

Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis argues that the development of inner-city master-planned estates (MPEs) is an integral component of new-build gentrification in Sydney, Australia. Master-planned estates are mixed-use, primarily residential developments usually planned and executed by a single developer, with shared (sometimes private) amenities, uniform design, organized and protected by housing and behavioural covenants or by-laws and identifiable boundaries. In examining the development of these estates in the inner-city this thesis examines how the City of Sydney is changing through the development of these new ‘packaged’ neighborhoods, addressing a number of questions surrounding urban MPEs and their populations, dynamics and social and political contexts. Australian research on MPEs has been growing over the past five years as this type of development becomes a prominent feature of the built environment across the country’s cities and suburbs; however, this research has focused largely on suburban MPEs, as they are thought of as a quintessentially suburban residential phenomenon. Nevertheless, Australia’s inner-cities are also being transformed through MPE production in ways similar and distinct to that occurring in suburban areas, yet inner-urban MPE development remains under-examined.

The particularities of MPE development in the inner-city challenge us to consider their imperatives and strategic production in ways different to those surrounding suburban MPEs. Two concepts—gentrification and neoliberal urbanism—provide the basis for exploring inner-city MPE development in this thesis, taken in the context of post-industrial urban redevelopment and change. I will consider how redevelopment and MPE construction are linked, taking into account strategies of urban growth and governance, community politics and demographic change. Analysing discourses of gentrification, community and redevelopment I present how the discursive practices of residents, government, community groups and developers describe the production of inner-city

MPEs as part of Sydney's redevelopment and gentrification. This thesis brings together literatures on MPEs and new-build gentrification, advancing both areas of research and filling a distinct gap on inner-city MPE development and social life. Moreover, it builds on international research about new-build gentrification by introducing a new case-study from Waterloo in the City of Sydney. Waterloo provides a way to look not only at an inner-city MPE internally but also how it relates to the wider neighborhood, the city and the renewal strategies guiding their development.

Three key themes inform this thesis: neoliberalism, gentrification and community.

Gentrification and community provide insight into the processes and discourses of redevelopment via MPEs. They will be explored through their discursive representations by the state, developers, community groups and MPE residents in describing Waterloo's redevelopment. Neoliberal urbanism, serves as a contextual basis for understanding how gentrification and community are bound up in the development of inner-city MPEs.

Neoliberal urbanism is theorized as the push to maximize urban space for economic growth, the adoption of entrepreneurial strategies by the state, and the privatization of urban space. This theory of the city often informs understandings of contemporary gentrification, particularly "third wave" (Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Murphy, 2008) or "new-build" gentrification (Davidson and Lees, 2005; Davidson, 2010; Davidson and Lees, 2009) in which city and state governments and corporate developers unite in redeveloping central city areas for consumption by affluent urbanites. This type of gentrification is central to understanding the processes of MPE development this thesis discusses; however, a spectrum of gentrification theory will be used to contextualize these processes. The third theme, community, provides insight into social dynamics of MPE development and contributes to a central concept in the MPE literature. Discourses of community are gaining salience in urban policy and are well-documented in the production of MPEs, making this a valuable concept guiding this thesis. I look at

experiences and discourses of community from residents of an inner-city MPE, as well as the rhetorical use of ‘community’ from the state, community groups and estate developers to draw out the ways this discourse is used in dynamic and conflicting ways in redevelopment processes. Exploring the concept of community furthers current theories of neoliberalism by elucidating the ways this term is evoked and contested in neoliberal redevelopment strategies. The focus on community provides insight into social dynamics of these estates internally and in their relationship to the wider neighborhood and the political and strategic contexts of MPE development explored through the discussion of neoliberalism and gentrification.

This thesis explores urban redevelopment via MPE production and its relationship to gentrification, neoliberal urbanism and community using mixed methods. Most of the chapters use Waterloo, a neighborhood in the south of the City of Sydney, as a case study to make sense of how MPE development and new-build gentrification are co-implicated in the redevelopment of inner-city Sydney. The first chapter reviews key literatures on gentrification, neoliberal urbanism and community to situate inner-city MPE development in the context of contemporary inner-urban change and presents the methodology employed for this thesis. Each of the following chapters contains a more detailed discussion of the respective literatures they explore than is provided in the first chapter. Chapter 2 reviews Australian MPE literature to date and presents an empirical overview of MPEs in inner-city Sydney, using maps, photographs and comparative tables to understand the types, trends and geography of MPE development there—it aims to compare the evidence gathered from the inner-city with the literature on suburban estates. Chapter 3 explores a case study from an MPE in Waterloo for a closer look at life in an inner-city MPE, the residents living there and their experiences in the estate—this chapter seeks to determine how ‘community’ is constructed within the MPE. Chapter 4 looks at the discourses of Waterloo’s redevelopment, centred on the retail and consumption landscape of the neighborhood, to see how these

represent gentrification and urban strategy; it complements the previous chapter by providing context of the gentrifying neighborhood in which the case study MPE was developed.

Chapter 5 examines governance structures overseeing Waterloo's redevelopment and the contentious ways 'community' is used in the renewal strategy—it explores discourses of community to understand the contested notion of this term in the struggle over the changing neighbourhood. Chapter 6 offers a comparative element to the previous chapter, considering the proposed development of a large-scale, mixed use, master-planned development in Brooklyn, New York and the ways community is constructed by various groups in contesting the area's redevelopment. This is followed by a concluding chapter that ties together the overall picture of MPE production and urban change in Sydney, what this can tell us about processes of new-build gentrification there and through a comparison with Brooklyn, inform the way these processes are playing out in contemporary urban redevelopment.

Chapter 2 Understanding contemporary inner urban change

Deindustrialization and the advent of the post-industrial city over the past four decades have brought major shifts in the demographic mix, economic role, policy- making, and built form of cities—precipitating academic debates about the ‘new urban economy’, the ‘new urban politics’ and the ‘new middle class’.

The fall of the industrial city has given rise to post-industrial urban economies and built forms characterized by global business activity and gentrified city centres. Post- industrial cities are part of a dynamic global economy based on specialized services that facilitate international financial trading; this ‘new urban economy’ also produces socio-economic polarization most pronounced in global cities like New York, London and Sydney (Sassen, 1996, 2001). Cities must compete in a global economy and sell themselves through entrepreneurial policies (Harvey, 1989; Hall and Hubbard, 2002) place-making and place marketing. Intense global competition has enabled a new urban politics in which collective and municipal services were diminished and privatized, and governance increasingly geared towards economic growth and development. Real estate development is crucial to the new urban economy (Smith, 2002). The inner-city quarters that traditionally housed the working-class and their places of employment in the industrial city have become the residences, playgrounds and leisure-scapes of a ‘cosmopolitan’ group of affluent workers employed in the high-end service economy in the gentrified, post-industrial city. This ‘new middle class’ of gentrifiers (Ley, 1996) has ‘colonized’ the inner-city (Atkinson, 2006) remaking it in their image (Butler and Robson, 2003). The post- industrial city has also seen the transformation in social and cultural spheres as consumption patterns increasingly define identity.

An enormous body of research has set out to categorize and understand the changes cities have undergone in the post-industrial period, for example globalization, post- Fordism and

postmodernism have all been key ways to understand this change; the following literature review, however, identifies and explores two central ways geographers have theorized this contemporary inner-city change—neoliberalism and gentrification; this is followed by a discussion of the changing role and rhetoric of community in this changed urban environment. While these are certainly not the only ways to characterize these changes in cities and how geographers understand them, they provide a conceptual framework for the research of this thesis. This chapter provides a conceptual framing of the thesis, consisting of an in-depth literature review exploring academic accounts of neoliberal urbanism, gentrification and community, followed by a brief summary of MPE literature, focusing on international themes and issues. These elements form the basis for the next chapters' discussion of the ways MPE development in inner-city Sydney is articulating with processes of urban 'revitalization' there. This begins with a contextual foundation using literature about neoliberal urban governance, a crucial theory on the nature of urban change and redevelopment. Ultimately, this thesis is about urban change and redevelopment so I contextualize this through a detailed overview of the literature on gentrification and its importance in formulations of the changing post-industrial city. Finally, these themes are brought together with the concept of community, an integral lens for understanding how redevelopment plays out 'on the ground' as well as the ways the term is constructed for varying purposes to influence, shape and interpret processes of urban change. This chapter ends with a statement of the main research questions and a discussion of the methodology employed to answer them.

2.1 Neoliberal urbanism: understanding political contexts of redevelopment

Neoliberal urbanism is understood to be the push to maximize urban space for economic growth, wherein city governments adopt entrepreneurial strategies that leverage public resources for private investment. Whilst definitions and ontological status of the term are

hotly contested (Larner 2000; Leitner et al., 2007), neoliberalism is commonly taken to refer to the political-economic ideology and practice of late capitalism that has become dominant in many parts of the world, one which is characterized by privatization, globalization, deregulation and the dismantling of the welfare state (see Brenner, 2002 for an overview). It is argued cities are crucial sites in the neoliberalising world as command and service centres of the global economy, creating intense competition between cities to retain private investment and maximize economic competitiveness. Brenner and Theodore argue development is a crucial component to neoliberal urbanism, with a goal of “mobiliz[ing] city space as an arena both for market oriented economic growth and elite consumption” (2002, p. 21). Neoliberal urbanism has changed governance and development in cities; as Hackworth notes, under neoliberal urbanism “‘Good’ governance at the municipal level is now largely defined by the ability of formal government to assist (Harvey, 1989; Leitner 1990), collaborate with (Elkin, 1987; Stone, 1989), or function like (Box, 1999) the corporate community” (2007). Gonzalez posits neoliberal urbanism is “a concept increasingly used to describe the progressive privatization of public space and public realm...and the commodification of our cities as profit-making machines” (2010, p. 460).

Urban geographers increasingly theorize the city as a crucial site for capital accumulation, market-driven ideology, and the creation of consumer-citizen subjectivities—the neoliberal city. (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Wilson, 2004; Harvey, 2006; Hackworth, 2007; Leitner et al., 2007; Mayer, 2007). The neoliberal city exhibits entrepreneurial governance via public-private partnerships that prioritize economic growth and corporate power (Harvey, 1989; Leitner, 1989; Hall and Hubbard, 1998). This reflects the shift from ‘government’ to ‘governance’, from “centralized and bureaucratic forms of decision-making to a plurality of coexisting networks and partnerships that interact as overlapping webs of relationships at diverse spatial scales, from the neighborhood to the globe” (Hubbard et al., 2002, pp. 175–176).

Redevelopment of inner-city neighborhoods is a key feature of neoliberal urbanism, carried out by public-private partnerships (Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Weber, 2002; Hackworth, 2007). Swyndegouw, Moulaert and Rodriguez demonstrated how this type of neoliberal “New Urban Politics” are facilitating large-scale development projects in Europe that signal less democratic decision-making that favours the elite (2002). This aspect of neoliberal urban governance involves “a complex reconstitution of state-economy relations in which state institutions are actively mobilized to promote market-based regulatory arrangements” (Brenner and Theodore, 2005, p. 102), in other words there is a reactivation of state power towards capital accumulation, economic development and entrepreneurial governance—what Peck and Tickell call “roll-out” neoliberalism (2002). Although it is accepted that neoliberal urban governance is historically and geographically contingent (Wilson, 2004), there is a general consensus that neoliberalising practices take the form of public-private partnerships, which “privileges private business interests and thus causes a bias towards ‘pro-growth’...urban politics” (Bernt, 2008: 756-757). In this context, neoliberalism becomes the prevailing “common sense” of the times (Peck and Tickell, 2002)— encapsulating not only the ways that government and business are conducted but also influencing the parameters of what communities and individuals see as normal, desirable and achievable.

However, neoliberalism must be discussed carefully, with a number of scholars warning against all-encompassing, hegemonic representations of neoliberalism that minimize historic and geographic contingencies and risk reifying neoliberalism as dominant (Larner, 2000; Larner, 2002; Wilson, 2004; Larner and Craig, 2005; McGuirk, 2005; McGuirk and Dowling, 2009). Not only is neoliberalism being contested on the ground and in academic spheres (Leitner et al., 2007), but understandings of neoliberalism have also been expanding, especially in comparing it in its ‘pure’ form (how it was initially constructed by academics, as

minimized state power in favour of growing market power) versus its realities, revealing a far less coherent political project than earlier interpretations of it (Larner, 2002; McGuirk, 2005). Nearly a decade ago, Brenner and Theodore (2002) suggested academic attention be focused on “actually existing neoliberalism” meaning the way neoliberalising processes are carried out in specific times and places—this call for research was answered, revealing great diversity, inconsistencies and contradictions in various spatial and temporal manifestations of this process (Larner, 2003; Larner and Craig, 2005; Ruming, 2005; Hackworth and Moriah, 2006; Boyle et al., 2008). This contributed to a less-settled notion of hybrid neoliberalism (Larner, 2003; McGuirk, 2005) that the idea of ‘pure’ market-dominated neoliberal urban politics was fundamentally incomplete in the ways neoliberalisation articulates in different contexts. Some of the contradictions of grounded neoliberalism have been noted in the rise of partnerships that incorporate civil society into seemingly ‘neoliberal’ policies (Fyfe, 2005; Herbert, 2005; Defilippis, 2007), as well as the continued power of the state in neoliberalising processes (Peck and Tickell, 2002; McGuirk, 2005).

Neoliberalism’s geographical contingency (Wilson, 2004) means it operates in context-dependent ways (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). In Sydney, city and state governments have pursued neoliberal policies in planning the inner-city (Punter 2005); however, neoliberal urbanism in New South Wales has emerged in complex ways that see hybrid neoliberal policies and strategies characterized by a strong state role (McGuirk, 2005; Ruming, 2005; Cook and Ruming, 2008). Thus, in the context of Sydney, New South Wales, neoliberalism has been characterized most recently by “roll-out” processes (Peck and Tickell, 2002; McGuirk, 2005) in which the state actively pursues neoliberalised forms of governance. McGuirk (2005) in particular has emphasized the hybrid forms of neoliberalism, following Larner (2003), in Sydney’s planning and development strategies, again emphasizing strong state roles. Hybridity refers to understanding neoliberalism in ways that attend to its variations, and to its multiple and contradictory elements that may differ to imaginings of

‘pure’ neoliberalism characterized by absolute market dominance; in this approach, Lerner (2003) and McGuirk (2005) seek to destabilize the hegemony of neoliberalism. I would like to contribute to this project by examining the ways that neoliberal practices of redevelopment are contested (following Leitner et al., 2007), while many studies have presented case studies of neoliberal redevelopment projects this literature tends to reify the hegemony of neoliberalism and assume away possibilities of contestation (see Wyly and Hammel, 2001; Swyngedouw et al., 2002). How can we understand the hybridity of processes of neoliberalism in the development of urban master-planned estates in Sydney? How are these being contested? The next section will help elucidate the ways this thesis will begin to answer these questions about the relationship between inner-city MPEs and neoliberal urbanism through a discussion of a crucial process in neoliberalising cities—gentrification.

2.2 Gentrification: waves of change in the inner-city

Gentrification is the process of economic and cultural re-valuing and revalorization of a de-valued and de-valorised area, usually an inner-city neighborhood, and the resulting class change in that area. Since the term’s first use in 1964, the concept has evolved and expanded as research over the past four and a half decades has presented a diversity of processes that could be captured within the above definition of the term. There is a rich body of research surrounding gentrification in urban theory; however, there are also a variety of disagreements, interpretations, waves, types and ‘mutations’ present in this literature. Larger processes of urban transformation inform my approach to the phenomenon of master-planned estate development in Sydney and there is no other process of urban change so pronounced in recent years as gentrification. It is the focal point of a tremendous amount of urban research which informs this thesis about redevelopment in inner Sydney. Butler and Robson describe gentrification as an “extensive colonization of a whole swathe of the city” in which “the very fabric...has been transformed in the image of a group largely devoted to private/ managerial/

hedonistic interests....This is the creation of a new urban space” (Butler and Robson, 2003, p. 1799). The goals of this section are to draw out the connections of the MPE phenomenon and processes of gentrification, with a focus on new-build gentrification and the relationship between gentrification and neoliberalism to contextualize current inner urban change in Sydney.

The term gentrification was first used by Ruth Glass (1964); she describes what I will refer to in this thesis as the ‘traditional’ gentrification process:

One by one, many of the working-class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes—upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages...have been taken over...and have become elegant, expensive residences... Once this process of “gentrification” starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed. (Glass, 1964; pp. xviii)

This excerpt offers a starting point for thinking about gentrification processes, but is by no means a strict definition of the term as it is used in this thesis. In the ‘traditional’ gentrification process old, disinvested homes in the city were bought, renovated and lived in by the middle-classes, defining a prototype of the process characterized by reinvestment in the real estate market of disinvested urban neighborhoods and subsequent class change and displacement of the area’s original poor and working class residents through increasing housing prices. The literature throughout the latter part of the 20th century provided a tremendous empirical basis for examining gentrification in cities in primarily the Anglophone world with research from New York (Smith, 1996), Canadian cities (Caufield, 1994; Ley, 1996), London (Munt, 1987; Butler, 1997) and Australian cities (Kendig, 1984; Logan, 1985; Badcock, 1995). This review of gentrification is not comprehensive (see Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2008 for a comprehensive review) but aims to selectively discuss competing theories of gentrification and the roles and types of

gentrifiers, how gentrification is being incorporated into urban policy and the ways gentrification and has changed and mutated with a special emphasis on new-build gentrification. This review focuses on these issues as they will be most pertinent to the research in the following chapters.

2.2.1 Readings of gentrification and types of gentrifiers

A significant amount of research on gentrification understands the process through the consumption patterns and lifestyles of gentrifiers and these approaches tend to be concerned with the new-middle class (Ley, 1996)—their identity, cultural capital and demographic shifts contributing to the gentrification process. This strand of gentrification research has a long history, stemming from seminal work by David Ley (see Ley, 1996) and Jon Caulfield (1989; 1994) who were interested in understanding the cultural drivers of gentrification. Their reading of gentrification sees it as a result of the rejection of suburban living and its representations of conformity, sameness and the in-authentic by the baby-boom generation; they argue gentrifiers are creating urban communities that value cosmopolitanism—tolerance to different lifestyles and socio-economic and ethnic and diversity. Cultural explanations of gentrification gave rise to what is known as the emancipatory city thesis, which has been criticized for ignoring the central problems of class that prevent gentrification from being ‘emancipatory’; for example Lees emphasizes, “the rhetoric of the emancipatory city tends to conceal the brutal inequalities of fortune and economic circumstance that are produced through the process of gentrification” (Lees, 2000, p. 394). Nonetheless research focused on the culture, identity and consumption practices of gentrification have contributed fruitful insights revealing a diversity of gentrifier types, for example gentrifiers as middle-class colonizers (Atkinson 2006), as a global elite (Rofe, 2000, 2003) and as cosmopolites seeking diversity (Ley, 1996) are just among some of the ways gentrifiers have been described (see also: Mills, 1993; Butler and Robson, 2003; Zukin, 2009; Zukin et al., 2010).

These approaches to gentrification use Bourdieu's theory of distinction (1984) to understand types of gentrifiers, their tastes and their deployment of cultural capital (see Butler and Robson 2001; Rofo 2003; Ley, 2004; Bridge 2006; Holt 2008). These approaches to gentrification often stress the salience of the cosmopolitan habitus of gentrifiers. The discourse of the cosmopolitan city—implying a tolerant and open viewpoint to diversity and difference (Binnie, et al., 2006; Young et al, 2006)—a “willingness to engage with the Other” (Hannerz, 1990, p. 239)—is central to cultural and ‘emancipatory’ explanations for gentrification. Binnie et al. (2006) use the term cosmopolitan urbanism to describe the way cosmopolitanism is constructed, marketed and sold in the contemporary city, and Young et al. (2006) argue this construction of cosmopolitanism is tied into neoliberal entrepreneurial city strategies. Binnie et al. (2006) following Ley (2004) posit that the valuing of cosmopolitanism marks certain forms of difference as valuable while pathologising others, or does both simultaneously (Binnie et al., 2006; Young et al., 2006). Young et al. (2006) grapple with the ways cosmopolitanism is deployed in the marketing and consumption of the gentrifying, neoliberal city:

When such notions of cosmopolitanism are grounded in the development of the city, the question is whether the production of cosmopolitan space is linked to a paradoxical displacement of other forms of ‘disruptive’ difference which need to be excluded from certain spaces. (Young et al., 2006, p. 1689)

Responding to calls to ground and define the cosmopolitan city (Ley, 2004; Binnie et al., 2006), in order to understand the valuing of various types of difference, Young et al. write,

...critical appraisals of the ‘cosmopolitan city’ need to explore this differential valuing and fixing of difference in urban space and its potential for excluding ‘unacceptable’ difference. Notions of ‘cosmopolitanism’ and the ‘cosmopolitan city’ are frequently deployed within neo-liberal and entrepreneurial forms of urban governance which link the consideration of cosmopolitan urbanism to how difference is treated within those urbanisms. The issue of what constitutes

‘acceptable’ difference is thus central to the regeneration and social development of the post-industrial, cosmopolitan city. (2006, p. 1689-1690)

The work of Young et al. is particularly important because their research focused on new residential developments in Manchester that fulfil a particular ‘modern’ ‘contemporary’ aesthetic that articulates social distinction for residents and are not dissimilar to MPEs. They write, “distinction is further emphasized and spatialised by the marketing of security features—secure parking, 24-hour security services and gated communities—to create a sense of protection and separateness from the surrounding ‘dangerous’, ‘uncivilised’, non-cosmopolitan city” (Young et al., 2006, p. 1702). This description of cosmopolitan city living versus its ‘non-cosmopolitan’ other helps situate MPEs in the inner-city, with their connotation of being in the midst of the city’s diversity while also being able to disaffiliate from the threatening ‘non-cosmopolitan’; the implications of the incorporation of the ‘cosmopolitan city’ into urban strategy is discussed in the following chapters exploring MPE development in Sydney. While Cheshire et al. (2010) suggest MPEs in the inner-city market cosmopolitanism, there is little empirical evidence on urban estates, leaving the question of cosmopolitan attitudes towards diversity and difference in these new estates a matter to be further explored.

Some authors have drawn distinctions between traditional gentrifiers and new-build gentrifiers (Davidson and Lees, 2005); Rose describes them as “community” versus “corporate” gentrifiers (1984) and Rofo describes them “consumption” versus “production” gentrifiers (2000, 2003). These two types of gentrifiers represent, on the one hand those that buy and restore old housing in an disinvested neighborhood—traditional-community-consumption gentrifiers, thereby increasing home values and housing prices in the area; and those new build-corporate- production gentrifiers that buy into a “pre-fabricated identity” (Rofo, 2000, 2003). Whereas ‘community’/ traditional gentrifiers are understood to have a desire for the diverse, vibrant, ‘authentic’ urban life described by Jane Jacobs (1961),

‘corporate’/new-build gentrifiers are thought to be less interested in any local experience of community or place-making (Rofe, 2003). In other words, new-build gentrifiers are understood to be antithetical to cosmopolitan gentrifiers. This juxtaposition in terms of how residents of these new developments relate to the wider city and neighborhood presents an interesting theme that will be explored in this thesis.

Another reading of gentrification, popularized by Neil Smith, interprets the process as revanchist, rather than emancipatory (Smith, 1996). Smith sees both traditional and new-build gentrifiers’ relationship with the city and the neighborhoods they inhabit as one in which they seek vengeance on the urban poor, the marginalized and racial and ethnic minorities through their colonization of the city (1996). Other authors have continued developing a ‘revanchist’ reading of gentrification, rather highlighting the inequality, displacement and exclusion wrought by gentrification processes (MacLeod, 2002; Smith, 2002; Slater, 2006; Swanson, 2007; Lees, 2008; Uitermark et al., 2008; Davidson, 2010). This presents a discourse of gentrification that opposes an emancipatory reading in its understanding of gentrifiers’ revanchist relationship with the city. These opposing conceptions of gentrification and gentrifiers’ relationship to the city will be explored in questions raised about the community-formation in MPEs (see Community section below).

2.2.2 Gentrification and urban policy

Another strand of gentrification literature informing this thesis is the relationship with gentrification and urban policy, in particular policy that represents neoliberal urbanism. Smith contends that gentrification has become a global urban strategy that is one manifestation of a diverse array of neoliberal urbanisms (Smith 2002). He posits the adoption of gentrification as a general ‘revitalization’ strategy by city governments in “large-scale multi-faceted urban regeneration plans” (Smith 2002, p. 438; Smith, 2006).

By the end of the 1990s, gentrification had been adopted by the British government and the European Union as its primary urban strategy, ‘sugar-coated’ in the language of regeneration (Smith 2002, p. 445), being carried out by “governmental, corporate, or corporate-governmental partnerships” (Smith 2002, p. 439). Smith contends gentrification has become a “significant dimension of contemporary urbanism” (2006, p. 193). Jason Hackworth contributes to this understanding of gentrification arguing it increasingly serves as “a systemic part of neoliberal urbanism” (2007, p. 100). Both authors argue that the increasing power of corporate developers, aided by the state, in remaking urban space in the context of neoliberal urban governance has resulted in larger scale, new-build gentrification processes that are much more driven by corporate capital than individual gentrifiers (Smith and Defilippis, 1999; Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Smith 2002; Smith, 2006). Gonzalez (2005) also contends gentrification is a key strategy or at the very least a by-product of neoliberal urbanism presenting examples of how neoliberal redevelopment strategies in Newcastle, UK, Bilbao, Spain and Milan, Italy rolled forward the gentrification frontier. This policy-based change in the nature of gentrification helps contextualize new-build gentrification, discussed in the next section, and the processes contributing to MPE development in the inner-city.

Other research has focused on gentrification and policies aimed at achieving ‘social mix’ and ‘liveability’ in deprived and marginalized urban areas (Rose, 2004; Uitermark et al., 2007; Davidson, 2008; Lees, 2008; Davidson, 2010). Such policies encourage the movement of middle-class households into poor and working class neighborhoods in the hopes of achieving a diversity of socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, age groupings and lifestyles (Rose, 2004). These policies have become increasingly popular over the past decade in the UK and the US, and as my research will explore in Australia as well; however, such policies, as this burgeoning area of research has begun to reveal, tends to gentrify these neighborhoods, resulting in all the negative outcomes that scholars have identified in

gentrification processes over the past four decades. Lees writes, again juxtaposing her position against the rhetoric of ‘emancipatory’ gentrification, “as the gentrification literature tells us, despite the new middle classes’ desire for diversity and difference they tend to self-segregate and, far from being tolerant, gentrification is part of an aggressive, revanchist ideology designed to retake the inner city for the middle classes” (Lees, 2008, p. 2450). Atkinson argues that the development of increasingly securitized urban residential developments is giving rise to an increasing pattern of middle-class disaffiliation, wherein the middle-classes colonize the inner-city while separating themselves through ever-more fortified type of developments. Davidson explores levels of social-mixing in neighborhoods gentrifying through new-build development, concluding that spatial proximity does not give way to social mixing and a sense of neighborhood-based community because of processes of othering based on social class positions (2010). While this reflects findings in other research on social mixing in traditional gentrification processes (Butler and Robson, 2003; Rose, 2004; Freeman, 2006; Walks and Maaranen, 2008), Davidson highlights that “large, infill, high-density, self-contained, new-build developments create very specific built and social additions to existing neighborhoods” (2010, p. 541). This assertion creates an imperative for this research aimed at understanding inner-city MPEs in a larger context of new-build gentrification. Therefore, I now turn specifically to the growing research around new-build gentrification and how it informs the work of this thesis.

2.2.3 New-build gentrification: contextualizing inner-city MPEs

Over the past decade gentrification research has continued to expand understandings of various gentrification processes in time and place. Smith addresses the concept of new-build gentrification in contrast to Glass’ traditional understanding, stressing the utility of understanding new-build urban redevelopment as gentrification:

Gentrification is no longer about a narrow and quixotic oddity in the housing market but has become the leading residential edge of a much larger endeavour: the class remake of the central urban landscape. It would be anachronistic now to exclude redevelopment from the rubric of gentrification, to assume that the gentrification of the city was restricted to the recovery of an elegant history in the quaint mews and alleys of old cities, rather than bound up with a larger restructuring (Smith and Williams, 1986). (Smith, 1996 p. 37)

Smith's description of gentrification as the "class remake of the central urban landscape" widens the scope of the process beyond traditional understandings of gentrification, enabling research to examine the class remake of urban space via consumption landscapes (Bridge and Dowling, 2001; Zukin et al., 2010) and new-build gentrification (Atkinson, 2006; Davidson and Lees, 2005; Boddy, 2007; Visser and Kotze, 2008).

Hackworth and Smith (Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Smith 2002; Smith, 2006) have argued that there are three discernable waves of gentrification—the initial wave as described by Ruth Glass, that lasted roughly until the 1970s, the second wave marked by an "anchoring" of gentrification as a development strategy (Hackworth and Smith, 2001) that lasted throughout the 1980s until the US went into recession in 1989 and the third wave that lasted from the mid-nineties onwards in which gentrification as strategy was generalized becoming global (Smith, 2002) and moving to more marginalized areas of the city (Hackworth and Smith 2001; Smith, 2006), although we can assume that this may have ended or at least stalled in the US because of the housing market crash of 2008 and subsequent recession there. Wyly and Hammel (2001) similarly identify three waves of gentrification that see the third wave defined by an interventionist role of the state, the spreading of gentrification to areas untouched by earlier waves, and, interestingly as a large-scale process wherein neighborhood resistance is minimized or non-existent—a proposition that will be explored in this thesis. While Bounds and Morris (2006), following Wyly and Hammel's waves, describe the advent of second-wave of gentrification in Sydney with the development of an MPE on the fringes of the CBD, the

second wave being particularly important because it saw gentrification, a third wave of gentrification in Sydney has continued, only thus far minimally hindered by the global financial crisis, with ever-more marginal inner-city areas being developed by combined state and corporate interests. Third wave gentrification entails a “range of mega- developments in the central and inner-urban landscape”, a “highly integrated conquest of urban space in which the residential component cannot be reasonable dissociated from the transformed landscapes of employment, recreation and consumption” (Smith, 2006, p. 1999).

Davidson’s above quote describing this new-build, third-wave gentrification via “large, infill, high-density, self-contained, new-build developments” (2010) adequately describes not only the form of this gentrification phenomenon but also the form of inner-city MPEs, although he refrains from using that terminology. This reveals the most salient connection for considering inner-city MPEs and new-build gentrification together—new-build gentrification research tends to describe developments that fit within understandings of MPEs. Despite striking similarities in the processes MPE and new-build gentrification literatures explain the two fields of research have for the most part remained separate. This is partially due to the lack of in-depth empirical research on inner-city MPE development which this thesis addresses. It is proposed the literature on new-build gentrification can help contextualize the development of these inner-urban estates. Indeed, a few studies have made the link between MPE development and gentrification (Atkinson, 2006; Butler, 2007; Alvarez-Rivadulla, 2007; Cheshire et al., 2010). Butler (2007) argues for an expansion of understandings of gentrification and openness to what we might expect to learn from its diverse processes, including gated communities as a new form of gentrification. He argues “in a situation in which new places are being created...gated communities, for example and inner cities are being tamed as altars of consumption and privileged living, tying gentrification to a particular spatial context does not make sense” (Butler, 2007, p. 170). Alvarez-Rivadulla draws parallels between urban-periphery gated

estates and gentrification processes in the inner-city based on processes of class segregation through lifestyle tastes and housing choices (2007). She writes:

If, following Clark (2005), we adopt a general definition of gentrification based on the population displacement of members of a lower class rather than on more specific and constraining features—such as inner-city location—we can say that gated communities in Latin America imply processes of gentrification. Today, the periphery of Latin American cities is a class- contested territory, just like the inner-city neighborhoods of New York that Neil Smith (1996) describes. (Alvarez-Rivadulla, 2007, p. 60)

Atkinson sees the creation of increasingly securitized estate development as a practice of middle-class disaffiliation (2006), using gentrification, gated development and urban restructuring to understand the “new enclavism” that contributes to social segregation. Nevertheless, specific discussions of master-planned estates in gentrifying inner-city neighborhoods have remained surprisingly unexplored, but literature on new-build gentrification can help us conceptualize and contextualize MPE development as a process of gentrification. The concept of new-build gentrification is not new to the urban studies literature; geographers such Rose (1984), Mills (1991) and Smith (1996) have understood condominium and apartment development in the inner-city as gentrification processes; although in the past decade renewed debates have developed around the concept’s validity (Boddy and Lambert, 2002; Davidson and Lees, 2005; Boddy, 2007; Davidson and Lees, 2009). While Boddy and Lambert (2002; Boddy, 2007) assert that the term gentrification has been stretched too far and prefer to use the term ‘residentialisation’ to describe this process instead, a significant body of work is developing that accepts and demonstrates processes of new-build gentrification (Davidson and Lees, 2005; Murphy, 2008; Visser and Kotze, 2008; Davidson and Lees, 2009; He, 2010; Kerns, 2010; Rose, 2010). This thesis also accepts the utility of understanding new-build development as a process of gentrification, following Davidson and Lees who assert there has been a consensus around this perspective for some

time (Davidson and Lees, 2009).

The works reviewed that have referred to processes of new-build gentrification help create a detailed picture of it. It is a mutation of gentrification that sees a larger-scale process instigated by corporate developers and the state (Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Smith, 2002; Hackworth, 2007), associated with a lack of community ties and feelings (Rose, 1984; Rofo, 2000, 2003) and desires for exclusivity and seclusion rather than tolerance and diversity (Atkinson, 2006). New-build gentrification is understood to be implicated in neoliberal urbanism through its relationship to wide- scale urban redevelopment and gentrification policies (Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Smith, 2002; Hackworth, 2007), its entrepreneurial strategies of marketing cosmopolitanism, carving out acceptable and unacceptable forms of difference (Young et al., 2006) and policies of social mixing (Davidson, 2010). This thesis will examine this process of new-build gentrification through an exploration of inner-city MPE development that considers hybrid forms of neoliberal urbanism, the social dynamics within these new gentrified spaces and how they relate to the neighborhoods in which they develop. I will also look at how these processes are being carried out by state strategies and how these strategies are contested.

2.3 Community: people, place and discourse

Community has long served as a pivotal concept in urban geography and the wider social sciences; however, it is also an expansive and contentious concept that has amassed an incredible amount of literature; as such, this section of the review will situate the understanding of community this thesis employs, before focusing more substantially on the ways community has been understood in the contexts of neoliberal urbanism and gentrification. Thus this is a selective review of the concept of community, focused on how it can be understood as a social and discursive construction and the ways in which notions of community are changing in a neoliberal era; for a comprehensive review of community see

Delanty (2003). I start by defining this term according to McDowell,

*[Community] refer[s] to a fluid network of social relations that may be but are not necessarily tied to territory. Thus a community is relational rather than a categorical concept, defined both by material social relations and by symbolic meanings. Communities are context dependent, contingent, and defined by power relations; their boundaries are created by mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion... The term 'community' should neither be rejected out of hand, nor automatically seen as either a good or a bad thing, **but the complexity of its construction and its purpose should be the subject for analysis** (McDowell, 1999, pp. 100-101; emphasis added)*

As community becomes popular in the rhetoric of contemporary urban policy, particularly planning and redevelopment policy (Duffy and Hutchinson, 1997; Talen, 2000; Atkinson, 2003; Herbert, 2005; Sites et al., 2007; Bailey, 2010), it is important to examine, as McDowell suggests, how this term is constructed and why, without romantic connotations with what the term can imply, nor with a dismissive viewpoint to the power that the term can wield. Through explorations of how this term is discursively constructed in different contexts this thesis will elucidate the ways community impacts urban redevelopment.

Aware of the critiques that community is at its root an essentialist notion that devalues difference (Young, 1996, 2000), I enter into the debates about community carefully with the view that its constructions, particularly in its inclusions, exclusions and political and social purposes, are crucial to understanding its possibilities and limitations in the urban sphere. Thus when the term is used in this thesis it is done so with the understanding that it is a contested, socially-constructed reality, following the seminal writings of Anderson (1983), in the aim of unpacking this construct in regards to urban redevelopment in Sydney. Staeheli argues “community is constituted by contradictions that operate simultaneously” and is a ‘problem’ “because it is a site where contests are waged over citizenship and the terms of membership in society [and] is, therefore, the object of

struggle in which different moral geographies are imagined” (Staeheli, 2008, p 5.). One of the contradictions of community Staeheli discusses is the simultaneous processes of inclusion and exclusion that operate in constructing community. How can an understanding of these processes inform an understanding of MPEs in the inner- city—in terms of a community of MPE residents and the wider neighbourhood community?

Community has long been associated with local place, making it of importance to geographers. However, even over fifty years ago, social scientists could not agree on nor pin down a singular definition of community (Hillery, 1955). The amorphousness of the topic continues in the social sciences today with community being used as a descriptor for a local place or neighbourhood, a common interest, identity or sense of moral values, or to denote group belonging. This is where Anderson’s (1983) concept of imagined, or socially constructed, communities becomes useful—in the sense of group or identity belonging, for example in the way the term is used in to describe the “Asian community” or the “gay community” it is imagined that these groups share some common bond through their identity, despite the reality that most members of such communities will never actually meet face to face or have social interaction. In other words it is imagined that members of the community are alike or linked in some fundamental way; this also means that others are excluded or different, once again highlighting the crucial notions of inclusion and exclusion Staeheli seizes upon (2008). This inherently causes conflicts in the notion of who is included and excluded in various constructions and uses of community.

Despite the slippery nature of defining community, a fundamental connection to place has continued to be central to its understanding (Lyon, 1999; Molotch, Freudenberg and Paulsen, 2000). Chaskin (1997) more clearly teases out the relationship between community as place-based and communities as connected via

commonality.

Although local communities are place based, they are not seen as simply geographically bounded subdivisions of land. They are units in which some set of connections is concentrated, either social connections (as in kin, friend, and acquaintance networks), functional connections (as in the production, consumption, and transfer of goods and services), cultural connections (as in religion, tradition, or ethnic identity), or circumstantial connections (as in economic status or lifestyle) (p. 522).

So community can be place-bound, as in neighbourhood, but it entails more than that—the social networks, interactions and relationships and mutual connectedness of those within a given local place. This thesis will employ a definition of community that highlights its boundedness to local place and the imagined aspects of connection that bind people to their vernacular neighbourhood, as well as the essentially place-rooted aspects of community that are constituted by everyday interaction between people living in close proximity.

And while the relationship between community and place has been consistent in the social sciences for decades, most recently scholars have been concerned with a perceived decline in the ‘community fabric’ of local places beginning in the late twentieth century. Popularized by the writings of Robert Putnam (1995; 1996; 2000), this decline in community life is believed to be connected to a decline in social capital. Thus, much of the writing about ‘community’ within urban studies and the wider social sciences in the years since Putnam’s arguments has been concerned with community development through building social capital and community capacity; indeed the very term ‘community development’ that has come to the forefront of urban studies assumes that community is lacking, underdeveloped and waning. In

turn, community has become the focus of much of urban policy—a theme I return to below, as well as in Chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis.

The connection between community and local place, and specifically with neighbourhood, has had specific ramifications for how community is considered in the gentrification literature. Within gentrification studies, understandings of community are often associated with the incumbent residents of a gentrifying neighborhood, in other words, the poor or working class people who are displaced through the process; this is often referred to in terms of how the gentrification process is impacting the community. This association emerges from the way community has been theorized within poor versus affluent populations in urban studies. Logan and Molotch (1987) differentiate between use and exchange values within neighbourhood—that poor residents rely more on the use value of the networks and support that emerge from neighbourhood community, while the affluent are more concerned with exchange values. Harvey adds to this theorization of the different meanings of localized communities for the poor versus the affluent, explaining the affluent “are in no way dependent on community-provided use values for survival. The construction of community is then mainly geared to the preservation of or enhancement of exchange values” (Harvey, 1995, p. 371). Thus, within urban research, gentrification is seen as a threat to ‘community’ as experienced in the use values of the poor residents (Betancur, 2011) and subsequently ‘community’ is now commonly associated with poor, working class and minority populations within the gentrification literature. As a result of the oppositional value of ‘community’ for poor versus affluent groups, community again becomes a source of conflict. Gentrification processes brings these oppositions into sharp relief because as affluent groups try to maximize the exchange value of property within a geographic ‘community’, poorer groups are displaced, threatening

the use value they derive from that community.

As mentioned earlier, community has increasingly emerged in the discourses of urban policy and regeneration. Most starkly evidenced in the UK's New Labour government (Imrie and Raco, 2003; Wallace, 2010), the discourse of community is also ubiquitous in the US (Sites et al., 2007), and as will be explored in Chapter 6, is becoming popular in urban policy in Sydney as well. Most recently discourses of community in urban policy have aimed to create 'socially mixed communities', a discourse at the crux of which is the belief that the introduction of middle-class residents to socially disadvantaged communities will create social inclusion and liveable cities (Defilippis, 2007; Davidson, 2008; Davidson, 2010). These policies create discourses that poor communities are lacking social capital and middle-class communities must 'mix' with them, bringing their social capital to create successful communities (Defilippis, 2007). This validates middle-class communities, but denies and problematises marginalized communities, demonstrating how this type of policy constructs particular notions of community that create a 'moral geography' of inner-city neighborhoods. This particular construction of community justifies policies that gentrify poor neighborhoods, illustrating the value of exploring discursive practices of community in these processes of urban change.

Another turn to community in urban policy involves community involvement in carrying out neoliberal policies (Gough, 2002; Herbert, 2005; Lerner and Craig, 2005; Geoghan and Powell, 2008)—referred to by some as 'neoliberal communitarianism' (Fyfe, 2005; Defilippis, 2008). Many commentators claim the context of neoliberal governance constrains or co-opts 'community' in affecting influence on urban politics (Atkinson, 1999; Fisher and Shragge, 2000; Gough, 2002; Peck and Tickell, 2002; see Elwood, 2002 for an overview of analyses of community/civil society in neoliberalism; Defilippis et al., 2007). Wyly and Hammel (2001) suggest that in the neoliberalised third-wave gentrification processes,

community resistance at the neighborhood level is minimized by the way in which once ‘militant’ community groups have been forced to fill the service holes left by ‘roll-back’ neoliberal state policies, becoming service and housing providers—a key feature of neoliberal communitarianism seen to limit community’s ability to be oppositional (see Defilippis, 2007; Defilippis, Fisher and Shragge, 2007). This thesis aims to understand constructions of ‘community’ in neoliberal urban policy in their relationship with, as Staeheli (2008) emphasized, the struggles inherent within that term’s use and, as McDowell (1999) emphasizes, the power relations involved in the inclusions and exclusions delineated by different constructions of community. It is argued that seeing ‘community’ as coopted, defeated or devoid of oppositional potential in the context of neoliberal communitarianism is incomplete and hides the ways this type of urban politics is being contested.

The MPE literature has been preoccupied with community—both in how it is constructed by developers and experienced by residents (Gwyther, 2005; Rosenblatt et al., 2008; Goodman and Douglas, 2010), stemming from contemporary MPEs roots in the new urbanism planning movement that espouses physical planning of a city can facilitate and encourage a sense of community amongst its residents (Talen, 1999; Bounds, 2001; Johnson, 2010). This work has explored processes of inclusion and exclusion (Gwyther, 2005; Kenna, 2007) at the level of the MPE within the wider area. Overall the MPE literature agrees the concept of community within these estates is premised upon perceptions of homogeneity and fears of the threatening “difference” that exists outside the estate (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Low, 2003; Gwyther, 2005; Atkinson, 2006; Kenna, 2007). This exclusion of difference in these estates that the literature emphasizes poses an interesting question when extended to the urban context—where as noted in the gentrification literature, the city is associated with diversity, cosmopolitanism and difference. Are ‘communities’ in inner-city MPEs also searching for sameness within

these estates or are they 'tolerant' urbanites building diverse communities? Thus the understanding of how community is constructed by MPE residents addresses questions about inclusion and exclusion in the city and the question of homogeneity in estate communities.

The relationship between these three themes—gentrification, neoliberal urbanism and community—forms the basis for understanding MPE development in the inner-city as a process of new-build gentrification. As gentrification strategies are becoming de rigueur for cities around the world with the entrenchment of neoliberal urbanism (Smith, 2002), Sydney, Australia is experiencing a third wave of gentrification through new development. Increasingly these developments are master-planned, primarily residential estates, built on brownfield sites left over from the city's industrial era. These high-density estates have been developed in some of the oldest neighborhoods of Sydney, with existing social histories and senses of community. The ongoing production of MPEs in the redevelopment of the southern quarters of the City of Sydney offers a unique opportunity for my research to explore the contexts, internal dynamics and impacts of this type of development. This bridges a gap between new-build gentrification research and MPE research through its exploration of MPE development in urban revitalization strategies in the City of Sydney.

2.4 Master-planned estates: an introduction to the literature

For more than a decade the topic of private of master-planned estates has sparked international research attention. While this research reflects geographically specific forms and contexts of MPEs, a great deal of this literature has stressed the privatized and socially exclusive nature of these developments (see Glasze et al., 2006). Indeed seminal research in this area of study focused specifically on gated communities, a type of MPE centred around security and physical barriers between the estate the surrounding area (McKenzie, 1994; Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Low, 2001; Low, 2003) and a continued trend internationally is

fixated on gated private communities. These developments tend to be interpreted as iconic spaces of neoliberalism (McGuirk and Dowling, 2009) that facilitate the privatization of the cityscape (Frantz, 2006; Le Goix, 2006), socio-spatial polarization and segregation, the contemporary landscape of urban fear (Low, 2001; Atkinson, 2006; Kenna, 2010).

Nonetheless, recent Australian research has not only expanded the typology of MPEs beyond gated developments and planned communities, reflecting a diversity of types and built forms, but also questioned the dominance of privatization and neoliberalism these estates are purported to represent in the international literature (McGuirk and Dowling, 2007). This section explores academic engagement with MPEs and the overriding discourses within them to establish the connections between MPE development and the key themes of gentrification, neoliberalism and community.

Research on MPEs has emphasized privatization—in terms of the planning and the internal governance of estates (McKenzie, 1994; Blakely and Snyder, 1997; McGuirk et al., 2010). This aspect of the MPE literature focuses on how developers are central in the planning process and provision of infrastructure in ways that the state once was and homeowners' corporations and management companies oversee the estate's governance (Le Goix, 2006). These privatizing elements in the development and governance of MPEs are usually discussed in terms of their relationship to neoliberal state withdrawals (McKenzie, 1994; Low, 2007; Walks, 2008; McGuirk and Dowling, 2009; McGuirk et al., 2010). Le Goix even argues that this type of development leeches off the state by estate residents seceding from paying public fees instead only paying private management and maintenance fees (2006). While the issue of privatization has been raised in Australian work (Gleeson, 2006), a unique scenario has been noted in MPE development there, as suggested by McGuirk et al. that they “may be planned and delivered privately with the engagement of state or local government agencies attracted by, amongst other things, the leveraging of private sector investment in social, economic and physical infrastructure

(Bosman, 2004; McGuirk and Dowling, 2009)” (McGuirk et al., 2010, p. 393). This represents a particularity to Australian-based research that is worth noting, not least of all for its insight into the question of privatization and hybrid forms of neoliberalism in planning and development (McGuirk, 2005).

Closely related to the notions of privatization within MPEs, there is a significant body of work around the relationship between the rise in this type of residential development and socio-spatial polarization, coupled with the fortification and securitization of urban space, particularly the home (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Low, 2003; Atkinson, 2006; Kenna, 2010). A number of studies have examined estates in socially marginal areas, finding that estate residents psychologically and physically experienced separation from poorer, more ethnically diverse populations living in the surrounding area (Low, 2003; Gwyther, 2005; Butler, 2007; Kenna, 2007). Atkinson argues these estates, whether gated or not, encourage “middle-class disaffiliation” by affluent groups able to afford homes in MPEs (2006). Research from the United States and South Africa reflects a particularly racialised element to polarization in addition to a socio-economic one, implicating the development of MPEs in a process of white flight and racialised fear (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Low, 2003; Jurgens and Landmann, 2006; Lemanski, 2006). Overall, research agrees that MPEs are understood as affluent enclaves that provide a feeling of security and distinction (Low, 2003; Gwyther, 2005; Atkinson, 2006; Kenna, 2007; Kenna, 2010; McGuirk et al., 2010). This element of spatially defined class positioning through residential choice certainly recalls key elements of gentrification.

Finally, community is a consistent theme in the MPE literature in terms of the communitarian roots of these developments and the ubiquitous invocation of ‘community’ in estate marketing. The concept of the master-planned estate is based in new urbanism, a planning movement for walkable, mixed-use villages with

communitarian aspirations (Talen, 1999; Bounds, 2001). Developers of MPEs often use this concept in marketing these estates and a number of studies examine developer-driven discourses of community as well as residents' experience of it and their social interaction (Gwyther, 2005; Kenna, 2007; Rosenblatt et al., 2009; McGuirk et al., 2010). Cheshire et al. highlight the way the aesthetics of community dominate marketing in greenfield suburban estates in Australia, writing "aesthetic in that it is possible to live in a 'community' but not partake of it"; they also note in "higher density and inner-city developments, community is portrayed differently to its cosmopolitan residents: as an exclusive entrée to the mixed use urban village of restaurants, cinemas, cafes and demographic diversity" (2010, p. 362). This provides a basis for situating what we can expect from inner-city MPEs but there is a gap in research focusing specifically on these high density inner-city developments. The majority of MPE literature portray community in these estates as homogenous internally and exclusive externally, separating and distinguishing estates from their surrounding areas (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Bounds, 2001; Low, 2003; Kenna, 2007). This separation is tied into privatization and privatism (McGuirk et al., 2010) as well as homogeneity, exclusivity and socio-spatial polarization in the context of master-planned estate formation.

2.5 Summary of main research questions

It is in the context of this literature that this thesis sets out to explore the processes of urban change in the inner-city related to redevelopment, neoliberal urbanism, gentrification and changing roles and constructions of community through research on the newly emerging phenomenon of inner-city master-planned estates. It broadly aims to document the characteristics and extent of MPE development in the inner-city of Sydney in order to:

- Expand knowledge of MPEs through a specific focus on understanding the

development trajectories of these inner-city estates. What are the contexts and drivers of MPE development in the inner-city? How do inner-city MPEs compare to suburban MPEs? How are they impacting the neighborhoods in which they are developed? What is the relationship between inner-city MPEs and new-build gentrification in Sydney? How is MPE development situated in processes of urban change?

- Contribute to understandings of new-build gentrification. How is new-build gentrification playing out in Sydney and brought into urban policy and development strategy there? Can we assume ‘community’ away in these gentrification processes, as suggested by Wyly and Hammel (2001)—or are redevelopment strategies and processes of third-wave gentrification being contested? How can we make sense of the contradiction in treatments of diversity between “cosmopolitan” gentrifiers and homogeneity-seeking MPE residents in inner-city MPEs?
- Critically consider roles of community in urban neoliberalism. How is community being constructed in policy discourse and redevelopment strategy? What are the possibilities of community contestation? How can we understand processes of neoliberal communitarianism in urban redevelopment strategies?

2.6 Methodology

This thesis explores the question of redevelopment and gentrification in MPE development in inner-city Sydney using mixed research methods. Qualitative methods, including interviewing, documentary and textual analysis and surveying served as the primary manner of collecting data; quantitative methods were limited to analysis of questionnaire and Census

data. I used a bricolage of qualitative methods (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Alvarez-Rivadulla, 2007), those mentioned above as well as participant observations, photography and mapping to explore the production of these MPEs and their relationship with the area's redevelopment. Each chapter contains a more detailed discussion of the particular methodological approach that forms the basis of the research presented therein. A discourse analysis was performed that identified salient discourses emerging from the data—interview transcripts, government documents, articles and images from the media—and analysed them for their relationships to urban policy, representations of place and space and reflections of power relationships within the city. These are explained in the rest of this chapter.

2.6.1 Case studies

Case studies are used to explore the dynamics of redevelopment, MPE production and new-build gentrification in cities marked by neoliberal urban policy. Case studies were employed because they allow for a holistic approach to the redevelopment taking place—enabling research that considers social, cultural and political-economic understandings of the urban change occurring. Sydney was chosen as a case study based on its prime position as Australia's largest global city, the gateway city of the nation and its economic and financial heart. Sydney is a highly gentrified city, with many inner-urban neighborhoods undergoing waves of gentrification since the 1970s (see Bridge and Dowling, 2001; Bounds and Morris, 2006; Gibson and Homan, 2006) and it is currently at a cross-roads in terms of residential demand—with the city growing rapidly and the population expected to grow by 1.2 million over the next 25 years (NSW Metro Strategy; Frew, 2008), there is an immense amount of pressure on housing development. This places Sydney as an appropriate and interesting case study for examining redevelopment and the trajectories of third wave gentrification, while the city's role as an immigrant gateway (Forrest and Dunn, 2007) and economic heart allow for insight into social and cultural changes at work in this multicultural, global city. Furthermore, the Waterloo neighborhood of Sydney was

selected for a more in-depth look at redevelopment, MPE production and new-build gentrification because it is one of the few inner-city neighborhoods that has not been touched by previous rounds of gentrification but is currently the site of ongoing residential construction, with a number of MPEs located there and in the surrounding neighborhoods. Waterloo has just begun the gentrification process, primarily through new-build construction and sits within the boundaries of two major state redevelopment projects—Green Square Renewal and the Redfern-Waterloo Renewal areas—that will see it further transformed through new residential construction which is a major goal of both projects. Both the Green Square and Redfern-Waterloo renewal projects utilize master-planning by corporate and corporatized public developers that will result in significant proliferation of MPEs in Waterloo. Moreover, the neighborhood is interesting socially as the site of the densest concentration of public housing in inner-city Sydney and with higher-than-average populations of people born overseas—making the gentrification process much more socially dynamic than in the rest of inner-city Sydney, which has significantly gentrified over the past four decades. These social characteristics also parallel other research on new-build gentrification (see Davidson, 2008, 2010) and MPE development (Watt, 2009) that allow for comparison across both fields.

Another, less holistic case study comes from south-central Brooklyn, New York. This case study looks specifically at the redevelopment project known as Atlantic Yards. This case study was selected because of its location within a seemingly quintessential global, gentrified, neoliberal city—while the Brooklyn location features a more marginal gentrification frontier (being outside Manhattan, although many parts of Brooklyn are thoroughly gentrified) that represents third-wave gentrification processes. This redevelopment project was selected specifically for its third-wave, new-build characteristics—being initiated by a major corporate developer with intervention from the

state via the economic development agency of New York State. This development also presents decidedly master-planned characteristics including planning and oversight by a single developer, a significant residential component and the inclusion of privatized space and amenities. Furthermore, the controversy surrounding Atlantic Yards in the media and locally in Brooklyn presented opportunities for looking at possibilities of community contestation in processes of third wave gentrification.

2.6.2 Interviewing

Qualitative interviews are a key method in human geography and have been a central method of data collection in research on MPEs (see Low, 2002; Gwyther, 2005; Kenna, 2007). Open-ended interviews were the primary method of data collection for this research. Interviews were chosen as a primary method for the research undertaken because I wanted to understand not only how gentrification and redevelopment are enacted by official actors (such as governmental and corporate actors) but how urban change in this context was experienced by the people implicated in these changes—residents, business owners and community activists. Discussion with these ‘unofficial’ actors, in the form of semi-structured interviews, remains one of the best approaches to gaining insight into these everyday experiences of urban change through gentrification and redevelopment. Furthermore, the reflexivity involved in open-ended interviewing allows participants to help steer the research, sharing the issues and topics that they see as important, which allows me as a researcher to obtain a more holistic picture of the research topic and balances the tendency for researchers to preclude their results through their research design.

Recruitment of interviewees was, in compliance with ethics guidelines, undertaken via letters that were either posted or hand-delivered by the author. Residents of the Crown Square MPE in Waterloo, business owners in Waterloo, and community activists in the area were targeted for interview and those interviews were carried out in relevant homes

and offices of these individuals. Other governmental and corporate actors were targeted but letters were not returned, or even when some agreed to interview, they failed to follow through in scheduling a meeting time to conduct interviews (see the section below on research limitations). Interviews followed a reflexive, semi-structured format that allowed for discussion to flow naturally, for the interviewer to ask questions in response to the topics raised and allowing the interviewee to bring up topics that might not be specifically asked. Interview structure and questions were broadly defined to allow for a variable, reflexive discussion about resident life in MPEs as well as the gentrification and redevelopment of Waterloo. For Chapter 4, in interviews with residents of the Crown Square MPE, ten set questions were developed, see Appendix 4, and impromptu follow-up questions were usually asked in response to discussion topics; this structure allowed residents to discuss not only what topics I as a researcher saw as important, but for them to share with me what they considered to be important topics about living in an MPE. In each chapter that utilized interview data (Chapter 4, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6) further information is provided about the nature of interviews. Interview transcripts were analysed and coded based upon key words and issues that were defined after the interviews were completed—topics that were repeatedly mentioned were focused on and patterns were identified across interviews.

2.6.3 Questionnaire

A questionnaire of Crown Square residents was carried out to ascertain the demographic and social characteristics of the estate, motivating factors in moving there and residents' likes and dislikes (see Appendix 3). This method was chosen because it provided a summary overview of the MPE's population, especially because it was anticipated the number of residents willing to participate in interviews would be limited. A questionnaire allowed the research to gain insight into the demographics, backgrounds and experiences of those residents who were not willing to be interviewed. The questionnaire was modelled on one carried out by McGuirk, Dowling and Atkinson (2010) on a combination of inner-city and inner and outer suburban MPEs (although

they did not categorize their results in this way, masking ability for comparison between inner- city and suburban estates) for purposeful comparison with their findings. This questionnaire was selected as a model because of the similar character of the research carried out by McGuirk et al. (2010). I derived questions from the work of McGuirk et al. (2010) by eliminating questions that were superfluous to my research question (such as those pertaining to children's schooling, etcetera) and maintaining questions about motivations for moving into the estate, likes and dislikes and social interaction that were pertinent to the type of internal MPE dynamics my research in part seeks to examine. Again, using the McGuirk et al. (2010) survey as a model allows the work presented here on inner-city MPEs to be compared with suburban findings. The questionnaire contained multiple choice and open-ended questions; see Appendix 1 for the complete questionnaire. The sample for the questionnaire consisted of the entire Crown Square development that was constructed at the time of delivery (early 2009), so in effect 100% of the units at that time; the mailing list was created by physically going to the development and recording each building's address and the number/address of units; at that time it was noted whether mailboxes were accessible by the public or whether mail was delivered through a private, internal mail room. In the cases of buildings with internal mail rooms, I contacted Meriton, the developer to ask permission to obtain the unit numbers for each building so that questionnaires could be mailed, which I did obtain. Questionnaires were hand delivered and mailed via the Australian Post, without knowledge of which apartments were occupied or not¹. This resulted in relatively low questionnaire response rate—roughly 6 per cent of the total questionnaires sent out were returned. This significantly limits the extent to which these results can be generalized across Crown Square residents as a whole. I acknowledge the very low response rate for the questionnaire and use sincere caution in drawing any definitive conclusions from the questionnaire data alone; nonetheless, the questionnaire is

¹ Similar to that reported in McGuirk et al., 2010. The survey's return rate was approximately 6%, 96 returned out of 1720; 1430 were hand-delivered to mail boxes, the remaining were posted, with a number being returned to sender which was then deduced from the total number.

supplemented with interview data and one of the reasons a questionnaire was devised was to recruit interview participants. It is believed that the high rate of turnover of the Crown Square apartments that many residents reported in interviews may have influenced the low response rate; other reasons could be related to unfamiliarity or lack of confidence with spoken English as interviewees also reported and it was observed a considerable population of non-English-speaking- background (see Chapter 4) as well as the fact that the development was still under construction in parts and the likelihood I hand-delivered questionnaires to mailboxes of unoccupied apartments. That being said, the questionnaires that were returned offered useful insight into life in the development so an analysis of the results was utilized in Chapter 4, supplemented by key respondent interviews. The survey consisted of multiple choice and open-ended questions about motivations for moving to the estate, feelings about living there and perceptions about who lives there and how they interact, as well as basic demographic information about household composition, income, and age. Survey results were tabulated into percentages of the whole of respondents and then key questions (identified through coding survey and interview results) were cross-tabulated. Survey respondents had the option to volunteer for an in-depth interview about their experiences living in Crown Square.

2.6.4 Documentary and discourse analysis

Because of frustrating limitations in securing key respondent interviews, particularly with governmental and corporate actors (see discussion of limitations below), documentary and discourse analysis was enlisted as a method that could yield results on questions regarding redevelopment in lieu of first-hand interviews. Furthermore, my own background and strengths as a researcher cannot be overlooked in understanding why discourse analysis was employed; post-structural research methods are a fundamental part of my training and as such I employ these methods as they are integral to my research repertoire. Following Foucault (1972), discourse creates social reality and as such discourse analysis allows a way of understanding social relationships.

“Discourses are supra-individual. Everybody is co-producing discourse, but no single individual or group controls discourse or has precisely intended its final result.” (Jager and Maier, 2009 p. 38). In other words, discourses include statements and utterances from individuals, texts and documents and media and images—all of which can be analysed to understand a particular aspect of social reality. Discourse analysis has become a valued research method within urban studies and geography (Hastings, 1999; Jacobs, 2006), highlighting that the way meanings are produced are “intrinsic to processes of social reproduction, contestation and change” (Hastings, 1999, p. 7). This is befitting to this research as a key aim of this work is to understand urban change in the form of redevelopment, as well as how redevelopment is a contested process. Indeed, discourse analysis has been used and shown to have merit as a research method in work on redevelopment (Skillington, 1998) and gentrification (Wilson and Grammenos, 2005; Wilson et al., 2004), thus establishing precedent for the use of this method in addressing my research questions about these topics I analysed discourses of redevelopment, consisting of interviews with community residents and activists, policy documents outlining redevelopment plans, and media reports focused on neighbourhood change. I analysed these discourses to explore how language was used to legitimize redevelopment, to position various actors as important or illegitimate, and how these discourses and constructions of the ‘good’ or ‘desirable’ city were contested by alternative discourses. The production of discourse elucidates power relationships, and as such discourse analysis provides insight into how power plays out through the construction of discourse. This has allowed me to not only analyse discourse produced by those in positions of power (for example, policy makers) but also to examine discourses that counter or contest discourses created by those in power. This is similar to and builds on Marston’s (2004) discourse analysis work that describes what he calls ‘sites of resistance’ wherein individuals challenge the discourses created by and that serve those in power. This approach also reflects Fairclough’s (1992) understanding of intertextuality in discourse—that discourses are constantly responding to and incorporating

other discourses that came before. In other words, I wanted to examine both the discourses embedded in policy documents and media to understand discourses representing urban power, as well as the intertextual ways in which others were contesting those through alternative discourses. Ultimately, this approach to research is aimed at illuminating the reciprocal link between discourse and urban change.

In this way interview transcripts were analysed as discourses. In Chapter 4 this was done through an analysis of MPE residents' discourses of gentrification, community and difference and how these construct particular meanings of place, space and urban change. I analysed the language in interview transcripts using a framework that denoted keywords that described urban change or gentrification; sometimes these keywords were explicit, for example when interviewees directly used the word 'gentrification' or phrases like 'the neighbourhood is changing'. At other times, their language was more coded, using phrases like 'the place is really up-and-coming' to refer to gentrifying changes in the neighbourhood. I analysed these utterances in terms of they reference urban space and urban change—do they see urban change or their estate/neighbourhood/city as positive or negative, are they impartial, do they construct their social identity within space through the MPE or do they set up barriers that socially divide them from the rest of the neighbourhood? These were all questions that constituted my analysis of Crown Square residents in Chapter 4.

In Chapter 5 interviews with business owners were analysed for constructions of gentrification and redevelopment and 'creative' urban renewal—did they implicate their businesses in the construction of a creative space or city, did they represent gentrification as positive or negative for the neighbourhood (or was it ambiguous) and did they differentiate Waterloo from other spaces in the city and how did they do so? I also analysed these transcripts to understand how they might incorporate, reflect or react to academic, political and media discourses of the creative city in an intertextual analysis of

discursive constructions of creativity in urban space. Furthermore, this chapter utilized a discourse analysis of lifestyle media that was promoting the area's creative renewal. How were 'creative' lifestyles portrayed in Waterloo, and how were the 'non-creative' constructed, if only through their absent presence within the texts? How did these texts construct the urban space of Waterloo? And finally, again in an intertextual analysis of these discourses—how did these texts reflect, incorporate or refute media, popular or political discourses about the neighbourhood that had come before?

Chapter 6 is the result of analysis of discourses that arose from interviews with neighborhood activists around community and redevelopment; it also analysed government documents that outlined redevelopment strategies for the case study area to understand the ways they discursively constructed 'community' (see Appendix 6). First I conducted a content analysis of the government documents focused on how community was constructed and implicated in the redevelopment process and how the possibilities that they incorporated neoliberal communitarian ideals. Following that, the interview transcripts from community activists were analysed to understand how they reacted to, reflected or contested the government's constructions of community, again focusing on the intertextuality of these discourses. The intertextual analysis was aimed at uncovering how the alternate discursive constructions of 'community' used by activists might reveal some resistance to the hegemonic power of the government's constructions of community.

Chapter 7 offers a critical analysis of the multiple ways in which 'community' was discursively constructed by a number of community coalitions. The focus of the analysis in this chapter was how constructions of community were used to contest a particular vision of urban redevelopment. The analysis looked at how the community coalitions constructed alternate visions of urban space and how they reflected, incorporated or resisted other discursive constructions of the city as put forth in redevelopment

strategies, again incorporating an element of intertextual analysis. A much more in-depth discussion of the discourse analysis for this case study can be found in the body of Chapter 7.

2.6.5 Limitations

There were significant limitations to this research, as foreshadowed above. Primarily these limitations stem from low response rates to invitations for research. In many cases requests for interview or other participation were simply ignored. In the case of Crown Square residents, the reasons for limited response have been speculated upon. In regards to Chapter 6 in research about the Redfern-Waterloo Authority, interviews with officials were sought. Initially I had verbal confirmation that key staff of the RWA would participate; however, when the official letter for research was sent out a response came back that the authority was seeking further advice on participating in the research resulting in agreement to a written statement answering the interview questions. However, this written statement never materialized. I believe RWA officials declined to participate in the research for a number of reasons not least of all because they were incredibly busy at the time of research, but furthermore I believe they were eager to shy away from questions about the contradictory nature of their policies I had identified, particularly in regards to gentrification. This significantly limited my ability to discuss the aims and intentions of the RWA in their strategies and left me to consider the documents that were publically available. This in turn resulted in a shift in focus to how these strategies were contested by a local neighborhood group that did participate in interviews. It should also be noted as to why I did not seek to interview residents of the public housing communities for Chapter 6 about the neighbourhood's redevelopment—in this regard I felt that because of the history of Redfern-Waterloo as a place of disadvantage that had constantly undergone scrutiny from academics and government officials (see discussion Chapter 6) this type of research would be unwelcome and potentially patronizing.

With the Atlantic Yards research for Chapter 7, by the time I commenced research Atlantic Yards had already undergone two years of planning and popular criticism and the global financial crisis had hit, seriously threatening the project. As such representatives from the ESDC and FCRC were not willing to participate in research—letters were never returned. This significantly limited my ability to address the status of the development per se and again shifted my research focus to look exclusively at the community politics surrounding the development. A discussion with one state representative was forced to be destroyed when he decided to withdraw from the research because he felt he would be risking his job even if he was not identified by name in the resulting work. The community coalitions contesting the development were contacted for interview but many responded they were too busy with their activist work that they declined based on their personal time constraints—one key interview with a leader of one community coalition was also compromised by his ability to be identified because of media attention associated with opposition to the development. Thus I did not utilize this data.

These limitations meant that my research had to be reconfigured at various points throughout this project, often during significant time pressure. This resulted in research that, while being thwarted in its attempts to interrogate ‘official’ processes of redevelopment and urban change through interviews with government officials and corporate actors, has been able to highlight quite well the ‘unofficial’ ways that redevelopment is enacted and experienced by residents of new developments, business owners and community activists. This has meant incorporating methods like discourse analysis that alone may not have been able to capture with any certainty the everyday realities of redevelopment and gentrification but that bolster interview data. Similarly the low response rate of the questionnaire is strengthened by the interview data and discourse analysis.

Despite these limitations, the use of a variety of methods has enabled fruitful data to be

gathered that provides significant insights into issues of redevelopment, gentrification and MPE production in the inner-city. The following chapters will elaborate further on methods and data collection in their exploration of these issues. The next chapter will begin to explore these through an overview of MPE development in inner-city Sydney.

Chapter 3 Master-Planned Estates in the inner-city: an overview of MPE development in the City of Sydney

The rise of master-planned residential estates (MPEs) in Australia's residential development has received a significant amount of attention in the geographic literature in recent years. This literature has focused on a range of issues from privatization, social polarization and marketing strategies; however, as explained in this chapter, the research emerging almost exclusively focuses on suburban or ex-urban MPEs. Yet MPEs are increasingly being developed on inner-city brownfield sites as well, which has been neglected in the research. Hence this chapter will consider the current state of inner-city MPE development, presenting an overview of the geography of MPEs in inner-Sydney and how their development compares and contrasts with suburban MPE research. I review the Australian MPE literature, categorizing it thematically; then I present the geography of inner-city MPEs in Sydney, summarizing its relationship to the city's overall development; the third section explores how inner-city MPEs compare to their suburban counterparts in terms of the main themes of the MPE literature. I conclude by outlining how research on inner-city MPEs can expand and enrich the current Australian literature on this topic. While early Australian accounts of MPEs were strongly influenced by the international literature on the topic, scholars have established the unique context of MPE development in Australia that situates this thesis (see McGuirk and Dowling, 2007).

3.1 Academic accounts of the MPE

Master-planned estates are mixed-use (although characteristically primarily residential) developments planned and executed by a single developer. Australian academic accounts of MPEs range from those interested in the strictly private gated community and planned communities with significant social infrastructure to those with little to no social elements, premised primarily on residential amenities packages (McGuirk et al., 2010). Regardless of

the varying types of MPE, authors tend to agree on some common characteristics: a single developer responsible for planning and implementation of the estate, a consistent design and aesthetic, and some level of private infrastructure that may include social infrastructure, community facilities and residential amenities. As noted previously, MPEs have been strongly associated with security and privatization in the twenty-first century (see McKenzie, 1994; Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Atkinson and Flint, 2004; Atkinson, 2006; McGuirk and Dowling, 2009). Three general themes dominate the MPE literature: privatization, social distinction/disaffiliation and community. McGuirk and Dowling have explored these issues through in-depth empirical work, revealing the complexity of MPE development and social life in Australian estates (McGuirk and Dowling, 2009; McGuirk and Dowling, 2009a; McGuirk et al., 2010). MPE research investigating the theme of privatization presents a dual concern in this regard: privatization in terms of governance and privatism—a retreat from more public forms of socializing (McGuirk et al., 2010). This leads to the second thematic category in MPE research, that of social distinction and middle-class disaffiliation (Gwyther, 2005; Atkinson, 2006; Kenna, 2007). In this area of interest researchers consider the ways in which MPEs offer a form of social distinction that particularly appeals to the middle and upper-middle classes, allowing them a way of disaffiliating from people and areas considered undesirable, creating places of exclusivity (Atkinson, 2006; Kenna, 2007). Finally, the question of how community is facilitated and marketed by developers, and lived by MPE residents is a major theme in the literature, often relating to the first two themes.

The notion that MPEs present a privatized form of governance and social life has often been assumed in the literature, following the lead of earlier international work on MPEs and gated communities (McKenzie, 1994; Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Low, 2003; Gleeson, 2006). More recently Australian researchers have set out to critically examine

this assumption and understand the nature of this privatization more thoroughly. The work of McGuirk and Dowling (2009; 2009a) in particular has undertaken the task of re-evaluating the ways MPEs are privatized. Their research focuses on the assertion that MPEs represent iconic spaces of neoliberalism; taking a post-structuralist approach, they argue that MPEs are produced through a diversity of logics and practices that exceed neoliberalism (McGuirk and Dowling, 2009a). In doing so they assert that the state uses the development of MPEs to direct development in strategic directions defined by the government and thus the argument that MPEs privatize development and urban space is seen as an incomplete narrative.

McGuirk, Dowling and Atkinson have more recently explored issues of privatization and privatism through empirical research in eleven MPEs in the Sydney metropolitan area, examining developer-led planning of MPEs and provision of infrastructure and mechanisms for privatized governance within the MPE—looking at how such features might create a sense of social distinction for MPE residents (2010). In doing so the authors defined a typology indicating levels of privatization as understood through the physical form and governance structure of MPEs: those that are gated, symbolically enclosed and open. Gated MPEs are the most highly fortified and securitized, enclosed within walls and gates controlling access—the form considered to be most privatized; symbolically enclosed estates utilize aesthetic controls to bound the development as a distinctive space—for example landscaping, uniform design elements, private security and housing covenants that dictate stylistic presentation of individual homes; finally open estates are those that have very little physical differentiation from the surrounding neighborhood and limited private governance (McGuirk and Dowling, p. 398). This typology is useful for investigating the issue of privatization because it provides a basis for comparing MPEs, enabling researchers to position estates on a continuum of levels of privatism.

A primary area of interest for MPE researchers regarding privatization lies in governance

mechanisms such as community title, housing covenants and owners' corporations (Blandy et al. 2006a; Blandy et al. 2006b; Goodman and Douglas, 2010; Kenna and Stevenson, 2010). This work focuses on how these structures are changing urban governance and service delivery and how residents relate to these new mechanisms. This work revealed many MPE residents are unaware of their obligations in terms of governance (Blandy et al., 2006a; Goodman and Douglas, 2008). Other enquiries about the lived experience of MPE governance structures revealed they were often disliked by residents for a number of reasons including high rates, lack of transparency and poor operation and information flow (Kenna and Stevenson, 2010; McGuirk et al., 2010). Other commentators assert however that Australian MPE research to date has not demonstrated a significant privatization of facilities and that by and large most case studies have shown a mix of public and private elements (Johnson, 2010).

The second major theme of the MPE literature surrounds issues of social distinction, exclusivity, socio-spatial polarization and privatism, described by McGuirk and Dowling as “a withdrawal of social interaction into the spaces and social networks of socially homogenous neighborhoods and, further, into the home itself” (2008, p. 393) (Gwyther, 2005; Atkinson, 2006; Kenna, 2007; Low, 2008). These studies point to desires for homogeneity in MPEs—both in terms of the people that live there and the environment in which they live—that is seen to protect social and economic assets, sparking the concern amongst researchers that these developments will contribute to socio-spatial polarization. Gwyther argues that MPEs contribute to socio-spatial differentiation by catering to upwardly mobile middle and upper-income earners (2005). In her research on master-planned estates in Sydney's western suburbs she highlights the ways in which middle class residents of MPEs have sought to differentiate themselves from other, less desirable, areas of Sydney's west, in particular areas recently inhabited by immigrants or near Housing Commission sites, through their residential choice. Other research in an MPE in Sydney's western suburbs conferred

with Gwyther's concern for the exacerbation of socio-spatial polarization, focusing on how one estate was intentionally designed and marketed as an exclusive community, reporting that 99.3% of the imagery the developer projected were of Anglo-Australian families (Kenna, 2007). Residents' perceptions of MPEs as markers of status and prestige are often related to the ordered and controlled design and environment that defines these estates (Rofe, 2006; McGuirk et al., 2010). Nevertheless, McGuirk and Dowling challenge the idea that MPEs succeed in creating homogenous spaces of exclusivity for the middle-class, as their survey of eleven Sydney MPEs showed that residents consistently rated their estates with high perceptions of social diversity and that they valued the diversity of the estate (2010). They argue that a homogenous built environment is more highly valued in terms of distinction.

The final key theme to Australian literature about MPEs is the discourse of community. Researchers have focused on how developers strive to create a sense of community in their estates and how they use it as a marketing tool and governance mechanism, as well as how MPE residents conceive of and experience community (Gwyther, 2005; Walters and Rosenblatt, 2008; Cheshire et al., 2009; Rosenblatt et al., 2009). A strong theme in the literature about community in MPEs is the ways in which the concept is applied to estate governance, wherein a sense of community is seen to contribute to self-government by residents (Gwyther, 2005; Cheshire et al., 2009). Gwyther argues that 'community' functions as a mechanism to protect residents' financial investment in their homes through social differentiation—although her research specifically addresses master-planned communities with social infrastructure and a specific vision of creating 'community' through community compacts, agreements between the developer and residents to uphold a common social code (Gwyther, 2005). Other studies have shown that the legal aspects of community—such as owners' corporations and the like tend to undermine residents' feelings of community (Goodman and Douglas, 2010). Community has also been associated with physical features of the estates construction—from common areas or facilities to

landscaping and aesthetics (Cheshire et al., 2009)—Rosenblatt et al. explain that community has become “inextricably bound up with aesthetically appealing forms of physical design, especially among more affluent consumers” (2009, p. 132). In terms of how residents experience community, research concludes that feelings of community are often high but actual levels of social interaction are low (Walters and Rosenblatt, 2008; Rosenblatt et al., 2009; McGuirk et al., 2010). The literature shows that promotion of community is a common trend in marketing Australia’s suburban MPEs, with this being portrayed through language of familiarity, belonging and close-knitted-ness (Rosenblatt et al., 2009; Goodman and Douglas, 2010).

While there has been a significant amount of research attention on MPEs recently, and this literature often alludes to inner-city brownfield MPE development, the vast majority of empirical work has focused on the outer-suburban greenfield type. McGuirk and Dowling include inner-city case studies in their research (2010); however, their typology discussed above does not distinguish between urban and suburban MPEs, concealing any trends that may have been specific to inner-city MPEs. Bounds and Morris explore the production of Jacksons Landing a large-scale MPE in Pyrmont in terms of “second wave gentrification” in inner-city Sydney (2006), while avoiding the term “master-planned estate”; this work will be discussed below as it remains a solitary case study on an inner-city MPE. The introduction to a special issue of *Urban Policy and Research* recognizes the presence of inner-city MPE development and discussed the different ways urban MPEs portray community and exclusivity in a brief quote from marketing materials from an urban estate in Brisbane (Cheshire et al., 2010), yet the lack of any pre-existing research on the topic of inner-city MPEs is notable. This certainly identifies a significant gap in research, particularly in-depth qualitative work, on the existence of MPEs in inner-city estates that this thesis is aimed at addressing. To begin, the remainder of this chapter will present an overview of MPE development in inner-city Sydney, noting

trends in urban estates and comparing and contrasting with suburban MPE development; the following chapters will contribute to the most outstanding questions regarding MPEs in the inner-city with an in-depth case study from Waterloo in the City of Sydney.

3.2 The geography of MPEs in the City of Sydney

The research area for this chapter was marked by the City of Sydney boundaries to facilitate a strictly inner-urban perspective on MPE development in Sydney (refer to Figure 3.1, map of inner-city Sydney). Sydney is in the throes of change as it faces massive population increases in the coming decades and a shortage of housing—thus making it a prime case study for the development of inner-city MPEs as they are rapidly being rolled out to meet the seemingly never-ending demand for centrally located housing. Over the course of researching my thesis I mapped MPEs I discovered in these boundaries through exploring the city on foot, by car and using the internet to obtain details about the developments. I mapped 20 estates finished or in progress in these boundaries; 10 were considered MPEs in the strict sense, meaning their form was similar to that found in the suburbs, others took more distinctly urban forms like large-scale warehouse conversions, tower complexes and apartment developments that I include because of the presence of communal facilities like community rooms, shared gardens, private courtyards, swimming pools and barbeques—differences in size and physical form of these inner-city MPEs stood out from their suburban counterparts and this will be discussed below. Looking at the geography of MPE development allows us to read the cityscape for significant growth areas and how these estates are connected to other types of urban change, including gentrification and government development strategies.

The geography of urban MPEs that formed through this mapping exercise showed significant development to the south of the CBD—almost exclusively on large ex-industrial brownfield sites. MPE development matched up with state and city strategic redevelopment areas, for example the Ashmore Precinct, Redfern-Waterloo under the

control of the Redfern-Waterloo Authority and the Green Square renewal area in the South Sydney area. This geography reveals that MPE development in the inner-city is being produced in areas that the state and city government see as desirable for housing development—both suburban and inner-city MPEs are addressing the state’s concern about urban sprawl by reusing brownfield sites that lay empty after the decline of industrial use in the city. The development of these MPEs, most of which are a mix of medium to high-rise constructions interspersed with townhouses and low-rise apartments, are changing the residential built environment of the City of Sydney, still in many areas characterized by Victorian-era terraces and cottages. Likewise, the City’s population threshold is increasing with the development of higher-density high-rise estates—a key objective outlined in Sydney’s Metropolitan Strategy. However, the comparatively limited availability of large development sites in the inner-city has allowed for the creation of “boutique” MPEs—those with a limited number of units often stylized to provoke a sense of uniqueness and authenticity not often associated with master-planning—for example Glebe Harbour (see Figure 3.2) and Advanx with 135 and 175 units respectively (see Table 3.1 below).

The relationship between MPE development and state strategies is best exemplified through the Green Square Town Centre by Landcom, a state-run development corporation and the largest developer of MPEs in Sydney (McGuirk and Dowling, 2009). In the 1990s South Sydney Council developed a plan known as Sustainable South Sydney which earmarked the area for redevelopment; in 1998 the Council finalized the Green Square Structural Masterplan, which the Minister for Planning directed Landcom to help the South Sydney Development Corporation with planning. Despite South Sydney Council being amalgamated

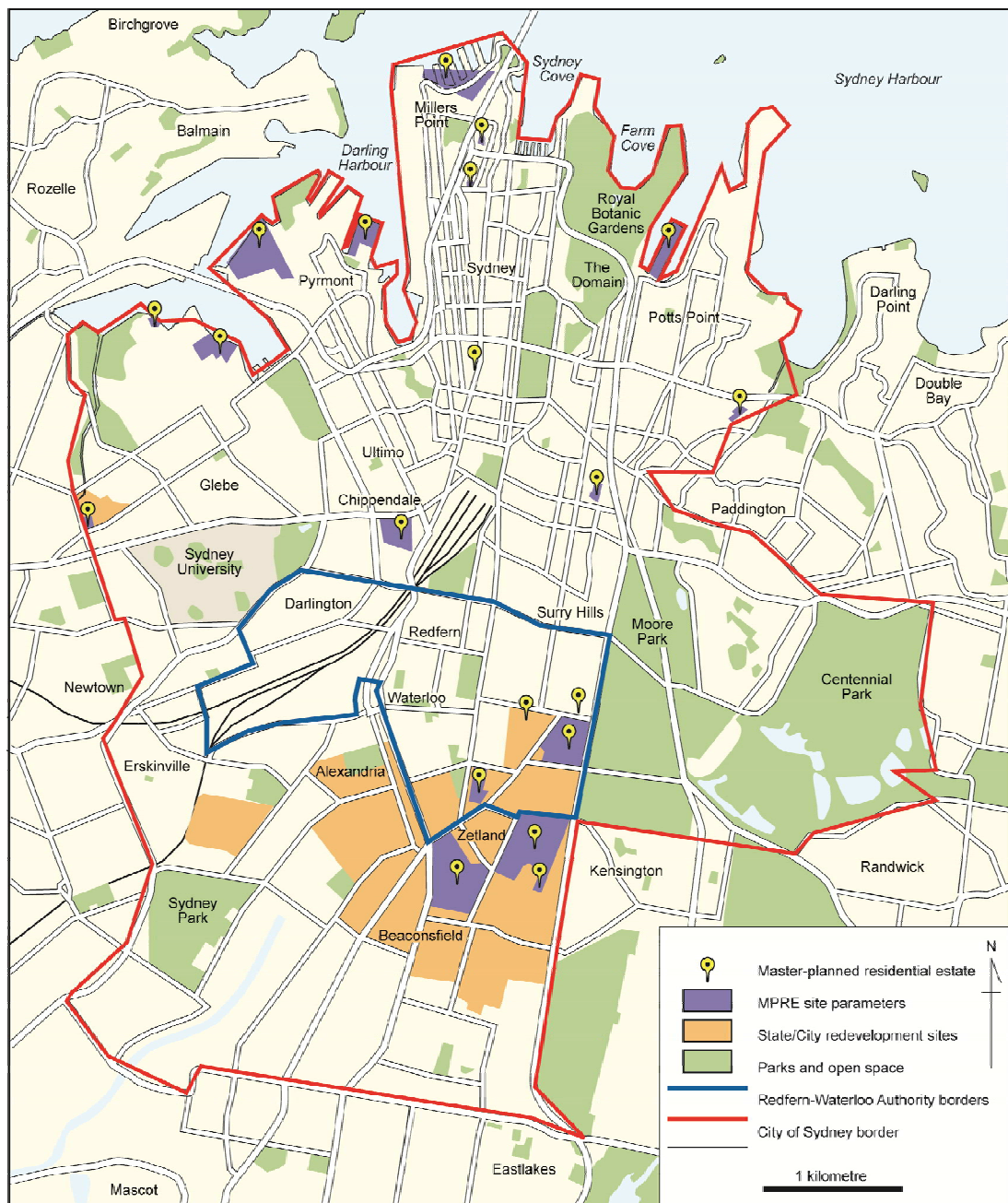


Figure 3.1: Map of inner-city Sydney



Figure 3.2: Glebe Harbour's boathouse townhouses

into the City of Sydney Council in 2004 the plan continued. Currently Green Square Town Centre is in the late stages of site remediation, in 2012 infrastructure delivery and construction will commence. Over approximately the next decade, 2,500 homes will be built there, as well as commercial and retail development forecast to employ up to 7,000 people (<http://www.landcom.com.au/for-home-buyers/green-square-town-centre.aspx> accessed June 28, 2011). Meanwhile, Landcom recently completed Victoria Park, a 2,500 unit MPE in the Green Square Redevelopment Area. This particular example demonstrates the close relationship between city and state development strategies and the construction of MPEs.

Meriton, Australia's largest developer has also played a role in transforming southern Sydney through MPE development. Meriton—developer of Crown Square and Victoria Square in the Redfern-Waterloo Authority and Green Square renewal areas in South Sydney—explains their success with the developments and “towering returns” in the area:

As one of the first developers to see the potential of Sydney's South, Meriton now has a well earned reputation for providing quality accommodation for thousands of

Australians. To date, over 3000 apartments have been completed in the area along with shopping centres, childcare centres, open park areas, and an abundance of communal facilities for everyone to enjoy... In some areas of our cities, Meriton developments have created brand new communities. Suburbs just south of the CBD are excellent examples of this. Meriton pioneered the rejuvenation of a former industrial area and, today, old factories have been replaced by high quality housing and well planned amenities.

(<http://www.meriton.com.au/default.asp?action=article&ID=197376> accessed June 20, 2011)

Meriton also explains the factors contributing to the successful development of

MPEs in these areas, noting investors could expect strong annual yields there as rents had increased by 50% since 2003 and that,

Rental growth has seen median rents in Meriton's nearby Crown Square development increase by up to 10% over the past 12 months, while the vacancy rate for this popular location remains at a record low of 1.3%. Rents will continue to rise now and in the long term as Sydney is faced with major undersupply issues and high demand.

(<http://www.meriton.com.au/default.asp?action=article&ID=197376> accessed June 20, 2011)

Meriton's description of their "rejuvenation" of large tracts of industrial land in South Sydney gives perspective on the rapid development of this area, revealing that MPE production there is raising rent prices, gentrifying an industrial area in ways similar to Bounds and Morris' description of the development of Jacksons Landing in Pyrmont (2006) (see below).

Another significant pattern that can be identified in the geography of MPE development in the City of Sydney is the clustering of estates on the edges of the CBD along the harbor. In the 1990s this sort of development began transforming industrial sites in the most desirable locations—on the harbor—in areas like Walsh Bay, the Woolloomooloo Wharves, Pyrmont (see Searle, 2002; Waite, 2004; Bounds and Morris, 2005; Bounds and Morris,

2006), and waterfront areas of Glebe (see Figure 3.3). Now these neighborhoods each have MPE development with apartment and townhouse complexes constructed by a single developer, complete with communal facilities, uniform design, housing covenants and strata rules and often the presence of mixed use zoning that includes shops, restaurants and other amenities in the design.



Figure 3.3: Jacksons Landing with restored finger wharves in foreground

The development of MPEs in the most desirable areas of the City of Sydney has enabled a new wave of gentrification of the city to occur, new-build gentrification similar to that in the London Docklands (see Smith, 1996; Lees and Davidson, 2005; Butler, 2007; Davidson and Lees, 2009). Research on the new-build gentrification phenomenon would complement and inform research about the development of inner-city MPEs—a theoretical synergy I will return to in Chapter 4. Indeed, the development of Jacksons Landing, an MPE in Pyrmont, an ex-industrial area adjacent to Sydney's CBD, was criticized by some scholars as gentrifying a traditionally working-class area of the City of Sydney (Searle, 2002; Waite, 2004; Bounds and Morris, 2005; Bounds and Morris, 2006).

3.3 Trends across Sydney's inner-city MPEs

Having outlined the geography of MPE development in the City of Sydney, I now turn to the some details of these estates to generally assess how inner-city MPEs compare to their

suburban counterparts, considering their built form, resident amenities, and advertising strategies. Taking a set of ten inner-city MPEs in the City of Sydney, I will compare these factors to compile some trends in inner-city MPE development. I chose these ten MPEs in the City of Sydney to represent the diversity of estate types—large and small developments, with a variety of developers, neighborhoods and marketing strategies. These MPEs were also chosen on the basis that they were developed and/or sold during the time of research, enabling me to obtain up to date information from the developers’ websites and advertising materials. Table 3.1 outlines the details of each of these ten MPEs (Table 3.2 provides a further overview of the other 10 MPEs I mapped in the City of Sydney). The following subsections compare the built form, amenities and advertising strategies of the ten selected MPEs. Because this chapter presents an overview of a number of MPEs, the focus here is on identifying trends with the information available without an in-depth case study.

3.3.1 Built form and amenities

Several trends emerged in comparing the built form of the inner-city MPEs. One identifiable trend was a built form characterized by medium-high rise apartment buildings interspersed with townhouses or terraces and landscaped gardens, parks, walkways and open space (see Figure 3.4 and Figure 3.5).

Preservation of heritage buildings and structures, often industrial in nature, is a strong trend among inner-city MPEs; Landcom expresses a commitment to heritage preservation “to ensure the end result respects and represents Green Square’s historical and cultural significance” (<http://www.gstc.com.au/meetingdiverseneeds-.aspx> accessed June 28, 2011). Eight of the ten MPEs were developed from an ex- industrial brown field site and half maintain structures or buildings from the site’s industrial past, for example Glebe Harbour showcases the partially demolished 1933 waste incinerator; Jacksons Landing has heritage-converted buildings and uses industrial structures salvaged from

the site's previous life as the Colonial Sugar Refining Company as public art in outdoor spaces; Crown Square retains a smokestack from the former Amalgamated Glass Manufacturers site it sits on (see Figure 3.6 and Figure 3.7) and Central Park incorporates heritage brewery structures (see Figure 3.8). Other inner-city MPEs included a reference to their former uses— City Quarter has converted two buildings from the original children's hospital that was located there and Advanx takes its name from the site's history as a tyre factory and references this via a tyre track motif in outdoor spaces. The adaptive reuse of heritage structures is a notable trend in the built form of inner- city MPEs, this is significant considering the unique role of heritage in gentrifying inner-city neighborhoods (see Shaw, 2005 for a discussion of the role of heritage in the gentrification in Sydney). The combination of high-rise apartment buildings alongside low-rise terrace housing also seems to be a reference to the City of Sydney's built heritage in that the terraces reflect sensitivity to the area's dominant form of Victorian-era housing. This reference to the history of the sites these MPEs were built upon is also significant in that it is particular to the inner-city, having not been observed in the suburban MPE literature. It is also remarkable that almost every estate contains mix of residential, commercial and retail uses—showing a more diversified usage mix than in suburban estates. In Jacksons Landing, for example, one of the buildings known as Glassworks contains Nokia company offices, as well as a number of other companies' offices; retail development is a key feature of a majority of inner-city MPEs, for example, Crown Square has a shopping centre with a grocery store, pharmacy, liquor store, cafés and restaurants and Central Park is building a shopping mall with boutique shops, cafés, restaurants and bars. Green Square Town Centre is also being designed as a “landmark residential, commercial and retail hub ideally suited for life and business in the global economy”. (<http://www.landcom.com.au/for-home-buyers/green-square-town-centre.aspx> accessed June 28, 2011).

Table 3.1 ‘Boutique’ MPE developments in Sydney

Name	Developer	Timeframe	Location	Land Use	# of Units	Amenities
Walsh Bay	Mirvac/Transfield	c. 2002-2003	Walsh Bay/ The Rocks	residential/ commercial	apx. 345	pool, gym, security entrance, secure parking, private moorings available
Cove Apartments	Grocon International	2003	CBD	residential/ commercial/retail	212	health club/gym, swimming pool, steam and sauna rooms, rooftop terrace, BBQ, 24 hour concierge, parking, meeting rooms
Sydney Wharf	Charter Hall Group	completed 2009	Pymont	residential/ commercial		pool, gym, marina/moorings, secure underground parking, concierge
Pavilions on the Bay	Greycliff Developments	completed 2001	Glebe	Residential	46	private courtyard
The Wharf at Woolloomooloo	Walker Corporation	completed 1999	Woolloomooloo	residential/ commercial /retail	325	
Lumiere Residences	Fraser Property	completed 2007	CBD	residential/ commercial/ retail	456	leisure/fitness centre, 2 pools, gym, Jacuzzi, steam room, sauna, 2 screening rooms, multi-purpose events room
St. Margaret’s	Zone Developments, Rommark Corporation, Overland Developments	c. 2005-2008?	Surry Hills	residential/ commercial/retail	210	pool, gym, sauna, parking
Moore Park Gardens	Dealruby	c. 1990s	Redfern	residential/retail	560	pool, gym, sauna, secure underground car park
Mondrian Apartments	St. Hilliers	2003	Waterloo	Residential	137	pool, courtyard/green space
Warehouse 5	St. Hilliers	c. 2005	Waterloo	Residential		

Table 3.2 MPE developments in Sydney

Name	Developer	Time frame	Location	Land use	No homes/units	Housing type	Estate governance	Amenities	Cost	Marketing keywords
Advanx	Kell and Rigby	2008-2011	Rushcutters Bay	residential/commercial/retail	175	apartments/townhouses	Strata	parking; security/video intercom; 24 hour CCTV in lobby, car parks, public outdoor areas; private outdoor areas/gardens		convenience, dynamic, lifestyle, location, vibrant
Central Park	Fraser Property	2009-2018	Chippendale	residential/commercial/retail	1800	apartments/townhouses		PRIVATE: fitness club; pool, gym, spa, concierge service; rooftop gardens; outdoor spa/sundecks; PUBLIC: shopping mall; parkland; landscaped gardens		central location, downtown, global, spacious, parkland, sustainability, urban, "21st century living"
City Quarter	Fraser Property	2000-2009	Camperdown	residential/commercial/retail	1013	apartments/terraces	owners corporation; community association formed by residents	indoor and outdoor pools; gym; private lawns/gardens; 24-hour security	2 bed with car space from \$734,000; 3-4 bed penthouses from \$1.615m to \$3.545m (from Frasers 2011)	cosmopolitan, culture, design, location, modern, vibrant
Glêbe Harbour	Austriland	2003-2006	Glêbe	residential	135	apartments/townhouses/terraces	owners corporation; executive committee; strata	underground car parking with all units; car wash bay; audio/video security; 2.2km public harbour front parkland	up to 2.25 million (from Golliers International 2008)	accessibility, community, harbour side, peaceful, prestige
Green Square Town Centre	Landcom/Mirvac/Leighton Properties	2009-2025	Zetland	residential/commercial/retail	2,500	mixed				cosmopolitan, "global village", sophisticated, sustainable, "urban village", vibrant

Name	Developer	Time frame	Location	Land use	No homes/units	Housing type	Estate governance	Amenities	Cost	Marketing keywords
Jacksons Landing	Lend Lease	2000-2010	Pymont	residential/ commercial/ retail	1,340	apartments	Community association, stratas, owners' corporation	pool; steam room; tennis courts; function centre, landscaped gardens/promenades; 24-hour security		world-class, community, harbourside, resort-style, lively, exclusive, luxury, convenience, privacy
Crown Square	Meriton	c. 2000-2010	Waterloo	residential/retail	apx. 2300	apartments/ townhouses	body corporate, executive committee	indoor pool; gym; 24-hour security; video intercom, CCTV, security guards; public landscaped gardens/park; private courtyards; public shopping plaza and childcare centre on site		community atmosphere, lively, resort-like, "urban village", vibrant
Victoria Park	Landcom	c. 2000-2010	Zetland	residential/ commercial/ retail	app. 2,500	apartments/ terraces	Community group	gym; pool; security; secure parking; public park/lawns	Apartments: \$350,000; Studio: \$575,000 (from Landcom 2011)	community, "natural neighbourhood", sustainable
Victoria Square	Meriton	c. 2009-2011	Zetland	residential	2,000	apartments		private indoor pool, spa, steam, gym; 24-hour security; secure parking; security intercoms; child care centre on site	Studio: \$335,000; 2-bed, 2-bath, ear space: \$479,000 (from Meriton 2011)	central location, community, elegance, "future of inner city living", lifestyle, prestige, sustainability, vibrant
The Stamford Residences and Reynell Terraces	Stamford Land Corporation	2008-2011	CBD	residential	127	apartments/ terraces		swimming pool, gym, rooftop garden, BBQ, dedicated parking		exclusive, luxury (mainly imagery of the views from apartments, nearby attractions including the harbour)

These unique elements of inner-city MPEs are joined by similarities to their suburban counterparts. For example, all eight MPEs contain public green space as well as in some cases additional private green space and several of the estates are built around park features (Central Park, Glebe Harbour, Jacksons Landing, Victoria Park). In the case of Jacksons Landing and Glebe Harbour, harbour-front space was restored for public use; other MPEs highlight their location adjacent to



Figure 3.4: Jacksons Landing high and low rise



Figure 3.5: Victoria Park townhouses and apartments



Figure 3.6: Crown Square industrial structure



Figure 3.7: Frasers Central Park under construction



Figure 3.8: Crown Square smoke stack

major urban parks as a selling point (Advanx, Crown Square, Victoria Square). The larger estates also created public roads and thoroughfares as they developed. Security was other strong similarity inner-city estates shared with suburban estates—while none of the estates was gated, all the MPEs mapped include significant security features built in, such as audio-visual intercom systems, key card access, CCTV use and in many cases locked, gated parking (see Figure 3.9).



Figure 3.9: Crown Square security

The majority of the ten estates offer a range of resident-only amenities, a defining feature of MPEs; only the Green Square Town Centre, which is yet to be constructed did not (yet) have information on resident amenities. Inner-city estates tend to offer pool and fitness facilities; the only estates of the eight samples that did not offer these facilities were the smallest—Glebe Harbour and Advanx. Some level of secured parking was also a common residential amenity among inner-city MPEs along with security, as discussed above. The inner-city estates offered a range of public and private facilities, reflecting another commonality with suburban estates.

Cafés and convenience shops are a ubiquitous public amenity of inner-city MPEs and increasingly grocery stores, restaurants and child care centres as well—Crown Square (see Figure 3.10) is an example of an inner-city MPE with these public amenities in addition to a

private pool and gym facilities. Some estates, for example Lumiere (Table 3.1) and Jacksons Landing (Table 3.2), offered private amenities for the exclusive use by residents, such as community rooms, concierge services, tennis courts, barbecues, saunas, steam rooms and sun decks.



Figure 3.10: Crown Square apartments and child care facility

3.3.2 Marketing strategies

A focus on how developers present and shape estates through marketing descriptions and imagery is a key feature of the MPE literature (Gwyther, 2005; Rosenblatt, 2005; Kenna, 2007; Walters and Rosenblatt, 2008; Kenna and Dunn, 2009). This research has focused on themes of community, exclusivity and lifestyle prevalent in suburban estate marketing. Similarly, in inner-city estates the common trends in marketing strategies highlight location, lifestyle, and community. In this set of strategies discourses of cosmopolitan lifestyle are employed to entice buyers.

Marketing strategies that emphasize location focus on a convenient location close to the CBD as well as nightlife, restaurants and cafés, and ‘vibrant’, ‘trendy’ and ‘creative’ neighborhoods—emphasizing convenience that is often seen as a primary desire of the

young professionals many of these MPEs (for example: Central Park, City Quarter, Victoria Square) target. Lifestyle is closely linked with location, as the urban lifestyle implies a close proximity to all the things mentioned above. Trio, the final stage of the City Quarter project, markets location by saying you can “reach out and touch the city skyline” from their high-rise apartments; it also entices buyers by talking up the “Inner Best” (Inner West—the area where the MPE is located) evoking the “vibrant” and “authentic” neighborhoods of Annandale, Newtown, Glebe, and Leichhardt. Their web site announces:

A place to buy your Fair-trade coffee, pick up some Roquefort cheese, browse through a leading furniture store renown (sic) for its funky finds and perhaps hunt down a rare first edition of a Patrick White novel. Later, you can book a two-hatted restaurant and stop by a groovy bar for a chic cocktail before dinner. In the past, to do all this might have required travelling all over Sydney but today, it's the Inner West...where all this can be found and which is enjoying a new lease of life as a new generation moves in. (<http://www.triosydney.com/trio/default.asp?sID=4>; accessed 15 June 2011)

This projects the imagery of an authentic, hip, cosmopolitan place where young people are the defining demographic, where everything needed for the “lifestyle” is nearby. The “lifestyle” this marketing excerpt highlights is one of the ‘creative’ ‘bohemian’ gentrifier, one who seeks an authentic urban experience that is often expressed via consumption (see Chapter 2, as well as Brooks, 2000; Florida, 2005; Zukin, 2009; Zukin et al. 2010). Green Square Town Centre uses this strategy as well, described by Landcom as setting “a new benchmark as an authentic ‘urban village’ within Sydney, it will also draw comparisons with other outstanding urban centres such as SoHo in New York and Shoreditch in London” (<http://www.gstc.com.au/localflavour.aspx> accessed June 28 2011). This not

only plays on the concept of authenticity seen to be desired by gentrifiers, but also connects the development to global cities, reflecting an appeal to the “global gentrifier class” (Rofe, 2003). Meanwhile the first stage of Meriton’s Victoria Square, VSQ1, markets itself as “the ultimate expression of a contemporary, inner- city lifestyle” with a map showing the MPEs proximity to dining, cafes, shopping, cinemas and schools, as well as parks, golf courses, and recreation areas. The brochure also emphasizes the close proximity to unique markers of contemporary cosmopolitan life—gentrified neighborhoods with all they have to offer (see Figure 3.11)—saying VSQ1 is:

...a stone’s throw from Sydney’s fashion strips—Surry Hills and Paddington...Those on the hunt for the finest in antique furniture and architectural pieces, art works and a vibrant café and fresh food scene, head to Danks Street where boutiques cater to every craving—aesthetic and culinary, only minutes from VSQ1.

(http://www.meriton.com.au/media/Brochures/VSQ1_Brochure.pdf accessed June 15, 2011)



Figure 3.11: Victoria Square location image from brochure

In linking the estate with gentrified neighborhoods, this excerpt evokes notions of a cosmopolitan lifestyle with its reference to art, fashion, and café culture in proximity to the estate (see Zukin et al., 2010). Landcom also links the Green Square Town Centre with the ‘artsy’ cosmopolitan reputation that South Sydney is gaining as young professionals have moved into the area, saying: “With them came a vibrant mix of cafés,

art galleries, antique stores and other cultural attractions

(<http://www.gstc.com.au/localflavour.aspx> accessed June 15, 2011). The Central Park development in Chippendale, just south of Central Station, is also marketed as a centrally located MPE appealing to a sense of cosmopolitan youth.

Central Park sits at the gateway to the city's top attractions, but better still—it also offers its own collection of boutique shops, galleries, parks, laneways, cafes, restaurants and bars. Each venue is infused with the distinctive scent of energy, intellect and optimism thanks to Central Park's stellar location in the midst of Sydney's university precinct.

(<http://www.centralparksydney.com/location/> accessed June 15, 2011)

This invocation of place projects a sense of cosmopolitanism in two ways—by presenting the ways in which the MPE creates it within the development, saying their architects have “created a new destination for cafes, galleries, weekend markets, and organic food co-operatives” as well as showing how the development fits so well with the rest of the inner-city life: “Chippendale...is a mecca of art, design and culture, and is popular with young families, students, small business owners and fashionistas.” Similarly, Landcom in explaining the growth of South Sydney in regards to their Green Square Town Centre development describes how young professionals are attracted to the area, with a median age of 33 and the percentage of professionals increasing by 3.5% since the last Census; they describe this target demographic thus: “These households typically have high incomes and are seeking appropriate retail and leisure facilities as part of their cosmopolitan lifestyle. The Green Square Town Centre will tap into this demographic as the drivers for retail and residential development” (<http://www.gstc.com.au/people.aspx> accessed on June 28, 2011). This type of marketing strategy appeals to the style, sophistication, and sense of liveliness that is seen as key to the inner-city lifestyle, offering it via the convenience of life in a centrally-located urban MPE.

Another aspect of cosmopolitanism evident in the marketing strategies of some inner-city

MPEs distinct from suburban estates is the inclusion of multiculturalism or ethnicity in the marketing materials. Sydney Wharf (Table 3.1) announces “With a diverse and multicultural population, a true reflection of modern Australian living, our residents enjoy the ultimate Sydney experience: surrounded by harbour waters on three sides...near the CBD and on the tip of Darling Harbour, we have access to all the major attractions and restaurants the city has to offer” from <http://sydneywharfapartments.com/location/> accessed June 27, 2011). This excerpt connects multiculturalism and the cosmopolitan lifestyle in estate marketing. Green Square Town Centre takes their description of multicultural mix one step further on its website, describing “The ethnic mix will be...diverse, with first- and second- generation migrants from countries within Asia and Europe also living and working within the area. This diversity will be reflected in the local flavour of the area” (<http://www.gstc.com.au/localflavour.aspx> accessed June 28, 2011). These descriptions of multiculturalism in estate marketing and websites stands in bold contrast to Kenna’s observation of marketing materials from an estate in Western Sydney showing 99.3% Anglo-Australians (2007, p. 306).

In a recent review of Australian work on MPEs Cheshire et al. write about the centrality of cosmopolitanism in inner-city MPE development, saying the appeal to such sensibilities “recalls Jane Jacobs’ enduring imagery (1961) of the Lower East Side of Manhattan replete with its mixed use, ethnic diversity, loose but meaningful social bonds and vibrant busy street level life” (Cheshire et al. 2010, p. 362). They continue “While this more cosmopolitan form of marketing strategy may have an incidental appeal to the creative class (Florida, 2002), there has been little evidence to date that private residential development in Australian cities is making a direct pitch to creative professionals, researchers, knowledge-based workers and artists” (Cheshire et al. 2010). This is primarily because there is a dearth of research on inner-city MPEs—which interestingly is not noted in that review. However, based on the very preliminary and basic data I have presented here it appears the current inner-city MPE marketing strategies in Sydney target

the “creative class”, echoing the ‘creative’ trend in policy making (Atkinson and Easthope, 2009). This is particularly the case with Central Park through the language of “distinctive scent of energy, intellect and optimism” created by nearby universities and by describing the location as “Sydney’s creative and commercial heart” (Central Park, Park Lane Mini Brochure April 2011). This development also markets the reuse of heritage brewery structures as “cultural or entertaining spaces close to cafés, boutiques and galleries” (Central Park, Park Lane Mini Brochure April 2011)—highlighting the ‘authentic’ urban experience ‘creatives’ are seen to desire via the inclusion of heritage elements, as well as the nearness of cafés, boutiques and galleries, the hallmarks of the “creative class” lifestyle (Florida, 2002; Florida, 2005; Zukin et al., 2010). A starker example of inner-city MPEs targeting the creative class comes from Landcom’s Victoria Park. Their website offers an overview of “bringing Victoria Park to the world” through planning, research and marketing strategies and concludes: “Independent post-purchase research reinforces that we have made the right decisions. Buyers and renters are predominantly well-educated, high earners and from targeted demographics” (<http://www.vicpark.com.au/> accessed June 15, 2011). The connections between inner-city MPE development, creativity strategies and new-build gentrification will be further explored in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

Similar to suburban MPEs, inner-city estates market ‘community’, albeit in a slightly different way than the typical suburban “family-oriented” community. In the inner-city context community is premised on a sense of neighborhood—the “urban village”—advertised both in how the estate creates a ‘community’ through building these lifestyle-oriented MPEs, in other words a location/resident based community, as well as the established communities that exist in the neighborhoods surrounding the MPE. The residential community basis is often tied into the legalities of owning a home in an MPE—for example the community sections of Victoria Park’s and Trio’s websites inform browsers of residents’ community

associations, as well as homeowners associations and other governance structures that are part and parcel of buying a property there. This reflects the trends highlighted in the suburban MPE literature about community being linked with estate governance (Gwyther, 2005; Cheshire et al., 2009); another commonality between urban and suburban estates are marketing strategies that emphasize community as flowing from the physical environment offered by the estate that is maintained through the aforementioned legal structures (see Cheshire et al., 2009; Rosenblatt et al., 2009). As Victoria Square advertises, “New roads, pedestrian networks and open spaces have been subtly blended into the surrounding area which, combined with extensive landscaping, creates an environment which fosters the feeling of community and neighborhood”. In this way marketing ‘community’ involves evoking the sense of existing neighborhood community structures combined with the physical creation of a new neighborhood. Meriton’s nearby Crown Square advertising echoes the connection between MPE construction of a new urban neighborhood with the creation of community, saying “Crown Square has been designed to achieve an exquisite and lasting interplay between the natural environment and the built environment, thus creating a living and vibrant local community.” The effort made to express connection between the MPE and surrounding neighborhood communities is a unique feature of using community in inner-city MPE marketing strategies that is not prevalent within suburban MPE marketing. This reflects the reality that inner-city MPEs are being constructed in the middle of long-existing, more densely connected neighborhoods, with a sense of place and community, whereas suburban estates are usually on the fringe of urban development (Gwyther, 2005) and in lesser proximity to earlier development. While suburban MPEs have been marketed by developers and thought of by residents as separate and exclusive to and differentiated from surrounding areas (see Gwyther, 2005; Kenna, 2007), inner-city MPE marketing strategies emphasize connection with and proximity to nearby neighborhoods.

On the other hand, Sugar Dock, the latest stage of Jacksons Landing, one of the larger-

scale MPEs, uses community in a unique way compared to other inner-city estates by contrasting the sense of community created by the estate to its presence in a world city. This uses a parochial, neighbourly sense of community in a way similar to suburban estates, saying, “Despite being on the cusp of one of the world’s truly international cities, Sugar Dock enjoys a strong sense of community. Neighbours meet in the communal gym and pool, walk their dogs in surrounding parks and rub shoulders in local cafés and restaurants” (http://www.sugardock.com.au/Content.aspx?urlkey=jl_com accessed June 15, 2011). This captures the sense of privatism some of the suburban MPEs use in marketing community while combining it with the cosmopolitan amenities of the inner-city.

3.3.3 Conclusion and implications for further research

This chapter has reviewed the current state of the rapidly expanding MPE research in Australia, noting the curious absence of case studies of inner-city estates, and provided an overview of inner-city estates in the City of Sydney. This contributes to the MPE literature by offering insight into the types of MPE development and their marketing strategies in the inner-city as compared to suburban estates. Inner-city MPEs were found to offer a greater mix of use, different types of dwellings— including the prevalence of high-rise construction—and a focus on cosmopolitanism that set them apart from their suburban counterparts. The inner-city also fostered “boutique” MPEs that were smaller in size than those found in the suburbs, as well as marketing strategies that highlight the estate’s proximity to surrounding areas, rather than separation from them. However, inner-city MPEs also contained similarities to suburban estates, including a focus on security and residential amenity, a discourse of community and a trend of providing green space and access to or creation of parks and open space.

While this research provides an overview of trends in inner-city MPE development, it also

highlights a number of questions that need to be addressed through in-depth empirical work. Firstly, the demographics and social makeup of the inner-city estates needs to be established, with attention to how this compares to suburban estates and the assertion of homogeneity and affluence in the literature. This may yield interesting results considering the emphasis on cosmopolitanism and even multiculturalism in inner-city estate marketing. Other primary questions remain: what is social life like in inner-city MPEs? How do these estates relate to the wider neighborhoods and communities they are constructed in or around? How does the construction of MPEs relate to strategic state planning? It also must be established how literature and research on inner-city MPEs might connect with other literatures in urban studies and geography, as outlined in this chapter, particularly literature on new-build gentrification, cosmopolitanism, and creative cities. The remaining chapters in this thesis aim to answer some of these questions through a case study of one MPE in the inner-city neighborhood of Waterloo that spans several chapters and areas of inquiry.

Chapter 4 Resident life in an inner-city MPE: gentrification, community and homogeneity versus diversity

This chapter explores resident experiences of neighbouring in an inner-city master- planned estate in the Waterloo neighborhood of Sydney. As reviewed in Chapter 2, recent research about Australian MPEs has considered resident experience in an aim to understand various social aspects of life therein (McGuirk et al., 2010), particularly aspects of community and resident interaction (Rosenblatt, Cheshire and Lawrence, 2009; Walters and Rosenblatt, 2008; Gwyther, 2005) as well as exclusivity (Goodman and Douglas, 2008; Kenna, 2007). This research, and by and large the vast majority of MPE research in Australia, has focused on suburban estates, with some exception (see chapter 2, also McGuirk et al., 2010). This chapter makes a unique contribution to this literature by considering social aspects of life in an inner-city MPE, allowing for comparison with suburban estates, as well as providing insight into the unique context of inner-city estates. Waterloo was chosen based on that it is a neighborhood that has not experienced much gentrification prior to the construction of new apartment developments, while surrounding neighborhoods in inner-city Sydney have been gentrifying since the 1970s; furthermore, this is an area that is part of two state redevelopment strategies (the Green Square Renewal and the Redfern-Waterloo Authority redevelopment) and represents a diverse and dynamic population that has been historically marginalized. These aspects of Waterloo's history and position in inner-city redevelopment make it a prime case study for exploring urban redevelopment and change.

This chapter focuses on the internal dynamics of an MPE in the City of Sydney to determine who is living there and why, how residents construct a sense of community within the estate and how they construct their relationship with the wider neighborhood and to address the question of whether inner-city MPE residents represent 'disaffiliation' or 'cosmopolitanism'. The previous chapters have described the potential of inner-city

MPE research to enrich research on new-build gentrification and vice versa; this chapter will explore these synergies in more depth as well as provide insight into demographics and social life in an inner-city MPE. MPEs represent a form of new-build gentrification (Davidson and Lees, 2005; Murphy, 2008; Visser, 2008; Davidson and Lees, 2010; He, 2010; Kerns, 2010; Rose, 2010) that demonstrates the strong role of developers as suggested by Hackworth and Smith (2001), as they have an integral role in master-planning these packaged neighborhoods, often incorporating public as well as private space. As discussed in Chapter 2 much of the MPE literature explores how these estates represent places of exclusivity and distinction for a group of affluent, homogenous residents (Goodman and Douglas, 2008; Kenna, 2007), new-build gentrification research supports similar arguments—that new developments create exclusive enclaves (Davidson and Lees, 2010, Davidson, 2010). Davidson emphasizes that the built form particular to new-build gentrification allows gentrifiers to consume social distinction (2010, p. 538), and it is the similarity of built form that connects this phenomenon to MPE development, as well as the presumptions in the literature that these spaces are dominated by a population of homogenous, affluent residents.

This chapter is premised on two assumptions, one from gentrification literature and one from MPE research. The suburban MPE literature suggests MPEs are homogenous places of exclusivity where the affluent and the “aspiring” middle-class annex themselves (Gwyther, 2005; Atkinson, 2006). However, a number of studies have brought into question the degree of homogeneity in these estates—with McGuirk et al. describing a significant experience of and appreciation for social diversity in their sample of estates that included two in the inner-city (2010) and Kenna hinting at (while shying away from a specific exploration of) tensions arising from social and ethnic diversity (2007). This stands in contrast to Gwyther who reports residents of a suburban Western Sydney MPE were motivated to move there because of the recent influx of immigrants into their former

suburb of residence (2005), as well as Kenna (2007) with evidence from the same area that marketing for a particular estate displayed 99.3% imagery of Anglo-Australians. Kenna's work in particular contains a disjuncture in this regard in that marketing materials were so ethnically homogenous while some "dissenting voices" expressed there were issues with ethnic diversity. The question of homogeneity in terms of social and ethnic diversity in inner-city MPEs remains under-examined with no empirical work specifically investigating inner-city estates. Does the presumption of a resident desire for homogeneity change with an inner-city MPE, considering the ways in which inner-city living is associated with cosmopolitanism? Some traditional gentrification literature suggests that an affluent class of gentrifiers seek a cosmopolitan urban experience that includes social and ethnic diversity (see Ley, 1996; Rofo, 2003; Zukin, 2009), while new-build gentrification research has suggested residents of these new developments are less inclined to want these things (Rofo, 2003; Atkinson, 2006; Butler 2007). Fincher and Shaw (2009) argue that new-build gentrification via student housing or 'studentification' (Smith, 2005; Smith and Holt, 2007), despite cosmopolitan aspirations in Melbourne's universities, has demonstrated an increased tendency for Australian students and international students to segregate, limiting opportunities for cross-cultural interaction and experiences of diversity. So this begs the question—do inner-city MPE residents represent cosmopolitan or homogeneity- seeking new-build gentrifiers, or perhaps both?

This question remains unanswered because of a lack of research on inner-city MPEs and specifically their relationship to new-build gentrification processes. Therefore, I present a case study of an MPE in Waterloo, an inner-city neighborhood located in the southwest of the City of Sydney, looking at who lives there, their social interaction including their perceptions of gentrification in the area and feelings about community and diversity in the estate. First I review a brief history of Waterloo and recent demographic change—including socio-economic and ethnic diversity. Then I introduce the Crown Square estate, an MPE in

Waterloo, and detail my research there. This is followed by a discussion of the results of a survey of estate residents and then an in-depth exploration of residents experiences of gentrification, community and diversity using interview data and write-in survey responses.

4.1 Waterloo: an overview

Historically, Waterloo was an industrial area, but in the past decade the neighborhood has experienced sustained gentrification, almost entirely from new- build development. For the larger part of the twentieth century, its residential pockets were considered slums, a stigma that has persisted in parts of the neighborhood today (see Allport 1988). As inner-city land became more valuable after the economic restructuring of the 1970s, industrial sites in the City of Sydney became rarer and residential development was favoured in the inner city (Fagan 2000). By the turn of the century, most industry in Waterloo had relocated and many inner-city neighborhoods had significantly gentrified through ‘traditional’ means. The vast majority of dwellings in Waterloo are owned by the State Housing Commission; the 2006 Census shows an exceptionally high percentage of public housing tenants (55.5%) and unemployment (8.8%), and significantly 45% of people over 15

are not in the labour force at all (ABS 2006); however, when compared to 2001 before much residential construction was completed and occupied in the area, the percentage of the total population in state housing was much higher, at 92 percent (ABS 2001). During the mid-nineties, the council began planning major redevelopment for the area, launching the Green Square urban renewal project. This renewal plan has encouraged the development of MPEs, transforming large industrial lots into high density residential neighborhoods, with City of Sydney publications on Green Square addressing the progress of the larger MPEs and prominently featuring photos of them. City and state governments see the development of this southern corridor of Sydney’s “global arc” as central to the city’s overall economic growth and global city status (Forster 2006;

Redfern-Waterloo Authority Built Environment Plan, 2006).

Over the past decade the residential development in the Green Square area has created an extraordinary population boom, particularly for Waterloo, with the population increasing by 75% between 2001 and 2006. This has seen the overall demographics of the area change significantly. Census data from 2006 shows a significant increase in the percentage of the population in the highest income categories in Waterloo, while those earning the least showed a small decline in hard numbers and those with no income increased; nevertheless in both 2001 and 2006, more of the population fell into the lower income categories than the higher income categories (ABS, 2001; ABS, 2006; see Table 4.1)—reflecting the disadvantaged public housing population. The highest percentage of workers in Waterloo and neighbouring Zetland (also experiencing an industrial-to-residential transformation via MPEs) are employed in professional, scientific and technical services, followed by finance and insurance sectors and Waterloo has higher concentrations of both when compared with the wider Sydney area (ABS 2006/Profile Id). These trends, coupled with the overall population rise, outline the new-build gentrification process this area is experiencing. The ethnic demographic of the neighborhood has also been changing over the past decade (see Table 4.2), with the Chinese-born population in Waterloo increasing, surpassing Ukrainians as the dominant immigrant group in the area (ABS, 2001; ABS, 2006). Overall the neighborhood is quite ethnically diverse with higher- than-average percentages of people born overseas and those with a non-English speaking background, with the largest group of any overseas-born being from China (ABS 2006).

Table 4.1 Waterloo gross weekly income 2001 and 2006

	2001	2006	Increase between 2001-2006
Total population	4455	7831	337 75.78%
No Income	180	669	489
% of total population	4.04%	8.54%	271.67%
\$1-\$399	2707	2684	-23
% of total population	60.76%	34.27%	-0.85%
\$400-\$999	653	1473	820
% of total population	14.66%	18.81%	125.57%
\$1000+	109	1415	1306
% of total population	2.45%	18.07%	1198.17%
Income not stated	699	1590	891
% of total population	15.69%	20.30%	127.47%

Table 4.2 Birthplace and languages spoken 2001 and 2006

Birthplace, categorized by top six countries of birth in Waterloo, 2001

	Waterloo	Australia
Australia	45.4%	72.6%
Ukraine	6.2%	0.1%
Russian Federation	4.4%	0.1%
Viet Nam	3.3%	0.8%
New Zealand	2.3%	1.9%
England	2.3%	4.5%
Total born overseas	54.6%	27.4%

Birthplace, categorized by top six countries of birth in Waterloo, 2006

	Waterloo	Australia
Australia	56.2%	77.8%
China	4.7%	1.0%
Ukraine	3.3%	0.1%
England	2.8%	4.3%
New Zealand	2.7%	2.0%
Indonesia	2.6%	0.3%
Total born overseas	43.8%	22.2%

Language spoken at home, categorized by top six responses in Waterloo, 2006

	Waterloo	Australia
English only	47.0%	78.5%
Russian	7.4%	0.2%
Mandarin	4.0%	1.1%
Cantonese	3.4%	1.2%
Indonesian	2.7%	0.2%
Vietnamese	2.4%	1.0%
English only	47.0%	78.5%

4.2 Crown Square

Crown Square is an MPE located in the north-eastern corner of Waterloo, developed by Meriton Apartments over the past decade on a site formerly containing a glass factory. Meriton's slogan is "making luxury apartments affordable" and the company is the largest developer in Australia. Crown Square consists of approximately 2,300 apartments in nine building complexes with private internal courtyards, designed around central parklands. Compared with other MPEs in the City of Sydney (see Chapter 3), Crown Square is less expensive, more modest in terms of design and building materials, with a lesser emphasis on style and prestige and more on convenience. The estate offers private amenities such as a gym, pool and spa, underground parking, and considerable security measures such as private guards and audio/visual intercoms, as well as a variety of public convenience amenities such as shops, restaurants, a supermarket, child-care and health centres. Based on observations in the development and survey and interview responses, it is an ethnically diverse estate with a significant population of Asian descent. The Meriton web site advertises units for sale in Crown Square in two languages: English and Mandarin. Many of the retail amenities are Asian owned and operated with dual- language signage, both Korean/English and Mandarin/English.

This case study is based upon qualitative research undertaken from September 2009 to March 2011 consisting of a resident survey, in-depth interviews and observational visits to Crown Square at various times of the day and evening. I completed 15 open-ended interviews with 16 respondents, including one married couple whom I interviewed together. Interview questions were focused on how residents interacted within the estate and utilized the common facilities, their perceptions of the residential 'community' and the wider neighborhood. Interviewees spanned a range of ages and cultural groupings, with six interviewees being born overseas. During observational visits to the site I looked at how people were using public spaces in the

development, if and how they interacted, what were age groups of people out and about in the estate and variations among these factors depending on the time of day.

4.2.1 Crown Square residents—demographics and survey results

The survey revealed young middle-class couples make up a majority of households in the estate—most respondents were between 26-35 years old, earned more than \$100,000 annually per households and were typically renting couples. Interviewees' occupations were varied, with 11 out of 16 being professional and or high-end service jobs (there was notably a considerable representation of 'creative' professions—a graphic designer, an entrepreneur, a scientific researcher), two doctoral students (both from overseas), one military service member, one retiree, and one customer service supervisor. Both survey and interview data indicated respondents perceived the estate to have a high population of students (more than half of interview respondents characterized it in this way) and a high rate of transience, with 41% of survey respondents said they were likely to live there for only 1-3 more years and interviewees commonly saying things like, "people are constantly coming and going" and "someone is moving in and out every weekend". The most common factors influencing the decision to move to the estate were based on a convenient location (between the CBD, the airport, the Eastern suburbs/beaches and directly adjacent to parklands), security, and the quality of the dwelling. The vast majority of survey respondents particularly liked the estate's convenient amenities, central location and the safety and security they felt there, other strong positives about the estate were the fact that it was nicely landscaped and maintained. The most common dislikes about the development were noise (55%), cost of strata/management fees (36%), neighbours not maintaining their property (22%) and problems with neighbours (20%). Write-in responses emphasized respondents' attraction to the estate's location and private amenities like the pool, gym and sauna as well as the public ones—grocery stores, restaurants and cafés.

Survey results showed 75% of respondent households earned \$101,000 or more annually; this coupled with the fact that a vast majority (75%) of households consisted of 2 or fewer people reveals Crown Square households represent the top income bracket in the neighborhood when compared with the most recent Census demographics. This revealed a much more homogenous income-range for households in Crown Square than in the wider neighborhood with a higher concentration of middle-upper income earners (see Table 4.1). Despite this, survey respondents perceived the social makeup of the estate to be highly diverse, with 58% rating it 4 or 5 (1 being not at all diverse, 5 being highly diverse) while only 8.5% rated it 2 or less. It also revealed a very low sense of community amongst respondents, with 40% of people responding the estate had “no sense of community”, followed by the next gradation of community perception, “some sense of community” (35%). Likewise, 46% of people said they knew “hardly any” people in the development, while 34% knew “a few” there. This stands in stark contrast to McGuirk et al.’s results from a similar survey on a mix of inner, middle and outer suburban Sydney MPEs which concluded most residents in their eleven selected estates rated their estate highly in terms community feelings; however these survey results echoed McGuirk et al. (2010) in terms of a popular perception of social diversity. Respondents also overwhelmingly felt the development was diverse in terms of class or social background, with 72% saying it was a mixture. Ethnic diversity was also perceived to be high in the estate, with 76% of respondents saying they would describe the ethnic background of people in the development as a ‘mixture’, as opposed to ‘mostly the same as me’ (3%) or ‘mostly different to me’ (21%). However, it should be noted that the survey did not ask respondents to specify their ethnic background.

These results tell us that while residents of the estate do come from a fairly affluent demographic, conforming to what we might expect from both the MPE and the new- build gentrification literature, there is a perception of social diversity with a particular emphasis on

multicultural diversity in the development, disrupting the notion of homogeneity within the MPE literature. Furthermore, compared to the MPE literature (see McGuirk et al., 2010), this estate has a higher proportion of renters to mortgaged and outright homeowners. It also reveals that, in a strong divergence with the literature on resident feelings of ‘community’ in MPEs (Rosenblatt et al., 2009; McGuirk et al., 2010), Crown Square residents overwhelmingly felt little sense of community. In order to contribute to both the new-build gentrification and the MPE literature the remainder of this chapter will present interview and survey data from Crown Square to explore how the area is gentrifying, the sense of community within the MPE and feelings toward social diversity in the estate.

4.2.2 Gentrifying Waterloo

As discussed earlier in this chapter, Waterloo was a marginalized inner-city neighborhood that has rapidly gentrified over the last decade with the proliferation of new-build development, particularly through MPE construction. Crown Square residents discussed their perceptions of gentrification processes in Waterloo in interviews and provided insight into them in write-in survey responses. These narratives of gentrification in Waterloo illuminate the connections between MPE development and new-build gentrification through perceptions of the social background of the people living within and outside the estate, expressions of what is a desirable neighborhood and what they seek in a residential environment. By looking at new-build gentrification processes through the unique perspective of MPE residents this research contributes to two fields of study.

New-build gentrification research has examined how gentrifiers of new developments perceive the surrounding area and the people that live there (Butler, 2007) to understand how residents of these developments discursively construct gentrification; likewise here I summarize the ways Crown Square residents elaborated discourses of gentrification in their neighborhood through descriptions of who lives in the

development and the surrounding neighborhood. One survey respondent described the development thus in relation to the neighborhood,

Meriton did a great job developing in Waterloo, I believe having the big complex here...and Dank Street cafes and festivals changed the area to be more safe/secure, less crime and more urban dual income professionals living here. No longer is it known for Housing Commission or the Block.²

This statement links the development of the estate with gentrification through a description of an increase in professional households contrasted against the population of public housing tenants that formerly characterized the area. Similarly another write-in survey response asking for the resident to describe the development in a few sentences states:

Waterloo used to be considered slightly 'rough'. But increasingly it is becoming gentrified. However the good mix of students, nationalities and affordability is helping it create its own energy.

And another, “all people who live there are young professionals or students.” These discourses reveal respondents’ perception of the estate as gentrified, characterized by a population of professionals and students. Discourses of the area’s gentrification were echoed in interviews as well. When asked why he chose to buy in Crown Square one respondent answered,

We were looking for an apartment to buy and we were looking for somewhere close to the city, somewhere where we knew that, the value was going to increase, as an investment. We looked at similar developments in the North [of Sydney] but they were more expensive so obviously this is cheaper. This area is undergoing development and undergoing gentrification, so it's up-and-coming.

He continues in regards to the surrounding neighborhood of Waterloo:

² The Block is an Aboriginal Housing Company site in neighboring Redfern that is popularly understood as a “no-go zone” hindering gentrification (see Shaw, 2007 and Chapter 5).

In this area I think, the east side is the developed side, the changing side. Up a few blocks there's all the Housing Commission buildings I don't think I would want to live there or not close to it. But on this side yes, East Redfern as well, like Moore Park Gardens [another MPE]. So yeah on the east side but not everywhere in Waterloo... You have the Housing Commission, you have old people there and unemployed people and sort of strange looking people when you drive by. It's very different, the demography is very different I think.

Again this discourse emphasizes the public housing in Waterloo as an undesirable feature of the surrounding neighborhood and “very different” to the east side of Waterloo and Redfern where MPE development has been heaviest. These results strongly echo Watt’s (2009) findings from the eastern suburbs of London, in both cases residents of the private estate saw themselves as separate from the disadvantaged public housing residents in the surrounding area. Up until this point all the respondents discourses of gentrification have been fairly positive, couched in terms of improvement and good investment. However, not all interviewees saw the area’s gentrification in such rosy terms. One doctoral student of sociology described what she saw in the area,

I don't like the fact that these are really expensive buildings, like to rent here is extremely expensive and it's just the contrast between this place which I imagine is full of young professionals and then one block down that way is all the Aboriginal, poor community and then...the public housing. Then you see this extreme contrast between these young people who earn lots of money and are paying lots of money for rent and then the super poor, I don't like those contrasts.

This respondent’s description suggests the estate’s impact on gentrifying the neighborhood might be detrimental, or at least polarizing. She went on to explain, however, that the high demand and low supply of housing in Sydney is why she

continues to live there despite feeling as if the estate's high rents created a palpable segregation in the neighborhood. She elaborated:

I mean you probably know but there are problems with housing in Sydney in the sense that the demand is crazy and there's not enough supply and these prices in these buildings are just ridiculous. I mean I don't know what you're going to do with that, what can be done but it's just like a scam you know that they're not worth what they're charging for rent.

This group of excerpts presents a clear discourse of gentrification through MPEs in Waterloo and provides insight into how inner-city MPE residents perceive their estate in contrast to the surrounding neighborhood. Overall, they reflect awareness on the part of these residents of their role in a gentrifying neighborhood as well as a sense that it was something 'good' for the neighborhood, although this was questioned by some.

4.2.3 Residential preferences

Another resident narrative that informs research about gentrification through MPE development is about what residents seek in a neighborhood and living space. These residential preferences reflect what type of city is desirable and what is not. In this regard the survey showed an overwhelming majority of respondents liked the convenient amenities, central location and safe and secure environment. Responses to write-in survey questions asking participants to describe the estate in a few sentences emphasized the desire for shopping facilities, cafés and restaurants.

It has brought a part of the city to life, it was industrial before. Now it has some culture and community with restaurants, shops and parks that are nice.

It's like a whole new suburb, but a sense of a village. Been here since first stage and felt isolated—now it has a pulse with addition of Coles [grocery store] and the Danks Street cafes.

These responses link the development of a grocery store in the estate and the café culture emerging around it to a sense of community and vibrancy. It demonstrates the importance of consumption practices among these residents, similar to the connection between consumption and gentrification that has been noted in the literature (Zukin, 2009; Zukin et al., 2010; see next chapter). However, it is not only shops and restaurants that the Crown Square respondents sought, but the types of shops and restaurants they associated with gentrifying neighborhoods, they do this by referencing their close proximity to gentrified neighborhoods:

Great place to live, close to 'trendy' areas—Crown Street [Surry Hills], Danks Street, with new Coles that has opened it has increased attractiveness of the area—so convenient.

I don't think the area is that great, but it's easy to get to Surry Hills and within walking distance to the city which is a major plus.

Overall these resident narratives of gentrification conveyed a picture of a changing Waterloo that increasingly accommodates the desires of gentrifiers. Respondents associated their estate with the nearby gentrified neighborhoods and described the location in terms of its proximity to the CBD or airport but expressed separation and difference from the surrounding neighborhood. This again fits with Watt's work on suburban MPEs that uncovered processes of middle-class disaffiliation and "selective belonging" among estate residents that separated from the poor, "not-quite-white" population of the surrounding area (Watt, 2009, p. 2890).

4.2.4 Feelings of community (or lack thereof) in Crown Square

Interview respondents were asked how well they knew their neighbours and the nature of neighbourly interaction and overwhelmingly their responses matched what would be expected from the MPE literature (Rosenblatt et al., 2009; McGuirk et al., 2010): although

neighbours generally said hello in the hallways and elevators, no one reported much interaction beyond that. When asked to elaborate about the sense of community in the development however, their responses by and large contrasted with the suburban literature (see Walters and Rosenblatt, 2008; Rosenblatt et al., 2009; McGuirk et al., 2010) showing perceptions of a sense of community based on residence in the estate was very low, matching the survey results. Overall interviewees discussions of community centered on a lack of it because of a high proportion of renters, particularly those they perceived to be students with a high turnover rate. Typical interview responses to neighbourly interaction and sense of community were as follows:

You don't get to know your neighbours. There are no activities where you get to know your neighbours it feels like there are people moving in and out every week.

People in the lift say hi everyone seems pretty friendly but yeah that's about the extent of it.

I think because people are just very independent here they just live very individual lifestyles and... yeah, it's very diverse, a lot of different ethnicities and cultures. And because very few people live here permanently. I think most of the apartment owners they don't live here, they rent it out. So the students, sometimes backpackers, sometimes young people they just live here for a couple of years, two years three years then they move on you know.

I would say there's a large turnover of renters so in my building there's always a new face, always someone moving in, moving out, every weekend there's someone coming in and coming out. So I don't feel you could maybe establish relationships as well with your neighbours because they're constantly moving.

These descriptions of a lack of a sense of community combined with high renter turnover in the development are distinct from what research on community in suburban MPEs has found. Suburban MPE research has found a high rating of sense of community but little social interaction despite that (Rosenblatt et al., 2009; McGuirk et al., 2010), my findings did

not reflect this. It is also notable that while Meriton uses the rhetoric of community in marketing Crown Square they do not facilitate this through planned community events or activities, unlike many of the MPEs studied in the outer suburbs. This unique facet of life in an inner-city MPE gives insight into the possibility of a less important role of community in urban estates—perhaps because the demographic of residents in inner-city MPEs tend to be younger, childless households or because renters are the dominant tenure-type here, as my survey findings have shown, or perhaps because community is less of an attraction compared to convenience and location for those choosing to live in the city. More research is needed to examine the role of community in inner-city MPEs to further understand the role of community in those estates and if there are significant contrasts with the suburban MPE literature. In the next section I explore the notion of diversity in the estate to determine how the unique context of inner-city living, with its associations of cosmopolitanism, might play out in an MPE, given their contrasting associations with homogeneity.

4.2.5 Narratives of diversity in the estate

The question of homogeneity/diversity in MPEs has been raised most recently by McGuirk et al., who report that survey respondents tended to rate social diversity fairly high and value it (2010), contrasting with previous work that had emphasized social and ethnic homogeneity (Gwyther, 2005; Atkinson, 2006; Kenna, 2007). While research has focused on notions of affluence and middle-classness in MPEs (Low, 2003; Gwyther, 2005; Atkinson, 2006) the topic of racial or ethnic mix remains subsumed in the literature. Kenna briefly mentions that in marketing materials from an estate in Western Sydney 99.3% of the images depicted Anglo- Australian (2007), yet the reality of ethnic homogeneity is not pursued in any depth. Gwyther's work argued residents of a suburban MPE were motivated to move there in order to separate themselves from an influx of immigrants into Western Sydney; however she does not discuss ethnic dynamics within the estate. Thus I will focus primarily on the ethnic mix in this case study, for this and a

number of reasons, returning to the combination of ethnic and social mix in the estate in the conclusion.

The topic of ethnic mix within the estate came up in both open-ended survey responses and interviews as a defining characteristic of the estate, with varying degrees of comfort/approval and discomfort/disapproval. That it was specifically mentioned in write-in survey responses indicated to me that there were perhaps some tensions or issues surrounding the multicultural makeup of the estate, a perception that was confirmed in a number of interviews. A majority of interviewees mentioned the diversity of the estate while shying away from speaking about it at any length, a common response was that it seemed to be “mostly Asians” or “lots of overseas students”, when asked to describe the demographic of the estate or the specific cultural mix.

Based on the survey and interview results, I cross-tabulated two questions with a number of other survey questions in regard to likes and dislikes in the estate, as well as age, tenure type and income; the categories I cross-tabulated were for those that answered they “particularly disliked the social diversity of the development” and those that felt the ethnicity of people in the development were “mostly different to them.” There were positive associations between those two categories, as well as home-ownership and older age categories. Of those that felt the ethnicity of people in the development was mostly different to them, a much higher percentage (four times as likely as that of the overall population) answered that they also felt the class or social background of people in the development was mostly different to them. They were also more likely to say the development had “no sense of community” and that they particularly disliked the social diversity. Of those that particularly disliked social diversity, they were twice as likely compared to the total number of respondents to be wealthier (households making between \$151,000-200,000 per annum), more than three times as likely to be older (between 46 and 65) and more than twice as likely to own their home

outright. This group was also more likely to say the social background and ethnicity of the people in the development were mostly different to them and to rate the estate at the maximum level in terms of social diversity. They were also more likely to particularly dislike that neighbours did not maintain their property and were less likely to indicate that they particularly like “good neighbours”.

The emphasis respondents placed on ethnic mix in the estate interested me for a number of reasons: firstly because it was somewhat unexpected, while I observed the ethnic diversity of the estate I was surprised by some overtly negative comments in this respect as well as residents’ general preoccupation with it; secondly, this was interesting to me because the Australian literature on MPEs has sparsely examined issues of ethnic diversity within estates—in the United States the development of MPEs has been linked with racial tension (see Low, 2003), which Gwyther seems to confirm in Sydney’s Western suburbs (2005).

Kenna notes “dissenting voices” in her research that

*...hint at tensions within the estate with regard to socio-economic diversity, differing ethnic backgrounds and to some extent, different ‘lifestyles’. The potential for tensions within new estate areas points to an area where further research is needed on the dynamics at work **within** master planned estates. (2007, p. 311; emphasis added.)*

Therefore, the remainder of this chapter will explore residents’ narratives of ethnic and cultural mix in the development in an attempt to understand how it impacts their experiences of social interaction, neighbouring and community in the estate.

A prevalent strand of resident narrative about cultural diversity in Crown Square was a celebratory or mildly ambivalent description of the multicultural ‘mix’ in the estate. Around 10% of survey respondents when asked to describe the character of the estate in a few words wrote ‘multicultural’ ‘diverse’ or ‘mixed.’ Half of the interviewees discussed the ethnic mix of

the estate, particularly the Asian population and their visibility in the estate and the influence in the retail areas of the estate (for example, see Figure 4,1).



Figure 4.1: Chinese flag hangs in the balcony of a Crown Square apartment (third floor)

One response typical of this sentiment is as follows:

Yeah I think culturally it's a pretty even mix of everything, you can tell by the Asian shops and you know there's a lot of people of Middle Eastern background you see in burqas and stuff and there's just Anglos and just everyone. I think when they first started developing ... they were bought by Asians as investments. There may be a lot of that.

This comment presents a picture of multiculturalism in the estate, albeit a stereotyped one, that helps illuminate the dynamics within a master-planned estate in terms of ethnic diversity.

Write-in survey responses also focused on the Asian population of the estate:

The positive of having a high Asian population is that they are generally quiet and don't seem to have many loud parties.

The Asian influence—shops, restaurants, etcetera makes the area diverse and adds culture. Different to other areas close by.

These responses narrate a positive interpretation of ethnic diversity however they also stereotype ethnic others. The second comment in particular presents the viewpoint that ethnic diversity is appreciated, supporting a 'cosmopolitan' reading of residents.

A vast majority of interview respondents perceived there was a high population of international students in the development, attributing the estates cultural diversity to this. Most of the comments tended to relate their presence with the large renting population but most interviewees were not students and did not know any students in the estate personally. Two interviewees were international students, from Saudi Arabia and Colombia. One international student I spoke to from Saudi Arabia discussed his social interaction in the development:

Yeah it's the best place for me because I meet with other international students and other communities, and different backgrounds so that's been good—it enhances our idea about the world... You feel friendly because if there were—all of them Australians maybe it's a little bit hard because they're keen to talk to each other more than the international students. But if it's internationals, most of them here are internationals, so they give this kind of global friendly atmosphere here. So it's very good. But even Australians as well they have this feeling that they can be friends with you even if you are international students. It will work for us in both sides, Australians are really friendly internationals are even more friendly so it is on both sides.

For this respondent the presence of international students was a positive experience for

him, a chance to engage with people from other cultures—giving a positive interpretation of a multicultural neighbouring experience. However, his experience also hints at more ease of interaction with other international students, rather than Australians, reflecting similarities to Fincher and Shaw's (2009) study of segregation between local and international students. As will be discussed below, the interpretation of multiculturalism, and specifically the population of international students was not always experienced so positively.

Another narrative of ethnic diversity in the estate, evidenced in interviews and survey responses, is the notion of a natural antagonism between different ethnic groups, which was discussed in terms of 'cultural difference'. Recent research sees contemporary forms of racism asserting cultural, rather than biological, superiority (Nash 2003, Wren 2001, Blaut 1992). Catherine Nash writes "within public culture the charge of racism has led to a shift away from explicit discourses of race to those of cultural difference" and that "anti-racist arguments for considering human diversity in terms of anti-essentialist cultural difference can easily be recouped to support ideas of national cultural purity, cultural exclusiveness and natural antagonism between 'cultures'" (Nash 2003, p. 641; see also Thomas, 2005). Thus Nash suggests new forms of racism have adopted the language of culture in which racism can be hidden or disguised by seemingly progressive notions such as multiculturalism. In residents' narratives this was often brought up in response to asking how well respondents knew their neighbours (again, residents usually felt they did not know their neighbours and the survey results rated the development with a very poor sense of community). This strand of narrative attributed the lack of community to the cultural diversity of the development, citing the lack of English as a common language or that new immigrants are not assimilated to Australian culture as reasons they did not associate with neighbours. As one survey respondent wrote:

I am disappointed with the lack of people I know in the complex as I have lived in one previously and had come to know many of the neighbours. I put some of this down to limited social diversity here, i.e. many Asian dwellers who don't seem to speak English and not interested in saying 'hi' in the hallways/shops.

This respondent makes a direct connection between a lack of neighbourliness and cultural difference. It is interesting this person compares this experience to another MPE she lived in and that she sees the presence of 'Asian dwellers' as limited social diversity, considering overall the survey results showed overwhelmingly respondents felt the development had a high rate of social diversity. This comment demonstrates the discourse of a natural antagonism between people of different cultures, she experiences her neighbours being Asian and speaking another language than English as a barrier to neighbourly interaction. This comment supports the idea that MPE residents seek homogeneity in their residential 'community'.

One interview respondent spoke at length on the separation of different ethnic groups in the development. He discusses why he rarely frequents restaurants in the development, relating this to the idea that different ethnic groups naturally separate from other groups and the mainstream Australian society:

Unless you speak the language [of the ethnic group running the restaurant] and that you sort of get pushed to the side, you don't get the same sort of service they would, which I don't mind it at all. I understand that, people move from all over the world and they will naturally congregate in their own sort of places and in this area it's quite obvious that peoples of certain ethnic backgrounds will band together... You'll see that on a daily basis if you walk around here, you'll see the Middle Eastern countries all come out at the same time to play on the playground with their kids. They all come out at the organized time between them... You'll have

all the different Asian countries get together and they'll go sit in the park or do something like that. But you see that on a world scale, it's not something unique to this area. But as far as cultures go in this area that's the driving force, stick with who you are, not so much mix around but stick to your groups.

[Interviewer: So you feel it's a little bit separated?]

Respondent: Oh definitely at times, like you can't go around here at the moment and just because you live at Crown Square be part of these groups. It's not so much a community base, it's more of an ethnic base at the moment.

The way the respondent uses the phrase “they will *naturally* congregate in their own sort of places” evokes the notion of natural antagonism between people of different ethnic backgrounds; he feels it is not unique to this estate but happens on a “world scale.” Despite this though, he projects his experience of being in a place demarcated by the ‘other’ into the idea he is getting bad service at a restaurant. These findings reflect those of Fincher and Shaw (2009) in their study of international student housing in Melbourne that showed Australian students felt out-of-place in areas they felt were dominated by international students, positing that self-segregation is actively reinforced both local and international students. By this resident avoiding ‘ethnic’ restaurants because he feels out-of-place there, he engages in segregation and othering. Interestingly, this respondent cements the notion of separation between ethnic groups by drawing a dichotomy between an ‘ethnic base’ and a ‘community base’, which implies the two are mutually exclusive, that if one’s ethnic identity and networks are visible and put into practice it weakens the idea of a neighbourly Crown Square community. Another respondent who moved from South Asia several years ago discusses the lack of integration that reflects what he sees as a naturalness or inevitability of separation between groups:

People living here are from different, very diverse cultures, different ethnic groups

they live here, they keep to themselves they mind their own business. Even within the groups though, there are different groups, so even with Asians, the Koreans will be with the Koreans, you know. It's not a group like gangs, it's just friends. Like I don't know anyone here, except I am living with my girlfriend and she has got her friend that lives here, that's it.

Even while this respondent acknowledges a separation of ethnic groups, which again came about in response to the question 'do you know many neighbours', he also suggests within those groups perhaps people are not neighbourly with each other and that those that are do so because they are friends. However, the idea of ethnic separation and natural antagonism was challenged in the interview when he revealed he is in cross-cultural relationship. This demonstrates a popular understanding of the naturalness of antagonism between different cultures and simultaneously reflects a reality of cultural mixing, what Hage refers to as the multicultural Real (1998, p. 133), that contradicts this notion.

Some residents openly expressed discomfort about living with people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. In many cases respondents expressed this through language about 'cultural difference' that euphemistically veiled a sense of cultural superiority on the part of white Australians, and the desire for ethnic others to assimilate. These emerged in both survey and in interview responses. One interview with a married couple revealed a sense of cultural superiority when I commented on the cultural and social diversity of the development, which I will share here.

Respondent 1: You remind me—I'm not a Nazi but I always sound like one— now I work in... Chinatown, you are going to run into an issue—and multiculturalism is fantastic but at a point in time, you're not living in the backstreets of Beijing and Shanghai anymore.

Interviewer: So do you notice there's some conflict or tension or something?

Respondent 1: We've had an issue on our floor. We've got signs up everywhere because someone is spitting all over the common area so the poor maintenance guy he's... trying to work out who it is and rubbish strewn in the common areas... I'm sorry, get with the program, if you come here to live a life, lift your game.

This vignette expresses a negative discourse about multiculturalism, which is applied to this couple's experience of neighbouring—that multiculturalism presents a problem in terms of new immigrants having different norms of neighbouring, reflecting similar findings to Fortier (2007) who, in exploring the spatial experiences of multiculturalism, that cross-cultural neighbouring was sometimes interpreted as “too close for comfort”. This excerpt implies through the comment “you're not living in the backstreets of Beijing or Shanghai anymore” that immigrants are maintaining practices of neighbouring not only from their place of origin, rather than assimilating to Australian norms, but it also brings a negative connotation to this coded in the word “backstreets” that implies a lower standard of living the respondent associates with foreigners. I will further illustrate this point through how this conversation continued. After a brief discussion of the structure of the owner's corporation and management of the development, the topic again turns to “Asian tenants”:

Respondent 2: When [Meriton's] people were managing ... you'd get different people coming through but in the main it's still Asian tenants.

Respondent 1: [interjecting] which we have no problem with. I mean most of them are fine we've just got these issues.

Respondent 2: Yeah we have no problem with it just these issues... slight cultural differences. It's not the streets of Hong Kong...

Respondent 1: That's what I mean. It's fine if you live in the back streets of Asia—but not HERE, like laundry on the balconies. I'm one of the great campaigners for laundry off balconies. You are not in the back streets of China and it's probably a strata law anyway.

This exchange offers insight into the ways these residents experience ethnic diversity in the estate and the ways they interpret this through the space and governance of the estate. In this example, the interviewees create a discourse of the out-of-place-ness of Asian residents in the estate in describing how their “cultural differences” do not fit with the way of life or strata by-laws in this inner-city MPE. They use the by-laws and notion of a highly organized, controlled space of the MPE to other their Asian neighbours, all while employing the language of cultural difference. The respondents do not even know *who* is spitting in the common area or being careless with rubbish but they assume it is their Asian neighbours; hence racialising what is essentially a neighbourly issue. Indeed, the respondent would be hard-pressed to explain how spitting on the floor is a cultural attribute, revealing the core of the issue—an expectation or a desire for ethnic homogeneity in the estate that they connect to an orderly environment. Their statements that such behaviour would be ‘fine’ in the ‘back streets of Asia’ but not ‘here’ conveys their desire for others to assimilate and for the estate to represent the territory of white, middle-class, ‘respectable’ Australians.

In a very similar survey response to an open-ended question asking respondents to elaborate how they feel about living in their development, one respondent wrote:

*Large majority of Asian residents—many transitory or students.
Problems of foreign habits... or ignorance of English signs regarding
garbage and lift usage—often deliberate circumvention.*

This comment conveys a neighbourly dispute typical of densely populated apartment

living, that transitory tenants do not care for the property the way perhaps an owner-occupier might, but this respondent accuses ‘foreigners’ of deliberately ignoring attempts to resolve the issue—thus racialising the neighbourly issue and in turn the space of the estate.

Another interviewee, an ‘empty-nester’ who owns his apartment, also expressed narratives of ethnic diversity in the estate that othered non-white residents and described them as a barrier to creating an orderly, well-maintained estate. He described looking for an apartment in the CBD to downsize from a large house in the Northern suburbs. He explained his shock at the occupancy of some of the modern apartments in the CBD area and compared it to Crown Square:

I simply did not realize that there were so many Asians even allowed to— because I’m sure it’s not in accordance with the by-laws of the property— allowed to cram into apartments in the CBD area. Here there seems to be greater control of it but the [overseas] students don’t assimilate, they keep very much to themselves, they don’t demonstrate, in the main, any interest in the local people, local culture or anything to do with Australia. They are here to get from Australia whatever Australia can offer and in the main would intend to return to their countries of origin. A lot of their families, needless to say, are quite wealthy within Hong Kong, China and I know Taiwan. We have also Indians, who again don’t assimilate, don’t make much of an attempt to get to know the local people, culture or conditions of living and it may be that they’re only here for a short time so really couldn’t give the proverbial about how they behave or anything else.

These comments again echo Fincher and Shaw (2009), revealing similar stereotypes of international, and particularly Asian students. This racialises these groups, othering them through an accusatory tone—*they* come to *his* place for their own benefits and break property by-laws—that expresses his sense of superiority and territorializes the estate as a white Australian place. The language he uses reinforces a sense of Anglo-Australian dominance—they are not one multicultural neighborhood, they ‘have’ Indians (see Hage, 1998 for a

discussion of this). This statement conveys a sense of possessiveness over Australianness, and the space of the estate, that the presence of others disrupts. This respondent also related issues of neighbouring and management of common space to the presence of Asian neighbours, again racialising issues typical of any development with shared common areas:

There's been continuing issues relating to the management of the property, such as illegal car parking, the rules are very clear. At any chance they are parking where they will, and in the main they are Asian—they could not care less! And they don't like being told that they are wrong of course, as part of their cultural requirements, they may do no wrong and must always save face themselves... They'll look you square in the face and tell you 'no it couldn't have been me' (laughs) whereas of course when they're caught red-handed it has to be, so I do have that sort of problem. I have a problem with the way they treat garbage, which again is a cultural thing for them to a large extent, anything in the common property is not their concern. It is almost incomprehensible for an Australian to understand that, we at least take an interest immediately outside our apartments, not so with the Chinese.

As overtly racist as these comments may be, this respondent still cloaks his sentiments in a language of 'cultural difference.' Again this demonstrates the ways in which typical issues of high-density apartment living are racialised in the respondents' mind—blaming the ethnic other for his problems with neighbours. These statements encapsulate the most overt discomfort of living with ethnic and racial others of all interview respondents. Survey responses contained similar narratives expressing disapproval of the level of ethnic diversity as well, for example:

A great deal of ethnic diversity which will eventually push out all the Anglo-Australians and likely become an unsafe/hooligan area within 5 years.

The retail outlets are looking terrible. As a resident we are penalized for damaging the look of the complex (e.g. laundry on the balcony) however, a retail store is

allowed to look like a stall at Paddy's markets [popular markets in Chinatown].

The first comment expresses a narrative that ethnic diversity in the estate will encourage Anglos to leave the area (making the assumption that Anglos do not want to live with people from different ethnic backgrounds), making it unsafe and that ethnic others without the presence of Anglos create 'hooligan' areas. This suggests a desire for ethnic homogeneity within the estate that the respondent links to safety. The second comment criticizing the retail outlets also expresses the notion of cultural superiority and assimilation—the shop owners must make an attempt to differentiate the aesthetic of their shop so it does not look like those in Chinatown. Both these comments again mark the space of the estate as one they desire to be ethnically homogenous but that in reality is not.

These narratives of ethnic diversity reflect how respondents racialised the space of the estate and their day to day practices of neighbouring—respondents' complaints reflected common problems of neighbouring in a high density environment, which certain white Australians constructed as "cultural" problems that racialise and other their neighbours (see Murji and Solomos, 2005). These most stark examples of ethnic tension within the estate are from a white perspective and associate ethnic others with uncleanness, deceitfulness and un-neighbourliness. Interesting in these sentiments is that all of the issues respondents brought up could also be viewed as an attempt to maintain an orderly, middle-class aesthetic within the development (the disdain at drying laundry on balconies, the treatment of rubbish, or the way the retail outlets look); however, the respondents specifically racialise these issues highlighting the need to consider ethnic and racial dynamics within these new MPEs, in understanding practices of making community and the homogeneity it is presumed MPEs represent. While most respondents were ambivalent towards or valued the multicultural character of the estate, if in stereotypical ways of imagining ethnic others (see Mahtani, 2002; also Fincher and Shaw, 2009 for a discussion of this), all the resident narratives

provide insight into the way ethnic diversity is experienced within an inner-city MPE, helping fill the gap in research identified by Kenna (2007).

4.3 Conclusions

This chapter has argued that the development of Crown Square in Waterloo has contributed to new-build gentrification in that neighborhood, with MPE residents expressing separation from the marginalized areas and residents of the rest of Waterloo; furthermore, I have posited that divisions were not only based on class or ethnic identity of the MPE residents compared with the wider population, but divisions worked within the estate as well with cultural diversity being a key issue. This research presented an inner-city MPE that was not marked by homogeneity, rather by the diversity of its residents, which for some disrupted the desire for a homogenous residential community. The discourses about gentrification, community and ethnic diversity expressed by residents of this inner-city MPE have elucidated social life and resident interaction within the estate—but how do these discourses fit together and how can they be interpreted to inform the nexus between MPE development and new-build gentrification? Academic perspectives on MPEs propose the tendency for these to be homogenized spaces—both in terms of their environment and the type of people that live there. Gentrification literature proposes gentrifiers prefer and appreciate diversity in the inner-city, although this has been less-explored in terms of new-build gentrifiers. These two strands of research suggest opposite preferences of an affluent group that is overlapping as MPE development gentrifies inner-city Sydney through new-build construction. By examining the narratives of residents on gentrification, diversity and community a better understanding is gleaned of how these two presumptions in each respective strand of research are actually playing out. The evidence here showed inner-city MPE residents expressed awareness of their role as gentrifiers in the neighborhood and that overall this was seen positively. The survey results of respondents' household incomes indicated that these were overwhelmingly higher than the

surrounding area based on the last Census. These results demonstrate the ways in which inner-city MPE development is contributing to new-build gentrification in Waterloo. Furthermore, interviewees vocalized narratives of gentrification that expressed separation and difference from the surrounding neighborhood, echoing previous suburban MPE research (Gwyther, 2005; Watt, 2009).

The research presented in this chapter provides insight into how inner-city MPE residents experience community that diverged with existing research (Rosenblatt et al., 2009; McGuirk et al., 2010) in its indication of low perceptions of sense of community within the estate. However, respondent interviews told of a similar level of social interaction as reported in the same literature (Rosenblatt et al., 2009; McGuirk et al., 2010)—with most neighbourly interaction relegated to strata meetings and saying hello in the elevator, if even that. This interview data also showed residents' perception of a high ratio of renters hindered feelings of community and indeed survey results supported a more diversified tenure composition in this estate than available research on MPEs that emphasizes home-ownership. The residents' descriptions of a high rate of turnover in the estate most commonly attributed this to a large student population there. Interviewees' (most of whom were not students) perceptions conveyed stereotypical imaginings of 'students' that was code for 'foreigners'—they are not just 'students' they are 'international students' a heavily loaded term in Australia (see Fincher and Shaw for a discussion).

This chapter has also explored what was becoming somewhat of a gap in the Australian MPE literature—the question of diversity versus homogeneity within MPEs. Inner-city MPEs offer a particular insight into this because of the “urban buzz” associated with diversity and cosmopolitanism and particularly gentrifying neighborhoods. Survey responses showed a fairly low level of socio-economic diversity, particularly when compared to the surrounding area, representing a primary population of middle to upper-middle class professionals;

however, there was a high perception of social diversity. Ethnically, the estate was perceived as highly diverse and a discussion of the estate's ethnic diversity and residents' narratives of it elucidate some of the internal tensions in MPEs hinted at by Kenna (2007). Tropes about "cultural difference" employed by respondents elucidate the ways that their imaginings of the spaces of the estate and their experience of neighbouring within it are premised upon particular constructions of culture, nation and ethnicity. Some residents' narratives of ethnic diversity tended to racialise practices of neighbouring and community in the estate, from managing common areas to saying hello in the hallways.

This case study of an inner-city MPE revealed a struggle over sharing space in the multicultural city. While most residents were somewhat ambivalent in describing the multicultural character of the estate, some dissenting voices expressed the desire for a more ethnically, or at least 'culturally' homogenized estate. It is worth noting that had respondents not explicitly racialised their neighbourly issues (i.e. how trash is handled, laundry on balconies) one could interpret these narratives as their insistence on a sanitized middle-class aesthetic, or a way of maintaining the exclusivity and distinctiveness of their estate. However, respondents did explicitly racialise these issues, demonstrating the salience of constructions of race and ethnicity in MPEs, both in the suburbs and the inner-city.

Finally, an important contribution to this chapter has been to examine MPEs and new-build gentrification through the internal dynamics of these developments. Both the MPE literature (Gwyther, 2005; Atkinson, 2006; Watt, 2008) and the new-build gentrification literature (see Davidson, 2010) have had a tendency to create a dichotomy between "estate" or "new development" and the surrounding area. However, the research reported here provides insights into the internal dynamics of these places enriching both literatures. The results discussed here presented previously unexplored internal tensions relating culture and ethnicity and

neighbouring. It showed the MPE as a contested territory that both represents gentrification of the surrounding neighborhood and separation from it, as well as one in which a number of conflicts and contradictions arose in relation to viewpoints towards cultural diversity. It also shows the multiple social divisions created in the development of this inner-city MPEs; not only did MPE residents 'disaffiliate' from the surrounding neighborhood but *within* the estate divisive elements of racism and segregation emerged. These tensions would have been masked by a study that investigated only 'new' versus 'incumbent' populations, as many MPE and gentrification studies tend to do. This chapter has connected the Australian literature on social life and community in MPEs with that on new-build gentrification, contributing to both strands of research and demarcating specific areas for further exploration.

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Chapter 5 Art, food and gentrification: how consumption spaces are re-writing new meanings of place in Waterloo

The previous chapter discussed the way master-planned residential development is contributing to a process of new-build gentrification in Waterloo; this chapter will consider the wider processes of the neighbourhood's gentrification, focusing on its non-residential elements. The consumption spaces of Waterloo are particularly important in this regard, showing similar and divergent patterns in the gentrification process when compared to the residential gentrification of the area via MPE development. Consumption practices have gained salience in research on gentrification, culture and urban change as scholars have noted changing consumption landscapes in gentrifying areas (Ley, 1996; Crewe and Beaverstock, 1998; Bridge and Dowling, 2001; Jayne, 2006; Lugosi Bell and Lugosi, 2010; Zukin et al., 2010). Recently interest has developed in niche consumption spaces in gentrifying neighborhoods, associated with "bohemia", "creative" lifestyles, and certain tastes in art, food, and coffee (Ley, 1996; Bridge and Dowling, 2001; Lloyd, 2002; Ley, 2003; Zukin and Kosta, 2004; Zukin, 2008; Mathews, 2010; Zukin et al, 2010). In this chapter, I examine the consumption landscape of Waterloo, in particular the renowned Danks Street, characterized by art, design and gourmet food. I explore the multiple layers of consumption spaces there to understand how they connect with popular discourses of the neighbourhood's regeneration and how they relate to changing representations and meanings of place. The chapter offers another component of Waterloo's gentrification that complements and reinforces the area's transformation through MPE development, offering a more holistic consideration the overall neighbourhood context of new-build gentrification via master-planned estate. This chapter also contributes to a growing body of literature about the relationship between gentrification and consumption and builds an understanding of how such processes impact on discourses of place. I consider how changing consumption landscapes in gentrifying neighborhoods and related representations of place become embedded in urban development strategies, particularly in light of the

growing popularity of the ‘creative City’. I begin by reviewing academic work about gentrification and consumption as well as a brief synopsis of the concept of the creative city; I then present my methods and situate the case study area. The following section details the consumption landscape of the case study area and discusses its most prominent representations. The penultimate section considers how the changing consumption landscape of the neighborhood and its associated representations tie into creative development strategies in Sydney, before concluding with some reflections on consumption, gentrification and the ‘creative’ city.

5.1 Gentrification and consumption

Three decades of writing on the post-industrial, post-modern city has stressed the importance of consumption both socially and economically in today’s cities (Harvey, 1989; Featherstone, 1991; Jayne, 2006). Furthermore, much has been written about the relationship between gentrification and gentrifiers’ consumption preferences and aesthetic tastes (Zukin, 1989; Ley, 1996; Bridge and Dowling, 2001; Latham, 2003; Zukin and Kosta, 2004; Zukin et al., 2010). While early accounts of the role of consumption in gentrification related to consuming certain distinct types of housing, more recent work has been concerned with lifestyle aspects of consumption such as dining, shopping and other amenities (Bridge and Dowling, 2001; Latham, 2003; Zukin and Kosta, 2004; Bell and Binnie, 2005; Zukin, 2008; Zukin et al., 2010). This chapter will focus on a particular type of gentrified consumption landscape that is often marked by terms such as ‘authentic’ (Lloyd, 2002; Zukin, 2008, 2009), ‘bohemian’ (Ley, 1996; Brooks, 2000; Lloyd, 2002), ‘boutique’ (Zukin, 2010) and ‘creative’ (Ley, 1996; Lloyd, 2002; Zukin and Kosta, 2004; Zukin, 2008). David Ley describes this type of consumption landscape on Granville Island, Vancouver in the 1990s: “it’s retail outlets contain no chain stores, its produce is advertised as direct from regional farms, its goods are personalized by resident artists and craftspeople...[it] is the epitome of niche marketing for an urbane middle-class population

jaded by mass-marketing” (1996, p. 7). Zukin et al. write “since the 1970s, certain types of restaurants, cafés, and stores have emerged as highly visible signs of gentrification in cities around the world. Although the archetypal quiche- serving “fern bars” of the early years have long since yielded to wine bars and designer clothing boutiques, these stylish commercial spaces still embody, serve, and represent a powerful discourse on neighborhood change” (2010, p. 47). It is these commercial spaces and their powerful discourses of neighborhood change this chapter considers. Research over the past few decades has established a particular picture of gentrified consumption spaces and traced their evolution; however, as Zukin et al. point out, residential gentrification has been thoroughly studied, while commercial gentrification remains under-researched and under-theorized as a social problem (2010, p. 49).

Work that has focused on consumption spaces and commercial aspects of gentrification has identified art as central in the process. Zukin’s seminal book *Loft Living* discusses how art has been incorporated into patterns of middle class consumption and social power, revealing ways in which art was valorised by middle class “cultural intermediaries” leading to the gentrification of SoHo in New York City (1989). Ley takes a similar view in his work on gentrification in Canadian cities, viewing the counter-cultural movement of the 1960s as the beginning of a rejection of mass-consumption and conventional suburban life that was embodied by the artist and that came to be valorised by the middle classes (1996, 2003). He explains how new middle class professionals follow artists into neighborhoods because they valorise their “aesthetic disposition” (Ley, 2003). However, the middle classes’ desire to be associated with the unconventional aesthetic disposition of the artist is not limited to art but extends to any manner of consumption that can be considered authentic or organic, from the built environment itself, in the form of old, ‘gritty’, or industrial landscapes (Zukin, 1989; Ley, 1996; Patch, 2004; Lugosi Bell and Lugosi, 2010;), to handcrafted furniture or clothing (Ley, 1996; Zukin and Kosta, 2004; Zukin, 2008) and especially to food (Zukin, 1991; Bell

and Valentine, Ley, 1996; Bridge and Dowling, 2001; Bell and Binnie, 2005). Zukin was recently quoted saying, “Food is the new art in the urban cultural experience. You used to have artists moving in and opening galleries, now there are foodies moving in and opening up cafes... Eateries are beginning to mark the borders of certain kind of cultural divisions” (Brown, 2010). The concept of artist-led gentrification has become a salient feature of the gentrification literature (see for example Lloyd, 2002; Cameron and Coaffee, 2005; Markusen, 2006; Pratt, 2009; Mathews, 2010) and is often connected with the specific style of consumption spaces that are the focus of this chapter: the authentic, the bohemian (i.e. not mass-produced or corporately controlled).

Literature linking these particular forms of consumption, gentrification and creativity has important synergies with policy and academic discussions of ‘creative cities’ popularized in Richard Florida’s *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002). While by now Florida’s theory is familiar as well as thoroughly criticized, several elements of his work are pertinent to this chapter. Florida emphasizes the importance of creativity in the work force and “creative” occupations for urban and regional economic development, emphasizing that cities must make themselves attractive to the creative class primarily by offering amenities and consumption opportunities favoured by creatives. So what does the creative class favour? Essentially they fit the consumption and social profile of Ley’s new middle class, desiring diverse, tolerant cities with ‘authentic’ spaces (Florida, 2002). Consumption spaces are central, emphasizing the need for cities to create favourable “people climates” for the creative class that include “a teeming blend of cafés, sidewalk musicians, small galleries and bistros” (Florida, 2002a). The similarities between the descriptions of authentic/bohemian/artistic consumption and Florida’s ideas are thick, with Florida even referring to his approach as the “bohemian” index (Florida, 2003: p. 13). The bohemian index draws a causal connection between the presence of artists/creative workers (writers, designers, musicians, actors, directors, painters, sculptors, photographers, and dancers) and

the location of technology firms and research and development activity. In other words, Florida suggests by fostering creativity, cities will flourish economically. The creative city thesis has been incredibly influential in urban policy circles with urban governments in Australia and around the world adopting Florida's ideas in strategy and rhetoric (Atkinson and Easthope, 2009; Peck, 2005).

It is evident that both the recent literature on gentrification and consumption as well as that on the creative city are united in the type of consumption they reflect, which at its heart is seen as authentic and importantly, non-corporate and not mass-produced. An aspect of the literature on both gentrification/consumption and the creative city that I will problematise in this chapter is the picture they paint of this particular type of consumption as somehow counter-cultural and unconventional, as well as progressive. Many geographers researching authentic, bohemian consumption spaces in gentrification have emphasized their connection with gentrifiers that value diversity, tolerance, and difference often resulting in a more positive reading of commercial aspects of gentrification than processes of residential gentrification (see Ley, 1996; Latham, 2002; Zukin and Kosta, 2004; Bell and Binnie, 2005; Zukin, 2008). Furthermore, Florida's work (2002) also posits that the 'creative class' who seek these bohemian urban consumption spaces are also seeking diversity and difference. However, Atkinson (2003), drawing from Lees (1997), argues that "subtle modes of exclusion are woven into much deeper class and cultural assumptions of who a place is 'for'" (p. 1832). While McCann has explored the contestation of creative strategies and the inequalities produced through the pursuit of 'creative' and 'liveable' cities (2007). Davidson similarly argues that consumption landscapes play a role in exclusion through a reorientation of local services, wherein the proliferation of up-market consumption spaces can displace services used by less affluent residents (2008). These authors thus challenge the notion that bohemian, authentic or creative consumption spaces promote tolerance and diversity.

Today artist-led gentrification and the creative city have new implications for contemporary cities. Urban policy has taken a ‘cultural turn’, increasingly promoting creativity and culture, tying together the arts, culture and social cohesion in a neoliberalised approach to economic growth (Gibson and Klocker, 2005). In the past decade, with the popularity of Florida’s creative city thesis amongst urban policy- makers, a particular type of creative ‘bohemian’ cultural strategy is being pursued by cities around the globe, demonstrating the importance of “urban policy mobilities” (McCann, 2008). It seems cities are promoting artist-led gentrification, or at least the artistic milieu that is seen to be favoured by cultural and artistic producers. It is the intention of this chapter to bring together the literature on consumption and gentrification with the creative city discourse in order to critically examine how the consumption landscape being touted as “creative” is impacting a gentrifying neighborhood.

5.2 Case study context and method: Waterloo, Sydney

This chapter is based on a case study in the Waterloo neighborhood of Sydney, located four kilometres south of the CBD, bordered by Redfern, Alexandria, Moore Park, and Zetland. The case study area is 3.25 square kilometres in the easternmost corner of Waterloo characterized by newly constructed MPEs, light industrial and warehousing activity, and a rapidly developing mix of consumption spaces. As the population of Sydney grows and pressure to develop housing and commercial space close to the city centre expands outwards from the CBD, state and city authorities have recognized the attractiveness of redeveloping the industrial area to the south of the CBD. The New South Wales state government sees this area, which includes Waterloo, as strategic in Sydney’s overall development, as it lies in the southern corridor of the metropolitan area’s “global arc,” between the CBD and the airport (Redfern-Waterloo Authority 2006).

Waterloo has the stigma of being one of Sydney’s longest-lasting slums, with many of the

other traditional slum neighborhoods of the early-mid twentieth century either being renewed through public programs or eventually gentrified. Waterloo's story of renewal and gentrification has been delayed. While nearby Redfern and Surry Hills are now significantly gentrified (see Shaw 2007 for a discussion of Redfern's gentrification), Waterloo's industrial history has slowed the process there. Furthermore, the non-industrialized parts of the neighborhood hold the densest concentration of public housing in the inner city. As new-build gentrification has demographically changed the area (see chapter 4), a stark contrast is developing between the public housing estates and the newly constructed private housing estates (MPes). As the neighborhood is redeveloped, there have been palpable changes in the consumption landscape and representations of place, as it transforms from an area marked by industrial usage, poverty, and stigmatized public housing to one known for gourmet food, art and designer furniture. Thus I set out to explore: what does the consumption landscape of Waterloo look like? Who is using it? What is driving it and how did it come to be that way?

This case study is the result of one year of qualitative research in Waterloo, consisting of participant observation in and around public spaces and consumption venues, a detailed and systematic stock-take of consumption spaces, discursive analysis of media, business, real estate and public representations and promotions of the area and interviews with local business owners and residents of a large apartment complex in the area. The case study area was chosen because of its rapidly developing consumption landscape and the attention given in particular to Danks Street by the media and the City of Sydney. The case study area was expanded to include a three kilometre radius around Danks Street to determine how the street compared to the surrounding area's consumption landscapes. Because of the focus on consumption spaces, the discourse analysis began by examining promotions and media publicized by businesses in the case study area in order to identify how they were representing the neighborhood. I carried out a comprehensive search of the Sydney Morning Herald web site with the key words "Waterloo" and "Danks Street" to examine

local media discourses about the neighborhood, with results dating from 2007 to September 2010. The decision to complete a comprehensive search of the Sydney Morning Herald was made on the basis that it is a widely read Sydney-based newspaper that frequently features Danks Street businesses. An exhaustive search of the City of Sydney's media centre was also carried out with key words "Danks Street, Waterloo", with results from 2005 to September 2010; the Sydney media centre is designed to provide journalists with images and current information about the City. Furthermore an internet search engine was used to find wider-reaching publications that had written about the case study area, real estate advertisements, and online content consisting of lifestyle websites and restaurant/café reviews. Lifestyle media, both print and increasingly varieties generated online, give insight into the ways places are represented, promoted and perceived, especially in regards to consumption activities. A number of scholars have utilized discursive analysis of media in understanding representations of place in gentrification processes (Mills, 1993; Wilson and Meuller, 2004; Zukin et al., 2010). I employed a critical discourse analysis (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002) of media representations of Waterloo with the aim of understanding how the neighborhood was being represented and for what purposes. Whom, if anyone, do the discourses serve?

Interviews with business owners focused on how the area had changed over the past several years, how they would describe their typical clientele, their impressions of Danks Street and their perceptions of the area's creativity. These were semi- structured interviews with set open-ended questions that were supplemented by impromptu follow-up questions based on the discussion, allowing for flexible approach that responded to the interviewees' comments. Interview data from fieldwork in Crown Square (see chapter 4) was also called upon to supplement this with residents' discussions of their consumption patterns in the neighborhood. Interviews were analysed for keywords that indicated the area's changing demographics, reputation and gentrification, as well as for how the consumption landscape

and clientele were described. Participant observation on Danks Street consisted of observing the comings and goings of consumers during business hours on weekdays and weekends, attending to what stores were most frequented and what types of people (general age, gender, race, what they wore, were they arriving in vehicles, by public transport or by foot) were patronizing which businesses.

5.3 The consumption landscape of Waterloo

The case study area can be divided into two sections where the vast majority of consumption spaces are clustered, representing two distinct consumption trends: Danks Street, geared towards the tastes of a wealthy clientele, and Crown Square, a newly built apartment complex where consumption spaces cater to mid-level workers, young families and students living there. Looking at what businesses actually exist in the area provides a basis for understanding how consumption spaces influence representations and meanings associated with the neighborhood. A concentration of art galleries, up-market cafés and eateries, and furniture and home-ware stores have opened on Danks Street in the past decade, attracting attention from lifestyle and local media. Other businesses have opened within the case study area, to little fanfare, possibly due to the more everyday character of these shops and eateries, catering to the growing local population. Overall the case study area has mix of businesses, with the more convenience-based consumption spaces consisting of affordable cafés, takeaway food outlets, supermarkets and butcheries, around the corner from Danks Street's gourmet eateries and designer furniture stores; the edges are sprinkled with a peculiar mix of new media services, car dealerships and warehousing.

As new-build gentrification transforms the demographics of Waterloo, there is a distinct geographical pattern to new development. The bulk of new consumption venues and residential developments are huddled in the north-eastern-most corner of Waterloo, on the opposite edge of the neighborhood from the high-rise public housing, derogatorily

referred to by outsiders as the “suicide towers” (The Age, 2004; Tovey, 2010). Danks Street has become an exclusive consumption landscape with an agglomeration of expensive cafés, organic supermarkets, art galleries, designer furniture and interior design shops (see Table 5.1). This small strip of exclusive shops is interspersed with warehouse-style timber, plumbing, flooring and appliance businesses that predate the upscale consumption spaces there. A small cluster of new media enterprises and professional photography services geared towards advertising has emerged there as well, almost undetectable save for the small tell-tale signs by a door, with names like “creative breeze” and “Fuze Box”. Danks Street has become an unexpectedly bustling street with a somewhat bizarre combination of timber trucks and bread delivery vans vying with luxury cars for space. However, the bustle and ‘buzz’ of Danks Street does not expand far beyond the one small block. Besides Crown Square and Danks Street, there are few consumption spaces in the area, save for a few local pubs that have long-served the poor and working class residents of the area.

5.3.1 Danks Street

There are three distinguishing consumption trends on Danks Street—food, art and furniture/home-wares. In terms of food, the street hosts two eateries blending café/restaurant/bar, three cafés serving high-quality coffee, baked goods and sandwiches and two supermarkets, or as they are often referred to in the media “providores” as they provide ingredients for Sydney’s top restaurants. Indeed, in the past five years Danks Street has gained popularity as a destination for “foodies” or gourmet food-lovers; several Danks Street eateries have garnered numerous reviews and mentions in the Sydney Morning Herald and the City of Sydney official media. The “foodie” label is popular in media descriptions of Danks Street, as well as promotions of the area, for example: “Danks Street is becoming the foodie mecca of Sydney” (Meriton, 2010).

The eateries and food shops of Danks Street cater to “foodies”, resulting in distinctive menus.

The most prominent way this is achieved is through providing “authentic” food, by making reference to its locally grown origins, the manner of artisan craftsmanship with which it was prepared, or by emphasizing the use of organic produce. For example, Danks Street Depot, the first and most renowned eatery on the street, prizes itself on offering

Table 5.1 Businesses operating in the research area

Business Type	Total Number	Number in Danks Street Area	Number in Crown Square Area
art galleries	11	11	0
typical café	4	0	4
upscale café (pricey, authentic, gourmet)	4	4	0
furniture/interior design	17	16	1
home wares/flooring/carpet	8	7	1
new media, marketing services, photography	9	7	2
supermarket/butcher	6	3	3
takeaway/convenience food	14	0	14
cheaper/typical restaurant	3	1	2
upscale restaurant	2	2	0
convenience store	3	0	3
beauty/hair	6	1	5
medical centre/chemist	4	0	4
real estate	4	1	3
Asian grocer/import	2	0	2
miscellaneous	19	3	16

patrons ‘slow food’ that has been locally sourced wherever possible, tailored to the season, and uses all parts of the animal.

Their menu features biodynamic “Creamed Eggs with Roasted Mushroom and Truffle Oil” for

\$19.50, well above scrambled eggs, mushrooms and toast at a café in Crown Square which costs less than \$10. Other food outlets express the authenticity of their products by using words such as “artisan” and “organic” in their signage or by referencing Mediterranean or European ‘old world’ authenticity through their aesthetic, menu or products; for example a new café and patisserie is decorated completely in seventeenth-century Parisian style. Additionally Fratelli Fresh, also a favourite of the lifestyle and City of Sydney media, epitomizes the Mediterranean distinction through its Italian name and import products in which it specializes.

Another consumption trend on Danks Street is a combination of furniture, home wares and home renovation. These consumption spaces also exude authenticity and European sophistication, their signage emphasizing they supply “Italian” kitchens or European appliances, with one specializing in “fine Swedish furniture 1820-1970.” Besides one furniture warehouse that has been located on the corner of Danks and Bourke streets for far longer than most of the other shops, the furniture and interior design shops offer very high-end products, creating an air of exclusivity and uniqueness about the home-related businesses on Danks Street. As one furniture shop owner put it, “that’s what these shops have going for them, it is a one-off product and people want that,” describing his typical customers as “older, rich [and] well- educated.”

Finally, Danks Street has become known for art, with eleven art galleries, nine of which are located in the complex known as 2 Danks Street. This complex, which also houses the Danks Street Depot restaurant, was the pioneering ‘new’ consumption space in the area, opening in 2001 to a crowd of 2000 people (City of Sydney, 2005). The City of Sydney media reports that “the street’s business owners argue that the Danks Street renaissance is wholly attributable to the success of this venture [2 Danks Street]” (City of Sydney, 2005). The business owners I spoke with also credited 2 Danks Street as setting the tone of the area,

influencing other businesses that decided to locate there as well as the discourses generated about Waterloo, which centre on food and art. The galleries at 2 Danks Street are prestigious dealers in Australian, Aboriginal and international contemporary art and reported a strong client base of corporate, private and institutional collectors.

5.3.2 Crown Square

The shops and eateries operating on Danks Street stand in stark contrast to the more typical, cheaper takeaway eateries and common shops in the adjacent Crown Square development. Crown Square, as noted in the previous chapter is, although fairly high-priced for the neighborhood, moderately priced for Sydney overall, with a residential base of students and young professional that are primarily renters, and the many consumption venues scattered across the ground floors of the buildings reflect that. Convenience is the overwhelming theme of the consumption spaces in Crown Square, rather than authenticity. Convenience stores, take-away eateries and Asian grocers shops dominate the consumption landscape. Indeed the shops, cafés and grocers of Crown Square are decidedly ‘typical’ or average in their aesthetic and pricing. In addition to the numerous Thai and pizza take-away shops and convenience stores, pharmacies, health centres and beauty salons round out the day- to-day consumption spaces that characterize the MPE’s commercial spaces.

Crown Square residents I interviewed overwhelmingly mentioned the Coles supermarket³ that recently opened there when asked about their consumption practices in the area, reflecting they value basic amenities over specialist commodities. As a testament to this, several Crown Square residents when asked if they visited Danks Street remarked on how expensive it was to shop at Fratelli Fresh. Some reported they occasionally went to Danks

³ Coles is one of the two major supermarket chains in Australia.

Street's cafés or restaurants on weekends or "special occasions." One respondent highlighted the contradictory nature of the marketing of Danks Street versus the reality:

It was a bit weird when we first moved in, with this whole Danks Street thing, we were like, there's like 2 cafes what are they going on about trying to flaunt this whole Danks Street... It's ok they actually I think they've used the philosophy build it and they will come.

This statement represents what Crown Square residents felt about the Danks Street consumption landscape—although most had gone there for a meal on occasion, overall it did not offer the type of consumption they were likely to use on a daily basis. Many interviewees from Crown Square seemed unsure what all the hype was about, as another young woman said incredulously—"What because they use Italian names for the vegetables they can charge more for it?!" Another resident, an international doctoral student, described the new businesses opening on Danks Street as "very upscale" and discussed a disjuncture in terms of the residential makeup of Crown Square and consumption spaces of Danks Street, reflecting some of the divisions discussed in the previous chapter. She says:

A new coffee shop it's called the French House, it just opened two months ago and it's a really nice café. So I've been there four or five times, it's quite expensive but it's worth it because the building is really well decorated and the food is pretty good... But it's very strange living here, because in this floor, it seems like most of the people on this floor are Asian and it seems like Asian people don't fully integrate in what the mainstream Australians do. So if you go to the French House you don't see Asian people... When you go to the French House it's all the white, mainstream Australians—type of—I don't know what they are but in the French House. So my impression is no, but this is just very biased because I only see in the building and in the area Asians—that's what I see. And then when I go to the French House you don't see them, and not even walking around Danks Street.

This statement reflects not only that Danks Street does draw people who are seeking a particular type of aesthetic and culinary style in a consumption space, but also that the space is, like Crown Square, divided by race and presumably based upon the cost of consumption

there, class. This statement hints at the subtle forms of exclusion that Atkinson (2003) and Davidson (2008) discuss.

Another resident said he and his wife visit Danks Street “all the time” for food and furniture shopping. This couple represented the older, more affluent Crown Square demographic, both in high-earning jobs and owning a penthouse apartment. He discusses how they use the consumption spaces there, as well as hinting at, again, divisions in who uses the space:

Yeah we buy furnishings up there. It is, socio-economically, well apart from what is here I'd say. It's got a feel about it. It's very chic, very high end. I buy groceries there, I shop there probably about once maybe twice a week. We'll go to breakfast down there... We walked down we bought two antique chairs the other day, just walking past. That sort of thing... There's a fantastic French bakery on the corner there. Have you been there? Divine! And then that one's an expensive shop too.

This perspective was an outlier compared to the other Crown Square residents I interviewed who by and large reported high usage of the MPE's consumption spaces, particularly the Coles supermarket—every interviewee reported shopping there frequently. The resident quoted above was the only interviewee who reported regularly shopping on Danks Street.

5.4 Representations of place

As the above discussion has illustrated, the consumption spaces on Danks Street fit the ‘creative’ or ‘bohemian’ gentrification described by urban researchers. The proliferation of these new consumption spaces in Waterloo has propelled new representations of the place. The consumption spaces on Danks Street in particular have changed the way the area is represented, from representations by the city to those in the media. Today

Waterloo is depicted as an “arts and food hub” (City of Sydney 2009; Time Out Sydney, 2008). I examine media, business and government discourses about the consumption landscape of Danks Street over the past five years to explore how consumption spaces are playing a role in the neighbourhood’s gentrification.

5.4.1 Waterloo: A creative destination

Art and food on Danks Street were fundamental to generating how Waterloo has come to be represented. Interviewees from the galleries at 2 Danks Street told the story of how that “creative complex” changed the neighborhood. One gallery claims “we’ve built the street up as it’s gone along. I mean art tends to attract people of an economic bracket that—you’ve got to be able to feed yourself before you need art. And so the people that came to Danks Street to look at [art] saw opportunities. And some of those people are no doubt the reason the businesses started in the street because they could see people were coming to see the art, were coming to Danks Street cafes.” Indeed, the events at the art galleries in combination with café/bar/restaurant Danks Street Depot generated interest from the lifestyle media and propelled the discourse of Waterloo’s creative regeneration. It has been referred to as an “arts and food haven” (Time Out, 2008), a “vibrant café and fresh food scene” (livepages.com 2010), and “widely recognized as a design and good living precinct” (Pyd web site).

The centrality of art in the early transformation of the neighborhood has given rise to the City of Sydney and the state of New South Wales promoting a discourse of “creative” Waterloo. Tourism New South Wales describes Waterloo as a “creative village” that “shows the freshest face of Sydney creativity. A magnet for designers, chefs, style-setters and artists alike, this creative hub in Sydney’s inner south has swapped industrial grime for imagination” (NSW Tourism website, 2010). The ambient “creativity” associated with the art galleries, furniture and interior design shops is even stretched in this discourse to extend to

the cafés and eateries on Danks Street, which are referred to as “creative cafés.” This tourism-focused initiative by the state feeds the discourse of Waterloo, and specifically Danks Street (they make no mention of anything outside this street) as a creative-consumption “destination.” In fact, the upscale consumption spaces on Danks Street are the only aspect of “creative Waterloo” featured, highlighting how these consumption spaces are central to the discourses generated about the neighborhood.

The City of Sydney contributes to the creative discourse on Danks Street in their “Creative and Cultural City Strategy” referring to the Danks Street Festival, which features food, art and handicrafts and “celebrat[es] the diversity and artistic flavour of the Redfern–Waterloo community” (SGS, 2008). Each year from 2005 the City of Sydney sponsored the Danks Street Festival, releasing media statements that espouse the discourse of the area as an “arts and food hub,” which is celebrated and promoted at the festival (City of Sydney, 2009).

Interview respondents also described the area as creative and “buzzy”. One furniture shop owner said the area was “dipping a big toe into bohemia,” emphasizing the artistic/bohemian/creative milieu created by the shops selling “one-off” products. Gallery owners stressed the presence of galleries as contributing to the creative “buzz” and reputation of the area, and shared that although the neighborhood never really became an artist’s neighborhood, it has become an arts neighborhood, geared towards consumption of art, while only a few artists who can afford space in the area have studios there. This aspect of Waterloo’s gentrification is distinctive as it highlights the importance not of the creative productive space (the artist’s studio), but of the creative consumption space (the gallery) in generating creative buzz in the neighborhood. Now advertisements for commercial real estate in Waterloo describe the available studios, offices, and shop fronts as “creative” spaces. One real estate ad sums it up succinctly, “Waterloo is fast becoming

a trendy and creative suburb” (realestate.com.au, 2010).

Nearly every business owner and manager I spoke to reiterated Danks Street as a destination for affluent Sydneysiders, coming from other areas expressly to shop or dine. Most interviewees from furniture, interior design shops and galleries reported their clientele were drawn from the North Shore and Eastern Suburbs, areas home to the wealthiest populations in Sydney. One furniture shop owner explained locals do not shop on Danks Street, saying “they’re all [my clientele] from the North Shore... The people from Waterloo don’t really come here for the shops. They come just to push the pram up and down.” A café manager elaborated: “Danks Street as a whole has been marketed quite successfully as a destination, so people come here and hit the whole street, not just one spot.” A real estate company’s profile on the neighborhood gushes, “The suburb has become known as a place to eat out, with the fashionable Danks Street restaurant precinct getting a name around town” (BresicWhitney, 2010). This is reiterated by another real estate ad for commercial space on Danks Street: “Danks Street is becoming an affluent precinct with trendy cafés and international retails such as Fratelli Fresh and Danks Street Depot and will easily become one of the premier retail strips in Sydney. Some of the current retailers in this area are synonymous with some of the most famous brand names found in Mosman, Paddington and Woollahra”— Sydney suburbs defined by their affluence (realestate.com.au, 2010).

The lifestyle media when focusing on one venue on the street always make reference to Danks Street’s milieu, with the obligatory mention of the “buzzy” “trendy” or “funky” cafes and shops on the street, emphasizing it further as a “self-contained destination” (Time Out, 2008). Consumption spaces are central to the destination discourse generated about Danks Street, with one lifestyle web site writing “the streetscape has been transformed by a range of businesses cleverly integrated into the industrial heritage of the area” (livepages.com.au, 2010) One owner of a café located there for six years also elaborated on the role of

businesses in the area: “it’s because of the nature of this street and nature of the businesses that were here from the beginning, it attracts a higher quality type of business.”

5.4.2 A Dual Discourse

The above review of lifestyle media coverage of Waterloo reveals discourses that celebrate it as a place defined by arts, authentic food, and creativity; however, there is also a shadow discourse, a competing vision of the place stemming from its stigmatized past. Time Out Sydney magazine summarizes this dual discourse, writing “Waterloo is chiefly known as a rough-and-ready suburb dominated by its housing commission tower blocks,” it goes on: “from these unlikely roots, it’s dolled itself into arts hub and gourmet haven attracting Sydneysiders from all over” (Time Out, 2008). Travel and Leisure magazine urges readers to “forget the forbidding public-housing blocks towering behind you and settle in for an espresso at the Danks Street Depot,” (Sloley, 2005). Similarly, one website explains “Not that long ago, the somewhat scruffy streets of Waterloo were pretty much a no go area for many Sydney people” (livepages.com.au, 2010). The 2 Danks Street website describes their building as an “old warehouse in the backwaters of Waterloo” again reiterating the shadow discourse of Waterloo’s de-valorised past, perhaps in an attempt to evoke the neighbourhood’s rough industrial authenticity seen as so favoured by artists and creative people. The shadow discourse about Waterloo’s association with impoverished housing commission communities is slowly fading as lifestyle media, business-owners and city and state governments hype creativity as Waterloo’s defining feature. One Sydney newspaper article recently described the changing reputation of the area as “ever-more funky and food-centric” (Meryment, 2010).

This discourse was also echoed by respondents from Danks Street businesses, with some lauding the area as attracting “upscale clients and businesses” while others cited the still-industrial character and activity on the street as inhibiting further development. One café

manager was quite cynical about the way the area has been depicted through marketing and lifestyle media, revealing the dual discourse: “it seems to me that they’re trying really hard to get away from the fact that it’s [next to] Redfern, the Housing Commission and all of that... And that’s what they’ve done with this street, and for me there’s a really clear line between the haves and the have-nots [in this area] and this is the haves section.” The changes evident on Danks Street are impacting some of the oldest consumption spaces in the area. A century-old pub located on the westernmost edge of the case study area has recently teamed with a local providore to start creating “‘expensive restaurant’ meals at cheap, cheap prices” (yourrestaurants.com.au, 2010). An online customer review of the pub describes being “surrounded by local albies” but stressed the ‘bistro’ style food was excellent (Google reviews, 2009)—in many ways this statement sums up not only the ways in which Danks Street’s consumption landscape is changing Waterloo, but also the ways newcomers to the area view the local population. This recent transformation embodies the dual discourse about Waterloo, revealing an underlying tension between old and new representations and uses of this place.

5.4.3 Representation and Urban Strategy

Ultimately the discourses generated about Waterloo create a narrative in which Danks Street is “civilizing” the “rough and ready” neighborhood through middle class tastes and aesthetics. The last lines of a *Time Out Sydney* article epitomize this narrative:

Danks Street is like taking a short holiday from the fast-food jungle to an island of gentle refinement and good taste. By the time you leave, the world invariably seems like a more civilized place. That's Danks Street in all its truffle-infused, artisan-made, hand-crafted glory. (2008)

The dual-discourse creates a narrative that before Danks Street was known as an “arts hub and gourmet haven”, Waterloo was at best an industrial wasteland and at worst a no-

go slum area. This discourse allows the city, state, business and lifestyle media to hype the “creative” rebirth of Waterloo that in many ways erases from public memory its history as home to some of the most socially disadvantaged people in the inner city. Pioneering gallery owners described the blankness of the area’s character, referring to the area as previously “undiscovered.” One respondent told me, “when you first came here [in 2001], you could have dinner at the Danks Street Depot downstairs and look out to absolutely abandoned black streets... There was nothing out there at all. Once it got to nightfall it was empty, abandoned.” Another gallery owner says “before that [2 Danks Street opening] there was nothing here.” She says, “bleak was the best way to describe it. You couldn't even get a coffee or a sandwich around here” (quoted in Time Out, 2008). She went on to speculate about the rising rents and land prices pushing out even the pioneering galleries saying, “It will happen to us, but change is change. We'll go and do it somewhere else. We'll find a new area” (quoted in Time Out, 2008). These statements reveal the heart of the dual discourse in a frank acknowledgement of the neighbourhood’s gentrification: before there was “nothing”, now that the galleries have “discovered” Waterloo it has become a creative hub, with increasing rent prices that could potentially displace the current wave of gentrifying businesses with ever-more upscale ones.

The discourses about Waterloo’s transformation present a unique case because of the mismatch between the area’s consumption spaces and residential aspects of gentrification, which stand out as markedly less high-end and as being aesthetically typical, new-build apartment complexes that epitomize the antithesis to ‘authentic’ urban space. This small street of consumption spaces drives the discourses of gentrification, whereas residentially, a Waterloo address has not gained much prestige. Danks Street is aligned with other prestigious areas that feed its clientele, the Eastern Suburbs, the North Shore, or other previously gentrified neighborhoods, respondents compared it to Darlinghurst and Paddington. In this

way the discourse of a creative rebirth of Waterloo, of which consumption spaces are so central—both creating and feeding the discourses and benefiting from them—narrates a sense of place wherein the entrenched poverty and disadvantage of the area is fading as it becomes a space for those with the means to participate in high-end consumer society. In short, this discourse promotes and furthers the gentrification of Waterloo.

With these representations in mind, I now turn to the implications of Waterloo's consumption-cantered gentrification in terms of a wider urban strategy. The City of Sydney is actively engaged with fostering creativity and culture throughout the city, in 2008 publicizing Sustainable Sydney 2030, a bundle of ten strategic directions, one of which is titled "A Cultural and Creative City". The strategy states, "the City's economic and social wellbeing is closely associated with innovation and creativity, and the richness and diversity of its cultural life" which provide "the bonds that maintain the City's identity and social cohesion" (SGS, 2008). This strategy is representative of the "cultural turn" in urban policy I referred to at the start of the chapter, combining promotion of culture and the arts with economic growth and social cohesion, amounting to the latest panacea for urban problems. Waterloo is mentioned several times in this strategy, specifically in regards to: the concentration of Aboriginal people living in Waterloo and Redfern (increasing and celebrating venues for Aboriginal culture is a major focus of the strategy), the Danks Street Festival under "what the City is already doing" in terms of creative events, and most interestingly in regards to the opportunities Waterloo offers as a "neighborhood in transition" (SGS, 2008). The last point outlines a plan to create affordable, temporary spaces for artists in Waterloo; these spaces in transition would be available to artists until they are eventually redeveloped. The strategy explains, "A number of areas, particularly Waterloo, Redfern and Green Square are in transition. As the Australian Technology Park⁴ and North Eveleigh around CarriageWorks⁵ develop there could be opportunities to use transitional spaces for artists...As the area develops, *short term opportunities* for artists could be sought" (SGS, 2008; emphasis added).

To be blunt, the city is acknowledging and rolling out a strategy for ‘artist-led’ gentrification. As house prices in Waterloo have risen (22% and 6% increases for houses and units, respectively) from 2004-2009 it would appear the ‘transition’ referred to is gentrification (RWA, 2010). The strategies of the city and state clearly reflect the increasingly popular “artistic” or “creative class” gentrification script, discussed earlier in this chapter, wherein an area known for creative/artistic production attracts new middle class residents and businesses.

The strategy clearly situates itself in the context of global inter-urban competition, recognizing the global policy trend that increasingly brings together “culture, creativity, the economy and community and cultural participation,” saying “arts and cultural activities are fundamental to liveability, tolerance and quality of life and increasingly to economic development” (SGS, 2008: 9). These are the goals of the city and the cultural and creative strategy is the way of achieving them—but is this possible? If we look to Danks Street as what the city and state celebrate as a successful “creative village”, is there evidence that this street is achieving liveability, tolerance, quality of life and economic development? While Danks Street has for the most part been an economic success (although some business owners expressed doubts about this) it does not address or achieve the other goals. This is the case because Danks Street is an exclusive consumption area that has unabashedly been created for and by the upper-middle class in their tastes and aesthetics. Waterloo is an area with significant social disadvantage yet the presence of Danks Street has not and cannot address those problems, which at their core stem from entrenched poverty. Instead Danks Street and the discourses surrounding it separate themselves from and attempt to blot out the rest of the suburb that is not palatable to the upper- middle class. Nonetheless, the city has supported

⁴ The Australian Technology Park is a state-sponsored cluster of high-technology and media firms located in Alexandria, a neighborhood bordering Waterloo.

⁵ CarriageWorks is an arts, performance and event space on the border of Redfern, not far from Waterloo.

this; a 2006 Neighborhood Character Strategy discusses the city's plans for the area: "introduce active uses (retail, commercial, community) to buildings in the northern part of the neighbourhood to *reinforce and extend* the Danks Street centre" (HBO+EMTB, 2006; emphasis added). In other words the city wants to shape the neighbourhood's development in the image of Danks Street's exclusive, expensive consumption spaces.

Reflecting the dual discourse I discussed above, the Cultural and Creative City Strategy acknowledges problems of exclusion, social disadvantage and gentrification, yet it espouses that 'creativity' and 'culture' can address those problems, primarily through public art and increased participation in cultural events. Herein lays the core issue: if a successful creative village is essentially an upscale consumption street—like Danks Street—it will likely exacerbate exclusion and gentrification not provide solutions to those problems whether or not public art and participation is added to the mix. The perspectives of the Cultural and Creative City Strategy represent the values and interests of the middle-class and it seeks to develop the city in that image. In doing that, if Danks Street is an example of this process, other voices, perspectives and senses of place are being covered over and erased.

5.5 Conclusion

This case study presents a new facet of the relationship between consumption and gentrification in that Waterloo's reputation as a creative, trendy, bohemian place has been generated entirely by the nature of the consumption spaces in the area; whereas the residential attributes of gentrification contrast with these 'authentic' consumption spaces in their generic aesthetic and pre-fabricated conformity. The evidence presented here shows Danks Street does not serve the interests and tastes of local residents, but of an elite population seeking distinction. Business owners and local residents confirmed Danks Street was an upscale destination that was not typically used by the local population. These changes in Waterloo's consumption spaces— physical, demographic and

representational—are presented by the city as positive for the entire area. However, the presence of art and expensive food on Danks Street does nothing to serve local residents and especially those that are socially disadvantaged in the local community—rather it is a consumption landscape for the wealthy. It fails to achieve the goals of “tolerance, diversity, and social cohesion” set in the strategies by the City of Sydney and also associated with “creative” gentrification by many some geographers. In other words this chapter has problematised the ‘authentic’ consumption/gentrification phenomenon many authors have associated with diverse, tolerant, creative neighborhoods (Ley, 1996, 2003; Latham, 2003; Zukin and Kosta, 2004; Bell and Binnie, 2005; Zukin, 2008; Zukin et al., 2010).

In conclusion, I suggest academics and urban practitioners need to be more critical of the ‘creative’ formula of regeneration, especially in terms of alleviating social disadvantage or exclusion. Much of the literature reviewed earlier in this chapter draws connections between the ‘authentic’ consumption practices of the new middle class and the desire for diverse, tolerant neighborhoods (Ley, 1996; Latham, 2002; Zukin 2004), similar to the ideas espoused by Richard Florida (2002); however, as this case study has shown, the high-end nature of the ‘authentic’ consumption on Danks Street makes it an exclusive space. Far from being diverse and tolerant, this is a place patronized mainly by white, upper-middle class suburbanites—there was little evidence of difference and diversity. This is a crucial observation as more and more cities around the globe pursue ‘creative’ strategies in marginal neighborhoods. Perhaps this case provides insight into the direction the creative cities discourse is leading cities, heralding a new era in the intersection of gentrification, consumption and culture, wherein ‘bohemia’ is the status quo and ‘alternative’ has become the mainstream. In the narratives of both academics and urban leaders difference and authenticity is becoming no more than a descriptor for aesthetic tastes and consumption desires, yet this is increasingly the rhetoric used to promote the gentrification of marginalized neighborhoods on the basis of cultural

redevelopment.

This chapter has helped answer one of the main questions of this thesis in looking at the strategic contexts of urban change in Waterloo and the contexts of gentrification in a neighborhood where MPEs are being produced through exploring the neighbourhood's consumption landscapes. It showed that while both of the consumption landscape and the residential environment of the Crown Square MPE of Waterloo contribute to its gentrification, a disjuncture between these two aspects of gentrification was discovered. The findings in this chapter regarding discourses of the neighbourhood's redevelopment provided insight into how discursive practices narrate a struggle over urban space as well as the ways government strategy seizes on these narratives of change to encourage gentrification. Creative city strategies in Sydney and creative discourses of urban renewal in Waterloo contributed to the area's gentrification, while the consumption places these discourses were premised upon were found to be places that marked class exclusion within the neighborhood.

Chapter 6 State and Community Discourses of Urban Redevelopment—the RWA, ‘social- mix’ and community contestation

Waterloo is being redeveloped not only in the work of private developers like Meriton that transforms disused industrial sites into residential neighborhoods, but also through state authorities that outline, regulate and oversee the redevelopment. This chapter focuses on the Redfern-Waterloo Authority (RWA), a development authority brought into power by the New South Wales parliament in 2004 to oversee the area’s urban renewal in order to understand how state strategies are affecting the neighbourhood’s redevelopment and simultaneous gentrification. The revitalization plans put forth by the RWA incorporate master-planning on a remarkably large urban scale in South Sydney, with planned developments that bring together government redevelopment plans being bid to and carried out with private and quasi-private developers (see the discussion of Green Square in Chapter 3. The RWA was formed for a number of reasons that will be explored below, but primarily to facilitate economic development in Redfern-Waterloo, an area that has long been considered economically disadvantaged and socially marginalized because it is the site of the densest areas of inner-city public housing in Sydney and as Redfern’s history as the urban centre of Aboriginal Australia. While the neighborhoods surrounding Redfern-Waterloo have progressively gentrified over the past few decades, these neighborhoods remain the last gentrification frontier of the inner-city (Shaw, 2007), standing in the way of full ‘colonization’ by gentrifiers because of its marginality. Thus this chapter explores, following Hackworth and Smith (2001) the state’s role in facilitating ‘third-wave’ gentrification via a case study of the RWA, as well as how these renewal plans are contested by a neighborhood-based community group.

This chapter examines how the Redfern-Waterloo Authority’s plans for the urban revitalization of Redfern and Waterloo bring the concept of ‘community’ into an urban

renewal strategy based on economic growth. While economic revitalization is a prime concern of the RWA, these economic goals are linked to improving social conditions that the RWA paints as ‘unbalanced’ (high rates of social housing, unemployment and welfare dependence, lack of ‘community cohesion’) and wishes to redress through investment and increasing socio-economic diversity. The RWA frequently uses the rhetoric of ‘community’ in its documents, usually in a positive and unifying manner, which presents an interesting juxtaposition. While for the most part the strategies of the RWA align with neoliberal modes of urban redevelopment, they increasingly bring the concept of community to the fore—posing an interesting query in that neoliberalism traditionally ignores, negates and denies the concept of ‘community’ in favour of ‘individualism’—following from its rootedness in classical liberal theory. However, this construction has been changing—increasingly governments are turning to community to carry out neoliberal policies (Gough, 2002; Ghose, 2005; Lerner and Craig, 2005; Geoghegan and Powell, 2008)—a phenomenon referred to as “neoliberal communitarianism” (Fyfe, 2005; Defilippis, 2007). This chapter has three aims: to explore the concept of community in neoliberal urban redevelopment in the case of the RWA, to understand how this is challenged by a local community group, and in doing so, to contribute to literature that explores neoliberal communitarianism. I will do this through exploring how the community in Redfern-Waterloo is characterized and described in RWA documents and how the RWA uses the term community throughout its documents and rhetoric. Furthermore I investigate how the REDWatch group, a community organization formed to monitor the government’s activities in Redfern-Waterloo, has reacted to this and explore their experiences in challenging the RWA’s intervention in the area. In doing so I hope to expand upon the concept of neoliberal communitarianism developed by James Defilippis (2007) and understand how it works in an Australian context as well as how it may be impacting both government strategies of urban redevelopment and community organizing around redevelopment. This chapter also contributes to the wider themes of

the thesis through an exploration of the relationships, interactions and tensions between government and community in urban redevelopment projects.

6.1 Exploring community in a neoliberalised era

This chapter builds upon a body of work about the role of ‘community’ in a neoliberal era, a concept that will be further explored in a case study from Brooklyn, New York in the next chapter; there may be some overlaps in the literature reviews in these final chapters to contextualize the concepts that will be explored therein, although these have been minimized while retaining a coherent conceptual framework. While neoliberalism traditionally ignored the concept of community, instead espousing an ethos of extreme individualism, more recently scholars have been exploring how civil society, particularly through the rhetoric of ‘community’, is being engaged in the pursuit of neoliberal strategies and policies (Gough, 2002; Cheshire and Lawrence, 2005; Larner and Craig, 2005; Geoghegan and Powell, 2009). This work has theorized a new relationship between the state and civil society in contemporary neoliberal governance that sees community activists and organizations increasingly brought into partnerships with the state, often aimed at achieving social cohesion and community development (Jessop, 2002; Larner and Craig, 2005; Defilippis, 2007). Ghose proposes in her case study of participatory planning, that the neoliberalisation of urban governance means that increasingly these partnerships, limit the ability for citizens to fully participate in urban redevelopment plans (2005). Particularly salient to this discussion is the work of James Defilippis who critiques contemporary theories and practices of community development for encouraging and supporting gentrification (2007, p. 287)—what he calls a strategy of “erasing the community in order to save it”—in other words attempting to help poor communities by dispersing and de-concentrating poverty through gentrification strategies. These criticisms are aimed at approaches described as neoliberal communitarian—those that see communities taking entrepreneurial approaches to community development, as well as how governments are utilizing notions of community to

carry out neoliberal plans (see also Jessop, 2002; Fyfe, 2005, Defilippis, 2007). With this community organizations, once focused on activism, become constrained through reliance on state or foundational funding, limiting their ability to be critical of or confrontational towards those bodies. Neoliberal communitarian approaches to community development focus on creating wealth in poor communities, which Defilippis criticizes for the assumption that creating wealth for individuals in communities is synonymous with collective gains (2007, p. 274). He analyses how through the language of social capital, neoliberal communitarian approaches assume that only wealthy communities possess social capital via bonds and networks that make communities successful, and therefore, poor communities are seen as lacking social capital, and even community itself (Defilippis, 2007, p. 277). His work makes the important connection between contemporary community development and the gentrification of poor neighborhoods as well as policies that de-concentrate low-income populations; therefore, this approach displaces the very people it is aimed at helping. Neoliberal communitarianism is also clearly embodied in the UK via New Labour's "Third Way" policies, with their distinct emphasis on embracing community (see Fyfe, 2005), but as I will show this ideology certainly informs urban policy in Australia as well.

This literature has primarily examined how community organizations have become professionalized, emphasizing the constraints of these new partnerships (Larner and Craig, 2005). I would like to extend the discussion of neoliberal communitarianism further by incorporating how new community organizations are reacting to the constraints of professionalization as well as understanding how neoliberal communitarian rhetoric problematises the existing community. I do this through discourse analysis of how the RWA uses the rhetoric of community and by considering a community group that has formed itself to be a watchdog of the government rather than a partner. While Defilippis' (2007) focus is on community development—in other words helping poor communities, I want to focus on neoliberal communitarianism as it is incorporated into a broader urban revitalization

strategy, notably, as per Defilippis' argument through gentrification, looking specifically at how community organizers have reacted to the constraints of neoliberal communitarianism. While recent literature acknowledges neoliberalism's embrace of community, very few studies have investigated how new types of community organizations are dealing with this constraint or perhaps contesting it. I extend research about neoliberal communitarianism to a specific case of neoliberal urban redevelopment that combines community development with renewal of the built environment. Thus I will look at the Redfern-Waterloo Authority's use of community in their plans and policies and at a community response to this through an exploration of the perspectives of REDWatch⁶, a community group reacting to the constraints of neoliberal communitarianism.

Work on neoliberal communitarianism connects with the recent policy trend towards "social mixing" that is espoused by the RWA plans; by introducing middle class residents into poor neighborhoods, social mixing policies are seen by policy makers to 'benefit' the poor, create social cohesion and create 'sustainable' communities (Lees, 2008; Blomley, 2004; Schoon, 2001). The policy and rhetoric of social mixing, considered by many critical writers as a euphemistic way of promoting gentrification (Davidson, 2010; Lees, 2008; Uiterkmark et al, 2007; Rose, 2004), is central to the RWA's renewal plans and to neoliberal communitarian approaches (Defilippis, 2007). The theory of social mixing proposes that poor communities in and of themselves are in some way problematic and that the presence of wealthier people within the same geographical area will solve those problems.

The chapter is based on a documentary analysis of the RWA's plans, documents, and press releases with a focus on how the term community was used. The analysis of the RWA's use

⁶ REDWatch (a partial acronym for Redfern, Everleigh, Darlington, Waterloo—the four neighborhoods that make up the RWA renewal area) is a community group that "exists to monitor government involvement in our area and push for outcomes that benefit the community and not just government." From <http://www.redwatch.org.au>

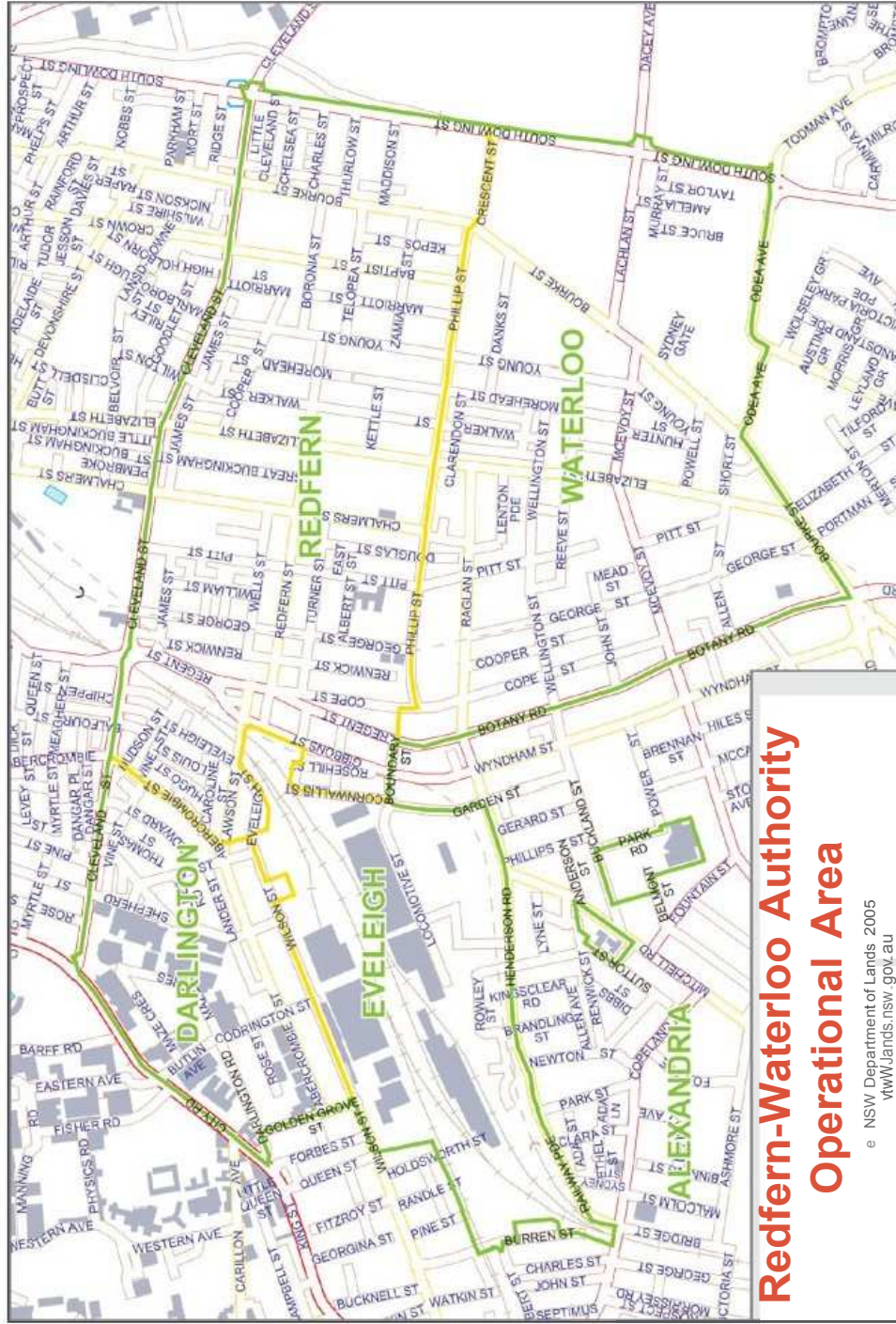


Figure 6.1: Redfern-Waterloo Authority operational area

of community began as a content analysis and then uses of community were analysed in terms of how their discourse might relate to Defilippis' notion of neoliberal communitarianism. The RWA documents were also analysed to assess more generally what their plans were for renewal and how they intended to carry them out, looking for the most prominent discourses and ideas influencing them. Staff of the RWA declined to interview for this research, resulting in reliance on documentary analysis. I interviewed five members of the community group REDWatch about their views on community, involvement and goals in the group, their views of the RWA and their plans and how they engage with the RWA. I also referred to REDWatch's website for information, history and details regarding the official incorporation of the group.

6.2 Redfern-Waterloo

The RWA's operational area is shown in Figure 6.1 (compare with Figure 3.1, map of City of Sydney in Chapter 3), but it is important to also socially contextualize how this space has been understood and represented. Redfern is most noted for its special history and significance to urban Aboriginals (Shaw, 2007; Shaw, 2000; Anderson 1994; Anderson 1993). Redfern became associated with urban Aboriginality and the movement for Aboriginal rights and recognition in the 1970s when the Aboriginal settlement called The Block was formalized as Aboriginal territory (Shaw, 2007, p. 3). Redfern and Waterloo are places of social disadvantage an aspect of the area that has been seized upon again and again by academics, the media and the government (Gulson, 2007); however, as Shaw points out since the 1990s, Redfern has been narrated as inner-Sydney's final gentrification frontier (2007). From the turn of the 20th century Redfern and Waterloo was an industrial centre with slum housing surrounding factories; by the 1970s they were rapidly de-industrializing and the site of the inner city's most concentrated public housing. Since then, Redfern has significantly gentrified but Waterloo has been slower to follow with a higher percentage of public housing in the area; both neighborhoods still carry a certain stigma related to their past as well as the concentration

of public housing and, as Shaw argues, Aboriginal people (2007). From 2001-2006 the proportion of public housing in Waterloo dropped from more than 90% to 55% as newly built apartment developments began to be populated, seeing an increase in managerial and professional workers in the neighborhood (ABS, 2006, 2001; Gulson, 2007, p. 1385). Despite this, Redfern and Waterloo still have some of the highest levels of social disadvantage in inner Sydney (Gulson, 2007, p. 1383).

The RWA has emphasized the representation of Redfern-Waterloo as a place of disadvantage. Early reports by the RWA present statistics showing Redfern and Waterloo fall in the lowest 5% in many indicators of social disadvantage, and as I will discuss later poverty is discussed as a major problem in the area (RWA Human Services Plan). The Redfern-Waterloo Partnership Project (RWPP), precursor to the Redfern-Waterloo Authority, was established in March 2002 and planned to introduce up to 10,000 new residents into the area through private housing development, a renewal plan described as “redolent with social engineering connotations” (Gulson 2007, p. 1383). In an unpublished research paper Glen Searle analyses the beginnings, goals and structure of the Redfern-Waterloo Authority interpreting it as a “new state space” of the post-Fordist era (Brenner, 2004), a development corporation with key features of “public-private partnership, a new authority not accountable to the local community, the use of real estate revalorization to fund redevelopment that will increase city competitiveness, legitimating via claims that it will address the area’s social problems, and the lack of voice of the local community in the authority’s actions” (Searle, 2005). Searle’s analysis takes a more stark view of the RWA’s intentions regarding community—that they are eager to shut community voices out, rather than, following Defilippis, espouse to ‘help’ them. Searle attributes the “Redfern Riot” of 2004 (see Shaw, 2009) as one of the main triggers for developing the RWA, which has a stronger state authority compared to the RWPP, overriding the local City of Sydney Council in all matters. However, he argues, based on

early cabinet papers about the goals of the RWA, that increasing global economic competitiveness was the central aim of the authority's formation and that the focus on social problems is used to justify state government control over the area. This research has aided the construction of my own research questions and I will build on it by looking at the RWA after five years in power to specifically assess their engagements with community and how it demonstrates neoliberal communitarianism, as well as how this is being reacted to by certain sectors of the community.

6.2.1 The RWA's strategies

The Redfern-Waterloo Authority was established by an Act of New South Wales Parliament in 2004 that granted the authority powers over the City of Sydney council in matters of planning and urban renewal. The Act states its objectives are to develop the area into an “active, vibrant and sustainable community”, through supporting the Aboriginal community (and duly acknowledging the area's significance to Aboriginals) and promoting social cohesion and community safety (RWA Act, 2004, section 3: a-d).

The body's functions enables it to manage social, economic, ecological and other sustainable development; providing and promoting housing choices, employment and business opportunities for locals and “to do any other thing for the sustainable improvement of the operational area” (RWA Act, 2004, section 15:1:a-d). The Act also sets out the planning powers of the RWA—to implement a plan for the area's improvement, design, zoning, development, human services, creation of employment, infrastructure, renewal and regeneration of public land and assets, the maintenance of a social mix of income levels, household types and cultural groupings and the provision of affordable housing for owners and tenants (including publicly funded housing) with the overriding authority to carry out that plan (RWA Act, 2004, section 27). The RWA's aim then is urban renewal through social and economic planning as well as revitalization of the

built environment, and its powers are quite broad in carrying this out.

There are three components of the RWA's strategy, the Built Environment Plan (BEP), the Employment and Enterprise Plan (EEP) and the Human Services Plan (HSP). The BEP consists of two stages—the first focused on development that will yield job growth and improving public amenity, space and safety, the second focused on achieving the desired social mix. The employment and enterprise plan aims to provide opportunities for wealth creation for the local community through creating jobs and facilitating enterprise development. The HSP sets out to improve the quality of life for the people of Redfern and Waterloo through providing better access to social services and better service provision. The BEP and the EEP are focused on making the area economically viable and use the language of growth, investment and opportunity, in addition the BEP's focus on making the area "safer" through design and "passive surveillance". The first strategy named in the 2006 BEP is to facilitate economic and employment growth (p. 24). The BEP and EEP both emphasize the area's economically strategic location, as a "southern gateway to the CBD" and in the "global economic corridor" (BEP, p. 10); according to the EEP "Redfern-Waterloo is ideally situated for an urban renewal strategy designed to create new jobs and enterprise by leveraging off the area's natural geographic and transport advantages" (EEP 2006, p. 3). These statements stress the importance of strategically utilizing the area to expand the CBD and connect the area to the global economy, bolstering Searle's argument that increasing global economic competitiveness was of primary importance to the RWA. The RWA sees investment and job growth as the key drivers to the area's renewal and achieving a "sustainable community" (BEP, p. 24). "Urban renewal will mean enhancing employment and enterprise opportunities for the local and wider metropolitan community, as well as revitalizing the area with new residents and economic activity" (EEP, p. 3). These aims defined by the RWA, cloaked in the increasingly popular language of developing a sustainable community (see Davidson, 2010a), demonstrate neoliberal communitarianism in

their entrepreneurial approach and emphasis on bringing in new residents—supporting Defilippis’ (2007) assertion this approach aims at gentrifying a poor neighborhood in a bid to “develop” it.

The RWA’s campaign to re-brand the area further supports the idea that their strategies follow a revitalization-by-gentrification model, one which represents the current community as undesirable and ‘un-marketable’. To achieve its redevelopment objectives, the RWA has developed an entrepreneurial marketing campaign promoting Redfern-Waterloo through “re-branding” the area. The initiative consists of a brand and creative strategy, which the RWA commissioned creative branding agency Frost to research, design and implement. CEO of the RWA Roy Wakelin-King explained the messages the brand should convey: “We are working hard to say to the world Redfern-Waterloo is a place of vibrancy, discovery and opportunity” (Roll Up Redfern Press Release, 2010). The goal of the branding is to shed the neighbourhood’s “outdated” stigma and bring more visitors, including tourists, into the area, as well as to encourage businesses to set up shop and get their workers to spend time (and money) there (Frost Redfern Brand presentation 9/2/11). The ‘brand opportunity’—what the brand is trying to achieve—as described by Cat Burgess of the Frost agency is to champion Redfern-Waterloo as a landmark destination through ‘brand values’ of diversity, eclecticism, cosmopolitanism, open-mindedness, innovation (not only technological but also socially progressive innovation) and vibrancy (which she said they “wanted to play up a lot harder”)—the galleries, cultural activities, and food, as well as the living culture—“not just high culture”—and the creative way of living the area exudes (Frost Redfern Brand presentation 9/2/11). This public relations exercise on the part of the RWA certainly seems fitting with the trend of entrepreneurial modes of place marketing, in as well as appealing to gentrified sensibilities through the discussion of “creativity” and “vibrancy”.

6.2.2 RWA discourses of community

The RWA's approach to redevelopment has the traits of neoliberal communitarianism, focused on solving problems like poverty and crime through community, or at the very least framing these problems and solutions through the language of community. A content and discourse analysis of the use of the term community in the RWA's documents revealed it is used to justify the authority's approach and action—the redevelopment is for the community and by the community—as well as to problematise the community—another form of justification for the state's intervention. In this section I explore the most prominent discourses of 'community' in the RWA's documents through a thematic categorization: community as problematic, community as consultant and community as beneficiary.

6.2.3 Community as problematic

The RWA Built Environment and Employment Plans problematise the community as “unbalanced” because it is “less socio-economically diverse than the rest of Sydney... characterized by a disproportionately high level of unemployment, public housing and social welfare dependency” and suggest that “job growth and investment in the area offers opportunities to redress imbalances evidenced by the local community” (BEP 2006, p. 3). The focus of the “imbalance” in the community is poverty, welfare dependence, unemployment and concentration of public housing. The BEP targets public housing as a source of imbalance: “Public housing comprises 50 percent of the housing stock in the Redfern-Waterloo area and accounts for 35 percent of the residents. Conventional wisdom these days does not support concentration of public housing” (BEP, p. 85). In particular the BEP2 addresses the ‘imbalance’ in housing tenure in the area, articulating its goals as such, “contribute to the creation of a more sustainable community through the provision of a more balanced mix of social, private and affordable housing.”

The EEP frames social imbalance in terms of unemployment problems: “Unemployment in the Redfern-Waterloo area (7.6% in Redfern and 16.6% in Waterloo) is higher than the NSW average (7.2%)” (p. 4) and “39% of the Redfern- Waterloo population... have been identified as not being in the labour force. This is particularly evident in the Indigenous community (62% not in the labour force) and in the suburb of Waterloo (59% of the total population not in the labour force - which equates to twice the average for Sydney in 2001)” (EEP, p. 5). The EEP explains “the RWA sees wealth creation as an antidote to welfare dependency” (p. 3) and describes how some sectors of the community lack a “culture of work”, saying “some people have grown up in an environment where their parents and role models are unemployed and they therefore have much less familiarity with a culture of work” (EEP, 2006, p. 8). To develop a culture of work, which is seen as a generational practice, it suggests “the RWA will seek to harness high profile Australians from the Aboriginal and broader community to act as champions for youth employment... to further support the relevant sections of the community to move from a culture of welfare to a culture of work and self reliance” (EEP 2006, p. 17). The rhetoric using community leaders to get people off welfare reflects the suggestion (made by Gough, 2002) that community is being utilized in a top-down manner to execute neoliberal policies, it also encodes entrenched, concentrated poverty as a central problem the RWA is targeting. This, again, supports Defilippis’ theory that neoliberal communitarian approaches target as a problem the very communities they are trying to ‘save’ (2007).

The Built Environment Plan 2 sets out to dilute the entrenched pockets of poverty that exist within the high proportion of public housing in the area by adding thousands of private residences to the public housing sites. It proposes to reduce the overall number of public housing units from 3,500 to 2,700; another 700 will be affordable housing units and 4,200 private units will be built, a proportion of which will be infill development on what is now open space on the public housing sites (BEP2, 2011, p. 5). While the BEP2 promises not to

reduce the number of public housing dwellings overall, it will displace 700 units of public housing to elsewhere in the City of Sydney replacing them with affordable houses geared towards key workers like nurses, police officers and teachers that are being priced out of market rate housing in the inner city. This is all justified in terms of creating a 'better' social mix in the area that will benefit the community, the BEP2 states: "the creation of more sustainable communities that incorporate a more balanced mix of social, affordable and private housing" i.e. less social housing and more private housing, "was considered paramount to successfully renewing the social housing sites and driving the ongoing social and economic revitalisation of the area" (BEP2, 2011, p.4).

This discourse of an unbalanced community and the promotion of social mixing as a fix for that contains a tension in terms of the way diversity is viewed. While descriptions of community in the RWA documents celebrate its diversity, it is simultaneously seen as not diverse enough in the ways the RWA sees fit. "Redfern- Waterloo is a strong, diverse community in the real sense of the word 'community'" the BEP (p. 34) announces; the HSP describes it as "a diverse, resilient community" (p. 10); another portrayal of the community characterizes it by "strong cultural and ethnic diversity" and that "interviews with local community show people value the diversity of the area" (BEP, p. 14). These descriptions paint the community's diversity in a positive light; however, the RWA feels it is not diverse enough in terms of the socio-economic profile because of "lower incomes, education, home ownership and labour force participation, high levels of unemployment and public housing occupancy" (BEP, p. 13). In other words the language of imbalance and lack of socio-economic diversity problematises the current community, targeting the impoverished community as a problem itself.

Branding strategies are aligned with the representation of the community as unbalanced. One of the ways the RWA is trying to achieve a more "sustainable mix" in the community is

through the re-branding of the neighborhood. The branding partnership, known as Roll Up Redfern, includes the RWA, the Redfern-Waterloo Chamber of Commerce, REDWatch and the South Sydney Rabbitohs—the local football team, showing the ‘community’ via certain groups and institutions is an active participant in the RWA’s strategies. The branding agency Frost also worked with Environmetrics social research consultancy to conduct interviews and workshops with community members and organizations, and surveyed 300 people living within a 10 kilometre radius of the area to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the area that the branding could address. The primary use of the brand strategy is to facilitate economic development and tourism—as City of Sydney CEO Monica Barone is quoted as saying in a press release: “a new brand depicting Redfern and its surrounds will stimulate new activity, provide opportunities for economic development and create a unique identity for the area.” It does so in a way that seems aimed at attracting young professional and ‘creatives’—two groups that have been closely associated with burgeoning gentrification (see Chapter 4). Even the Environmetrics report on the Redfern Waterloo brand survey categorizes the area’s gentrification under “good things about Redfern-Waterloo”, side by side with the area’s “improvement” (Environmetrics, 2010, p. 7).

Although the RWA’s documents address the problems of gentrification, overall the plans support developing the neighborhood through gentrification, which the BEP2 most blatantly explains through the rhetoric of social mix. Furthermore a New South Wales “report card” on the RWA’s renewal in 2010 celebrates the area’s gentrification, with Kristina Keneally, the NSW Premier, praising the increase in home prices for Redfern and Waterloo as “indicators [that] the renewal of Redfern and Waterloo are moving in the right direction” (NSW Press Release, 2010).

The area is already promoted as a ‘creative’ and ‘up and coming’ area (see chapter 5) as it gentrifies, an image the Redfern brand encourages. The RWA’s plans and the public relations practices that go along with them emphasize a Janus-faced discourse that

simultaneously celebrates the community and its diversity and condemns it as lacking the right culture, demographics and ‘image.’

6.2.4 Community as consultant and beneficiary

Besides the discourse of community imbalance evoked through the RWA documents, two other discourses emerged that contribute to the bifurcated treatment of community: community as consultant and community as beneficiary. Each of the RWA’s plans outlines the manner and extent of community consultation. For example, the BEP is said to have been designed “following an extensive period of community consultation” and “is intended to be a living document, which builds upon its earlier priorities and strategies, with community input as an ongoing feature” (BEP, 2006 p. 2). The EEP takes a different approach to consultation by conducting a skills audit through community focus groups with local unemployed people to understand what skills they might possess to gain employment (EEP 2006 p. 7). The HSP also involved “extensive community consultation...undertaken as part of the process for identifying actions for this plan” (p. 8) and the plan’s “ten priorities capture the spirit and concerns of issues raised by the community” (p. 11). The Redfern brand was also created through workshops, interviews and involvement from the community, with an RWA press release calling it a significant and exciting community activity” (RWA press release 2011).

The continued language of community consultation evokes the idea of a partnership between the community and the RWA—of working *with* the community. Kristina Keneally uses this language when she describes the positive effects of the RWA’s urban renewal as “the results of a strong partnership between government and community” (NSW press release 2010). A press release announcing the re-branding initiative also refers to “a new partnership has been formed to tell the world what a great place Redfern-Waterloo is to live, work and play...The partnership is consulting with residents, community groups and local businesses to identify and celebrate the key strengths of the Redfern-Waterloo area and how best to market them.”

Another of the most prominent discourses of community in the RWA documents represents community as beneficiary—working *for* the community. This is expressed in the plans through language such as:

It is imperative that the local community is a major beneficiary of the urban renewal program and all of the RWA's planning is being directed to this end. (BEP, p. 2)

"Fundamentally the Plan is aimed at ensuring that benefits gained from redevelopment and economic prosperity are shared by the whole community, especially local residents and businesses. (BEP, p. 3)

Here there is again evidence of Defilippis' (2007) theory of neoliberal communitarianism at work; while I have explored how the RWA's economic development and social mixing plans support gentrification of the neighborhood, this is all seen to be for the benefit of the community, to develop the community. But how has the community reacted? While that is a difficult question to answer, considering the multiplicity of communities in a variety of ways—not least of all in how they view redevelopment, gentrification and government intervention in their neighborhood—I will explore this through a community organization specifically formed to address the RWA.

6.2.5 Reacting to neoliberal communitarianism: REDWatch and the RWA

Community groups engaging with the RWA's intervention in Redfern-Waterloo contribute to the construction of discourses of community in the neighbourhood's redevelopment, often in ways that contest the RWA's discourses of community. REDWatch is a resident/community group that formed over concern of the lack of community involvement in the State government's redevelopment of Redfern-Waterloo when information about the State's plans became public through a series of leaked reports to the Sydney Morning Herald newspaper (Dick, 2004; Searle, 2005).

The group's beginnings trace back to community concerns about the RWPP (see Redfern-Waterloo section; Gulson, 2007) and the prospect of State intervention in the neighborhood because of civil unrest on The Block following the death of a young Aboriginal man after police pursuit (see Shaw, 2007; Shaw 2009). At local Australian Labour Party (ALP) meetings, members discussed opposition to the proposed government intervention and out of that meeting REDWatch formed with members of the ALP as well as the Green Party and the Reconciliation Movement. Initially the group planned to meet about community input into the RWPP's RED Strategy; however, that strategy was never presented to community and instead the RWA was formed by an Act of NSW Parliament—by that time REDWatch included members from all major political parties, public and private housing tenants, business owners and church people. Soon after REDWatch became formally incorporated as an association with its stated objects being to monitor the activities of the government in the Redfern, Waterloo, Darlington and Everleigh areas, particularly the RWA, and to ensure that their plans benefit a diverse community, that community consultation is comprehensive and responsive, and that pressure is maintained on authority—including providing a mechanism for discussion and action on community issues (monthly public meetings and a web site), enhancing communication between community groups and encouraging broad community participation (Objects of REDWatch incorporated, 2004). These objectives contribute to the centrality of the discourse of community in redevelopment processes by naming 'community' as an actor and one that characterized as oppositional to and suspicious of 'government'.

Nevertheless, REDWatch's role in the community and in working with the RWA is complex. It would be expected from REDWatch's objectives stated above that the group is oppositional towards the RWA and that would be an appropriate analysis; however, REDWatch's activities are directed more towards providing information and facilitating

discussion within the community than towards any specific goals per se—such as a simple “anti-redevelopment” goal. Their main activities consist of regular public meetings that often include a guest speaker from the RWA or another community group or NGO in the area, the maintenance of a website that details the activities of the RWA as well as local community events and news and provides information for how community members can submit responses to the RWA’s plans. There is also an email newsletter generated by the group that details the main issues the RWA is dealing with, why they are significant to the community and how the community can respond. In this respect they do not fit prototypical imaginings of a local community group that may work towards stopping a particular development or strategy or on the other hand one that may advocate for the disadvantaged sector of the community of Redfern-Waterloo. Nor are they representative of community groups or NGOs that have been professionalized through partnership with the State. This is why this group has been chosen as the focus of this case study—while they do not represent “the” community of the area (although it would be erroneous to think any one group can represent “the” community, taking into account the diversity of that concept)—REDWatch acts as a conduit between the community and the government. It should be noted REDWatch’s most active members are primarily white, professional men and interviewees acknowledged that using the term ‘community’ in Redfern-Waterloo implies a multitude of ‘communities’ demarcated by class, ethnicity and tenure status. In this sense the members of the group can be seen as primarily outsiders from the poor sectors of the community; however, the majority of active members are also long-time residents of the area and as such have embedded local networks and community ties. REDWatch creates a discourse of community that sees it as in danger of being co-opted by the government and thus in need of an advocate—a discourse that speaks to the contemporary situation of organizing in a climate of neoliberal communitarianism. That the group does not receive funding, nor is it linked to any one political party, or indeed any one goal or outcome for their activism represents a

response to the constraints of neoliberal communitarianism. Their main goals as expressed by members I interviewed, as well as from the information on their website, is to provide community members in the local area with information about the RWA's activities, including helping to distil or analyse often highly-technical information the RWA puts out in asking for community consultation.

REDWatch conveys a discourse of community that strongly contrasts with the RWA's discourses of community consultation and involvement. Overall, the REDWatch members I spoke with expressed that the RWA's community involvement in planning and consulting about their strategies is not genuine. One REDWatch member described how he is a community representative on the built environment plan Ministerial Advisory Committee for the RWA, yet he had never had access to or was consulted on any plans prior to them becoming publicly available. The RWA was formed with the specific task of urban renewal (indicated in RWA Act 2004) and certain aspects of that agenda—as indicated at the beginning of Redfern-Waterloo section—were set in the act; in other words the RWA has its plan and the focus on community consultation and benefits is a tokenistic gesture to alleviate criticism. This is the story that emerged again and again from the REDWatch members I spoke with. One member expressed it as such:

Well the consultation process is totally tokenistic. They put it out there on exhibition for a minimum amount of time, expect people to respond to highly, extremely detailed technical documents, they don't have the expertise, you go to the limited public exposure and meetings they have they do a big spiel and show them all the wonderful things they're going to do they don't really expect you to respond or do anything in response and if they do have a response process it's all formula stuff—tick a box. So it's not really a serious discussion about visioning a new community or whatever.
(Interview March 10, 2011)

Another REDWatch member who has been involved in the group from its earliest stages explained the problems with community consultation from the very beginning of the

RWA's existence:

The areas that we lost in a sense on were things like community engagement. Under the RWPP [Redfern Waterloo Partnership Project, the RWA's predecessor] there was a community council and mechanisms for community input into that. We tried to get that to flow over so there was a reference group for the RWA. We tried to get local community representation on the RWA board without success. What we were told at the time was that there would be plenty of opportunities for community engagement and in fact one of the first things that Frank [Sartor, initial minister heading the RWA] did after the RWA was set up was to send around a letter detailing out saying—'we're writing to people to get your ideas of what you think should happen as far as community involvement. Here is what we think, but let us know.' So people put in their comments and sure enough what came out was what 'we' [the RWA] think—the only problem with that was that it didn't get implemented. So one of the key parts of that was that there would be meetings between the community and the minister quarterly and not one of those occurred. (Interview March 11, 2011)

One REDWatch member who works in community development in the area further elaborated the controversial notion of community consultation the RWA promotes:

It depends on your definition of consultation. I think the RWA believe they're genuinely consulting the community. They genuinely believe they're doing a good job; however they're not. If you ask any resident they'll tell you they're not. The problem with most governments is they actually—the cynical part of me would say they rely on the apathy and ignorance of local people to ram through their agenda which has a political pass of authority but no community authority... And I think on the RWA stuff the community don't own the plans, it's more of a 'here's our ideas, here's our suggestions, here's your chance to have a say about it' but then they go and do whatever they're going to do. So that's not consultation, consultation is where the residents are actually making decisions at the table before the proposals are made. (Interview March 17, 2011)

Thus, REDWatch members contest the validity of the RWA's language of partnership

through consultation, asserting the authority had already determined the nature of the renewal and only asks the community to consult on those pre- determined plans.

Although the REDWatch interviewees felt the RWA's espousal of community consultation was disingenuous, the authority nevertheless does focus a considerable amount of attention on community concerns in the rhetoric of their documents. In interviews with REDWatch members I inquired about their perceptions of why the RWA uses the language of community so frequently when there is the feeling they are not actually genuine in acting on it. This revealed an important aspect of the case study relating to the history of State government attempts to intervene in Redfern- Waterloo, specifically targeting the large sector of public housing in the area, which dates back to the era of slum clearance when poor people were forcibly removed from their homes and their houses destroyed. In the 1970s Housing NSW wanted to continue this tradition by relocating public tenants to estates on the outskirts of the metropolitan area and tearing down much of the state housing in Waterloo—this was stopped only by vociferous local activism and Green Bans⁷. Since that period the State government has periodically re-evaluated the area, conducting surveys, studies and interviews in attempts to redevelop the area; furthermore, the area has been shuffled among a number of local Council areas before being amalgamated into the City of Sydney. This history has generated a distinct cynicism amongst local residents according to the REDWatch members I interviewed:

“The community has been consulted and studied to death and no real difference in their day to day life in tangible things seems to take place. There probably have been changes but those changes were so subtle the community is actually missing them and doesn't see them. But because the community sees the consultants, researchers, students coming in picking their brains to disappear again and nothing ever happens and none of those reports are ever coming back to the community because government doesn't like releasing them because they get criticized for them. So that's what

generates apathy that's what generates people not wanting to get involved: you hear promises, feel consulted and then nothing happens after that consultation process. (Interview March 17, 2011)

Another long-time public housing resident and REDWatch member describes the Redfern area as the most studied area in all of Sydney. He too relays the same feelings of weary cynicism in the community the above quote illustrates, saying

I've been in the South Sydney area for 45 maybe 50 years and I have a lot of friends in the area, a lot of associations in the area and we've watched it change, evolve, whatever you want to call it as progress has come through. We've seen all the geniuses come and go, we've seen the planning schemes; we've seen the slum clearance models and some of us are still here. (Interview March 17, 2011)

This statement expresses the respondent's scepticism towards a history of government involvement in Redfern-Waterloo and the RWA's discourse of community, which he cynically referred to as "like a media release for them". REDWatch interviewees overall saw the RWA's rhetorical focus on 'community' as a tokenistic gesture aimed at alleviating criticism that arose from the history of lack of community involvement in favour of expert opinions.

Related to this point about the cynicism of the community in response to relentless attention from the state government, REDWatch sees itself as filling a gap in providing the community a voice and sense of unsullied representation. As the above comments have demonstrated, the government often consults with residents but they seldom feel they are actually listened to. Additionally, as REDWatch members communicated it to me, other avenues of community representation have been compromised via the constraints of funding Defilippis identifies in neoliberal communitarian community development (2007). One member described this situation in the following terms:

What's happened is that those organizations and people have been caught up into the bureaucracy in a way so that organizations that previously were involved in activity that challenged the government increasingly you're in a situation where their funding means they're not in a position to be able to do that or they've got to be very careful or if they do something then Housing knocks on their door and says "we don't pay you to do advocacy" etc. There have been a number of changes like that that disempower many of the people involved in the community sector. (Interview March 11, 2011)

Another REDWatch interviewee explained that he felt the group is able to overcome that constraint and fill the gap:

The beauty of REDWatch is that it doesn't get any funding and the government can't shut them up in any way, they have a lot of credibility, they have a lot of skills around the table so they can't be dismissed. Whereas one of the government tactics is often that when people criticize them they get a defensive response or they get 'it's just the noisiest that are saying that' they sort of dismiss the views of community leaders as 'oh you're just troublemakers' with REDWatch they don't seem to be able to do that so I think that's what attracts me to REDWatch...because a lot of other groups, take NGOs for example, funding is used as a leverage to quiet them or make sure they don't say anything they shouldn't say.

(Interviewer) Because they're dependent on government funding—so you feel like that reduces the amount of conflict they're able to use against the government?

Yeah. (Interview March 17, 2011)

These statements reflect the sort of constraints in community organizing Defilippis (2007) brought to the fore. REDWatch sees itself as taking on a community role in ways other groups might not be able to by challenging and maintaining pressure on the government. In this way the group positions itself as the authentic voice of and source of information for the community—providing a sense of authority to the group. This is

problematic in a number of ways however because while REDWatch is not as professionalized as the NGOs they criticize for losing their confrontational edge, they do see themselves as making “highly technical” planning documents and government papers accessible to the wider public and are still by and large representative of a more middle-class sector of the community.

Overall, interviewees from REDWatch, despite the diversity of their positions in the community—for example, community development worker, business owner, public housing tenant, planning professional—expressed similar goals in participating in the group:

Well I think it's most useful in terms of information flow. (Interview March 10, 2011)

In the early stages... basically what REDWatch did was the same sort of things we've been doing on the Redfern-Waterloo issue [email] updates was to make the whole thing transparent make sure that everyone knew what was happening, raise questions and try to get stuff out... I think the main goal right from the beginning was to try and ensure that the communities got a voice in what happened within the area. (Interview March 11, 2011)

It's to ensure that residents have some sort of independent say. (Interview March 17, 2011)

For the community to be aware of the issues, be aware of the events around them and to be able to understand them and be able to have input into the processes and to be heard by the government, for their concerns to be heard and hopefully answered. (Interview March 17, 2011)

These statements demonstrate REDWatch's role in the redevelopment of Redfern-Waterloo—they see themselves as a conduit between government and community by providing information and getting community feedback, a process they see as only tokenistic in the RWA's activities. While the RWA does engage in these consultation activities (regardless of their effectiveness), an important point the interviews with REDWatch

members brought out was the level of distrust and apathy they sense the local community feels towards the state government—this is salient point that helps elucidate why the RWA uses the rhetoric of community so frequently in their publications. Because REDWatch is not partnered with the government through funding or contracts they are able to create a discourse of credibility within the community as an independent voice. It is important to address that REDWatch is not a group that represents the community itself—especially in the context of the case study where it may be expected they represent the voice of the poor community in the area. The membership of REDWatch is diverse, as are their views towards various aspects of the renewal, yet it is this nuance that provides some insight into community organizing in an era of neoliberal communitarianism. While groups that traditionally work for poor communities in a variety of ways can be constrained through funding relationships, REDWatch has formed as a response to those conditions, through recognizing those constraints. Furthermore, although they may not take on the type of confrontational role that might be expected, REDWatch allows some mode of community expression through their independent stance in regards to funding, as well as by not pushing a particular agenda in their monitoring of the RWA. While it is clear they are critical of the RWA and their history is based upon that, by seeing their mission as providing information and a platform for the community they are able to put pressure on the RWA to at least be transparent.

The other side of the relationship between REDWatch and the constraints of neoliberal communitarianism is that they do avoid taking an overtly oppositional stance towards the RWA. As one REDWatch respondent described: “they’re very nice to us and we’re very nice to them. Then we go away and mutter, mutter and they go away and mutter, mutter. I think that’s what happens. I think the only purpose it serves is you get information” (Interview March 10, 2011). In this way they are not specifically opposing the RWA’s plans, primarily they are contesting the way it is carrying out those plans. In this way gentrification is not challenged either, one REDWatch

respondent explained it as “unstoppable”, saying “it’ll just continue and the best thing to do is to try and get some equity” (Interview March 10, 2011). While all the members I interviewed were highly critical of the BEP2 and especially the time frame the community had to respond to the plans, their goals were to get information and convey that information about the RWA’s work and plans to the community, rather than trying to organize the community to reject the plan. Some members specifically opposed the RWA’s social mixing imperative with one saying “the theory of social mix needs to be challenged, the idea that you put in private tenants beside public tenants will somehow magically make them want to get a job or become extremely healthy or get out of poverty is an absolute furphy it doesn’t work” (Interview March 17, 2011). However, this type of direct opposition to the RWA’s plans is not expressed by REDWatch as a group, illustrating Defilippis’ (2007) argument about the general lack of confrontational organizing among community groups. This aspect provides insight into the nuance and tensions that are involved in community organizing in the context of neoliberal communitarianism—REDWatch positions itself as an authentic community voice at a time when other community groups are constrained, legitimizing the group’s efforts even while it defers a oppositional stance itself.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how the RWA’s plans and documents represent a neoliberal communitarian approach to redeveloping Redfern-Waterloo, espousing to benefit the community essentially through gentrification. Their discourse on community is often contradictory as a result of this approach. They simultaneously see the community as diverse, but not diverse enough; they express that the renewal is for the benefit of the community while releasing plans that actually displace sectors of the community they see as problematic. Their approach invokes the language of social mixing, creative development and vibrancy representative of state strategies of gentrification (Smith, 2002), involving

place branding and marketing to attract the ‘creative class’ (Florida, 2002; Rantisi and Leslie, 2006; for discussion of urban branding initiatives see Rantisi and Leslie, 2006; Greenberg, 2008; Zimmerman, 2008). The way the RWA emphasizes community is challenged by REDWatch’s construction of community. The relationship between the RWA and REDWatch deepens our understanding of neoliberal communitarianism, particularly how community organizing is reacting to it.

REDWatch is not constrained by funding relationships with the state or any other institution, something that the members I spoke with saw as important as they recognized this constraint with many other organizations in the area. However, the group is also not openly confrontational towards the RWA’s plans. Overall they do not take a confrontational role in order to continue to get information from the RWA that they pass along to the community. This ‘middle-road’ approach reflects a nuanced perspective in community organizing in an era of neoliberal communitarianism—it is reflective of some of the constraints, i.e. lack of confrontational organizing at the fear of being shut out, as well as reacting against other constraints—of being linked to funding from foundations, political parties or the government. This nuance provides a basis for understanding how community organizations are operating under the changed conditions of neoliberal communitarianism as well as what is possible within that.

This allows the concept of neoliberal communitarianism to be extended through an understanding of how it is being responded to by community organizations. The rhetoric of community and social mix that is being utilized in redevelopment strategies is challenged by some community groups formed with the specific task of avoiding co-option by the state or other funders. Nevertheless the constraints that have arose in the context of neoliberal communitarianism are not erased through this development in community organizing—in this case REDWatch was not organizing around rejecting

gentrification or the government's rhetoric of social mix, simply giving the information about the redevelopment to community members who may then do that. The organization of a group like REDWatch however illustrates the responsiveness of community organizing to the context of neoliberal communitarianism. In the next chapter this theme will be explored further through a case study of the Atlantic Yards redevelopment project in Brooklyn, New York, how it was planned by a state economic development agency in conjunction with a development corporation and hotly contested by local community groups.

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Chapter 7 Discourses of community contestation: the fight over Atlantic Yards in Brooklyn, New York⁸

7.1 Introduction

While the previous chapters have been concerned with how Sydney is changing with the development of inner-city MPEs, revealing increasingly neoliberalising policies in terms of urban renewal and community development, this chapter shifts geographic focus outside of Sydney to the neoliberal ‘heartlands’ of North America. This allows for the Sydney case studies of redevelopment to be contextualized through comparison with another world city, though one more thoroughly embedded in neoliberal policy frameworks. This chapter focuses on a redevelopment project in Brooklyn, New York that demonstrates similarities to the Redfern-Waterloo redevelopment discussed in the last chapter in terms of how urban revitalization is bound up in neoliberal approaches to community development. Here, the concept of neoliberalism comes to the fore in revealing how MPEs are implicated in urban revitalization outside of Sydney.

The concept of neoliberalism has been central to theories about urban governance for roughly three decades. Once construed as a coherent top-down process, more recent research asserts an understanding of neoliberalism that recognizes its inconsistencies, contradictions and historic and geographic contingencies (Larner, 2000; Wilson, 2004; Leitner et al., 2007). Geographers are re-evaluating neoliberal urbanism, recognizing the short-comings of previous academic engagement with the concept. Currently at the forefront of this re-evaluation is the question of contestation; while the workings of neoliberal urban governance have been thoroughly explored what remains less clear is how neoliberal modes of governance are being contested. Theorists have turned to this question of contestation and urged for further research that can illustrate the complex processes of civic engagement with various aspects of neoliberal urban governance (Elwood, 2002; Herbert, 2005; Leitner et al., 2007a; Sites, 2007).

This chapter looks at civic engagement with neoliberal urbanism through the lens of community organizing, addressing contestation by examining the discourses and practices of community-based opposition to a prevalent aspect of neoliberal urbanism: a revitalization strategy hinged on private real estate development. The community organizing surrounding the Atlantic Yards development in Brooklyn, New York illustrates how multiple local communities contest neoliberal frameworks of development. I argue that despite changing roles of community activism under neoliberalism, various forms of community organizing contest neoliberal governance and that engagement with neoliberalism is far more complex than can be encapsulated by the dualism of resistance or compliance/cooptation. Moreover, I contend the concept of community is integral to this contestation and is being invoked in conflicting ways. The first section reviews how neoliberal urbanism has been characterized and summarizes the notion of contestation; the second section presents the Atlantic Yards case study focusing on community engagement with the redevelopment project and the conflicts and complexities therein; finally I offer some conclusions on how this case demonstrates the need for a re-imagining of community roles under urban neoliberalism.

7.2 Urban Neoliberalism and Changing Roles of Community

In the past decade critics have highlighted how many accounts of neoliberalism had been overarching and risked reifying its hegemony. Such approaches, it was argued, assumed a coherent neoliberalism and emphasized its omnipotent top-down nature. Wendy Larner argues for empirical research utilizing official (state) discourses as well as unofficial discourses from oppositional groups to highlight the contested nature of neoliberalism (2000). This type of analysis sparked a transformation in theory as some academics began to question the dichotomous imagining of neoliberalism (as a dominant political-economic structure and mode of governance) and resistance (as diametrically opposed to neoliberalism); Leitner et al. propose considering *articulations of contestation* in neoliberalism (2007a). Contestation is understood in a reciprocal relationship with neoliberalism rather than as a reaction or resistance

to neoliberalism (wherein neoliberalism is first, central). They recognize contestations of neoliberalism exceed neoliberalism, in other words the socio-spatial imaginaries of those contesting neoliberalism are multiple and draw from other-than-neoliberal contexts (Leitner et al., 2007a, p. 8). This perspective opens possibilities to contesting neoliberalism without necessarily ‘resisting’ it, a nuanced viewpoint that lends itself to the changed landscape of community organizing to be discussed below.

This chapter employs the notion of contestation presented by Leitner et al., whereby articulations of contestation present a vast array of imaginaries and practices that are “resilient to, resist and/or rework neoliberal practices and imaginaries” (2007a, p. 9). Articulation “means that the relationship is more than a power struggle for hegemony among mutual opposites” (ibid, p. 8). They define contestation broadly but insist on differentiating it from resistance, stating: “even research on neoliberalism and contestation usually begins with neoliberalism, regarding contestation as secondary and reactive (i.e. resistance)” (ibid, p. 8). Contestation is different from resistance in that it is not necessarily “anti-neoliberal” or opposed to neoliberalism as a coherent project, but allows for thought and action that may work outside of *and* within neoliberal frameworks. There can be multiple embodiments of contestation: that may be directed at negative outcomes of neoliberalism, that neoliberalism can be contested even when it is not perceived as the primary target, that sometimes many groups with “distinct imaginaries” can unite in a “common challenge to neoliberalism,” and importantly that “different groups contesting neoliberalism may find themselves contesting one another due to conflicts or contradictions between their respective imaginaries” (ibid, p. 13-14). This chapter presents a case study of local community organizing as an articulation of contestation in neoliberalism.

In the context of neoliberal urban governance, the role of community organizations is being reconsidered in terms of their capacity to organize and assert political influence. As discussed in the introduction and previous chapter, neoliberal ideology and policy has incorporated the concept

of community—again demonstrating the pervasiveness of neoliberalism sensibilities—and impacted community organizations, making community a central element of neoliberal governance, a phenomenon referred to as ‘neoliberal communitarianism’ (Fyfe, 2005; Defilippis, 2007); I utilize this term here as a short-hand for neoliberal embrace of community. A number of scholars have researched the relationship between mutating neoliberal governance and the changing role of community (Fisher and Shragge, 2000; Elwood, 2002; Martin, 2004; Herbert, 2005; Defilippis et al., 2006; Defilippis et al., 2007; Mayer, 2007). Some commentators have made the connection between the reworking of community and civil society under contemporary neoliberalism and Foucault’s theory of governmentality—that the neoliberal communitarian approach is a way for the state to guide subjectivity and cooperation with governance (Raco, 2003; Fyfe, 2005). The context of neoliberal urban community empowerment ambitions become instrumentalised for neoliberal activation strategies” (Mayer, 2007, p. 93). Defilippis asserts a similar analysis:

The potential for inner-city residents to have some say over what kind of investment and what kind of development gets undercut by a framework which relies on the free market investments into the inner city. Embracing the market by itself leaves control over capital and economic development firmly and squarely beyond the reach of people in inner-city communities. (2007, pp. 278)

Overall commentators agree community roles in neoliberal urban governance are shifting, being increasingly brought into frameworks of neoliberalism; it is this shift in community organizing this chapter seeks to explore.

The constraints and contradictions facing communities in neoliberal urbanism have been identified and examined; however, what remains less clear is how communities are dealing with these emerging constraints. The theoretical framework I use in this chapter builds upon the work of Elwood (2002), Herbert (2005), Defilippis et al. (2006; 2007), and Leitner et al. (2007) in examining how communities are dealing with new constraints as actors in and subjects of

neoliberal policies, while recognizing analyses of neoliberal urbanism are incomplete without considering how communities engage with those policies. I argue community engagement with neoliberal policies and practices must be considered through the nuanced concept of contestation (Leitner et al., 2007), which contributes to theories of neoliberal communitarianism by recognizing while some groups might be constrained by it, groups representing multiple imaginaries are also contesting it.

This chapter employs a neighborhood-based definition of community that acknowledges the possible fissures, differences and conflicts inherent within them. I utilize an understanding of community organizing that derives from this conflicted notion of place-based community in that various local community organizations can collaborate with and contradict each other. The picture of overall constraint and cooptation being asserted by many accounts of community engagement with neoliberalism brings into question the possibility of contestation to this mode of governance—that contestation and co-optation are simultaneously possible.

7.3 The Atlantic Yards Project

The Atlantic Yards was selected because it has many of the hallmarks of neoliberal urban renewal: a public-private partnership with a development corporation as the leading public agency, a redevelopment project hinged on real estate, premised upon job creation and economic revitalization; however, this case study was also chosen because, like the community activism that sprung up around the Redfern Waterloo Authority's redevelopment, Atlantic Yards also sparked vocal and very public community organizing and debate. The project has appealed to the wider “common sense” urban neoliberalism (Keil, 2002) that has become so entrenched in the sensibilities of New Yorkers—that their very lives—where and how they live, the jobs available to them, and their lifestyles—depend on the entrepreneurial modes of development evidenced in projects like Atlantic Yards. Nonetheless vehement opposition to the

development arose. There has been a significant level of community engagement with the project, provoking significant attention locally— with newspapers frequently reporting community opposition and debate surrounding the development.

The Atlantic Yards development project is currently under construction in central Brooklyn, New York City, straddling the neighbourhoods of Prospect Heights, residential, commercial, and light industrial land Clinton Hill, Park Slope, Boerum Hill and Fort Green. The site encompasses 22 acres of in downtown Brooklyn, where the developer, Forest City Ratner Companies (FCRC) intends to build a basketball arena, a landmark office tower, and sixteen residential and mixed-use towers in the original \$4.6 billion plan (see Figure 7.1).

The arena is currently the only aspect of the project guaranteed, with the global financial crisis stalling construction of the residential and office towers. The project site includes active but dilapidated rail yards owned by a state transport agency as well as privately-owned commercial and residential properties, occupied by renter and homeowners, and abuts both highly gentrified and relatively socio-economically marginalized neighborhoods. The proposed development is dramatically larger in scale and density than the surrounding neighborhood, including high rise towers in an area where most buildings are a few stories high. Bruce Ratner, CEO of Forest City Ratner Companies (FCRC), proposed the development after becoming the principle owner of the New Jersey Nets professional basketball team, with the goal of moving the team to Brooklyn. The Empire State Development Corporation (ESDC, the economic development corporation of New York State) quickly took the project under its wing, unveiling the proposed plan to the public in December 2003 and releasing an official announcement on January 21, 2004 (*Newsday*, December 10, 2003). Normally any proposed development would be subject to the New York City Uniform Land Use Review Process (ULURP); however, the ESDC overrode this planning procedure that would have required consultation and voting by locally elected representatives.

By 2005 a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was signed by FCRC, the ESDC, and the New York City Economic Development Corporation (NYCEDC) in which the state and city economic development corporations pledged US\$100 million each in direct subsidy for the development. The city also granted FCRC full property tax exemption for the arena site for at least 30 years and Mayor Bloomberg allotted a further \$105 million of public money for land acquisition; additionally \$511 million in state-issued tax-free bonds helped finance construction of the arena (Oder, 2009; Agovino 2009). The 40% of the project site owned by the Metropolitan Transportation Agency (MTA, a state agency)⁹ was valued at \$214.5 million, yet FCRC obtained this land (and the development air rights) at a discounted price of \$100 million in a bidding process announced well after FCRC's plans were completed and publicized. This amount was renegotiated in 2009 to \$20 million, after FCRC began feeling the effects of the economic downturn. Moreover, privately held properties not sold to the developer are subject to the ESDC's power to obtain them through eminent domain, while property owners that sold to FCRC did so under an agreement that they would not publicly oppose or criticize the development or FCRC (Gallahue, 2004). The public subsidies for the development were justified in terms of economic development for the city via tax revenues and job creation, while FCRC is responsible for a number of public infrastructure improvements associated with the project, for example building a platform over the open rail yards; however, despite increasing public subsidies since the initial 2005 agreement, a smaller rail yard of lesser value is now to be developed. The development is therefore heavily subsidized publicly but beholden only to the demands of the state development corporation. In 2009 a Modified General Project Plan was approved by the ESDC, resulting in a project that differed greatly from the original plan agreed to in the 2005 Memorandum of Understanding. In this plan, phase 1—the arena and one tower are

⁹ It is notable that despite what the developer and even academics (Fainstein, 2008) have implied, this means the majority (60%) of the site is privately held.

RATNER'S PROPOSED 22-ACRE "ATLANTIC YARDS" FOOTPRINT

The arena 10% of the proposed 8.6 million sq. foot proposal. 40% of the land is Rail yards. 60% is Private Property

■ The 16 high rise towers comprise the other 90%.

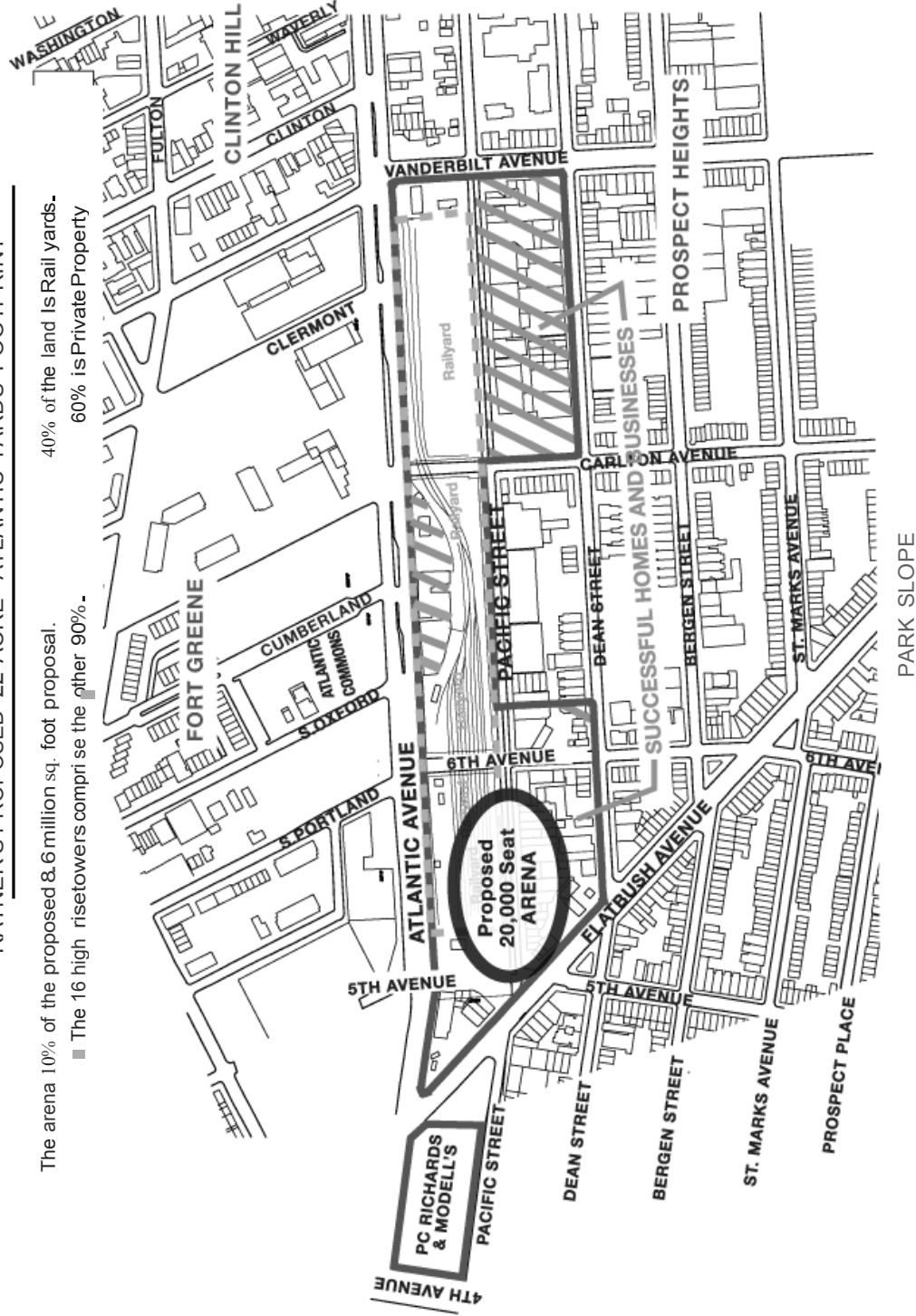


Figure 7.1: The Atlantic Yards development project courtesy of DDBB (used with permission)

outlined—while phase 2, which would have been the bulk of commercial and residential towers is indefinitely delayed, being replaced in the interim with large areas of surface parking (Agovino, 2009). Frank Ghery, initially the head architect on the project, was dismissed and Ellerbe Becket and SHoP Architects took over the same year, presenting a cost-cutting design solely focused on constructing the arena. The timeline for the entire project, initially agreed upon as ten years, has also significantly changed, being extended to twenty-five years (Schuerman, 2010). Renderings of the arena are the only plans publicly available, with Bruce Ratner quoted saying, “Why should people get to see plans... This isn't a public project” (Agovino, 2009).

My methodology for this chapter included an initial media content analysis, which established the prevalence of community engagement with Atlantic Yards. I focus on these community perspectives through a critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2001) to understand engagement with neoliberal urbanism. I analyse discourses generated by community organizations, constituted by press releases, public statements and information gathered from each group’s website to understand how they contest Atlantic Yards. The three groups,

¹⁰ It is important to note here that online activism and blogs represent a relatively new means of contestation and organizing and because they are primarily authored by individuals (usually with the opportunity for readers to make comments) they are tenuous examples of ‘community’ perspectives. However, I used them to gain insight into community perspectives because they directly engage with the politics of communities (both supporting and opposing the development) and are used as organizing tools. Rather than focusing on particular viewpoints put forth in the blog, I used them as examples of discourses of community contestation over Atlantic Yards. Websites of three community coalitions discussed were used to understand community perspectives and organizing practices, as they host a variety of information including documents, links to media articles and blogs, archives, and press releases documenting their engagement with the Atlantic Yards development. The most utilized organizing websites and blogs in my research are Develop Don’t Destroy Brooklyn (<http://dddb.net>), BrooklynSpeaks (<http://www.brooklynspeaks.net>) and Council of Brooklyn Neighborhoods (<http://councilofbrooklynneighborhoods.web.officelive.com/default.aspx>). Official documentation regarding Atlantic Yards was obtained from the ESDC (<http://www.nylovesbiz.com/>) and FCRC (<http://www.atlanticyards.com>) websites. However, it should be noted the former official website for Atlantic Yards, <http://www.atlanticyards.com>, is no longer up and redirects to the Barclays site about the basketball arena. Reference is given to specific statements and excerpts from these websites.

Develop Don't Destroy Brooklyn (DDDB), Council of Brooklyn Neighborhoods and Brooklyn Speaks (see Table 7.1) were chosen on the basis that they were the most active groups contesting Atlantic Yards, they are coalitions of pre-existing community groups—providing a basis for analysing their activism as indicative of “community” perspectives—and they were the most frequently mentioned groups in media reports. The mainstream media has acknowledged much of the opposition and criticism of the Atlantic Yards development was debated online via blogs and websites, with a spokesperson for FCRC even admitting “We definitely follow the opposition Web pages” (Confessore 2006); hence I have paid close attention to these¹⁰; New York Times articles frequently mention opposition to the development in their coverage of the project, consistently reporting on oppositional activism. It is through the actions and information generated by these groups, combined with the media attention this garnered, that an oppositional community discourse developed around the Atlantic Yards project. These discourses are supplemented with newspaper coverage of the development. I also undertook a documentary analysis of agreements between the city and state agencies and the developer, as well documents and statements from the developer.

7.4 Resistance and Compliance: Communities *Contesting* Neoliberalism

Each of the three community coalitions are a diverse array of existing community and neighborhood-based groups, block associations, collectives and business associations. They similarly contest the neoliberal modes of development enacted by the developer and economic development agencies in multiple ways by imagining alternatives, researching information about the developer, project plans, and agreements and disseminating that information, through litigation, by creating alternative discourses of development and community and organizing residents and elected officials to put pressure on decision-makers through letter-writing, phone calls, protests and media statements. Develop Don't Destroy

Brooklyn (DDDB), whose goal is defeating the Atlantic Yards plan, is the largest, oldest and most prominent coalition contesting the development. Formed in 2004 by concerned residents, home and business owners in the project footprint, DDDB has been the most outspoken and confrontational of the various groups contesting Atlantic Yards, known for their multiple litigation efforts to stop the development. BrooklynSpeaks formed in 2006 with the goal of convincing New York City to establish a governance structure for the Atlantic Yards project that would allow for public input and create transparency in the development project; they are not opposed to FCRC's development per se, but to the current governance process overseeing the development. They seek a transparent process that "meaningfully involve[s] stakeholders from the local community prospectively, coordinate effectively between the City and the State agencies, and generally improve the quality and accountability of project decision-making" (Reforming the governance of Atlantic Yards, 2007). Their analysis is that the local communities around the project site have not been fairly included in the decision-making process and that any development at that site must include the local community as a stakeholder in the development. The Council of Brooklyn Neighborhoods (CBN) is a coalition of 41 community groups, business groups and churches that formed in 2004 from public talks with the Brooklyn Borough President about concerns over Atlantic Yards. They are critical of the project plan and process and assert as many community groups as possible should have a maximum level of participation in the decision-making process. Overall they are critical of the development but encourage community groups with any stance towards Atlantic Yards to join them (About CBN, 2009).

While these groups have similar concerns over Atlantic Yards and often collaborate, especially in terms of information sharing amongst them they, at least initially, have different approaches and goals in what they are trying to achieve. DDDB is the most confrontational and publicized of the groups, early on taking legal action in attempts to stop the Atlantic Yards development at all costs. Because of this litigious and

confrontational approach, BrooklynSpeaks and CBN remained somewhat distant from DDDDB, opting instead for less oppositional stances—BrooklynSpeaks was founded with the purpose of focusing on the making the governance structure more transparent and inclusive while not opposing the development outright, while CBN openly welcomed groups and people that were both in favour of and opposed to the development with the purpose of having more community debate about what opportunities or risks it might bring and how the community could try to push for better outcomes. Despite these slightly varying goals and approaches, the three groups worked together from very early on in their formations, organizing rallies together and promoting one another's activities and information. As the development progressed and changed shape, increasingly becoming more questionable in terms of community benefits and transparency in execution, both BrooklynSpeaks and CBN became more oppositional to the development itself and more cynical towards the role of the ESDC and FCRC's intentions.

These groups have articulated three points of contention through over Atlantic Yards through their discourses: the public subsidy to the project, the lack of accountability and transparency surrounding the project's governance, and a community benefits agreement between the developer and eight community groups. The community discourses of contention on these issues will be explored in the following sections.

7.4.1 Public Subsidy, Accountability and Contesting the Neoliberal Public-Private Partnership

The significant amount of public subsidy the ESDC, City of New York and MTA have contributed to Atlantic Yards has been a focus of the three community coalitions contesting the project, creating a discourse that challenges and re-imagines the public-private partnership. Each coalition's stance evokes a discourse of public good that challenges the neoliberal notions of public benefits pursued by the ESDC and the developer.

For example, DDDDB's first position statement on the development, elaborated this discourse about public subsidy:

*We oppose the use of taxpayer subsidies for a private arena. We oppose the use of taxpayer subsidies for a high-rise, private, for-profit and predominantly luxury housing development in low-rise Brooklyn neighborhoods.*¹¹

(POSITION STATEMENT ON ATLANTIC YARDS)

A later DDDDB press release states, "These are our tax dollars and they should go to truly public needs such as housing, education and city services, not a private development corporation" (Press Release, 2010). In 2010 they continue the discourse challenging public spending for private corporate benefit, this time personalizing the 'private' by singling out CEO Bruce Ratner as the target of their criticisms,

We're mad that billions of dollars that belong to taxpayers will be wasted on a folly whose prime beneficiary will be Bruce Ratner...that 22 acres at the heart of Brooklyn, including city streets, private homes and businesses, and publicly owned land are being given to Ratner in a no-bid, no-vote deal, granting him a land monopoly...that public money is being wasted on a frivolous, money-losing arena while public transportation, schools, infrastructure and social services go wanting. (DDDB newsletter, March 5, 2010)

BrooklynSpeaks and CBN have also utilized discourses of public and private in ways that contest the typical public-private notions under neoliberal urbanism, wherein it is assumed public subsidy for private development is in the public interest. CBN invites residents to protest the 2010 groundbreaking of the Atlantic Yards arena in a notice proclaiming:

¹¹ <http://dddb.net/php/position.php>

Table 7.1. Community Coalitions Contesting Atlantic Yards

Name	Makeup	Year formed	Stance towards Atlantic Yards	Contestation practices
Develop Don't Destroy Brooklyn (DDDB)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 52 organizations associated (for full list go to http://ddddb.net/php/opposition.php) • 7,000+ supporters • 4,000 donors • Regular public meetings • 10,000 newsletters distributed 	2004	Completely opposed; goal is to defeat the plan; slowing the project's progress is also a tactic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Litigation • Blogging/information-sharing, newsletters • Demonstrations/rallies • Alternative development plans • Collaborating with elected officials, various experts to analyse/criticize the FCRC plan
Brooklyn Speaks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 13 organizations associated (for full list go to http://www.brooklynSpeaks.net/about) 	2006	Critical; seek transparent/publicly accountable process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alternative governance proposals • Working with elected officials • Demonstrations and rallies • Blogging/information-sharing
Council of Brooklyn Neighbourhoods (CBN)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 41 organizations/community boards (for full list go to http://councilofbrooklynneighbourhoods.web.officelive.com/members.aspx) 	2004	Critical; goal is maximum number of community organizations involved in decision-making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alternative development plans • Collaborating with elected officials, various experts in developing alternatives • Demonstrations/rallies • Blogging/information-sharing

Governor Paterson defends continuing the money pit of the public subsidy sucking Atlantic Yards project, despite his own warnings of imminent Depression status for New York. He said we wouldn't be able to see if it was a good project or a bad project until we wait another 10 years! Is that a good enough evaluation to close schools and hospitals in order to balance a budget that showers public subsidies on a billionaire ...for an unnecessary arena and no public benefits? This cannot continue! The public must take back the public process! (CBN Calls on Community, 2010)

These statements rework the public-private relationship so dominant in neoliberal urbanism that sees economic development corporations, in the name of “public good”, subsidizing speculative real-estate development with millions of dollars; DDDDB and CBN instead call for public money to be directed towards traditionally Keynesian notions of public goods. This type of demand contests the ‘roll back’ of what DDDDB frames as “truly” public needs traditionally supported in a Keynesian governance model as well as ‘roll out’ neoliberalism wherein the state directs its powers towards entrepreneurial economic development measures.

BrooklynSpeaks challenges the notion of public-private partnership through focusing on the governance structure overseeing Atlantic Yards. Their document “Reforming the governance of Atlantic Yards: A roadmap” criticizes the development process in which they see the developer as holding the most power, while community groups, community boards and local elected officials are shut out (Reforming the governance of Atlantic Yards, 2007). They argue the bypassing of ULURP demonstrated a lack of public engagement and accountability. In regards to monitoring the development plan and process they state: “many of these responsibilities were assumed by Forest City Ratner and quasi-governmental entities established by the developer” (Reforming the governance of

Atlantic Yards, 2007). Particularly, they take issue with FCRC, quasi-governmental organizations and the CBA signatories assuming what they consider to be governmental roles, such as liaising with the community, and the provision of affordable housing and other public benefits. It is important to point out that although they criticize the privatization of planning by the developer, their plan for reforming the governance structure incorporates the concept of a public-private partnership in developing the area. They see the current planning and development project as a disingenuous public-private partnership—that the real public, in terms of local elected officials, members on community boards and residents, is not a partner. The roadmap states “establishment of representative decision-making and community advisory bodies would help make the Atlantic Yards project a genuine public-private partnership” (BrooklynSpeaks 2007). Overall the work of BrooklynSpeaks contests (but does not completely resist) neoliberal modes of development and imagines an alternative that both criticizes and reflects modes of neoliberal urbanism.

Contestation means that while aspects of neoliberal urban governance are challenged, they are not wholly or purely resisted—and the work of all three community coalitions represents a blurred relationship with neoliberal frameworks of development. DDDDB and CBN were both involved in creating and pursuing an alternative plan for development of the rail yards, called the UNITY plan. The UNITY Plan evolved from a workshop which set out to “imagine a community based model for urban design and development at the site and look at issues such as affordable housing, ecology, public open space, traffic, retail, jobs and infrastructure” (Brown et al., 2007). The workshop brought together hundreds of residents with developers, architects, designers and elected officials. Therein, community members agreed upon principles for development over the rail yards, such as urban design that connects neighborhoods currently separated by the rail yards, more public open space, affordable housing, job creation, and public amenities like schools and child-care. In response to these

principles, the urban design and architecture professionals involved in the workshop designed the UNITY plan.

Unlike FCRC's plan, UNITY does not use eminent domain and rather than removing public streets to create 'mega-blocks' connects streets through the project site in an attempt to create a human-scaled urban space. While the UNITY Plan, through community-planning, contests the neoliberal model of development that is publicly subsidized while democratically-controlled planning mechanisms are bypassed, it does not necessarily resist neoliberalism. In particular, they endorse modes of development in their alternatives that reflect neoliberal urbanism. For example DDDDB and CBN support dividing the site into multiple parcels to be bid on by multiple developers, therefore increasing competition and maximizing profits for the MTA (Brown et al., 2007, p. 24). Such an example incorporates a market-driven competitive development model that uses entrepreneurial logic to generate revenue for the city. Furthermore, DDDDB submitted a variation of the UNITY Plan, sponsored by the Extell Development Company, in a \$150 million bid to develop the MTA site, but were denied in favour of FCRC's significantly lower bid (COMMUNITY-BASED PLANS, 2009). This collaboration with Extell again shows the relationship between community alternatives and neoliberal values and processes, marked here by corporate partnership, is much more complex than simply 'resistance' or 'compliance' with neoliberalism. As the name, Develop Don't Destroy Brooklyn suggests, the group does not 'resist' development in and of itself, but the particularly mode of development being pursued here.

7.4.2 Community Contentions and the CBA as Neoliberal Communitarianism

While many commentators have asserted neoliberal urban governance has coopted community organizing, limiting community organizations' ability to criticize or resist neoliberalism (see Defilippis, 2007; Defilippis et al., 2007; Mayer, 2007), widespread community criticism of Atlantic Yards' "Community Benefits Agreement" brings this

assertion into question. The community benefits agreement (CBA) signed between FCRC and eight community organizations supportive of the project is reflective of neoliberal communitarianism, as it brings community groups into the enactment of neoliberal modes of urban development. The agreement outlines job creation and training on the Atlantic Yards project site (with policies aimed at achieving quotas for contracts with 35% minority and 10% women-owned firms during construction), small business development (again with goals set for women and minority owned businesses and firms), 30% affordable housing, as well as including more open space in the design, and the provision of community centres and youth programs. Under the agreement, the developer will work with each signatory community group to achieve these initiatives in that group's area of expertise; if either party does not fulfil their part of the agreement the matter can be taken to litigation as well as the possibility of imposing economic penalties. The CBA was negotiated exclusively with groups that had already expressed support for the development; several groups were formed with the express purpose of negotiating the agreement and had no history of existence before the CBA (Schuerman, 2005). Groups opposed to the development were excluded from negotiations for the CBA, despite many groups' significant concern over the development's impact on the neighborhood. The signatory groups' willingness to participate in the project again signals how embedded neoliberal sensibilities are— their conceptions of what is possible and what is possible in terms of community organizing is linked into the entrepreneurial logic of neoliberal development. Mayor Bloomberg endorsed the agreement publicly, even going so far as to ceremoniously sign the charter for the media, despite the fact that the city has no part in the agreement and accountability for it will be assured through private legal action between FCRC and the signatories (Wisloski, 2005). This aspect of community engagement with the Atlantic Yards development offers insight into how neoliberal communitarianism is shaping the landscape of community politics as well as how this is contested by multiple groups.

BrooklynSpeaks, DDDDB and Council of Brooklyn Neighborhoods (along with a number of elected officials, bloggers, academics and professionals) have criticized the Atlantic Yards CBA, creating a discourse that it is a sham that falsely represents community support for the development. DDDDB has critically analysed the benefits outlined in the CBA, debunking its legitimacy. They assert that the jobs and affordable housing FCRC promises in the CBA will fall short of what is expected, for example, determining that of the 30% of units promised to be affordable, 80% would only be eligible to households earning above the Brooklyn median income and thus does not benefit the ‘real’ Brooklyn community. DDDDB also exposed funding relationships between FCRC and some signatory groups, for example leaking IRS documents revealing Bruce Ratner gave \$5 million to BUILD, the group responsible for job training programs. Thus DDDDB creates a discourse that the CBA is false and is neither representative of the community nor serving its best interests. Likewise, BrooklynSpeaks identifies the CBA as a problem with the current governance structure for Atlantic Yards. Like DDDDB, they dispute the promotion of ‘affordable’ units in the development that they posit will “not be affordable to average Brooklynites”—contributing to the discourse that the CBA is a “sham” (Affordable housing, 2009). They also criticize the CBA for the privatization of governance it entails, noting that roles “normally...the responsibility of government entities appear to have been assigned to [CBA] signatories” (Reforming the governance of Atlantic Yards, 2007). Focusing on the need for community input and accountability for the project they conclude:

Clearly, the CBA’s structure provides neither a channel for the community to have its voice heard with respect to project decision-making, nor a representative governance structure for managing the delivery of benefits, nor accountability to any agency of State or City government, including the ESDC. (Reforming the governance of Atlantic Yards, 2007)

This criticism of the CBA, aimed at the issue of privatization of decision-making, attests to the simultaneous contestation of neoliberal governance and changing community roles. BrooklynSpeaks contests the roles of the community organizations involved in the CBA, drawing attention to the way the agreement constrains community input and benefits. In this way BrooklynSpeaks' contestation supports Leitner et al.'s assessment that "different groups contesting neoliberalism may find themselves contesting one another due to conflicts or contradictions between their respective imaginaries" (2007, p. 13-14). They contest the relationships that constitute neoliberal communitarianism and in doing so they demonstrate that the emergence of this neoliberal approach does not necessarily constrain the ability of communities to make political demands, as their 'roadmap' embodies a political demand to reform the project's governance. So while they point out how some community groups (signatories of the CBA) are coopted by neoliberal communitarianism, they simultaneously show in doing so that all criticism and activism is not completely constrained.

To say community organizing in general is constrained by neoliberal approaches like the CBA can be disputed. While the CBA constrains the signatories' ability to make demands and utilize oppositional tactics, the CBA and the embodiment of neoliberal communitarianism it encapsulates has been a central point of contention over Atlantic Yards amongst community organizations barred from negotiations. In other words these constraints are recognized in the wider community and the struggle over how to approach such obstacles is being played out in the community amongst various organizations. That the CBA has been a major point of conflict shows oppositional voices are not completely constrained and that articulations of contestation exist in neoliberal communitarianism. The struggle over the CBA demonstrates the differing discursive spaces invoked by the CBA signatories and the opposing groups. The signatories present an imagined space of community that being threatened by gentrification, where poor and minority residents are increasingly struggling

with joblessness and displacement, justifying their support for an entrepreneurial approach to securing community benefits promised by FCRC—and particularly evident through the emphasis on benefits for minorities. This discursive space eliminates white and wealthier neighborhood residents from the ‘community’, a discourse that the signatories have often brought out against the opposing groups— that they are “white people and wealthier people and more secure people and people who just arrived” (Smith, 2006). The groups opposing Atlantic Yards position themselves as the ‘real community’ that is being threatened with gentrification by FCRC—an imaginary diametrically opposed to the ‘destructive corporate developer’—creating two sides of a discursive space they construct to garner support for their stance. This discourse positions the signatories as ‘false community’. These discursive spaces of community opened up by both sides position themselves as the authentic community, demonstrating the fluidness of this term and the way it is invoked in multiple, conflicting ways.

The Atlantic Yards CBA demonstrates the constraints of neoliberal communitarianism — signatories sacrifice critical perspectives in order to receive the benefits the developer offers. This is evident in that the CBA stipulates the agreement shall inure to the benefit of the developer (and signatories), thus any public criticism of the project violates that clause.¹² These limits on signatories are precisely the type of constraint identified by Defilippis et al. (2007) under neoliberal communitarianism, with the restriction of oppositional criticism written into the CBA. Funding relationships emerging from the new roles of community organizations, as service providers fulfilling roles formerly considered the domain of the state, have also been identified by some as a neoliberal constraint on communities (Martin 2004). This is demonstrated in the Atlantic Yards CBA with it

¹² Section XIV; E of the CBA BENEFITS AND OBLIGATIONS: “Except as otherwise provided in this Agreement, this Agreement shall be binding upon and shall inure to the benefit of the Developers and its Affiliates (but to the extent of such Affiliates interest as owner, lessee, contractor or developer of the Project, or any portion thereof) each Coalition member and their respective successors and permitted assigns.”

emerging after the agreement was signed that four of the signatory organizations received some sort of payment from FCRC (Gonzalez, 2005; Smith, 2006). While these are primary examples of constraint and cooption of community organizing through neoliberal communitarian approaches, the condemnation and debunking of the CBA by the DDDDB, BrooklynSpeaks and CBN coalitions shows a fuller picture of community contestation.

Through the criticisms DDDDB, BrooklynSpeaks and Council of Brooklyn Neighborhoods made of the CBA it is evident that community voices are not completely constrained in the wake of neoliberal communitarianism; rather, these groups through their discourse of the falseness of the CBA in representing the “real” community point out the problems with this aspect of neoliberal urban governance. Furthermore, their lack of inclusion in the CBA and claims of its illegitimacy have sparked attention from media, law experts and urban studies scholars that confirm their criticisms (Freeman, 2007; Agnotti, 2008; Lavine, 2008; Lavine and Oder, 2010). One legal expert even suggests an “upside” of the CBA is “that with so many people opposed to the project and the manner in which the CBA was made, there will likely be heightened public scrutiny of the developer’s compliance with its agreements. The Atlantic Yards CBA has been so thoroughly criticized ... that other New York CBA negotiators have expressly chosen to avoid “the Brooklyn model” (Lavine, 2008). This is an indication of community contestation impacting neoliberal modes of development, although as Leitner et al. imagine, this does not necessarily defeat it (2007).

The struggles that have ensued over Atlantic Yards, particularly in regard to the promise of benefits, demonstrate the conflicts and constraints in the changing landscape of community organizing in neoliberal urban governance. However, this case also shows how actively communities are recognizing and engaging with these issues, illustrating that ‘community’ is a crucial site where the conflicts of neoliberal communitarianism are contested. In showing this, I am arguing for an evaluation of community under

neoliberalism that recognizes not only the constraints they are facing, but their active work of contesting the mechanisms that produce such constraints.

7.5 Conclusions

The complex saga of community contestation over Atlantic Yards contributes to understanding how communities engage with neoliberal urbanism and the ways in which neoliberal governance is contested by multiple community groups. The case study provides examples of community discourses that contest interrelated features of neoliberal strategies and governance. By analysing the discourses put forth by community groups, I contribute to research that explores neighbourhood-based community politics through language and representation (see Wilson et al., 2004; Berrey, 2005; Wilson and Grammenos, 2005; Pfeiffer, 2006). Such discourses provide insight into the voices of communities and how their use of language constructs a particular understanding of the contemporary neoliberal city, as well as how those discourses might contest neoliberal modes of urban development. While the community groups focused on in this chapter do not identify “neoliberalism” as the primary target of their activism, the aspects of the development process they so heavily criticize—public subsidies for a private development geared towards economic growth and the privatization of governance through an exclusive community benefits agreement—are distinctly neoliberal. This gives empirical support to Leitner’s et al.’s nuanced concept of contestation; particularly that neoliberalism can be contested even when it is not perceived as the primary target (Leitner et al., 2007). Community contestation has shaped the Atlantic Yards development, despite the fact there have been many efforts made on the part of the state and the developer to quash opposition, if only by driving public scrutiny and debate about the project.

The Atlantic Yards case study illustrates the complexities and contradictions of community in

neoliberal urbanism as well as how contestation is articulated in a variety of ways that may work within as well as outside of neoliberal frameworks. The examples of contestation presented elucidate connections with the contested nature of community in an era of neoliberal communitarianism. With attention to the ways in which ‘community’ roles are multiple and hybrid, I argue that although neoliberal communitarianism can constrain oppositional voices, this is often partial and incomplete. A simple duality of co-option or resistance to neoliberalism proves to be inadequate in describing articulations of neoliberalism. For example, the CBA explicitly forbids the signatory groups from criticizing the development; nevertheless the broad-based activism on the part of DDDDB and BrooklynSpeaks in particular has highlighted and contested this constraint within the landscape of community activism. This in and of itself reveals an analysis of constraint and co-option of community organizing under neoliberalism is not indicative of the entirety of community activism taking place. As the case has shown, neoliberal communitarianism has radically altered the realities of community engagement with neoliberal policies in ways that are complex and contradictory. Communities are not ignorant of the constraints of organizing presented by neoliberal communitarianism and are directly engaging with these issues. As such accounts that focus on official discourses and processes of neoliberalism must also look at the other side of that coin—the people seen as ‘subjects’ of neoliberalism are articulating their own perspectives and pathways of development. Further empirical work can illuminate the complex and contradictory ways that communities articulate with neoliberal processes and policies.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

This thesis set out to examine the development of inner-city master-planned estates, in order to situate what has been formulated as a quintessentially suburban phenomenon in an urban setting, through an exploration of the contexts and drivers of their development, the social dynamics within them and how they relate to the wider neighborhood and city in which they are developed. Key research questions included—who is living in these inner-city MPEs and why? How can we understand their situatedness in processes of urban change—particularly gentrification? How are they impacting the neighborhoods in which they are developed? How do they compare to suburban accounts of MPEs, specifically in terms of their relationship with key themes from that literature—neoliberalism and community? Chapter 2 embarked on a theoretical starting point for exploring these questions through a review of literatures on gentrification, neoliberal urbanism and community, MPE development and presented interviewing, questionnaires and discourse analysis as the primary methods used in the research and a justification of those methodological choices. Chapter 3 expanded on this by specifically reviewing Australian MPE research and providing a basis for understanding this type of development in the City of Sydney, outlining the geography of MPE production there and noting the current concentration of MPE construction in the southern quarters of the city, summarizing the modes of development by private corporations as well as state development strategies and identifying trends in the form, type and marketing strategies of these estates allowing for a broad comparison with suburban MPEs. Chapter 4 looked more closely at the internal dynamics of one estate in Waterloo, including the basic demographics of residents and in particular how they experienced social life, ‘community’ and diversity within the estate as well as their perceptions of the surrounding neighborhood. Chapter 5 widened the lens of investigation to consider the larger processes of change and gentrification in Waterloo through its exploration of the changing consumption landscape of the areas immediately surrounding Crown Square and narratives of redevelopment shaping the neighborhood.

Chapter 6 explored how state approaches to Waterloo's redevelopment were formulated and also contested by community groups, enlightening the wider issues of redevelopment in the area and how this articulates with new-build gentrification, neoliberal urbanism and community. Chapter 7 extended these key themes from the previous chapter through a case study of a proposed master-planned development in Brooklyn, New York to provide a comparative element to contexts and drivers of redevelopment evidenced in Sydney.

Overall this dissertation has explored how urban redevelopment articulates with processes of neoliberal urbanism, gentrification and community politics. The production of inner-city MPEs has provided a lens to examine the ways redevelopment is understood and impacted by different actors. The focus on MPE development has allowed this thesis to look holistically at processes of redevelopment and gentrification, considering the new residents and sense of place these developments bring, how they fit into the wider neighborhood and processes of urban change, their strategic imperatives, and the contestations surrounding redevelopment. Discourses of gentrification, community and redevelopment were analysed to aid in an understanding of how urban change is constructed by various groups for different, sometimes competing, purposes. I have argued that these estates are complex places integrated into processes of new-build gentrification and as such these newly-constructed places represent struggles over how urban space is produced and for whom. MPE development in the inner-city provides insight into the physical and representational spaces and processes of urban change and specifically new-build gentrification. By looking at the socio-cultural dynamics and governance and strategic models of development of these estates, this thesis has filled a gap in the MPE literature that has overlooked their development in the inner-city, building a bridge between this field of research and that on new-build gentrification. The key findings of this research are that inner-city MPEs in some ways conform to what might be expected from the suburban MPE literature, as well as demonstrating divergences from

suburban examples that enlighten processes of new-build gentrification and neoliberal urbanism. It was found that inner-city MPEs demonstrate the production of a particular type of classed space that appeals to young urban professionals, offering convenience and accessibility to the city's centre; however, MPEs are not the homogenous spaces asserted by some, presenting ethnic diversity that posed tensions for some residents. Another key finding is that the production of MPEs is embedded in strategies of urban redevelopment and that these strategies are not straightforward but are contested in a number of ways. Thus it is argued that inner-city MPE development represents contests over how urban space is redeveloped and MPEs themselves are spaces where struggles over inner-city living are playing out. Therefore, the following concluding discussion will explore and explain these key findings in detail, first looking at social and cultural aspects of struggles over urban space, then at the governance aspects and political contestation of redevelopment, followed by a summary of the links between gentrification and MPE development.

8.1 Social and Cultural Struggles over Urban Space: Crown Square and Waterloo

Struggles over space are central to understanding human geographies, following Lefebvre, "social struggle in the contemporary world, be it urban or otherwise, was inherently a struggle over the social production of space" (paraphrased in Soja, 1989). Thus if our concern as human geographers is to understand space, we must examine the ways space is socially produced through multiple and contradictory struggles. Just as Leitner et al. (2007) argue that neoliberalism is constantly contested, so is urban space in the constant site and reason for struggle. The development of MPEs in the inner-city has provided insight into social and cultural struggles over urban space. This is so in the case of the internal dynamics of the MPE as well as its relationship with the neighborhood in which it was developed. Taking as a starting point two conflicting theories, one from the MPE literature and

one from gentrification literature, this thesis set out to explore the particular social contours relating to residents' experiences of difference and diversity in the city—in terms of both social diversity which has been a keystone question in both MPE and gentrification literature, as well as ethnic and racial diversity which has been hinted at in both literatures but remained somewhat under-examined, particularly in the case of MPE research in Australia. While MPE literature proposes estate residents seek social homogeneity in a bid to self-insulate against the threats of the city (Atkinson, 2006), gentrification literature suggests incoming gentrifiers seek out the very grit and diversity it is supposed MPE residents fear, in the search for an authentic, cosmopolitan urban experience. This presented an underlying question for exploring new-build gentrification via MPE development in the inner-city in how the new residents relate to the wider city and what type of neighborhood or city they seek to create. The evidence presented in answering this question has shown that MPE residents in Waterloo expressed complex and contradictory attitudes towards difference and diversity.

It was confirmed MPE residents were primarily young, middle-class professionals and desired the convenience, security and amenity associated with a packaged neighborhood. While they felt the estate itself was socially mixed, they expressed a sense of separation and difference from the surrounding area and articulated feelings of disdain for the surrounding public housing communities and disadvantaged population of Waterloo. Their narratives reflected a self-awareness in their role and the estate's role in gentrifying the neighborhood, and constructed this gentrification overall as a positive for the neighborhood through discourses of bringing a neighborhood to "life", contrasting it with prior representations as a slum or industrial wasteland. This type of intertextual analysis highlights how these residents' narratives of urban change incorporate discourses of the uplift of a 'blighted' urban area through gentrification—demonstrating how the identity of the gentrifier is both constituted through discourse, but also that these discourses reflect value judgements about what a 'desirable' neighbourhood in these positive narratives of gentrification. They associated

their estate to other gentrified spaces of the city, reflecting middle-class disaffiliation suggested by Atkinson (2006) and evidenced in the work of Butler (2008) on inner-city gentrifiers and Watt (2009) on a private suburban housing estate. Nevertheless, the divisions that emerged between estate residents and the surrounding neighborhood were not the sole forms of disaffiliation and exclusion occurring in this case of new-build gentrification. As Chapter 4 demonstrated, processes of exclusion based on perceptions of ethnicity, student and tenure-status emerged within the MPE as well, disrupting presumptions of these spaces as homogenous enclaves for the white middle-classes.

The inner-city MPE presented here was one with a diversity of ethnicities, including a population of international students that were often represented by resident interviewees (most of whom were not international students) as distinctly different from the rest of the estate's residents, echoing processes of exclusion similar to those found by Fincher and Shaw (2009). This reveals a complexity and diversity within these new places that has until now been subsumed in the literature. Thus, this finding rebukes the notion of actually existing homogeneity in these estates, while exploring the tensions that arose among some residents from their desire for such social homogeneity against the reality of the multicultural city. It also represents a disjuncture with new-build gentrification literature that constructs dichotomies between incoming residents and incumbent residents, showing that struggles over space are not limited to 'old' versus 'new' but are also playing out within new spaces and emphasizes other forms of difference, particularly ethnic and cultural difference rather than looking only at class difference.

This finding contributes to the MPE literature by attending to specifically the internal social dynamics of an inner-city MPE, looking at diversity and perceptions of diversity within the estate. While Kenna (2007) hinted at the possibilities of tension within MPEs arising from social and ethnic difference, this work has explored this in-depth showing in this case how

ethnic diversity was particularly salient. In terms of seeing the Crown Square MPE as a case of new-build gentrification, this example contributed to understanding how a new development is positioned not only in relationship to the wider neighborhood, but how social and cultural tensions and issues of inclusion and exclusion are emerging within these new gentrified spaces. It is important to note the limitations of the case study in regard to understanding how social and cultural tensions within the MPE might be embedded in wider social processes and conflict, because of the local specificities of this case and stemming from the relatively low survey response rates discussed in the methodology section of Chapter 2. Further research on inner-city MPEs is needed in general, but specifically these findings point to the importance of considering issues of race and ethnicity in these developments in multicultural cities, as well as the salience of multicultural gentrification that breaks from the dominant dualism of white-black relations in gentrification (following Lees, 2001). There is also a need for more research that considers the internal social dynamics and tensions within MPEs and new-build gentrification developments that can potentially reveal struggles over urban space that studies focused on the relationship between the gentrified development and the wider neighborhood might hide.

8.1.1 Discursive Struggles over Space and Redevelopment

The way that residents, the media and state agencies construct discourses of redevelopment and gentrification reveals something about the drivers and impacts of these new spaces in the city. These discourses are not uniform; rather they are constantly in conversation with one another, competing to construct redevelopment in ways that reflects the values and desires of those producing them. Waterloo straddles the interstices of multiple overlapping discourses—one that sees the neighborhood as the epitome of urban disadvantage and malaise, an industrial wasteland, a place dominated by public housing, another that sees it as up-and-coming, the newest gentrification frontier, civilizing and domesticating (see Atkinson, 2003 and Zukin, 1995) Sydney's ultimate slum with the

presence of the cosmopolitan and creative classes, the newest ‘urban village’ and creative enclave. For the city and state authorities, Waterloo represents a place ripe for ‘revitalization’ through the introduction of middle-class residents and consumption spaces, echoing Davidson’s arguments (2008, 2010) about the manner in which policies of ‘social mix’ are gentrifying poor neighborhoods through new-build development, materially and symbolically threatening the existing population with displacement. Incoming residents, like city and state authorities, tend to see this redevelopment as inherently ‘good’ for the neighborhood, asserting middle-class values as dominant, while community groups that at least nominally represent the incumbent population interpret redevelopment processes as problematic and exclusionary. This research has shown that while residents were rather frank in their acknowledgement of the area’s gentrification, some ambivalently recognizing processes of segregation and exclusion therein, for city and state governments, gentrification remained a “dirty word” (Smith, 1996; Slater, 2006) associated with the real problems of displacement and lack of low-rate housing in the inner-city, standing in sharp contradiction to the NSW state government’s development strategies for Redfern-Waterloo.

The discourse of Waterloo’s ‘creative renaissance’ promoted by lifestyle media, business people and the city and state government constructs a new sense of place in the neighborhood. The consumption spaces that define ‘creative Waterloo’ are up-market, exclusionary spaces for niche consumers. This discourse, by valuing creativity thus presents as problematic those who are not ‘creative’ (Peck, 2005), similar to Young et al.’s (2006) discussion of cosmopolitanism wherein the non- cosmopolitan is viewed as backward and undesirable. It was shown the discourses of creative Waterloo conveyed the notion that prior to its creative, cosmopolitan rebirth (read: gentrification), the neighborhood represented the un-creative and undesirable. In this way this discourse represents class-based constructions of what sort of urban space is desirable coded in the language of

creativity and cosmopolitanism, which informs an understanding of how this neighborhood is gentrifying. This finding again contributes to understanding how struggles over urban space are playing out, particularly through gentrification processes and the role of consumption therein.

8.2 Governance, Community and Redevelopment: Redfern-Waterloo and Atlantic Yards

The case studies of the redevelopment of Redfern-Waterloo and Atlantic Yards provided insight into the hybrid ways neoliberal urbanism is articulating in revitalization strategies that promote gentrification and how these are contested by groups representing competing constructions of ‘community’. These struggles over community inform research that has delved into how community, particularly when thought of in the sense of the local neighbourhood, can be a sense of conflict. The community conflict discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 also represent ways different sectors of a local community value ‘community’ either through use or exchange value. The cases share a number of similarities that inform an understanding of redevelopment and new-build gentrification. Both cases showed neoliberal modes of development were pursued by public-private partnerships (a state economic development agency in conjunction with corporate developers) in strategies hinged on speculative real estate investment, and both redevelopment projects hinged on a major non-residential corporate component—in the Brooklyn case the basketball stadium sponsored by Barclay’s Bank, in Sydney, the Redfern-Waterloo redevelopment was anchored by the Australia Technology Park. In each case the redevelopment was surrounded by discourses that it was for the good of the ‘community’ and community benefits were outlined. These cases thus demonstrated the centrality of a neoliberal communitarian approach in contemporary redevelopment strategies, as well as how ‘community’ is constructed in ways that contest this approach. These cases present striking similarities in the way new-build gentrification is occurring in these two global cities that have both undergone waves of gentrification; however, these cases also present a

number of particularities that aid in understanding how neoliberalism, gentrification and community articulate differently in different places.

New York City, as a city in the neoliberal heartlands (Peck and Tickell, 2002), represents a more aggressive form of neoliberal urban governance in the case of Atlantic Yards—that saw people evicted from their homes in the pursuit of profit- generating redevelopment, wherein objectors to the scheme were gag-ordered to prevent protest, and billions of dollars of public revenue were called upon to assist private development. The Redfern-Waterloo case study reflects the hybrid forms of neoliberalism McGuirk discusses (2005) wherein the state retains a strong role in planning and development (in cooperation with corporate actors) while pursuing strategies aimed at maximizing land values and development in the area. In this way Brooklyn displayed a strong corporate role in redevelopment with the centrality of Forest City Ratner Companies, while in Sydney the state was the most dominant actor in redevelopment via the Redfern-Waterloo Authority (RWA), reflecting Australia’s social-democratic traditions versus America’s liberalist traditions. These varying political-economic contexts between Australia and the United States are important to understanding how neoliberalism articulates in particular places because of its inherent rootedness in liberal tradition and presumed unwavering contradiction to socialist aims.

Yet both of these cases also saw the formation of community groups that aimed specifically to contest these redevelopment processes not only for their inherent gentrifying tendencies but also for the exclusionary ways in which they were carried out by state and corporate actors. These groups produced discourses of community that rejected the neoliberal communitarian ways state and corporate actors constructed community in redevelopment schemes. In New York City, where neoliberal urbanism is harsher, the community opposition was more oppositional towards state and corporate actors than in Sydney—with the community groups in Brooklyn directly attacking and opposing the redevelopment, using litigation as well as

community organizing. Nevertheless, the discourses of community constructed by these groups were themselves fraught with conflicts over who defines community and how they do so, reflecting the multiplicity and complexity of this term. For example, the coalitions formed to oppose and criticize the Atlantic Yards development were constructing their discourses of community and redevelopment in opposition to the neoliberal communitarian way it is constructed in the Atlantic Yards Community Benefits Agreement by Forest City Ratner Companies and the CBA signatory groups; the multiplicity of community groups alone in the Atlantic Yards case study reveals the complex ways ‘community’ operates and the discourses of community constructed by these groups represent varying relationships with urban redevelopment. These findings emphasize the importance of questioning how and why ‘community’ is constructed in struggles over urban space. The Atlantic Yards case study offered a tremendous opportunity for exploring how community is constructed in urban redevelopment projects, but it was almost too amorphous a project to pin down. This example of redevelopment and opposition offers a particularly rich empirical case that in itself could serve as the focal point for further research. This study was limited in terms of access to research participants from governmental and corporate actors, as well as community representatives, as noted in Chapter 2. It was also limited because it is an ongoing, unfinished project, with many obstacles to construction and changes in plan. This type of master-planned ‘mega- project’ (Fainstein, 2009) represents an interesting area for research especially when considered with attention to the ways in which they are contested and this is a fruitful area of research that should be pursued in the future.

Overall these two case studies inform how we can understand redevelopment, gentrification and community in neoliberal urbanism. Following Leitner et al.’s (2007) argument that neoliberalising practices and processes are constantly being reworked through contestation, this case study shows that articulations of contestation in neoliberal urbanism are at work in redevelopment strategies and that constructions of community are central to these

contestations. I argue community cannot only be understood as ‘co-opted’ or ‘defeated’ by neoliberalism, but is also an actor in governance; an exploration of how community was discursively constructed in various ways has shown the salience of this term in the governance of urban redevelopment. This contributes to understanding hybrid forms of neoliberal urbanism that challenge the rhetoric of pure market dominance, not only as explored by McGuirk through strong state roles, but also in the centrality of constructions of community in neoliberal urban policies, as suggested by Larner and Craig (2005) who highlighted the emergence of civil society as a salient actor in contemporary urban policy.

This thesis has also considered other ways in which ‘neoliberalism’ is hybrid or contradictory, in that neoliberal redevelopment strategies are increasingly incorporating ‘creativity’ and ‘community’—concepts that seem oppositional to a ‘pure’ imagining of neoliberalism. In doing so I have sought not only to understand processes of neoliberal urbanism but also to, following McDowell (1999; see Chapter 2), question how and why ‘community’ is discursively constructed in these processes. This thesis found that community was constructed in competing and contradictory ways that reflected a spectrum of attitudes towards redevelopment, ultimately revealing a struggle over how and on whose terms urban space should be redeveloped. Discursive constructions of community were explored in three chapters of this thesis, each revealing a struggle over ‘community’ and a struggle over what sort of city is desirable. Chapter 4 showed constructions of community among Crown Square residents were negative—with many residents feeling there was no sense of community in the estate and these constructions of community and neighbouring cut across racial and ethnic divides. Chapter 6 focused on the way the RWA incorporated ‘community’ into redevelopment policies finding that these policy discourses of community problematised the poor community of the area while naming them as a partner in the redevelopment. This chapter also showed how the RWA’s discourses of community were contested by REDWatch, a group which utilized ‘community’ to legitimate its purpose in

criticizing the RWA's redevelopment plans. Chapter 7 looked at a similar case study of redevelopment wherein the state-corporate actors produced a neoliberal communitarian discourse that was contested by a number of 'community' coalitions.

8.3 MPE Development and New-build Gentrification

This thesis has furthered work on new-build gentrification by presenting a new case study from Waterloo in Sydney and by bringing it together with MPE research. These two areas of scholarship have remained separate, primarily due to the lack of research on master-planned estates in the inner-city that serves as the connection point between the two literatures. I have shown that the production of these packaged estates in Sydney is a manifestation of new-build gentrification, wherein new apartments and consumption landscapes cater to the professional middle-classes in areas that through previous rounds of gentrification in the city have remained marginal, in the case of Waterloo because of a significant proportion of public housing. Not only did private housing development, like in the case of Meriton's Crown Square, elevate housing prices in the area and see a major demographic shift in the number and proportion of high-income groups in the area, but public-private partnerships spearheaded by the Redfern-Waterloo Authority also contributed to this process, lauding the rising house prices. This fits with Hackworth and Smith's (2001; see also Hackworth, 2000; Smith, 2002) theories of 'third-wave' gentrification processes characterized by large scale developments in more marginal areas of the city carried out by state-corporate cooperation, while reflecting Davidson's descriptions of how policies aimed at achieving social mix are gentrifying this type of neighborhood (2008; 2010). While Bounds and Morris (2006) identified the gentrification of Pyrmont-Ultimo in Sydney via new-build, MPE development as "second-wave" gentrification (using Wyly and Hammel's, 2001 theorization of 'waves' of gentrification), work identifying 'third-wave' gentrification in Sydney has been neglected until now. In this way, this thesis has

therefore advanced third-wave gentrification literature and work on gentrification in Sydney by identifying and exploring this process there. Although the type of gentrification process I describe in this thesis is remarkably similar to Bounds and Morris' work in Pyrmont-Ultimo, I assert Waterloo's gentrification is decidedly third-wave in not only its compliance with third-wave characteristics as defined by Hackworth and Smith above, but also in accordance with Wyly and Hammel's model of 'waves' that Waterloo exhibited in being a more marginal neighborhood (socially and geographically) that had not been touched by previous rounds of gentrification and in the interventionist role of the state as discussed in regard to the RWA (see Wyly and Hammel, 2001 and Bounds and Morris, 2006). Where my work diverged from the third-wave understanding of gentrification put forth by Wyly and Hammel, was in regard to their assertion that neighborhood resistance subsided in third-wave processes as a result of the transition of "once militant community organizations" (2001, p. 218) into housing and service providers—a facet of neoliberal communitarianism; rather, this work demonstrated the continuation of neighborhood-based resistance to redevelopment and gentrification through contestation of the very modes of neoliberal communitarianism it was suggested quashed possibilities for community opposition.

I have also shown that the production of inner-city MPEs is not merely a minor trend in the housing market in inner-city Sydney, demonstrating that the city's crucial growth areas are being transformed through this type of development. While honing in on one MPE and its wider neighborhood provided insight into the estate's dynamics in relationship to the city, Chapter 3 demonstrated how similar estates had been or are being developed across the City of Sydney, being driven by a high demand for housing and state strategies to develop housing in central areas. These estates exhibited marketing strategies that appealed to notions of luxury, cosmopolitanism and even creativity, showing that not only were these themes distinct from suburban MPE marketing but also

that they targeted a certain type of urban dweller—usually the young, affluent cosmopolite. This shows in addition to the government’s strategies of gentrification discussed above, that private developers are contributing to this process as well by targeting a specific market. In this way MPE development is part of the remaking of the city for the middle-classes, bound up in practices of gentrification and policies aimed at social mixing and ‘liveability’.

The proliferation of master-planned estates in inner-city Sydney enables a better understanding of gentrification there as well as practices of and struggles over redevelopment. Through an exploration of the geography and types of MPE development in the City of Sydney I have demonstrated that these estates represent an important market premised on the convenience of living in a packaged neighborhood, accessible to the cosmopolitan experiences of the city while providing a safe and stylized environment. The appeal to ‘inner-city lifestyle’ in marketing MPEs targets and attracts higher-income service professionals to these estates, exhibiting a process of gentrification in areas where they are developed. It is important to note that I do not propose these estates are necessarily causing the gentrification processes presented in this thesis, although they certainly can, however, they inform an understanding of how these processes are playing out, particularly in new-build gentrification. The incorporation of master-planned forms of development in state strategies in Sydney’s redevelopment shows how gentrification is incorporated, if in contradictory ways that don’t name the “dirty word”, in neoliberal urban development policies. Furthermore, this investigation into the processes, strategies and realities of developing these MPEs has revealed that practices of redevelopment are always in flux with contestations from diverse ‘communities’ in the neighborhood. This is such that contemporary neoliberal urban policy incorporates ‘community’ and this very feature is being contested with other discursive constructions of ‘community’ that challenge those elaborated through

policy. These discourses and counter-discourses of ‘community’ and in turn ‘redevelopment’ reproduced by the state, businesses, civil society groups, the media and so on help reveal struggles over urban space.

This work has furthered the MPE literature through research on specifically inner-city MPE development, demonstrating the integral connections between this type of development and new-build gentrification. In Waterloo, MPE production was an example of new-build gentrification occurring that demonstrated similarities with suburban MPEs, particularly as places of distinction and disaffiliation from the surrounding areas. However, this research also presented divergences in terms of the presumed social (and racial) homogeneity of MPEs stemming from the suburban literature. Nonetheless, the MPE concept proved to be remarkably adaptable to the inner-city and helped elucidate processes of change and redevelopment occurring there. In critically reflecting on the methods used in this thesis and some of the research limitations stemming from that, it is apparent there is room for research on MPEs in the inner-city using different methodological skill-sets than this thesis has not employed. The lack of participation from corporate and governmental actors seriously thwarted the research that had been planned for this thesis and the time constraints constricting the completion of this work limited my ability to entirely re-organize the project to compensate for that. Work that is able to access government authorities and corporate developers in exploring MPE development in inner-urban areas could further locate the structural connections between MPEs, redevelopment and new-build gentrification. Further research is needed on master-planned estates in the inner-city; areas of research that are of particular pertinence are further investigation into social dynamics within estates especially in terms of diversity and difference as well as how diversity and cosmopolitanism are constructed in MPE marketing in the inner-city, specific considerations of how MPEs are incorporated into state development strategies and larger-scale, in-depth data collection around the demographic characteristics of estates. This work

has therefore contributed to the burgeoning field of MPE research in Australia, as well as defined a number of remaining questions and issues for further exploration.

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Survey of Inner-City Residential Developments in the City of Sydney

G'day! I am carrying out research about people's experiences in residential developments in the City of Sydney. The research is about understanding how people feel about the places they live.

This voluntary survey takes no more than fifteen minutes to complete and we enclose a freepost envelope for you to return it to us. Return of the survey will be taken as consent to use questionnaire results in the research; because the anonymity of questionnaire respondents is ensured, ability to withdraw participation in the questionnaire is not possible once it has been posted. We would be greatly indebted to you for your time on this if you can help. Any adult (aged 18+ years) can fill out this survey.

I. Living in your development

1) How long have you lived in this development?

- ☐ Less than one year
- ☐ Between 1 and 2 years
- ☐ Between 3 and 4 years
- ☐ More than 4 years

2) Where did you live immediately prior to this development?

- ☐ Another unit in this development
- ☐ In the same suburb
- ☐ In another suburb of Sydney (please specify)
- ☐ Outside Sydney (please specify)

3) Please rate each of the following in terms of their importance in your decision to move to this development? (5=most important; 1=least important)

- | | | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| • Quality of the dwelling | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Prestige of the development | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Close to family/friends | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Close to work | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Close to city/nightlife | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • To live amongst households similar to yours | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • To live amongst neighbours you could be friendly with | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Facilities e.g. gym, pool, parking | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Community atmosphere | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |

- | | | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| • Safety/security | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Cost of housing | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Expectation of a better than average increase in property value | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Design/landscaping quality | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Heritage/historic elements | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Quality of suburb | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Housing covenants | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Well-maintained development | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |

4) What aspects of this development, if any, do you particularly **like**?

- ☐ Friendly people
- ☐ Good neighbours
- ☐ Social diversity
- ☐ Design and landscape aspects
- ☐ Inclusion of heritage/historical elements
- ☐ Common areas well maintained
- ☐ Neighbours maintain their property
- ☐ Convenient amenities
- ☐ Safe/secure area
- ☐ Central location/in the city
- ☐ Suburb it's located in
- ☐ Operation of owners' corporation
- ☐ Other (please specify)

5) What aspects of this development, if any, do you particularly **dislike**?

- ☐ Problems with neighbours
- ☐ Social diversity
- ☐ Landscape and design aspects
- ☐ Inclusion of heritage/historical elements
- ☐ Poor maintenance of common areas
- ☐ Neighbours do not maintain their property
- ☐ Amenities lacking
- ☐ Unsafe/insecure area
- ☐ Suburb it's located in
- ☐ Noise
- ☐ Operation of owners' corporation
- ☐ Cost of strata or management fees
- ☐ Other (please specify)

6) Thinking about the development you live in, how would you rate it as a place to live?

- Very good
- Fairly good
- Fairly poor
- Very poor
- No opinion

7) In a few words, how would you describe the character of this development?

II. Social life in your development

8) How socially diverse do you consider your development to be?
(5=highly diverse; 1=not at all diverse)

1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐

9) How would you describe the class or social background of the people living in this development?

--Mostly the same as you

--Mostly different to you

--A mixture

10) How would you describe the ethnicity of people who live in your development?

--Mostly the same as you

--Mostly different to you

--A mixture

11) Generally speaking, how well would you say you know your immediate neighbours?

--They are close friends

--Occasionally socialize

--Know by name and chat with them

--Know by sight or in passing only

--Do not know any

12) Would you say you know

--A lot of people in the neighbourhood

--A few people

--Hardly any people

--None

13) Is there a strong sense of community in the development you live in?

--Very strong

--Strong

--Moderate

--Some

--No sense of community

III. Your future plans

14) How long do you think you will want to stay in this development?

--Less than another year

--Between 1 and 2 years

--Between 2 and 3 years

--More than 3 years

--Not certain

15) Given the choice, would you move into this kind of development again?

--Yes

--No

IV. You and your household

16) Are you:

--Female

--Male

17) How many people are there in your household?

18) What sort of dwelling do you live in?

--House

--Townhouse

--Apartment

--Other

19) Do you:

--Have a mortgage for this home?

--Own this home?

--Rent this home from a landlord?

--Rent this home from a community housing or public landlord?

28) Can you indicate your age for us?

--18-25

--26-35

--36-45

--46-65

--66-80

--80+

29) Can you indicate your approximate household income (that is for all income earners in your household) annually?

--Less than \$50,000

--Between \$51,000 and \$75,000

--Between \$76,000 and \$100,000

--Between \$101,000 and \$150,000

--Between \$151,000 and \$200,000

--\$200,000

V. Conclusion

42) In one or two sentences, how would you describe how you feel about the development you live in?

43) Is there anything else that you would like to add?

Further Opportunities to Volunteer for Research Participation

We are continuing our research by speaking to people in more detail about their experiences of the places where they live. This would involve a one hour interview about perceptions of your neighbourhood and your activities and experiences within it. If you would like to participate in this next phase of the research, please write contact details below. Two addressed freepost envelopes are included for you: one to return the survey itself, one to remove this section with your contact details for interview (this, along with completion of the questionnaire, is completely voluntary).

Daytime or mobile phone number:

Or

Email address:

THANK YOU!

(Please remove this portion and mail separately from the questionnaire to ensure anonymity is maintained.)

Appendix 2 RWA documents¹³ analysed:

- Built Environment Plan Phase 1
- Built Environment Plan Phase 2
- Employment and Enterprise Plan
- Human Services Plan Phase 1
- Human Services Plan Phase 2
- Human Services 18 month report
- “Shaping the Future Roll Up Redfern” RWA Press Release 20 July 2010
- “The Changing Face of Redfern-Waterloo” Press Release 15 February 2010
- The Redfern-Waterloo Authority Act 2004

¹³ All named documents available on the web from <http://www.redfernwaterloo.com.au/#>

Appendix 3 Cross tabulations from survey

	What do you particularly like?												
	Friendly people	Good neighbours	Social diversity	Design and landscape aspects	Inclusion of heritage/historical elements	Common areas well-maintained	Neighbours maintain their property	Convenient amenities	Safe/secure area	Central location/in the city	Suburb it's located in	Operation of owners corporation	Other (specify)
Raw # who answered positively to said question/option	21	15	13	37	7	58	14	82	72	82	16	9	10
Percentage of total who answered positively to said question/option	22.3%	16.0%	13.8%	39.4%	7.4%	61.7%	14.9%	87.2%	76.6%	87.2%	17.0%	9.6%	10.6%
% of those who answered question positively to said question/option out of those who said ethnicity "mostly different to me"	10.00%	10.00%	5.00%	30.00%	0.00%	50.00%	5.00%	85.00%	60.00%	75.00%	15.00%	10.00%	

	What do you particularly dislike?												
	Problems with neighbours	Social diversity	Landscape and design aspects	Inclusion of heritage/historical elements	Poor maintenance of common areas	Neighbours do not maintain property	Amenities lacking	Unsafe/insecure area	Suburb it's located in	Noise	Operation of owners corporation	Cost of strata or management fees	Other (specific if any)
Raw # who answered positively to said question/option	19	10	1	1	12	21	3	9	3	52	6	34	18
Percentage of total who answered positively to said question/option	20.2%	10.6%	1.1%	1.1%	12.8%	22.3%	3.2%	9.6%	3.2%	55.3%	6.4%	36.2%	19.1%
% of those who answered question positively to said question/option out of those who said ethnicity "mostly different to me"	25.00%	20.00%	5.00%	0.00%	0.00%	15.00%	5.00%	15.00%	5.00%	45.00%	5.00%	35.00%	

	How socially diverse?					Class or social background?				Ethnicity?		You know...				
	1	2	3	4		5	Mostly the same	Mostly different	A mixture	Mostly the same	Mostly different	A mixture	A lot of people	A few people		
Raw # who answered positively to said question/option	3	5	30	31	24	15	11	68	3	20	72	8	33	42	12	
Percentage of total who answered positively to said question/option	3.2%	5.3%	31.9%	32.6%	25.5%	16.0%	11.7%	72.3%	3.2%	21.3%	76.6%	8.5%	35.1%	44.7%	12.8%	
% of those who answered question positively to said question/option out of those who said ethnicity "mostly different to me"	5.00%	5.00%	20.00%	35.00%	30.00%	10.00%	45.00%	40.00%	0.00%	100.00 %	0.00%	5.00%	25.00%	35.00%	30.00%	

	Sense of community										# of people				
	Very strong	Strong	Moderate	Some							No community	No	Female		
Raw # who answered positively to said question/option	0	1	20	33	38	24	60	33	29	8	53	4			
Percentage of total who answered positively to said question/option	0.0%	1.1%	21.3%	35.1%	40.4%	25.5%	63.8%	35.1%	30.9%	8.5%	56.4%	4.3%			
% of those who answered question positively to said question/option out of those who said ethnicity "mostly different to me"	0.00%	0.00%	5.00%	25.00%	65.00%		45.00%	50.00%	25.00%	15.00%	50.00%	5.00%			

	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-65	66-80	Age	80+	\$76-100,000	\$101-150,000	\$151-200,000	Income	>\$200,000
Raw # who answered positively to said question/option	12	51	15	14	1		0	12	27	18		15
Percentage of total who answered positively to said question/option	12.8%	54.3%	16.0%	14.9%	1.1%		0.0%	12.8%	28.7%	19.1%		16.0%
% of those who answered question positively to said question/option out of those who said ethnicity "mostly different to me"	0.00%	50.00%	15.00%	25.00%	5.00%		0.00%	10.00%	35.00%	25.00%		20.00%

	What do you particularly like?	Good neighbors	Social diversity	Design and landscape aspects	Inclusion of heritage/historical elements	Common areas well-maintained	Neighbors maintain property	Convenient amenities	Safe/secure area	Central location/in the city	Suburb it's located in	Operation of owners (specify)	Other (specify)
Raw # who answered positively to said question/option	21	15	13	37	7	58	14	82	72	82	16	9	19
Percentage of total who answered positively to said question/option	22.3%	16.0%	13.8%	39.4%	7.4%	61.7%	14.9%	87.2%	76.6%	87.2%	17.0%	9.6%	20.2%
% of those who answered question positively to said question/option out of those that particularly disliked social diversity	20.00%	0%	0%	70.00%	10%	70%	10%	100%	80%	80%	40%	20%	30%

	Sense of community												
	None	Very strong	Strong	Moderate	Some	No community	Female	Male	Mortgage	Own	Landlord	Community housing	
Raw # who answered positively to said question/option	0	1	20	33	38	60	33	55	29	8	53	4	
Percentage of total who answered positively to said question/option	0.0%	1.1%	21.3%	35.1%	40.4%	63.8%	35.1%	58.5%	30.9%	8.5%	56.4%	4.3%	
% of those who who answered positively to said question/option out of those that particularly disliked social diversity	0%	0%	0%	40%	50%	60%	40%	74.5%	30%	20%	40%	10%	

	Age								Income					
	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-65	66-80	80+			<\$50,000	\$51-75,000	\$76-100,000	\$101-150,000	\$151-200,000	>\$200,000
Raw # who answered positively to said question/option	12	51	15	14	1	0			4	14	12	27	18	15
Percentage of total who answered positively to said question/option	12.8%	54.3%	16.0%	14.9%	1.1%	0.0%			4.3%	14.9%	12.8%	28.7%	19.1%	16.0%
% of those who who answered positively to said question/option out of those that particularly disliked social diversity	0%	30%	20%	50%	0%	0%			0%	10%	10%	30%	40%	10%

Appendix 4 Set interview questions for Crown Street residents:

- 1) How old are you (roughly) and what's your occupation?
- 2) How did you come to live in Crown Square? Can you tell me the story of your decision to move here and what was impacting that?
- 3) Were there any aesthetic or design aspects that attracted you to this development—if so what were they and why? How do you feel about the elements of heritage preservation?
- 4) Do you use the park and other facilities here? What about patronizing the shops and restaurants in Crown Square?
- 5) What do you particularly like about living in Crown Square? Why?
- 6) What do you particularly dislike about living here? Why?
- 7) How would you describe the people living here in this development?
- 8) Do you socialize much with your neighbours and other Crown Square residents?
- 9) What do you think of the surrounding area, of living in Waterloo?
- 10) What neighborhoods do you tend to visit in the wider city? Where do you find yourself going out for social or entertainment purposes?
- 11) Is there anything else you would like to add or discuss?

Appendix 5 Set interview questions for Danks Street business owners:

- 1) So can you just tell me how you came to have your business/gallery on Danks Street?
- 2) How would you describe the type of art that you are regularly showcasing?
- 3) Have you participated in any marketing in the lifestyle media or any of that sort of stuff?
- 4) Have the businesses/galleries that are located here changed much since you've moved in?
- 5) If you could just describe in a few words your typical client, how would you describe them?
- 6) What is your impression of Danks Street—have there been changes or what are just your general impressions of this area?
- 7) So because some of things I'm thinking about are the ways the tourism department from New South Wales how and the City of Sydney they like to promote this as a creative area—would you say this is a creative area?
- 8) Overall how has your business/gallery been doing in this location—are you happy here?
- 9) And so how do feel about the future development of Waterloo or Danks Street? Can you speculate on the future of business development here?

Appendix 6 Set interview questions for REDWatch Members

- 1) How did you become involved in REDWatch?
- 2) When did you first hear about REDWatch—when and how did you first become involved?
- 3) Can you define community in terms of your work with REDWatch?
- 4) How would you describe the Redfern-Waterloo community?
- 5) What do you think the greatest challenges that are facing the communities of Redfern-Waterloo?
- 6) So what do you make of the RWA's plans in general?
- 7) What do you make of the RWA as a government authority and how do you engage with them?
- 8) What are you trying to achieve by working with REDWatch?
- 9) How do you feel about the ongoing gentrification and how that's affecting the community here?

Appendix 7 Ethics approvals



15 December 2008

Ms Carolyn Thompson Department of
Human Geography Macquarie University

Reference: HE28NOV2008-D06210

Dear Ms Thompson

FINAL APPROVAL --/

Title of project: "Master-Planned Residential Estates in the Inner City: understanding governance, finance and cultural strategies of urban development"

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Ethics Review Committee (Human Research) and you may now commence your research. Please

note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. Approval will be for a period of twelve (12) months. At the end of this period, if the project has been completed, abandoned, discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are required to submit a Final Report on the project. If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. The Final Report is available at: http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human_ethics/forms
2. However, at the end of the 12 month period if the project is still current you should instead submit an application for renewal of the approval if the project has run for less than five (5) years. This form is available at http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human_ethics/forms. If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report (see Point 1 above) and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).
3. Please remember the Committee must be notified of any alteration to the project
4. You must notify the Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project.
5. At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human_ethics/policy

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide Macquarie University's Research Grants Officer with a copy of this letter as soon as possible. The Research Grants Officer will not inform external funding agencies that you have final approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Officer has received a copy of this final approval letter.

ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE (HUMAN RESEARCH) LEVEL 3,
RESEARCH HUB, BUILDING C5C MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY
NSW, 2109 AUSTRALIA

Ethics Secretariat: Ph: (02) 9850 6848 Fax: (02) 9850 4465 E-mail: ethics.secretariat@vcmq.edu.au

Web: www.b.mq.edu.au/scan_hcsicthc?hwman1111f

Yours sincerely

-P

Dr Margaret Stuart
Director of Research Ethics
Chair, Ethics Review Committee (Human Research)

Cc: Dr Robyn Dowling, Department of Human Geography

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18 September 2009

Ms Carolyn Thompson
Department of Human
Geography Macquarie
University

Reference: HE25SEP2009-
D00125 -

Dear Ms Thompson,

FINAL
APPROVAL

Title of project: Master-Planned Residential Estates in the inner city: understanding governance, finance and cultural strategies of urban redevelopment

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Ethics Review Committee (Human Research) in relation to Phase 1 of your research and you may now commence Phase 1 only of your research. This approval is subject to the following condition:

1. Please submit a Request for Amendment Form for subsequent Phases of your research. The Request for Amendment Form is available at:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human_ethics/forms. Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007)*.
2. Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision of annual reports. Your first progress report is due on 18 September 2010.

If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report on the project.

Progress Reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human_ethics/forms

3. If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).
4. Please notify the Committee of any amendment to the project.
5. Please notify the Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project.
6. At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at:
<http://www.research.mq.edu.au/policy>

ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE (HUMAN
RESEARCH) MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human_ethics

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