

## KEYWORD/S

industrial history, tourism-led transformation, industrial heritage, urban development, historic city centre.

## INTRODUCTION

In the 1970s, when industry and industry-related functions were decentralised, the adaptation of vacant and deprived areas in city centres to the new functions of the post-industrial city became a central objective of urban policy. As policy solutions evolved alongside problems in the 1980s and 1990s, urban redevelopment and urban regeneration emerged as entrepreneurial policies focusing on the conditions and problems of the post-industrial city (Tallon, 2010). This period is examined within the context of neoliberal economic restructuring, and the influence of the subsequent socio-economic transformations on urban development as well as on working-class communities (Hamnett, 2000). This research draws upon Lefebvre's urban approach, addresses the new orientation of former industrial places, and the process of deindustrialisation. In this framework, urban transformation and deindustrialisation share common ground: the relocation of the working class in urban settings, and the creation of office and residential blocks, and leisure-focused attraction places. It is through this process that neoliberalism has become associated with 'creative destruction' and the 'production of space' (Harvey, 2007, p. 33).

When transformation strategies have been developed in response to the deindustrialisation process and economic restructuring tourism was widely regarded as the leading tool for economic development. The development of historic city centres and the marketing of cities as tourism-purposed places contributed to economic urban development strategies, and major investment initiatives prompted city governments to increase expenditures on the practices involved in transformation (Spirou, 2011).

Inskeep (1991), Page (1995) and Kreag (2001) discuss both the positive and negative impacts of tourism. Tourism is commonly seen as a valuable driver of economic growth; however, its impact on cities is double-edged. MacCannell (1999), Lash and Urry (1994), Rojek (1995), Wang and Gnoth (2000) and Urry (2002) have further discussed tourism as a modern way of consuming leisure activity. This research argues that the increase in tourism precipitates the loss of city centres' historical identity. Social and economic change in historic cities, the centres of which have become places of culture and leisure, has caused the loss of many traditional functions and meanings. Tourism-led transformations such as in those Venice, Quebec, Marrakech and Lijiang show that those places have lost their traditional life during the process (Bandarin, 2012). Through the case study, this research reveals that The Rocks has also experienced this loss due to the failure to integrate the industrial history and cultural significance of the working-class community. Most historic city centres, such as in London, Prague and Singapore, have new functions and commercial activities and the historic urban fabric has been changed. Very few have maintained the integrity of their heritage, such as in Toledo, St Petersburg and Siena (Bandarin, 2012).

## METHODS

Document analysis was employed as the primary technique to obtain information. Document analysis refers to the 'collection, review, interrogation, and analysis of various forms of text as a primary source of research data' (O'Leary, 2004, p. 177), as well as to the 'systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating printed and electronic documents' (Bowen, 2009, p.27). In this qualitative research, document analysis allowed examination and interpretation of the collected data in order to gain understanding and of the industrial development of The Rocks and the community associated with that history. By recognising the background of the case study area, a more accurate spatial evaluation of its connection to the city was made possible. The document analysis also provided written evidence in support of, or in contradiction to, the information gathered during observations.

Site observations and visual analyses of the industrial textures were developed to supplement the archival data collection method and monitor the spatial changes in the study area. The site observation reflected an epistemological position that claims that knowledge can be generated by observing and experiencing real-life settings. This position provides meaningful visual knowledge (Mason, 2017). In this respect, The Rocks was visited numerous times to gain familiarity with space and to systematise the observations.

Public documents, primarily newspaper articles and design plans were reviewed to investigate the government's intentions, the economic expectations and public opinion about the tourism-led development. These materials enabled to contrast the differing approaches of successive governments, private companies and the community, and the policies that have been implemented to transform the research area. They provided considerable insight into what has been considered as 'heritage' and how tourism has played an important role in the redevelopment of The Rocks.

Documents used as a resource in this qualitative research concentrate on content in the text via a form of thematic analysis. The thematic analysis allowed the identification, analysis and reporting of themes within the data, by organising and describing the dataset in detail. It also helped to interpret various aspects of the research topic (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Compatible with constructionist epistemology, thematic analysis as a research tool assisted in extracting rich detail from complex data and provided welcome theoretical flexibility. However, thematic analysis offers no clear and precise guidelines, and can mean "anything goes critique of qualitative research" (Antaki et al., cited in Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 5). The adoption of thematic coding to examine the qualitative data in the form of words, phrases, sentences or paragraphs helped bolster the data analysis methodology. Thematic coding allowed the researcher to identify one or more passages that exemplify the same ideas (Strauss, 1990; Gibbs, 2007).

**Table 1:**The themes and codes deduced from the data

THEME	CODES	SUB-CODES
<b>Transformation</b> ↓	- Changing landscape in time - Reasons for transformation  - Rushed urban redevelopment  - Political forces behind the development	↓   • Economic restructuring • Urban restructuring • Industrial redundancy of the waterfronts  • Copied transformation projects and creation of similar landscapes

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government's intention in development decisions</li> <li>• Political ambitions</li> <li>• Decision-making process</li> <li>• Bypassing the Acts and the creation of new authorities</li> <li>• Involvement of private partnerships</li> </ul>
<b>Heritage/industrial heritage</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Industrial history</li> <li>- Recognition of heritage</li> <li>- Representation of heritage items</li> <li>- Adaptive reuse of heritage structures</li> <li>- Demolition of heritage assets</li> <li>- Significance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Industrial significance</li> <li>• Heritage significance</li> <li>• Cultural significance</li> <li>• Historical significance</li> </ul>
<b>Tourism</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- New place identity</li> <li>- Economic benefits</li> <li>- Creation of public spaces</li> <li>- Role of tourism</li> </ul>	
<b>Community involvement</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Social change</li> <li>- Public perception</li> <li>- Power of community involvement</li> </ul>	

Table 1 represents the lists of codes that were developed into a hierarchy to establish a relationship between the codes and sub-codes – which means that the major codes became the themes and the sub-codes became the codes and labels. Literal and interpretative readings were conducted to take notes in the form of a memo (Mason, 2017). Confidential documents such as letters between government offices and conservation organisations, reports, notes and minutes taken during meetings were read in a literal way, as the concern was the structure of the documents and the way they were constituted. Archaeological investigation reports, historical assessments, conservation plans and heritage assessment reports were read in an interpretative way, to generate meaning. Interview transcriptions were treated in the same way, as the focus was to reflect the respondents' interpretations and elaborate on them through the researcher's understanding.

A broader range of stakeholders, such as inclusion of local community and tourists could also provide valuable information. The formulation of a policy that can facilitate the priorities of the community for an attractive urban tourism is identified as continuing challenge for both the public and private sectors. This problem is considered for future research and publication opportunities. The major aim in this research is to show that community participation can make a difference in the process of transformation. This research does not intend to include tourists as participants in the research as understanding tourist perspective is not the major aim of the research. Rather, tourist perspective and tourists' perception towards industrial heritage and the expectation of visitors to The Rocks is suggested for further research.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

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

The recognition of industrial landscapes and structures is important in order to remember the significant industrial culture. But unfortunately, 'the conservation of industrial heritage is determined primarily by taste and money rather than by historical importance or cultural significance' (Spearritt, 1991, p.33). Storm's (2014) term, the reused post-industrial landscape is associated with The Rocks area in Sydney - as an old commercial port and the small industrial site are being reused for new purposes.

## CONCLUSION

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

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