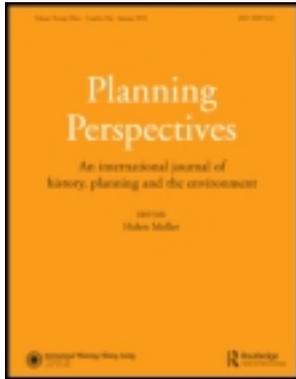


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Shaping a global Sydney: the City of Sydney's planning transformation in the 1980s and 1990s

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The City of Sydney's urban planning philosophy and practice experienced fundamental changes in the 1980s and 1990s. In the post-World War decades, Sydney's urban planning was characterized by a *laissez faire* tradition which exempted any attempt to plan and control the city. Furthermore, this *laissez faire* context was interrelated with the conflicts of planning powers between the New South Wales State Government and its agencies, and the Sydney City Council. However, this *ad hoc* planning approach and conflict-ridden planning politics between tiers of governments appeared to give way to a converged recognition of the importance of planning intervention and concerted planning actions among major stakeholders in the pursuit of a global Sydney in the 1980s and the 1990s. This article attempts to address two questions of the urban planning transformation in Sydney: (1) how did the transformation occur? and (2) what were the thematic patterns of the transformation? This article describes Sydney's historical planning background, makes a content analysis of benchmark strategic plan documents – The City of Sydney Strategic Plan (1971–1983) and Central Sydney Strategy (1988), and narrates the planning practices in the pre-Olympics 2000 years. This article finally concludes the thematic patterns of urban planning transformations in Sydney in the 1980s and 1990s: the inter-governmental consensus on visioning and planning for a global Sydney, the thematic planning transformations including the emergence of entrepreneurial planning with the prominence of economic planning, the neutralization of the social planning, and the emphasis on urban design in the physical planning.

Keywords: global Sydney; urban planning; transformation; thematic patterns

1. Introduction

Sydney was an 'accidental city'.¹ By 'accidental city', it is meant that Sydney's development and growth was not guided and controlled by a sophisticated system of urban planning and design. Sydney's urban growth in the nineteenth century and the first three quarters of the twentieth century was characterized by a *laissez faire* tradition which exempted any attempt to plan and control the city. Furthermore, this *laissez faire* context was interrelated with the conflicts of planning powers between the New South Wales (NSW) State Government and its agencies, and the Sydney City Council. For these reasons, Sydney is often criticized as 'no planned city'.² However, this *ad hoc* planning approach and conflict-ridden planning politics between tiers of governments appeared to give way to a converged recognition of the importance of urban planning intervention and concerted planning actions between different tiers of governments in the late 1980s and the 1990s, which was particularly seen in the common vision for a global Sydney.

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The first comprehensive planning effort to harness the ‘accidental city’ came in 1971 when the Sydney City Council released its first strategic plan, which was reviewed every 3 years until 1983 as a plan series. However, the 1971–1983 plan series was not fully recognized by the NSW State Government as statutory documents despite some of its very advanced planning concepts and policies at the time. The 1971–1983 strategic plan series was replaced by the Central Sydney Strategy 1988, which, together with a series of post-1988 planning initiatives, marked a watershed in Sydney’s planning history. The planning watershed is seen not only in the planning ideological transformation, but also in the transformation from a state-council conflict to a kind of state-council partnership in planning principles and practices.

This article traces the background of the planning transformation and analyses thematic changes in major planning efforts – both planning documents and initiatives – in Sydney. Section 2 describes the political, economic, and social settings which had nurtured the planning changes to occur. Sections 3 and 4, respectively, document the thematic patterns of the City of Sydney Strategic Plan (1971–1983) series and the Central Sydney Strategy 1988 based on a content analysis through the lenses of economic planning, physical planning, and social planning. Section 5 is a historic narrative of the post-1988 planning initiatives between the NSW State Government and the Sydney City Council in the pursuit of a global Sydney, especially in the years leading up to the Sydney Olympics 2000. This article finally concludes Sydney’s planning transformation along three threads: the transformative urban governance strategy between the NSW State Government and the Sydney City Council; the transformative thematic patterns of the planning documents; and the macro and micro settings in which these transformations occurred under the overarching vision of shaping a global Sydney.

2. Historic background

Prior to the City of Sydney Strategic Plan in 1971, two strategic plans had helped shape the City of Sydney since the origin of European settlement in 1788. They are Governor Macquarie’s plan in 1810–1821 and the Report of the Royal Commission for the Improvement of the City of Sydney and its Suburbs in 1909. Andrew Briger and George Clarke, two participants in the 1971 plan, both hold the view that the Macquarie’s plan and the Royal Commission Report are the first and second strategic plans for City of Sydney while the 1971 plan is the third.³ Governor Macquarie’s term of office (1810–1821) was a period of consolidation and improvement.⁴ With the assistance of Francis Greenway, a talented deportee architect, Governor Macquarie, constructed the city centre structure and defined major locations of urban settlement including churches, hospitals, schools, courthouses, roads and bridges, and public parks and gardens. The most lasting effect of their plan was on the sitting and grouping of public buildings near the Circular Quay, which have exerted influence on the land use zoning of central Sydney since the Macquarie era.⁵ Macquarie’s legacy was not just a construction mark on Sydney. Like many theorists, he believed that town planning and fine architecture contributed to public morality, of which Sydney was greatly in need at the time.⁶ By 1821 when he departed, Governor Macquarie had transformed Sydney from a precarious outpost and penal settlement into a prosperous township and a provincial seat of government.⁷ In 1842, Sydney was incorporated as a city, but with deficient power, which was a major barrier of enforcing any attempt to regulate the city’s development during the subsequent decades.⁸

For the rest of the nineteenth century, a few planning efforts were embarked on in Sydney. The basic approach was to provide maps documentation of existing development rather than generate a new urban form.⁹ Figure 1 shows the map of the City of Sydney area in the 1850s, recording the geographical boundaries and road structures,¹⁰ from which the early forms of Sydney's current urban grids are identifiable. No significant new plan was ever made until 1909 when a Royal Commission was established to address the health problem in the inner working class suburbs and consequent social problems. Heavily influenced by the City Beautiful Movement vision of the time,¹¹ the Royal Commission produced a report with remarkable farsightedness in a belief that 'civic pride served to establish or reinforce moral and social cohesion and a consensus on the goals of progress'.¹² The report recommended major urban projects and infrastructures. They were undertaken over the next half century or so and thus heavily influenced Sydney's urban form, including the electric rail system and the Harbour Bridge. Between the 1909 Royal Commission Report and the 1971 Strategic Plan, two other key plans – the 1948 County of Cumberland Plan 1948 and the 1968



Figure 1. Map of City of Sydney in the 1850s. Source: Paul Ashton and Duncan Waterson, *Sydney Takes Shape: A History in Maps*, 2000.

Sydney Region Outline Plan – were released to guide the development of Sydney as a region rather than a city.¹³

Sydney's urban forms changed the most in the post-World War II (WWII) decades. From 1957, the skyline of Sydney began to change dramatically when the building height restriction of 150 ft imposed in 1912 was lifted. However, no strategic plan was enforced to guide the largest scale and most influential development in the city's history and the city council's planning efforts had little effect.¹⁴ It was not until 1964 that the ultimate planning authority was vested in the State Planning Authority (SPA) which was empowered to overturn local development decisions, but the SPA created as many problems as it solved.¹⁵ Overall, the post-WWII development boom was 'developer-driven rather than planning-led'¹⁶ for its persistent lack of planning resources. Some efforts were made, for example, to prevent the infiltration of industry into residential areas, but they were too rudimentary to guide such a huge scale of urban development.¹⁷ In September 1969, the Civic Reform Association (CRA) took office of the City of Sydney Council. The CRA was firm on contending with the largest building boom in the city as well as Australia's history,¹⁸ and commissioned consultants to prepare the first modern strategic plan of the City of Sydney. In 1971, the plan was released and adopted as the City of Sydney Strategic Plan. The City of Sydney Strategic Plan was named as the first strategic plan with a series to come every 3 years until 1983. It was the principal planning document meant to guide Sydney's urban morphology for almost the following 20 years.

From the early 1980s, Sydney began to have economic and social changes which led to 'both expansion and concentration in the City Centre'.¹⁹ The revitalization of central Sydney was driven by the new dynamics of the international, national, and state economies. From the late 1970s to the early 1980s, major Western economies which subscribed to Keynesian economic theory began to dismantle trade protectionism and financial regulation to embrace the neoliberal ideas of unfettered market competition and minimal government intervention. In Australia, the 'rationalist' macroeconomic restructuring under the Hawke–Keating Labour government deregulated the financial and banking systems and floated the Australian dollar, aiming at making Australia an attractive place for international capital and improving Australian economy's competitiveness. These effects were intensified by a 'pro-development state ideology'²⁰ in NSW, seeking to restructure the manufacturing base and relocate warehousing to give space to the growing commercial facilities needed to serve the growing financial and tourist industries. The state government turned to a neoliberal planning paradigm of market liberalization and place making.²¹ Sydney was the hub of the changes of national and state economies and ideologies in its growth to be a financial and tourist centre on the Pacific Rim.

At the same time, a new national identity was being refashioned in Australia and Sydney was being branded as a global city.²² Australia was no longer British but more multicultural and more an active member of the Pacific Rim world. Sydney was at the heart of these changes and grew from a colonial village to a 'world metropolis'²³ or 'cosmopolis'.²⁴ By capturing the opportunity of Australia's integration with a world economic system, Sydney's urban experiences diverged from those of Melbourne and other Australian capital cities. By the early 1980s, Sydney prevailed over its rival city of Melbourne and became the most internationally oriented Australian city as a financial and corporate centre²⁵ or Australia's only world city.²⁶

These changes imposed pressures on a new development in Sydney from the early 1980s, which was further stimulated in the run-up to the Australian Bicentenary 1988.²⁷ Investment from three tiers of governments was supplied for the celebration of nationhood through urban

renewal as well as image making. An exemplary project of this kind is the Darling Harbour redevelopment which converted a historically industrial and warehouse area into a dynamic waterfront focus of meeting and entertainment. The project was orchestrated by the NSW State Government and meant to mark the Australian Bicentenary 1988. The government-driven urban renewal efforts triggered an even more upbeat mood of private investment in development.²⁸ As a result, the total office area built in Sydney in 1980–1992 doubled that in 1970–1979, and in most years between 1987 and 1992 around 40% of all office construction in Australia was located in Sydney.²⁹

At the same time, the post-WWII declining workforce trend in Sydney began to reverse in the early 1980s. In 1971, the workforce within the Central Business District (CBD) was 220,000; in 1981 the figure dropped to 189,000 but by 1986 the workforce rose to 195,000.³⁰ This growing trend continued in the following years. Meanwhile, Sydney was receiving more visitors every day, including workers, tourists, students, shoppers, and business people. In 1986/1987, 1.125 million international tourists visited Sydney, almost three quarters of all visitors to Australia; over 4 million domestic tourists also visited Sydney.³¹

Sydney's growing role as an international financial and tourist centre and the central city's intensification and expansion made the NSW State Government realize the need to redefine the city's future growth. It was necessary to review existing urban guidelines and position Sydney's future in a broader context of international engagement. This new strategic orientation was initiated and driven by the NSW State Government and implemented in some form of collaboration with the Sydney City council. The joint effort of the two tiers of government in Sydney led to the production of the Central Sydney Strategy in 1988, which coincided with the Australian Bicentenary.

The awareness of shaping a global Sydney was nurtured in the late 1980s. In the 1990s, a global Sydney became a consensus vision of the state government, the city council, business, and the general public. The proposal to bid for the 2000 Olympic Games was one of the initiatives to celebrate and market Sydney on a global arena and it was successful in 1993. Reflecting a greater integration with the global economy and accelerated by the Olympics, the Sydney CBD in the mid and late 1990s was 'an extraordinary construction zone at the mercy of a patchwork of ambitious private, state government, and council development'.³² For the Sydney City Council, Frank Sartor was elected Lord Mayor as the city's first independent mayor in 1991. Sartor's mayoralty lasted until 2003, covering the whole run-up years of the Olympics 2000. Sartor had particular passion for the vision of a global Sydney and attached great importance to the utility of good urban design and open space in realizing such a vision. He was the city's first champion of urban design,³³ though the emphasis on better quality design was first recognized by the state government in the Darling Harbour redevelopment and other Bicentenary projects. For the state, the Labour-dominated government came to a rare collaboration in both ideology and practice on a global Sydney vision with the Sartor-led city council. In the pre-Olympics years, both state government and city council initiated a series of urban planning agendas with a focus on the city's liveability, accessibility, public space, and design excellence, which significantly differentiated from the city's prior planning efforts.

The aforementioned transformative contextualization of planning central Sydney provides a typical example of local planning responses to the forces of globalization. The accelerating process of globalization since the 1980s has been restructuring the geography of the integrated world economy, one direct consequence of which is the emergence of a group of strategic sites

of global importance, or global cities as ‘strategic sites for the management of the global economy and the production of the most advanced services and financial operations that have become key inputs for that work of managing global economic operations’.³⁴ Sydney was listed as an emerging global city in major international rankings of global urban hierarchy from the mid-1990s on,³⁵ and in the twenty-first century, Sydney was increasingly recognized as an established global city. The globalization’s impacts on Sydney’s economic and political landscape gained pace since the 1980s, forging the imperative for planning for an entrepreneurial city in a competitive world.³⁶

3. The City of Sydney Strategic Plan 1971–1983

The City of Sydney Strategic Plan was adopted by the City of Sydney Council in 1971 as the city’s first strategic plan, ‘an overdue but innovative approach’.³⁷ It was stipulated that the plan should be reviewed and updated every 3 years to incorporate dynamic urban changes, thus leading to the subsequent 1973 plan, 1977 plan, 1980 plan, and 1983 plan. The 1971–1983 plan series was designed to be ‘systematic, comprehensive, continuous, cooperative, and open’.³⁸ Each plan document included a matrix of statement of objectives, policies, and action priorities. These five planning documents made up the City of Sydney Strategic Plan (1971–1983) series. The plan series was in use for almost two decades until 1988 when the Central Sydney Strategic Plan was released based on a comprehensive overhaul of the previous planning efforts.

Statistically, the 1971 plan was composed of four long-term objectives, 16 guiding policies, and 86 short-term action priorities. The four long-term objectives were the thematic backbones of the whole 1971–1983 plan series:

- Management – Foster economic growth by managing, guiding and directing the conservation and redevelopment of the City as a whole;
- Accessibility – Improve access to, and ease of movement, within the City;
- Diversity – Conserve and increase the diversity of community activities and services throughout the City;
- Environment – Conserve, enhance and improve the physical environment of the City.³⁹

Thematically, the four objectives have a good balance of emphasis on economic planning, physical planning, and social planning issues. The structure of the 1971 plan was organized in such a way that every objective had four guiding policies, and every policy had a number of short-term action priorities. Basically, the subsequent plans in the series maintained a similar structure.

The 1974 plan was the first of the 3-year review and update of the 1971 plan. Its content and presentation did not change much but followed the same structure of objectives, policies, and action priorities with some minor adjustments. The first two of the four long-term objectives were adjusted, while the other two remained the same as those in the 1971 plan:

- Management – Unify and simplify the City’s management in the light of the Council’s initiatives and experience since 1970;
- Accessibility – Create a balanced movement system in which the Central Spine is served by public transport and walk-ways, and fringed by parking stations and major roads;
- Diversity – Conserve and increase the diversity of community activities and services throughout

the City;

Environment – Conserve, enhance and improve the physical environment of the City.⁴⁰

The 1974 plan contained 16 policies and 88 action priorities under these four objectives.

The classification of objectives, policies, and action priorities in the 1971 plan and the 1974 plan were reshuffled and reduced to fewer numbers of items in the 1977 plan. The four objectives in the two predecessor plans were consolidated into three in the 1977 plan:

The Finance and Management Objective: Reduce the proportion of rates paid by residents. Reduce the burden of State property taxes on the City community. Protect and continue to improve the efficiency and economy already achieved in Council's new management system for Council's own services and works;

The Community Life Objective: Continue and extend successful programs for improved services to local residents, workers, shoppers and visitors. Continue the 'greening' of Sydney, so as to enhance the quality of community life and the attractiveness of the City of Sydney as a place for living and working;

The Environment Planning Objective: Improve co-ordination between the multitude of separate Government authorities with powers affecting the City. Regenerate residential life, and re-structure transport networks to create environmental Precincts free of through traffic, while preserving the best of the existing environment.⁴¹

The 1977 plan contained nine policies and 68 short-term action priorities following these three objectives.

The 1980 plan was more than an update of the 1971 plan. It was a comprehensive overhaul of the one decade strategic plan process and contained many new elements to incorporate new developments in Sydney. It carried on the strategic planning philosophy of the 1970s, but adopted a different format of plan structure, policies, and action proposals. The policies and action proposals were organized along four sections: Corporate Planning, City Structure, Community Services, and District Plans.

The 1983 plan was the last plan document of the 1971–1983 plan series as well as the most comprehensive review of prior plans. The 1980 plan and the 1983 plan together marked significant differences from their predecessors in the 1970s and signified some initial new planning orientation for Sydney in the early 1980s. One important feature of the 1983 plan is that it had to incorporate the amalgamation of the former South Sydney Municipality into the City of Sydney area which occurred in 1982.⁴² Amalgamation of the South Sydney added more issues to the plan.

3.1 *Economic planning*

Economic planning was not a manifested or embedded theme in the 1971–1977 plans. No planning policy or action priority clearly indicated economic development purpose. Some economic traits can be identified in a few policy items; however, the overall thematic intentions are otherwise. For example, the objective of Management in the 1971 plan was depicted as 'to foster economic growth by managing, guiding and directing the conservation and redevelopment of the City as a whole',⁴³ which touches upon the issue of economic growth, but the thematic underpinning is on a holistic planning approach. The policy category of Retailing and Tourism in the 1971 plan and the policy category of Commercial Services in the 1974 plan

do fit the economic planning theme, but in the plan documents they are under the objective of Diversity to ‘maintain and revitalise retailing and entertainment, tourist and convention facilities within the City’.⁴⁴ These two economic policies were designed to serve a diverse community rather than developing a dynamic economic power for the city. The 1977 plan did not embody any economic planning theme at all.

On the contrary, the 1980–1983 plan series included economic planning as an independent thematic category. The 1980 plan covered the economic activities of industry and tourism, and the 1983 plan had commerce added to them. These policies were quick planning responses to the economic development trends at the time: industries were experiencing structural transition in Sydney; tourism was growing; Sydney’s role as a commercial centre was becoming more prominent. For industrial development, one key policy objective was to minimize its impacts on residential and commercial activities and revitalize the traditional industrial areas. Tourism development momentum needed to be maintained and enhanced through providing more tourist accommodation and improving tourist facilities. Commerce was set aside as an independent policy focus in the 1983 plan with a special attention to maintaining and enhancing the CBD’s commercial role – the first planning effort to emphasize commercial development in the 1971–1983 plan series.

3.2 *Physical planning*

Physical planning was a very prominent theme in the 1971–1983 plan series. Two of the four objectives of the 1971 plan and 1974 plan – Accessibility and Environment – and one of the three objectives of the 1977 plan – Environment – were exclusively on physical planning issues, including transport, urban design, open space, preservation, and pollution. The policy solutions proposed were innovative and consistent with the most advanced planning policies and practices in the world at the time,⁴⁵ as indicated in the cutting edge planning issues of historical conservation, improving urban appearance, extending open space within the city and foreshore areas, and pollution control. The 1971 plan identified 178 buildings or places of architectural and historic values for conservation. It proposed very specific action priorities on urban design, open space, and pollution control. Accessibility to and from the city, and through and around the city was one of the four pivotal planning objectives. An integrated public transport system and city-wide pedestrian movement system were envisaged. The 1977 plan reduced the physical planning theme to only one objective of Environmental Planning, but transport and residential issues remained major policy concerns.

The 1970s plan series proposed a Central Spine concept from Circular Quay to the Central Railway Station to restrict and contain the sprawl of office development within the core of the city (see Figure 2). It introduced a revised floor space ratio and development control code to control development and protect existing residential, retail, entertainment, services, industrial, wholesaling, and port uses. These emerged as a planning response to the uncontrolled office development in central Sydney in the 1960s and 1970s which had been allowed to proceed with little control or direction.⁴⁶ Spatial clustering was promoted in the district plans for areas surrounding the central city in the 1980 plan and 1983 plan. There was a clear functional definition for the districts in relation to their traditions of being residential, retail, or entertainment areas.

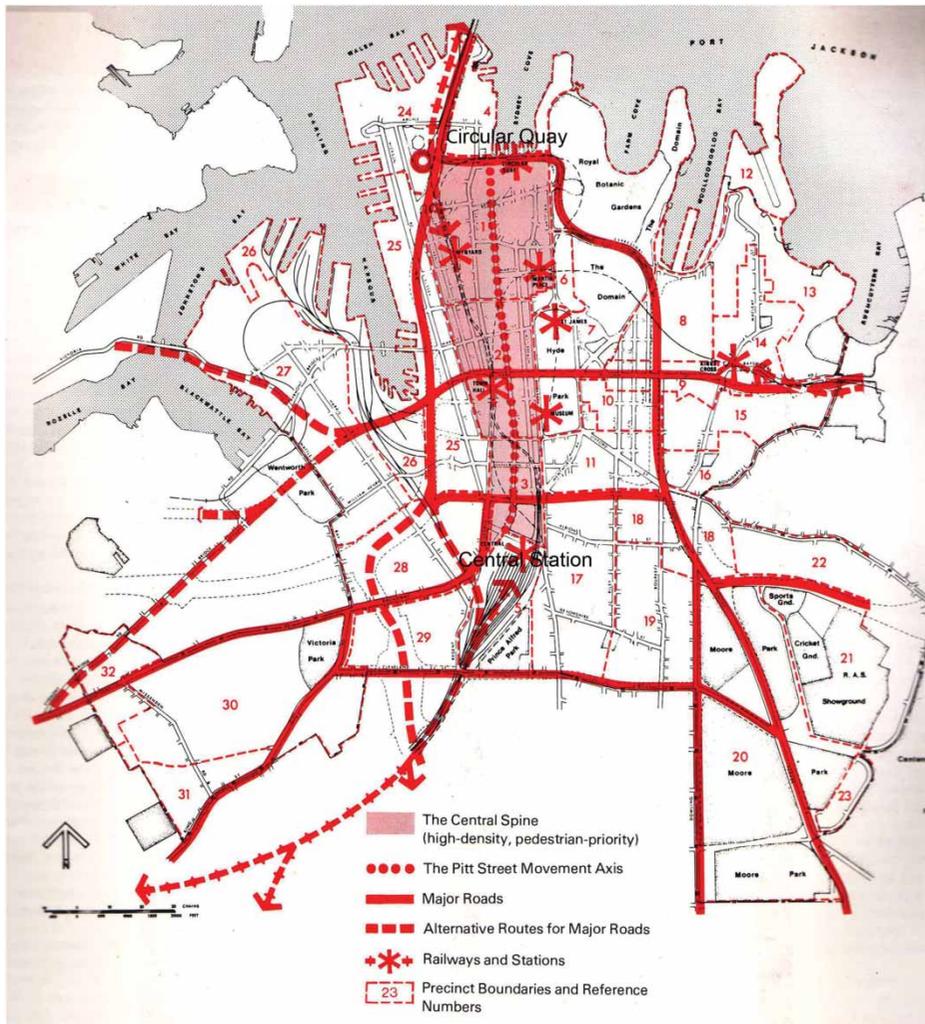


Figure 2. Central spine of Sydney in the 1970s. Source: *City of Sydney Strategic Plan 1974–77*.

The 1980 plan and 1983 plan continued to focus on physical planning issues of transport, open space, and urban conservation, but residential was prioritized as an important physical as well as social planning concern. The emphasis on residential life was meant to address the problem of declining numbers of residents in the city through policies of increasing resident and dwelling numbers, and providing housing for all income groups. Transportation was a physical planning category with the largest number of policy items to address it. The issue of urban design was not included in the 1980 plan and the 1983 plan as a separate policy category, but it was embedded in the policies of open space and urban conservation to aim at enhancing community life.

3.3 Social planning

The 1970s plan series is notable for its emphasis on social planning in two senses: the objective of 'Diversity' was a major component of the plan series with policies aiming at conserving and increasing diverse community activities and services; the plan series particularly highlighted the need for citizen participation in planning for local improvements. Policies for better pedestrian life, commercial services, community services and leisure, and learning were stipulated to create communities of diversity. In the 1977 plan, the concept of 'greening' the city was proposed for collective community benefit, though thematically it was an environmental concern.

The 1980 plan and 1983 plan reduced the thematic component of social planning and included the issue of community services only, but added the policy category of 'Institutions'. The institutions of universities and hospitals within the administrative area of the City of Sydney did not pay local council rates, which were the main financial source for the local city councils in Australia. Both the 1980 plan and the 1983 plan proposed policies to restrict the expansion of such institutions as universities and hospitals on short-term fiscal grounds. In retrospect, these policy proposals were short sighted. It was increasingly realized at a later stage that universities and hospitals were important ingredients to make a dynamic, liveable, and competitive central city.

4. Central Sydney Strategy 1988

The 1988 plan was prepared by the Central Sydney Plan Unit which was jointly established by the NSW Department of Planning and the Sydney City Council in September 1987. The plan was the result of the first joint planning effort of the state and the city to strategize Sydney into a financial and commercial centre of the Pacific area. It was also a formal public announcement of Sydney's vision to be a city of global importance and the commencement of an entrepreneurial planning culture in Sydney. The 1988 plan was soon translated into the statutory instrument of the Local Environment Plan (LEP) and Development Control Plan (DCP), while none of its predecessor plans in the 1971–1983 plan series had a statutory status.

The 1988 plan had three major planning objectives: Sydney as the Central Place; Sydney as a Special Place; Sydney as a Place for People. The strategies designed to fulfill them were defined as follows in the plan document:

Sydney as the central place:

Encourage the growth of the City Centre;

Establish new and simpler development control standards.

Sydney as a special place:

Enhance streetscapes and reinforce the city's street pattern;

Propose that Hyde Park should be linked through Belmore Park to Darling Harbour;

Provide the basis for the establishment of an inventory of heritage items;

Encourage the extension of visual and pedestrian access to the harbour.

Sydney as a place for people:

Provide the framework for the integration of policies for traffic, public transport, servicing, parking and pedestrians;

Identify major pedestrian routes within the Central Business District;

Require new development to maintain sunshine;

Maintain an overall form for the Central Business District;
Identify the need to simplify and rationalise planning controls.⁴⁷

The three major planning objectives almost exactly correspond to the analytical themes of economic planning, physical planning, and social planning. Each major objective contained a number of policy categories with respective initiatives and objectives.

4.1 Economic planning

The section of Sydney as a Central Place in the 1988 plan was exclusively on the theme of economic planning. It identified three components of Sydney's core business – finance and commerce, tourism and recreation, and retailing – and provided policies to enhance their future development. Finance and tourism were new growing businesses in Sydney in the 1980s; retailing had been Sydney's major business traditionally but declined significantly in the post-WWII decades with the rise of such suburban centres as Burwood, Ashfield, Bondi Junction, and Chatswood.⁴⁸ The chief objective regarding business development in these areas in the 1988 plan was to reinforce Sydney's role as a financial centre of the region, the nation, and the Pacific area, improve tourist facilities to accommodate increasing overseas and domestic visitors, and revitalize the retail sector.

Other economic development initiatives in the 1988 plan included revitalizing traditional facilities and seeking growth opportunities. Sydney has been an important port city from the colonial years. To cope with the new urban development strategy, the 1988 plan proposed that the commercial port function should be maintained, but with visual and physical integration with the city centre area. This could be interpreted as the 1988 plan's emphasis on urban design, which ushered in a culture of design fetish in Sydney in the 1990s. Optimistic growth was projected in workforce as well as demand for commercial office space. Growth opportunities were identified both within and outside the CBD through intensifying inner city development and expanding special development area westward across Darling Harbour to the traditionally industrial zones of Ultimo–Pyrmont.

The theme of economic planning was positioned as the foremost part of the 1988 plan. The prominence of the economic planning theme was a response to the social–economic changes which had been taking place from the early 1980s as well as the strategic positioning of Sydney as a financial centre in the NSW State's metropolitan plan.⁴⁹ This was a strategic reorientation from the 1971 to 1983 plan series in which the economic planning was an obscure theme.

4.2 Physical planning

In the 1988 plan, the section of Sydney as a Special Place and part of the section of Sydney as a Place for People covered the physical planning issues, which involved the largest number of policy initiatives and were very comprehensive in content. The policy initiatives on the physical planning theme included the city settings of the Harbour, the parklands and gateways, the urban design of building shape, form and colours, the public space, heritage protection, and public transport and pedestrian friendliness. The public space scope was extended to emphasize the Harbour and parklands. The importance of urban image of the gateways to and from the city

was highlighted. The urban design initiatives were very detailed in specifying the shape, form, and even colours of buildings, and specifications of wind protection and sunshine access for streetscape. Urban image was identified as an urban asset – ‘the priority devoted to urban design is the most striking feature of the 1988 plan as evident in virtually every element of the concept for future Sydney and in its implementation’.⁵⁰ Another category of important physical planning issues in the 1988 plan was related to the public transport and pedestrian circulation. Up to 18 items of policy initiatives covered the issues of public transport, roads, and traffic, the largest number of policy initiatives for one policy issue in the plan document. Accessibility to the city through public transport was a prioritized physical planning issue in the 1988 plan.

The 1988 plan clarified and redefined the areas of CBD, City Centre and Central Sydney (see Figure 3), starting from the delimitation in the 1970s (see Figure 2). Clear definition of Central Sydney as a concept and place was important to stratify and strategize Sydney’s role in the region. Different from the CBD area with a concentration of business functions and the City Centre, which expanded outside the CBD to include the parklands and traditional industrial areas of Ultimo and Pyrmont, Central Sydney geographically included business areas, industrial

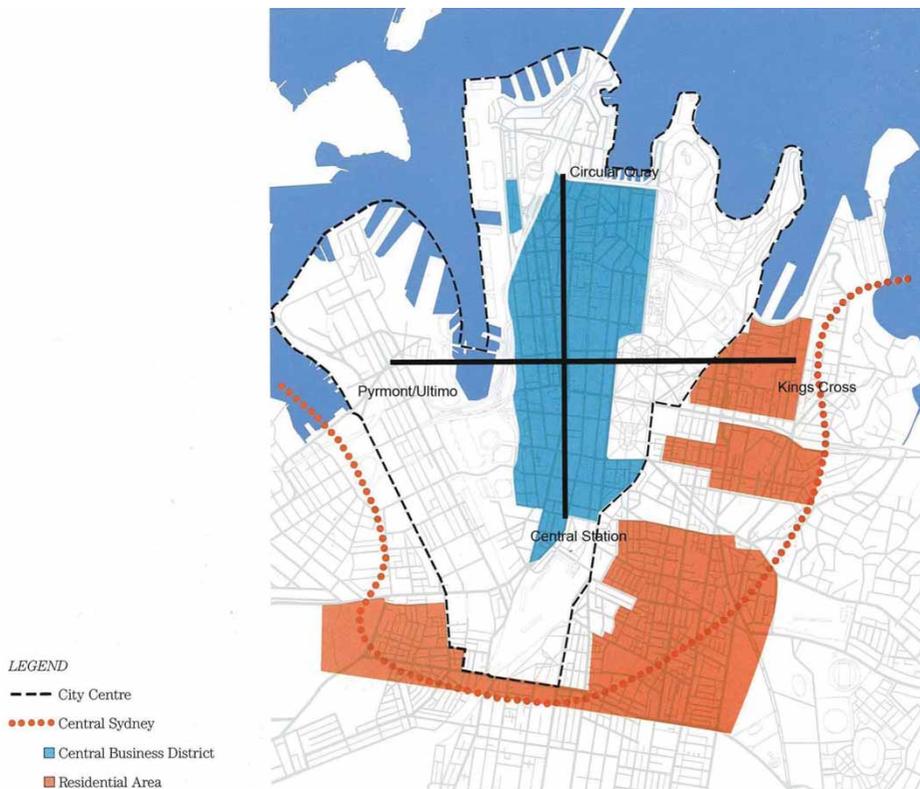


Figure 3. Map of CBD, City Centre and Central Sydney. *Source: Central Sydney Strategy 1988.*

areas, and periphery residential areas. The geographical and conceptual Central Sydney had significant connotations: it referred to the geographical area as delimited; it referred to the administrative area under the jurisdiction of the Sydney City Council; it implied Sydney's position as the central city of the Greater Sydney metropolitan area.

The 1988 plan also proposed an initiative of City West Development across Darling Harbour to include development in Ultimo and Pyrmont areas, which resulted in an east–west nexus of city development expansion. This was a breakthrough from the urban structure of the north–south Central Spine in the 1971–1983 plan series (see Figure 2). The City West Development proposal added an east–west (Kings Cross – Pyrmont/Ultimo) development expansion structure to the north–south (Circular Quay – Central Station) development containment structure of the 1970s, forming a cross form of urban development with the focal point in the actual location of Sydney Town Hall (see Figure 3).

Though not much redevelopment occurred in the east end Kings Cross as witnessed later, the westward expansion strategy in the 1988 plan did usher in a large-scale wave of urban redevelopment and consolidation in the inner city suburbs of Ultimo–Pyrmont in the 1990s. The state government saw the value of redeveloping the old harbourside industrial areas, where the state owned the majority of the sites, to aim for, first allowing for office expansion for the CBD booming in the late 1980s, and later accommodating apartment dwellings for younger generations of urban IT and media workers in the early 1990s.⁵¹ As a follow-up of the City West strategy in the 1988 plan, the state government produced a City West regional plan, with input from the city council, in 1992, and released an Urban Development Plan in 1993 to control developments in Ultimo–Pyrmont. A City West Development Corporation was set up by the state in 1992 to implement these plans.

4.3 *Social planning*

The social planning theme was embodied in some of the policy categories in the section of Sydney as a Place for People. As the section title reveals, it was mainly concerned about issues of community services and life style creation, including culture and entertainment, living in central Sydney, and community facilities and services. Overall social planning was an obscure theme in the 1988 plan, a contrast to the 1971–1983 plan series. Only a few policy categories covered the issues of community services and facilities. Important issues like social equity, housing affordability, and community participation, which were emphasized in the plan series of 1971–1983, were not touched upon in the 1988 plan.

5. Global Sydney initiatives

The 1988 plan was pioneering in changing Sydney's planning culture from a local vision to a global vision. Such a global Sydney vision was re-enforced by a series of follow-up measures and initiatives in the post-1988 years. Throughout the 1990s, planning in Sydney was focused on shaping a global Sydney.⁵² However, planning a global Sydney was far beyond the accountability of the City of Sydney alone. Some partnership-based institutional mechanisms and policy initiatives emerged for urban governance capacity building to aim at a globally competitive Sydney.⁵³

5.1 Central Sydney Planning Committee (CSPC)

The planning of Sydney used to involve contentious politics between the NSW State Government and the Sydney City Council. From the 1980s, the increasingly entrepreneurial NSW State Government⁵⁴ began to take the lead in planning and developing Sydney in a globalist manner. The state government orchestrated the preparation of the 1988 plan as well as a strategic mechanism of planning Sydney in partnership with the city council. One important step was the establishment of the CSPC as a development control committee for major projects of a construction value of over \$50 million in central Sydney. The CSPC was set up by the state government in September 1988 under the provisions of the City of Sydney Act 1988 following the dismissal of the City of Sydney Council in 1987. The state's decision to establish the CSPC was in recognition of the fact that planning and development in central Sydney 'is of fundamental importance not just to the city of Sydney but to the whole State and beyond', and 'it is essential that there is a workable and democratic mechanism for integrated city-state environmental planning and development control' as noted by the Minister David Hay then.⁵⁵ Initially, the CSPC comprised nine members, and later reduced to seven members with the introduction of City of Sydney Amendment Act 1997: the Lord Mayor of Sydney as the chair, two councillors of the City of Sydney, four State appointees (two senior state government employees and two members who are not State or City government employees) with each having expertise in at least one of architecture, building, civic design, construction, engineering, transport, tourism, the arts, planning, or heritage.⁵⁶ Such allocation of members was based on careful political and practical considerations to aim at striking a balance between both power sharing and professional expertise.

The CSPC was established as a partnership-based planning mechanism, and its operation seemed to have helped lubricate the state-council conflicts over planning and development in central Sydney. The 1988 plan was released under the auspices of the CSPC. In the following two decades, the CSPC has been the bureaucratic hub coordinating major development control in central Sydney. The CSPC's original jurisdiction covered Sydney's CBD concomitant with the City of Sydney's boundary only, but expanded with the city's amalgamation with South Sydney in 2004. The operation of the CSPC is based in the city council as one of its committees; however, it is independent of the council in that it is not subject to the council's control or direction.⁵⁷ Chaired by the Lord Mayor or Deputy Chair, the CSPC meetings are open to the public. Its focal business is to determine development applications for major development within the council's boundary. In addition, the CSPC also recommends amendments to the LEP, and review the DCP to ensure that they do not contravene an LEP although the latter function is not required under the City of Sydney ACT.

In mid-2010, the NSW State Government commissioned an independent panel to review the operation of the CSPC in the 22 years since its inception in the context of the state's reforms to the planning and development approval system in NSW.⁵⁸ The review panel received 115 public submissions on the operation, function, expertise, and recommendations on the CSPC from five categories of stakeholders: CSPC members, City of Sydney, professional/business groups, developers, architects/other professionals, community groups, and individuals.⁵⁹ The majority of the submissions recognized the CSPC's model as a positive partnership between the state and the city on major developments, and indicated general support for its operation and retention, particularly from the professional groups and the local community, while industry groups

and developers expressed some concerns over its process of development assessment though few opposed the CSPC. Reviewing the CSPC's operation from its inception by the panel concluded that the CSPC has operated in an efficient and effective manner, and has displayed a high degree of professionalism and independence in implementing its functions. Both panel review and public consultations pointed to the understanding that the unique arrangement of the CSPC balanced the state and the city's objectives, and played an important role in ensuring the design excellence of major projects, which helped enhance Sydney's position as a global city and its ability to attract international talent and investment. Sydney's aspiration for a global city warrants the retention the CSPC in the twenty-first century with a few recommendations on streamlining its development assessment to improve its operations.

5.2 Sartor's mayoralty

Frank Sartor was elected Lord Mayor of Sydney in 1991 and his mayoralty lasted until 2003. Sartor's mayoralty witnessed Sydney's maturation towards a global city and the planning efforts from both the state and the city to achieve such maturation. As a civic leader, Sartor was interested in such planning aspirations as liveability, public spaces, and accessibility. In the second half of the 1990s, his urban design pursuit appeared to reach a consensus with the Labour State Government led by Bob Carr. This shared vision between the city and the state led to a 'design fetish'⁶⁰ in central Sydney with a focus on 'accessibility and design'.⁶¹

Sartor's efforts to improve Sydney's urban settings were largely in three aspects: living city; public space; and design excellence. Sartor's 'living city' concept was explicit in *Living City: Sydney City Council's Blueprint for Sydney* released in 1994. This booklet announced Sartor's aspiration for 'a vibrant city of world standing that will be prosperous in the long term' and his pursuit for a global Sydney by claiming that 'strategies that help to build Sydney as a prosperous city of international rank are integral to the Sydney City Council's stewardship of the city'.⁶² The overall objectives of the living city programme, as summarized by Lucy Turnbull – Sartor's successor as Lord Mayor in 2003–2004 – were to 'draw people back in the city, especially after office hours, by enhancing the public spaces within the city and promoting a diversity of uses – commercial, residential and tourist-related'.⁶³ A local government promotional document as it was, *Living City* indicated some important ideological transition of the city's planning. For example, office development was integrated with creating a '24 hour city' by providing accessible retail, entertainment, cultural and arts facilities; liveability was prioritized as an asset for enhancing the city's competitiveness, as one highlighted quotation in the back cover reads 'cities prosper when people enjoy being in them'. The 'living city' concept aimed to encourage more residential development and permanent residents within the city, and initiated a range of new floor space incentives for residential, hotel/serviced apartment, cinemas/theatres, and retail. The 'living city' concept was incorporated in the Sydney City Council's local plan in 1996, giving an incentive to new apartment development in the form of a 3:1 floor space ratio bonus above commercial ratio.⁶⁴

Sartor's efforts in urban space renewal were integral to Sydney's preparation for the 2000 Olympics Games. The millennium Olympic Games meant far more than a world sports event for Sydney. For Sydney, to become an Olympic host city was regarded as an 'ultimate prize in name recognition and international respectability' and marked 'the culmination of a

gradual shift in identify from imperial outpost of the British Empire to Australia's global city'.⁶⁵ It was a key part of the strategy of 'selling of Sydney' which was premised on an intensified global place marketing.⁶⁶ This, in part, explained the approach of rather old-fashioned big-government emphasis on and investment in the Sydney Olympic Games, while in the prior Olympics Games in Los Angeles and Atlanta, the approach was market-based orchestration by private corporations.

The 2000 Olympic Games stimulated urban renewal programmes by the government. Government-invested projects further encouraged private capital input. Sartor's mayoralty dealt with \$10 billion worth of development in central Sydney, mostly on public space and amenity/recreation works.⁶⁷ He set up a City Spaces Team and Programme with urban designers and landscape architects to manage city renewal projects. The projects included most major public realms of the city, such as Chifley Square, Martin Place, Town Hall Square, and Railway Square. Some of these projects received state financial and design contributions. They were mostly replanted or animated with a holistic principle of conservatism, simplicity, and physical and visual accessibility.⁶⁸

In the years running up to the 2000 Olympics, Sartor developed his idea of 'design excellence'. This could be related to the new iconic projects in Sydney like the ABN-AMRO Tower and the BT Tower which were, respectively, designed by international celebrity architects Renzo Piano from Italy and Norman Foster from the UK. Their postmodern architectural styles were thought of as adding assets to the buildings as well as the city. Sartor injected an element of competition into the design process of new development projects and this proposal was shared by the state government. In 2000, the Design Excellence initiative was formally introduced and applied to any development exceeding 55 m in height or with a site area in excess of 1500 m².⁶⁹ The Design Excellence initiative included two key provisions: first, a detailed development plan was required for the site before consent could be granted; second, all development applications should demonstrate design excellence. In order to win project approval, developers had to select at least three teams of architects to prepare designs or hold an open design competition. By 2002, the Design Excellence was institutionalized in the LEP.

The importance attached to urban design by Sartor served as part of his vision for a global Sydney. In 2000, Sartor established the Global Sydney Committee (GSC) within the city council. The GSC invited membership of leading state and city bureaucrats and leaders of key CBD business sectors. It served as an institutional platform for governance partnership between different levels of governments and the private sector for a common city mission – a global Sydney. With a very high profile, the GSC aimed to address issues relating to Sydney's standing and role in a global context, and claimed for itself a core interest in contributing to the broader governance agenda. Sartor left his mayorship in 2003, but his impact on Sydney's urban planning agendas did not diminish with that. He became an even more important decision-maker of Sydney's planning bureaucracy by acting as the NSW Planning Minister for 2005–2008.

6. Discussion and conclusion

The 1971–1983 plan series was the City of Sydney's backbone planning strategy for almost two decades. It witnessed Sydney's transition from a modern centre of industrial production and distribution to a postmodern centre of advanced commercial services. The dynamic mechanism of

updating the plan series every 3 years was supposed to help incorporate the newest urban development trends, though its effectiveness was impacted by its lack of a statutory status from the state government. The 1988 plan proposed a completely new orientation of the city's planning strategy, representing both continuity and change from the 1971 to 1983 plan series. The 1988 plan, together with the subsequent planning initiatives, marked a dividing line in central Sydney's planning history. Some prominent patterns emerged in the transformations from pre-1988 planning to post-1988 planning in terms of planning governance, planning ideology, and practices.

The foremost transformation is related to the planning governance which developed from a state-city conflict to a certain degree of state-city partnership. The power struggle between the state government and the city council had dominated the pre-1988 planning of Sydney.⁷⁰ The 1971-1983 plan series was initiated and carried out by the city council; however, it received no credit and recognition from the state government. The plan series was deemed as non-statutory and the state attempted to overwhelm the city's plans with other plans, sheerly out of political struggle rather than planning rationale.

The root reason for this inter-governmental conflict over planning is that urban governance power in Australia ultimately rests with the state government constitutionally. Local governments' powers and planning resources are very limited. The Greater Sydney region includes 43 local councils and the NSW State Government is the final decision-maker of the urban affairs in the whole region. This kind of governance structure with a powerful state government and numerous small local governments leads to vertical conflict between the state and local councils as well as horizontal fragmentation among the numerous local councils.⁷¹ The state-city conflict has been particularly conspicuous in the City of Sydney given its importance in the NSW State and Australia. The culmination of this conflict was the dismissal of the City Council by the State Government, and the latest one happened in September 1987. Commissioners were appointed by the State Government to replace the elected City Council. This was the fourth time in the history of the City of Sydney that the council was dissolved. Previously, the city council had been dissolved in 1853, 1928-30, and 1967-69.

This innate governance structural problem explained Sydney's 'discretionary planning tradition'.⁷² From the early 1980s, Sydney's growing role as a financial and tourist centre was concurrent with an increasingly entrepreneurial urban development stance of the state government. The state government grabbed a leading role in building Sydney with a global orientation as seen in the state-orchestrated development of Darling Harbour and other Bicentenary projects. The State established the Darling Harbour Authority in 1984 and the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority in 1998 as state agencies overseeing the development of these areas in Sydney. The state government also encouraged residential developers to invest in central Sydney 'as older industrial and waterfront areas fell out of commercial use and became increasingly valuable as residential property'.⁷³ In the 1980s and 1990s, apartment construction happened in the inner city and Ultimo-Pyrmont areas of Sydney at unprecedented levels.

The planning power conflict between the two tiers of governments gave way to a kind of governance partnership as seen in the 1988 plan. From the mid-1980s on, both the state and the city began to realize the importance of a joint vision of strategizing Sydney as a city of global importance. It was under this shared vision that the state government led the production of the 1988 plan with the collaboration of the city council. Succeeding joint planning efforts included the establishment of the CSPC as a long-term mechanism of planning central

Sydney for various stakeholders. During Sartor's mayoralty (1991–2003), the state–city shared visions and joint actions included pre-Olympics urban renewal programmes, the establishment of the GSC, and the Design Excellence initiative.

From the perspective of planning philosophy, there has been a transformation from parochialism to globalism in central Sydney in the 1980 and 1990s. At the technical level, the 1971–1983 plans were advanced in the world then for the particular importance they attached to the application of computing systems to planning data processing, community participation, green city, accessibility and urban design. However, they were too locally focused to have a vision of strategizing Sydney's future on a regional or global arena. The lack of a big picture vision could be attributed to the limited planning resources and accountability of the city council which was the orchestrator of the 1971–1983 plan series. In the 1988 plan, the parochialism was replaced by a clearly manifested globalism aimed to strategize Sydney as a Pacific Rim financial centre and Australia's gateway city. This ideological shift reflected the economic, political, and social settings of the time on the one hand. On the other hand, the 1988 plan was led by the state government which had the accountability as well as capacity to envision Sydney's position in a much broader regional and global context. The visionary globalism in the 1988 plan was strengthened by a series of global Sydney initiatives in the 1990s.

One important reflection of the globalism in Sydney's planning ideology was related to making its planning practices more entrepreneurial. The content analysis of the plan documents demonstrates this element in the prominence of the economic planning, the neutralization of the social planning and the emphasis on urban design in the physical planning. The economic planning theme was very obscure in the 1971–1983 plan series, but became the most prominent theme in the 1988 plan and its prominence was underpinned by the follow-up planning efforts throughout the 1990s. Parallel to the growing importance of economic planning was the decline of the importance of social planning. The 1971–1980 plan series was notable for its strong thematic qualities of engaging community participation and improving social services, but in the 1983 plan there was not a clearly stated policy on social planning. The 1988 plan and the subsequent planning initiatives have been overwhelmingly entrepreneurial and the theme of social planning receded. The entrepreneurial planning culture was also reflected in the growing importance attached to urban design and city image. The consensus was that quality urban design could present a global image, help market the city and add value to the city's attractiveness and competitiveness. This was the rationale for the emphasis on design in renewing public realms and having international celebrity architects design iconic projects. Furthermore, holding global events such as the Olympics and arts festivals to capture the 'event-led economy',⁷⁴ in turn, stimulated infrastructure and development investment from both the government and private sector.

Another scenario of the entrepreneurial planning culture was seen in the urban development expansion in central Sydney. The 1971–1983 plan series constrained the burgeoning development within the north–south linear Central Spine between Circular Quay and Central Station. The purpose was to restrict the office and commercial facilities growth within the Central Spine from encroaching upon surrounding heritage and residential communities. The 1988 plan was essentially expansive in that it proposed an east–west nexus between Kings Cross and Darling Harbour and Ultimo–Pyrmont to incorporate new growth, as part of the City West Strategy proposed and carried out by the state government.

This City West Strategy was more than an effort for physical growth. It meant to be a functional supplement as well as transformation of central Sydney. It incorporated the development of Darling Harbour and intensified the gentrification of the brown field Ultimo–Pyrmont areas⁷⁵ which were traditional industrial and warehouse zones but were being transformed into global entertainment, cultural, and residential zones driven by the entrepreneurial state.⁷⁶ Darling Harbour was transformed into an area for meetings, entertainment, and leisure with the provision of a conference and exhibition centre, amenities, and public spaces. The traditional industrial and warehouse areas of Ultimo–Pyrmont were renewed into one of medium-to-high-density residential, entertainment industries, and visitor experiences. The City West Strategy aimed at the objective of creating ‘a compact and high-density mix of commercial and residential space, with no marked division between commercial and residential building’.⁷⁷ The new facilities in expanded areas were different from the office-dominated commercial facilities concentrated in the CBD. They were to cater to the growing need of Sydney as a tourist and communication/exchange centre as well as media and cultural facilities as a result of rising recognition of the cultural economy of cities.⁷⁸

These urban planning transformations in Sydney in the 1980s and 1990s did not occur in isolation. They were planning responses to the macro and micro settings of the time. The macro settings included the accelerated globalization and an integrated world economy which facilitated Sydney’s growth as an important financial and tourist centre on the Pacific Rim as well as Australia’s economic restructuring and deregulation in the wake of international neo-liberalist reforms. In terms of the micro settings, the state government turned to an interventionist approach and subordinated Sydney’s planning to economic development.⁷⁹ This was indicated not only in the state-orchestrated plans for the City of Sydney but also in the State’s strategies for the Greater Sydney metropolitan region.⁸⁰ The paramount driver of these planning efforts by the state government has been to ‘seek certainty’ and position Sydney’s future in the context of competitive globalization and enhance Sydney’s economic competitiveness in its ever-deeper global integration.⁸¹ Such drive for a global Sydney was solidified by an entrepreneurial consensus between the state government and the city council.

Notes on contributor

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Notes

1. Paul Ashton first used and popularized the term ‘accidental city’ to refer to Sydney’s urban planning practices prior to the 1980s. See Paul Ashton, *The Accidental City: Planning Sydney since 1788* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1995).
2. Robert Freestone, ‘Planning Sydney: Historical Trajectories and Contemporary Debates’, in *Sydney: The Emergence of a World City*, ed. John Connell (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2000), 119.
3. Paul Ashton, *Planning Sydney: Nine Planners Remember* (Sydney: Sydney City Council, 1992); Andrew Briger, ‘The Politics of Planning: The 1971 City of Sydney Strategic Plan’, in *The Design of Sydney: Three Decades of Change in the City Centre*, ed. G. Peter Webber (Sydney: The Law Book Company, 1988), 30–53.

4. Graeme Aplin, 'From Colonial Village to World Metropolis', in *Sydney: The Emergence of a World City*, ed. John Connell (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2000), 58.
5. Susan Marsden, *Urban Heritage: The Rise and Postwar Development of Australia's Capital City Centre* (Canberra: Australian Council of National Trusts and Australian Heritage Commission, 2000).
6. Shirley Fitzgerald, *Sydney: A Story of a City* (Sydney: City of Sydney Council, 1999).
7. Briger, 'The Politics of Planning'.
8. Paul Ashton and Robert Freestone, 'Town Planning', *Sydney Journal* 1, no. 2 (2008): 11–23.
9. Ashton, *The Accidental City*.
10. Paul Ashton and Duncan Waterson, *Sydney Takes Shape: A History in Maps* (Brisbane: Hema Maps, 2000).
11. Bob Meyer, *Lessons from Sydney's Previous Metro Strategies* (Sydney: Cox Group, 2005).
12. John McIntyre, 'Sulman and the City Beautiful in Sydney', in *The Twentieth Century Urban Planning Experience*, ed. Robert Freestone (Sydney: Faculty of the Built Environment; The University of New South Wales, 1998).
13. Peter Spearritt and Christina DeMarco, *Planning Sydney's Future* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988).
14. John Punter, 'Urban Design in Central Sydney 1945–2002: Laissez-Faire and Discretionary Traditions in the Accidental City', *Progress in Planning* 63, no. 1 (2005): 11–160.
15. Ashton and Freestone, 'Town Planning'.
16. Freestone, 'Planning Sydney', 137.
17. Punter, 'Urban Design in Central Sydney 1945–2002'.
18. Briger, 'The Politics of Planning'.
19. Sydney City Council and NSW Department of Planning, *Central Sydney Strategy 1988* (Sydney: Sydney City Council, 1988), 23.
20. Glen Searle, 'Regime, Regulation and Two Decades of Central Sydney Development', in *The Twentieth Century Urban Planning Experience*, ed. Robert Freestone (Sydney: University of New South Wales, 1998), 805.
21. Stephen Hamnett and Robert Freestone, eds., *The Australian Metropolis: A Planning History* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2000); Glen Searle and Richard Cardew, 'Planning, Economic Development and the Spatial Outcomes of Market Liberalisation', *Urban Policy and Research* 18, no. 3 (2000): 355–76.
22. John Rennie Short and Yeong Hyun Kim, *Globalization and the City* (Essex, England: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999).
23. Aplin, 'From Colonial Village to World Metropolis'.
24. John Connell, ed., *Sydney: The Emergence of a World City* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2000).
25. Robert Fagan, 'Industrial Change in the Global City: Sydney's New Spaces of Production', in *Sydney: The Emergence of a World City*, ed. John Connell (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2000).
26. Peter Spearritt, *Sydney's Century: A History* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2000).
27. Bicentenary 1988 marked the first British settlement and penal colony in Australia in 1788.
28. Punter, 'Urban Design in Central Sydney 1945–2002'.
29. Marsden, *Urban Heritage*, 59.
30. Sydney City Council and NSW Department of Planning, *Central Sydney Plan: The Issues* (Sydney: Sydney City Council, 1987).
31. Sydney City Council and NSW Department of Planning, *Central Sydney Strategy 1988*.
32. Freestone, 'Planning Sydney', 139.
33. Searle, 'Regime, Regulation and Two Decades of Central Sydney Development', 809.
34. Saskia Sassen, *Cities in a World Economy*, 3rd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press, 2006), 32.
35. Glen Searle, 'The Impacts of Contemporary Globalisation on Australian Cities' (paper presented at the 10th biennial conference of the Association for Australian Studies, Bamberg, Germany, October 5, 2006).

36. Pauline McGuirk, 'Neoliberalist Planning? Re-thinking and Re-casting Sydney's Metropolitan Planning', *Geographical Research* 43, no. 1 (2005): 62–3.
37. Freestone, 'Planning Sydney', 138.
38. Sydney City Council, *City of Sydney Strategic Plan: The 1974–77 Statement of Objectives, Policies and Action Priorities* (Sydney: Sydney City Council, 1974).
39. Sydney City Council, *City of Sydney Strategic Plan* (Sydney: Sydney City Council, 1971).
40. Sydney City Council, *City of Sydney Strategic Plan: The 1974–77 Statement of Objectives, Policies and Action Priorities* (Sydney: Sydney City Council, 1974).
41. Sydney City Council, *The Sydney City Council's Strategic Plan: Objectives & Action 1977–80* (Sydney: Sydney City Council, 1977).
42. Constitutionally urban planning and management power rests with state governments in Australia. In the case of the City of Sydney, its jurisdictional boundary was frequently adjusted to annex or split the neighbouring South Sydney council, depending on which way better met the political benefits of the incumbent party of the state government in elections. Such jurisdictional boundary change of the City of Sydney occurred four times since the WWII.
43. Sydney City Council, *City of Sydney Strategic Plan: The Strategy Summarised* (Sydney: Sydney City Council, 1971).
44. Sydney City Council, *City of Sydney Strategic Plan*, 1971; Sydney City Council, *City of Sydney Strategic Plan*, 1974.
45. Briger, 'The Politics of Planning'.
46. Punter, 'Urban Design in Central Sydney 1945–2002'.
47. Sydney City Council and NSW Department of Planning, *Central Sydney Strategy 1988* (Sydney: Sydney City Council, 1988).
48. Sydney City Council, *Central Business District Study* (Sydney: Sydney City Council, 1978).
49. Department of Environment and Planning NSW, *Sydney into Its Third Century: Metropolitan Strategy for the Sydney Region* (Sydney: Department of Environment and Planning NSW, 1988).
50. Punter, 'Urban Design in Central Sydney 1945–2002', 84.
51. See more on the City West development in Pyrmont Ultimo: Glen Searle, *Sydney's Urban Consolidation Experience: Power, Politics and Community* (Brisbane: Urban Research Program, Griffith University, 2007); Glen Searle and Jason Byrne, 'Selective Memories, Sanitised Futures: Constructing Visions of Future Place in Sydney', *Urban Policy and Research* 20, no. 1 (2002): 7–25; Michael Bounds and Alan Morris, 'Second Wave Gentrification in Inner-city Sydney', *Cities* 23, no. 2 (2006): 99–108.
52. Glen Searle, *Sydney as a Global City* (Sydney: Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, 1996).
53. Pauline McGuirk, 'Producing the Capacity to Govern in Global Sydney: A Multiscaled Account', *Journal of Urban Affairs* 25, no. 2 (2003): 201–23; 'State, Strategy, and Scale in the Competitive City: A Neo-Gramscian Analysis of the Governance of "Global Sydney"', *Environment and Planning A* 36, no. 4 (2004): 1019–43.
54. Glen Searle and Richard Cardew, 'Planning, Economic Development and the Spatial Outcomes of Market Liberalisation', *Urban Policy and Research* 18, no. 3 (2000): 355–76.
55. NSW Legislative Assembly Hansard, September 14, 1988, 1277.
56. Sydney City Council, 'Background and Role of the Central Sydney Planning Committee', <http://cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/council/meetingsandcommittees/CouncilCommittees/CentralSydneyPlanningCommittee.asp#BackgroundandroleoftheCentralSydneyPlanningCommittee> (accessed March 1, 2006).
57. Sydney City Council, *Central Sydney Planning Committee Review – Submission to the NSW Minister for Planning and Review Panel* (Sydney: Sydney City Council, 2010).
58. As part of the NSW State Government's reforms on streamlining the planning processes, Joint Regional Planning Panels (JRPP) were introduced in July 2009 to determine development applications of regional significance. The State-initiated review of the CSPC was believed to target at abolishing it, and then transferring developments above \$100 million to the Minister for Planning, and imposing a JRPP for developments between \$10 million and \$100 million in central Sydney.

59. See *Report of the Independent Review Panel: A Review of the Central Sydney Planning Committee* (Sydney: NSW Department of Planning, August 2010) for more on the context, process, findings, and recommendations of the review on the CSPC.
60. Punter, 'Urban Design in Central Sydney 1945–2002'.
61. Glen Searle, *Sydney's Urban Consolidation Experience: Power, Politics and Community* (Brisbane: Urban Research Program, Griffith University, 2007).
62. Sydney City Council, *Living City: Sydney City Council's Blueprint for Sydney* (Sydney: City of Sydney Council, 1994), 6.
63. Lucy Hughes Turnbull, *Sydney: Biography of a City* (Sydney: Random House Australia, 1999), 286.
64. Searle, *Sydney's Urban Consolidation Experience*.
65. Short and Kim, *Globalization and the City*, 131.
66. Peter Murphy and Sophie Watson, *Surface City: Sydney at the Millennium* (Marrickville, NSW: Pluto Press Australia, 1997).
67. Frank Sartor, 'Frank Sartor MP: State Member for Rockdale', NSW Electorate Office, http://www.franksartor.com/file.php?file=/achievements_mayor.html (accessed December 1, 2008).
68. Punter, 'Urban Design in Central Sydney 1945–2002'.
69. *Ibid.*
70. Ashton, *Planning Sydney: Nine Planners Remember*.
71. Edward Blakely and Richard Hu, *Who's Governing Sydney?* (Sydney: Sydney Chamber of Commerce, 2007).
72. Punter, 'Urban Design in Central Sydney 1945–2002'.
73. Ashton and Freestone, 'Town Planning', 18.
74. Beverley Kingston, *A History of New South Wales* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
75. Michael Bounds, 'Economic Restructuring and Gentrification in the Inner City', *Australian Planner* 38, no. 3/4 (2001): 128–32; Michael Bounds and Alan Morris, 'Second Wave Gentrification in Inner-City Sydney', *Cities* 23, no. 2 (2006): 99–108.
76. Glen Searle and Michael Bounds, 'State Powers, State Land and Competition for Global Entertainment: The Case of Sydney', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 23, no. 1 (1999): 165–72.
77. Turnbull, *Sydney*, 320.
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79. Searle and Cardew, 'Planning, Economic Development and the Spatial Outcomes of Market Liberalisation'.
80. See the Sydney metropolitan plans by the NSW Department of Planning, *Sydney into Its Third Century* (1988); *Cities for the 21st Century* (1994); *Shaping Our Cities* (1999); *City of Cities: A Plan for Sydney's Future* (2005).
81. Other works on this include: Raymond Bunker and Glen Searle, 'Seeking Certainty: Recent Planning for Sydney and Melbourne', *TPR* 78, no. 5 (2007): 619–42; Pauline McGuirk and Phillip O'Neill, 'Planning a Prosperous Sydney: The Challenges of Planning Urban Development in the New Urban Context', *Australian Geographer* 33, no. 3 (2002): 301–16; Glen Searle, 'Planning Discourses and Sydney's Recent Metropolitan Strategies', *Urban Policy and Research* 22, no. 4 (2004): 367–91.