

Global Space or Local Place? The Port Adelaide Waterfront Redevelopment and Entrepreneurial Urban Governance

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ABSTRACT

The impending waterfront redevelopment of Port Adelaide is a local manifestation of a global phenomenon. Through a carefully managed place marketing process, the Port's industrial landscape is to be reconceptualized as a future landscape of cosmopolitan consumption and professional occupancy. This involves a significant transformation not only of the built environment but also the discursive identity of that waterfront landscape. Emphasising landscapes of consumption rather than production, the redevelopment of Port Adelaide is reflective of global trends in urban governance. These trends are entrenched in a distinctive form of entrepreneurial endeavour emphasising new post-industrial forms of capital accumulation. This paper critiques the proposed Port Adelaide waterfront redevelopment as an uncritical local manifestation of a global phenomenon. In doing so, we examine the current urban governance trend to engage in public/private collaborations through which to stimulate reinvestment in 'derelict' industrial landscapes. This examination raises significant questions concerning the suitability and sustainability of internationally sourced redevelopment strategies in local contexts. While waterfront redevelopments are considered to be highly desirable and contributing to the re-imagining of places as globally dynamic, we argue that the specificities of the local should not be supplanted by those of the global.

INTRODUCTION

The post-war domestic economy, which relied on agriculture, mining and domestic manufacturing, produced distinct socio-economic suburban landscapes. In the 1980s and 1990s, Australia's growth owed much to strong performance in different exports, communications, the service and tertiary sectors and tourism. The declining significance of old industrial economies and the emerging dominance of new industrial economies has meant a different understanding of, and roles for, Australian cities. Increasingly, cities are valued for their capacity to be economically competitive in the global market place. As economic-growth engines, cities are more likened to spaces of consumption than places of production. The practice of institutional urban management is seemingly and increasingly bounded by these economic and political realities. More often we are witnessing urban development programs being given political life on the basis that they are capable of remaking cities into more efficient, productive, economically and socially sustainable spaces within this global landscape. This is largely made possible through the elevation and strengthening of public-

private partnerships in, and applying market-based approaches to, the restructuring and regenerating of Australian cities.

This re-orientation in the role and function of cities has coincided with a shift in urban politics. We have witnessed the emergence of a new and distinctive form of urban managerialism now widely referred to as urban entrepreneurialism (see Harvey, 1989; Brownhill, 1990; Coupland, 1992; Dunn and Leeson, 1993; Roberts and Schein, 1993). This shift in urban governance is characterised by the diminishing significance of state provision of welfare and services in favour of private development and economic growth. That is, the public provision of services and infrastructure for urban communities has been increasingly marginalised in favour of a prioritisation within urban governance to market and promote an 'image' of the city that is attractive to new forms of economic investment and job creation (Logan and Molotch, 1987; Lovering, 1995; Hubbard 1996).

The remaking of the Port Adelaide inner harbour is part of a global trend in the re-use and revitalisation of old industrial and shipping waterfront sites through entrepreneurial endeavour. The property-led Port Adelaide redevelopment project echoes many characteristics evident within the regeneration of waterfront landscapes in other Western industrial cities (Bianchini et al, 1988; Brownhill, 1993; Searle and Byrne, 2002). The 51-hectare site is expected to accommodate approximately 2,000 new up-market residential dwellings to cater for an expected increase of up to 4,000 new residents. It is expected that 2,000 jobs in new commercial enterprises and existing businesses will be created, with a further 4,000 jobs created during the construction phases. The anticipated \$1.2 billion redevelopment is expected to increase recreational and tourism activity within the inner harbour through the investment in new commercial and IT enterprises, restaurants, cafes, retail outlets and various maritime attractions.

Against this backdrop, this paper examines the way in which the Port Adelaide waterfront redevelopment is being driven by a logic and ideology of a new urban politic. It is a logic that seeks to mirror a particular re-imagined future-oriented waterfront landscape. Using reclaimed disused public-owned, industrial and shipping land the redevelopment will signify a change in the function of the landscape, from one of production to one of consumption. However, it is a distinctive form of consumption that is emblematic of a post-fordist post-industrial residential-work and leisure lifestyle.

The paper commences with reference to recent literature outlining the shift from a politics of urban managerialism to a politics of entrepreneurialism. Attention is paid to a selection of literatures which reveal both the ideology and the practice of entrepreneurialism that has contributed to its ascendancy, legitimation and pervasiveness as a new urban politic. This is followed by a discussion of how the politics of entrepreneurialism has stimulated a particular logic and practice in urban governance; one that emphasises the creation of a distinct form of consumption lifestyle. The manner with which the process of entrepreneurialism is ever present in Australian urban governance is considered through an analysis of the public consultation program instigated to communicate the impending Port Adelaide waterfront redevelopment.

THE NEW URBAN POLITIC

The emergence and increasing dominance of the 'New Right' challenged assumptions regarding the role and responsibility of welfare within governance. An emphasis on greater fiscal restraint and increasing privatisation of government operations has resulted in the implementation of alternative strategies for the provision and allocation of public resources and infrastructure. A market-led approach to the management and redevelopment of Australian cities is a prime example of shifting political terrains. Shifting the financial burden of re-imaging and restructuring urban landscapes from the public to the private sector is a strategy that is increasingly being pursued at all levels of governance. The ascendancy of urban entrepreneurialism as a distinctive form of urban managerialism reflects this shift in political sensibility. This new urban politic is increasingly being seen as a panacea in the management and redevelopment of those cities who have relied on old industrial economies for prosperity.

Urban entrepreneurialism: the Australian context

Within an Australian context, the emergence and pervasiveness of urban entrepreneurialism in urban governance has been motivated by a number of key dynamics. They include the restructuring of global economies, the dominance of economic rationalism in political sensibility and changing Federal/State relations (Winte and Brook, 1993, p. 46). Changes to global market economies have received much attention in urban studies (Clark, 1991; Rodley, 1993; Fagin and Webber, 1994; Stimson, 1995; Stilwell, 1997; Parker, 1998). Through the process of globalisation, new and different levels of organisation in production, trade, investment and finance have emerged, reconfiguring land-use function, which has produced a range of tensions within the Australian built environment. One pressing issue has been how best to compensate for and revitalise those urban landscapes that have suffered diminishing economic activity and employment levels as a result of industrial restructuring and rationalisation. During the 1980s and early 1990s, a distinct economic rationality increasingly guided initiatives in policy and practice especially in the areas that sought to promote the closer integration of Australia into the global economy. This period also signified changes to Commonwealth-State relationships, most notably in the areas of public sector responsibility and finance. Commonwealth funding to the States and Territories has decreased placing greater pressures on State government spending. Coupled with the increasing privatisation of government functions there has been a pressure to encourage joint public/private sector ventures in urban developments and urban infrastructure.

A fourth key dynamic promoting urban entrepreneurialism is identifiable. Oakley (2001) observes that the ascendancy of urban entrepreneurialism has coincided with governments seeking to encourage a greater critical population mass moving back into Australian cities. The 1950s through to the 1970s witnessed the de-population of Australian inner city precincts as working families sought to move out in to new residential suburban developments. Reversing this trend through encouraging the consumption of an inner and middle city residential lifestyle, has been a key platform at all levels of urban governance.¹ There is a view that the re-imaging cities as vibrant, diverse and dynamic landscapes through policies of consolidation enhance state development in a competitive global market.

¹ While federal involvement in urban governance has featured in political sensibility on only two occasions a desire to encourage urban consolidation in Australian cities was an important component of the Better Cities program during the 1990s.

A nexus of these four dynamics has contributed to the emergence of a number of trends reconfiguring the Australian urban landscape. We are witnessing the role of governance shifting from being the primary provider and distributor of resources and infrastructure to the different role of providing frameworks for solving urban problems in more innovative ways (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992). The increasing trend of public sector resources being diverted into strategies, which emphasise and promote economic growth within a market framework, illustrates this. For example the reuse of public sponsored land for private real estate development has emerged as a significant driver in re-imagining urban landscapes and encouraging a different form of economic activity. To facilitate this trend we have witnessed the re-appraisal and streamlining of planning regulations to enable the fast tracking of major development proposals (Owen, 2002). New relations between the state and capital and between different tiers of government have emerged. The rise of quasi-public development agencies, with statutory powers to facilitate economic development activity and public-private partnerships in developing strategies to stimulate new forms of urban investment, are examples of what is now a prominent feature of urban governance (Huxley, 1993; Robinson, 1995). As in many other Western industrial cities we are witnessing the emergence of a very different Australian spatial form:

Cities are acting as risk takers and active competitors in the urban economic game, and the key to each city's success is its ability to invest widely and to market shrewdly. Urban entrepreneurialism entails a new breed of municipal official, transcending the traditional local government roles of delivering services and enforcing regulations. The city entrepreneurial role includes characteristics traditionally viewed as distinctive to the private sector, such as risk taking, inventiveness, self-reliance, profit motivation and promotion. The bottom line for the public balance sheet is enhanced competitiveness of the city which is critical to urban rebuilding and economic revitalisation (Duckworth, Simmons and McNally, 1986, p. 4-5).

Despite the embeddedness of this new urban politic in urban governance there is concern about it as a process and practice. It is assumed that a change in government practices generates voluntary shifts in both private sector and community sentiment. For example, growth management strategies focusing on infill residential strategies increasingly run into community opposition contending that it will reduce the ambience and value of an area with the increase in housing density (De Villiers, 1997, p. 33). The maintenance of property values by particular interest groups is well established and is expressed in local urban protest as the defensive Not in MY Backyard (NIMBY) syndrome (Castells, 1996). Urban entrepreneurialism has also received criticism because such practices subvert democratic participation in community consultation and public accountability (Huxley, 1993; Winter and Brooke, 1993). There is concern that the process of urban entrepreneurialism favours the interests of capital over labour and community, emphasises efficiency over equity and wealth generation over distribution (Winchester, M^cGuirk and Dunn, 1996, p. 42). Furthermore, this new urban politic assumes that there is an equal commitment to shared goals in joint urban developments through public-private partnership arrangements (Gratias and Boyd, 1995, p. 5). Despite these concerns the ascendance of this new urban politic in facilitating urban change is ever present.

A SHIFT FROM PRODUCTION TO CONSUMPTION

Exploiting under-utilised urban landscapes for a particular redevelopment is increasingly being guided by this new entrepreneurial logic. The problems associated with so-called industrial ‘rust-belts’ have prompted a rethinking of the economic function of these redundant sites. The ascendancy of de-industrialised post-fordist economies has necessitated the recreation of these localities into a different urban form. A distinct form of consumption is replacing the void left by now redundant forms of industrial economic activity as the dominant landscape function. An emphasis on consumption as the alternative function is increasingly being pursued through entrepreneurial endeavour under the guise of urban regeneration.

The role of consumption in the re-imaging of urban landscapes is not a new trend (Thrift and Glennie, 1993). As Miles and Miles (2004) suggest, the impact and role of consumption as a particular landscape form is evident through, and has a particular role in, the material manifestation of symbolic economies. Symbolic economies are based on a flexible mix of cultural, service and tourism economies that blur the boundaries between luxury residential and professional workspaces. While cultural industries such as graphic design, media and IT businesses and art galleries may create employment their importance also lie in the way that these industries attract additional economic activity. The clustering of cafés, designer bars, trendy boutiques, restaurants, haircutters and retail outlets in close proximity offer diversity of economic activity. Hence, symbolic economies facilitate a particular lifestyle both in terms of urban design as well as residential, work and leisure lifestyles. Transforming redundant industrial and shipping waterfront sites is increasingly relying on the capacity that they are re-made into an alternative post-fordist/post-industrial urban form that caters for a residential-work-leisure-lifestyle. It is a lifestyle that blurs the boundaries of the ‘creative’-working day and the ‘leisure’-nightlife (Miles and Miles, 2004, p. 61). That is, transforming these old industrial and shipping sites of production into contemporary urban lifestyle spaces that thrive on an increasingly diversified range of products and consumer tastes in housing and leisure as well as a more fragmented working environment (Mole, 1996, p. 33-34).

This re-imaging of waterfront landscapes is believed to create a more dynamic cosmopolitan lifestyle that promotes ‘conspicuous’ consumption (Miles and Miles, 2004, p. 8). The success of landscape transformations rely on their marketability as both a symbol of status and commodity form that is attractive to new and select residents. For this reason these redeveloped sites are marketed as both product and image to be consumed (Mole, 1996). The potential success of these urban ventures lay in the capacity to offer a cosmopolitan lifestyle as an expression of both status and desire that are more-often targeted to high-earning young professionals. Hence the concept of symbolic economies are associated with and rely on, re-creating urban landscapes that offer this distinct form of ‘conspicuous’ consumption as both an expression of an image of cosmopolitan desire and commodity form for professional occupants (Miles and Miles, 2004, p. 51).

The increasing symbolic role of consumption has contributed to the commodification of a way of urban living; one that emphasises exchange-value over use-value. Exchange-value typifies urban landscapes bought and sold, the consumption of products and places while use-value value relates to city and urban life (Lefebvre 1996, p. 86). The commodification of urban landscapes as select and exclusive

residential and working precincts or as tourist destinations communicates the growing importance of exchange-value over the importance of creating cities as sustainable communities of diversity and difference. Key to this shift has been the increasing role and impact of conspicuous consumption in city life. According to Miles and Miles (2004, p. 10), this form of consumption is distinguishable from other forms because it is primarily symbolic:

In our culture we increasingly appear to find the quality of a product *not in its use-value or how we consume it as a physical and a geographical entity, but in the meanings and status that we attach to that product symbolically* (emphases added).

THE ROLE OF SYMBOLIC AND SPATIAL CONSUMPTION: THE PORT ADELAIDE WATERFRONT

The growing fascination Australians' have with waterfront living suggests that the symbolic and spatial nature of consumption is much more closely linked. The Port Adelaide waterfront has long suffered stigmatisation as a place lacking 'respectability' and 'deplete' of decent people. Since the 1950s, the relocation of export shipping activities to the outer harbour area, combined with a declining manufacturing base has diminished the Port's economic prosperity. The discursive identity of the Port Adelaide waterfront is therefore strongly associated with negative and stagnant images of dereliction and decay. While local residents have long campaigned for government involvement in rejuvenating the area, political will until recently has been lacking. An urban renaissance of the Port waterfront is possible because of a growing trend by urban populations to live by water. Like other old working class waterfront suburbs throughout Australian cities the Port is experiencing the onset of gentrification. While in its infancy, the movement of persons to and associated renewal of, the Port's housing stock reflects an increasing trend for waterfront residency in Adelaide's north-west (Oakley and Verity, 2003). Therefore the spatiality of the Port waterfront is an important driver in it being reclaimed and re-made as a future-oriented landscape of consumption and desire. While there is a growing interest in waterfront residences, landscapes that have experienced long-term and sustained stigmatisation like the Port Adelaide waterfront nevertheless requires the employment of 'place marketing' strategies to facilitate their re-imagining.

'Place marketing' the Port Adelaide waterfront

Place marketing is a growing trend and feature of this new urban entrepreneurial era (Cox and Mair, 1988). The primary aim of place marketing is to communicate and promote the virtues of urban redevelopments. Redevelopment proposals are presented through media, press advertising and public consultation programs for the purpose of galvanising local support and attracting external investment (Hubbard, 1996). For this reason, urban entrepreneurialism relies on the investment in personnel and budgets for the exclusive purpose of 'place marketing' impending re-developments (Paddison, 1993). The consultation program implemented by the Land Management Corporation (LMC), a commercially run public entity on behalf of the South Australian government, is an example of how this new urban politic utilises the practice of 'place marketing' in joint public-private urban ventures.

From July 2002 and September 2004 LMC was entrusted to manage the promotion and public consultation of the proposed Port Adelaide waterfront redevelopment. The

period also signified the time taken by LMC to sign an agreement with the successful private sector partner. The nature and scale of the proposed redevelopment required that a series of public consultations were undertaken to announce and promote the merits of the urban venture. The consultation program included the public viewing of a model of the concept plan (Figure 1), which toured various retail locations around the Port area, the distribution of colour promotional brochures, press releases, media promotion and the holding of a small number of forums with select key stakeholders. The consultation period culminated with the release of the Port Adelaide Waterfront Plan Amendment Report (PAR) for public comment. The South Australian Government required that changes be made to the Development Act 1993 through a new PAR to enable the redevelopment to proceed. Between mid-May to mid-July 2003 the draft Port Adelaide Waterfront Redevelopment (PAR) was released for public comment. In total 45 submissions totalling hundreds of pages from a range of stakeholder groups including local residents, local businesses, environmental groups, heritage groups and local government administration were forwarded. While local residents were in favour of the waterfront area being revitalised concerns were raised regarding the nature of the redevelopment being proposed (Oakley, 2005).



Figure 1. Display of the redevelopment concept plan

Place marketing therefore takes on a particularly crucial role where large-scale redevelopments are proposed for an area that has a tradition of active community participation. The Port has traditionally been a site of vigorous urban place-based politics around outside-interests determining the economic and social fortunes of the area (see Verity, 1999; Oakley and Verity, 2003). At the outset media stories in the local *Messenger Press* were outlining local resident concern that the redevelopment would compromise, even render redundant, the maritime function and heritage of the Port. The dismantling of the century old Cable Company Wharf by LMC along the waterfront during the consultation-period accentuated local concern (Quast, 2003a, p.1). A belief that the redevelopment would not build on the uniqueness and character of the Port but rather simply mirror other redeveloped waterfront sites was another recurrent concern voiced by locals. As one local resident pointed out:

One of the attributes that people have so enjoyed about Port Adelaide is that it's a bit of a diamond in the rough – it's not too polished, it's not over-gentrified. To me there's nothing original or innovative or new and uniquely

Port Adelaide in these plans...[rather they look like they have been] lifted from somewhere else [because] economic considerations have weighed in far more heavily, they have overridden the community's desires (McClusky cited in Wheatly and Craig, 2003, p. 40).

The issue of whether redundant urban landscapes are being revitalised or in fact sanitised through entrepreneurial endeavour is receiving increasing attention (see Zukin, 1995; Winchester, M^cGuirk and Dunn, 1996; Rofe 2000, 2004; Miles and Miles, 2004; Oakley, 2005). One of the strategies of 'place marketing' is to rely on selecting images associated with an existing sense of place that local residents value and identify with to promote the redevelopment concept (Hubbard, 1996, p. 1443). More often particular images of cultural and heritage artefacts of the local landscape are used in promotional material for this purpose. Drawing on recognisable and valued images to promote the future-oriented concept has received attention and criticism because of the selective use of such images (see Philo and Kearns, 1993; Gold and Ward, 1994).

The use of select images associated with a sense of existing place to promote an alternative urban form is evident with the Port Adelaide waterfront redevelopment. The following discussion refers to promotional materials distributed by LMC during public consultations of the redevelopment concept plan. These documents were used to publicise the benefits of the redevelopment concept plan as well as provided key updates during the consultation program. The use of language-as-text and visual images presented in each of the four brochures is emblematic of this new urban entrepreneurial era. While the use of text and visual images is aimed at optimising the merits of the concept plan it can inadvertently set up local expectations that may or not be met by the redevelopment. The information provided might alert locals to features of the urban design that may be considered undesirable and not in keeping with their sense of place.

'Port of Call' (2002)

The first brochure titled 'Port of Call' (Figure 2) was released in July 2002. This four-page introductory document outlined the role of LMC in the redevelopment, the consultation program that would be facilitated by LMC and a brief explanation as to why the redevelopment was considered worthy of public-private involvement and investment. Putting forward a positive spin is primary in any place marketing strategy. The document outlined how the inner harbour had the 'potential to be a world-class location for waterfront living, rivalling similar locations both interstate and overseas' (LMC, 2002, p.1). An urban renaissance of the Port Adelaide waterfront therefore relies on a dramatic transformation of its image as a place. Altering the discursive identity, from one of a stigmatised redundant landscape to one of desire, is key to the re-making of the Port waterfront as a positive cosmopolitan landscape. Referring to the Port Adelaide waterfront as an 'SA Icon' infers that it is a unique and appealing landscape. The inclusion of an artist's impression of a public walkway along the waterfront signals the potential of the landscape as a future-oriented 21st century landscape of relevance. The visual image also denotes that the redevelopment will cater for both new and existing residents. Alleviating local concerns that the redevelopment was aimed at catering primarily to an exclusive residential enclave would be an ongoing issue throughout the consultation program.



Figure 2. Front cover of Port of Call (2002)

'Port of Call' (2003)

The second brochure, also titled 'Port of Call' (Figure 3), was published in April 2003. Local concern that the redevelopment would signify the eradication of the Port's maritime function and heritage that locals identify with was an unrelenting issue voiced throughout the consultation period (Oakley, 2005). A sketch of small



Figure 3. Front cover of Port of Call (2003)

recreational boats in the foreground and the heritage listed Harts Mill in the background seemingly seeks to assure that a continuity of a present 'sense of place'

would be maintained in the new urban venture. The publication included a list of concerns that were being voiced by local residents. The matter of the redevelopment not incorporating enough open space and that there was a seeming lack of continuity between the new urban design and an existing ‘sense of place’ were raised as pressing issues. While the document was used as a communication tool for distilling feedback of the forums and consultations held, the document was also used to convey revisions to the redevelopment concept.

Another contentious issue raised by locals concerned the building heights to be accommodated in the proposed redevelopment. LMC used this publication to signal a significant and controversial revision to the concept. The initial design concept included the building of six distinct precincts along the waterfront. In the autumn of 2003 LMC announced that the Cruickshank’s Shores precinct, situated east of Birkenhead Bridge, would be deferred. The State government’s Environment Protection Authority raised concerns that the buffer between the planned residential precinct and Adelaide Brighton Cement, which was located just north of the redevelopment, was insufficient (Quast, 2003b, p.3). The deferment of Cruickshank’s Shores would reduce the proposed initial number of dwellings. To ensure the ‘economic’ viability the residential dwelling configurations would need to change. This included increasing some of the apartment complexes to five, seven and twelve storeys. The announcement was controversial in light of overwhelming disquiet that the redevelopment accommodates buildings of no more than three-storeys high. Included in this publication was an artist’s impression of what the three-story apartment complexes may look like (Figure 4). Visually, only sketches of apartment complexes of three storeys would feature in promotional material distributed by LMC during this period.



Figure 4. Artist’s impression of apartment design

'Today's Vision, Tomorrow's Port'

The third brochure titled 'Today's Vision, Tomorrow's Port' (Figure 5) was released in October 2003. The four-page document reiterated the expected deliverable outcomes of the redevelopment in terms of job creation and economic benefits, which had been outlined in previous publications. Sketches of each precinct with the number and height of residential dwellings that would be accommodated was included in this publication. As the State government had not approved the revised development concept plan a disclaimer was included with the sketch. It is interesting that in the intervening period between the closing submission date and outcome of the Port Adelaide Waterfront PAR the revised concept plan with disclaimer continued to be circulated inferring that it would be given approval. Theoretically the PAR process offers a forum for public participation in urban development decisions. In an era of entrepreneurial urban politics a redevelopment of this scale and nature reveals that local participation and influence is in effect marginal to economic considerations (Huxley, 1993; Winter and Brooke, 1993).



Figure 5. Front cover of Today's Vision, Tomorrow's Port

'Inspired by the past, looking forward to the future'

The fourth brochure signalled the end of the consultation program for the concept plan. Released in September 2004 'Inspired by the past, looking forward to the future' announced that Port Adelaide Waterfront PAR had been authorised by the State government and that the preferred developer, Newport Quays, a consortium of local and multi-national businesses, would be the joint private partner. The redevelopment could now proceed as specified in the revised concept plan released in April 2003. The front cover (Figure 6) reveals that the redevelopment will signify the transformation of landscape function. The use of black and white visual images conveys disuse and decay of an industrial past. It is a landscape that is no longer relevant. Selected photos of heritage 'icons' with sketches of a future-oriented waterfront signals the potential of the landscape function to become a post-fordist post-industrial landscape of consumption. These images suggest that the

redevelopment will herald the removal of the grit, grime and decay that has contributed to the discursive identity of the waterfront as a stagnant and undesirable landscape to one of vitality, desire and economic prosperity.



Figure 6. Front cover of Inspired by the past, looking forward to the future

CONCLUSION

The Port Adelaide Waterfront Redevelopment is symbolic of a distinctive form of urban managerialism that emphasises specific forms of capital accumulation. In this particular model, the Port's landscape is being actively reconstructed to reflect cosmopolitan forms of residential lifestyles and professional work practices. This involves transforming the Port's disused industrial and maritime landscape from a site of production to a site of consumption. Through the processes of a new urban politic this 'urban renaissance' relies on a dramatic transformation of the Port's physical environment, economic function and discursive identity. This renaissance is touted as the panacea for urban decline, promising a cleaner and more progressive future for Port Adelaide. As with other large-scale redevelopments, the planned Port Adelaide Waterfront Redevelopment reflects the primacy of private involvement and investment. The reconfiguration of dwelling number and density to offset the deferment of Cruickshank's Shores precinct is illustrative of a specified economic return on private investment being met for the redevelopment to proceed.

While the sentiments of revitalising disinvested industrial land are to be applauded, there is concern with the manner in and through which a revitalisation of this nature is pursued. The processes of urban regeneration in Port Adelaide are indicative of other regeneration strategies undertaken in other western industrial cities. Adopting redevelopment policies and practices from international contexts can be problematic. Of central concern is the extent to which internationally sourced strategies are applicable to the specific and contextual nature of local places. In essence, what has been successful elsewhere may not necessarily be successful in a different social, economic and political context. The manifestation of these concerns is most evident in

the aspirations and indeed fears and apprehensions regarding the revitalisation of Port Adelaide of existing local residents. While the decision to revitalise the waterfront has largely been welcomed by local residents, there is concern about the nature of the planned redevelopment. These concerns relate to how the redevelopment is being driven by an entrepreneurial logic that seemingly emphasises a particular re-imagined future-oriented waterfront landscape. Converting the landscape into a cosmopolitan space of desire and professional occupancy will impact on and transform local spatial practices of existing residents. Of most concern for many locals is how a present sense of existing place that is known and familiar can be maintained as part of, and not marginal to the impending waterfront redevelopment.

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