 'ordinary people then' (Dicks, 2000). People value heritage because of its selective meaning, associated with people's perceptions and personal attachments. They want to relate themselves to a place which culturally constructed subjective meaning they can find. Heritage can provoke different understandings at the local, national and global levels (Salazar, 2010). In this respect, what has been preserved and what has been interpreted or represented has the utmost importance. Calvino (1978) states that a city soaks up its history like a sponge and that a city should contain its past. Heritage corresponds to inheritance and implies transfer from one generation to another. Due to its role in conveying the historical value of the past, it is seen as a part of the cultural traditions of communities:

The impulse to preserve is partly a reaction to the increasing evanescence of things and the speed with which we pass them by. In the face of massive change, we cling to the remaining familiar vestiges. And we compensate for what is gone with an interest in its history. (Lowenthal, cited in Nuryanti, 1996)

Heritage – in particular, industrial heritage in this study – should be managed not only to protect the built environment but also to improve the cultural significance and quality of life. In this sense, heritage is essential for creating community and cultural continuity (Shackel 2001, p. 10). Industrial heritage refers to the products, housing, settlements and processes of industrial communities. Industrial sites may not be

beautiful and attractive, but they are our heritage. In this respect, heritage is 'a certain way of knowing the past' (Byrne, 2009, p. 230).

This chapter provides the theoretical framing of heritage and focuses on the negative stance and attitudes towards industrial landscapes that have led these areas towards a discreetly selected representation of their history and to a commodification of the past.

Conceptualising Heritage

> The city does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written on the street corners, the gratings of the windows, the banisters of the steps …(Italo Calvino, 1978)

The concept of heritage can be used to describe many things, from an entire landscape, grand palaces or ordinary dwellings to archaeological sites or small pieces of bone. The concept of heritage encloses the relationship between a nation's history and history-making, as well as the process of 'production of the past in the present' (Harrison, 2013, p. 5). Ashworth (2009) describes heritage as 'the contemporary use of the past' (p. 104) and argues that heritage has been created to be used on cultural, social, political and psychological occasions. He also defines heritage as a diverse and vaguely demarcated product. Heritage is not only something that people wish to pass on generation by generation; it has also become a scientific study field, so that preservation and survival are created through a number of principles, processes and practices (Timothy and Boyd, 2003).

Vecco (2010) identifies heritage as a 'patrimoine', which means heritage from ancestry in French, thus considering past experiences and traditions as heritage (p. 321). He says that the term patrimoine expanded its meaning gradually during the last decade of the 20th century and underwent a process of semantic change. Consequently, the use of the word patrimoine became prevalent to refer to monuments, heritage and cultural property. The cultural dimension of heritage became part of the concept during the international institutionalisation that took place between 1930 and 1945 (Vecco, 2010). Initially, in the protection and management of cultural heritage, a physical approach was adopted. The implementation of protection of the historic environment started in Europe in the late 19th century, with the protection of urban tissue that constituted the background for significant monuments. Protection effort was made an international subject of debate for the first time in 1931, in an article about enhancing the aesthetic value of

historical monuments, at the Athens Conference organised by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) (Smith, 2006). The aim of this conference was to depict the need to protect the artistic, historical and scientific monuments of different countries by means of legal measures. Accordingly, general principles and doctrines regarding the protection of historic monuments were created and termed the 'Carta Del Restauro' (Charter for Restoration) (Jokilehto, 2005).

As urban and rural protection activities unfolded in Europe, public opinion gained awareness of the losses sustained by historic cities that were destroyed in World War II in the years up to 1945 (Smith, 2006). This awareness was improved with the establishment of Council of Europe in 1949. In 1954, the members of the Council of Europe signed the European Cultural Convention at The Hague (Jokilehto, 2005). The basic purpose of this convention was to achieve the preservation of heritage among the member countries in Europe and to enhance the awareness of preservation issues.

Harrison (2013) discusses the history of heritage in four phases, and he argues against the assumption that heritage is uniform and stable, explaining that heritage has undergone major shifts over the past 150 years, as various contexts – such as those in Europe, the United Kingdom and North America – have developed. Harrison (2013) states that the first phase of heritage is connected with public awareness concerning with the preservation of the natural and cultural environment. This context was developed during the 19th century from a Euro-American perspective. He relates this period to the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, as the outsets of modernity, nationalism, scientific questioning, liberalism and the opening up of a globalised world. The second phase characterises the emergence of World Heritage and covers the 20th century, during which state controls over heritage increased. During this period, more regulatory and bureaucratic approaches were followed to deal with heritage. Harrison (2013) claims that this phase marks the emergence of the 'manipulation of heritage' (p. 46). Modernist planning was applied to standardise state projects and the management of heritage sites came under the influence of central administrations. Harrison (2013) describes the third phase as the period associated with the development of post-industrial economies and a new form of late-modern capitalist society. This period postdates the introduction of the World Heritage Convention in 1972. The fourth and the final phase is the heritage boom of the late 20th century, when public interest in the past as heritage was expanded. The heritage boom (Hewison, 1987; Walsh, 1992, Lowenthal, 1998; Dicks, 2003) period was related to deindustrialisation, the

restructuring of the tourist gaze and the widespread commercialisation of the past as 'experience'. It was when culture became a product of globalisation and led to a series of economic and political transformations; when cultural tourism became a dominant tourism aspect in the world economy. Kevin Walsh (1992) refers to this process as 'heritagisation', a process in which "objects and places are transformed from functional things into objects of display and exhibition" (Harrison, 2013, p. 69).

The growth of the heritage phenomenon since the late 20th century (Herbert, 1995) has been concurrent with urban and economic restructuring since the 1960s; heritage has come under increasing scrutiny. Heritage is defined by individuals, communities and professionals; it may be 'an economic and/or leisure practice, and/or a social and cultural practice' (Smith, 2006, p. 13). Heritage is thus a practice that can have many meanings, particularly when considered in the light of the public interest and tourism.[16] Smith (2006) argues that heritage involves meaning and identity-making (p. 13). During the transition process towards the post-industrial economic period, which began in the 1970s, commercial alignments and economic commodification of heritage emerged as an aspect of the burgeoning leisure industry, and the link between the marketplace and heritage became apparent (Harvey, 2001). Heritage has also been politicised and used for the promotion of a nation or a specific area. In addition, heritage has been seen as a product for tourism and as an industry that creates new desires and expectations. The roles of heritage, seen previously in the narrow context of symbols of national unity and pride, have expanded to include much broader phenomena, contributing to political ideals, economic prosperity, social cohesion and cultural diversity (Clark, 2005).

Discussions about and descriptions of heritage have polarised in disconnected ways. One aspect is focused on the technical side of conservation of heritage, dealing with physical forms of heritage, while the other argues that heritage should be regarded as a cultural process, engaging with the field of the social sciences (Smith, 2006, p. 3). This polarisation has fuelled a distorted perception that positions heritage as disconnected from society, frozen within a history that feeds itself and is influenced by itself, and that regards monuments as the important structures of heritage. This perception is critical, because it has paved the way for the evolution

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[16] Tourism is examined in the next chapter as an economic tool that has been accepted to transform former industrial waterfronts.

of heritage from buildings and objects that carry a special and an aesthetic meaning to a failure to interact with society (Waterton and Smith, 2009).

The categorisation of heritage into tangible and intangible has made this perception more significant. Many consider the distinction as inadequate, as it is not actually possible to separate social activity from the physical world. Tangible heritage requires physical objects deemed as having historical or cultural significance; and intangible heritage is the expression of values, lifestyles, traditions, social structure, festivals and events (Jamieson, 2006). However, anything (or even nothing) can become heritage, but not everything is (Howard and Ashworth, 1999).

Today, heritage is a broad term that can be used to describe anything, such as buildings, monuments, memorials, songs, festivals and languages (Harrison, 2013). Heritage is not just a 'thing' but is a cultural and social process. It is a way of understanding the past and engaging with the present (Smith, 2006). The meetings held for the protection and management of cultural heritage and their ensuing resolutions periodically reveal differences, which reflect that between handling tangible and intangible heritage. During the years from 1930 to 2000, discussions were conducted on what tangible heritage comprises and how it should be handled; its management and laws, and objective criteria were set out. Reflexion about intangible heritage got under way starting in about 2000 – in particular, with the Cracow Declaration and UNESCO –, and different subjective criteria were set out, since management of tangible and intangible heritage differs (Vecco, 2010).

The Western authorised heritage discourse (AHD) drew attention to "aesthetically pleasant material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that must be protected in order to pass them to future generations for their education and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past" (Smith, 2006, p. 29). The AHD also revealed an apparent need for expertise, a focus on national identity, tourism and education, and a sense of inheritance and patrimony. Although it is characterised by a bias towards tangible heritage, it focused on the privileging of the white middle and upper classes and their impacts on heritage. In this sense, the AHD brought heritage into discourse and made it a discursive practice. Using critical discourse analysis techniques, Smith (2006) has critically analysed the Venice Charter issued by

ICOMOS[17], the Burra Charter issued by ICOMOS Australia and UNESCO's World Heritage Convention, to investigate how the AHD aimed to construct a universalised idea of heritage (Waterton et al., 2006). She argued that AHD disengages the past and the present as it suggests that the past needs to be looked after by 'experts' seen as caretakers of the past and needs to be saved 'for future generations' (Smith, 2006). This consideration of heritage undermines the meaning and value of heritage places in the present. However, heritage constructs and reconstructs various identities and meanings in the present. Its interpretation and conservation embodies belonging and understanding in the present (Smith, 2006).

The Venice Charter was created in 1964 for the purpose of preserving and protecting monuments. The international importance of this charter derives from its ground-breaking inclusion of urban and rural settlements into the concept of historic monument. This charter drew attention to the fact that a monument should be preserved together with its environment, which is a significant step forward. In relation to this, protection of a monument should also comprise maintenance of its environment provided its scale is not exceeded. If there is the traditional environment, it should be left as it is. No new extension, destruction or modification that would change mass and colour relations should be allowed. (ICOMOS, 1964)

Another important aspect of the charter is its claim that the preservation of historic monuments should be sustainable. The basic point of preserving historic monuments is to act with joint responsibility:

> the new generation should eyewitness historic monuments that bear the message of the past and sustain such days. People are becoming more conscious about old monuments with mutual humanitarian values and common heritage. Protection of heritage with joint responsibility shall allow next generations to be familiar with such heritage and this depends on protecting their authenticity in cooperation. (Vecco, 2010, p. 322)

The historical patterns of the Industrial Revolution began to change as a result of the decline of major industries. The desire to transfer the old ways of the industrial era constituted 'nostalgia' for the industrial past, as well as helping to fuel the heritage boom and the 'museumification' of the West (Edensor, 2005, p. 12;

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[17] ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) is an international and non-governmental organisation. Its objectives are to protect sites and historical monuments, to support and to direct each kind of research about conservation and assessment techniques, theories and methods (http://www.icomos.org).

Harrison and Schofield, 2010, p. 132), in which the 'nostalgia' was not an expression of 'it was better back then' but, rather, was characterised by an aspiration for working-class values. 'Nostalgia' often implies a critique of the heritage industry in terms of heritage becoming a product (Smith et al., 2011, p. 3). In this sense, industrial heritage as 'landscapes of nostalgia' has also been linked to tourism as an important socio-economic phenomenon, a new tool to promote heritage within economic restructuring (Gordon and Raber, 2000). Harrison and Schofield (2010) suggest that the increase of interest in the heritage industry is the result of the deindustrialisation process and is linked to changes in both communications technologies and society. They also state that the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1972 can be the best symbolic adoption of the developments in the heritage field. However, the UNESCO's convention divides heritage into two parts: natural heritage and cultural heritage. Cultural heritage is the part with which this thesis can be linked, in terms of the consideration of 'monuments, sites and buildings' within the context of industrial heritage. But the Convention does not include social values or meanings of places (UNESCO, 1972).

The UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Natural and Cultural Heritage (1972) divides concrete cultural heritage into three parts: universal architectural works that are exceptional in terms of history, art and science, masterpieces in sculpture and painting, elements and structures with archaeological qualities – inscriptions, caves and combinations of such elements; separate or unified groups of structures that have exceptional value in terms of history, art and science because of their architecture, sense of harmony and locations on land; and man-made works that have exceptional value in terms of history, aesthetics, ethnological, anthropological or common works of nature and man, and areas that cover archaeological sites. Intangible cultural heritage covers verbal, auditory elements and rituals that are transferred from one generation to another over many years.

The Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention adopted on 17 October 2003 posits that this concept shall encompass implementations, representations, narratives, information, skills described as a part of their cultural heritage by communities, groups and individuals in some instances and tools, equipment and cultural locations related to them (UNESCO, 2003). It also includes language, which functions as a conveyor in the transfer of intangible cultural heritage, verbal traditions and narratives, the performance arts, social implementations, rituals and celebrations arise in the areas of nature- and universe-related information and

implementations of handicraft traditions (UNESCO, 2003). UNESCO classifies intangible culture specifically: verbal expressions, art performances (traditional music, dance, theatre etc.), social implementations, rituals, festivals, universe- and nature-related implementations and information, and traditional craftsmanship are included within this classification. Intangible cultural heritage contains values that may not be held in one's hands or seen with one's eyes; however, it brings a society into existence. Heritage comes into existence within people rather than within inanimate objects. For this reason, intangible heritage is the place where tangible heritage is based, because people have created tangible assets by reflecting all these values into works of art (Ruggles and Silverman, 2009).

UNESCO's Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972) and the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention, 2005) are important milestones in the process of change of understanding about heritage, providing a perception that cultural heritage consists of more than monumental structure(s), and that conservation should not only be physical but also social. The object-orientated approach has been left behind and a more pluralist and participatory approach has been adopted by the Faro Convention, which has made an important point about participant modelling in the protection and transformation of cultural heritage sites by stating that the individuals who are interacting directly with the heritage should be involved in this process of protection (Waterton et al., 2006).

The European Charter of Architectural Heritage, adopted in 1975 by the Council of Europe, expressed the view that the architectural heritage of Europe is not only comprised of large monuments. Small groups of buildings located at historic cities and man-made villages are also in the scope of architectural heritage. Architectural heritage is concretised expression of the past (Council of Europe, 1975). For this reason, it is irreplaceable social, economic, spiritual and cultural capital. Such values need to be protected so that human life can continue in a balanced and healthy way. At the same time, the article seven of the charter states that residents should not be coerced to evacuate ruined historic sites, and that such elements should be included at the forefront of all city and regional planning principles, introducing the idea that historic sites should be protected while kept alive. The articles included in the charter revealed a more philosophical approach to the protection of heritage. Importance was accorded to human, educational, integrated management concepts in protecting heritage (Council of Europe, 1975).

The Australian version of the Venice Charter, the ICOMOS Burra Charter, was created in 1979 and focused on the fabric of places or buildings. This focus derived from the cultural significance deemed to be inherent in the fabric of a building. The charter was rewritten in 1999 with a more participative approach. The most important emphasis of this charter is its depiction of the concept of participation, intended to ensure that the protection, planning and management of sites would be carried out with the participation of the community (Smith, 2006; Vecco, 2010). Extracting expressions from hundreds of definitions of cultural heritage, it covered culture and "material and symbolic, belonging and existence, macro and micro, local and institutional, production and local welfare", and characterised cultural heritage as the expression of relating to transfer of culture to today's or the next generations (Gibson and Freestone, 2006, p. 22).

From the 1980s onwards, the role of cultural heritage management authorities has spread towards local agencies, entities and organisations. The most important development during these years has been the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe (1985), made for the protection of architectural heritage in Europe. This convention systematised the basic principles of cultural heritage in Europe and divided architectural heritage, which is an expression of diversity and richness of European cultural heritage, into three categories, namely 'monuments, groups of structures and sites' (Council of Europe, 1985). Another important development of the late 1980s was the Washington Charter (Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas), published by ICOMOS in 1987. Similarly to the 1964 Venice Charter, it insists that large or small historical urban areas containing cities, towns, historical centres or squares must be handled together with their natural or man-made surroundings (Jokilehto, 2005). This charter describes principles, methods and targets related to protection of historic cities and areas (ICOMOS, 1987).

Since the 1960s and 1970s, heritage has emerged as an industry that intercedes between present and history. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, economic and urban restructuring developed with the changes in production and in consumption patterns and increased leisure activities. Those material and economic changes have produced the institutionalised structures of memory and nostalgia that find their expression in heritage. They also gave rise to the official forms of heritage as a formal phenomenon (Harrison and Schofield, 2010). Hewison refers to this proliferation in recognising more places for their heritage values as the 'heritage

industry'. He suggests that heritage is an imposed concept, to garner 'middle-class nostalgia for the past' (Hewison, cited in Harrison and Schofield, 2010, p. 131).

Urry (2002) argues that the barrier between the heritage asset and the scenario, which shapes the heritage experience, has become increasingly blurred, and that the idea of features identified as significant about a place is becoming depleted. Tunbridge (1994) defines heritage as a "contemporary commodity purposefully created to satisfy contemporary consumption" and considers it as a resource for tourism development, which is attractive to both domestic and foreign investors (Long and Labadi, 2010, p. 6). The heritage industry has grown into the creation of new museums, touristic zones as initiatives undertaken by city governments as cultural redevelopment strategies[18]. These cultural strategies have become the new products of capitalism and have shaped the spread of the culture industries (Jameson, cited in Harrison and Schofield, 2010).

Zukin (1997) determines urban consumption as the satisfaction of everyday needs, and she refers to the spaces related to new arrangements for leisure, culture and travel. The 'heritage industry' to create new museums and tourist zones (Zukin, 1998, p. 826) has been encouraged by such redevelopment strategies as that used at The Rocks. The alliance between 'a backward-looking heritage and a forward-looking enterprise' was the adopted understanding to replace the recession of manufacturing by tourism and leisure (Dicks, 2000, p. 9). The replacement of a public allowance with private investment has become the essential point of a heritage project. Heritage has become the ultimate product of an entrepreneurial culture, which means giving a city, material qualities that dominate daily forms and constrain subsequent courses of action (Harvey, 1989; Dicks, 2000)

From a different point of view, geographer David Harvey (1990) argues that the emergence of new modes of capital accumulation [19] around the early 1970s increased spatial mobility. Heritage is now related to more recent societal changes, rather than to any transition in the experience of place and space (Harvey, 2001). Urry (2007) states that people find various reasons to be mobile or to visit some

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[18] In post-industrial cities, old and derelict industrial sites, waterfronts and warehouses have been turned into sites and symbols of postmodern urban forms, suitable for lifestyles best exemplified by the proliferation of 'festival marketplaces', theme parks, galleries, museums, fashionable 'nouvelle cuisine restaurants', and streets full of bars and cafés (Zukin, 1998).

[19] This new mode of capital accumulation has been discussed in Chapter 3, with an argument involving shifting from industry and a manufacturing-based economy to a service-based economy.

places, and find reasons to be drawn into the attractiveness of such places. Graham Fairclough (2011) describes heritage as:

> a group of resources inherited from the past, which people connected with themselves regardless of ownership as a reflection and expression of their kaleidoscopic values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. This contains all aspects of an environment formed as a result of the interaction between people and places within time. (2011, p. 36)

Accordingly, the structure of society within a heritage site needs to be taken into consideration. A society that is (re)organised through experience, liability and relationships acts within different areas of interest (Waterton et al., 2006). This description of society refers to the importance of cultural heritage and cultural values in creating people's commitment to a place, a building or a region. Smith states that "the real sense of heritage is intangible" and argues that heritage does not exist but, rather, it can be described as a cultural and social process, an experience or an act of "passing on and receiving" (Smith 2006, p. 11, p. 2). In this respect, heritage is the shared values of societies, which designate a belonging to a region, a city or a country (UNESCO, 2008).

At this point, the subject of 'identity' plays a significant part in defining cultural heritage. Identity is a relationship that proves the existence of a person, revealing who he is and what he is. It is structure that mankind produces over time and space. Anything from the past that provides a sense of belonging is cultural heritage, and mankind will have the feeling of belonging to a place through this knowledge. For this reason, cultural heritage is also a situation that completes the individual. All of the relationships that would emerge here would be between individual identity and location. Depending on this, cultural heritage is "an important part of the welfare of the community and people. [….] For this reason, preservation of heritage not only contributes to keeping the environment of buildings healthy; it also helps the definition of identities of communities and cultural identities, the character of that location in a very significant way" (Tweed and Sutherland, 2007, p. 62). Cultural heritage is very important for cities and towns; however, current definitions of heritage adhere to a narrow, architectural and traditional perspective. In many countries, such values are preserved by creating legal definitions of concrete heritage. However, since the preservation of single structures and monuments is aligned with current laws, this may sometimes create problems. Many important problems arise out of the failure to evaluate areas within cities or towns as conservation areas, whereas they actually constitute the main part of the city's

character. Such parts of cities make up samples of a single cultural diversity, historic nature, street patterns or examples of other urban morphologies and cultural features (Tweed and Sutherland, 2007).

Heritage, Transformation and Community

> Cities are erected on spiritual columns. Like giant mirrors, they reflect the hearts of their residents. If those hearts darken and lose faith, cities will lose their glamour.
>
> (Shams of Tabriz, quoted in Elif Shafak, 2010, p. 49)

The work of Doreen Massey (2005) reminds us that a place has more than one story and that heterogeneity in the representation of a place will not reflect the real heritage of that place. Heritage is about understanding the multiple pasts in the context of the present; it is the use of the past in the present, and it is more than material artefacts, sites and places – it is also about the meaning (Harvey, 2001). What meaning about a place do we want to pass to future generations? Byrne (2008) states that places function with their signified meaning and that meaning comes from the local knowledge of local people in heritage sites. In this respect, trying to understand the relationship and the interaction of heritage with the community is problematic. The concepts of community and heritage have entered the academic terminology as contested domains and have provoked debate in the past. But then the research field began to recognise community and heritage as part of each other, which means that heritage practitioners and heritage managers genuinely need to engage with owners or stakeholders in heritage sites (Waterton and Watson, 2011).

The polarisation mentioned earlier in this chapter has bred a dilemma between transforming and renewing heritage, and keeping it alive. Ignoring the historical character of a place can result in losing its local community. Dicks (2000) states that local residents are the 'subjects' and 'objects' of local knowledge and that they are the heritage of the places. She describes a new form of heritage as 'vernacular heritage' and argues that this new type of heritage cannot ignore local people. Hence local people, who have a connection to the past, are the centre of the experiences and histories that reflect the identities of places (p. 148).

Local heritage and local people reflect local lives, which cannot be represented in museums. Communities identify their historical and cultural resources, then develop these resources with the intent of sharing them with travellers, and also see them as

economic opportunities (Cass and Jahrig, 1998). Community groups provide ideas which influence the pace and the pattern of development. Especially in port cities and in waterfront redevelopment, they are seen as an agent of change (Hoyle, 2000). A historic place reflects what generations of people have made of it when they inhabited it. As suggested earlier in this chapter, most towns and cities are made up of layer upon layer of people's lives and activities. People's ways of life, such as industrial life, contribute to the cultural and economic prosperity and heritage of a nation. This context implies inheritance and it is irreplaceable, but this does not mean that people (communities) are not ready for a change. The major issue is the conditions of this change, because once the heritage is gone, it is gone forever. If transformation is necessary, it should be desirable for the residents and sensitive to the historic environment; redevelopment should be inspired by the uniqueness and identity of the place (Cossons, 2000).

In modern discourse, community has been associated with a theme of loss. This term has been discussed by various sociologists, such as Robert Nisbet (1967), Ferdinand Tonnies (1955) and Max Weber (1978). They have suggested that the emergence of capitalism, the rise of commercialisation and the formation of modern cities have led to the failure of communities. Similarly, Rousseau argued that modernity is a destructive political power for communities, as it alienates individuals (Rousseau, cited in Delanty, 2003). Rousseau's perception of the community was based on social relationships, claiming that autonomous institutions are an obstruction to the re-creation of communities (Delanty, 2003). This Rousseauist perception comes from the Enlightenment period and reflects on transformations of post-industrial cities and the associated loss of community. In this research, it refers to the missing representation of industrial communities during the renewal and development of former industrial landscapes. It is evident that the political powers and the governance put an emphasis on urban growth and new forms of entrepreneurialism. It is argued that cities have gained more capital and attractiveness by refashioning their economic activities through the development of leisure amenities that have enhanced the cities' image (Gospodini, 2006).

Communities can creatively respond to the transformation initiatives if a powerful partnership with governments can be forged. It has been suggested that the objective of urban transformation is to manage the social, economic, environmental and physical problems of deprived urban areas. The communities of those areas should have a voice in this process, since community refers to 'people who have in common' – this gives people their sense of belonging (Day, 2006, p. 1). If others

completely transform their industrial landscape, residential or working area, what do the locals feel about where they belong? The idea of belonging is not the key concern of this research. It is regeneration, renewal and redevelopment that create symbolic economies and symbolic communities that change the character of old city centres. Zukin explains this process as the production of neighbourhoods, the creation of new communities in old districts and the production of authenticity, and she argues that all these happenings distil the distinctiveness of cities (Zukin, 2010). In this sense, the historic city centre, the community and the industrial identity are closely related. Industrial structures not only represent physical monuments of industrial communities, but also construct a multi-layered meaning of a place (Bruce and Creighton, 2006).

Transformation in heritage sites occurs at the level of physical transformation, but social, economic and cultural factors, as well as the inclusion of the community into the plans, are also affected. This is the modern approach to the creative development of society, where decisions are made by individuals together with the government and other stakeholders (Borrup et al., 2006). This approach plays an active role in participation-based projects: "The society development model, a creative and interdisciplinary activity, can be described as all of the works done to meet social needs and improve the life quality of the society in hand" (Borrup et al., 2006, p. 15). The local community's participation in the transformation changes investments, along with social and spatial relations. In particular, a positive relationship between the government and the community potentially influences the power of local development as well as heritage preservation (Tonkin, 1995). In this sense, one of the most important precautions in order to protect the cultural heritage embedded in a transformation project is to ensure that decisions will be accepted by the people within the development area, to act together with these people and to ensure collaborative progress rather than a coercive approach.

Community groups have a decisive influence on the relationship between the levels of economic prosperity and the political issues. This influence was ignored during the redevelopment of Darling Harbour: most of the applications performed in heritage areas have patently adopted the opposite approach. The negative impact of ignoring the general character of the region was felt, and participated in creating the current social order. But in the case of The Rocks, residents' groups opposed the particular development decisions and held their strong position, thus participating in the decision-making process. Sancton (cited in Hoyle, 2000) states that if the pressure for growth and development is irresistible, the influence of the

community disappears. This was what happened in the 1980s with the decision to demolish the industrial heritage in Darling Harbour.

Heritage is a fascinating concept, incorporating commercial, political or social value but also, crucially, an inherently endangered one, always at risk of being forgotten, deteriorating or wearing out over time. Demolition – in other words, outright destruction or bulldozing – is the usual threat faced by heritage unless it has been protected by legislation or listing (Harrison, 2013). A survey undertaken by English Heritage in 2011 expressed the view that industrial buildings are more at risk than any other form of heritage, even when they are listed industrial heritage buildings (Gray, 2011).

Contingency or Misfortune: Industrial Heritage

Industrial heritage has gained recognition in the past 50 years or so: the material evidence of industrialisation has begun to be valued and awareness has been raised. Most of the initial interest in industrial heritage grew out of the changing public perception of heritage (Cossons, 2012). There has been some debate on whether industrial heritage studies should be concerned with a range of human activities or a particular time period. Since industrial heritage received widespread recognition in the mid-20th century, arguably for the first time, the growth of pride in past industrial achievements began to counterbalance the adverse social consequences with which it had for so long been associated (Cossons, 1975). Centralised in the United Kingdom (UK), activists mobilised a widespread effort to record 18th- and 19th-century industrial relics before their destruction by new development. Taking up the banner of archaeology, Michael Rix published the first treatise on 'industrial archaeology' in an article in *The Amateur Historian* in 1955, emphasising the need to record and preserve industrial remains before they were demolished. Standardised recording procedures soon followed, established by the Council for British Archaeology Industrial Archaeological Research Committee (Cossons, 1975).

In 2003, TICCIH defined the values of industrial heritage included among heritage resources. Industrial heritage is accepted as the combination of evidence that arrives at historical results. This evidence allows understanding of the industrial and technological developments that have taken place to date. Although it is a physical field of study, it helps to observe the products that reflect human behaviour and that allow for cultural development. Thus, industrial heritage has both tangible and

intangible components, as it consists of both the physical remains and the memories of places and people engaged in industrial processes. This includes buildings, technologies and landscapes that reflect both the physical and the social processes associated with industry (Cossons, 1975). In the bylaws of TICCIH, industrial heritage is defined as the "remains of industrial culture which are of historical, technological, architectural, social, cultural and scientific significance/value" (TICCIH, 2003). In 2011, ICOMOS and TICCIH extended the meaning of industrial heritage further to:

> sites, structures, complexes, areas and landscapes as well as the related machinery, objects or documents that provide evidence of past or ongoing industrial processes of production, the extraction of raw materials, their transformation into goods, and the related energy and transport infrastructures. (City Plan Heritage, 2014)

Industrial heritage plays a great role in recovering lost and damaged areas on the economic and urban scale. The sustainability resulting from reutilisation contributes to social development. As such, industrial heritage is an economic resource. Its correct use allows saving the energy that would have been lost with demolition. Industrial heritage structures and areas are requisites of contemporary life, and should be incorporated into the lives of citizens together with traces of past and today's utilisations (The Nizhny Tagil Charter, 2003). In this sense, the scope of industrial heritage is defined as the traces of the industry or the transportation system of the past. The term 'past' here is inclusive of a time span that ranges from a prehistoric mine to aeroplanes, or even computers that were manufactured recently but are no longer functional (Buchanan, 1981).

One of the most common discussions about the definition of industrial archaeology/heritage is the time span to be considered. Many researchers agree that the relevant historical period starts with the Industrial Revolution in the late 18th century. According to Palmer and Neaverson (1998), industrial archaeology concentrates on the period in which manufacturing at the level of domestic or craft production stopped and moved into industrial or capitalist production. In the Nizhny Tagil Charter, quoted earlier in this Chapter, it is also accepted that the historical period extends from the beginning of the Industrial Revolution to the present day, together with an emphasis on the examination of earlier pre-industrial and proto-industrial roots (TICCIH, 2003). However, another group of researchers argue that the beginning of the time span should be set earlier. Blockley (1999) claims that the

industrial monuments of the Roman Empire or the manufacturing techniques of the prehistoric period are just as significant as the developments of the 18th century.

When the discussion is evaluated in the light of common definition of industry in the literature, the first approach is much more acceptable. The word 'industry' is often associated with 'systematic labour' and 'large personnel and capital'. The transformation from small, family workshops to factories eventuated with the Industrial Revolution after the 1730s. The earlier manufacturing establishments are also vital for an understanding of their time, and for comparison with later examples, but industrial archaeology or industrial heritage should be considered within the era starting from the Industrial Revolution. Kocka (1999) indicates that industrialisation brought change to the forms of social activity; work and home have been separated from each other. He also points out that industrialisation facilitated continuity and concentration on capital but, most importantly, the definition of 'bourgeois' shifted to 'middle-class'. This transition has been associated with an industrial identity with a common economic interest.

Industrial heritage is arguably an uncommon cultural discourse, which advocates the preservation of redundant industrial sites. It differs from traditional heritage values that look attractive to local communities (Cossons, 2012). Industrial heritage is not widely appealing, due to its association with working-class life and working-class heritage. The AHD definition, "the great and the good, the beautiful and the old", both under-represents industrial heritage and animates the misinterpretation. Aesthetic value has been considered in terms of built heritage deemed worthy of adoration by cultural elites (Smith et al., 2011), while in relative terms, industrial heritage is seen as misunderstood heritage (Cossons, 2012) and has gained less attention (Xie, 2015).

The interpretation of industrial heritage is often about physical structure and excludes the relationship between working communities and the place of production (Smith et al., 2011, p. 2). Industrial heritage has been interpreted in the absence of a notion to explain the structure of this culture and the development of its heritage. The expression of the industrial culture by means of unspecific definitions has made it difficult to understand industrial heritage, and has caused further disintegration of this culture, which already had a fragmented structure (Alfrey and Putnam, 2003).

Industrial heritage serves its purpose when it is considered as a part of the culture (Alfrey and Putnam, 2003). A structure such as a factory, warehouse or goods shed can reflect a historical meaning and can be associated with the past, informing us

about the experiences and memories associated with the industrial landscape. This is why Cossons (2012) states that "understanding is the key. From understanding grows caring, from caring grows sound conservation, from sound conservation, comes inspiration and enjoyment" (p. 17). Storm (2014) indicates that the acknowledgement of industrial scars left over as a result of industrial activity would show the other side of the history of the modern society. The concept of industrial heritage is based upon the fact that industrial resources are an indication of development (Council of Europe, 1985).

Industrial structures are interrelated through the relations formed regarding a particular production process and method. Industrial archaeologists respond to questions based upon concrete evidence by means of documents. These questions are the projection of theoretical approaches. Such theoretical approaches not only have functional and technical contexts, but also social dimensions and symbolic meanings. Within the frame of this theoretical approach, industrial archaeology has to devise an economic and technological discourse in addition to revealing documents about the products, and is also empowered to explain how structures and events influence human behaviour. It can be considered that, as a result of such an approach, industrial archaeology contributes to social development and organises social structure (Gould, 1994). The factors involved in studying industrial monuments and taking an inventory also reflect on their historical dimensions. Such factors connect with the past through their physical, documentary, verbal or cultural contexts (Buchanan, 1981). Each element that survives the industrial culture should serve as a source for understanding the industrial past. In this sense, the old functions and characteristics of industrial monuments should be analysed to reflect the industrial culture.

The industrial values of a structure come into play when industrial heritage structures are to be used within the scope of transformation. When selecting the proper functions of the structures, the values as stated in the Burra Charter should be taken into account, because there are symbolic values that connect the past and the present, and they should be evaluated based on the remains of these historical buildings. Scientific values not only include industrial heritage structures, but also all of the associated values, and they examine the industrial past in all its aspects. Economic values are effective in the re-functionalisation of structures. In parallel with the dynamic structure of the environment, industrial resources also have economic values as well as aesthetic values (Palmer and Neaverson, 1998).

Love or Hate – Preserve or Demolish: What to Do with Industrial Heritage?

The spatial growth of cities and the urbanisation of the population gained speed with the introduction of industry and technological changes. Although some industrial sites have been deemed aesthetically attractive within contemporary urban and natural landscapes, many industrial structures in the city centres have been regarded as 'visually contaminated environments' (Urry, 1995, p. 187). Since the 1970s, the widespread attitude towards industrial structures has involved destruction or privatisation, accompanied by the capitalist movement of urban restructuring (Severcan and Barlas, 2007). Former industrial structures or sites have created empty spaces in cities. They have become ruins, and ruins create spaces for the liberation of cities from their everyday constraints.

Studies on the preservation of industrial heritage were first undertaken in England. In the 1950s, activities concerning the preservation and recording of industrial monuments were carried out during renewal works. In 1963, the Industrial Monuments Survey was established and the first recording processes were started, under the name of 'Records of National Industrial Monuments'. In France, interest in industrial areas began in the 1970s. After 1983, industrial regions began to be recorded by an institution called the Inventaire Générale and within that institution; an industrial heritage group was formed under the name 'Industrial Heritage Room'. In addition, national industrial information centres were established in France and in the Netherlands. With the end of the Cold War, works on the preservation and recording of industrial heritage gained momentum in England and France, followed by Belgium and many Scandinavian countries. On the international stage, UNESCO has included many industrial regions on the World Heritage list (Palmer and Neaverson, 1998): nowadays, 138 of over 1031 sites are listed as industrial heritage (UNESCO, 2015).

The establishment of TICCIH in 1973 brought forward various criteria for industrial structures to be considered as industrial heritage for the World Heritage List. The industrial structure should have been a leader of technological development in its time; should have had a successful and high-quality technical implementation; should be one of the examples of structures that keep on functioning and have a completely protected system of technical equipment and production; should have started around with industrial production; should have played an important role in the constitution or development of the Industrial Revolution; should represent an example of newly constructed buildings in that industrial area; and should have been a pioneering place of production in the world in its time. According to these

criteria, The Royal Exhibition Building in Melbourne and its surrounding Carlton Gardens, designed for the great international exhibitions of 1880 and 1888, is the only industrial heritage site in Australia on the World Heritage List. Its brick and timber, steel and slate construction, which combines Byzantine, Romanesque, Lombardic and Italian Renaissance aspects, reflects progress by displaying industry from all nations (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1131).

The consideration of the significance of industrial heritage has evolved, and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) has declared 18 April 2006 as the 'International Day for Monuments and Sites'. In a declaration, it has declared that industrial heritage, which includes some of the best examples of humanity's creative power, is in danger of extinction because of abandonment and destruction, and called for greater awareness and integration of people with this heritage.

The Heritage Movement in Australia, Looking at Sydney

Industrial waterfronts in Australia have been refashioned by city authorities in Brisbane, Newcastle, Fremantle and Sydney (Waitt, 2000). The city centre in Sydney dominates Darling Harbour from its western side, Pyrmont shore and the image of the city centre is closely related to the harbour, including The Rocks (NSW, Department of Environment and Planning, 1983). Darling Harbour and The Rocks, the inner-city waterfront, used to feature urban activities such as commerce and industry, with an intermingling of ships, wharves, cranes, warehouses, factories, storage tanks, customs sheds and railway tracks (Norcliffe, 1981), which served the people of Sydney when its identity was emerging from an industrial formation. Almost all of the industrial components of Darling Harbour succumbed to the pressure of transformation. Skyscrapers were raised on both sides of the Harbour and some tiny survivors became invisible on the narrow streets:

> Greedy developers, abetted by municipal and planning laxity, have erased the memory of the pleasant town that was once Sydney. (Balint et al., 1982, p. 78)

Fig 4.1: The Rocks Metcalfe Bond Stores

(Source: E. C. O'Neill photographs documenting buildings of Sydney 1960–1970s, NSW State Library)

The Rocks Metcalfe Bond Stores shown in Figure 4.1 are of state heritage significance due to their historical, social, aesthetic and scientific values. Constructed in the 1910s, the Metcalfe Bond Stores demonstrate Sydney's early 20th century mercantile character and are typical of the bond stores built in The Rocks at that time (NSW Government Architect's Office and NSW Public Works, 2012).

Fig 4.2: Darling Harbour railway yards and city view, 20/09/1960

(Source, State Library of NSW)

Figure 4.2 shows that railway yards were part of the first railway opened in NSW in 1855, and are historically significant as they highlight the major industrial development where woolstores and warehouses were built (www.shfa.nsw.gov.au).

By the 1960s, heritage was focused on two key themes; the idea of "heritage as ideals started to become more associated with the idea of heritage as things" in 1960, when UNESCO defined cultural property[20]. UNESCO was also suggesting that it is the role of governments to be responsible for the protection and preservation of cultural heritage as well as economic and social promotion. The concept of heritage has been recognised by Australian preservationists who participated in UNESCO conferences and the 'idea of the National Estate' was adopted in 1974 in order to preserve built environments, cultural resources and historic buildings during Gough Whitlam's government. Sociologist Tony Bennett states that "heritage is a product of the need generated by Whitlam's new nationalism, for the production of a more clearly and more completely autonomised national past" (Davison, 1991, pp. 2–5). From the mid-1960s, 'historic' no longer meant bad, outmoded or unwanted. The changing perception caused a structure such as the Queen Victoria Building (1898), located at Sydney Town Hall, to be seen as an outstanding one, and as a great example of high potential for commercial and cultural reuse rather than demolition. Workers' dwellings and industrial buildings started to be recognised and to obtain heritage significance (Freestone, 1993).

Preservationist ideals and the idea of conservation of the past as a 'trust' or 'legacy' boomed following the foundation of the New South Wales (NSW) National Trust in 1947. The creation of other state organisations in South Australia (1955), Victoria (1956), Western Australia (1959) Tasmania (1960) and Queensland (1963) was followed by the establishment of an Australian Council of National Trusts in 1965

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[20] "The term 'cultural property' shall cover, irrespective of origin or ownership:

(a) movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people, such as monuments of architecture, art or history, whether religious or secular; archaeological sites; groups of buildings which, as a whole, are of historical or artistic interest; works of art; manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historical or archaeological interest; as well as scientific collections and important collections of books or archives or of reproductions of the property defined above;

(b) buildings whose main and effective purpose is to preserve or exhibit the movable cultural property defined in sub-paragraph (a) such as museums, large libraries and depositories of archives, and refuges intended to shelter, in the event of armed conflict, the movable cultural property defined in sub-paragraph (a);

(c) centers containing a large amount of cultural property as defined in sub-paragraphs (a) and (b), to be known as centers containing monuments" (Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property, 1954).

(Davison, 1991). The first industrial heritage interest group was formed by the National Trust when it established its Industrial Archaeological Committee in 1968. After initial meetings in 1968, the Committee published a 'statement of purpose' in 1969. Surveying, recording, making recommendations for preservation and raising public awareness about "the part played by certain industries in the history of the State", were the main aims of the group (Ireland, 2002, p. 21). Contemporary (1960–1970s) histories and historical geographies focused on industrialisation and economic structures as a framework for the analysis of the Australian historical landscape. The Committee decided to survey and record industrial sites and relict technology by sending out a questionnaire to local historical societies all over NSW, asking them for information about important industrial sites in their area. The aim was then to classify the sites according to the Standard Industrial Classification, a system devised for the industry by the Central Statistical Office in the UK (Ireland, 2002).

Membership of the NSW Trust originated in an exclusive manner, by invitation to professionals such as lawyers and well-known Sydney families who aimed to preserve 'the best of the past' (Davison, 1991, p. 19). This approach to conservation has been described by Pendlebury et al. (2004) and Waterton et al. (2006) as an elitist approach in which selective meanings and assumptions about heritage were developed. Most of the 1950s and 1960s were dominated by this 'upper-class' heritage preservation sentiment, in cooperation with developers.

Public and private owners demolished or emasculated historic structures for new developments until the late 1970s. Recladding historic buildings with new facades or modernising them was an acceptable preference (Freestone, 1995). The property boom and the destruction of many Victorian buildings in Sydney's central business district (CBD), mentioned in the previous chapter, coincide with this period in the heritage movement. A changing population, the gentrification of inner-city slums and growing large-scale redevelopments were seen as highly insensitive to neighbourhoods, communities and the past. Large-scale freeway and high-rise development projects drew reactions from residents and heritage was seen as an issue at the level of public participation. Communities did not want to lose their existing structures and local values (Freestone, 1995) and staked out the notion of heritage in a bid to preserve them.

Green Bans versus Developer Appetite

The notion of historic preservation provided compelling grounds for negative reaction against the demolition approach and created an awareness that paved the way for the emergence of 'green bans' by the Builders Labourers' Federation (BLF) in the early 1970s (Freestone, 1993, p. 18). The first large-scale protests began in 1971, with the support of residents in New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria and Western Australia. The Plumbers and Gasfitters Union provided similar support in South Australia (Mosler, 2011). The New South Wales Builders' Labourers Federation (NSWBLF) developed a new concept of unionism focusing on social responsibility, led by outstanding union leaders such as Jack Mundey, Joe Owens and Bob Pringle. The purpose of the green bans was to defend open spaces from various kinds of development; to protect existing housing stock from demolition intended to make way for freeways or high-rise development; and to preserve older-style buildings from replacement by high-rise office blocks, shopping precincts or luxury apartments. Builders' labourers refused to work on those projects deemed both environmentally and socially undesirable (Burgmann and Burgmann, 1998). In a letter to *The Sydney Morning Herald* in January 1972, Mundey expressed the union's concerns and opinions, criticising the large development projects and broaching the issue of town planning:

> Yes, we want to build. However, we prefer to build urgently-required hospitals, schools, other public utilities, high-quality flats, units and houses, provided they are designed with adequate concern for the environment than to build ugly unimaginative architecturally-bankrupt blocks of concrete and glass offices …(Jack Mundey, quoted in Thomas, 1973)

The battle between the residents and the development schemes started with Kelly's Bush[21] (Figure 4.3) and continued in the historic sites. Renewal initiatives and destruction proposals for The Rocks (Figure 4.4), Woolloomooloo, Glebe and Centennial Park in Sydney were obstructed by the power of green bans (Davison, 1991; Freestone, 1993). By 1974, green bans had become effective on more than 40 local planning issues and historic building preservation actions. The movement was a significant catalyst for the government's decision-making process in taking

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[21] Kelly's Bush is a small remnant area of bushland in Hunters Hill, saved from the development scheme (A.V. Jennings Company) in 1971 (Davison, 1991, p. 21).

action on heritage matters. The green bans not only stopped the proposed demolitions, but also gave residents an active voice and reflected the fact that heritage is an inclusive process, which brings public participation and effective governance together. This is explored further in the case study on The Rocks (see Chapter 6).

Fig 4.3: 'Where the green bans were', The Sun, 8 November 1973

(Source: www.greenbans.net.au/green-bans-1971-74)

The term 'significance' has been in use since the early 1970s in Australia. According to the agreement between the government and heritage professionals, cultural heritage sites can have four types of significance or value: aesthetic, historical, scientific and social. These categories have been used to describe the Australian Heritage Commission Act of 1975[22] and they have been instrumental in state heritage legislation as well as in the Burra Charter of 1979 (Byrne et al., 2001). The new Heritage Act was passed in NSW following the 1976 election of a new Federal and state Labor government who embraced a more sensitive regeneration approach with community participation (Freestone, 1995). The NSW Heritage Act imposed

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[22] For the purposes of the Australian Heritage Commission Act of 1975, "the national estate consists of places, being components of the natural or the cultural environment of Australia, that have aesthetic, historic, scientific or social significance or other special value for future generations as well as for the present community" (Australian Heritage Commission Act, 1975).

permanent conservation orders, but it was not powerful enough to prevent the loss of historic buildings that were under pressure from development interests.
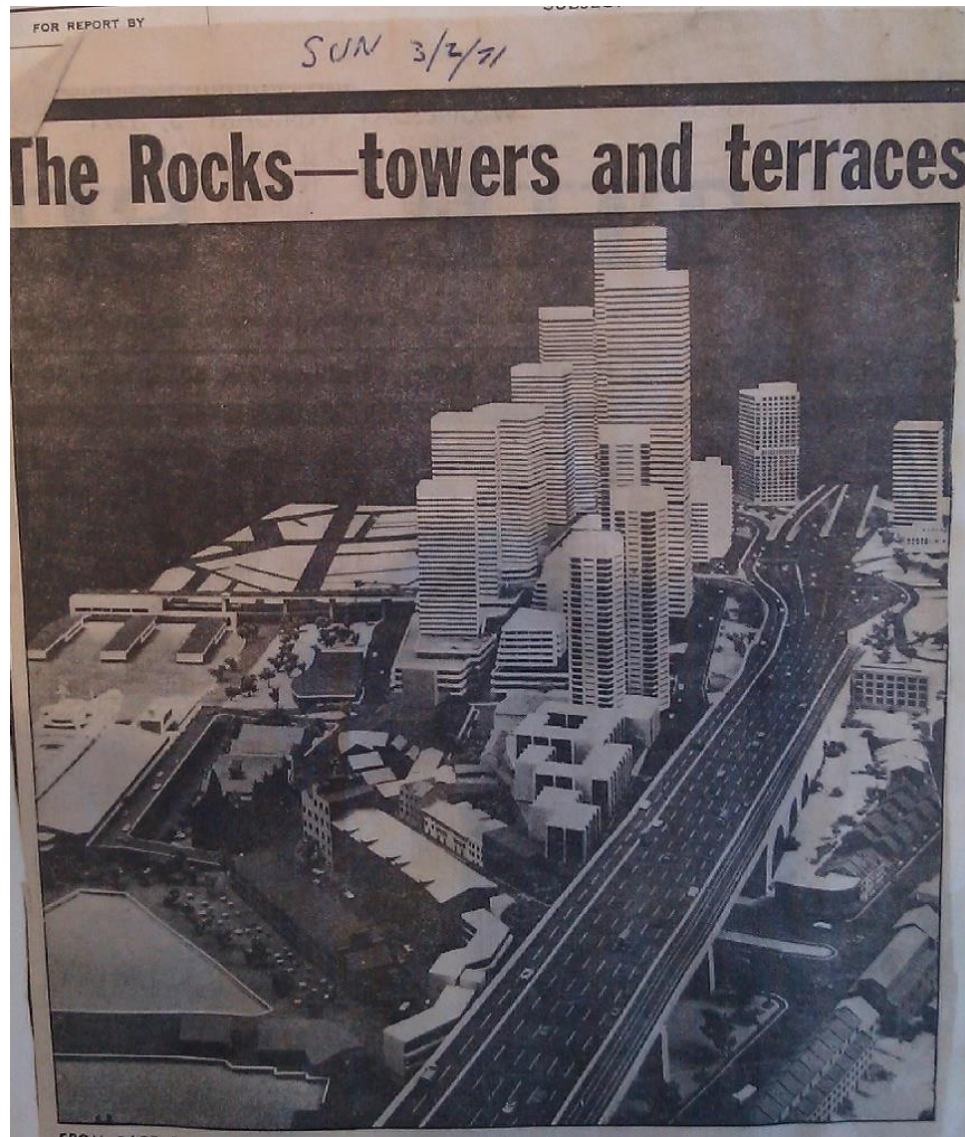
Fig 4.4: The Sun shows the high rise development proposal for The Rocks, dated 03/02/1971
(Source: City of Sydney Council Archive)

Approximately 100 buildings were demolished in Sydney's CBD between 1980 and 1993, even though the first version of the Burra Charter gave rise to a new understanding of heritage, with new heritage professionals including industrial archaeologists, conservation architects and public historians (Freestone, 1995). Paul Kelly (cited in Mosler, 2011, p. 10) described the 1980s as 'Australia's decade

of creative destruction'. Taking an approach similar to that of David Harvey (2007),[23] he was referring to the financial systems reforms and neoliberal urban development economic strategies of the Hawke Federal Labor government. Australia was more integrated with the global markets and capital, there was an important influx of overseas capital and banks competed for market share. The consumption and investment boom did not turn out well for the built heritage and property sector (Mosler, 2011).

In NSW, heritage conservation was not a primary concern of the Premier, Neville Wran. Facadism[24] became the new aspect of heritage throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s. Retaining only the facades of heritage buildings or blending the old building with the new satisfied developers. The conversion of old structures to new uses, especially the transformation of industrial structures, brought about the commercialisation of heritage. The Sydney waterfront experienced the alienation of industrial heritage items and suffered from unsympathetic redevelopment projects such as Darling Harbour and The Monorail (Freestone, 1995; Mosler, 2011). The Wran government used special legislation and planning processes to fulfil these projects without seeking the community's opinions and participation. But at the same time, governmental involvement in the heritage planning process increased. The role of local governments became more significant. The Environmental Planning and Assessment (EPA[25]) Act was introduced in 1979 as new state-wide planning legislation.

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[23] Urban and economic restructuring since the 1970s and neoliberalism are discussed in Chapter 3. Due to its hegemonic impacts on political, economic and social practices, David Harvey has referred to neoliberalism as creative destruction (Harvey, 2007).

[24] The state and Sydney City Council degraded heritage buildings in the CBD and on the waterfront by retaining only their facades during the building boom (Mosler, 2011).

[25] The Darling Harbour redevelopment project also bypassed the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act.

Industrial Heritage Sites in Sydney

Industrial heritage sites in Sydney are increasingly recognised. A survey of warehouses and woolstores within the City of Sydney prepared by Trevor Howells and Mark O'Connell in 1993 (edited 1995) was the first planning policy to specifically include a type of industrial heritage in the City of Sydney. The survey was conducted within seven geographical precincts in the inner city and along the waterfront, including central Sydney, Millers Point, Haymarket, Circular Quay, Pyrmont and Ultimo, The Rocks and the western edge of the inner city (called Western Sydney). Before the survey, in 1990, a Pyrmont and Ultimo Heritage Study conducted by Anglin Associates investigated the residential and industrial heritage located in the inner-city waterfront areas of Pyrmont and Ultimo. Three industrial precincts were identified: the CSR sugar refinery, the MSB wharfage and Pyrmont Power Station. Warehouses and woolstores were noted for their significance as physical manifestations of the importance of primary industry in Australia. The study also pointed out that major industry had moved out of Pyrmont and Ultimo towards the inner suburbs in the post-industrial era (City Plan Heritage, 2014).

Recently, the City of Sydney Council announced that more than 60 industrial sites across the inner city, from Annandale to Zetland and Alexandria, would be listed as industrial heritage sites with regard to their historic value and significance (www.abc.net.au/news/2015-06-11). The industrial sites (see Figure 4.5) were formed during the restructuring and deindustrialisation period of the city centre and the urban waterfronts in the 1970s. Now, these sites have been recognised as the significant part of an industrial development that aligns with Sydney's industrial history. The manager (in 2015) of City of Sydney Council Planning, Sally Peters, stated that the sites around Annandale, Zetland and Alexandria reveal historic patterns in industrial development and that the role they played socially and historically is significant for Sydney. Moreover, she claimed that development can take place in these areas in order to preserve the history (www.abc.net.au/news/2015-06-11). However, Darling Harbour and The Rocks were not recognised as part of the industrial past at the time of their transformation in the 1970s and 1980s, even though the buildings located therein are signposts and tangible reminders of the industrial development of European Australia, as well as evidence of the history of the growth of the city (Balint et al., 1982).

Fig 4.5: A map of the industrial and warehouse listings

(Source: City of Sydney Photo Gallery)
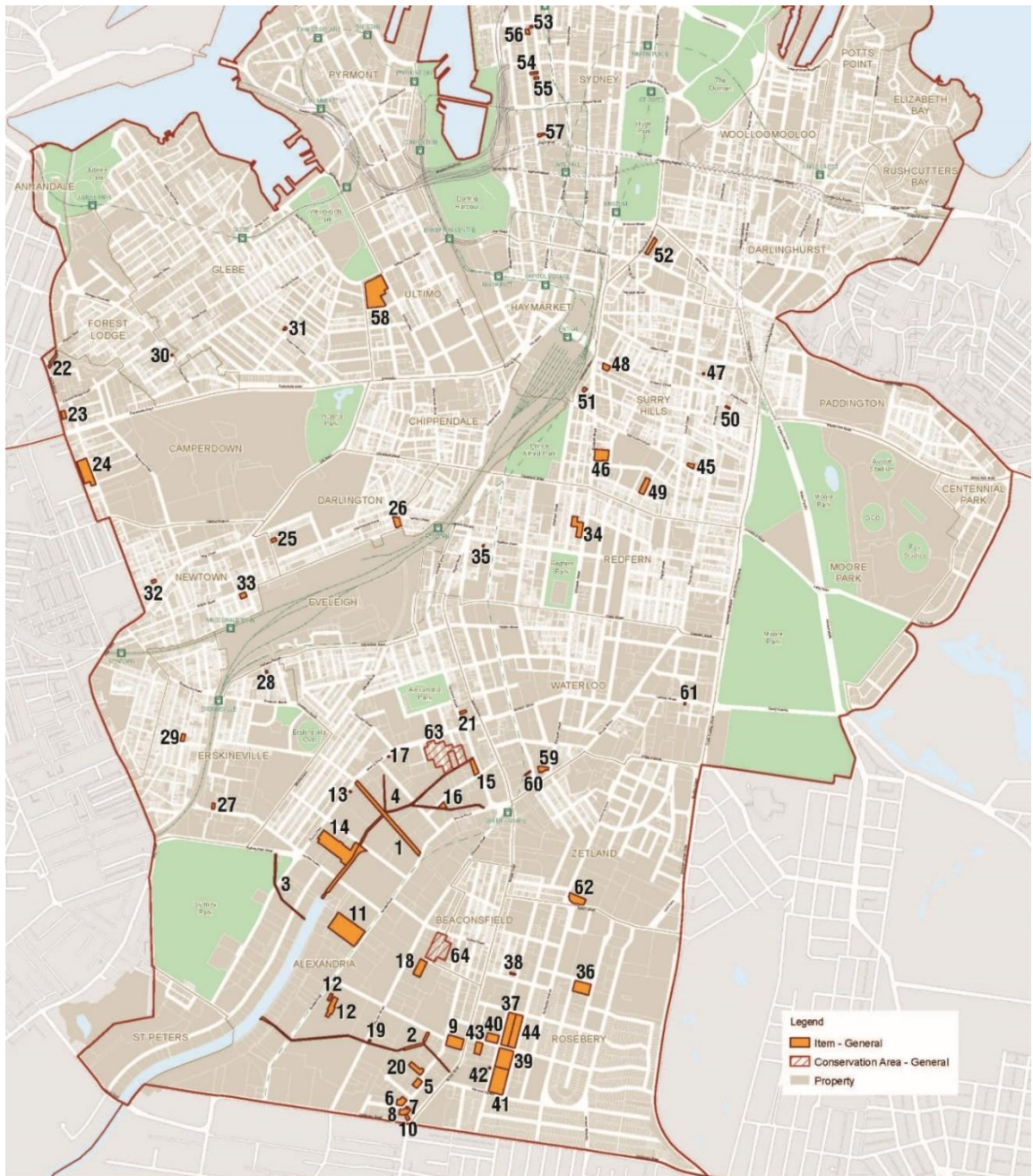
1	Sewer Pipeline	17	Electricity Substation No. 152	33	Former F. W. Gissing Factory	49	David Jones Factory
2	Doody Street Stormwater Channel	18	Former National Motor Springs Igloo Building	34	Former A. Hordern & Sons Factory Complex	50	Former Allington Stoveworks Factory
3	Macdonaldtown Stormwater Water Channel	19	Electricity Substation No. 225	35	Electricity Substation No. 112	51	Former R. C. Henderson Ltd Factory
4	Sheas Creek Stormwater Channels	20	Former Wilson Bros Willow Ware Factory	36	Former Wrigley's Factory	52	Former Warehouse Group
5	Former Walter Barr Pty Ltd Factory	21	Former Electric Light Substation No. 89	37	Rosella Preserving and Manufacturing Co. Factory	53	Former Noyes Brothers Warehouse
6	Former Sil-Ora Dental Products Factory	22	Sewage Pumping Station No. 3	38	Electricity Substation No. 192	54	Former Shelley Warehouse
7	Electricity Substation No. 375	23	Former Grace Brothers Repository	39	Former Commonwealth Weaving Mills and Frederick Rose Factory	55	Shorter House
8	Former H. G. Whittle & Sons Factory	24	Former Bonds Industries & Electricity Substation No. 181	40	Former Otis Elevator Co. Factory	56	Former Edwards Dunlop & Co Warehouses
9	Former Coote & Jorgenson Engineers Factory	25	Former Jones IXL Factory Garage	41	Former Westinghouse Factory	57	Former Grace House Warehouse
10	Former White Way Service Station	26	Former McMurtrie, Kellermann & Co Factory	42	Electricity Substation No. 128	58	Part Bay Street Depot
11	Former Q Store	27	Former Bakewell Brothers Warehouse Building	43	Former R. C. Henderson Ltd Factory	59	Former William Brooks Factory
12	Former Commonwealth Industrial Gases Oxygen Factory and Demonstration Block	28	Former Chimney Stack Factory	44	Former Cyclone Fence and Gate Co. Factory	60	Electricity Substation No.75
12	Former Commonwealth Industrial Gases Oxygen Factory and Demonstration Block	29	Former Cleveland Shoe Company Factory	45	Former Edward Hill & Co Factory	61	Electricity Substation No.109
13	Electricity Substation No. 117	30	Electricity Substation No. 267	46	Former W. C. Penfold Co. Factory	62	Former Joseph Lucas Showroom, Workshop and Office
14	Former Alexandra Spining Mills	31	Former Globe Volunteer Fire Station	47	Electricity Substation No. 229	63	North Alexandria Industrial
15	Former Standard Telephones and Cables	32	Former Sydney Confectionery Company Factory	48	Former Farleigh Nettheim & Co Ltd Warehouse	64	William Street Industrial
16	Former Lempriere & Co Office Building						

104

Conclusion

> Heritage is a version of the past received through objects and display, representations and engagements […], and the preparation of places for cultural purposes and consumption.

> (Waterton and Watson, 2015, p. 1)

The interest and understanding of heritage have changed since the late 1950s. Heritage was considered with a different set of attitudes in the early 19th century, focusing more on the past emerging within the public domain, but in the early 20th century it was recognised as an elite use of the built environment, demonstrating a relation with political discourse and formalisation. This formalisation and institutionalisation of heritage gained momentum and an interest in heritage became an industry. Heritage is thus now conceptualised as something that has value and can be conserved or passed on, but its definition also encompasses tourism, material culture and the built environment, as well as intangible values (Neal, 2015).

Hewison (1987) and Wright (1985) discussed the heritage industry as a link to a sense of the decline of modern society, and they aligned the growing interest towards industrial heritage with middle-class nostalgia during the period of the rise of neoliberalism. Hewison (1987) also explained this process as the commercialisation of the past, heritage being seen as a package to be bought or consumed. It has been argued that each historic environment has its own unique identity (Uzzell, 1996) and is an irreplaceable asset, but at the same time, it attracts investment aimed at luring tourists (Cossons, 2000). The acceptance and recognition of industrial heritage have also been included in the heritage discussion by Buchanan (1981), Alfrey and Putnam (1992), Cossons (1993), Gordon and Malone (1994) and Palmer and Neaverson (1998). They represented industrial heritage as the significant symbol of the industrial production process, the reflection of industrial communities and their lives, and a factor contributing to social development, with regard to the landscape values. They examined the cultural and architectural dimensions of industrial heritage and expressed the necessity of its preservation in order to pass the industrial history on to the next generations, as well as to understand the advances in technology. Freestone (1993, 1995) similarly discussed the post-industrial city and the development of heritage policies in Australia, focusing on Sydney. His works have been used to explain the shifts in attitude towards the historic environment and community reactions against the process of transformation.

Tourism has been a great catalyst for regeneration of historic buildings and landscapes, but it can also be considered that "tourists destroy the heritage they have come to experience" (Ashworth, 2009, p. 79). In this sense, there has been increasing discussion on community engagement and the relationship between local and official authorities in the understanding and protection of heritage. Harvey (2001), Graham and Howard (2008) and Waterton and Smith (2010) have emphasised how heritage has become more regional and local rather than national but, as examined in international charters and conventions in this chapter, a gap still exists between the local and national understandings of heritage and international policies (Waterton and Smith, 2009, 2010; Waterton and Watson, 2011). In this context, Harrison and Schofield (2010) have explored heritage theory and politics in the late-modern service-based economy and Harrison (2013) acknowledges the concept of heritage. He locates heritage in the globalisation process and within the historical, social and political context of the period starting from the second half of the 20th century.

The transformation of industrial heritage sites into mixed-use developments and festival marketplaces, changing the characteristics of neighbourhoods, and the conservation of historic buildings are carried out for tourist consumption. Former industrial and warehouse structures have been valorised and have become commercial products of real estate markets. Waterfront locations in particular are considered as sites for landmark projects, which affect local communities and consume heritage buildings and structures.

CHAPTER 5: THE MODERN MODE OF CONSUMPTION: TOURISM

Tourism is a double-edged sword which one hand confers economic benefits but on the other, places stress on the fabric of destinations and the communities who live in them.

(Bandarin, 2005, p. v)

Tourism has become a significant feature of the economy and urban structure of Sydney, and, more generally, has played a major role in the transformation and redevelopment of industrial districts within cities that have traditionally accommodated commercial port activities. These industrial activities have become redundant and the areas have been substantially redeveloped, with little of the original fabric remaining. As an inner-city waterfront area, Darling Harbour has been transformed from a working industrial port into commercial, recreational and touristic areas and The Rocks has emerged as a distinctive type of tourist district/precinct[26] (Griffin and Hayllar, 2006). Both areas have been the site of significant urban transformation and have experienced intensely deep contradictions.

The context of tourism has experienced a transformation as a part of the shift from Fordist to post-Fordist forms of production. In earlier chapters, it has been discussed that this shift has been identified as a convergence process from production to consumption. This process has also influenced 'the supply (production) and demand (consumption)' relationship between tourism and heritage (Urry, cited in Apostolakis, 2003, p. 796). Changing patterns of consumption have created the need for unique tourism experiences and this need has directed the attention of the tourism industry to heritage resources within which special attractions can be developed (Apostolakis, 2003). The transformation of deindustrialised spaces into tourism products is a highly contested subject within the heritage industry. The focus here is to examine the literature and theoretical perspectives concerning the making of these spaces as new consumption centres through urban transformation and urban tourism. An argument is developed that tourism-led transformation damages the

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[26] An urban tourism precinct is "a distinctive geographical area within a larger area, characterized by a concentration of tourist-related land uses and activities, with fairly definable boundaries". This type of precinct usually features characteristics of a mixture of land use and activities (Hayllar and Griffin, 2005, p. 517).

historic urban fabric and that heritage assists in this process. It also contends that the process has not only positive but also negative impacts on local communities.

The concept of tourism is explored with a focus on urban tourism in order to understand the extent to which this perspective is valid in a discussion of the significant role played by tourism in the transformation of waterfront industrial heritage areas. Such developments are intended to attract high-income residents, tourists and investors to a city. A critical approach is proposed to examine the relationship between tourism, local communities and heritage. This relationship helps preserve the identity of places. However, spatial reorganisation and urban transformation play a crucial role in the marketing of cities and this act of transformation affects all infrastructure facilities, restorations of old buildings, the reorganisation of historical zones and the revitalisation of the architectural style of a city.

Public policies to promote links between culture and tourism have emerged as an obvious strategy, because of their cultural benefits. Tourism-oriented interventions could be expected to differ from one city to another, in order to reflect the local context and identity features such as architecture style, heritage and local lifestyle. However, adopting a critical approach, this chapter argues that tourism- and leisure-led developments tend to create similarity among urban landscapes and a reduction of individual identity. In so doing, tourism has a detrimental impact on cultural and historical assets and causes a loss of local identity, even though cities gain economically from the contribution of tourism.

Tourism in Transition: The Production of Tourism for Consumption

> There are complex interdependencies between consuming goods, services and places, and what links them together are the patterns of social life organised in and through particular places. Such patterns are significantly commodified but there is generally a complex mixing of both commodification and collective enthusiasm.

> (Urry, 1995, p. 29)

Up to the mid-19th century, until European railway expansion took place, travelling was only possible for a very small group of prestigious people and was a sign of status. The development of a network of railroads near the middle of the 20th century allowed for the beginnings of mass travel. This process of democratisation also changed the focus of travelling, shifting from the 'traveller' towards the travel

itself. With this development: the traveller lost some qualitative importance, but at the same time was starting to be seen as having quantitative value. This value shift is reflected in the travel destination being seen as a place of consumption. Concurrently, the shifting focus from the individual to the place saw the growth of the sector of industry called 'tourism' (Urry 1995).

Urry (2002) sees tourism as a sort of interpretation of reality, and tourism activity, for him, is a type of consumption of signs[27] produced by the tourism industry, with tourists preferring a multiplicity of signs. Leisure activity in postmodern society is a sign; with tourists consuming signs and representations rather than the actual sight itself (Rojek, 1993, p. 133). Urry (1995) first says that, in many situations, tourism is basically about visual consumption of physical and built environments, as well as of the continuous residents of those places, who are part of the tourist attraction itself. This case results in regularly making and remaking environments, places and people as touristic objects, which is a process in which the government actively participates for most of the time. Second, mentioning visual consumption means asserting that tourists consume the places as well as the environments. Many people want to visit environments that are relatively undamaged, but this is almost impossible. It is known that seemingly authentic places in the aforementioned tourist environment, either directly or clearly artificially presented, are built and that all of them will indirectly be ruined. Third, while tourist practices become widespread among population groups who have never previously been active participants, requests for new forms of consumption and their environmental costs increase distinctly. In this context, it is not completely fictitious to say that tourism creates part of the most difficult contemporary environmental problems. Hall (2013) has argued that tourism is a factor that leads to the consumption of place, and this is the incorporation of place into the global capitalist system (Hall et al., 2013).

The widespread Fordist production and mass consumption of the 1960s and 1970s was reflected in tourism in the form of mass-produced tourism packages, associated with the sun, sea and sand approach to holidays as developed via package tours (Apostolakis, 2003). Mass tourism started in the United Kingdom (UK). An indicator of an understanding of travel, previously restricted to the aristocratic class, could now also be an activity of the working class, and the increased development in the production of automobiles and aeroplanes began to satisfy people's desire to be

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[27] MacCannell (1976) suggests that tourist attractions are signs.

mobile, and to go from one place to another. With the 'democratization of travel' (Urry, 2002, p. 16), free time became more important in industrial society. Free time is considered a necessity in order to escape from the complexity of the modern life and to relax, and vacations are advertised as the breathing apparatus that comes to the rescue of individuals suffering from this condition (Lefebvre, 2012). In reality, free time is out of the question. But capitalism and modernity tell us the exact opposite. We have to go on vacation and relax. According to these ideas, everything that we do besides working includes free time. Daily life is hidden in work life, in free time (private life) and in family life. It is a state that must be earned. According to Lefebvre (2012), we can only acquire our free time by working:

> Free time cannot be separated from working. The same person rests, relaxes or occupies himself with something after working. He leaves the factory, the institution at the same time. Saturday and Sunday of each week are reserved for free time with the regularity of the daily work. Therefore, the togetherness of 'working and free time' must be envisioned because this togetherness exists and each person tries to program what the time ratio is that he can – or cannot – use. (Lefebvre, 2012, p. 35)

The concept of mass tourism precipitated the growth and development of seaside cities, but cheap package tours had devastating effects on the destinations of intensive tourism (Perry, cited in Urry, 2002). The mentality of consumption in the post-Fordist period has allowed the individual consumer a wider market choice, including mid-range options. Consumers' choices have changed rapidly, with individual consumers trying to disclaim being a part of this mass movement. These changes have contributed to a transformation of the relationship between tourism and cultural practices.

Everyday life has changed in deindustrialised cities and urban tourism has arisen. Packaged seaside holidays are no longer extraordinary. Many cities have developed their own centres of consumption (sport and recreational facilities, shopping centres) for their residents as well as for potential tourists (Urry, 2002). Tourists sought to visit somewhere 'different' only because they could not find novelty in their everyday life experiences (Maitland, 2007). Harvey (cited in Urry, 2002) argues that display and spectacle are the symbols of a society and that every city has to present itself as exciting and innovative, creative and as a safe place in which to live and consume.

Lefebvre states that everydayness was not a dominant concept during periods prior to the emergence of competitive capitalism and the spread of the meta world (i.e. up to the 19th century). He refers to today's societies as the industrial society and the urban society. According to him, "the thing that gives meaning to industrialization is urban life" (Lefebvre, 1998, p. 53). If we remove urban life from industrialisation, there is nothing left other than to produce for the sake of producing. Even though the bourgeoisie is the only class that produces for profit and society is ruled by the bourgeoisie, producing just for the sake of producing is impossible (ref). There are other purposes brought on by daily life. The 'abundance society', which is said to come about with capitalism and modernism, is partially present according to Lefebvre, because while productivity increases with industrial production and technology, the value of products disappears. Moreover, people living in poverty still exist and it is possible for new forms of poverty to arise:

> Furthermore, new scarcities arise in the so-called abundance society. Before bread was scarce in our countries but the land was vast. Now, [while bread scarcity continues in some parts of the world] wheat is in abundance but the land is scarce. This land scarcity in advanced industrial countries can be especially seen relative to urban and urbanizing. Both time and desire are getting scarce. (Lefebvre, 1998, p. 58)

Lefebvre (1976) holds a Marxist view of tourism, considering it as an institute. He argues that tourism refers to the modern way of consuming leisure activity; and, therefore, that tourism and consumption are entwined. Capitalism standardises work activity, and hence institutionalises and standardises tourism activity to reproduce labour. So while tourism seems to be the opposite of work, it is, in fact, a component of work created by capitalism to eliminate the effects of work on humans. Through tourism activities, supplied by companies of capitalism, human beings can escape from the side effects of work, such as feeling tired and exploited, for a short while before re-entering the production system as labour.

Commercial forces do not have opponents in tourism, and thus contemporary modernity threatens desirable space, impacting public cultures, through bureaucratic designs and technologies (Appadurai, cited in Edensor, 2006). Moreover, tourism activity is accepted as cultural capital and as an indicator or

marker[28] that defines cities as developed or underdeveloped (Shaw and Williams, 2004). Finally, tourism can be defined as 'the capitalist mode of production' that characterises this changing experience (Harrison and Schofield, 2010, p. 130). Scott (1997, p. 323) has summarised the relationship between capitalist economic systems and symbolically created cultures by stating that 'human culture subjects to commodification' and he shows, as an example, decentralised markets which are concerned with producing goods and making profits. Such commodification destroys the authenticity of local cultures by creating external consumers. In relative terms, the loss of authenticity damages the local community and thus impairs the visitor's experience (Macleod, 2006). Ashworth has acknowledged that "cities are the origin of most tourists and the destination of many as well as a major focal point in tourist itineraries" (Ashworth and Page, 2011, p. 2). Consequently, urban tourism engages with urban theory and dominates the landscape of cities.

In Australia, manufacturing and primary industries involving the production of raw materials such as wheat, wool and meat, and making use of natural resources such as minerals and other materials, were still the major focus of foreign investment and tourism had little importance in the future economic development plans until the mid-1970s. In 1973, the Australian Tourist Commission (ATC) started to work on a national tourism plan, and the Department of Tourism in Australia prepared a paper in which tourism was positioned as a major contributor to local, state and federal government revenues (Carroll, p. 74). Between the latter half of the 1970s and the mid-1980s, tourism moved to prominence and achieved a much higher public profile than had previously been the case. This period coincided with the decline of the manufacturing sector, with serious consequences for employment. As a result, tourism was considered as a resource to generate new employment and to promote economic vitality. The Federal government had not been directly involved in the development of the tourism industry, unlike manufacturing industry. There were no specific policies developed regarding the impacts of tourism. However, the ATC has attempted to create the market conditions in which tourism could be supported. The direct involvement of the Federal government in tourism development and its marketing began in 1967, with the establishment of the ATC. The Federal government's interest in tourism was slow to develop awareness of the economic importance of tourism, as well as its promotion and marketing (Carroll, 1991).

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[28] 'Marker' here refers only to the information or the inscription (MacCannell, 1976).

By the 1980s, tourism was considered the 'jewel in the crown' of Australian industry, with an outstanding potential to continue to develop as one of the most dynamic growth industries (Australia Department of Tourism, 1992) and so political attention came to focus on tourism (Carroll, 1991). This was the period of the approaching bicentennial, in 1988, of European settlement in Australia. This had a potential for stimulating both domestic and foreign tourism, and provided a convincing argument for the value of such events, and for demonstrating the economic benefits of tourism. The end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s marked what Minister Phillip Lynch, who was the Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party of Australia, forecast would be a decade of excitement and strong growth for the industry. He described it as a key growth industry that had come of age, with federal government support determined to increase Australia's share of international tourism (Carroll, 1991).

The Commonwealth government had recognised the importance of tourism as a catalyst for economic growth and provided the matching support, notably by promoting lower international airfares The expectation in 1988 was two million overseas visitors to Australia, especially to newly developed inner-city waterfronts, providing a unique opportunity to become the most rapidly expanding tourist destination in the world. The main objective of the government was to continue to attract increasing numbers of tourists and ensure visitor satisfaction. This proposed objective helped identify key areas to provide as a basis for future development (Australia Department of Tourism, 1992). During this period, the Australian Tourist Commission was federally funded to promote Australia as an international destination, especially to the European and the US markets. In Sydney, tourism has been extensively accepted as an element in transformation strategies. It is associated with dealing with the derelict parts of cities, and the addition of visitor attractions in new tourism zones. Tourism development on former industrial sites was seen as an innovation for the convergence of industrial cities (Maitland, 2007). As in many other cities, tourist zones have been planned and a series of attractions such as flagship museums, galleries, aquariums, IMAX cinemas and casinos have been created. Those places have been combined with shopping centres, bars and restaurants that feature international brands (Maitland, 2007), and have been considered by Judd (1999) and Bailey (2008) as 'tourist bubbles' and by Hannigan (cited in Maitland, 2007, p. 26) as 'urban entertainment districts'.

This type of rejuvenation of the heart of the city in social and economic ways has become a constant call. The transformation of overseas dockland into tourist and leisure facilities in Australian port cities were particularly attractive. Port cities such

as Newcastle, Wollongong and Fremantle have made use of San Francisco's Fisherman's wharf and Vancouver's Granville Island as examples to create cultural precincts (Stevenson and Rowe, 1998) and urban tourism spaces. They all have placed emphasis on using the legacy of the industry for urban tourists. Sydney's Darling Harbour redevelopment imported the festival marketplace model, aiming at growth in urban tourism, and the 1980s NSW government substantially used Baltimore as a model to convert the former industrial waterfront into a festival tourist and convention centre (Stevenson and Rowe, 1998). Such transformations involved "the metamorphosis of redundant urban sites into ambitious derivative urban experiences" (Stevenson and Rowe, 1998, pp. 53–54).

Investing in Cities: Transformation and Urban Tourism

City officials forgot about the city's origin.[29]

(Zukin, 2010, p. 5)

Urban tourism tends to be physically concentrated in historic districts, yet these districts are perceived very differently by architects, historians, urban planners and tourism specialists. The urban tourism discourse produces reinterpretations of locality to promote the district to the international tourism market by means of a more local discourse (Selby, 2004). The potential of urban tourism and heritage provides an outlet for expressing local difference and place identity in the context of globalisation. Urban tourism can mediate between the external global forces of capital and the perspectives of local residents, local governments and local entrepreneurs. Furthermore, a dialectical process seems to operate between psychic productions of the urban landscape and the cultural production of symbolic value (Selby, 2004). Urban tourism is regulated by local authorities and tries to create new identity and articulate the city to global and regional markets. Therefore, urban tourism is a strategy to promote cities in the urban competition that is played out among the world cities after the weakening of nation states and their economies within the new order of global capitalism. In post-industrial society, the culture industry and the commoditisation of heritage in the context of urban tourism not only

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[29] Origin suggests that every city it built up of historical layers and that the city enables people who inhabit a space, not just consume it as experience (Zukin, 2010, p. 6).

leads to economic promotion, but also brings sociocultural transformations to cities (Roche, 1992).

Urban transformation has become an instrument to establish continuity between the past and the future in cities that have lost their identity and become standardised. Such factors as increased global competition and labour mechanisation have resulted in a greater flexibility of welfare systems, and subsequently in labour protection adjustment. This has gone some way towards strengthening national identity and a feeling of belonging in hopeless people. Neoliberal policies offered a solution to the 1970s economic crisis in the form of new areas of investment and consumption as cities have started to look for marketing niches – through the 'manufacturing' of new identities in order to increase their attraction, or by means of new investments in some high-potential areas of the city that had lost their economic priorities (Harvey, 1989; Smith, 2002). Cities have striven to reclaim, through urban tourism, the economic resources lost in the deindustrialisation process.

Historical factories, warehouses and workshop buildings, which are the symbols of the city's economic, social and political past as well as its industrial history, have been re-functioned and reinserted into the life of the city. These buildings, which experienced functional decline after the 1970s, have been registered for protection on grounds of historical, architectural and social values. However, as discussed earlier, these attempts to boost cities' attractiveness in order to lure new elite of high-profile service sector professionals, tourists and investors have contributed to strip local communities of their lifestyle and values and to standardise cities around the world (Quilley, 1999; Zukin, 2010).

Urban tourism has arisen under the action of various dynamics; it rests on the idea of transforming areas endowed with economic potential and marketing these areas through calculated efforts and investments. This transformation, occurring especially in urban areas of historical and cultural importance, is shaped according to the demands of tourism, and as such leads to processes of disidentification and deculturation.

Tourism-purposed transformation of historical urban areas raises major problems. Almost every city in the world is inclined to manufacture itself a well-groomed identity from the landmarks of the past, and then to introduce it to the entire world by means of advertisements. Because of the 'city myths' created, only an image appears and the multi-identity structure of the cities is somewhat diminished (Urry,

1995, 2002). This has become an important point of criticism on identity issues, and raises the question of which history must be protected.
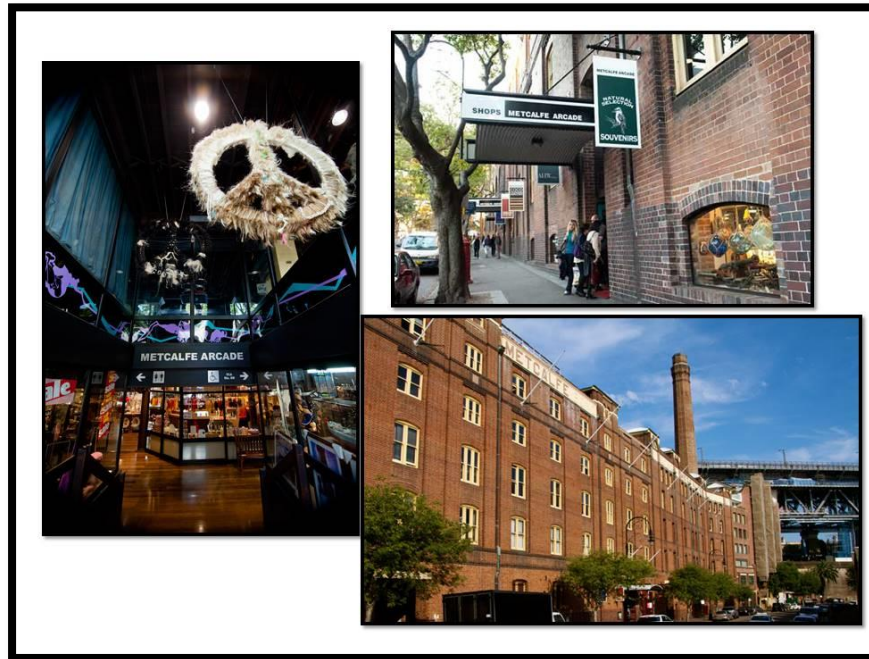
Fig 5.1: Metcalfe Bond Stores and Metcalfe Shopping Arcade
(Source: Anonymous. Collage prepared by the researcher)

Every place has an identity that derives from its unique characteristics (Uzzell, 1996). For cities, that differentiation largely stems from an urban identity [30] constructed upon a unique architecture style and cultural heritage. In this respect, the diversity in a destination can be manufactured through a process of identity construction. That particular destination can be unique and different from other destinations. Bruner (2005) emphasises the cultural production of tourist destinations. He states that a tourist place is a creative space in which all agencies, such as governments, tour agencies, natives and tourists, produce a performance. The tourist space is a site for the invention of culture on a massive scale (pp. 191–197). The more the culture is integrated into the city's marketing strategies and used as an engine to attract further business, cultural and economic elites into the city, the more severe become the implications for urban space, social life and certain

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[30] Towns were seen as places for social connections in urban identity theory, which argues that a town should not be more differentiated than its residents, because the residents of a town, with its buildings and geographical elements, provide its fundamental uniqueness (Lalli, cited in Uzzell, 1996, p. 221).

groups. Among the most important impacts, commercialisation and the homogenisation of public culture and space become evident through corporate visions that become dominant in cities, such as 'Disneyfication' (Zukin, 1991).

The increased commercialisation of the relationship between tourist and local communities brings up the paradox between tourism and heritage, which can be explained by the concept of 'heritagisation' of destinations (Hewison, 1987; Walsh, 1992) and the commodification of heritage by tourist consumption (Macleod, 2006). Figure 5.1 shows that Metcalfe Bond Stores is now in use for tourists and includes a shopping arcade as well as various restaurants. The paradox is the reflection of both the positive and negative impacts of tourism on heritage sites and local communities. Tourism has a positive impact in terms of conservation of archaeological historic sites and interesting architectural styles. It also encourages the conservation - and sometimes revitalisation - of traditional arts, handicrafts, dance, music, drama, customs and ceremonies, dress and certain aspects of traditional lifestyles; and it provides financial assistance for the maintenance of museums, theatres and other cultural facilities and activities, and for supporting the organisation of special cultural festivals and events, which are consumed by tourists as well as by residents (Inskeep, 1991).

At this point, Harrison (2010) points out that the relationship between tourism and heritage has to be seen as part of the fundamental economic aspect of heritage. Heritage attracts tourism and in order to maintain the heritage, local, state and national organisations have to contribute. Tourism promotes heritage; therefore, tourism needs political support, which also leads heritage into issues of authenticity and loss of value (Harrison, 2010). Urry (1990) refers to transformation in the supply and demand cycle as a convergence between tourism and heritage activities. Wealthy countries have shaped their economies using tourism as an important contributor to post-industrial income. It has become one of the major revitalisation strategies in old industrial areas, especially in the 1980s, to make redundant places socially and culturally vibrant again. Meantime, heritage was also becoming an important element in place-making and marketing, and the re-creation of local identities in cities. These complex interactions between heritage and tourism have helped governments and national and international investors to create a certain image of a place in similar places. The issue was the serial reproduction of ideas copied by other cities (Law, 2002).

The Quest for Authenticity

The concept of authenticity is frequently used to define the tourism experience, tourism attractions and events, or the motivation for tourism. Reisinger and Steiner (2006) describe the scope of authenticity as obscure in the context of tourism. According to Taylor (2001), "authenticity has become the philosopher's stone for an industry that generally seeks to procure other people's realities" (p. 8). In tourism, authenticity poses as objectivism. It holds the special powers of both distance and truth, and these are vital components in the production of touristic value. Attempts have been made to define this pursued authenticity as a quality that is objectively measurable by experts. The approach of tourism literature bases authenticity on the originality - which connotes a sense of the genuine and the real - of the toured objects. In other words, it bases the idea of authenticity on the integrity of objects and the content of the construction of an object.

Heitmann (2011) simply describes authenticity as "the pure, unadulterated and original" (p. 45) and defines the certificate of authentication as something that has been untouched since its creation and that has not been subject to any modern influence. His definition is problematic as it leads to an understanding of heritage which freezes everything and it contributes to the authenticity debate; in this sense, the Indigenous heritage is the original heritage and none of the industrial heritage is authentic. He notes that it is more difficult to judge the authenticity of immaterial elements such as festivals, rituals and tourism experiences, and that these elements are considered as authentic or unauthentic depending on whether they are made, produced or enacted by local people according to custom or tradition, or whether they connote traditional culture and origins. Similarly, Sedmak and Mihalic (2008) define authenticity as those attractions of centres of tourism, such as architecture, cuisine and intangible heritage, such as the natural environment, that already used to exist before the development of modern tourism, and have not been explicitly imported, made by mass production or produced for industrial purposes.

Developing a different approach to authenticity in the context of tourism, Wang (1999) discusses the relevance of the application of the conventional concept of authenticity to characterise tourist motivations or experiences. He differentiates object-related authenticity from activity-related authenticity. In his study, Wang (1999) classifies object-related authenticity as objective and constructive. Objective authenticity is based on whether the toured objects are recognised as authentic; whereas for constructive authenticity, things appear authentic not because they inherently are original or real, but because they are considered as the signs or

symbols of authenticity by mental constructs created by our world view and by external social, cultural and political factors (Knudsen and Waade, 2010). Activity-related authenticity is a concept marketed to represent different forms of travel, certain journeys and holidays. It is generally used to differentiate the tourism products of a niche market from mass tourism products, implying that mass tourism is not authentic. Therefore, there seems to be a difference between the two uses of authenticity in tourism. Its first use is based on the tangible origin of anything, such as the genuineness, originality or artificiality of cultural objects or events, whereas its second use is based on a less tangible foundation, such as the authenticity of a holiday, travel and the tourism experience in particular. Lastly, Wang (1999) suggests the concept of existential authenticity to redefine authenticity in tourism. He brings forward existential authenticity against objective and constructive authenticity, arguing that in a number of types of tourism, what tourists seek are their own authentic selves and their intra-personal identity, and the issue of whether the toured objects are authentic is less relevant, or completely irrelevant. Since existential authenticity does not rely on the authenticity of the toured objects, it has more explanatory power in terms of the tourism experience. Steiner (2006) similarly defines existential authenticity as the one felt by the inner self, based on both intra-personal authenticity - associated with the senses of pleasure, relaxation, naturalism and control - and interpersonal authenticity - hinging upon shared touristic experiences and the emotional bonds between travellers. Neither of these two types of authentic experience derives from an authenticity inherent to the destination. It is more about tourists' searching for the authenticity of, and between, themselves (Wang, 2000, p. 68)

MacCannell (1976, 1999) considers that touristic places are staged authenticity, which can be defined as a contrived presentation of fictional sites and sights as if they were authentic, created by tourism entrepreneurs (Urry, 2002). It is by extracting the tourism realm from the ordinary course of local life that this staging process lends perceived authenticity to the tourist experience (Cohen, 1994). Crick (cited in Urry, 2002) concurs, adding that all cultures creating authenticity are staged and culture itself is invented, recreated and arranged, and this situation has given birth to modern consumerism. Heritage areas that have become tourism centres and have been introduced as global brands can be defined as a product of this process.

Tourist spaces should not only be dedicated to consumption, but also include intangible heritage elements. The appeal of a tourist destination should be based on

its unique spirit or its character, derived from the local people of that place (Selwyn, 1996). Centres of touristic attraction have both dynamic and static components, which interact with each other. The static component comprises the natural and man-made physical surroundings, whereas the dynamic component embodies the social and traditional factors. The social factors encompass people and their characters, behaviours and relations; while the traditional factors include law, principles, religion, rules and norms. All these unique features define and constitute the identity of centres of touristic attraction (Tasci and Knutson, 2004). According to Zukin (2010), authenticity means not only a staged group of historical buildings, but also an ongoing working and living process with the people and the buildings that enhance everyday experience. She also states that when this process is broken, 'a city loses its soul' (p. 6). Heritage does not only boil down to flagship monuments, but is rather a value within society that can be experienced by anyone at any time. Fairclough states that people's heritage begins with daily and 'ordinary' things - it begins in their street, at the threshold of their house, rather than at the ticket office of a touristic heritage place or the gates of a historical city (Fairclough, 2011). Tourists want to experience the authentic, which reflects the history and the culture of cities.

Fig 5.2: A view of Darling Harbour from Pyrmont Bridge, 2012

(Source: photograph by the researcher)

However, reproduction of the intangible heritage for the sake of tourism may cause the destruction of traditions; places will be consumed unless the reproduction of tourism spaces is kept distinct from commodification. When we look at the uses of touristic spaces today, we can see that the consumption process that affects them also delivers the reconstruction process. According to MacCannell (1999), authenticity is only achievable outside the realm of the tourist role; the existence of the tourist role damages authenticity. On the contrary, Olsen (2002) states that authenticity causes ambiguity in the tourist role. The boat shown in Figure 5.2 is an object which is used to provide a sense of authenticity in Darling Harbour. But everything else in the figure is a brand new creation of a touristic waterfront.

Authenticity and commodification lie at the centre of studies examining the sociocultural effects of tourism. The developments in the tourism industry (travelling more easily, an increase in the areas visited) leads to increased discussions associated with the effect of tourism on the authenticity of cultures. These discussions focus on how tourism and tourists experiencing sites and culture affect authenticity, the culture of the host community, the nature of the tourist–inhabitant relationship, and the production of the cultural objects and activities consumed by tourists (Macleod, 2006).

Increased Commercialisation and the Local Community

[The] tourist pays for his own freedom, his right to ignore the local people's worries and emotions, his right to weave his own meaning net.

(Bauman, 1993, p. 241)

Historic cities attract tourists by means of their present and their past (Cohen-Hattab, 2004). Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) describe the development of touristic historic cities in four stages. These stages encapsulate commercial development in the original city centre, protection of the historic city by means of partial migration, development of a touristic historic city in part of the historic and commercial city, and historic and commercial expansion to remind us of the authenticity of the city (p. 86). The first stage of development clusters all public activities within the limits of the authentic historic city. The community in the area must both live and work in the authentic city, with a strong sense of togetherness. Local communities living in the historic city can develop along with other stakeholders. The second stage subjects the historic city to a transformation process. Historical communities are displaced to residential areas outside the city, making way for the development of secondary

commercial business centres in the vacated places. During the third stage, migration from the historic city to outer regions has created tranquillity in the area, highlighting the conspicuous absence of commercial structure. A new conflict arises at this point between people who want to seize commercial opportunities by investing in the city and organisations willing to protect the city's historic and cultural features from damaging tourism-led growth. During the fourth and last stage, touristic demand in the city increases, arguably boosted by the new historic areas created during the urban transformation process (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000). All these developments are involved in the creation of a touristic historic city (Cohen-Hattab, 2004).

The deindustrialisation of many towns and cities ongoing since the 1970s has made these locales the focus of tourism strategies. The disappearance of the old ways created a deep sense of loss in the life of the community and left gaps to be filled. Additionally the development of these locales for tourism can generate welcome income sources for the local people. The investment in the tourism workforce may be minor compared to the former industrial investment, but it gratifies both the local people and the visitors (Urry, 1995), and the host community may use the funds to preserve its real sociocultural and environmental traits - thus shielding the sought-after authenticity of the destination. According to Tasci and Knutson (2004), who studied the authenticity and familiarity of tourist destinations, the more authentic a destination is, the more reliable, sure, certain, true, real, right, clear, proper, valid and recognisable it becomes; it is its own universe. In general, the more tourists are familiar with a tourist destination, the less authentic they find the nature and local people of that tourist destination. Due to their tendency to avoid risk or remain in a 'safe zone', people tend to buy products that they have tried, seen or heard of before. Because of the inherent nature of tourism, a new tourism product poses greater financial, functional, physical and psychological risk, unlike other consumer products. However, the introduction of inauthentic elements to tourist destinations leads to unreliable, ambiguous, suspicious, illusionary, false, untrue, misleading and fallacious results for local people. The balance of authenticity and familiarity in tourist destinations gives the tourists a sense of assurance and safety, and enables them to live the experience that they desire.

MacCannell (2001) has stated that tourism plays a role in creating inauthentic destinations and that branding tourism is fundamentally destructive in its commoditisation of local culture. He has expressed the vulnerability of tourism as follows:

When the culture of tourism succeeds in replacing local culture, it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish between destinations. The more each place comes to resemble someplace close to home, and the more tourists experience resembles everyday experience, the more difficult it becomes to justify travel. (p. 388)

The integration of tourism and leisure into the fabric and culture of the city have been considered within the reconfiguration of cities aiming to create 'cultural quarters' (Montgomery, 2003, 2004), which also contributes to the paradox, as those cultural quarters reflect places with 'staged' as well as 'constructed authenticities' (MacCannell, 1976; Urry, 1990; Wang, 1999).

At this point, the social legitimacy of urban tourism is also open for debate. Urban tourism generally gets its legitimacy from the rhetoric that investments will develop areas and foster growth in different sectors, in turn increasing economic returns and distributing them in the interest of all parts of the community, that it will create a workforce, and also that it will protect and sustain historical zones (Edwards et al., 2008). However, the priorities of tourism-based urban transformation continually ignore the living, housing and other needs of the working classes, and instead favour spatial politics that exclude various social groups, that externalise and hide urban poverty. Tourism is activated mostly as a selective 'middle and upper-class democracy' and it is realised by means of much less democratic but much more elitist decision-making and application processes.

In conclusion, the investment in tourism development projects of public money that could otherwise have been allocated to social welfare is justified by the claim that the proceeds will benefit the local community on the long term. However, only a certain part of the population cashes in the unearned income and the share the proceeds that is actually returned to the general public and to the needy in particular is hard to evaluate (Türkün, 2011). The development of tourism, which creates new investment and consumption possibilities, is generally achieved by removing the low-income groups from the areas suitable for tourism, gentrifying these areas together with the surrounding housing zones, and opening them up to be used by high-income groups (Türkün-Erendil and Ulusoy, 2002). While this transformation can be considered positively insofar as it leads to housing improvements, provides a physical document of the cultural heritage and ensures the economic and social quality of the incoming population, it also drives away the real users of the zone. This goes against the essence of a genuine urban transformation project. There is only one single target beneath all of these applications: to make a commodity or

property that can be sold, and to increase and enhance its unearned income potential and then transfer it to certain social layers (Hewison, 1987). Although institutional discourse argues that these developments serve the 'public interest' by including history in urban life and regaining areas that have been abandoned to dereliction, the underlying motive is to increase unearned income. Cohen argued that tourism is a type of commercialised hospitality and an industrialised expression of cultural themes. It creates a dependency between the tourist and host communities (Cohen, 1996) that can cause an increased demand for tourism for goods and services, resulting in a sharp rise of local prices and the creation of a high level of inflation (Kreag, 2001, p. 7). This also means that tourism facilities managed and owned by outsiders, or by a few local elites, lead to fewer benefits for local people (Inskeep, 1991).

Heritage and Culture as Tourism Products

During most of the 20th century, tourism and culture were considered widely different from each other. Cultural resources were considered part of the cultural heritage of destinations, depending largely on the education of the local population and constituting the foundation of local and national cultural identity. In contrast, tourism was seen as a leisure activity, independent of the everyday life and culture of the local population. This view has gradually evolved, as it has become increasingly clear that cultural assets influence and attract tourists and allow one destination to distinguish itself from another. The link between culture and tourism has become increasingly important due to factors reinforced by demand and supply. From the demand side, this relates to the growing interest in culture, considered as a source of identity and differentiation in response to globalisation, the increase of cultural capital reinforced by the rising levels of education, the ageing of populations in developed regions, postmodern consumption patterns focusing on personal development rather than materialism, a desire for 'experience of the real life' rather than just visiting, the growing importance of intangible culture and the role of image and atmosphere, and increased mobility, which enables easier access to other cultures (Richards, 2007). Worldwide tourism is promoted as a source of cultural capital and is legitimised in order to form focal points for communities and tourists. These focal points create the production of spaces, the compression of time and space, and refurbished landscapes (Appadurai, cited in Robinson and Smith, 2006).

Tourism, heritage and the cultural industries are increasingly connected to economic development strategies in terms of employment and income generation, and to place-making strategies concerned with image reconstruction. The application of place marketing includes the activities of both public-sector and private-sector agencies, which aim to sell the image of a particular locality in order to make it desirable to commercial organisations, tourists and the inhabitants (Selby, 2004). Culture is increasingly used as an aspect of tourism products and strategies, to burnish the image of destinations. Tourism is integrated into cultural development strategies in order to enhance the heritage and to support cultural production. The synergy between tourism and culture is all the more powerful because of the growing importance of tourism and culture for economies around the world. Marketing organisations consider culture an important aspect of the tourism product, attracting visitors with a high level of spending (Richards, 2001). Culture has become the business of the urban people and the foundation of tourist entertainment. The increase in the culture consumption (art, food and beverage, fashion, music and tourism) and the growth of the industries serving this area feed not only the symbolic economy of the city but its capacity of producing such symbols and areas (Zukin, 1995). That is, while the culture forms the image of a city in the international arena, on the other hand, it is producing an identity for the inhabitants of that city as well.

At the same time, it also specifies what should be included in the image. For this reason, Zukin notes that the people who create the image of a city are also those empowered to speak about the collective identity of this city. By deciding whether or not a city shall be viewed in terms of its architecture and which buildings shall be considered as 'heritage', what shall be labelled as undesirable, and who will write histories for the cities and build marketing images for them, these self-proclaimed ambassadors not only put forward their own urban approaches through the physical structures, but also serve their own vested interests in the development business (Zukin, 1995). Selecting the stories that are important to the marketing of a certain place also implies manipulation of the history and of culture – and such an approach gives rise to a lack of responsibility, by ignoring the tensions and conflicts experienced in the history of a place. The possibility of perceiving history disappears deeply in such a process, and the re-created history is converted and transformed into a type of 'costume drama'. Consequently, the real essence – what we do with the history and what this implies about the concept of 'authenticity' – is a highly

controversial subject. While a very important subject, it receives little attention in practice (Türkün-Erendil and Ulusoy, 2002).

The acceleration of cultural tourism by using culture as a leverage to boost employment and income is seen as a growth market and as a form of quality tourism. Information about culture and tourism has become increasingly available with the advent of new technologies. The construction of a unique identity to create a desirable image in countries, regions or cities has emerged as an increasingly important part of the cultural offer (Richards, 2007).

In international tourism terminology, heritage protects and transfers cultural and natural resources that are important for the identity of cities or countries. The concept of heritage singles out areas of historical and cultural importance for tourism and visitors. Heritage sites are refreshing and beautiful sites, where the past is regained. Such sites are places where there is no disease, hunger, despair, fear or ugliness, and where memories are cleansed (Souther, 2004). This is the reason why industrial heritage, which rekindles a history of working-class struggle and is hardly cause for pride for the dominant classes, has long been denied the status of heritage (Smith et al., 2011).

> Cultural heritage is commonly used to stimulate pride in the (imagined) national history or highlight the virtues of particular ideologies. Heritage sites are marketed and sold as iconic markers of a local area, country, region or even continent. (Salazar, 2010, p. 130)

Industrial heritage is now seen as a new cultural tourism resource (Jansen-Verbeke, 1999). However, since tourism transforms landscapes of production into landscapes of consumption, it endangers localities by damaging their authenticity. Winter (2010) argues that "in the vast majority of heritage literature tourism has come to be a metaphor for destruction, erosion, or commodification", but he also expresses the view that it has started to be seen as "a source of revival, empowerment or grassroots development" (p. 117). In the case of the transformation of historic industrial waterfronts into sites of tourism, the initial investments by local authorities have contributed to the diversion of resources for the preservation and conservation of these industrial heritage structures. The exploitation of derelict waterfronts has begun to produce a return on investment for emerging economies and, at the same time, a heritage experience at the centre of the consumption of tourist services (Urry, 1990; Dodson and Kilian, 1998).

The entrepreneurial approach to creating new places of desire to attract capital has positioned historic waterfronts and historic city centres as commercialised heritage sites (Harvey, 1989). Tourism has been represented as a powerful option to preserve heritage, and reconstruct the post-industrial landscape and industrial heritage (Xie, 2015). Apostolakis (2003) points out that the change in industrial landscapes has created more complex and diverse demands; both the concept of production and that of consumption have underpinned the heritage activities. Goutro and Palmer (cited in Xie, 2015) claims that tourism is a catalyst to find the meaning and identity of the industrial past, and also serves as a tool for conservation of industrial heritage. Old industrial sites have been promoted by means of tourism-led developments. Industrial heritage and tourism have become associated with each other. Industrial heritage refers to housing, industrial settlements, industrial landscapes, and the products, process and documentation relating to industrial society (Xie, 2006). Attempts have been made to rejuvenate them. Often, a solution to the structural problems of old industrial regions has been sought in localised policies and institutions aimed at promoting entrepreneurship and innovation (Hospers, 2002). However, these policies are not the only strategies used to rejuvenate local economies. In many regions, tourism at industrial heritage sites has gained popularity as an additional policy tool to regenerate the local economy. Initiatives aiming to develop industrial heritage tourism have been undertaken, notably in the UK, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, France, Spain and Italy. The roots of industrial heritage tourism can be found in the UK, the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution, where the decline in manufacturing started earlier than in the rest of Europe (Hospers, 2002). In the 1980s, the concept of industrial heritage tourism was occasionally propagated and applied as a strategy of regional restructuring - notably in the UK (Harris, 1989).

The orientation of visitors towards cultural sites depends on many motivations, such as learning, spending time relaxing, or having emotional and spiritual experiences, but the most important motivation is socialising with family members or friends. Because the relationships developed during a person's spare time can be of great importance, making good use of time by, for instance, taking part in a chosen activity such as visiting a monument or a museum is very important. Another motivation is the 'past' possessed (Timothy, 2011, p. 35). In the Western world, especially in the United States (US) and the UK, heritage and heritage sites are seen as the 'past' (Souther, 2004). This nostalgic view contains two perspectives; one of these is a person's past, and the other the community's past. The reason

why people visit heritage sites in connection with the past is that they remember their own identities and wish to share it with their children. Visiting heritage sites because of the social past involves a wish to learn and see life in the past, which is different from the complicated structure of modern life (Timothy, 2011). Another purpose for visiting a heritage site is educational. Learning more about history and the cultures of past experiences, and assimilating the identity of such sites, is an edifying experience to people (Timothy, 2011).

The activity realised as a result of such motivations contributes to economic development in addition to providing positive impacts such as learning about people, possessing identity and finding oneself in a different experience. Tourism creates value for visitors just as much as it helps fund and maintain the traditions the protected natural and cultural sites. But tourism structurally bears the potential for negative impacts as well as for positive ones. Mismanagement of tourism, especially at cultural heritage sites, activates negative influences (Bandarin, 2005). This negative impact arises from the opposing agendas of tourism and heritage. For this reason, when the relations between tourism and heritage are considered, while heritage is the transfer of the relict left from a previous generation into another generation, tourism is just the opposite, a manner of modern awareness (Nuryanti, 1996). Accordingly, tourism creates a dilemma. UNESCO's view on this subject is that cultural tourism may revive the restoration and traditions of monuments and sites. However, intemperate tourism may have a contrary impact – there is a real discrepancy here (Bandarin, 2005). Tourism development should heed the fragile structure of heritage sites. The protection of such sites should remain the primary purpose and concern of tourism management. Otherwise, heritage sites could be abstracted from their assumed identity and could be transformed into ruins. For this reason, ICOMOS has designated six basic principles for tourism at heritage sites (ICOMOS, 1999):

- The relationship between heritage sites and tourism is dynamic and covers contradictory values.

- They should be managed in a sustainable manner for current and future generations.

- Protection for heritage sites and tourism planning should ensure that the visitor experience is worth the effort, satisfying and joyful.

- Host societies and local people should contribute to both the protection and the tourism planning.

- The tourism and protection activities should be to the benefit of the host societies.

- Tourism promotion programs should protect and develop the characteristics of the natural and cultural heritage.

Tourism has been promoted by developing countries as an alternative policy to aid economic growth, since the 1960s. Demand for international travel has surged since World War II, driven by the increased income of developed countries, and tourism was recognised as a tool to provide economic benefits to city centres. Tourism is an expression and experience that generates different forms of culture (Robinson and Smith, 2006). Urry (1995) suggests that tourism is not only a productive or consumptive version of heritage, but also an extended version of cultural practices. Tourism has gained a crucial place regarding economic development within this process (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1996) hence its position in contemporary life. Therefore, tourism is generally considered in terms of social, economic, cultural and structural aspects of modernity. In other words, tourism is a modern phenomenon, inherently peculiar to modern societies (Lash and Urry, 1994).

Furthermore, tourism is regarded as the industry that epitomises the modern experience of leisure activity. As opposed to the traditional pre-modern societies, which all but excluded mobility, modern life thrives in the context of mobility of people, objects, images and information. The shifts in material and economic conditions resulting them from passage from industrial production towards a pattern of consumption have produced changes in people's experience of time and space (Harrison, 2010). The increased mobility has resulted in tourism becoming a component of an international system that contributes to the relationship between space and experience. This new mobility has also changed society's understanding of being social and the concept of social mobility has been suggested. Therefore, sedentary types of formations in traditional societies are being replaced by more dynamic, fluid, less place-based formations (Rojek, 1995; Urry, 2000; Wang, 2000). However in tourism urbanisation,[31] cities or urban areas are commoditised for the consumers of the tourism sector; and tourists go to tourism cities not just to consume the facilities of the city, but also to consume the whole city (Mullins, 1991, p. 326).

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[31] Mullins (1991) describes urban tourism as tourism urbanisation. He argues that tourist cities represent a new and extraordinary form of urbanisation because they are built for consumption (Urry, 2002).

Conclusion

The changing understanding of tourism between industrial and post-industrial economies underlines the changing production and consumption experiences between Fordist and post-Fordist periods. Urry (1990, 1995, 2002), Lefebvre (1991, 1998) and Zukin (1995, 1998, 2010) have discussed these changes and their reflections on cities and local communities. The revival of tourism has been related to the rise of modern societies, in which work and leisure have been regulated and organised. Tourists have evolved from aristocrats to industrial workers, ordinary and white-collar employees. This shift has been discussed by Urry (1990, 2002) and Lefebvre (1998), with an argument that the desire to travel and consume has evolved according to the rise of neoliberal economies and capitalism, which involve new modes of everyday experience. These experiences have brought about the transformation of cities. Transformation decisions and the application of urban tourism in historical city centres and waterfronts have been the major points of this chapter. Zukin (1995, 2010) has focused on single-city image creation via transformation strategies. Authenticity and identity (MacCannell, 1976, 1999; Cohen, 1996; Bruner, 2005) have been examined to understand the transformation of the industrial cities in the West, which have encountered a process called 'deindustrialisation' from the 1970s onwards, and then have started to look for different ways of recovering; one of the most important ways appears to be 'urban tourism' (Türkün, 2011). This chapter suggest that what needs to be done is actually obvious: increasing profit in these former industrial places could not be achieved, although it had been desired for many years, but the plans and projects to transform them into structures in which the users also become differentiated can be considered as detrimental. Urban tourism has been used as a tool to instrumentalise culture, to create a culture for business (Zukin, 1995) and to commercialise it. Reproduced tourism places have been promoted in global markets and highly commodified for consumption. Urry (1990) makes it very clear that the places gazed upon in the course of the consumption of tourist services and the increase of tourism in historic city centres have lost their historical identities and suffer from overcrowding. The major arguments of this chapter, which state that derelict industrial and waterfront land was transformed into profitable attractions to create competitive display products in cities at the beginning of the 1970s and in the 1980s, that local economies in global cities started to be reshaped, that the real estate industry, together with the finance sector, played a significant role in this re-creation and that tourism was pivotal in this transformation (Urry, 1995; Zukin, 2010), provide

a background for the second part of this thesis, which will investigate the tourism-led transformation projects of The Rocks and Darling Harbour.

The transformation of city life through the creation of a range of activities, including leisure and entertainment, by either reusing or demolishing historic industrial buildings was seen as the significant component of the creation of the new image. Acceptance of renewing areas where commercial and industrial activities and warehouses had become redundant was inevitable. The Rocks has been substantially regenerated for tourism purposes by maintaining the historic buildings; however, it is demonstrated that the industrial past has not been blended well with the present. As in many historic city centres, the familiar idea of setting up branded restaurants, coffee shops and hotel chains have ignored the industrial identity of the place. These transformations have caused the commodification of heritage and the displacement of local communities. On the other hand, Darling Harbour has been redeveloped for tourism purposes, with a focus on building on existing cultural activities and creating completely new districts, which has caused the demolition of heritage and the complete loss of the area's industrial identity.

Following chapter will discuss the process of gentrification/renewal of The Rocks, evaluate the impacts of tourism development and examine the conversion of industrial heritage items in the area.

CHAPTER 6: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL AND RESIDENTIAL HISTORIC CITY CENTRE INTO A SPACE FOR TOURISM AND LEISURE: THE ROCKS

> The Rocks has always been at least two places: the lived town of real people and urban fabric, and the imagined place, a site of dreams, a place for imagining the urban other.
>
> (Grace Karskens, 2010, p. 11)

In earlier chapters, it has been acknowledged that urban transformation strategies have been developed in response to the deindustrialisation process and economic restructuring initiated between the 1950s and 1990s, and that tourism was widely regarded as the leading tool for economic development. Particularly during the 1960s and 1970s, significant geographical restructuring had arisen along with the major social changes. The development of historic city centres and the marketing of cities as tourism-purposed places contributed to economic urban development strategies, and major investment initiatives prompted city governments to increase expenditures on the practices involved in transformation (Spirou, 2011).

The transformation of The Rocks epitomises a process of gentrification and tourism-led renewal that has resulted in the loss of its industrial narrative and has wielded an adverse effect on its community. It also argues that the refashioning of the area by the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority (The SCRA), established in 1968, has attempted to represent the historic Sydney. However, in creating the tourist attractions, the SCRA deliberately exhibited a preference for several aspects of the history and 'staged' a 'constructed' authenticity. The representation of the past became an imitation, because it did not accord enough significance to the industrial legacy that should have been passed from generation to generation (Waitt, 2000). In this sense, this chapter argues that, although a modicum of history seems to have been preserved and represented for the purpose of tourism, the developers' interpretation of the particular history of the area can be contested, due to the disinterest regarding the industrial history.

The process of transformation of The Rocks, with an emphasis on gentrification and urban renewal, have provided a biased interpretation of the 'birthplace of the Australian nation', one that removes any reference to the historical markers in the built environment, and to the items perceived as non-marketable (Waitt, 2000). The

process of restructuring and gentrification, followed by the introduction of urban tourism, generated a spatial transformation as well as displacement of the community. Tourism-purposed gentrification remakes areas in both residential and commercial ways. This type of distillation leads to environments for consumption created by entertainment and leisure activities (Spirou, 2011).

The Rocks – Historical Background and First Transformation

The surface you may observe is so abrupt and uneven, and covered with great masses of loose rock, that it would take a hundred thousand pounds to fit it for business purposes, though from its situation at the very face of the shore all around, it is really the most valuable quarter of the whole town for mercantile purposes.

(Observation of Alexander Harris on The Rocks in the mid-1820s, cited in Blackmore, 1988, p. 121)
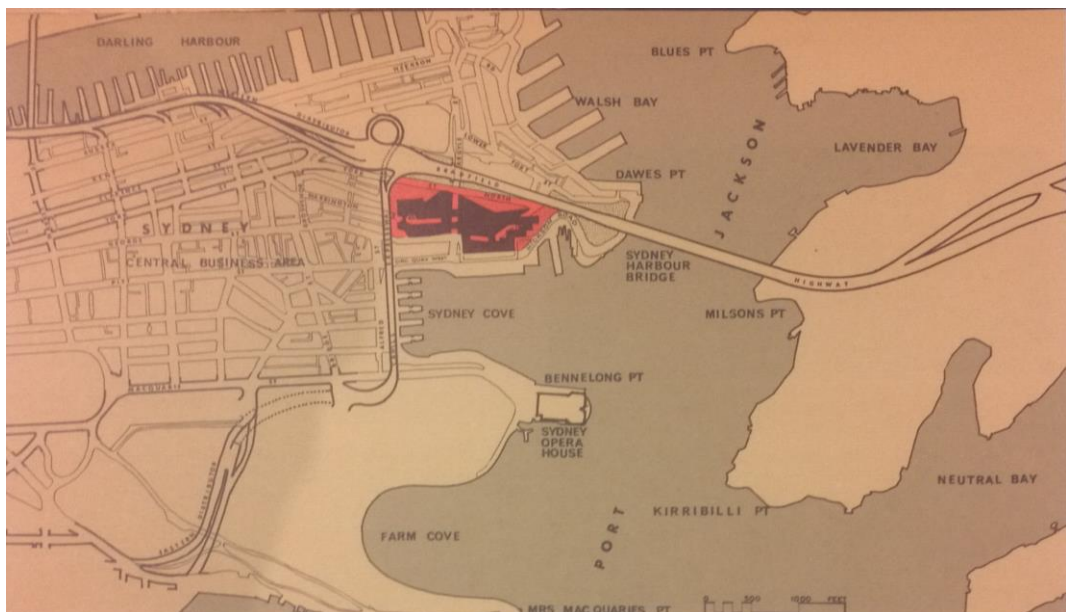
Fig 6.1: A location map of The Rocks, showing the area subjected to redevelopment and its waterfront

(Source: The Redevelopment of The Rocks Area proposed by James Wallace, 1964, Historic Houses Trust)

The historic site of The Rocks is located at the northern end of the centre of Sydney, facing east across Sydney Cove as shown in Figure 6.1. The area's location is also close to where the first fleet had arrived in Sydney in 1788. The historic Rocks area is the oldest part of European Australia (Mundey, 1981). The first mercantile wharf,

the first warehouses and numerous taverns were constructed there at 'the rocky shore' (Stephensen, 1996, p. 147). The Rocks was a mercantile port when it developed in the early 19th century. Handling the arrival and unloading of ships, the storage of goods and their conveyance to the end-user was then ruled by fairly simple processes. It was then enlarged through bond stores, which were warehouses where dutiable goods were stored until the government or some other party paid tax on them, allowing them to be exported to the wider world (I. Kelly, pers. comm., 13/12/2012).

By 1900, The Rocks was a place concentrated on terrace houses, family shops, merchants' houses, wharves and warehouses. The place described itself as an unplanned settlement with convicts (Johnson, 2010). In particular, between 1861 and 1871, the social dynamic was dominated by the working class, with a high proportion of seamen and wharf labourers, coal lumpers, warehousemen – hundreds of them. Figure 6.2 and 6.3 show workers standing in front of the Argyle Bonded Stores. There was working-class solidarity in The Rocks, as well as an inter-generational one. A local activist from The Rocks, Nita McCrae,[32] stated (in the 1970s) that the area was a real community, and that people could feel it – they could know it. She also argued that having four generations living within the same area formed a community (Kelly, 1997).

In the early 1900s, the idea of clearance of the city was very persuasive in Sydney (Kelly, 1997). The government was very keen to erase reminders of the colonial past and to transform its physical traces. It was time to wipe away the 'old Sydney'. In 1900, the government of New South Wales became the landlord of The Rocks, previously under the jurisdiction of the Sydney Municipal Council. The state acquired the whole headland, together with 900 properties, as well as the bond stores, factories, workshops, offices and pubs between Circular Quay and Darling Harbour, and initiated on the area the first of many redevelopments of the European settlement (Johnson, 2010, p. 32).

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[32] Nita McCrae was one of the residents who formed The Rocks Residents Group. Her ancestors could be traced in The Rocks back to 1800 (Rhiannon and the Greens NSW, 2013).

Fig 6.2: Workers of the Argyle Stores photographed in front of the bonded stores in 1915

(Source: *Anchored in a Small Cove*, Kelly, 1997)

Fig 6.3: The stores housed merchandise such as tea, spirits, cloth and sugar

(Source: *Anchored in a Small Cove*, Kelly, 1997)

The Rocks experienced a great deal of realignment, demolition and wharf developments in the years following 1900. The government decided to demolish vast areas of slum houses and upgrade the wharves, streets, stores and shops. The outbreak of the plague in the early 1900s provided a legitimate reason for this massive resumption and reconstruction works: it allowed the government to resume the land, ostensibly to remove all substandard buildings and, in the eyes of the public, prevent further outbreaks of the plague. The scheme was also driven by a political and economic agenda, as The Rocks represented the heart of the port of Sydney and the mainstay of the shipping activities key to Australia's trade. It can be

said that The Rocks experienced its first urban regeneration at the time of the new formation of the Sydney Harbour Trust,[33] when the government intended to carry the area forward to meet international standards (Kelly, 1997).
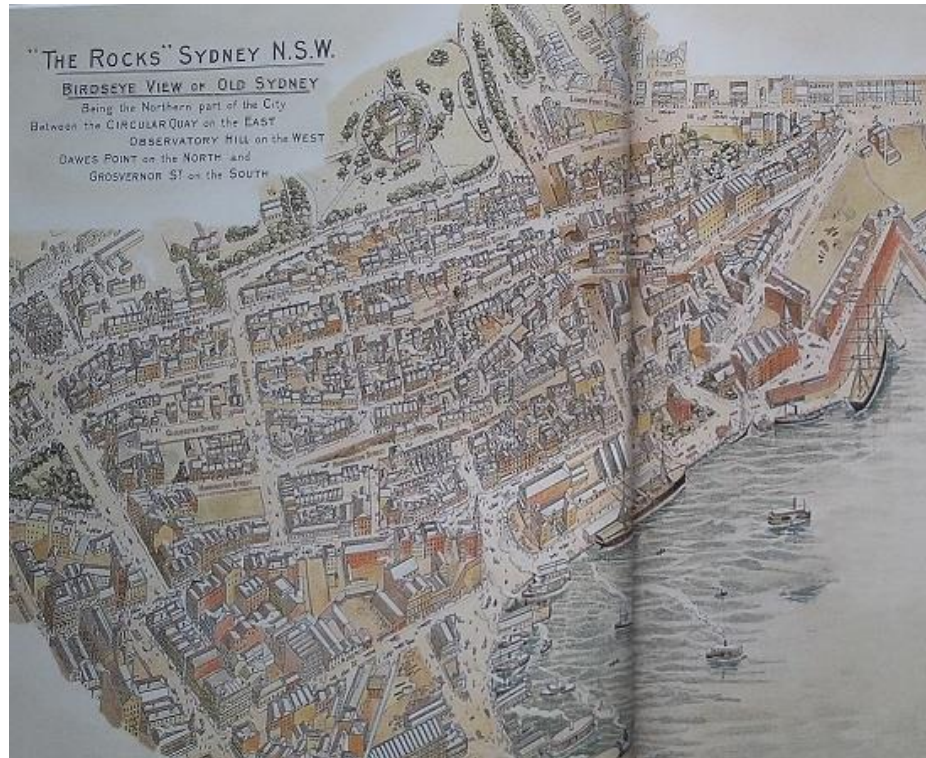
Fig 6.4: The Rocks, Sydney, NSW, 1900
(Source: Ashton et al., 2010, p. 6–7)

With the rise of the political Labor movement in the 1890s, the sweeping away of the old Sydney had been discussed as a social experiment, in which The Rocks was subjected to a grand design. Until 1912, the new commercial and residential buildings as well as institutional buildings within The Rocks and Millers Point were designed by the Government Architects Branch, under the Government Architect Walter Liberty Vernon. In 1909–1910, ten contracts for new buildings were under way in the area, eight of which within The Rocks, the remainder being in Fort Street.[34] Figure 6.4 shows an overview of Sydney Cove: The Rocks is located on

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[33] The Sydney Harbour Trust was formed in 1901 to manage the resumption and the reconstruction of Sydney's wharves and adjacent areas, including from Woolloomooloo to Pyrmont and Darling Harbour (Johnson, 2010, p. 36).

[34] Government Architect, Government Architect's Report, in PWD, Annual Report, 1909/10, p. 29.

the west side of the cove and Millers Point is bounded by the western side of the highway. The arrival of electricity in Sydney enabled a tram system to start operating in 1899, between Central and Circular Quay, and in 1900 the line was extended to The Rocks and Millers Point. With the construction of the tram service to Millers Point in 1901, the residents of The Rocks were connected more closely to other areas of the city. The harbour was well served by transport, with a network of ferries (Johnson, 2010). The necessity of resumption of Darling Harbour and Millers Point, which had also been under the jurisdiction of the Sydney Municipal Council, was seen subsequently. By 30 June 1905, the state government had spent over £4 million on the Darling Harbour and Rocks Resumptions[35].
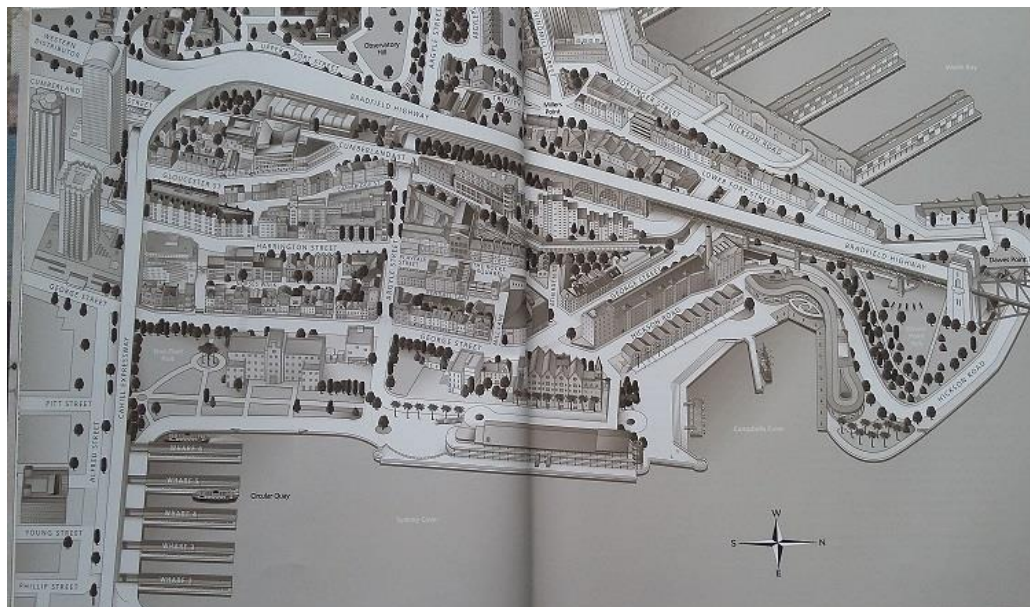
Fig 6.5: A map of Sydney Cove, The Rocks and Millers Point, 2010
(Source: Ashton et al., 2010, p. 8–9)

In May 1912, the Housing Board was established to manage the properties resumed in 1900 and 1901, except for the waterfront properties under the control of the Sydney Harbour Trust. The Housing Board was only in operation for 12 years; it was disbanded in 1924. The post-1900 public housing and the remaining 19th-century dwellings in The Rocks and Millers Point (see Figure 6.5) were then administered, as rental accommodation, by the Sydney Harbour Trust, later the Maritime Services

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[35] Darling Harbour and Rocks Resumptions, Expenditure in PWD, Annual Report, 1905/06, p. 62.

Board, until the late 1960s (Blackmore, 1988). During the redevelopment of the area, some of the demolished buildings were replaced by The Observer hotel in 1909 and the Mercantile hotel in 1915. These pubs then became the signposts of The Rocks and the heritage of the working class. New technologies and materials were used in their construction (Johnson, 2010). In this sense, The Rocks was developing as an industrial city centre and waterfront.

This concentration of working-class residential areas was being supplemented by the rapid development of warehousing and wholesaling zones in the central city. Campbell's Wharf (around Campbell's Cove) was the birthplace of commerce in Australia; during the 1850s, maritime commerce and industry had been the major elements of land use (Proudfoot, 1996). The Metcalfe Bond Stores, built in 1842–1861, were classified by the National Trust as an example of 19th-century industrial vernacular warehousing on 5 April 1976 (National Trust) and listed on the Register of the National Estate in March 1978 (*Sydney Cityscope*, February 2012) (for their locations, see Figure 6.9). The bond stores Campbell's Stores (see Figure 6.6) were used to house tea, sugar, coffee, spirits and cloth, and were a place for family trade from India. These wharves were improved with new technology: the Metcalfe Stores and Cleland Bond Stores in The Rocks were refurbished in 1914, and the Commissariat Stores was utilised by the state government as workplaces (Johnson, 2010).
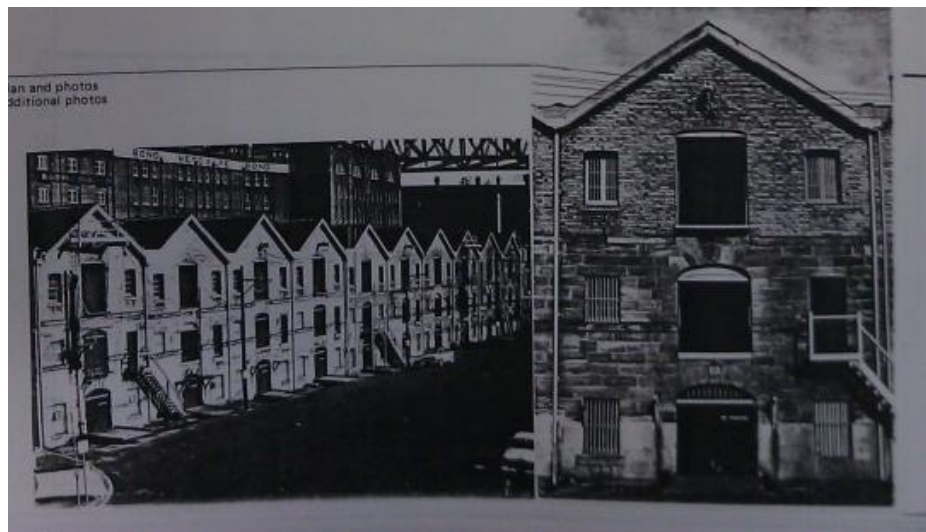
Fig 6.6: Campbell's Warehouses and the Metcalfe Bond Stores
(Source: Industrial Archaeological Sites Listing, National Trust NSW)

Fig 6.7: Bushells tea warehouse in The Rocks, Sydney, in the early 1900s

(Source: Daniel Fogarty, *Herald Sun*, 28/08/2014)

Fig 6.8: Bushells Tea Company, 01/01/1970

(Source: Photo by Tim Collis-Bird, from Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority Archives)

The Cleland Bond building, as part of the Argyle Group (see Figure 6.10), was built in 1925 was classified on 5 April 1976 as a historical link to the commercial life of Sydney. The building is now in use by the Argyle Arts Centre complex (National Trust, NSW). The Argyle Bond Stores, also known as Unwin's buildings, were built in stages over 60 years and the original Bond Store was completed in 1828. It was partly leased as a Customs House in 1830 and used until 1845. It was listed as heritage within industrial archaeological sites due to its association with the commercial life of Port Jackson, being a Georgian and Victorian warehouse built on a good scale (National Trust, NSW).

This first redevelopment of The Rocks was one of a number of large-scale interventions in the urban fabric of Sydney, which had a considerable impact on the scale and character of the inner city. Although the City Improvement Board had been constituted for the sole purpose of overhauling The Rocks, they also concerned themselves with broader areas. The Board also advised on the design of the first stage of the Central Railway Station, including the enlargement of Belmore Park, and on the widening of William and Oxford Streets (Johnson, 2010).
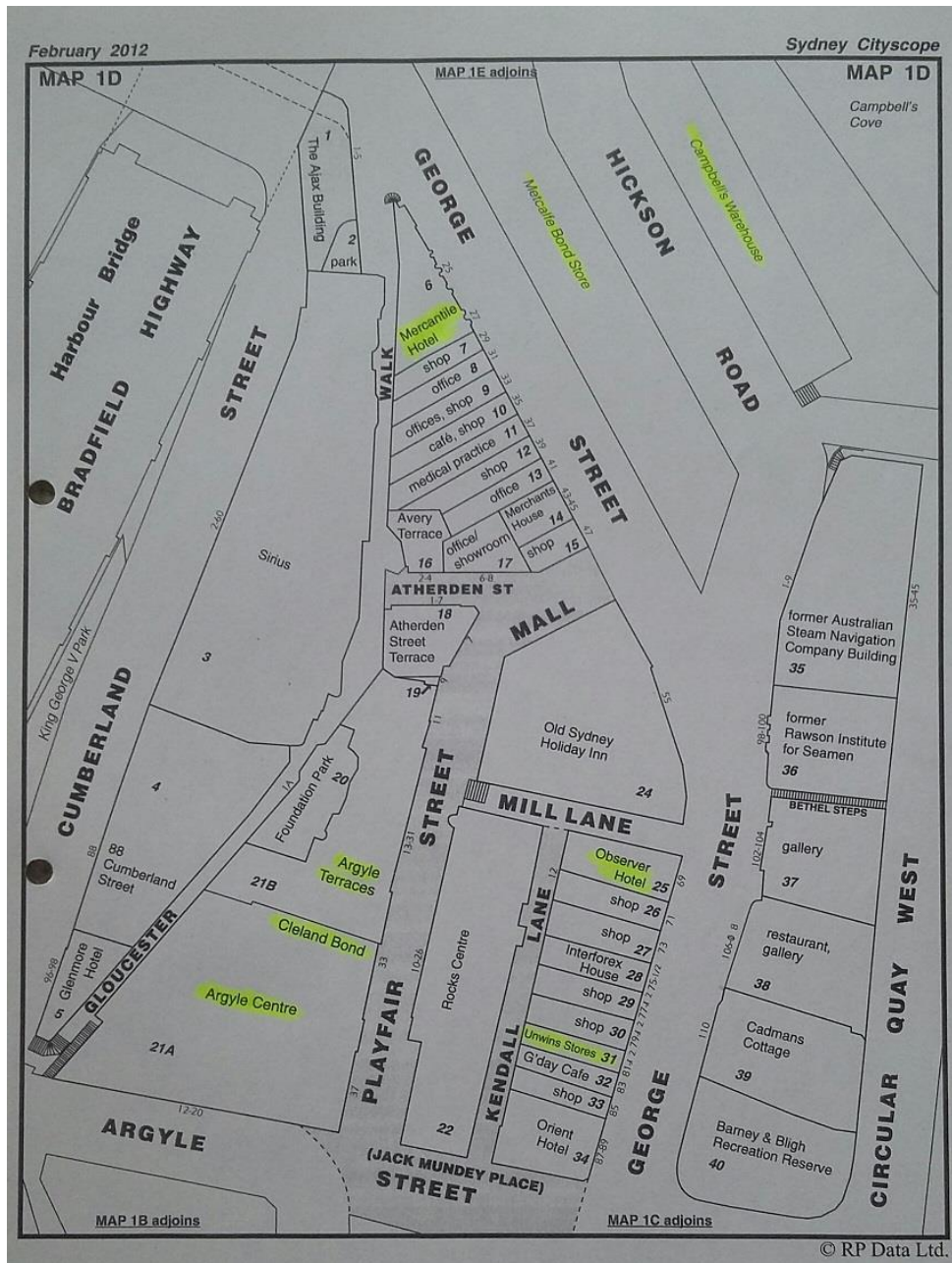
Fig 6.9: Sydney Cityscope Map 1D, showing the locations of the Cleland Bond building, the Argyle Centre, the Metcalfe Bond Store and Campbell's Warehouse at The Rocks

(Source: *Sydney Cityscope*, University of Sydney SciTech Library, 02/2012)

Fig 6.10: Part of the Argyle Group

(Source: Industrial Archaeological Sites Listing, National Trust NSW)

The Rocks, which had served Sydney for the first half-century of its history, with its wharves alongside to load and unload merchandise, had been seen as 'the notorious resort of drunken sailors' (Stephensen, 1996, p. 147). But life in The Rocks was changing in parallel with the economic basis of English life: the population grew, low standards of consumption improved, conventional material equipment was expanded. Yet the early redevelopments did not cause the local community to disappear, even though the construction of the Harbour Bridge between 1925 and 1930 involved the destruction of 799 houses and cut The Rocks in two (Spearritt, 2011). The residents of The Rocks became tenants of state government bodies, such as the Sydney Harbour Trust, the Maritime Services Board and finally the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority (Karskens, 1999, 2009).

Since its original settlement at Sydney Cove, Sydney had grown outwards and become a metropolis, with 2,200,000 inhabitants by the time The Rocks redevelopment had started to be rediscussed (James Wallace Pty Ltd, 1964). The Rocks was being discovered by 'curious tourists' by the early 1960s and the government saw the opportunity to transform the area into a modern urban space. Because the area was considered as the province of 'slum dwellers' and 'terrace houses were the stigma of slum buildings' (Karskens, 2009, p. 121), there were no takers when the area was advertised for sale by the government in *The New York Times* in December 1960 (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 12/12/1960, cited in Karskens, 2009). The majority of the land was owned by the Maritime Services

Board, with some privately owned properties, so the Askin government started to buy out the private properties (Mundey, 1981).

The 1970s were the years in which structural changes were also experienced in The Rocks, Sydney. As discussed earlier, this period saw a shift from an industrial to a service economy. Among the host of economic, social and spatial challenges raised by this change of paradigm figured the future of the abandoned or underused industrial production sites in central-city neighbourhoods. Recognising the economic potential of these areas, public planning authorities cooperated with private developers to convert them into high-yield consumption and entertainment areas for the new elite of affluent service professionals and into cultural markers to feed the long-winded city marketing campaign aimed at capturing the capital of tourists. The Rocks – the historic waterfront, port and warehouses – was transformed into a touristic space with stylish pubs and shops, restored buildings and walkways (Breen and Rigby, 1996), raising the issue of the social and economic impact of the transformation on the city.

Gentrification as an Urban Process

Gentrification consists of cultural renovation and improvement in the physical quality of the urban environment, and it also contains an orientation towards a postmodernist architectural style and urban design. Areas of activity intended for consumers, such as stadiums, congress centres and shopping malls, marinas, exotic venues for food and beverages, and arrangements within urban space that may be either temporary or permanent became strategic axes for urban renovation. A city engaged in such strategies seems like a location that is a creative, innovative, exciting and safe place in which to live, or to visit (Harvey, 1989). The gentrification process described by Harvey (1989) emerged as a strategy for urban renewal when deindustrialisation began in Western countries in the 1960s. It accelerated in the 1970s; unemployment increased as a result of the vacation of production sites and the restriction of public expenditure, and the socio-economic position and political power of the working class was concretely downgraded (Davidson and Lees, 2010). This regression also brought along poverty, and rapid increases in housing prices in suburbia because the swelling of workmanship, raw material and cost prices forced many people to reside in cities on a lower budget (Gale, 1979).

As a result, working-class neighbourhoods in city centres lost their former dynamic structure, and highly paid young professionals started to live in the city centre in

large numbers (Davidson and Lees, 2010). This process triggered the urban reinvestment, which is one of the essential inputs of gentrification. The reinvestment process involved planners and model developers offering alternative economic options, based on such terms as 'architecture', 'historical', 'cultural' and 'accessible' (Gale, 1979). Shaw (2004) states that "property developers know all too well" (p. 62). Her sarcasm tells that heritage and urban conservation can be reused for the saleable purposes. Zukin (1987) summarises the framework of gentrification with reference to three items. First, the synergy between gentrification and deindustrialisation creates inputs concerning housing and the labour market in metropolitan areas. Second, the long-term plans of local financial, political and social pressure groups focus on the city centre. And third, the morphology of urban areas shows how the built and non-built environment can signal, transfer into the future and transform the social components of a city (p. 144).

Sociologist Ruth Glass, the creator of the term gentrification, conveyed the first observations and evaluated gentrification as a movement of middle-class return to cities in her 1964 book. The working class areas in London were occupied by lower and higher layers of middle class, one by one. Shabby modest traditional houses [rows of houses with stables and yards, built in London during the 17th and 18th centuries] and cottages [two-storey, with two rooms upstairs and two rooms downstairs] were vacated when the leases of tenants expired, and transformed into elegant and expensive housing units. Large Victorian houses regained the value lost during years of neglect and of occupation by several families. Most of these houses were converted into expensive flats. Consequently, a gap developed between people's current social status and the material value of houses, and sizes and values of renovated housing units.

Once the process of 'gentrification' begins in an area, it continues at a rapid pace, until all, or the majority of the working class settled in the area has been displaced and the social characteristics of the entire area are changed. (Glass, cited in Hamnett, 2003, p. 2401)

Gentrification was interpreted by Glass as a process of return to town. According to Zukin, it reflects a movement that started in the 1960s and that covers private-sector investments in major regions located in city centres, related to the change in corporate investments and the spread of the urban service economy. It appears as architectural restoration that occurs mostly in worn-out areas and that clusters new cultural communities in the city centre (Zukin, 1987). Zukin states that Marxist and Weberist urban sociologists as well as geographers study gentrification, which

provides a new perspective that expands the scope of economic restructuring by underlining key processes: regional and urban deindustrialisation, professional–technical groups of occupants and intensification of the market for culture in the city centre. Zukin's discourse is significant in that it fills gaps in Glass' definition. Whereas Glass set out a description concerning the quality and scope of the process of gentrification, Zukin placed emphasis on the fundamental economic and social structuring that lies behind the process. Atkinson (2003), in addition to the perspectives of Glass and Zukin, suggests that gentrification consists of two key processes. The first of these is class-based colonisation, which occurs in neighbourhoods containing areas of poor housing; the second is reinvestment that takes place within the body of the physical housing stock.

Bailey and Robertson (1997) argue that the term gentrification is closely related to the spread of white-collar employees, and that it has caused the rise of a professional/executive class as a result of processes taking place in deindustrialised countries, in addition to changes in the urban housing market and broad-scale economic restructuring. Their definition of gentrification as the process of return of the professional class to the city centre through the renovation of housing stock situated in formerly decrepit urban neighbourhoods and the displacement of poor households overlaps with that of Zukin, and especially concurs with the themes of deindustrialisation and professional–technical occupational groups. Similarly, Smith (2002) states that gentrification processes are based on the orientation of the residential demands and wishes of the professional class as it has emerged in the city centre. Gentrification has meant producing new projects in this area with public investment and support from the private sector, but also the displacement of the existing population upon the arrival of the new settlers (Smith, 2002).

Byrne (2003) states that gentrification is a complex social phenomenon that occurs at a particular time in a particular location, and he uses the term to define the process of movement of the high-income group towards areas inhabited by the lower-income group, and of improvement of the physical–social structure due to the incoming group's needs and preferences (p. 406). In this context, Byrne also sticks to Glass' definition and interprets gentrification as a process of retrieval and occupation.

Tekeli (2011) regards gentrification as a tool that may be used for the purpose of ensuring the economic liveability of urban fabric, which comprises areas that need to be protected because of their architectural value and/or symbolic identity. According to Tekeli, the financial liveability of a structure or area can be assured by

changing the inhabiting social layer using either re-functioning or gentrification. Therefore, a social layer with better financial means will guarantee the protection of such a structure or urban area, given the possibilities offered.

Uzun (2003) handles the process with a similar perspective and embeds gentrification within the economic and social developments experienced. Uzun argues that the switch from Fordist to post-Fordist production caused an inevitable rise in the services industry; along with such a rise, the professional, executive and technical occupational groups gained importance; this created differences in income level and paved the way for the birth of a new middle class. According to Uzun, the preferences of this new middle class have impacted urban locations. This new social group preferred living areas with old housing stock in the city centres to suburban areas, and the decentralisation of industry removed obstacles for settling in such areas. As a result, old city-centre neighbourhoods that had been worn out for years entered into a renovation process, and saw the low-income group replaced with the new middle class and the low-income group (Uzun, 2003). Uzun also studied the characteristic features of the process of gentrification occurring in Europe, America, Australia and even Africa and arranged them under four main types (Uzun, 2003). Uzun's first type, location, focuses on whether the places involved in the process are located in city centres or near a centre reflecting features of the historical centre. The second type, pioneers, targets players participating in the process and entails individual entrepreneurs, from either the public sector or the private sector. The third type is the period of commencement of the process. Uzun groups this into ten-year periods between the 1960s and the 1990s. The last type, new neighbourhood residents, defines a new social layer that forms as a result of the process and is itself divided into four sub-groups: new middle-class households, wealthy households, artists and early settlers (Uzun, 2003).

The movement to revive worn-out and dilapidated fabric in cities, which became apparent in the 1950s, intensified soundly during the 1960s: in the 1970s, it spread to the majority of the old cities in the country and caused the start of a large-scale gentrification movement (Smith, 1979). Moreover, gentrification was integrated systematically into the urban process and it created independent experiences known as point rehabilitation, which emphasised the process observed by Ruth Glass in London at the beginning of the 1960s and commenced at the same time in America. The example of Society Hill, Philadelphia would not have had a long-term impact if the land and housing market had been offered partially isolated

developments instead. As a result, gentrification became a serious housing phenomenon, which began to dominate urban restructuring process in the 1970s (Smith, 1996). The individuals who actively took part in the relocation process by providing financial resources and who dwelled in the renovated houses at the end of the process formed a social class known as 'white collar', characterised by a non-traditional family structure and lifestyle. The existence of white-collar residents has led to the emergence of an affluent new class, named as gentry, and to the remodelling of city centres (Zukin, 1987). It can be interpreted that gentrification is now spread on a global scale, as an indicator of the efforts of the urban economy to ensure self-perpetuation, and to attempt to promote a new image following liberal urban policies.

The Transformation: Erasing the Industrial Workplace and Creating a Tourism Precinct

During the 1960s, the pressure for land in inner Sydney resulted in the state government turning its attention further afield, to The Rocks. The state government viewed the entire Rocks area as a potential site for redevelopment. Commercial development from the CBD had spilled over into The Rocks area once before, introduced by the City Improvement Advisory Board following the Resumptions. Gerardus Jozef Dick (G.J.) Dusseldorp[36] pointed out that there was an increase in slums in the inner-city areas and deterioration of the shopping heart of Sydney. He claimed that the best solution would be high-density housing, to replace the terrace houses of the 19th century. He also stated that a large class of middle-income homeowners would have the comfort of being within walking distance of their work in the city. He suggested that the progress made on slum clearance in New York was a good example of gentrification and that cooperation between private enterprise and the government would facilitate the demolition of the accommodation of existing occupants (Irvine Douglas' News, *Daily Mirror*, 23/01/1959) (see Figure 6.11):

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[36] G.J. Dusseldorp was the managing director of Civil and Civic Contractors Pty Ltd, who had completed a visit to the United States. His intention was to tackle the slum clearance by using American examples (Irvine Douglas' news, *Daily Mirror*, 23/01/1959). He joined the Lend Lease Corporations in 1964.

The Rocks area in Sydney, west of Circular Quay, presents an easier problem because about 85 percent of the land is owned by the State Government. The revenue from a block of flats would get 40 times more than it gets from the same area. (G.J. Dusseldorp, interviewed by Irvine Douglas, 23/01/1959)

Fig 6.11: *Daily Mirror* **showing the suggestions of offices and flats (1), shops (2), luxury hotels (3), art gallery (5) and a shipping terminal (7). The existing Maritime Services Board (4) and warehouses (6) were to be retained, Irvine Douglas, 23/01/1959.**

(Source: Newspaper Clippings, Sydney City Council Archive)

The Labor Premier Hon. Robert James Heffron invited land developers in Australia and overseas to submit plans for the redevelopment of The Rocks (Figure 6.12, *Daily Telegraph*, 16/09/1960). The $500 million redevelopment of The Rocks was intended to be the biggest ever undertaken in Australia.

It was the year 1963 when the New South Wales government announced the acceptance of James Wallace Pty Ltd for the redevelopment. The firm had submitted two plans that retained the existing major roads and modified some of the main roads with minor realignments. The project planned to include four large office towers ranging from 24 to 38 storeys and a 100-bedroom hotel, and suggested 13 apartment buildings and parking space for 3,000 cars. The company's second plan consisted of residential units, a tourist hotel with a skyline restaurant and ornamental parks (*Telegraph*, 03/04/1962, p. 5). Figure 6.13 points out the air view of the project by advertising a living in the 'new glass and concrete towers' (*The Sun Herald*, 29/03/1964).

Fig 6.12: The *Daily Telegraph* expressing how the government is intended to rebuild The Rocks area and the submission of plans is encouraged with the announced invitation to land developers, 16/09/1960

(Source: Newspaper Clippings, Sydney City Council Archive)
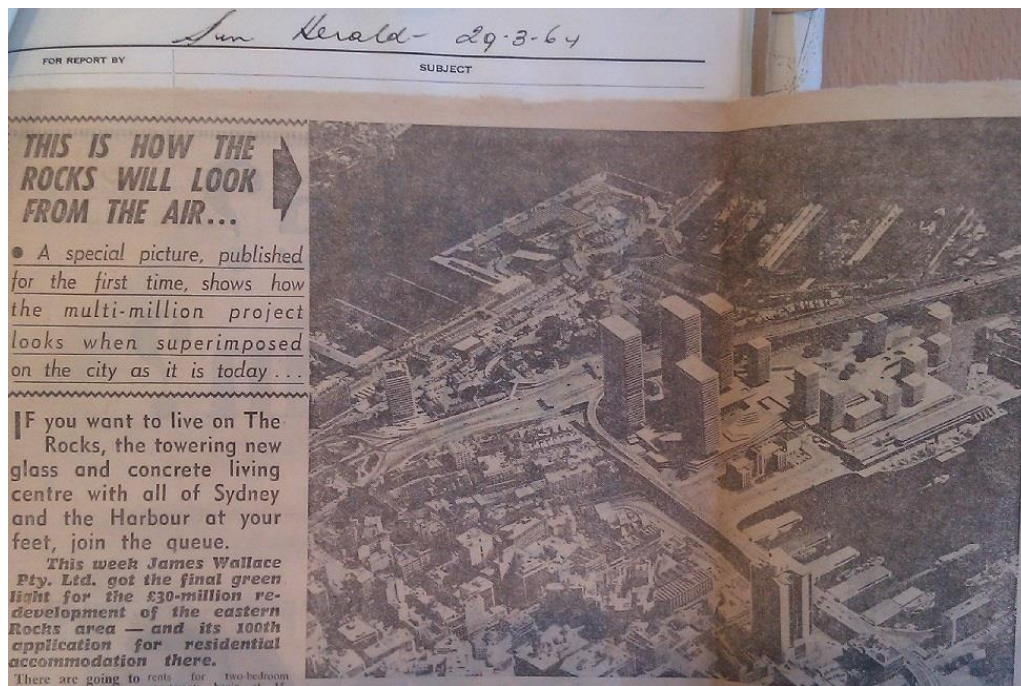
Fig 6.13: The Sun Herald showing the proposed development for The Rocks by James Wallace Pty. Ltd., 29/03/1964

(Source: Newspaper Clippings, Sydney City Council Archive)

According to the Plan of Sir John Overall[37], who had been commissioned in 1966 by the NSW government to formulate a redevelopment plan for The Rocks, the respect of the area's history was to be assured by the preservation of some old buildings such as Cadman's Cottage, the Argyle and Cleland Bond Stores, the Old Metcalfe Bond Store and about 22 terrace houses in George Street North. The only reason for the retention of these buildings was to create attractions for tourists. The Overall Report considered The Rocks as a place of gaiety as well as sober business (*Daily Telegraph*, 13/07/1967, p. 3). Although the emphasis was purportedly on the preservation of national monuments and historic buildings, the scheme relied on the construction of a complex of offices, apartments, hotels and motels, and shopping arcades. Besides, the national heritage that was meant to be reflected by this 'touch of Europe' (Figure 6.14) was the official Anglo-Saxon history of the place where colonisation began. The previous Aboriginal occupation was held in denial, and no reference was made to it during the preparation of the development proposals

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[37] In 1952, Sir John Overall was made Chief Government Architect in the Commonwealth Department of Works. In 1957, he was appointed Commissioner of the newly established National Capital Development Commission (NCDC) (Blackmore, 1988).

(Morgan, 1991). This is why the renewal of The Rocks and the creation of an urban tourism space have been critiqued by Morgan (1991), who claims that the SCRA's interpretation of the past is both Eurocentric and patriarchal.

DAILY TELEGRAPH, THURSDAY, JULY 13, 1967   3

'TOUCH OF EUROPE' VISUALISED IN NEW ROCKS SCHEME

By a Special Reporter

Recommendations aimed at giving "a little touch of Europe" to The Rocks area fronting Sydney Cove are to be made public today.

Central point of interest in the multi-million dollar redevelopment plan is a proposed concourse resembling Venice's colorful St. Marks Square.

Fig 6.14: The *Daily Telegraph* reporting the proposed plan for The Rocks, 13/07/1967
(Source: Newspaper Clippings, Sydney City Council Archive)

Until the 1970s, the precinct was entirely residential, except for the Australian Hotel. The Rocks was a concentration of domestic and small-scale commercial buildings, located on the slopes of the ridge, between Argyle Street and Grosvenor Street. Extension of the area known as The Rocks to the north, as far as George Street North, had occurred in the mid-19th century. The Rocks Resumption redefined the area and included George Street North.

The 1968 Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority Act led to the official constitution of the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority in 1971, with the aim of redeveloping parts of The Rocks with high-rise towers, removing many buildings that are now considered significant reflections of the area's history (Archaeological Works in The Rocks, 1978–1995). On behalf of the NSW State Government, The Authority inherited an area that had been publicly owned since the Resumptions of 1900. The buildings were generally in poor condition, as the Harbour Trust and, subsequently, the Maritime Services Board had undertaken only minimal maintenance. According to the SCRA Annual Report of 1978, the area was derelict: houses needed to be repaired, and the vacant buildings, temporary parking lots and unused spaces in

The Rocks were a depressing sight. It was claimed that the population had fallen since 1964, and that housing and commercial rents were below the market value of the area (The SCRA, 1978).

The boundary of The Rocks was further extended as the land fronting Circular Quay was incorporated, making the Authority responsible for 200,000 square meters in the East Rocks Area, from Grosvenor Street to Dawes Point Park, and from the Harbour Bridge to Circular Quay West. The redevelopment plan announced in 1971 was comprised of three new hotels, high- and low-rise residential development and new commercial office space (NSW Department of Environment and Planning, 1985). Works began with the release of three sites for development. One of these areas was designated for the construction of an underground car park to house around 520 cars, together with an office block of approximately 10,000 square meters on top. Another site was to accommodate a hotel/retail complex with a minimum of 15,000 square meters of retail space, and a tower containing more than 450 bedrooms, while the third was earmarked for an office block of between approximately 30,000 and 50,000 square meters of lettable space (The SCRA Second Annual Report, 1971). The plan (Figure 6.15) included ten tower buildings, and convention and exhibition facilities for a trade centre were included in the commercial sector of the development project (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 14/02/1971).

Fig 6.15: *The Sydney Morning Herald* showing the inspection of proposed model for The Rocks, 14/02/1971

(Source: Newspaper Clippings, Sydney City Council Archive)

The SCRA invested in the entire area and was charged with implementation of the plan, and the land was to be leased to developers. Private enterprise was going to be responsible for financing, building and leasing. The Authority was getting ready to sell the neighbourhood to the private sector, which would cause problems amongst the residents, and would affect the distinctive identity and homogenised

nature of the place (Zukin, 2010). The outset of restoration in Argyle Terrace started to raise questions about the inequality of rentals, and residents grew upset at the looming threat of being moved. Provision had previously been made to resettle existing residents within the area if it was necessary to move them. Housing Commission apartments were under construction on Bunkers Hill[38] as part of this plan. Residents were offered the option to take up other housing in The Rocks in keeping with their income, or to accept outside accommodation supplied under the Government Housing Scheme, with the Authority paying for removal and other expenses. The Authority was aiming at an increase in the local population from 200 to 1200 and the creation of a socio-economic mix in which 35% would be families with incomes that did not exceed the average weekly wage (The SCRA, 1978). The Authority was apparently trying to manufacture urban city living for the privileged middle class and was keen to create artificial life experiences, with the provision of a gentrified place in which to live, work and shop. Slum has begun to be cleared away and The Rocks was gaining a reputation as a desirable place (Figure 6.16). This intention coincides with Zukin's discussion of authenticity, and she is explaining that the neighbourhood is being gentrified so that the wealthy can move in and remake the place for themselves (Zukin, 2010).
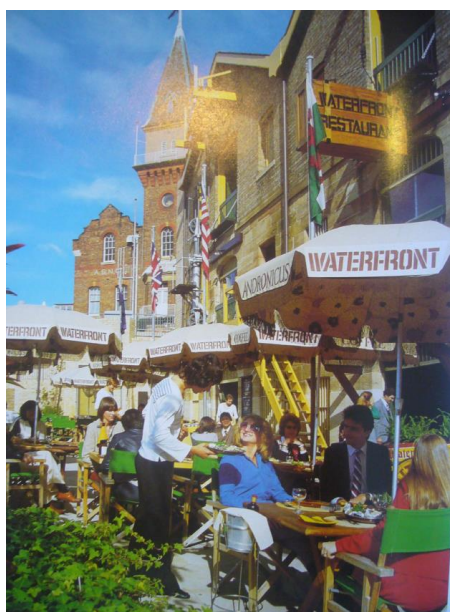
Fig 6.16: An image from The Rocks to show the arising interest in the area

(Source: Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority, 1979)

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[38] Bunkers Hill is now known as "The Sirius" apartment complex, which was named in honour of the First Fleet vessel, *HMS Sirius* and her Commander, Captain Arthur Phillip (Sutton, 2015, p. 2).

The Community of The Rocks and the 'Green bans'

> The Rocks had a living community, and it was full of residents some of whom had been there for seven generations. For a community to function, it has to have necessary services like local shops and groceries. And now there is a fundamental problem in The Rocks which militates against being a residential place, and which is the economics of the region market. Residents claim that they have seven local shops and but no local greengroceries. A lot of The Rocks residents between then and now were living in the same houses but now they can't get access to shopping, and then it is very hard for them to survive. Down in George Street, it's a retail tourist area. Once you get up higher towards Millers Point and Windmill Street, it becomes more residential.

> (R. Mackay, pers. comm., 9/11/2012)

As previously discussed, the extensive social and economic changes rendered old industrial buildings and sites obsolete and offered little other option for them than demolition or redevelopment. However, as Tiesdell et al. (1996) emphasise, the 1960s were times of heightened reactions by people with regard to the social, cultural and physical disruption brought into their lives by these high-scale demolition and redevelopment projects that were carried out in various cities. Local communities increasingly insisted on having a voice in the conditions of the transformation projects.

One of the most important reasons for this reaction was the realisation of the 'traditional city' scale qualities; another stemmed from the wish to protect of the then-current and familiar environment. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), by Jane Jacobs and *The Federal Bulldozer* (1964) by Martin Anderson, which was published in the USA, put forward the discussion of the growing reaction against the modernist urban planning model. According to them, the historic fabric of cities was being led towards obliteration and urban liveliness was being lost through functional zoning of urban sites.

Reactions against the gentrification and renewal decisions were seen when the first development proposals for The Rocks were announced. The conservationist and environmentalist movement that raised its voice in the early 1960s on the agenda of the demolition of terrace houses of Irish-Australian working-class communities in Carlton, Richmond, Paddington and Balmain, continued with the environmental crisis of the years 1971 to 1974. The above-mentioned neighbourhoods were

resisting the gentrification and slum clearance reclamation that was likely to destroy their historic character. There was also concern about increasing property values, the intrusion of freeways and the flats that were to replace historical buildings (Davison, 1991). The construction of the Cahill Expressway, completed in 1962, had already divided the area in half and caused extensive demolition of the built environment in The Rocks, with less than half of the 1890s buildings remaining (Davison and McConville, 1991).

The Rocks Resident Action Group was formed in February 1971, with Nita McRae as secretary and Frank Ashton as president, and epitomised the possibility of a connection between a place and its community (Mackay and Johnston, 2010):

> There were about eighty residents of all ages and two builders' labourers, Joe Owens and myself when we arrived at The Rocks at four o'clock in the morning on Monday late in October 1973. The plan was to have a peaceful demonstration for the partly demolished old Playfair building (Jack Mundey, 1981, p. 1).

Fearing the adverse impact of the development on the historic character of the area (Burgmann and Burgmann, 1998) and willing to protect the low-income residents, The Rocks Resident Action Group encouraged the development of the previously mentioned 'green bans' imposed by the NSW Builders Labourers Federation, calling the SCRA to favour development projects intended to create more profitable neighbourhoods (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 23/08/1973).

The Rocks residents were hardworking, honest and peaceful people, wrote Peter Bowers, and he exclaimed that they liked The Rocks as it was; no skyscrapers, no art gallery and no luxury hotel (*Sunday Telegraph*, 15/02/1959). The architect (Member of Parliament) Ted Mack, who also was a long-term member of The Rocks Resident Group, stated that while The Rocks utilised its potential in fully touristic activities, the area should have been kept residential, not touristic. He also argued that the decisions made about the creation of The Rocks Authority were a governmental and bureaucratic mistake; that the City Council should have made better environmental, planning and architectural provisions regarding the redevelopment and the retention of The Rocks as a conserved residential area: "The Rocks is such valuable area in conservation terms, more importantly in people terms" (*Architecture Bulletin*, 05/1983, p. 10).

In April 1973, The Rocks Resident Action Group produced 'The People's Plan' and listed alternative transformation ideas for The Rocks. The primary point was to

ensure that the main idea was changed from 'demolish and develop' to 'preserve and rehabilitate' (Kelly and McConville, 1991, p. 101). Neville Gruzman, an architect and town planner, became a member of the planning committee that would liaise with the residents and would take the public concern for the environment into account. He stated:

> it was extraordinary that Australian developers and planners had not learnt from overseas experience. If Sydney is to remain alive, it is vital that it has people living in it. To restore isolated historic buildings and sandwich them in with glass and concrete offices is to make shallow mockery of our heritage. (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 13/10/1972, p. 8)

The significance of this local community's participation had been well recognised following the green ban, which prompted the SCRA to propose improved plans that would not destroy the character of the historic area and that not ignore the people who lived there. The body of public opinion for the retention and the preservation of the area was growing, and the intensive demolition and redevelopment were stopped by the combined power of the citizens and the trade unionists. This was an important message about giving citizens a say in the decision-making process (Mundey, 1981).

> Residents of The Rocks were strong characters, and they had formed strong allegiances with agencies like the National Trust and the Builders Labourers Federations. A very strange alliance when you think about it. The National Trust is a very conservative and pro-conservation, but nonetheless very conservative organization whereas the Builders is very left wing union, and they prevented the demolitions. They started a popular community process and a political process that led to the government of the day changing the tunes. (R. Mackay, pers. comm., 9/11/2012)

Thus, public accountability had taken hold by the mid-1970s. It was a time when economic recession was being experienced as a result of the OPEC crisis. Apart from the squatter restoration of Argyle, the government developer could not start any major development schemes. Consequently, the Authority agreed to make changes to its own scheme. The chief decisions were to accord the utmost importance to cultural, social and historical values and to place less emphasis on the economic outcome (Blackmore, 1988).

Tourism was also considered as a tool to promote social and economic development. The residents' action groups and the union 'green bans' forced a

compromise – the People's Plan – in 1975, with an extended designation of new residential areas and conservation of the existing fabric. The significance of the compromise lay less in the emphasis that the Authority placed on commercial office space than on the numbers of tourists who were intended to visit The Rocks each year. This altered perception is expressed well in a newspaper comment of the time:

> Fifteen years from now, The Rocks will be the liveliest spot in Sydney, a place of galleries, bistros, wine bars and theatres. (NSW Department of Environment and Planning, 1985)

The actions of The Rocks residents had wider repercussions, influencing the setting up of a Federal Committee of inquiry into the National Estate. The Committee's report was released in 1974. Quoting from a UNESCO recommendation on the protection of cultural property, it said:

> It is the duty of government to ensure the protection and the preservation of the cultural heritage of mankind, as much as to promote social and economic development. (Pearson and Sullivan, 1995)

Hayllar and Griffin (2007) have indicated that the general desire for tourists who visit a heritage precinct is to experience 'real life' elements with local people and 'authentic' experiences, as discussed in previously. Although The Rocks is a significant urban space within Australia and represents the earliest days of settlement in Sydney, the appeal of authenticity is important not only with regard to touristic concerns but also local values.

> Resident Action Group saved The Rocks because there was something substantial to save. There was a community, there were substantial real heritage buildings, they represented the first days of Colony and Europeanization. (R. Dinham, pers. comm., 24/1/2013)

The Rocks area accurately reflected the changing public attitude towards redevelopment and their growing concern for the quality of the built and natural environments. However, 1975 was also the year when public housing was introduced in the area (Blackmore, 1988). Bunkers Hill could not resist the high-rise apartments. 'Sirius' became the only high-rise development in The Rocks, to the north of the Cahill Expressway. It is a building, ranging from five to 13 storeys, of 79 units built to rehouse the residents displaced by development plans. The building was partially the result of the 'People's Plan' (*Sydney Cityscope*, 11/08/2011).
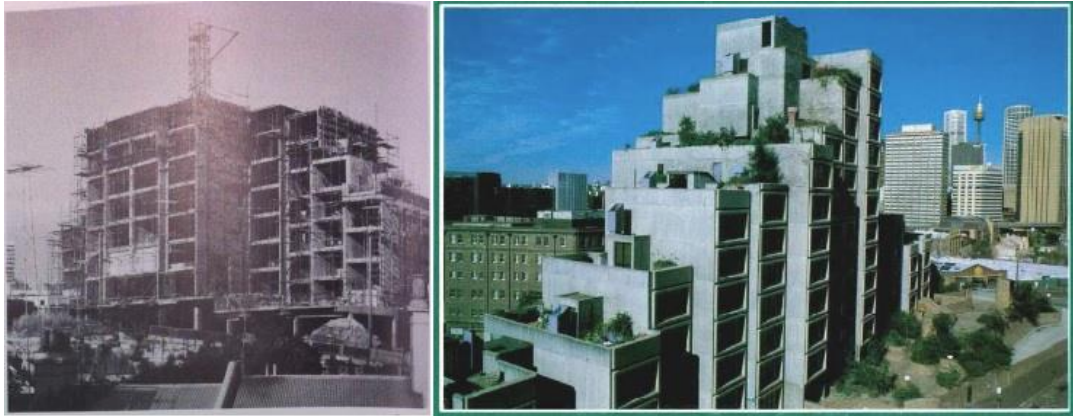
Fig 6.17: The construction and the complete images of Sirius
(Source: SCRA Annual Report, 1978; Sutton, 2015)

The left-hand image in Figure 6.17 shows the construction under way, while the right-hand side is from 1980, when the apartments started to be promoted.

Heritage, Tourism and the Commodification of The Rocks

> The Rocks has certainly been preserved and adapted, and they've been actively changed a lot. Very officious management; originally the scheme in the 1960s was to clear The Rocks; demolish it, virtually every building except one or two buildings there. The request for Green Ban, and all of the arguments in the 1970s and the demonstrations were extraordinary. The Union and the demolitionist workers were virtually the forerunners of a movement which was seen nowhere in the world and they showed heritage as a powerful asset.

> (P. Thalis, pers. comm., 14/11/2012)

The establishment of the registration of significant places entered into the discussion and in 1975, the Australian Heritage Commission Act came into force, followed by the NSW Heritage Act in 1977, which enabled the protection of historic buildings and sites, including archaeological sites and relics (Archaeological Works in The Rocks, 1978–1995). Heritage items at The Rocks are listed by the Heritage Council of NSW under the NSW Heritage Act, by local councils in Local Environmental Plans under the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979, and by state government agencies under section 170 of the Heritage Act. This information is provided by local councils and state government agencies. Although there are 98 items listed under the NSW Heritage Act, and 122 items listed by local

government and state agencies, only nine heritage items are related to a maritime industry, as shown in Tables 6.1 and 6.2, and only three heritage items are related to manufacturing and processing, as shown in Tables 6.3 and 6.4. Figure 6.18 indicates the locations of industry related items in The Rocks.
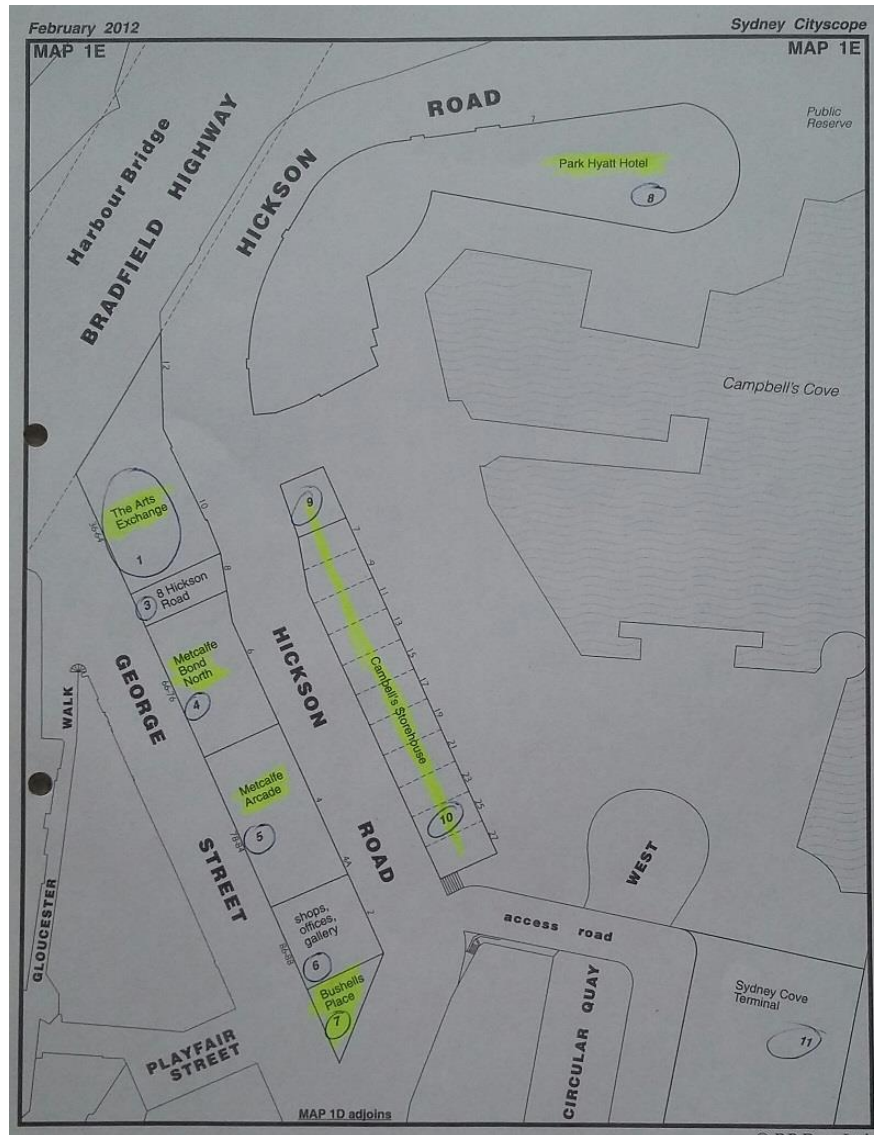
Fig 6.18: *Sydney Cityscope* Map 1E, showing the locations of the industry-related heritage items

(Source: University of Sydney SciTech Library, 02/2012)

Table 6.1: Maritime industry heritage items listed under the NSW Heritage Act

Item name	Address	Suburb	LGA	SHR
ASN Co Building	1–5 Hickson Road	The Rocks	Sydney	01526
Campbell's Stores	7–27 Circular Quay West	The Rocks	Sydney	01536
Metcalfe Bond Stores	68–84 George Street	The Rocks	Sydney	01562
Union Bond Store (former), Westpac Bank	47 George Street	The Rocks	Sydney	01612

Table 6.2: Maritime industry heritage items listed by local government and state agencies

Item name	Address	Suburb	LGA	Information source
ASN Co Building	1–5 Hickson Road / 35–45 Circular Quay West	The Rocks	Sydney	SGOV
Campbell's Stores	7–27 Circular Quay West, Campbell's Cove	The Rocks	Sydney	SGOV
George St North Metcalfe Heritage Precinct	George Street North of Hickson Road	The Rocks	Sydney	SGOV
Metcalfe Bond Stores	68–84 George Street	The Rocks	Sydney	SGOV
Union Bond Store (former)	47 George Street	The Rocks	Sydney	SGOV

Table 6.3: Manufacturing- and processing-related heritage items listed under the NSW Heritage Act

Item name	Address	Suburb	LGA	SHR
Bushells Warehouse (former) and Bushells Place	86–88 George Street	The Rocks	Sydney	01535
Penrhyn House	22–26 Playfair Street	The Rocks	Sydney	01568

Table 6.4: Manufacturing- and processing-related heritage items listed by local government and state agencies

Item name	Address	Suburb	LGA	Information source
Bushells Warehouse (former) and Bushells Place	86–88 George Street	The Rocks	Sydney	SGOV
Playfair's Garage	22–26 Playfair Street	The Rocks	Sydney	SGOV

The social heritage of The Rocks has been assessed within the dimensions of the social significance of preserving heritage sites, as stated in the Burra Charter. The Rocks has been recognised via its significance with regard to local identity, a contemporary sense of place, and the iconic status and symbolic meanings of the place. In this respect, social significance refers to a heritage site that has value for people as well as with its people (SHFA, 2010).

In this context, what was going to happen to the quaint old pubs such as the Hero of Waterloo, the Lord Nelson, the Captain Cook or the Fortune of War[39]? The locals were calling the Hero the oldest pub, and it had underground cells with barred windows, having been built as a jail around the 1810s (Sunday Telegraph, 15/02/1959). These heritage items have been preserved in the area; however, The

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[39] As shown in Figure 6.19, Fortune of War has been Sydney's oldest pub since 1828.

Rocks is highly commodified for the purpose of tourism. Philip Thalis (2012) provides an argument that coincides with that of Laurajane Smith:[40]

> The books about the redevelopment cover the preservation of The Rocks. But then, the way that The Rocks has been managed in the last 20 years is quite commercially oriented. And some people think that the heritage is compromised by commercialisation, that it has become in a sense like a classic heritage suburb that many cities have; for instance Istanbul, Milan, Paris have the lack of authenticity.(P. Thalis, pers. comm., 14/11/2012)

Fig 6.19: The Fortune of War on George Street, The Rocks, 15/08/2011
(Source: photograph by the researcher)

The whole area has been presented as a historic area, with most of the historical stories told to visitors being about the convict past, which is associated with gambling and drunken sailors, pubs and brothels. There is another side of the history, which embraces the industrial development and industrialisation of Sydney, which runs right up to the first development proposals in the early 1960s and the residents' resistance in the 1970s. But it seems that the demand for tourism is to remind visitors of the 18th century and not of the several other historical stages (McConville, 1991). In this respect, the commodification of heritage sites to serve

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[40] See Chapter 1 – Introduction.

global competition within neoliberal marketing strategies leads places to be standardised and very much the same as each other (Meethan, 2001).

> I'm a bit jaundiced on tourism; because I think that a lot of places ruin themselves in the demands of tourism. Because if you change a place, why would people want to go there if it wasn't like it was when we wanted to go? (R. Dinham, pers. comm., 24/1/2013)

The heritage value of The Rocks has also been assessed by using the aesthetic and historical significance dimensions of a heritage site. In this sense, the aesthetic value derives from the visual elements located around The Rocks, such as Sydney Harbour, Circular Quay and the CBD, with its modern architecture. Harbour landscape is also another point of historical interest (The Rocks Heritage Management Plan, 2010); however, the industrial landscape has erased from the original setting from the character of the place. The aesthetic appeal of the built environment is considered within the scope of "The siting and design of the early surviving buildings, the bent alignments of streets, the narrow laneways, rock-hewn staircases, and glimpses of cut sandstone and natural rock face". The built forms still reflect the residential and commercial activities (The Rocks Heritage Management Plan, 2010, p. 16), but very few elements are left to demonstrate the industrial activities. The derelict landscapes were seen as a threat, and they were recognised as redevelopment opportunities because of their central location and the uniqueness of their form and configuration (Loures and Burley, 2012).

As former warehouses, Campbell's Stores represent the few elements of the industrial development of the area that remain. The maritime warehouses and bond stores have been adaptively reused for new commercial and tourism purposes. Campbell's Cove, where the Park Hyatt Hotel is now located, and Campbell's Stores were transformed into luxury restaurants for tourist attractions. Campbell's remaining stores were rehabilitated between the years 1978 and 1979 and rebuilt in 1980 by the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority (Balint, 1984, p. 17) for office and entertainment units. Some of the original roofing has been refreshed using slates transferred from the Vernon Building in George Street, which was demolished to make room for the Park Hyatt Hotel, as can be seen in Figure 6.20. This area was historically an industrial site with maritime warehouses. The location of the Park Hyatt Hotel fell within The Rocks Urban Conservation Area as classified by the National Trust and listed on the Register of the National Estate (Map 1E, *Sydney Cityscope*, 18/02/2012).

Harrison (2013) gives Chelsea Market, New York City as an example of an adaptive reuse heritage project, in which the office workers, locals and tourists can have their lunches, browse for their shopping and walk around. He argues that the conversion of the former National Biscuit Company complex [in New York] has been ruined due to the addition of air vents and the break-up of the original brickworks. Moreover, he states that the staged experience of heritage carries the traces of the past on the polished building blocks of the contemporary designs (Harrison, 2013). Metcalfe Bond Store and the Metcalfe Arcade on Hickson Road experienced a very similar process of adaptive reuse. The Metcalfe Bond Store was refurbished in mid-1993 and in early 2001, and then again extensively in 2011, at a cost of about $5.4 million. The SHFA rents it to Saatchi & Saatchi, an American global communications and advertising agency. The Metcalfe Arcade was internally refurbished in early 2004, and now features restaurants, bars and shops (*Sydney Cityscope*, 18/02/2012).
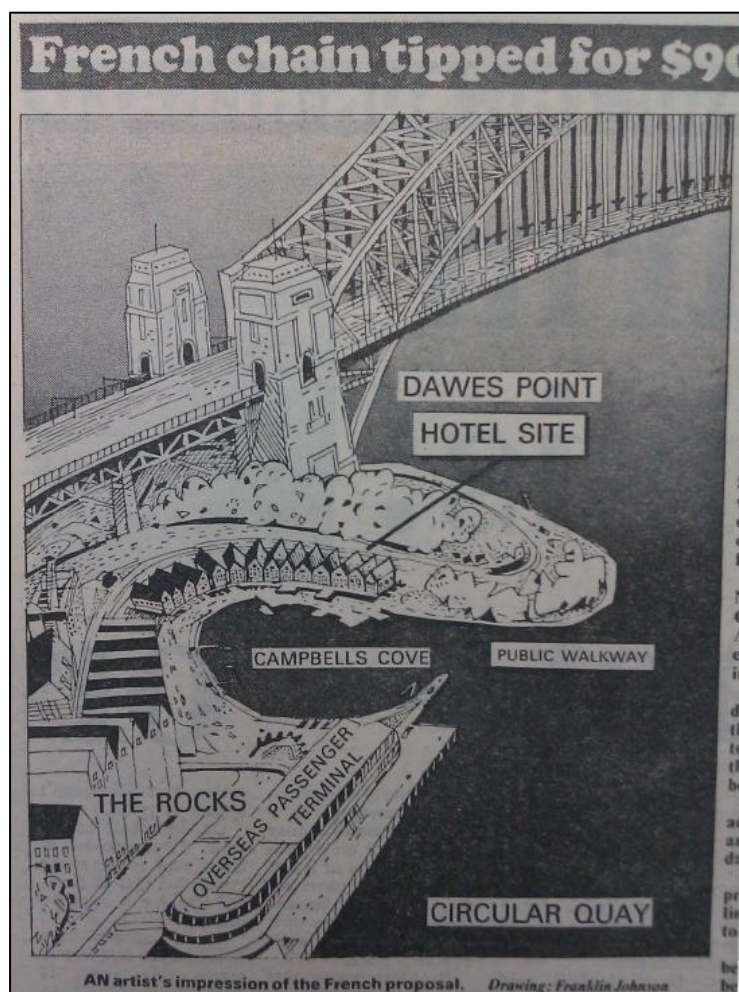
Fig 6.20: *The Herald Sun* **showing the proposed hotel site, 13/04/1986**

(Source: Maritime Service Board Newspaper Clippings, State Archive of NSW)

The Rocks has started to accommodate a wide range of activities, including retailing, leisure and entertainment, art and cultural activities. The SCRA has determined a strategy based on heritage and marketing. It has also defined directions for The Rocks, making it an area of diversity, quality and security, and a showcase of the best that Australia has to offer. The Authority has become a commercial player in the Sydney property and tourism market, and has decided that the character of The Rocks should be promoted as a leading visitor destination to conserve its heritage. It has been decided that The Rocks would be developed as a centre of heritage, tourism, culture and specialised retailing:

> The Rocks will be made more accessible, will be marketed aggressively.

<div style="text-align: right">(The SCRA, 1991, p. 8)</div>

The aggressive marketing strategy and promotion program for The Rocks include the development of innovative resources to draw the attention of tourists, to ensure cooperation with tenants and to ensure that special events take place at peak leisure times, such as lunch hours and weekends (See Appendix 5) (The SCRA, 1991).

The SCRA undertook a comprehensive conservation of many buildings, applied adaptive reuse with strict guidelines, and the high-rise development has been limited in the case-study area of this thesis (Aplin, 2002). The SCRA has administered the objectives of the redevelopment regarding worthwhile preservation and restoration, to make The Rocks a desirable place in which to live, work and play, to create open spaces and landscape, and to make the commercial development appropriate to the existing architecture. With these objectives, the government was expressing its acceptance of the significance of the community of The Rocks but, at the same time, it was pointing out that this community relies on both residents and visitors, as in the past two years 2 million people have visited the area. The government was aiming to use the conservation of heritage to serve its purposes in promoting the area as one of the most popular and successful tourist attractions in Australia (The SCRA Annual Report, 1978). Many buildings were leased to their existing residents at fixed rents, but most others were offered to new residents at higher rents, or to commercial activities, which made the area highly tourist orientated. The cost of the conservation of The Rocks was paid by its global recognition as a key tourist attraction that led to commercialisation and commodification of its 19th-century heritage values (Aplin, 2002).

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the gentrification process as a form of urban transformation. Gentrification is considered as the renewal of inner-city neighbourhoods previously occupied by the working class in order to serve the middle class. This is why it has been viewed as a consumption phenomenon that is triggered by the urge of governments and developers. Gentrification gained speed in the mid-1970s and Zukin (1987) pointed out that it was a process of neighbourhood change and that it was focused on "reversing trends of suburbanisation and inner city decline" (p. 29). Glass (1964) discussed the first urban renewal applications in the 1950s by using the working-class districts of London as an example, and stated that once gentrification starts in an area, it continues until all or most of the original working-class communities have been displaced, which alters the social character of that area (Glass, cited in Schaffer and Smith, 1986). In this sense, the case of The Rocks indicates that where there is a strong sense of community, the transformation initiatives can be prevented by means of powerful participation in the decision-making process. The Rocks is the historic city centre area in which the physical conservation was conceived; however, very little of what has been preserved is linked to the industrial history of its community. During the development process of the historic city centre the values to be preserved need to be linked to the history of a particular community (Bandarin, 2012). As a result, the industrial character of the area and the heritage has experienced a significant process of commodification.

In this respect, The Rocks, as a central neighbourhood, one that contains an important part of the nation's past, gained interest from tourists and the area's heritage became a source of their demand. Therefore, the SCRA's strategy functioned in such a way as to create a major tourism precinct. Although the heritage items of The Rocks were saved from the destruction suggested in the development proposals, they could not have been saved from being consumed by the power of urban tourism. The area adopted an approach of adaptive reuse of major warehouses as commercial spaces and of conversion of industrial buildings into tourism and leisure facilities. At the end of 1984, the Old Sydney Inn started to operate as a180-room hotel, and Grosvenor Place was planned to be the largest commercial office building ever in Australia. These developments affected the market prices in The Rocks. Land and building values increased (Figure 6.21) and the tenants of the time experienced difficulty maintaining their houses. This situation resulted in loss of the local community in the area. For the retail and commercial properties, rents were increased by 15%.

Although the Authority has undertaken many worthwhile restoration projects, adapting buildings to new uses and restoring many of the details and elements of buildings that had been removed or lost over the years, it has not undertaken any projects that could be classified as conservation projects within the currently accepted use of the term.

Fig 6.21: The increase in land and building values between 1981 and 1985
(Source: SCRA Annual Report, 1985)

The Rocks continues to be a major destination for overseas and Australian visitors, but it is clear that competition for the tourist dollar keeps escalating, as other attractions are developed in Sydney. A promotional strategy has been developed to extend the already high awareness level of what this unique location has to offer to tourists and regular visitors. Branding and marketing became trends in the competitive tourism industry. Tourists are regarded as customers and places as market products. The marketing discourse suggests that places have to be developed and changed according to consumer needs (Moilanen and Rainisto, 2009). Consequently, the heritage of The Rocks has become a product of the tourism industry. However, The Rocks was built on what actors think and what tourists want rather than on what the community wants. Highly image-conscious development strategies, based on urban tourism revenues, claim that heritage has been sought out to form positive and attractive images that serve the purpose. Environments that create a sense of place and authenticity as well as providing sanitised and predictable spaces for tourists have been widely successful in attracting capital and people. As a consequence, this has become the accepted pattern of transforming places into tourist destinations, which leads to homogenisation of tourist locations all over the world.

CHAPTER 7: REDEVELOPMENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL WATERFRONT: DARLING HARBOUR

> Sydney's natural beauty centres on its harbour. Whatever we've done to destroy or harm it, the harbour is better than all of us. Why wouldn't you be out enjoying it? You'd have to be mad not to.
>
> (Neville Wran, quoted in Mark Aarons, 2009, p. 8)

In the 1980s, the dynamics brought about by globalisation transformed the practice of urban renewal and gentrification from an approach that focused on the complete demolition and reconstruction of dilapidated city textures into one that aimed to re-functionalise the disused old plants, port areas, warehouses and storage areas located in the vicinity of city centres and to reintroduce them to the economy. Bosselmann (2012) defines this approach as reconstructing structures within an area, entirely or in part, in which there is no possibility of improving living and health conditions. Within this definition, reconstruction and renewal serve important tourist and political purposes to market and sell sites as iconic markers, as evidenced by the Darling Harbour Project (Marshall, 2001; Williams, 2004, Huston and Kozlowski, 2005).

The institutional pattern for waterfront urban redevelopment projects and the decision-making process and in particular those concerning the redevelopment of Darling Harbour are the focus of the second case study. It examines the prioritisation of tourism and leisure activities over the preservation and adaptation of the area's industrial heritage structures within the overall approach to improving urban conditions and the local economy in the area. The study area is primarily concerned with the Railway Goods Yard site, the one which saw the vastest scale redevelopment, and where ensuring optimum redevelopment was clearly the responsibility of the NSW government. Darling Harbour is located on the waterfront, 400 metres from the city centre. The area of the Railway Goods Yard was bounded by Murray and Pyrmont Streets, Pier Street, Harbour Street and Day Streets, and, also, the sites of the Little Pier Street group, and the former market site bounded by Ultimo Road and Hay and Quay Streets (Figure 7.1). There were substantive industrial structures within the area, such as the bridge, the finger wharves, the goods sheds and the components of the associated railway complex, as well as the commercial and residential remnants of the architectural built environment.
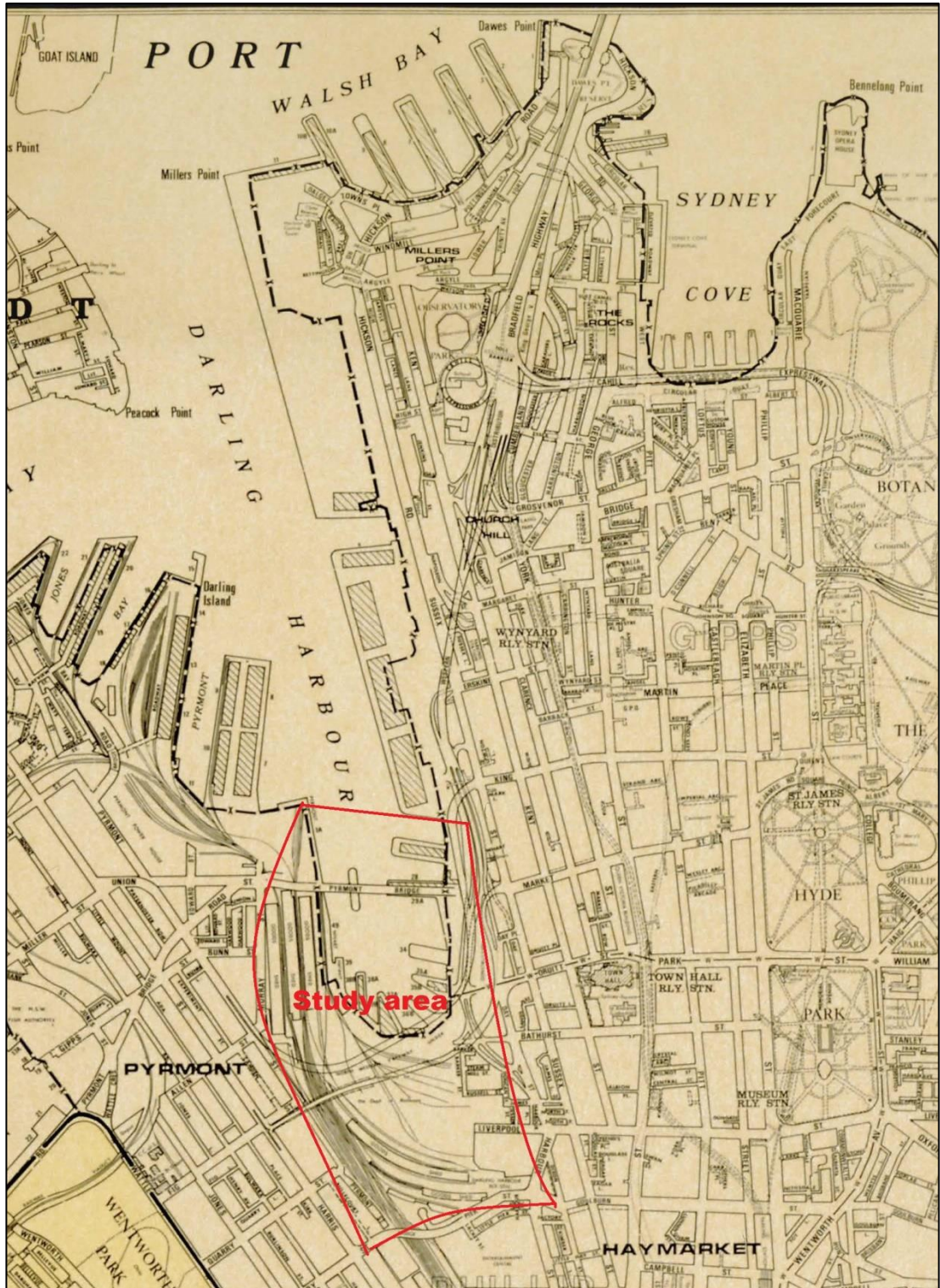
Fig 7.1: A location map of the study area prepared by using the partial map of City Boundaries and Wards, 1842–2004 – 1949 (1 Jan)

(Source: The City of Sydney Council Map Collection, www.photosau.com.au)

Darling Harbour and its Industrial Development

Darling Harbour had initially been known as Cockle Bay by the first European settlers, who found large numbers of cockles in the mud at the head of the bay. For 22 years after the establishment of the Colony at Sydney Cove in 1788, it remained uninhabited by the European settlers. In 1827, Lieutenant General Sir Ralph Darling, who was Governor of NSW from 1825 to 1831, renamed Cockle Bay, known as Darling Harbour thereafter (NSW Department of Environment and Planning, 1983).

In 1812 the foreshores – more particularly the study area – were developed as a major industrial and goods-handling precinct, prompting John Dickson to make it the site of the first steam engine in Australia in 1815. The site was home to many industries, such as flour milling, sugar refining, iron, boats, timber and milk production and wool which was becoming the dominant industry (Public Works Department of NSW, 1985, p. 16). The wool stores were an important component of the Australian wool industry from the 1860s onwards. The woolstores were built as multi-storey structures, each with its own hotel, which was an important part of the social life of the community. Mort and Co. Woolstore at Circular Quay originally had a total of five storeys and was constructed of brick on stone basement walls. This style of building was replicated in the many woolstores built in Sydney over the next 60 years (Balint et al., 1982, p. 23).

Changes in the wool trade and the location of the stores in 1850 precipitated the demise of Circular Quay, which lost its role a goods wharf to Darling Harbour, where a railways goods yard was established. This caused the wool trade to shift across to Pyrmont and Ultimo, where the later woolstores now stand (Balint et al., 1982, p. 24). Darling Harbour, which enabled cargoes to be easily transported to and from the western side of Sydney, was the port of discharge for small coastal craft (Balint et al., 1982, p. 31). The southern end of Darling Harbour had attracted a battery of warehousing and industry facilities looking to gain access to the water. The city markets, located at what was then the southern extremity of the city, also helped to draw warehousing and industry to the south part of Darling Harbour.

Table 7.1: A chronological overview of the development of the study area

(Source: adapted from the unpublished report of City Plan Heritage, 2012)

Chronology	Overview of site development
1788-1815 Early European settlement	Lime burning and establishment of Dickson's Steam Mill and Dam and pond
1815-1850s Industry and Land Reclamation	Dickson's Dam and pond Dickson's Mill expansion, land reclamation, More industrial development located north of the subject site
1853-1888 Industry, Darling Harbour Railway Construction	Land resumption by Sydney Railway and then Government ownership of some north and western parts of site
1874 Industry, the Iron Wharf	The shoreline is defined by the Iron Wharf, which also dictates railways alignments
1860s-1930 Harbour Reclamation and residential, industrial and commercial uses	Harbour Reclamation and Subdivision for Residential, Industrial and Commercial, includes land clearance after plague
1930s-1982 Railways and Municipal Markets	Railways across northern part of site Municipal markets across southern part of site
1982 to present day – Darling Harbour developments	The Sydney Convention Centre, Exhibition Centre and public domains and the Sydney Entertainment Centre and Entertainment car park and associated open space, above ground monorail track, roads.

The period from 1851 onwards was a time of substantial growth in the colony and the city, and most of the industrial expansions of the period from 1850 to 1900 were linked to the railway network. Table 7.1 shows a brief overview of the historical development of the case-study area. The Conservation Study of Darling Harbour Bicentennial Development Project, prepared by the Public Works Department of NSW in 1985, states that the first railway line between Sydney and Parramatta (a western suburb) was opened in 1855, two years before the opening of the Pyrmont Bridge, which allowed easy access to the Pyrmont peninsula and also had a positive impact on the growth of industrial activities. Atlas Engineering was established to build railway trucks. The Railway Goods Yard at Darling Harbour was developed to connect the industrial waterfront with the growing inland railway network that serviced the booming pastoral and agricultural industries. It allowed transferring goods brought from the interior of the colony into the city and onto ships for export.

Saw-milling also commenced in the area, using steam power – the first such application of steam power in Sydney. J.E. Manning's Steam Saw Mill was situated within the Darling Harbour Goods Yard boundary. The site was used for various industrial purposes; it comprised a soap factory, a machinery works, manufacturing and mills. During this time of increased demand for engineering products, Peter Nicol Russell formed P.N. Russell and Co. in 1855 and opened a factory in 1896. They established their foundries and workshops on reclaimed land fronting Darling Harbour. In 1870, the company was described as 'the oldest engineering firm in Sydney'. More complex manufacturing processes, associated with metal manufacturing and fabrication were introduced in the 1860s. Simon Zollner set up the first galvanising works in the colony in the Dickson's Mills complex. Zollner's Galvanising Works was influential in shaping the rural and urban landscape of Australia. Galvanised iron was the archetypical Australian building material. It influenced the formation of the Darling Harbour Railway Goods Yard. Virtually every building in the yard built from the 1870s onwards used galvanised iron in one way or another. The terrace houses on Steam Mill Street were occupied by fruit merchants and were built by Thomas Barker, a highly innovative early industrialist (Public Works Department of NSW, 1985). The Iron Wharf (Figure 7.5) was constructed in 1874 for the loading of coal, and was used to cater for Sydney's expanding shipping activities and it was accepted as the largest steel structure in the world until the construction of Eiffel Tower. Hydraulic power was introduced in the 1890s with the construction of the Pumphouse,[41] Hydraulic Pumping Station No. 1 in 1889. The Pumphouse was the first and largest pumping station in Sydney. Gas and steam engines and hydraulic pressure provided power as a substitute for electricity. High-pressure water power was used to operate many of the lifts, hoists, cranes, bank doors and wool dumping presses located in the woolstores along the Pyrmont side of Darling Harbour, next to the railway yard (City Plan Heritage, 2012). It was also used to press the bales of wool and eventually replaced the old steam cranes. Refrigeration is arguably the factor that brought about the greatest changes in Australian eating habits. It enabled food to be kept longer and hence available regardless of the season. The creation of the NSW Fresh Food and Ice Company opened up new markets for Australian products and helped stabilise the pastoral

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[41] The building is a heritage item, listed on the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority's S170 Heritage and Conservation Register.

industry. It also helped to diversify a rural industry that had largely been a monoculture based on wool in the late 19th century.

This industrial development was seen as vital in diversifying the colonial economy and providing a base for the restructuring of the NSW economy once the limits of pastoral expansion were reached in the 1890s. This vision was in part fulfilled.

1. 78-77 ULTIMO ROAD (CNT)
2. ELDERSMITH GOLDSBOROUGH MORT & CO. (CNT)
3. AUSTRALIAN MERCANTILE LAND & FINANCE CO. LTD. (CNT)
4. 19 PIER ST. HYDRAULIC PUMPING PUMPING STATION (CNT & HC)
5. PYRMONT BRIDGE (CNT)
6. 4-10 GOULBURN ST. (CNT)
7. PITT SONS & BADGERY WOOLSTORES (CNT &HC)
8. ELDERSMITH GOLDSBOROUGH MORT & CO. (CNT &HC)
9. DARLING HARBOUR WHARVES 37 & 38 (CNT & HC)
10. ULTIMO POWER STATION (CNT)

(CNT) CLASSIFIED BY NATIONAL TRUST
(HC) LISTED BY HERITAGE COMMISSION

Fig 7.2: A location map of the heritage items

(Source: NSW Department of Environment and Planning, September 1983)

172

Early Redevelopment

Similarly to what happened in The Rocks, the first developments of Darling Harbour took place in the 1900s. By then, many of the industrial structures in the area were obsolete. The Sydney plague scare of 1900 provided grounds for the demolition of a number of important structures that remained from the seminal period of the colony's industrialisation, such as Dickson's 'new mill' and the Walker's Tweed factory. Redevelopment of the area proceeded apace, and again appeared ready to alter the landscape considerably, discarding industrial facilities that had existed on Darling Harbour and served the people of Sydney for decades (Kelly, 1997).

The Pyrmont bridge was replaced in 1902 with the bridge that is in use today (Turnbull, 1999). The majority of the wharves at the head of Darling Harbour were constructed after the reclamation of the railway yard, using the infill from the city railway extension, between 1919 and 1929. Figure 7.3 shows the industrial wharfage of Darling Harbour. Wharf 28, under Pyrmont Bridge, was constructed progressively from 1902 onwards and Wharves 34 to 39 were completed between 1927 and the early 1930s. Darling Harbour Wharves 37 and 38, constructed in 1925 and 1928, were designed for small vessels that were able to pass under Pyrmont Bridge (NSW Department of Environment and Planning, 1983).

Fig 7.3: A photograph from 1930 that shows the industrial wharfage of Darling Harbour

(Source: http://nla.gov.au)

173

The superstructures to wharves 36–38 were demolished to make way for the Western Distributor (Public Works Department of NSW, 1985). Not only were these demolition sites utilised for new buildings, but the suburbanisation of the city population enabled industrial and commercial uses to expand into sites previously used for residential purposes alone. The New South Wales Fresh Food and Ice Co. demolished two long rows of terrace houses facing Liverpool and Harbour Streets in order to expand northwards, while the New South Wales Fruit Exchange Co-operative Co. Ltd built new market accommodation on what had previously been residential sites. The creation of Day Street cut through the middle of the Barker's Mills site and allowed wholesale redevelopment of that area. The buildings constructed in this phase of redevelopment, from 1900 to about 1920, along with some survivors from earlier periods, have dominated this area.
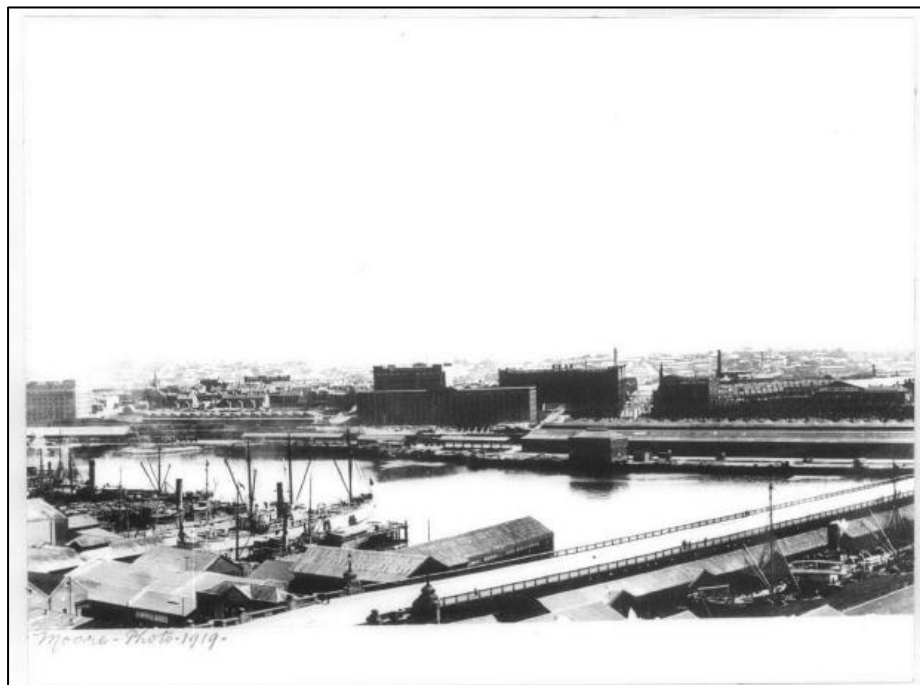
Fig 7.4: A panorama of Darling Harbour, 1919
(Source: Public Works Department of NSW, 1985)

The panoramic view of Darling Harbour shown in Figure 7.4 displays the sites of the wharfage, woolstores, warehouses, markets and other industrial sites, also present in the Haymarket, Ultimo and Pyrmont (areas surrounding Darling Harbour). The area adjacent to the Darling Harbour Goods Yard, which can be taken as extending from Pyrmont Bridge on the eastern side around the shore of Darling Harbour to the western end of the bridge, was the heartland of Australian industrial and manufacturing development. The yard had been the centre of the freight railway

network in NSW since 1878 and played a decisive role in the development of primary production and mineral exploitation throughout NSW, by providing rapid and efficient handling of goods for export, including wool, wheat, frozen meat, coal and timber (Public Works Department of NSW, 1985). A very high proportion of the wool carried on the railway to Sydney, for distribution to the city woolstores, was handled at Darling Harbour.

KEY TO SITE PLAN

1.	Dickson's Old Mill.
2.	Dickson's New Mill.
3.	Other buildings associated with John Dickson.
4.	Thomas Barker's Flour Mills
5.	Walker's Tweed Factory
6.	New South Wales Fresh Food and Ice Co. Original Site.
7.	Manning's Steam Saw Mill
8.	P.N. Russell & Co. - Main Workshops
9.	P.N. Russell & Co. - Railway rolling stock assembly plant.
10.	Miller and Harrison's Timber Yard
11.	Zollner's Galvanising Works
12.	Terrace houses, Steam Mill Street
13.	Former N.S.W. Fruit Exchange Co-operative Ltd. (York Motors).
14.	Iron Wharf (approximate location).
15.	Inwards Goods Shed
16.	Sandstone pier for overhead travelling crane bridge.
17.	Siding to Meat Market.
18.	Covered Platform.
19.	Covered Platform
20.	Woolshed.
21.	C and D outwards goods shed.
22.	A and B outwards goods shed
23.	Goods shed office (forwarding station)
24.	Double tier goods shed.
25.	Main lines staff and office accommodation.
26.	Inwards goods shed office.
27.	Metropolitan Goods Agent's Office
28.	Electric 30 ton travelling gantry crane.
29.	Murray Street signal box and level crossing.
30.	Signal post.
31.	Locomotive water spout.
32.	Fruit shed.
33.	Goods shed.
34.	Pyrmont Bridge.
35.	Wharf 37.
36.	Wharf 38.
37.	Markets No. 1.
38.	Markets No. 2.
39.	Central Markets Hotel.
40.	Hydraulic Pumping Station.
41.	21 Pier Street.
42.	Former Service Station.
43.	Former Government Printer Building.
44.	Former Fresh Food and Ice Company Garage.
45.	Former Fresh Food and Ice company Stables
46.	Commercial building
47.	Shellbourne Hotel.

Fig 7.5: A site plan of Darling Harbour, showing the industrial components
(Source: Public Works Department of NSW, 1985)

Figure 7.5 displays the significant number of industrial structures at Darling Harbour. The numbers 44 and 45 in Figure 7.5 signify the NSW Fresh Food and Ice Company (also see Appendix 6). The 1943 aerial photographs of Figure 7.6 display the redevelopment site, and clearly show the railway area and the wharves, while the superposed green lines show the Western Distributor and the Cross City Tunnel, and their connections to the city and to Pyrmont and Ultimo.
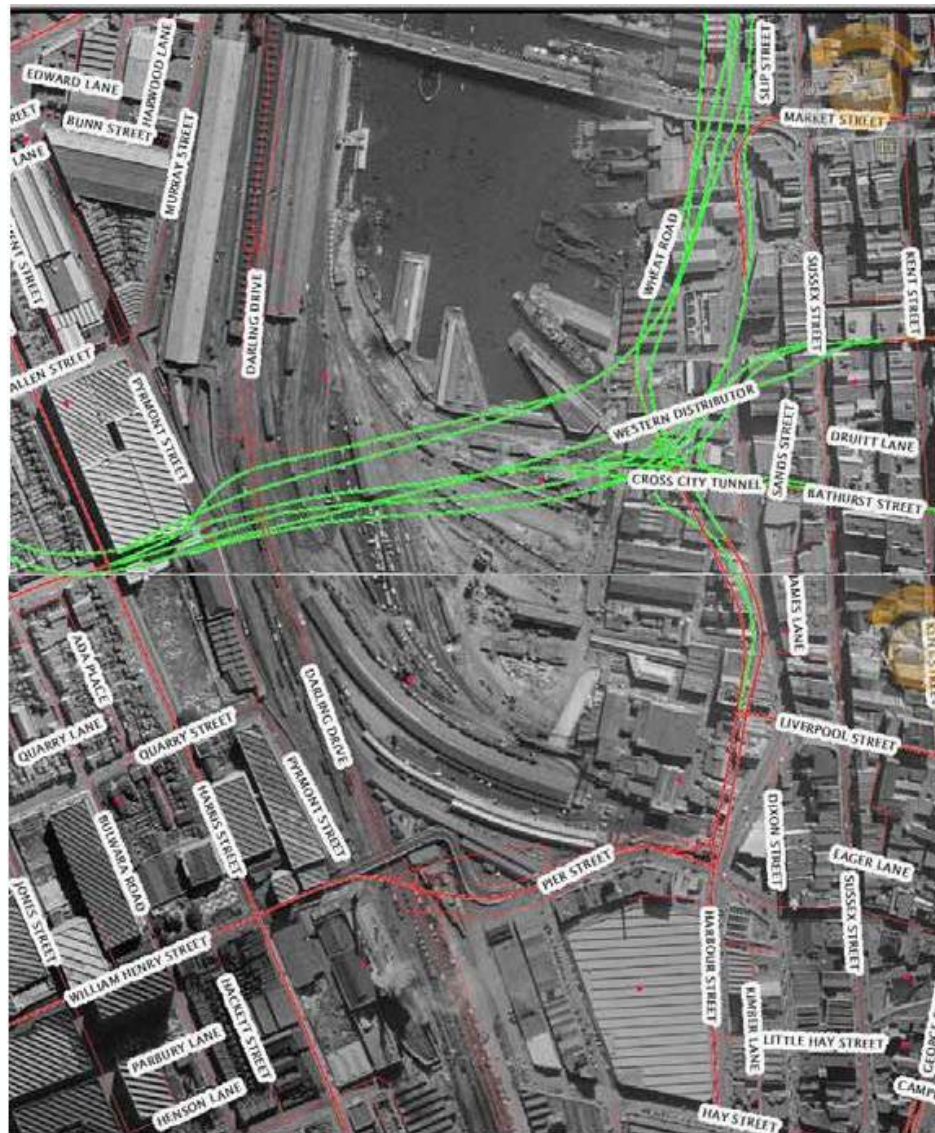
Fig 7.6: A composite of two 1943 aerial photographs of the redevelopment site: these images include the current roadways systems

(Source: City Plan Heritage, 2012)

From the end of the World War II until the early 1970s, Australia enjoyed an economic boom based on overseas demand for its raw materials, wool and wheat. Darling Harbour and its railway goods yard captured a good share of this buoyancy (Kelly, 1997), and hence provide a vivid example of the beginning of industrial urbanisation. The new industrial developments promoted the rise of working-class housing near the wharves and warehouses. Like Millers Point in The Rocks, mentioned in Chapter 6, Pyrmont, Darling Harbour and Ultimo became substantial working-class areas (Turnbull, 1999). But the industrial expansion in the area resulted in the decline in the residential population. In 1976, only 703 occupied dwellings were left on the peninsula, surrounded by Pyrmont and Ultimo. Both of

these suburbs have had a closely integrated relationship with Darling Harbour; in particular because of their proximity to the city, they formed an ideal location for industrial residents (NSW Department of Environment and Planning, 1983).

The last major upgrades to the Darling Harbour port facilities occurred in 1969–1970 (Kelly, 1997). The industrial structures underwent transformations in parallel with the technological advances and the changes in industrial production processes, and eventually lost their functionality. The role of the railway yard started to decline after the 1960s. On the site of the Fresh Food and Ice Company, established by Thomas Mort and Eugene Nicolle in the 1860s and closed down in 1952, where the Chinese Garden now stands. The Ultimo Power Station ceased electricity production in 1961. The Sydney and Suburban Hydraulic Power Company quit operation in 1975. When the existing industry in the area started to shut down or move out of the city, Darling Harbour became dilapidated and redundant. There was a need to revitalise the economic life of the area, to halt the physical deterioration and improve the urban living conditions. In this respect, the intention to develop Darling Harbour as a precinct for Sydney-siders began in the early 1970s, at around the same time as the discussions about the renewal of The Rocks (Young, 1988).

Anatomy of Waterfront Redevelopment

> Virtually when you go to every city in the world, the ports which are in a sense over restored and no longer authentic places to live, basically similar. Beautiful historic buildings but that's a problem in its own right; a lack of authenticity.

> (P. Thalis, pers. comm., 14/11/2012)

An urban waterfront or port is "any developed area that is densely populated and is being used for, or has been used for, urban residential, recreational, commercial, shipping, or industrial purposes" (Goodwin, 1999, p. 241). Waterfront redevelopment is "a process that begins with the desires of a community to improve its waterfront, and that proceeds through a series of planning steps and public review to the adoption of a waterfront plan". Implementation of the plan involves public and private actions and investment decisions, ideally performed in a coordinated fashion (Goodwin, 1999, p. 241). The port developers deal with the reorganisation and relocation of the activities within the port area, while the urban planners consider the potential new uses of old port areas and waterfronts. The change from commercial port activity to an economy related to services, recreational uses and housing, is

intended to reinvigorate abandoned sites, and to develop these places as parts of the lively and active structure of the city (Schubert, 2011). Waterfront redevelopment in port cities became recognised as an important feature of urban development in the latter half of the 20th century and has been hailed as a competitive growth strategy in the 21st century (Desfor et al., 2011).

Originally, waterfront areas were occupied by ports, warehouses, factories and transportation facilities (Sairinen and Kumpulainen, 2006). Rapid technological and economic development faced many cities – and especially their waterside locations – with the challenge of dealing with abandoned and neglected waterfront or port areas (Craig-Smith, 1995; Breen and Rigby, 1996; Dodson and Killian, 1998; Warren and Taylor, 2003; Hayllar and Griffin, 2007). Worldwide structural changes in sea trade and shipping have altered the co-dependent relationship between the city and the port, and have prompted transformations of ports and waterfronts. For example, containerisation and computerisation have often led to the relocation of ports away from the city centre (Marshall, 2001). After the relocation of industrial activities and the decentralisation of port facilities, policy-makers, planners and developers have considered former industrial waterfronts as prime locations for massive investments apt to elevate dislocated or disused working-class precincts through the creation of new forms of social interaction, establishing a connection between the city and its residents and visitors (Florida, 2005). Large investments have been made - and yet more are planned - in urban waterfront development projects intended to transform old maritime and port industries in order to sustain urban economies (Desfor et al., 2011).

In this respect, such waterfront areas have undergone considerable social and economic transformation (Hall, 1991). Warehousing and goods production activities that were clustered around ports have been replaced with luxury hotels, convention centres and marketplaces - typical features of the face of waterfront areas in contemporary urban tourism destinations (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999). The shift of the waterfront space from production to consumption has increasingly been used to secure future growth and a place in international competition (Norcliffe et al., 1996; Waitt and McGuirk, 1997; Oakley, 2009). Sairinen and Kumpulainen (2006) acknowledge that "the recent shift from industrial uses of the urban waterfronts is as profound as the initial eighteenth and nineteenth-century development of harbours and shores for the industry, and their use in earlier times for shipping, storage and shipbuilding" (p. 121). Breen and Rigby (1996) provide an extensive summary of waterfront renewal projects. They differentiate waterfronts into six types: commercial

waterfronts; cultural, educational and environmental waterfronts; historic waterfronts; recreational waterfronts; residential waterfronts; and working waterfronts.

Leisure and tourism are used to fill the gap left by the abandonment of waterfront areas. Although tourism and recreation are not the primary focus for the majority of waterfront development projects, the potential of these sectors often gains them greater attention as the project proceeds (Warren and Taylor, 2003) and the waterfront develops a partial dependency on tourism-related uses (Fagence, 1995). Fostering tourism not only becomes a major objective of the redevelopment, but it also dictates partial maintenance of the areas' original uses (Fagence, 1995; Hayllar and Griffin, 2007). Warren and Taylor (2003) point out the importance of historic structures within waterfront areas and their use for tourism. Often, the reuse of redundant buildings can provide a profitable economic basis for tourism-related income. However, only a small number of waterfront development plans have a solely tourism- and leisure-related background. A mixed-use approach to renewal is more prevalent and increases the chances of developing a flourishing waterfront area (Fagence, 1995). Nonetheless, some argue that cultural and place-specific elements should be incorporated into the physical form of these precincts, rather than only supplying spatial diversity for anticipated uses (Jones, 2007). In this sense, waterfronts have become the 'lifestyle' capital of global accumulation that helps cities to recapitalise and reactivate the inner harbour areas (Oakley, 2014, p. 235).

Inspired by the success of American cities such as Boston and Baltimore, the leaders of post-industrial cities have established a new renewal model based on the public–private partnership. In Boston, this post-industrial partnership began in the 1950s. Local banks and insurance buildings served all the industrial zones of New England for a long time. The shrinking of the textile industry may have diminished their role, but they still ensured an important base for the post-industrial economy (Ward, 2006). The physical appearance of the city has been modernised along with the construction of office towers, which provided employment for the middle class and leisure for tourists. Yet, replacing the port, warehouse and industrial activities proved more challenging. The Economic Development and Industrial Corporation of Boston, founded in 1969 to increase employment opportunities for the community, was an example of local government cooperation with private enterprise. The corporation was expanded with a development and marketing agency, and encouraged an active policy to develop prototype post-industrial city parklands

(Ward, 2006). In this way, in the 1970s, Boston became a powerful centre for the finance, business and service sectors. Tourism has also become an important feature of the historic city and heritage was used as a tourist attraction with the establishment of galleries, museums and cultural centres. This development of Boston ushered in the 'aquarium on the waterfront' era with the opening of the New England Aquarium, which was the most popular attraction in 1969 (Ward, 2006).

In the same vein, Baltimore, a former key harbour for iron and copper export as well as a prominent site for steel works and oil refining (Craig-Smith, 1995), experienced a decline in industrial activity after World War II and the inner city was gradually deserted. The decision to close the O'Neil department store in the city centre in 1954 was the final straw. Business-minded redevelopment of city centre areas started in 1959 with the Charles Centre, a mixed-used project co-funded for almost US$200 million by the public and private sectors (Wrenn, 1983). Covering approximately 13.3 hectares (33 acres), the project included office space, the Hyatt Regency Hotel, a convention centre, the World Trade Centre, the Maryland Science Centre (a marina and a ceremonial square), the Harbor Palace and the National Aquarium. The Greater Baltimore Committee, established in 1955 for the Inner Harbor project, became a model for other redevelopment authorities around the world - including the one in Darling Harbour. It had been mandated by the city's professional managers and the business world to conduct the planning work, facilitate coordination between stakeholders and oversee financial management of the project, giving the private sector a pivotal role in the financing and implementation (Breen and Rigby, 1994). It is also credited for the launch of comprehensive advertising campaigns that boosted the area's attractiveness and generated good return on investment. Resultantly, the Baltimore Development Corporation [in 1989, became City-Inner Harbor Development, Inc.] was established as a public–private partnership to undertake the Baltimore Inner Harbor Redevelopment Project. This partnership involved all segments of the city's community in every stage of the planning and implementation process and made a point to reconcile public and private interests. The redevelopment project cost US$2.5 billion, of which US$625 million came from public funds (Craig-Smith, 1995).

The redevelopment of Baltimore's waterfront is seen as an inspiring example. It has pioneered many redevelopment projects of similar mixed-use nature, consisting of office and trade blocks, open-space planning and housing zones, and tourism-orientated areas. Figure 7.7 represents the high degree of similarity between Darling Harbour and Baltimore's Inner Harbor. Vallega (2001) characterises this emulation

as the 'Baltimore syndrome', stressing the danger of countless repetition of the same development pattern, resulting in a loss of the uniqueness of waterfront areas. This statement is the primary concern of this research with regard to the Darling Harbour redevelopment; tourists acknowledge that many waterfronts around the world are similar and that they do not reflect the city's culture or heritage:

> It was about the concept because Darling Harbour Redevelopment coincided with the same time as, for example, when they were revitalising Baltimore. We were apparently looking at how to do them and sometimes literally recording an idea and just copying. (I. Kelly, pers. comm., 13/12/2012)

Fig 7.7: A visual comparison of Darling Harbour and Baltimore's Inner Harbor
(Source: collage prepared by the researcher)

Breen and Rigby (1996) consider Darling Harbour to be a waterfront success story – a controversial view. For many commentators, the project was viewed as a failure within the context of the integration of the water with the city and as fast-track development (Marshall, 2001). Darling Harbour became a typical feature of a postmodern city and a reflection of countless other redeveloped waterfronts in the world (Waitt, 2000). In addition to those in Baltimore, the waterfront developments in

San Francisco and Detroit, and Copenhagen's Tivoli Gardens have all provided inspiration for the Darling Harbour redevelopment.

The Politicised Redevelopment of Darling Harbour

> Darling Harbour was a run-down, worn out goods yard with a collection of old tin sheds, which incidentally became heritage buildings when I decided to knock them down. But they weren't heritage buildings; they were little, worn out galvanised sheds. But at any rate, we decided upon Darling Harbour.

> (Gerry Gleeson,[42] quoted in Mark Aarons, 2009, p. 8)

Darling Harbour, Sydney's inner-city waterfront and former industrial district, has become a tourism precinct as a result of the ambitious redevelopment program that occurred between 1984 and 1988. Hayllar and Griffin (2007) state that this type of waterfront redevelopment project involves the creation of a new waterfront concept, with complete transformation that caters for tourism and leisure activities while ignoring the original maritime and commercial activities, and the industrial past:

> New South Wales Premier, Mr. Neville Wran, unveiled plans for the most ambitious urban renewal project ever undertaken in this country. (Premier of NSW Australia News Release, 14/12/1984)

The Sydney City Strategic Plan of 1971 was the first published assessment of the redevelopment potential of Darling Harbour, with the proposal of a Bicentennial Park comprising open space, a lake, playing areas, a substantial residential development, a market, the Chinese Garden and a maritime museum, as well as the retention of Pyrmont Bridge. Then, in 1974, the Sydney Transportation Study recommended that Darling Harbour Goods Yard should be made available for redevelopment if it could be wound down. The first major redevelopment initiatives that were considered by the state after 1978 were the Entertainment Centre, the Power House Museum and the new Institute of Technology Building (now UTS). Darling Harbour was also confirmed, by a Commonwealth–state study, as a suitable site for an international exposition in 1988 (Expo '88). However, a financial disagreement between the state and the Commonwealth thwarted the scheme.

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[42] Gerry Gleeson was the man who was appointed to lead Darling Harbour Authority and he was the Director General of the Premier's Department (Aarons, 2009).

Another plan to redevelop Darling Harbour was crafted by the Department of Environment and Planning in 1982. Including ideas similar to those in the Sydney City Strategic Plan of 1971 (Young, 1988), this management plan suggested that the removal of goods yard was an opportunity to make the harbour accessible to a large number of people and to create a broad range of recreational facilities for a diverse social mixture of people - and ultimately to make room for a market-orientated tourist space. Although the plan explicitly recognised the area as the cradle of commercial shipping and industry in Australia, it has been blamed for overlooking heritage items. Little evidence of the area's past, apart from street names and patterns, would have remained (Young, 1988). The aim of this plan was clearly not to provide insight into the industrial heritage and industrial history of Darling Harbour, and the question of preservation was never broached. The plan was oblivious to the value of the industrial items of Darling Harbour. As mainstays in the economic and architectural history of Sydney, these items could have been seen as a prized cultural heritage formed of values reflecting the lifestyles and working conditions of the former industrial society and able to visibly connect the past with the future. Under this plan, they were not.

The study of environmental issues on the Darling Harbour redevelopment prepared in September 1983 stated that the scale of the freeway, the woolstores and the Government Printer's building would dominate the structures and places within the site unless essential elements of the development, particularly the extent and composition of the urban spaces, were taken into account. The identity of the area was strongly linked with the harbour and with maritime activities, and this identity had to be maintained, and enhanced. The means to this end included slightly elevating some sections of the open space – such as the platforms and promenades – to provide views of the water, as well as removing finger piers to open up the expanse of water in upper Darling Harbour and make the water more visible, and retaining the life and colour of small vessels moored in upper Darling Harbour. The presence of a large square-rigged vessel would have been a great asset in this respect. The study also revealed that the construction of tall, bulky buildings around the foreshore and within the flat valley floor would destroy the dramatic effect produced by buildings stepping up the hill from the tranquil Darling Harbour foreshore to merge into the spectacular silhouette of the city centre skyline (NSW Department of Environment and Planning, 1983).

In November 1983, Tom Hayson (one of the major developers for the project) visited Martin Millspaugh, who was the chief executive of Baltimore Inner Harbor

Management Inc. to establish whether Baltimore offered a model for Darling Harbour's redevelopment (Young, 1988). The Hayson Group was developing two giant woolstores in Ultimo, overlooking Darling Harbour. The Baltimore connection went further when Mr. Morton Hoppenfeld, an architect with Enterprise Development Company (EDC) - a subsidiary of the Rouse Corporation, which had developed similar markets in the redevelopment of Baltimore's Inner Harbor (Figure 7.8) - acted briefly as an urban planning consultant to the Darling Harbour Authority. Later, he would also advise on the shortlist for the project's design directorate (*Good Weekend*, 23/09/1985). Tom Hayson was immediately struck by the resemblance[43] between the harbour precincts and became convinced that similar design and construction principles would also work for Darling Harbour (Young, 1988). Freestone (2004) refers to this influence on the neighbourhood, freeway and waterfront regeneration projects as 'the Americanization of Australian Planning' (p. 187).

In March 1984, after the state elections, Neville Wran said:

> In 1988, it will be hard to win again. '76 to '88 is going to be terribly bloody hard. And we've got to start planning now for the big things we're going to do. This is our chance to do something down at Darling Harbour. This is our chance to leave something permanent for the people of Sydney. (Neville Wran, quoted in Aarons, 2009, p. 15)

The objectives of the redevelopment were to improve the derelict waterfront location, establish a major recreation and tourism facility create a conference and exhibition centre, and create income and provide employment (Craig-Smith, 1995). The Labor government of the day and its Minister of Public Works, Ports and Roads, Laurie Brereton, saw the rejuvenation of Darling Harbour and its development with a public precinct as an opportunity to provide valuable infrastructure and public space for people; this is why they called the Darling Harbour Project the 'Place for People'. As a result of many initiatives, the NSW state government under Labor Premier Neville Wran finally announced the redevelopment with a claim to "Return it to the

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[43] "The similarity of that space to Baltimore's Inner Harbor was striking. Like the Inner Harbor, Darling Harbour had been vacated by deep-sea shipping when the container ships took over. In addition, the shoreline of Darling Harbour was occupied by a former railroad yard which also stood vacant and obsolete, like the Wool Stores. The Haysons realized that the whole area was ripe for redevelopment by a combination of public and private investment" (Martin Millspaugh, 2008). http://www.globalharbors.org/sydney_darling_harbor.html

people of Sydney after 150 years of industrial use" on 1 May 1984 (Young, 1988; Edwards, Griffin and Hayllar, 2008, p. 277).

Darling Harbour was one of the brown areas of Sydney. Railway yard was obsolete and disused because the ships were not coming and going anymore. Because of the modern containerization meant that the old way of mending ships was obsolete. It was just so obvious that the whole area, on the edge of a great city, should have been redeveloped in some way. And the bicentenary was a sort of a springboard for the area. (R. Dinham, pers. comm., 24/1/2013)

Darling Harbour: Baltimore shows what can be done

ARCHITECTURE

By JOHN HASKELL

SYDNEYSIDERS visiting the United States are hardly likely to put Baltimore ahead of Los Angeles, San Francisco or New York on their travel itineraries; yet, according to Martin Mills-paugh, in charge of Baltimore's successful Inner Harbour redevelopment, Sydney and Baltimore have much in common. And especially our Darling Harbour with their Inner Harbour.

Aspect, setting and historical circumstances are similar, but we have one important advantage: here, two-thirds of the land is already State-owned, whereas in Baltimore it took eight years of a 20-year program to purchase a 100-metre-wide belt of private foreshore land before the scheme could proceed.

Yet Baltimore has, in two decades, turned its former historic harbour from a sick, run-down and neglected area into a US showpiece of imaginative large-scale urban design and renewal; and the message from Baltimore is that Darling Harbour could be well on the way to regeneration as a major asset of Sydney in time for the Bicentennial, if certain key decisions are soon made.

If this conjures up visions of high-rise razzama-tazz, à la Woolloomooloo 20 years ago, you're wrong. Essentially, Baltimore's Inner Harbour is low-rise, but with two or three strategically placed high-rise elements to give variety and contrast.

Most important is the broad band of public land surrounding the harbour basin, contained within a strong frame of near-continuous low to medium-rise buildings. Immediately behind this begins the high-rise, free-for-all of the central business district.

Baltimore's Inner Harbour is essentially a large square tract of water bounded on two sides by buildings, the third by open park and the fourth giving access to the sea, although interrupted by a promontory on which has been built the National Aquarium, a design of striking originality.

Advice on the architecture, urban design and landscaping for the whole area was sought, and acted upon, from overseas and national consultants. The resulting plan did not just happen, like Topsy, nor did it give perfunctory legality to the wilfulness of big business. It is a rigorously designed plan, carefully devised, popularly supported and strictly followed. With much of it now achieved, the former falling fortunes of downtown Baltimore have been reversed and it is booming. Can the same prescription work for Darling Harbour?

The answer is yes, if someone (perhaps the Premier) or some group (a Darling Harbour Improvement Committee?) has a sufficiently bold and simple vision of what is needed to enthuse the public and encourage business: a plan that has community as well as commercial support, and that reconciles old and new, work and leisure, landscape, harbourside and city.

The railway goods yards must, of course, go, and the freeway connections be completed, but much is already there; the Entertainment Centre, Old Power House Museum, the two huge woolstores comprising Merino Central (Martin Millspaugh was here recently for the launching of the Merino Central project — the recycling of two of Sydney's biggest woolstores as a commercial complex) and even the old Pyrmont Bridge, already provide a near-continuous frame, with the exciting ridge of city high-rise buildings forming the backdrop on the east side.

The spur is also there — the forthcoming Bicentennial. What is still missing is the will, the single-minded determination by city and State to do something worthwhile about it — to convert Darling Harbour from Sydney's backyard to its future front garden.

Baltimore's Inner Harbour scheme shows that it can be done.

Fig 7.8: *The Sydney Morning Herald* giving Baltimore as an example of a showpiece of a large-scale renewal, 23/05/1984

(Source: Maritime Services Board Newspaper Clippings, State Archive of NSW)

The government's unyielding commitment was clearly to demolish and rebuild more than 50 hectares of the inner city in three and a half years, by January 1988 and the Bicentenary of Australia, which marked 200 years since the arrival of the First Fleet of British convict ships at Sydney in 1788 (Kelly, 1997). The decision-making process had to move rapidly, and indeed it did. By September 1984, the Act No. 103 (1984) to establish the Darling Harbour Authority had been passed. The Darling Harbour Authority was constituted to promote, encourage, facilitate and carry out the development of land within the Darling Harbour Development Area. The Act provided the Authority with powers to acquire, manage and dispose of land and to

control development within the Development Area by plans approved by the Minister for submission by the Authority (*NSW Government Gazette*, 1984, p. 3909).

Stephen Harris, President of Darling Harbour Authority, in his intimidating letter titled 'New Darling Harbour: Let's make it Work' to Peter James, Executive Director of the National Trust of Australia, stated that the Darling Harbour Redevelopment Project, with other major developments in the Haymarket, Ultimo and Pyrmont areas, would transform the city and would constitute the most momentous development in the history of Sydney (14/06/1984[44]). The State Government announced the official scheme for the redevelopment of the Darling Harbour Goods Yard on 14 December 1984. The Darling Harbour Authority's Planning Report proposed a mixture of private and public developments of a recreational/education/exhibition/tourist nature, including restaurants, markets, commercial office sites, hotels, a motel and multi-level car parks, all centred upon the Harbourside Park and Darling Harbour. According to the mixed-use development, eight physical components (Figure 7.9) were defined as follows:

1. Convention/exhibition centre.
2. National Maritime Museum.
3. Harbourside Park and Waterfront Promenade.
4. Chinese Landscape Garden.
5. Pyrmont Bridge.
6. Development sites.
7. Paddy's Market/development site.
8. National Aquarium site.

The Pyrmont Bridge was the only item to be retained on the development site, because of its heritage significance, but also because it was considered beneficial as an efficient pedestrian link across the harbour and played a role in the construction of the controversial Monorail People Mover System. The Monorail was a step to create an iconic marker for Sydney and make Darling Harbour more marketable. TNT Harbourlink (which was bought by Metro Transport Sydney in 1998, and became Metro Monorail) unveiled a $40 million plan that linked the city by means of a network of seven monorail stations. The main aim was to connect the new features in Darling Harbour – the National Maritime Museum, the National

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[44] Letter dated 14 June 1984, seen in the National Trust of Australia NSW Archive.

Aquarium, and the retail markets, parks and gardens – to the existing city centre (*Daily Telegraph*, 03/09/1985).
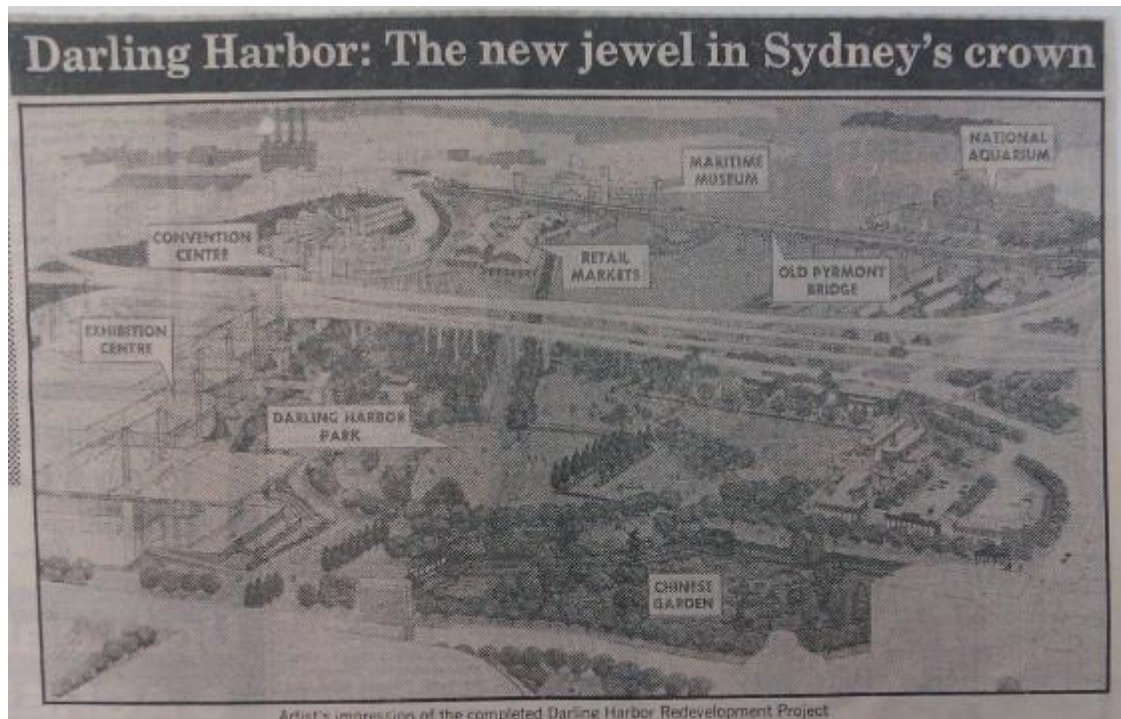

Fig 7.9: *The Daily Telegraph* showing the new attractions planned for Darling Harbour, 09/08/1985

(Source: Maritime Services Board Newspaper Clippings, State Archive of NSW)

The plan to transform the old woolstores was also a part of the state government's Darling Harbour redevelopment proposal (Figure 7.10). The Hayson Group unveiled the approved work, which would cost $120 million. The redevelopment plan for the woolstores involved their conversion into modern commercial office accommodation for 6,000 professional and business people. The buildings have been named Merino One and Merino Two, in recognition of the contribution of wool to the local and national economy. Although the buildings were subjected to protection under a conservation order of the NSW Heritage Council, The Hayson Group intended to restore the main buildings and reuse them as shops and offices (*The Australian*, 30/03/1984). Martin Millspaugh stated that Darling Harbour Redevelopment Project, together with The Hayson Group's plan to restore two of the woolstores, could attract 20 million tourists in 1988 (Figure 7.11) (*The Daily Telegraph*, 13/04/1984, p. 2).

Fig 7.10: *The Australian*, 30/03/1984

(Source: Maritime Services Board Newspaper Clippings, State Archive of NSW)

Fig 7.11: *The Daily Telegraph*, 13/04/1984

(Source: Maritime Services Board Newspaper Clippings, State Archive of NSW)

The government seemed poised to undertake one of the largest development projects in Australia. By some great coincidence, James Rouse, the developer responsible for the regeneration of a number of American cities, just happened to be visiting Sydney and addressing developers, architects and planners. Rouse was the architect behind waterfront projects such as Boston's Faneuil Hall and Baltimore's Harbor Place (*Architecture Bulletin*, 24/08/1984). Judd (1999) has remarked that James Rouse had upheld the virtues of Disney's influence on urban planning a long time before the marketplace was opened (cited in Bryman, 2004).

The redevelopment was to be financed by a combination of public and private expenditure, estimated at $1000 million. According to Premier Wran, the close cooperation between Government and private enterprise in the Darling Harbour Plan was a crucial asset to the project (Premier of NSW, Australia News Release, 14/12/1984). He declared that the project was expected to create 30,000 jobs in the construction phase and 10,000 permanent jobs after 1988. The creation of employment in the area after the completion of development was to be achieved by increased tourism, which would by the same token boost NSW tourism revenue (Premier of NSW, Australia News Release, 14/12/1984).

> If you leave it to the politicians, you'll get a hotel and a little rectangular box. (A. Higham, pers. comm., 29/10/2012)

The controversial role of the Darling Harbour Authority

The Darling Harbour Authority was mandated to assess all the development plan submissions before the actual plan was approved by the Minister for Public Works, Laurie Brereton. Darling Harbour Authority's planning proposals and the submission to the Darling Harbour Authority to be considered for adoption by Council were included within the minutes dated 24 January 1985 produced by the City Planning Committee. The Authority's charter was to collect the blueprints, refine them into high-quality plans, build them and have a reasonable amount of the scheme in operation by January 1988 (Young, 1988). Within the decision-making body, a Board and a public service executive were appointed to work with the Authority.

Private firms with proven experience in design and development projects were assigned to implement the decisions. After meetings between Premier Wran and top developers including Lend Lease, Westfield, Lloyds and Wormald, and Tom Hayson, the MSJ Group, comprised of urban planning consultants MSJ Keys Young and architects McConnel Smith and Johnson, won the job of project design direction

from a shortlist that included E. B. Consultants and Travers Partners. The group's leaders included Barry Young, a master of city planning from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Professor Peter Johnson, Dean of the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Sydney. The MSJ dedicated 30 professionals to Darling Harbour development strategies. Leighton Contractors was appointed Managing Contractor, and Philip Cox and Partners and John Andrews International beat four other architectural firms for the exhibition and convention centres (*Good Weekend*, 23/09/1985). Tom Hayson has insisted that exhibition and convention centres were 'absolute essentials' of the redevelopment of Darling Harbour (Aarons, 2009, p. 15).

> Darling Harbour's development as a public precinct was an opportunity to provide some valuable infrastructure for people. The problem was the way in which we went about designing it. It did not stem from any space value analysis[45] or what was already there. (R. Mackay, pers. comm., 9/11/2012)

The government's priority was to achieve the targeted completion of the project on time. With this provision, the state government applied its own efficient method for the short-term development of the government-owned area. The New Darling Harbour Act was introduced with a Bill (New Darling Harbour Authority Act, 1984, No. 103) to facilitate speedy development and rapid zoning of the area. The Bill required all development control to be vested with the New Darling Harbour Authority, and it limited the right of appeal for the general public against the government or the developers, as well as the right of appeal for developers against the government. The Bill also allowed the Authority to override all environmental planning instruments, seeking to preclude all third-party appeal mechanisms (thus overriding Section 23 of the Environmental Planning Authority Act[46]), enabling the proclaimed boundary of the area to be changed at will and changing a great number of methods and terms used in the Environmental Planning Authority Act. A number of decisions regarding the redevelopment of Darling Harbour bypassed the control of the local council and were instead transferred to federal and national decision-making levels. Even though the Sydney City Council opposed some of the projects, Premier Neville Wran stated that the exemption from the planning and local

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[45] An analysis combined with the assessment of significance, which ensures the identification and retention of the significance, is a form of values-based heritage management (Mackay and Johnston, 2010).

[46] Section 23 enables the minister to delegate the function of authorising consent to the Planning Assessment Commission, the Director-General or to any other public authority.

government laws allowed the projects to be unstoppable on legal grounds, and he exclaimed:

> If Sydney City Council opposes some of this development, it's just bad luck for them. (The Daily Telegraph, 2/05/1984)

The Darling Harbour Authority Act was exempted from development control legislation involving:

- the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979,

- the Local Government Act 1919,

- the Heritage Act 1977,

- the Height of Buildings Act[47]

- and additional legislation related to the Maritime Services Board's powers and responsibilities.

The words 'planning objectives' and 'environmental assessment' did not appear in the New Darling Harbour Authority Act. There was no reference in the Act to waterfront protection, to conservation or to traffic management. All existing legislation which bears on these matters was suspended from operating in Darling Harbour. In addition, the Darling Harbour Authority combined power over the planning decisions and ownership of the land - resulting in potential conflicts of interest (Hall, 1999; Searle and Byrne, 2002; Edwards et al., 2008).

It was unfortunate that the Act was passed so hastily, without providing a detailed and useful comparison to the Environmental Planning Authority Act. The Baltimore Harbor development, which was similar in nature to the proposals for Darling Harbour, had been referred (Figure 7.12). The decision to suspend all other planning powers and give the Authority sole responsibility for the redevelopment was hugely controversial, fuelling media and community criticism (Fig 7.13). The Lord Mayor of Sydney at the time, Alderman Doug Sutherland, expressed his disappointment regarding the decision of the state government to bypass the involvement of Sydney City Council. He argued that planning was the local government's role and that he wished to limit the size of the redevelopment

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[47] The MLC head office building in North Sydney and Qantas House in the city were opened in 1957 when the Height of Buildings Act was amended (Blackmore, 1988, p. 128).

proposal, which would harm Darling Harbour (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 2/05/1984).
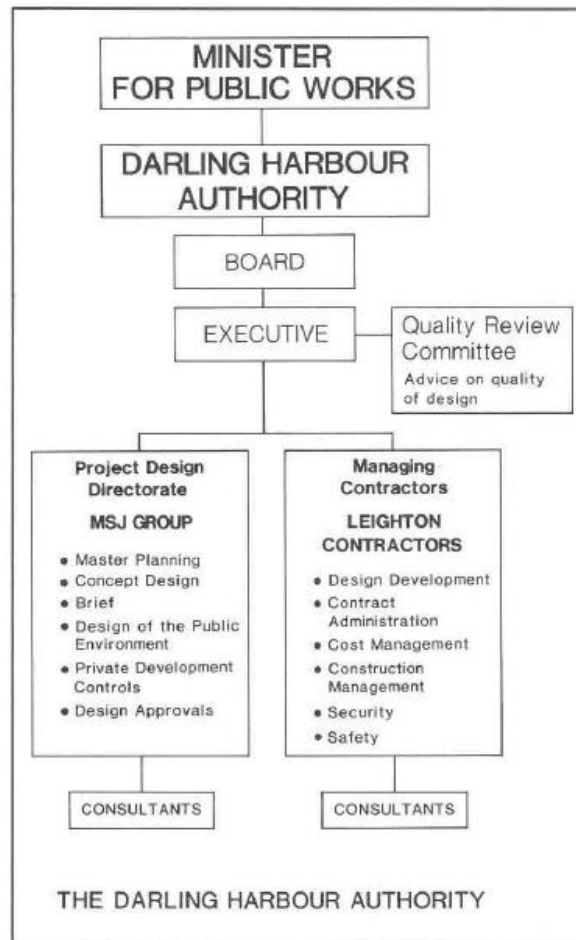

Fig 7.12: The organisation chart of the Darling Harbour Authority

(Source: Young, 1988)

Fig 7.13: *The Daily Telegraph*, 02/05/1984

(Source: Maritime Services Board Newspaper Clippings, State Archive of NSW)

Jack Mundey expressed his concerns about the government's proposed redevelopment of Darling Harbour, saying that 'it could be a monumental disaster' (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 11/05/1984, p. 13) and he discussed the importance of public participation in the decision-making process. As explained earlier, he had led the green bans movement in the early 1970s and was responsible for halting construction on a number of buildings in The Rocks, when the Askin government in 1969 had a plan similar to that of Premier Wran for the redevelopment of The Rocks area. Mundey suggested that the planning scheme should involve the council's own planning staff, as well as the Department of Environment and Planning, the Maritime Service Board and the general public (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 11/05/1984).

Darling Harbour's Industrial Heritage

> The double storey railway goods shed was replaced by the Harbourside Marketplace. I don't know of any other double storey railway which exists. I think there is certainly none in Australia; they were excellently relevant for the connection between urban Sydney and rural Australia.

> (R. Mackay, pers. comm., 9/11/2012)

The architectural dimension of industrial archaeology is concerned with the spaces that served industrial processes, their formation, and all of the structures and settlements that can be included in this context. It studies the architectural and technical characteristics of industrial structures and areas, their analysis, documentation and preservation, and their functionalisation as a part of reutilisation to ensure that they survive in the future. As such, it allows the extraction of information on the industrial architecture from the analysis of the relation between manufacturing processes and architectural planning, the utilisation of materials, carrier system solutions and forms of roof construction. Conversely, the physical existence and the architecture of the industrial structures can be used to shed light on the relationship between the production processes and technologies. Understanding industrial culture involves the study of issues such as lifestyles during and after the industrial period, approaches to urbanisation, workers' issues and the living spaces of workers (Stratton and Trinder, 2014). In industrial archaeology, history and archaeology exhibit a parallelism (Buchanan, 1981). Industrial archaeological remains that have survived the changes in the industrial culture up to the present day are unequalled resources in comprehending past lifestyles. Industrial heritage values such as industrial landscaping, structures,

production equipment and machines reflect the modes of utilisation and production and past lifestyles and are paramount as cultural resources. In this context, the effects of industry on society and the lifestyles and cultural outcomes of industrialisation can be analysed (Alfrey and Putnam, 2003).

Darling Harbour is an important place historically, as it has represented a focal point for Sydney's industrial growth. The harbour was also the only place in Sydney that brought together the three historically significant transport modes of sea, rail and road. The area has been developed, redeveloped and built over many times. As such, it is a complex area, composed of layers of meaning and layers of significance, and defying a straightforward assessment. It includes numerous heritage sites that bear various significance to the development of Australia, and notably items related to the seminal phase of Australian industrialisation in the late 19th century. Little evidence of its industrial past remains today. Darling Harbour, the cradle of industrial development in European Australia, was designated as 'The Development Area', to be transformed into a place for tourist, educational, recreational, entertainment, cultural and commercial activities. Neville Wran's statement about returning the area to Sydney-siders after a long period of industrial use apparently confirmed that the industrial component of the area would no longer exist after the development.

Fig 7.14: The master plan of the Darling Harbour Development Project, February 1987

(Source: Young, 1988)

The government's concern to include a broad range of activities was aimed at transforming Darling Harbour into an exciting and pleasant new city precinct, and at creating an experience in that part of the city (Figure 7.14). In this view, three museums – a museum to display Australia's maritime history, an aquarium to showcase and explain Australia's underwater ecology, and a museum of applied arts and science to retrace Australia's industrial development – were proposed (Young, 1988). Ironically, the completion of these showcases of Australia's maritime and industrial history entailed no less than the eradication of the signs of history and the demolition of the items that once belonged to that maritime and industrial culture. Dicks (2004) expresses this creation of a culture of display as 'culture in the shop window' (p. 74):

> The issue of Darling Harbour brought the people into Sydney and allowed the people to reach the harbour. It was certainly to an extent an internal tourist activity. Getting people out there, off their barbeques in the Western Suburbs, pushing their prams, coming into Sydney, was not for business but pleasure. Darling Harbour allowed people to come to the city for fun, not for work, not for the doctor, not for business. (R. Dinham, pers. comm., 24/1/2013)

The Premier of NSW, Neville Wran, stated that projects such as the Sydney Harbour Bridge and the Sydney Opera House have become landmarks for Sydney as well as focal points for national pride (Premier of NSW, Australia News Release, 14/12/1984). Salazar (2010) argues that the imagined national history is considered as cultural heritage and is commonly used to stimulate pride of the nations, and that cultural heritage becomes a product to be marketed and sold as iconic markers of the local area, country, region or even continent. This is why the appeal for Darling Harbour was more about the establishment of 'Disney's consumption regime', which means the creation of a safe and clean public space in which people who do not know each other can trust each other and have a good time (Zukin, 1998, p. 832). According to Zukin (1998), this 'Disneyfication' has inspired the governments of big cities to create spaces for urban festivals and harbourside shopping malls.
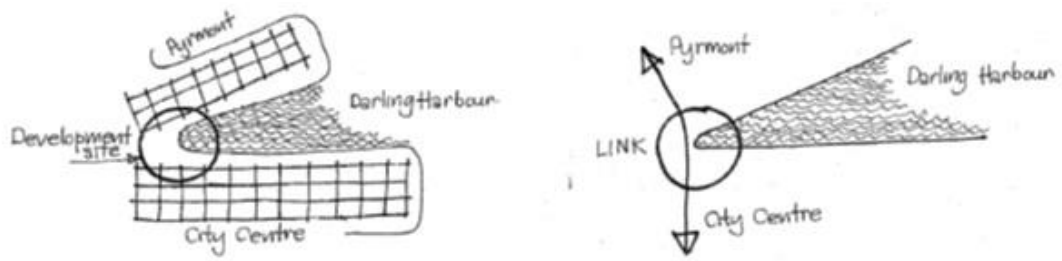
Fig 7.15: Images showing the link between the development site, the city centre and Pyrmont, NSW

(Source: Department of Environment and Planning, 1983, NSW Office of Environment and Heritage)

The redevelopment unearthed a conflict between juxtaposed yet opposing perceptions of the area: some saw community facilities where others saw 'some old sheds'. No consideration whatsoever was given to potential reuse of existing industrial structures, as their retention would have made the proposals for Darling Harbour unworkable. Nevertheless, the mere examination of the industrial elements on the site would have assisted in the investigation of a state-wide perspective on the industrial archaeological significance (National Trust of NSW, p. 3[48]). The conservation of industrial archaeological areas not only means the protection of a single structure, but of the entire historical setting (Worth, 2000). In this sense, the site has its own identity, separate and distinct from the city centre and Pyrmont, which implies that a distinctive identity should also be a characteristic of the new development.

At the same time, the site showed great potential to act as a link between the city centre and Pyrmont (Figure 7.15), at the join, or fulcrum, of the two peninsulas. Such very direct links are also vital to the social and economic success of the development. In particular, the pedestrian routes to the city centre should be made as easy, and as frequent as possible. In this respect, the developments at Darling Harbour should be perceived by pedestrians as a natural extension of the city centre. Darling Harbour also connects the industrial past of the development site, the city centre and Pyrmont. A testament to the industrial history in the area, the industrial structures had furthered the growth of Sydney, expanding it beyond its

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[48] Notes of meeting of National Trust Council representatives and members of Department of Public Works concerning Darling Harbour redevelopment, held at the National Trust Centre on Friday 8 June 1984, at 8.30 am.

obvious border. Therefore, the decision to demolish heritage items located in the redevelopment site was very controversial when viewed in terms of the preservation and conservation contexts around the world at that time. In many countries, the protection of heritage was seen in direct proportion with modernisation and the heritage had become integrated with the development of the economy. The re-functioning of industrial structures can be seen as an excellent recovery strategy for cities if the awareness of local governments and private-sector officials can be raised to the preservation of such items. However, in the case of Darling Harbour, the industrial heritage was considered as cultural elements that needed to be sanitised (Bryman, 2004). It was unfortunate that in the redevelopment of Darling Harbour, the adopted approach justified 'the removal of memory with pain' (Lowenthal, cited in Bryman, 2004).

> In 1984, people did not appreciate heritage items and particularly industrial heritage has been seen ugly and not valued. (J. Rice, pers. comm., 19/10/2012)

Rice also argues that the whole redevelopment would have been much more interesting if a prominent campaign had publicly involved advocates for Darling Harbour as a preserved working harbour and if visitors had expressed interest in seeing the remains on the site. The creation of a place connected to the community and its history would have provided a unique example of landscaping in the world's redevelopment field (J. Rice, pers. comm., 19/10/2012). As stated in the previous chapter, 20.8 million people visit Baltimore's Inner Harbor each year, 80% of whom are members of the local population. On average, those locals who visit the area do so 12 times a year. This statistic was vital for guiding the success of Darling Harbour. Hence, the proposals needed to cater for the local population and from this, tourism would naturally flow. In fact, tourism did start to flow. Darling Harbour became one of the world's most fascinating, highly touristic waterfronts, despite the highly rushed planning decision process, without consultation with the local population, which led to significant mistakes such as the loss of the area's local and industrial identity.

The chairman of the Heritage Council of NSW at the time stated that industrial buildings are the least acclaimed buildings as part of the environmental heritage. He added that their ill-fitting appearance has translated into a second-class status which has often allowed them to be demolished without any regrets or protests (Balint et al., 1982), whereas, in the process of rejuvenating the run-down parts of the city, revitalisation and revival have been accorded the utmost importance in

urban redevelopment policies. Those policies intend to prevent physical or social collapse in urban areas and, in particular, to protect the historical identity and to maintain cultural sustainability (Roberts, 2000). But Darling Harbour lost its historic fabric, which was highly significant to the comprehension of the meaning of the history of the place, because the government of the day made the strategic decision to create a new place (R. Mackay, pers. comm., 9/11/2012).

> The buildings on Darling Harbour were not substantial. They were 20th century buildings, there were some temporary buildings and there was a big factory [The Fresh Food and Ice Company] which was used by dairy farmers and ice cream manufacturers. The old wharfs on the south side of the harbour have been found when excavation began and the decision was made to leave them and cover up. There was no attempt to retain them and use them. That was the real issue. But what was there to re-use? (R. Dinham, pers. comm., 24/1/2013)

The Fate of Darling Harbour's Industrial Heritage

The Conservation Study of the Darling Harbour Bicentennial Development Project stated the importance of the industrial development, the industrial archaeological sites and the industrial structures in the area (Public Works Department of NSW, 1985). The Industrial Archaeology Committee was responsible for assessing the significance of industrial relics and buildings to our economic and social history. Individual and group elements (Tables 7.2 and 7.3) maintain the significance of heritage not only for their primary site in Darling Harbour but for Sydney, NSW and Australia's National Estate.

Prior to the redevelopment projects, in 1986, the Darling Harbour Authority undertook a series of historical and archaeological assessments of the area, as part of the preparations for the 1988 Bicentenary celebrations within Sydney. Andrew Wilson, who was a consultant archaeologist in the Department of Public Works, was appointed by Mr. Brereton (Minister for Public Works). Wilson worked on the site for two months, between 18 September and 17 November 1985 and advised on historically significant areas. However, recommendations were not always followed.

Table 7.2: The assessment of the importance of industrial heritage items adapted from the Conservation Study of the Darling Harbour Bicentennial Development Project

(Source: Public Works Department of NSW, 1985)

Subject item	Has the place landscape, townscape or environmental value or is it a site of potential archaeological importance?
Dickson's Mill (archaeological site)	Site of first steam engine in Australia and associated with the development of the industrial use of steam
Barker's Mill (archaeological site)	Site of early mill complex and associated with the development of industrial processes
NSW Fresh Food and Ice Company (archaeological site)	Site of first freezing works in the Southern Hemisphere and associated with the development of the frozen meat trade by T.S. Mort
Zollner's Galvanising Works (archaeological site)	Site of first galvanising works in NSW
J.E. Manning's Steam Saw Mill (archaeological site)	Site of first steam sawmill in Sydney
P.N. Russell and Company foundry and works (archaeological site)	Site of works which was a focus of the industrialisation of Sydney
Miller and Harrison's Timber Yard	Three buildings forming a group of similar scale and character
Darling Harbour Goods Yard	Its layout echoes the essential form of the harbour and strongly expresses the dynamics of the rail/shipping nexus
Iron Wharf (archaeological site)	Site of innovative iron wharf structure that formed an important part of the commercial development of the harbour facilities

Table 7.3: The assessment of cultural significance of industrial heritage items adapted from the Conservation Study of the Darling Harbour Bicentennial Development Project

(Source: Public Works Department of NSW, 1985)

Subject item	Has the place a strong association with an important figure or figures, development or cultural phase?	Does it demonstrate a way of life, custom process or function of particular interest?
Miller and Harrison's Timber Yard	Continuous use of woodworking for over 100 years.	It is only surviving example of early industrial buildings in the area.
Darling Harbour Goods Yard	Associated with adjacent trading and industrial development, especially wool, frozen meat. Associated with the development of export trade and related pastoral expansion.	It demonstrates developments in railway architecture and goods handling facilities. It was the centre of freight railway network and demonstrates freight handling practices.
Houses, Steam Mill Street	Only extant link with Thomas Barker and the early residential use of the area.	

The cultural significance of the remains on the site was assessed using a system developed by Dr James Kerr in the Conservation Plan prepared by National Trust NSW in 1982. The plan states that the remains of Dickson's Mill, the first steam-powered mill on the continent, had a fundamental significance as the structure had been a forerunner of industrialisation in Australia. The consultant recommended that the exact location of the mill - where Sussex and Goulburn Streets now meet - and its archaeological remains should contribute to the development project. The Sydney Entertainment Centre was built on the site of Dickson's dam. The remaining walls of Barker's Mill from the 1820s represented a significant historic landscape, as the only visible linkage to the first phase of the development of Darling Harbour, and as a tangible link to the colony's early industrial and engineering pioneers (Wilson, 1985). The consultant indicated that the walls located on the corner of Day and Duncan Streets were on the perimeter of the development site, and should be retained and incorporated into landscaping as a representation of the history of Darling Harbour. Despite the recommendations, the remains of Barker's Mill were demolished in 1985 for the Bicentenary.

The Iron Wharf, where Tumbalong Park (Figure 7.17) is now located, was representative of the second primary phase of the development of Darling Harbour,

formed the basis of subsequent landscaping and embodied an important technological innovation. However, it was first covered with fill during the reclamation of Darling Harbour in the 1880s. The historic wharf was exposed during the excavation work for the proposed Darling Harbour Bicentenary Scheme Exhibition Hall, and the beams were bulldozed from the site (Figure 7.16) to make way for piers for the exhibition hall. Peter Groves[49] identified that the Iron Wharf was built in England and assembled at Darling Harbour, and he added that the area was the most important archaeological site in Australia (Joseph Glascott, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 21/06/1985). The Director of the National Trust explained that the wharf was one of the first made of iron in the world and was experimental. The excavations have provided valuable information and evidence about the transformation of the landscape as well as the urban change and the industrialisation of Sydney. P.N. Russell and Co., Barker's Mill and Cooper and Levey have been described as the most successful entrepreneurs and industrialists between the late 1820s and the 1870s. According to the excavation report, their construction and engineering reflected a high degree of ability, creativity and ingenuity, and their level of comprehensiveness confirmed the 2008 assessment of state significance for these remains. The remains also provided knowledge about the living conditions of the working class of the time, and contributed to the wider ideas about the working class and urban life of Sydney. The workers' houses, in their slum condition, were evidence of the standard living condition of companies' workforces. In this sense, the site also had considerable local significance (Casey and Lowe, 2008). The Authority had recommended engaging an archaeologist to photograph and record the excavation work at that time before its destruction, and had considered reusing the iron members in the new design for the site. However, the stronger recommendation was to remove the iron components and store them safely (Heritage Council of NSW, 3/06/1985). The iron and timbers of the wharf were still in good condition when they were uncovered. Because of the chemical condition of the cast iron, it should have been conserved as soon as possible to retain its originality.

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[49] Mr Peter Groves was a postgraduate archaeologist who studied Darling Harbour at Sydney University.
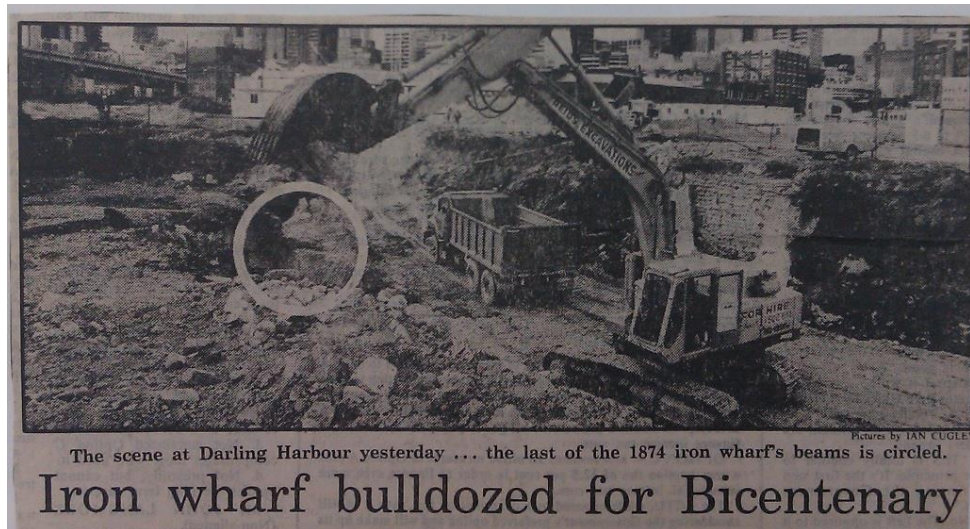
Fig 7.16: Iron Wharf under demolition, The Sydney Morning Herald, 21/06/1985

(Source: Maritime Service Board Newspaper Clippings, State Archive of NSW)

Fig 7.17: An overlay of construction of the Convention and Exhibition Centre at Darling Harbour, on a 1943 aerial photograph of the railway developments

(Source: 2011 and 1943 aerial photographs, Land & Property Management, Spatial Information eXchange online)

Pyrmont Bridge was classified in the National Trust Register on 3 February 1975. The bridge draws its value from its historical and social significance in the development of the Sydney environs, its visual and spatial relationship to the city and the suburb of Pyrmont and more generally to the whole of the Darling Harbour

area. It is also the most excellent example of a substantial timber bridge with a swing opening span, and finely detailed balustrading in both stone and cast iron. It is included on the Register of the National Estate (The National Trust of Australia NSW, June 1984).

The Hydraulic Pumping Station at 19 Pier Street, Haymarket, classified by the Trust on 20 August 1979 used to be the main pumping station of the hydraulic power system that fuelled all the wool presses and many of the wharf cranes, lifts and bank doors of Sydney, and is therefore highly significant. The building had played an important role in the industrial and commercial development of Sydney; besides, its architectural features and proportions, its location and relationship to its historic surroundings made it a very significant element that needed to be conserved in the Darling Harbour townscape (The National Trust of Australia NSW, June 1984). A number of its original features including the accumulator tanks, cast iron water tank panels and architectural elements has been retained as part of the State significance due to its contribution to the urbanisation and industrialisation of Sydney but again being re-used as a bar and restaurant, it serves to tourism purposes (SHFA, 2009).

The Pyrmont Woolstores that have been classified in the National Trust Register, namely the former woolstores at 24 Allen Street, Pyrmont, the Woolstores No. 1 Group comprising the Pitt Son & Badgery Woolstore (320–348 Harris Street, Pyrmont) and the Elder Smith Goldsbrough Mort No. 1 Woolstore (350–384 Harris Street, Pyrmont), and the Australian Mercantile Land and Finance Co. Ltd Woolstore No. 1 and its Southern Annex (Pyrmont Street, with frontages to Bullecourt Lane, Quarry Street and William Henry Street, Ultimo) were a collection of woolstores that represented the influence and development of the Australian pastoral industry from the late 1880s up to World War I. They, with the adjacent goods rail terminus, became a significant part of an integrated industrial suburb that was a transit, storage and shipping service centre for the Australian wool industry. Their adaptation to provide a modern usage while conserving their historical, architectural and townscape integrity was seen as an effective redevelopment strategy (The National Trust of Australia NSW, June 1984). But Mort and Co. Woolstore at Circular Quay had already disappeared in 1960, when it was demolished to make room for the first AMP tower.

The wharves and sheds bear heritage value because of their contribution to the early 20th-century maritime industrial history of Sydney Harbour, and because of the uniqueness of their construction (due to the early use of concrete). The Trust

recommended that any redevelopment of the port installations in Darling Harbour should avoid removal of the finger wharves, which were considered in townscape terms to be an important element of the Harbour's visual character (The National Trust of Australia NSW, June 1984). Darling Harbour Wharves 37 and 38, and their associated sheds, had been classified in March 1980 by the National Trust of Australia, as they represent the only remaining complex of small-scale finger wharves in Sydney Harbour with substantial timber features.

After the Premier's Department had announced the development of the Railway Goods Yard, concerns were raised by the National Trust of NSW about the New Darling Authority Act. The Trust's Industrial Archaeology Committee was in a position to evaluate the importance to heritage of the Darling Harbour Railway Goods Yard, which had been a subject of discussion since the idea of its redevelopment had been raised. Classification of the Railway Goods Yard as an industrial archaeology conservation area was proposed on 8 May 1984 (The National Trust of Australia NSW, June 1984). Wal Whittaker (Committee member of the Industrial Archaeology Committee of the NSW National Trust) had presented a brief report on a site visit on 13 June 1984 and Judy Birmingham (the chair of the Industrial Archaeology Committee of the NSW National Trust) summarised the results, which stated that every item of significance could be retained. Wal Whittaker stated that the historical, archaeological, landscape and townscape quality of the Darling Harbour Inner Harbour was indisputably most significant, but that the area had been perceived as lacking aesthetic, functional and economic merit. He argued that the disrespectful heritage considerations would irrevocably degrade the basin's unique cultural fabric. To transform the important heritage assets and to avoid further degradation, the National Trust recommended a comprehensive investigation of possible reuses before final plans for the site were adopted. Also, the National Trust of NSW expressed the need for the area's prime cultural significance to Sydney, the State and the Nation to be taken into account (16/05/1984). The Industrial Archaeology Committee considered the possibility of the preservation of the double-tiered goods sheds and their incorporation into Darling Harbour Development as a Railway Display Centre and an adjunct to the Power House Museum\Building, for suitable purposes, given their immense size and structural soundness, their heritage significance and connection with the railways and trade, the fact that they were still connected to the main state rail system by four active lines, and that they were separated from the rest of development site by those

active railway lines, which could not be moved. This concept was supported by the Trust (Mackay, Godden and Pratten,[50] 17/10/1984).

The report on Darling Harbour Goods Yard, prepared by consultants, provided a broader sense of the heritage significance of the structures that were worthy of preservation as heritage items. The consultants suggested that the Goods Shed was a fascinating engineering structure, which needed further engineering and historical investigation (McBean and Crisp, 3/12/1984). The building was identified in the report as a structure of important social, historical and engineering heritage significance. It was unique and it contained many interesting features of structural steel detailing. But the report also examined the building in the context of refurbishment for a particular purpose and acknowledged its poor condition: the cost of repairing it would have approximated (80%) that of complete replacement. Based on 1984 prices, a new structure of this type would cost in the vicinity of $450 per square metre (McBean and Crisp, 3/12/1984).

Fig 7.18: The Railway Goods Yard in 1946, showing the layout and the travelling gantry crane
(Source: Public Works Department of NSW, 1985)

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[50] The National Trust of Australia NSW Memorandum File from Richard Mackay, Don Godden and Chris Pratten to Richard Rowe (17/10/1984).
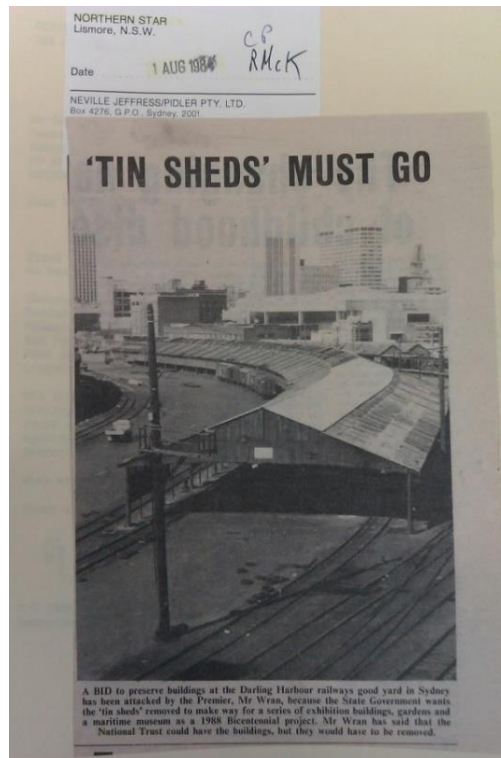
Fig 7.19: A newspaper clipping dated 01/08/1984

(Source: unknown newspaper seen in the archive of the National Trust of Australia NSW)

> Maybe tin sheds are Australia? Tin sheds might just be perfect for this 1988 melting pot.
>
> (Director of the Children of the Green Earth, 31/07/1984[51])

The Director of the Children of the Green Earth had written to the editor of *The Sydney Morning Herald* and shared the children's expressions of the identity of Darling Harbour, especially about 'Tin Sheds' (Figure 7.19). One child had expressed that the sheds would be good for staging many of the historical aspects of Australia. "So clear, so simple, so Australian" (Director of the Children of the Green Earth, 31/07/1984).

The Sydney Area Transportation Study of the 1970s had indicated that the railway yard was obsolete, which meant that the area was free and available for another use. The government proposed to transform the area into a world-scale exposition

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[51] Letter from the Director of Children of the Green Earth to the editor of *The Sydney Morning Herald*, dated 31 July 1984 (Source: National Trust Archive).

facility (26/06/1984[52]). The possibility of the establishment of a railway museum within the existing building was discussed; however, the Minister for Public Works, Ports and Roads, Laurie Brereton, intended to construct an access road and a car park on the site of the goods shed. The issue was reported to the Darling Harbour Authority and consideration of the railway display concept was requested (Archive of The National Trust of NSW, 21/11/1984[53]). As a response to that request, Brereton expressed the impracticality of retaining the shed, which would hinder all the plans for the proposed car park for the National Maritime Museum, but stated that he was prepared to dismantle the structures and give the parts to the various railway historical groups for reuse (Archive of The National Trust of NSW, 19/10/1984[54]).

> The railway yard buildings were just sheds just to cover the trains and the unloading areas were there unloading the trains straight onto the ships. They were generally single storey, the structures were erratic, and they found out that the footprint was not really able to be used. It's just that they weren't substantial; they were sheds. (R. Dinham, pers. comm., 24/1/2013)

According to the report of a meeting between Peter James (Executive Director of The National Trust of Australia NSW), Richard Rowe (the President of the National Trust of NSW) and Minister Laurie Brereton, the latter declared that the entire site was to be flattened, that the buildings on the site were available for use elsewhere, that the government was not interested in the National Trust of NSW's rail museum suggestion, that there were no real grounds for compromise and that demolition was the primary concern. The sentiments of Minister Brereton were also repeated to Peter James by the Premier on 16 June 1984. The meeting was concluded by pointing out that it would be unfortunate if the Darling Harbour Railway Goods Yard issue ultimately prevented the National Trust from making an input in the planning process. It was also indicated that all the items were worth retaining, especially the wool shed and the double-tier outbound good shed. The structures themselves were

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[52] Seminar Report, 26 June 1984.

[53] Minutes of the Industrial Archaeology Committee Meeting IAC/146, held at the National Trust Centre on Wednesday 21 November 1984.

[54] Letter from the Minister for Public Works, Ports and Roads, Laurie Brereton, to the President of the National Trust of NSW, R.J.A. Rowe, dated 19 October 1984.

significant to the socio-economic development of NSW [55] (National Trust, 19/06/1984).

According to Premier Neville Wran, the demolition of the Railway Goods Yard (Figure 7.18) would, in the near future, be regarded as the beautification of the foreshore to facilitate easy access for the public (Aarons, 2009). He also stated that he had nothing against tin sheds but he admired new buildings better. He did not consider the said tin sheds to be historically significant, but he argued that it would be better to concentrate on the restoration of historic buildings and precincts, meaning Macquarie Street (a stamp of Governor Lachlan Macquarie on colonial Sydney), rather than spending thousands of dollars in fireworks for the Bicentenary (*The Sun Herald*, 26/08/1984).

Considering the site eligible to the regard of Workers' Union of Australia, the National Trust of NSW discussed the possibility of Union bans on the demolition; however, the major issue was the government's attitude and its eagerness to proceed with demolition before any definite plan had been adopted. The National Trust Committee's concern was to decide how the battle should be fought. But Stephen Harris (President of Darling Harbour Authority) pointed out that it would be difficult to garner public support for the site, which had been obsolete for years and had not been accepted as a place for the general community (Archive of The National Trust of NSW, 19/06/1984[56]).

The Planning Committee noted that the development of the area would proceed immediately; however, Wal Whittaker expressed his concerns about the reported items of significance on the site. He said that the items of heritage significance (architectural, industrial or historical) should have been retained; that a conservation plan should have been requested prior to the commencement of work, that a photographic record should have been made, and that the Heritage Council should be asked to recommend an appropriate plan of action to preserve individual items of significance. He indicated that the Premier's Department should have been approached to request representation on the new Darling Harbour Authority, or at

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[55] Notes taken at second meeting of the National Trust Council Sub-Committee and Trust Officers held at the National Trust Centre on 19 June 1984.

[56] Notes taken at the meeting of National Trust Council Sub-Committee and Trust Officers, concerning the pro-posed Darling Harbour redevelopment, held at the National Trust Centre on Tuesday 19 June 1984 at 2.30 pm.

least the opening of a channel to convey information about heritage items to that authority (McBean and Crisp, 3/12/1984).

> The principal scene was about Australian tourists. The intention was to create a world-class venue. The exhibition centre was to have big exhibitions, and the convention centre was to have international exhibitions, so it was a place to bring people. Then there was the Chinese garden that was a gift from China and Darling Harbour was the logical place for it. Darling Harbour was declared a nice place not necessarily with attracting the tourists but people who were coming for local and international events. And the heritage was not the first thing to be considered by the developers. It would have been much better to have an adaptively reused sort of a structure and have a lot more consideration for retaining many of the industrial structures. There were a quite large 19th-century engineering buildings which were icons of the first constructions. Two storey railway yards which were great open areas which even the exhibition centres do not have open areas on that scale without internal supports. Having that layer of heritage significance in Darling Harbour would have an interest for the community. Liable former railways, street alignments and some of the buildings, the walls and all those elements that were there, have been swept away. They could have been there either physically or figuratively in a new scheme. (A. W. Johnson, pers. comm., 31/1/2013)

The Results of the Redevelopment and Concluding Remarks

> The whole agenda was to make it sort of tourist standards. The politicians were disgraceful. The only people who knew anything were the builders – Leighton – who knew how to build it in three years. That's the only success, a technical one, of building all that stuff in three years and that's not a great success because they're talking about demolishing virtually all of it. (P. Thalis, pers. comm., 14/11/2012)

The Redevelopment of Darling Harbour, surrounded by controversy, has transformed the area by means of government initiatives and massive private-sector investment. The area was accepted to consist of ramshackle railway yard, disused buildings and derelict wharves. This was no ordinary construction job: it was carried out as a high-profile political initiative, as an example of urgency management. The project was fast-tracked with the major public works due for completion in time for

the Bicentenary celebrations. Notably, the statutory board, the Darling Harbour Authority, was set up in 1984 to promote, encourage, facilitate, carry out and control all of the development within the designated area (Parliament of NSW, 1989).
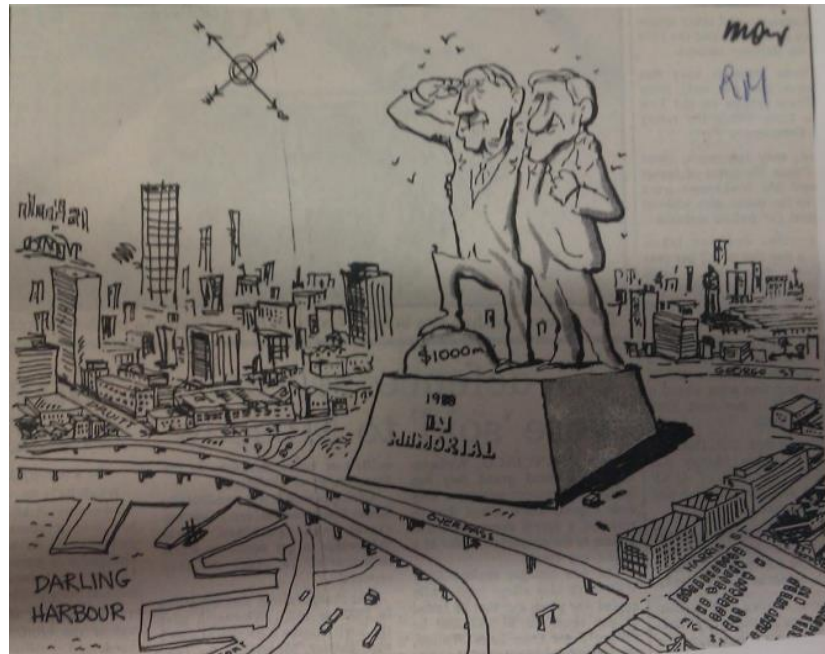
Fig 7.20: *The Sydney Morning Herald*, **2/05/1987**

(Source: Maritime Service Board Newspaper Clippings, State Archive of NSW)

The redevelopment of Darling Harbour, a controversial legacy of Premier Neville Wran and Minister Laurie Brereton (Figure 7.20), was meant to open up the harbour foreshore for public recreation and participation in time for the NSW Bicentenary celebrations in 1988. The $200 million redevelopment was placed on Sydney's waterfront strategically, but hastily. The New Darling Harbour Authority Act had been enacted to free the proposed development from planning controls at the local government level, in order to ensure the rapid commencement and completion of the project. The Sydney Exhibition Centre, the new urban harbourside park and foreshore promenade, the National Maritime Museum, the Chinese Landscape Garden, Tumbalong Park, the children's playground, the Convention Centre and the Harbourside Marketplace, and the Monorail linking the area to the central business district (CBD) were completed in time for the celebrations (Aarons, 2009). The Sydney Exhibition Centre was constructed at the core of the site of the Railway Goods Yard and was used for the NSW Bicentennial Exhibition, which consisted of a series of pavilions containing displays of the Australian culture, lifestyle and industry. Despite the destruction of the heritage that would have been the actual

symbols of those times, the exhibition had aimed to reflect the economic and social importance and development of Australia in the Pacific.

> Heritage was simply knocked down. It's not a place for people at all. It's a place to exploit people and then make them consumers. (P. Thalis, pers. comm., 14/11/2012)


Top left: Harbourside marketplace (during construction)

Top right: The Monorail at the time of construction

Bottom: The Australian National Maritime Museum (during construction) (Source: Aarons, 2009)
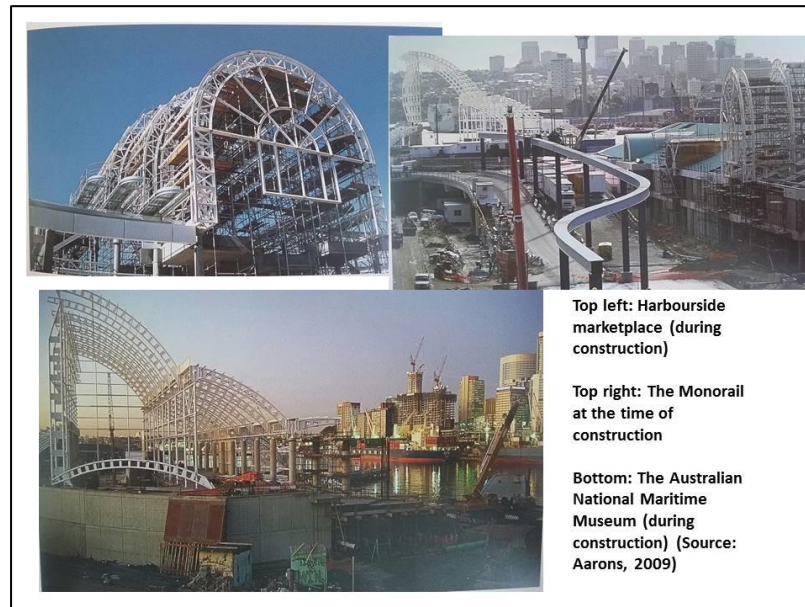
Fig 7.21: The Harbourside Marketplace, the Monorail and the Australian National Maritime Museum (during construction)

(Source: Aarons, 2009)

Baltimore's festival market was used as a model, and the Harbourside Marketplace (Figure 7.21) was decorated with works of art by Australian artists, muralists, designers and craftspeople. The controversial Monorail was designed to allow a connection to the city centre, but it only became a touristic ride around Darling Harbour.

This chapter has explored how urban redevelopment projects have formed a large part of the contemporary stakes in urban tourism. The mega-project is regarded as a tool for urban renewal (Oakley, 2014). Since the 1970s, numerous waterfronts have undergone a reorientation from industrial to commercial, residential and recreational areas (Sairinen and Kumpulainen, 2006). Since then, waterfront renewal and redevelopment have engaged the interest of planners, politicians and the general public (Craig-Smith, 1995). New laws have been passed and planning tools developed in order to regulate what can be built near the water (Sairinen and Kumpulainen, 2006). However, it is argued that the tourism industry reduces cities

and places to assemblages of frozen images and cultures that can easily be perceived and thus that become consumable sets of values. Rigidly constructed tourist practices today position the tourist as spectator and the built environment as spectacle. The issue of commodification of tourism as "the ways in which material culture, people and places become objectifies for the purposes of the global market" (Meethan, 2001, p. 5) became the centre of the project at Darling Harbour.

Darling Harbour's industrial character and its historical layers were effectively lost during its redevelopment. Darling Harbour used to feature land uses that were a direct result of the thematic development that the area had experienced since the late 1800s – institutional, residential, industrial (non-maritime), industrial maritime, transport, and storage. After its redevelopment, the intensity and occurrence of many of these land uses have drastically changed. The decision to demolish rather than adapt (reuse) has altered 200 years of developments within an industrial and maritime tradition at Darling Harbour. As a consequence, there are no physical reminders of the area's history in the economic growth and development of New South Wales.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

Drawing on the theoretical perspective of the post-industrial city, tourist city and change of landscape due to place commodification, including the critical and cultural theorists, David Harvey, Henri Lefebvre, John Urry and Sharon Zukin, this research has explored the urban and economic restructuring in Sydney's waterfronts, in particular in The Rocks and Darling Harbour, where the historical landscapes of industrial production have been replaced by landscapes of consumption.

I have investigated the causes and effects of this transformation by examining the spatial, social and economic issues raised by the shift to a post-industrial economy, the construction and marketing of new place identities based on consumption, the role of tourism within transformation decisions, and the demise of the industrial heritage and of the historic waterfront communities.

More specifically, this research has sought to answer the following research questions:

What were the governments' intentions in developing the industrial landscapes located on the urban waterfronts of Darling Harbour and The Rocks?

The thesis has discussed the political and economic rationale behind the urban transformation projects at Darling Harbour and The Rocks.

The collapse of the Fordist production model in the mid-1970s made urban transformation necessary to refunction deserted industrial areas; more insidiously, the subsequent advent of a new post-industrial capitalism order dictated the modalities of the transformation. As decision-makers embraced neoliberal policies, urban planning became an instrument of economic development strategies aimed at courting capital-holders. In a context of increased mobility of capital, city managers tried to woo investors by favouring the urban development projects that boasted the highest return on investment. The economically-challenged historic communities were swept aside from the city centre to make room for higher-value taxpayers. As consumption became the new powerhouse of the economy, former precincts of production were morphed into precincts of consumption to cater to the needs of the new affluent middle-class. To emerge in the fierce competition opposing cities

across the world and capture tourism revenue, Sydney looked to boost its profile and advertise its attractiveness through impressive physical development inspired by the example of successful touristic waterfronts.

Because of their economic potential, such urban transformation became key to electoral and political tactics - as illustrated by the eagerness of Premier Wren's government to have the new Darling Harbour up and running by 1988, the year of Bicentenary celebrations and coincidently that of elections. Unmonetisable concerns such as the preservation of historical heritage or the retention of low-income historic communities held little sway in this result-driven agenda, and they have indeed been overlooked by decision-makers, who condoned non-democratic decision-making processes to thwart possible interference. In Darling Harbour, the state government came up with a coercive–legislative mechanism (new laws and new planning authority bypassing the traditional decision channels, changes to the existing laws and decrees) to carry out the redevelopment, which reflected hegemonic power in the decision-making process. The decisions made at that time were and still are controversial as the redevelopment created an 'abstract space' (Lefebvre, 1991), an exchange value–oriented appropriation of space by capitalists and state actors who are interested in the abstract qualities of space, including size, width, location and profit, but not heritage.

In the case of The Rocks, it took loud local and industrial/Unionised mobilisation to talk neoliberal policy-makers out of their demolition plans and have them consider that preserved heritage items could be staged to further enhance the destination's profile.

How was industrial heritage regarded within the transformation decisions?

In Darling Harbour, the demolition of many industrial heritage items (detailed in the case study) and the lack of the representation of industrial history demonstrates an incredible missed opportunity in the creation of the contemporary public space. It is not possible to call such practices urban transformation, since they just provide a spatial change and ignore the historical factors of the process.

Ever since, the interest in preserving, reusing and refunctioning industrial heritage has grown. The transformation of cities has directly or indirectly affected the heritage sites to which these cities are home, and has drawn attention to heritage protection issues that had previously been ignored. Preservation is now included and emphasised in the planning process and agenda (UNESCO, 2008). The latest

plan of redevelopment for Darling Harbour testifies to this renewed understanding of industrial heritage. Apparently impervious to the irony, developers now attempt to promote the heritage of the waterfront by displaying on the project's website historical information and photographs, like figure 8.1, of the very structures that had been scheduled for demolition by the Bicentenary redevelopment. This laudable intention signals a reappraisal of industrial heritage and a better acknowledgement of Darling Harbour's industrial and working class heritage as a valuable part of the collective memory of an industrialised nation. Yet this belated homage celebrates traces of identity that are no longer visible.

Fig 8.1: Darling Harbour as an industrial and commercial waterfront
(Source: http://www.darlingharbourlive.com.au/about-the-project/a-rich-heritage.aspx)

However my research supports the view that the heritage that was valued and preserved as a driver for tourism, in The Rocks for instance, is merely a flattened and sanitised version of the past. In line with the authorised heritage discourse (AHD), it handpicks what is, in hindsight, perceived as valuable about the past (Smith, 2006). Although the current understanding of heritage is effective in preserving the physical elements of the built environment, it is less successful in protecting the social and cultural sustainability of historic city centres (Bandarin, 2012), and this increased interest could not prevent the immaterial industrial heritage - the lives of working class communities, the identities and histories of their places - of the study areas, from deterioration. Even when the physical elements are saved from the bulldozers, the misunderstanding of the value of industrial heritage, the lack of community and tourist awareness and of political responsiveness inevitably induce a commodification of industrial culture and heritage. In The Rocks, even though the desire to experience an insight into the intimate past (MacCannell, 1976) was a major driver in the redevelopment, the telling of the true story of the

place (Wang, 1999) was ignored. Although the heritage of The Rocks was saved from destruction, the opportunity to reactivate and market the area through tourism here again created an abstract space where alienation, commodification, fragmentation and homogenisation have come to dominate everyday life practices.

Fig 8.2: Long line of trucks near Rocks area waiting for wharf space, 12 July 1934
(Source: The State Library of NSW)

From these examples, industrial heritage issues seem to boil down to a choice between commodification and destruction. Still, according to ICOMOS (2008), the actual conservation of the 'industrial landscape' through the preservation of the 'spirit of place' could be better addressed with planning processes and policies dedicated to retain the historical integrity and authenticity of the places. Bandarin and van Oers (2012) suggest an ideological change which is called for creating synergies between socio-economic development and conservation strategies and identifying new roles and resources to maintain them in a sustainable way. This is also addressed in the UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (2011) through the recognition of the need to better integrate and frame urban conservation strategies within the larger goals of overall sustainable development which involves identification, conservation and management of heritage within their broader urban contexts, by considering the interrelationships of their physical forms,

their spatial organization and connection, their natural features and settings, and their social, cultural and economic values.

How were the communities considered in the development decisions?

This study has shown that local communities can wield strong influence on the decision-making process provided that governments are willing to cooperate. 'The Resident Action Group' was influential in saving historic industrial and residential sites in The Rocks from destruction and gentrification plans that ignored the historical character and the local community. This movement reflected and embodied the lived dimensions and the value–oriented use of space that is produced through everyday life practices and the affective–symbolic aspects of the residents. The representation of space here can be conceptualised as 'lived space' in which social relations are experienced and perceived depending on particular symbols and signs (Lefebvre, 1991) such as heritage. The co-dependent relationship between industrial history heritage and community accounts for the increased attachment to heritage and the concerns about its preservation, and heritage has provided residents of the working-class neighbourhood with a cause to stand for. They fought for their turf, showed resilience against the hegemonic power of government and participated in the decision-making process.

On the opposite side, the redevelopment of Darling Harbour suffered from a lack of public consultation and of community involvement. The NSW Government undermined the transparency for the public and ignored the relation of the working class community to the area. If more realistic approach including both the heritage identity and the community's opinions had been adopted, Darling Harbour could have been a more interesting place and a better testament to the history of Sydney's industrial development (J. Rice, pers. comm., 19/10/2012). My findings suggests that redevelopment processes can draw immense benefit from an understanding of the community, of the communities' use of land, and of its expectations from future developments - for example, what level of access is desired? Is an increase in tourism desired? Instead of business orientated development policies aimed at serving the vested interests of dominant stakeholders, development plans combining public engagement, public access and economic development suitable for all the residents of the city can result in a stronger plan to revitalise the waterfront district to the benefit of all. Maintenance of heritage is always expensive and requires some mechanisms to fund the restoration

projects. At this point, the sustainable development approach addressed in UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (2011) suggests policy, governance and management should concern involving a variety of stakeholders, including local, national, regional, international, public and private actors in the urban development process.

Whatever their role and involvement in the redevelopment processes, the communities in both these areas have been dramatically altered by the transformation. As significant commercial ports, both The Rocks and Darling Harbour used to be tight-knit, self-sufficient natural environments welding social and economic aspects as two sides of the same coin; but the large scale transformation encouraged the areas to focus on external resources (labour force, capital, product, cultural production and consumers) (Borrup et al., 2006) and disrupted their social fabric. Most members of 'the community' involved in the 1970 - 1990s study period have left, been displaced or are now so elderly they may no longer be alive. This has meant that it has not been feasible to involve these community members in the research.

What role has tourism played in the redevelopment of two contrasting industrial landscapes?

This thesis has explored the ways in which tourism has been embraced as an economic tool to recreate a new place identity based on consumption. Contrary to the popular opinion that advocates that urban redevelopment aestheticises the cities, my research suggests that tourism-led remaking of contemporary cities fossilises them by creating 'the locus of consumption' through the integrated workings of culture and capital (Zukin, 1995, 1998; Urry, 2002).

Urban tourism has created considerable income and a significant number of jobs in facilities such as hotels and restaurants, but has become 'the mode of consumption' (Urry, 1995) and commodification in The Rocks, as in many other places around the world. Tourists' intention in visiting The Rocks seems to be more about consumption rather than an interest in heritage of the place. The specific commercial uses of space, such as the back street cafes and pubs, shape tourists' experience in The Rocks. As a precinct, it is a focal point and site of intense consumption (Hayllar and Griffin, 2009). Tourists spend their free time in search of fun and spend their money on entertainment and distraction. They are motivated by curiosity because they are on holiday, freed from concerns about the social and cultural life of their home

society (Ashworth, 2009). The visitor profile of The Rocks (in the year ending September 2014) and the visitor profile of Darling Harbour (in the year ending June 2015) show that the most popular activities for domestic and international visitors are eating out at cafes and restaurants, sightseeing, shopping and travelling for business purposes (Tourism Research Australia, 2014 - 2015).

In this respect, consumption based tourist experience accepts the clean and sanitised version of the history of The Rocks and attracts visitors. 'www.australia.com' advertises The Rocks by saying "Explore Sydney's colourful convict history in the Rocks". Tourists recognise The Rocks as a themed version of the past, but the industrial identity of the area did not contribute to the development of the cultural character of the present. The redevelopment aimed to transform The Rocks into a desirable place in which to live, work and play. This new commercial and economic structure of city-based tourism industry has led to the standardisation of the historic Rocks area, now somewhat similar to other historic city centres. Consequently, this research suggested that urban tourism can have a negative influence on historic city centres. However, and here lies the paradox inherent to the post-industrial tourism experience, tourists arguably do not want the same experiences that they could find in any one of a hundred cities around the world (P. Thalis, pers. comm., 14/11/2012). In this sense, this thesis has contributed to understanding that authenticity may be an important component of tourism, if only because of the sense of a contrast with everyday experience.

Industry of employment, top responses	The Rocks (Sydney - NSW)	%New South Wales	%	Australia	%
Employed people aged 15 years and over					
Legal and Accounting Services	24	9.2	74,557	2.4	209,182	2.1
Depository Financial Intermediation	17	6.5	60,696	1.9	148,232	1.5
Auxiliary Finance and Investment Services	15	5.7	40,452	1.3	89,668	0.9
Computer System Design and Related Services	12	4.6	53,474	1.7	139,409	1.4
Creative and Performing Arts Activities	9	3.4	12,102	0.4	30,557	0.3
Of the employed people in The Rocks (Sydney - NSW) (State Suburbs), 9.2% worked in Legal and Accounting Services. Other major industries of employment included Depository Financial Intermediation 6.5%, Auxiliary Finance and Investment Services 5.7%, Computer System Design and Related Services 4.6% and Creative and Performing Arts Activities 3.4%.					

Fig 8.3: The occupation chart of the residents of The Rocks

(Source: http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011)

The area is a desirable place but it has become an expensive place to live in. The Rocks has been identified as the priciest location; a minimum wage earner would need to work nearly 22 hours a day, seven days a week (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 09/06/2015). The resident population in 1970 was about 200 and reached 400 in

1984 with the contribution of the Housing Commission's Sirius development. The plan of SCRA was to increase this number to 1200 (SCRA, 1984). According to the Census Statistics in 2011, The Rocks' residents' number is 683 (Australian Bureau of Statistics). Their employment status [industry of employment] confirms the rise of service sector in the city centre (see Figure 8.3).

Although this thesis makes a contribution to understanding urban transformation in the context of tourism, it approaches the case study areas from a spatial perspective rather than from tourists' experiences. As a result, this thesis suggests the necessity of a future research to examine how tourists perceive the heritage of The Rocks and Darling Harbour and what they know about the industrial history of these two places. A more phenomenological approach would be adapted to measure tourists' consciousness and interest in industrial heritage.

Moving ahead

My investigation has showed that change continues in Darling Harbour; the 'Disneyfication' becomes even more visible with the ferris wheel installed for Christmas and Valentine's Day, acting as the 'star of the show'. The new revitalisation of Darling Harbour, 'Darling Harbour Live', brings still more buildings to the waterfront. And again, the NSW government calls the transformation: 'visionary'. The masterpieces of the redevelopment of the Bicentenary, the convention and the exhibition centre, are being rebuilt and reconstructed in order to develop Sydney's image as the go-to destination for business meetings and events. After removing all train lines in 1980s, the project now aims to link Exhibition and Convention light rail stations with new access points into Darling Harbour.

> They got rid of some of the railway heritage which today would be absolutely recognised as national significance because of their technology, scale and rarity. (P. Thalis, pers. comm., 14/11/2012)

Once more, the partnership between the government and private developers (comprising Lendlease, HOSTPLUS, Capella Capital, AEG Ogden, Spotless and First State Super) is effective in the transformation process.

> 25 years is a major investment, public investment is pathetic. Only 25 years after it was finished, if you're demolishing it all; that's a demonstration of failure. (P. Thalis, pers. comm., 14/11/2012)

Meanwhile, in The Rocks, the heritage debate is still on-going. The Sirius [57] apartment building and the historic Millers Point are under the threat of a large scale urban development project. The Government's prominent desire of gentrification suggests that residents may be relocated once more. Policymakers continue to make assumptions about communities and heritage. As a response, it is interesting to see the heritage community were concerned about the building of these housing commission apartments at the time of the redevelopment and now they are concerned about them being demolished. This shows how thinking shifts with time and what is new becomes old and part of 'tradition'. In light of these happenings, this research has to concur with the view that the combination of community and heritage is still not as effective as decision-makers in government hoped because they continue to only include the comforting aspects of history in order to promote what heritage should be (Smith and Waterton, 2009).

Similar transformation is going on in various parts of Sydney. I followed with particular interest the waterfront redevelopment project in Barangaroo, a former industrial land sitting on the western edge of the CBD, the East Darling Harbour site. It showed that change in cities is inevitable, that the competition between global cities is relentless, that mistrust for political decisions never ends and that heritage debates gain different momentums in various cases. "Barangaroo is a once in a lifetime opportunity to create a vibrant new place to live, work and visit" (www.barangaroosouth.com.au). This branding sentence is a recall of what had been said for The Rocks' aggressive marking strategy and for the advertisement of Darling Harbour. Obviously, another waterfront redevelopment project will present a mix of uses, including commercial, residential, retail and dining, along with a new landmark hotel and a casino. What are Sydneysiders' opinions about this project? According to Prof Reinmuth [58], "the optimism that met the initial design competition for the redevelopment of the site in 2005 quickly gave way to controversy, which in turn has become a flashpoint for the articulation of the endemic mistrust the citizens of New South Wales feel for our political processes" (http://theconversation.com).

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[57] Sirius was built in late 1970s in the brutalist style an example of the generic format of modernism. The design of the apartment complex bears the influence of Le Corbusier's Unite d'Habitation at Marseilles and Lafayette Park, Detroit by Mies van der Rohe, as well as Moshe Safdie's Habitat, built for Montreal's Expo 67 (Sutton, 2015).

[58] Gerard Reinmuth is a professor at the University of Technology and he is a director of architectural firm, Terroir.

I concur with Jack Mundey, who stated that it is important for 'ordinary people' to be involved in the decision making process when it comes to significant developments such as that in Barangaroo. I believe that government decision-makers, policy makers and heritage professionals need to have a positive relation with communities, and that communication, collaboration and public presentation need to be included in the process of redevelopment projects (Smith and Waterton, 2009).

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Conventions and Charters

Council of Europe 1975 The European Charter of the Architectural Heritage

Council of Europe 1985 Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe

Council of Europe 2005 Framework Faro Convention on the Value of Heritage for Society

ICOMOS 1964 International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, The Venice Charter

ICOMOS 1979 Australia ICOMOS Guidelines for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance, The Burra Charter

ICOMOS 1999 Australia ICOMOS Guidelines for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance, The Burra Charter

ICOMOS 1987 Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas, The Washington Charter

ICOMOS 1999 The International Cultural Tourism Charter Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance

ICOMOS (2008) Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place

TICCIH 2003 The NizhnyTagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage

UNESCO 1954 Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict Hague

UNESCO 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage

UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage ICHC

UNESCO 2008 The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention Paris: World Heritage Centre/UNESCO

UNESCO 2011 Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape

UNESCO 2015 The List of Industrial Heritage Items in the World Heritage List, viewed 22 March 2016 <http://whcunescoorg/en/list/>.

Interviews

R Dinham, pers. comm., 24/01/2013.

AW Johnson, pers. comm., 31/01/2013.

J Rice, pers. comm., 19/10/2012.

A Higham, pers. comm., 29/10/2012

R Mackay, pers. comm., 09/11/2012

P Thalis, pers. comm., 14/11/2012

I Kelly, 2012, pers. comm., 13/12/2012

(Source: The National Trust of Australia NSW Archive)

MEDIA RELEASE 23/5/84

Local Government Association of N.S.W	7 3 / 8 4	Shires Association of N.S.W

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DARLING HARBOUR AUTHORITY IS BIG BROTHER'S WORK

Big brother is moving in on local government in 1984. That is the view of Ald Doug Sutherland, President of the Local Government Association of NSW.

"State and federal governments are making decisions affecting local government which ignore the views of duly elected local representatives", said Ald Sutherland in Deniliquin today (23 May 1984).

Ald Sutherland was speaking while on a tour of country NSW by local government leaders.

"Two decisions by the state government give cause for alarm. One is Mr Wran's decision to wrest planning control over the redevelopment of Darling Harbour from the Sydney City Council, where it properly belongs.

"The citizens of Sydney will now have no effective means to make their views about the redevelopment known.

"This comes only months after the reconstitution of the Sydney Water Board. Local government despite its obvious interest has been exluded from genuine representation on the new board.

"Apart from the staff representative, members of the revamped Water Board are appointed at the pleasure of the minister. They can be dismissed at any time. I fear the same will apply to the new Darling Harbour Authority.

"As well as being undemocratic, the exclusion of local government does not improve efficiency of operation. For example, consultation with Sydney City Council might have avoided the terrible traffic snarls which have been generated by the Sydney Entertainment Centre.

"On the federal level, the new Hawke government has promised full consultation with local government. This makes me all the more disappointed to hear the terms of the national inquiry into council finance. There will be no representation by elected local representatives on the committee of inquiry.

"To paraphrase Abraham Lincoln, government should be by the people, not just for the people", concluded Ald Sutherland.

Further contact: Brendon Hartnett (02) 29 7711

MEDIA RELEASE 6/6/84

Local Government Association of N.S.W

89 / 84

Shires Association of N.S.W

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PLANNING LAWS IGNORED

Governments have a moral duty to observe their own laws.

The state government should set an example to private developers and abide by the provisions of its development rules, instead of ignoring the planning legislation that it pioneered only five years ago.

That was the view put today at the annual conference of the Shires Association held in Sydney today (6 June 1984).

This conference brings together rural local government from across NSW to discuss important issues like rates, roads, planning and public services.

Adherence to the planning laws affects all councils in this state.

The President of the Shires Association, Cr Buzz Mackay, warned councils attending the conference that the state government was treating planning legislation with contempt.

"First the state government excluded the GMH factory site from the provision of the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act", said Cr Mackay.

"Now, it's saying the state government can ignore the legal requirement for a development application to precede development.

"Mr Brereton says that Sydney City Council aldermen who insist on the law being obeyed have a 'caveman mentality'. He has said work on the State Library extension will continue despite the lack of development approval.

The Premier, Mr Wran, recently said he was "bulldozing through" the controversial Darling Harbour redevelopment project. The project is outside the provisions of the environmental planning legislation.

The state government was widely commended when it introduced the new planning system. Recent government decisions are undermining the system it worked so hard to establish.

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APPENDIX 3 - Summary of major state planning events in Sydney and the corresponding government and policy timeline 1941–1983

(Source: adapted from Ruming et al., 2010, p. 451)

Federal government	Federal policies and initiatives		NSW government	NSW policies/strategies
Labor (1941–9)	Housing Act (1941); Commonwealth and State Housing Agreement (1945); Commonwealth Housing Commission (1944)		Labor (1941–65)	Local Government (Town and County Planning) Act (1945); County of Cumberland Plan (1948)
Liberal (1949–72)	DURD[59] initiated (1972); DURD disbanded (1975)		Liberal (Askin) (1965–76)	Sydney Region Outline Plan (1968)
Labor (Whitlam) (1972–5)				
Liberal (1975–83)	Department of Environment, Housing and Community Development (1976)		Labor (Wran–Unsworth) (1976–88)	

From the early 1900s, the state government was the key player in major planning developments. The state government assured the various commissions, statutory agencies, government departments and local authorities that were needed to mandate the overall planning issues (Freestone, 2000).

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[59] The Department of Urban and Regional Development was established as a response to problems such as unemployment, social disadvantage, crime, transport and physical deterioration in inner-city slums and outer suburban sprawl. The focus was urban renewal projects in inner-city areas such as in Waterloo, Glebe and Woolloomooloo, which are all located close to Sydney's CBD (Huxley, 2000; Ruming et al., 2010).

APPENDIX 4 - A summary of major state planning events in Sydney, 1900–1980

(Source: adapted from Freestone, 2000)

Year	Major metropolitan plans	Authorities, innovations and the law	Planned area
1900	Royal Commission on improvement of Sydney and its Suburbs (1909)	Sydney Harbour Trust	Millers Point
		John Sulman's *The Improvement of Sydney (1908)*	The Rocks
1910	Report on proposed electric railways for City of Sydney (1915)	Height of Buildings Act (1912)	Daceyville
		Town Planning Association (1913)	Rosebery
		Local Government Act (1919)	
		Town Planning Advisory Board (1919)	
1920		Sydney Regional Plan Convention (1922)	Brisbane Street Resumption area
			City underground railway
			Hyde Park redevelopment
			Castlecrag

1940	County of Cumberland Planning Scheme (1948)	Housing Commission (1942)	Public housing estates
		National Trust (1945)	
		Local Government Amendment Act; Cumberland County Council; Town and Country Planning Advisory Committee; Town Planning Branch of Local Government Department (1945)	
		Department of Town and Country Planning at Sydney University (1949)	
1950		Australian Planning Institute (1951)	Circular Quay Railway and Cahill Expressway
		Height of Buildings Amendment Act (1957)	The Green Belt
1960s	Sydney Region Outline Plan (1968)	State Planning Authority (1964)	Winston Hills
			Green Valley
			My Druitt, Warringah Expressway

1970s	Sydney Area Transportation Study (1974)	Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority (1970)	The Rocks, Macarthur Corridor
		Green Bans (1971)	Woolloomooloo
		Planning and Environment Commission (1974)	Glebe
		Heritage Act and Heritage Council (1977)	High-rise public housing
		Environmental Planning and Assessment Act (1979)	Pedestrian malls
1980	Sydney Into Its Third Century: Metropolitan Strategy (1988)	Department of Environment and Planning (1980)	Darling Harbour
		Central Sydney Planning Committee (1989)	Bicentennial Park
		Darling Harbour Authority (1984)	Business parks
			North West Sector urban renewal and consolidation

APPENDIX 5 - The changed landscape of The Rocks

The Argyle – Former Bond Stores

The Rocks Weekend and Night Markets

Source: http://www.theargylerocks.com/

Source: http://www.therocks.com/

Life in The Rocks in the 1930s. It remained a working class suburb.

Now The Rocks has a different ambience:

Fun, festivities, merriment and milk-crates – this Christmas at The Rocks. ... busy yet relaxed bar and dining venue which offers some of the best views in Sydney (https://www.therocks.com/).

Source: http://www.australia.com/en-sg/places/nsw/sydney-the-rocks.html

258

APPENDIX 6 – The changed landscape of Darling Harbour

On the left is AML & F Company wool store from the Darling Harbour goods yard. ca.1970 (Photo by Shane O'Neil in John Oakes, Sydney's Forgotten Goods Railways, Australian Railway Historical Society, 2001, p.35).

On the right is about the same location from a different angle in Darling Harbour (http://www.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au).

Fresh Food and Ice Company established by Thomas Mort and Eugene Nicolle in the 1860s on the site where the Chinese Garden of Friendship now stands (The picture on the left is from 1937 and the photo on the right is taken by the researcher in 2012).

APPENDIX 7 – Cahill Expressway created a loss in the street scape

(Source: photograph by the researcher)

Before the construction of Cahill Expressway, this street was continuing towards the city centre.