

PART 2 - THE CHANGING FACE OF PYRMONT ULTIMO

2.1 The Nineteenth Century: Beginnings of Industrialisation

Since Europeans first began settling on the long sandstone spur dividing Blackwattle Creek from Cockle Bay, the Pyrmont Ultimo peninsula has had more than its fair share of social and physical change. Consisting of two rugged headlands, an island accessible by tidal mudflats, and featuring heavily wooded gullies and sandy beaches, it was a favoured hunting ground for the traditional owners, the Cadigal Aborigines, who knew the area as Pirrama.²

The first hint of potential change to a centuries-old way of life came in March 1795 when Private Thomas Jones of the NSW Corps was granted fifty-five acres on the western shore of Cockle Bay. Unable to utilise the 'rocky and unprofitable' site, he sold it on, the land being bought by NSW Corps Paymaster and entrepreneur, John Macarthur, in July 1799. This was the same month in which Jones & his wife were hanged for murder, bequeathing their name to Jones Bay and Jones Street. The name Pyrmont came into use in December 1806, when a female guest of Macarthur's, on a picnic excursion to his land, compared the site to the Bad Pyrmont spa in northern Germany. Being more concerned with his sheep farms, Macarthur did little with his Pyrmont land beyond establishing a solitary stone mill on the site.³

At the other end of the Peninsula, several NSW Corps officers were gardening the alluvial swampy soil at the head of Cockle Bay by the time Surgeon John Harris of the NSW Corps acquired his lease in 1796. By 1818, his property encompassed 233 acres, including his Ultimo Farm grant from Governor King. The name was an ironic reference to the misuse of the Latin word 'ultimo', a technicality that earned him acquittal in an 1803 court-martial. Ultimo House, extended in 1814 by convict architect Francis Greenway, became his country retreat and a hub of Sydney's social life, with guests negotiating the rutted track from Parramatta Road that became Harris Street. The genteel isolation was short-lived and, by the 1820s and 1830s, industrial and commercial enterprises were expanding westwards around Cockle Bay. Brickyards, slaughterhouses, and Kent's & Cooper's breweries were now within sound and smell of the Ultimo estate.⁴

Little had changed at the other end of the Peninsula where Aborigines continued to use the spring later known as Tinker's Well on the cliffs west of Mount Street. They were still collecting shellfish when Governor Darling conferred his own name on Cockle Bay in 1830.⁵ John Macarthur's grandiose plans collapsed with his increasing mania and the pristine northern Peninsula was bequeathed to his son Edward in 1834. Macarthur Jr soon capitalised on the property, the first of several subdivisions being auctioned in December 1839. He envisaged a mercantile development on the waterfront with upmarket villas on Pyrmont Point heights but the difficulty of access,

² S. Fitzgerald, S & H.Golder, H: *Pyrmont & Ultimo under siege* (1994), 14; T Turbet, Peter: *The Aborigines of the Sydney District before 1788* (1989), 22

³ *Sydney Gazette* 21 Dec 1806; Fitzgerald & Golder, 13

⁴ Fitzgerald & Golder, 17

⁵ P.R.Stephensen: *The History & description of Sydney Harbour* (1966), 158

the rocky terrain, and the economic depression of the 1840s thwarted his plans and the gentry never arrived.

Shipyards and small quarries soon pockmarked the shoreline, the latter providing sandstone for the cottages rented by workingmen who could walk to the mills and breweries of Parramatta Road or catch an expensive waterman's rowboat across to the wharves on the city side of Cockle Bay. The comparative isolation absolved the newly-established Sydney Council of any responsibility for basic services like roads or wells. It also produced community self-reliance with churches such as St Bartholomew's on the old mill site and Dr J D Lang's Presbyterian chapel in Mount Street providing meeting places. The irascible Dr Lang, almost a stranger to his own Scots Church congregation, spent years in England encouraging stonemasons to immigrate to the Pyrmont quarries.⁶ In 1845, Pyrmont contained 152 houses and was seen as a locality with 'all the enjoyments and amenities of a town combined with that of a country life'.⁷

The gold rushes of the 1850s brought massive changes to Pyrmont. As Sydney's population soared, wharves proliferated for the coastal and international trade. The reclamation of Darling Harbour, begun in the 1830s, continued as warehouses and jetties were erected along its eastern side.⁸ The Australian Steam Navigation Company (ASN) developed Darling Island, building a giant slip in 1855 and encouraging its workers to live locally. The peninsula's isolation, however, still prohibited haulage of goods, particularly sandstone, and both the Company and the Pyrmont Quarry lobbied for a bridge across Darling Harbour. The Pyrmont Bridge Company, formed in 1855, had grandiose plans for bridges linking the peninsulas of Balmain, Glebe Island, and Pyrmont with the CBD, thus excluding Ultimo from the passing trade. On St Patrick's Day 1858, the first Pyrmont toll bridge was opened, a wooden structure with an swinging central panel to admit ships to the head of the bay.⁹ A year earlier, a wooden bridge connecting Glebe Island to Pyrmont had been built, also with a swing span allowing vessels into Blackwattle and Rozelle Bays.¹⁰ This bridge, replaced with a steel structure in 1901 and the soaring Anzac Bridge in the 1990s, connected Balmain with Pyrmont and the city and marked the end of the Peninsula's segregation.

After years of neglect, Sydney Council now provided roads, street lighting, and water supplies in an attempt to encourage manufacturing interests. The population expanded, a Post Office was erected in 1853, a public school opened in Mount Street in 1858, and by 1859 there were six hotels.¹¹ Boat builders, foundries, and coal and timber merchants arrived but the ASN and the quarries run by Robert Saunders and the McCredie brothers remained the main employers. The rocky landscape might have been difficult for the locals but the yellow Pyrmont sandstone was prized by Government Architect James Barnet, who used it for most of Sydney's major public

⁶ Fitzgerald & Golder, 26

⁷ S. Fitzgerald: *Sydney 1842-1992* (Hale & Iremonger, 1992), 29

⁸ N. Edwards, 'The Genesis of the Sydney Central Business District 1788-1856', in Max Kelly: *Nineteenth-Century Sydney* (1978)

⁹ Fitzgerald & Golder, 33

¹⁰ Stephensen, 163

¹¹ M. R. Matthews: *Pyrmont & Ultimo: a history*. (1982), 110

buildings for the next forty years. Imposing Victorian Sydney owed much to the scarred treeless Pymont Peninsula.¹²

In the 1850s, Ultimo was still stagnating on the swampy lowlands at the other end of the Peninsula. It was an unhealthy area of poor sanitation, noxious fumes, and substandard hovels, housing the workers of the adjoining slaughterhouses and boiling-down works of Blackwattle Bay.¹³ The opening of the public abattoirs on nearby Glebe Island in 1860 was little improvement as animals now traversed the peninsula en route to their fate.¹⁴ The Harris family was one of several local landlords but was unable to sell their large estate because of inheritance complications.¹⁵ They also failed to profit from the train line built through their estate by the Sydney Railway Company in 1855. Designed to be a major terminus capitalising on wool exports, the line divided part of Ultimo from Darling Harbour and failed to reach the new Pymont Bridge. The useless line was abandoned and the Harris family received compensation in the form of reclaimed land at the head of Darling Harbour. A suggestion that this part of the Ultimo estate become parkland was quickly rejected and the land, beside the sewer outlet in Hay Street, was divided up for housing. Much of the Harris estate, though, remained without water or decent roads during the 1860s, unlike progressive Pymont.¹⁶

Large scale industry arrived in Pymont in 1875 with the purchase of William Chowne's land on Johnston's Bay for a sugar refinery.¹⁷ The Colonial Sugar Refinery, having been forced out of Chippendale by its own polluting practices, now proceeded to erect a refinery in less populated Pymont, directly opposite the Glebe Island Abattoirs on Johnston Bay. When the refinery and its wharves opened in 1877, it established itself as a major employer of local labour. Its presence encouraged workers to live locally but its continual expansion over the western side of Pymont also led to the demolition of many houses.¹⁸ Work at CSR was dirty and dangerous, much the same as that at the quarries, the coal wharves, the ASN, the City Iron Works, and the two tin smelting works. Pubs, eleven in 1877, dairies, and shops, mainly on Harris Street near John and Union Street, served the growing population. A new Pymont School was built on Harris land at Murray Street and new churches appeared. Sydney City Council built Sydney's first public baths, men only, at Pymont in 1878.¹⁹ Though the population was mobile and many workers lived elsewhere, a community of sorts was emerging in the late 1870s.²⁰

¹² T. Keilhacker: *Urban Densification in Today's Cities with reference to Pymont-Ultimo in Sydney and Dorotheen-Friedrichstadt in Berlin* (1998), 33; Fitzgerald & Golder, 42, 45

¹³ Fitzgerald & Golder, 35, 39

¹⁴ G. Aplin & J. Storey, John: *Waterfront Sydney 1860-1920* (1984), 95

¹⁵ Matthews, op cit, 13

¹⁶ Keilhacker, 31; Fitzgerald & Golder, 41

¹⁷ C. Godden: *CSR Pymont Refinery Centenary Photography Project* (1978), 5; Fitzgerald & Golder, 48

¹⁸ Fitzgerald & Golder, 52

¹⁹ Matthews, op cit, 87

²⁰ S. Fitzgerald: *Rising Damp: Sydney 1870-90* (1987), 59

Ultimo was also catching up, the number of houses increasing from 345 to 877 between 1877 and 1882. Much of the Harris estate was sold in 1891, being purchased mainly by absentee landlords, thus further reducing owner occupation.²¹ In 1883, the five-story Goldsbrough woolstore was built on Fig and Pymont streets, incorporating seven steam-driven hydraulic lifts. Over the next fifty years, as Darling Harbour supplanted Circular Quay as the major port for wool clippers, twenty more huge woolstores came to dominate the landscape.²² They depended on the reclamation and development of Darling Harbour rail yards as a major terminal.²³ When the Government purchased the old ASN Darling Island site in 1889, the line was pushed to Darling Island, creating a modern coaling facility on the northern tip of the peninsula.²⁴ The burdensome toll on Pymont Bridge was abolished in 1883 but the old low-level bridge was now inconvenient and inadequate and was replaced in 1902 with a higher structure with an electric swing-span.²⁵

The industrial development of the Peninsula meant more people and more jobs but also more through traffic, more pollution, and the deterioration of living conditions.²⁶ 'It must be confessed,' reported an 1899 newspaper, 'that Pymont is not an attractive place...neither is Ultimo.'²⁷ By 1900, the population was 30,000, one of Sydney's highest densities.²⁸ As the century ended, the unplanned development of the area was typified by the construction of the Sydney Technical College and the Technological Museum, almost opposite the new Ultimo Tram Depot and Power Station on Harris Street. The latter provided power for Sydney's electric trams, ending Sydney's days as a walking city. The first Pymont tram ran down the new Harris Street line to John Street on 27 November 1899.²⁹

The Twentieth Century: 'the new Sydney'

Scarcely had the Pymont and Ultimo residents celebrated the new century than news came of large scale resumptions of their land.³⁰ The Sydney Harbour Trust was formed in 1901 to resume all the Harbour foreshores and clear them of the rats blamed for Sydney's bubonic plague. In time-honoured fashion, the authorities solved the problems of poverty and pestilence by demolition, resuming potentially profitable waterfront real estate and fragmenting local communities. Dredging and reconstruction were constant as Darling Island and Pymont Bay wharves were modernised and expanded. The Press regarded this as the 'beginning of New

²¹ Fitzgerald & Golder, 69

²² E. Balint et al: *Warehouses & Woolstores of Victorian Sydney* (1982), 123; *Darling Harbour: the official magazine*, 1990, 23

²³ A. Roberts, 'Planning Sydney's Transport 1875-1900', in Kelly, M: *Nineteenth-Century Sydney* (1978)

²⁴ Aplin, 93; Fitzgerald & Golder, 29

²⁵ Aplin, 73

²⁶ Fitzgerald & Golder, 66

²⁷ *Illustrated Sydney News*, 25 July 1889, in Fitzgerald & Golder, 66

²⁸ Keilhacker, 39

²⁹ Matthews, 83; Fitzgerald & Golder, 75; B. Lennon & G. Wotherspoon, 'Sydney's tram, 1861-1914', in Wotherspoon, G, ed: *Sydney's Transport: studies in urban history* (Hale & Iremonger, 1983), 109

³⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald [SMH]*, 4 May 1900, 7 May 1900, 8 May 1900

Sydney'.³¹ Not so Pymont residents whose houses vanished for the Wardell Road rail line to Wentworth Park.³² Ultimo residents watched the resumption of their park and cricket ground on the reclaimed Blackwattle Swamp.³³ Flood-prone Athlone Place residents were even more inconvenienced as resumptions displaced some 400 households with little compensation.³⁴ In 1908, the Improvement of Sydney Commission recognised Ultimo as a slum in need of clearance for residential redevelopment but no improvements were made.³⁵ Further resumptions obliterated Engine Street and replaced it with the new Sydney Markets in 1908.³⁶ These provided cheap produce and more traffic for nearby Ultimo.

The markets and the cheap rents in the area attracted Chinese market gardeners, merchants, laundries, restaurants, and residents. Although they might not have had much to do with them, locals like Pat Robinson, Reg Allen, and Shirley Puckeridge accepted the Chinese presence in their midst. Chinese gambling houses, pakapu games, and the opium dens of Haymarket were absorbed into local memories.³⁷ Because of legalised prejudice against the very visible Chinese, they were targeted by Customs officers and police for their opium and gambling offences. Although they featured frequently in the Courts, their crime rate was not necessarily high. The gunman Chow Hayes of Thomas Street Ultimo, however, was one Chinese who did make the big time, being sentenced to four years hard labour in 1941.³⁸

When a new power station was needed to provide Sydney with electricity, Pymont was the obvious place for it, opening on 8 July 1904.³⁹ Like the Ultimo plant, the power station was continually expanded to meet demands, coating the Peninsula in dust and grime until the 1980s.⁴⁰ Before the weekly wash was done, recalled Ron Harvey, they'd check on whether black or white smoke was coming out of the Ultimo powerhouse.⁴¹ Meanwhile, having carved up much of Pymont, the old quarries now fell into disuse and were recycled as garbage depositories or road-making facilities like the Wattle Street Depot.

The Union Street memorial commemorates Pymont's World War 1 heroes but there is no memorial to the casualties in the local industrial sweatshops.⁴² Unionised and politicised, Pymont workers readily joined the railway strike of 1917 to protest at

³¹ *SMH*, 7 May 1900

³² Fitzgerald & Golder, 80

³³ Fitzgerald & Golder, 68

³⁴ Fitzgerald & Golder, 90

³⁵ R. Gibbons, 'Improving Sydney 1908-1909', in Roe, J., ed: *Twentieth Century Sydney: studies in urban & social history* (Hale & Iremonger, 1980), 130

³⁶ Fitzgerald & Golder, 92

³⁷ S. Fitzgerald: *Red Tape, Gold Scissors* (1997), 158, 164; City West Development Corporation & Margaret Park: *Doors were always open: recollections of Pymont and Ultimo* (1997), 50, 52, 59,

65;

Fitzgerald & Golder, 93

³⁸ Fitzgerald & Golder, 108

³⁹ M. Cannon: *Life in the Cities: Australia in the Victorian Age* (1975); Matthews, 69

⁴⁰ Fitzgerald & Golder, 76

⁴¹ *Doors were always open*, 48

⁴² Fitzgerald & Golder, 94

workers' conditions but many subsequently found themselves unemployed.⁴³ The local community was involved, as it was when the Pymont Baths were threatened with demolition for wharf construction in 1929. Local sportsman James Watkinson was credited with saving them, at least until 1946. He was remembered by the James Watkinson Reserve below the Ways Terrace Flats.⁴⁴ Built near the site of Macarthur's picnic spot, these Council-owned flats were much coveted when they were built above Jones Bay Road in 1916.⁴⁵ The Baths, the Pymont Flying Squadron, the Wentworth Park Greyhound track, Labor Party socials, and pubs like the Quarryman's Arms, the Terminus, the Woolbrokers, Coopers Arms, New York and the Royal Pacific were focal points for a community surrounded by heavy industry and massive warehouses.

Despite the economic downturn, the CSR kept expanding, taking over New Jones Street in 1930 and extending westwards towards the Glebe Island Bridge by 1937. Work was passed on through families who remained loyal to CSR despite the harsh work. One resident recalled the shocking smell when the distillery pipes burst, as they often did, but said that 'living there so long you got used to it'.⁴⁶ New wool stores were also built by Farmers & Graziers in 1936 while old ones burnt down.⁴⁷ The storage of flammable materials caused many fires such as that at the CSR's sugar store in 1918 but the conflagration at the Goldsbrough woolstore in September 1935 was particularly spectacular.⁴⁸ Again, Pymont was deemed the right place for the city's incinerator in 1937, making it the second in the area. A spectacular landmark, this architectural masterpiece was adorned by Marion and Walter Burley Griffin with pre-Columbian imagery, giving it an exotic and unlikely appearance for an incinerator.⁴⁹

Community cooperation and workers' survival skills were essential during the 1930s economic depression when waterfront jobs evaporated. Impoverished families struggled to survive with soup kitchen or Benevolent Society help or were forced out of the area, eighty houses being demolished in 1936-7, leading to overcrowding in the remaining habitations. Low attendance figures caused the closure of John Street school in 1933.⁵⁰ Locals later recalled how people relied on each other during the hard times, sharing food, helping sick families, taking up funeral collections, and getting cheap supplies at the markets.⁵¹ There were, however, demarcation disputes between Ultimo and Pymont communities with Fig Street being the dividing line. Some Ultimo people were convinced that Pymont residents, especially those in Point Street, thought themselves superior.⁵²

⁴³ Fitzgerald & Golder, 97

⁴⁴ Fitzgerald & Golder, 102; *Doors*, 90

⁴⁵ Matthews, 110; Fitzgerald & Golder, 86; *Doors were always open*, 64

⁴⁶ *Doors were always open*, 69, 70-73

⁴⁷ Fitzgerald & Golder, 106

⁴⁸ Balint, 111; Fitzgerald & Golder, 106; *Doors*, 97-98

⁴⁹ *Sydney 1842-1992*, 270

⁵⁰ Fitzgerald & Golder, 109

⁵¹ *Doors were always open*, 59, 60, 64, 91-94; *Thinking Back: some memories of residents of Ultimo and Pymont, 1980* (Petersham College of TAFE, 1980), 1, 2

⁵² *Doors were always open*, 63

For the unemployed during the depression, gambling was one way to make money and on Saturdays every pub had a SP bookie, with a 'cockatoo' outside looking out for the police. No one made a fortune from a sixpenny bet each way but it entertained and empowered a community under siege.⁵³ George Cairns was convinced that 'there was more gambling in Ultimo than any of the other places' and 'that you could get a game of cards anytime of the day'.⁵⁴ Gambling was endemic in Australia since convict days and most attempts to enforce anti-gambling laws had failed. Governments began to realise that legal control of gambling could add to the state revenue. Laws were introduced making betting on a racecourse legal but betting away from a racecourse illegal. Aimed at garnering the profits of betting shops and SP bookmakers, the laws were skillfully circumvented by Australian workers convinced gambling was their birthright.⁵⁵

Similar attempts to curb alcohol consumption had been barely more successful with the six o'clock swill reducing drinking time but increasing the amount imbibed. By the 1930s, there was a pub on almost every corner of the Pyrmont Peninsula, each with its regulars. Many of these were thirsty workers racing in from the dry dirty work of the factories, warehouses, and woolstores for lunchtime drinks and then returning on their way home for the swill.⁵⁶ The Temperance Societies had succeeded in closing the pubs on Sundays but a man could always get a drink from a sly grog seller.⁵⁷ When redevelopment plans were under consideration in 1972, a report noted the high ratio of pubs to people. Because many of the pubs were 'early-openers', it was assumed that their clientele was not entirely local. This might have been underestimating the locals' capacity as well as the importance of the local pub to Pyrmont drinkers.⁵⁸

As always, Pyrmont was in the firing line when inner city facilities were needed during the second World War. Troops and war materials were embarked at the Pyrmont cargo wharves. United States forces encamped at Wentworth Park. The Australian Military Forces requisitioned wharves, woolstores, warehouses, cold stores, part of Grace Brothers store, even Mrs Shakespeare's guesthouse at 65a Harris Street.⁵⁹ After years of what seemed like military occupation, local people greeted the end of the war with jubilation, abandoning work and pouring out into Harris Street.⁶⁰

Celebrations were muted, however, by the demolition of Pyrmont Baths in 1946. Locals felt betrayed by the State Labor Government's lack of help and inadequately compensated by the provision of James Watkinson Reserve.⁶¹ Nor did they gain from the post-war boom, landlords being reluctant to improve the inadequate housing stock and building supplies being scarce. In June 1950, a Labor City Council re-zoned the

⁵³ *Doors were always open*, 59

⁵⁴ *Doors were always open*, 40

⁵⁵ Lynch, S; P. Charlton: *Two Flies up a wall: the Australian passion for gambling* (1987), 124 ff

⁵⁶ *Doors were always open*, 56, 57

⁵⁷ *Doors were always open*, 19

⁵⁸ Sydney City Council: Action Planning Forum 22 November 1972, Forum 37

⁵⁹ National Archives of Australia, Pyrmont search

⁶⁰ *Doors were always open*, 97

⁶¹ Fitzgerald & Golder, 102

peninsula residential and preserved a block of cottages bounded by Harris, Scott, Point and Bowman streets in 1951.⁶² Some public housing was built in at Ultimo in the 1960s but houses continued to be demolished for a second Pymont Power station in 1955, the Government Printing Office in 1959, and Fairfax's newsprint store in 1960. And in 1966, the smelly fish markets were relocated from one side of the peninsula to the other, at Blackwattle Bay. In 1965, the City Council's draft planning scheme still included industrialisation plans for Pymont and Ultimo. Activist Labor Alderman Sid Fegan spoke for the residents in objecting to further abuse of the scarred peninsula. Boundaries Commissioner A I Davis thought otherwise, condoning commercial zoning for Pymont and Ultimo and asserting in January 1967 that there were 'no residences in the whole of the area worth keeping.'⁶³

But it seemed that rampant inner-city industrialism had run its course and many sites, like Consolidated Press which flattened 65 houses, remained vacant for years.⁶⁴ When Sydney's trams stopped running in 1963, Ultimo Powerhouse closed down and was successfully recycled as the Power House Museum in the 1980s.⁶⁵ Industry began deserting the peninsula for western Sydney and the wharves, previously used for coal and wool exports, were refurbished for passenger ships. Population numbers went into sharp decline, indicating the inter-dependence of industrial and residential growth.⁶⁶ As well, transport improvements and private car ownership meant more mobility as workers sought their quarter acre block in outer suburbia.

2.3 The 1970s And Beyond: Plans And Protests

During the next three decades, residents who had survived the harsh industrial environment of Pymont and Ultimo fought an epic battle for survival against the greatest changes yet wrought on their suburb.

As Sydney expanded, freeways were seen as the most effective form of access back into the city. Ultimo was threatened by DMR plans of the early 1970s to route expressways through the suburb. By 1973, Ultimo's population had declined to about 2, 500, and local amenities also vanished. With no young families left, the Baby Health Centre shut during the 1960s and the local supermarket also closed down. But the residents struggled to survive. The old Presbyterian Manse was transformed into the Harris Centre, a valued community service financed by an overdue bequest from the Harris family, providing facilities for parents, children, and local activities.⁶⁷

The City of Sydney 's 1971 Strategic Plan was intended to be the foundation for city planning. At an Action Planning Forum in November 1972, comments were made on its likely impact on the Pymont/Ultimo area. Ultimo, without a substantial residential population, was seen as a backwater dominated by large institutions but also as

⁶² P. Ashton: *The Accidental City* (Hale & Iremonger, 1993), 68

⁶³ Ashton, 88, 89

⁶⁴ Fitzgerald & Golder, 108-109

⁶⁵ Aplin, 91

⁶⁶ Stephensen, 161; Ashton, 86; Fitzgerald & Golder, 111. Pymont/Ultimo population figures dropped from 4007 in 1961 to 2598 in 1971, 1590 in 1981 with an increase to 2805 in 1986.

⁶⁷ *SMH*, 8 May 1973

'Sydney's hottest piece of real estate'.⁶⁸ There was concern at the proposed expansion of the Institute of Technology and the DMR's expressway which would dislodge 500 people. The Strategic Plan for Pyrmont advocated a range of housing within a continuing industrial function. Commercial office redevelopment was considered impractical because it would take 100 years to reach its full potential. Pyrmont was described as a 'peninsula without a foreshore' which had developed as a joint industrial/residential area from its beginnings.⁶⁹

In 1973, consultants Wellings, Smith and Byrnes admitted the peninsula was so far gone that it might as well be given over to industry.⁷⁰ Mayor Andrew Briger, however, favoured urban renewal and the consultants' plan was dumped. In June 1978, the Civic Reform Council launched its own Ultimo-Pyrmont-Haymarket plan aimed at increasing the population from 2,000 to 10,000 and solving the area's traffic problems. Residents were to be lured back to the area by a decrease in through-traffic and better public transport. It included resumption of Darling Harbour goods yards for 'a balanced mix of open space and housing'. The plan depended on a commitment from the NSW Land Commission to acquire surplus industrial land for housing. The only objections were from squatters in abandoned Council houses in Church and Point Streets.⁷¹

The State Government meanwhile persisted with its North West Freeway plan, opposed by resident action groups objecting to the demolition of Ultimo houses. The Australian Workers Union supported the protesters, imposing green bans on construction work. In October 1974, demonstrators and police clashed at the site of sixteen terrace houses under demolition at Bulwara Road and Fig Street.⁷² Supported by Federal Minister for Urban and Regional Development, Tom Uren, the protesters temporarily stopped the DMR's demolition of the Fig Street houses but, after years of neglect and occupation by squatters, these were derelict by 1976 and demolished by 1980. After a brief hiatus on freeway planning due to resident protests, a modified construction plan resurfaced in 1980 and construction commenced on the Darling Harbour freeway, causing congestion and intolerable noise for a decade.⁷³ By the 1990s, the many arms of the Western Distributor spanned the new Darling Harbour development and snaked their way through Pyrmont and Ultimo to the western suburbs.

The freeway rendered redundant the old Pyrmont Bridge. In 1981 Premier Wran ordered its demolition, provoking a public outcry by Pyrmont residents. City Council was also in favour of retaining the bridge as a pedestrian link between Pyrmont and the city. It took the efforts of a community group to save the historic structure and in August 1982, the Department of Main Roads abandoned demolition plans.⁷⁴ The

⁶⁸ Sydney City Council: Action Planning Forum 22 November 1972, Forum 36

⁶⁹ Sydney City Council: Action Planning Forum 22 November 1972, Forum 37

⁷⁰ Matthews, 104

⁷¹ *SMH*, 29 June 1978, 10 Aug 1979

⁷² *SMH*, 1 October 1974

⁷³ Keilhacker, 45; Fitzgerald & Golder, 113, 114; *SMH*, 26 Oct 1987

⁷⁴ *SMH*, 9 June 1980, 13 Aug 1980, 13 December 1984; Pentecost, R: *The Darling Harbour Development*

Project. (Sydney, Telecom Society, Historical Branch, 1987), 7; Keilhacker, 45

restoration of the 1899 structure and its steel swing span was subsequently regarded by the Darling Harbour Authority as one of its greatest achievements.⁷⁵

Modern cargo handling facilities and the removal of the woolstores to Yenora made the Darling Harbour goods yards obsolete. In 1974, the Sydney Area Transportation Study recommended that the prime site become available for redevelopment. The last train left the goods yards in 1984, its freight cars filled with workers and the NSW Transport Union Band playing the Funeral March.⁷⁶ On 1 May 1984, Premier Neville Wran announced a Darling Harbour scheme to include international exhibition and convention centres, a Chinese garden, park, hotel, harbourside commercial market, and a National Maritime Museum.⁷⁷ Indicating changing economic priorities, the old wool and coal facilities were to be replaced by a giant tourist complex.

In September 1984, the Darling Harbour Authority was established by Act of Parliament. Exempt from normal development controls, the Authority fast-tracked the Bicentennial project for completion by 1988, disregarding the rights and concerns of heritage professionals and UPROAR (Ultimo-Pyrmont Residents Opposed to Arbitrary Re-development), a group trying to be heard above the roar of jackhammers and traffic. For Murray Street residents, fast-tracking meant bulldozing as they were displaced by an 1, 800-space car park and an upmarket hotel, neither of which was of any relevance to them.⁷⁸ With its waterfront promenade, public entertainment, ferry access, and commercial outlets, Darling Harbour has indeed become a major tourist destination. The Novatel and Ibis Hotels and recycled woolstore apartment buildings on its western side have, however, created a physical barrier between the Pyrmont peninsula and the water, and, more recently, the Cockle Bay development on the eastern perimeter has alienated the city itself from Darling Harbour. Similarly, the National Maritime Museum, designed by Philip Cox, turns its back on Pyrmont and blocks harbour views.⁷⁹

As part of its plan to revitalise the peninsula, in 1981, City Council announced a 397-unit redevelopment for the two former AML and F woolstores. Former alderman Briger, an architectural partner in the project, forecast that the apartments would sell for \$55, 000 to \$60, 000 but the project collapsed in July 1982. At the other end of the scale, City Council attempted to coax residents back into the deserted inner city by constructing 119 low-cost units at Ultimo on the flood-prone Athlone Place site and at Bob McKinney House. By 1986, however, the Public Housing Trust Fund was depleted. In Pyrmont, joint Council-State plans for a major residential project to finance public housing were temporarily thwarted by squatters in the historic precinct bordered by Harris, Scott, Cross and Bowman streets.⁸⁰

Excessive smoke discharge had contributed to the closure of the Burley Griffin incinerator on 17 December 1971 and the prominent chimney was abruptly, and

⁷⁵ *Darling Harbour: the official magazine*. 1990, 87

⁷⁶ *Darling Harbour: the official magazine*. 1990, 25

⁷⁷ G P Webber, ed: *The Design of Sydney: three decades of change in the city centre* (Law Book Co, 1988), 193; Pentecost, 3

⁷⁸ Fitzgerald & Golder, 115-116

⁷⁹ Keilhacker, 69

⁸⁰ *SMH*, 17 March 1981, 29 July 1982, 29 Jan 1983; Fitzgerald & Golder, 117

possibly illegally, removed in 1976. The heritage building deteriorated during the 1970s and 80s as the City Council dithered. In mid 1987, Balmain Brewery Limited bought the site from Council for \$1.3 million, selling it on to Meriton Apartments in December for a profit of \$6 million. Meriton's proposal for a residential/commercial complex incorporating part of the incinerator was opposed by the Ultimo/Pymont Study Residents' Advisory Committee. They were also concerned at the fate of Tinkers Well located nearby. Meriton Apartments withdrew their application but subsequently acquired permission to demolish the significant heritage building on 7 May 1992.⁸¹

Despite increasing de-industrialisation, CSR held its ground and even expanded. In 1981, it demolished heritage-listed houses in Jones Street for a planned car park (which never eventuated) for its non-residential employees. It bought Harvey, New and Bowman Street land to avert residential development which might threaten its industrial operations. When plans for a three-tower development surfaced in 1985, CSR and residents, as well as the National Trust and the Royal Australian Institute of Architects, were briefly united in opposition. Ironically, having dominated Pymont for over a century and resumed many of the heritage precincts, CSR now expressed concern that the new residents would object to its industrial operations.⁸² In 1996, CSR finally sold the whole site to Lend Lease Developments.⁸³

The Maritime Services Board also held out against urban regeneration. In 1980, it acquired all the land on Pymont Point north of Herbert and Bayview Street, including part of the land designated for the Council's Pymont Point housing project. It intended to level the site for a \$30 million container terminal beside the proposed 686 dwellings. Both Council and the Pymont resident action group objected, Alderman Michael Matthews claiming that the MSB had alienated the public of Pymont from the water for half a century and it was time they handed the foreshores back for a public park. Long-term Ways Terrace resident Mrs Catherine Kruger recalled the beach and baths enjoyed by earlier generations when Pymont Point was a district of large old homes. Residents' opposition to the passage of large container trucks through their neighbourhood eventually forced the MSB to move its operations to nearby Glebe Island.⁸⁴

By the mid 1980s, the concept of public housing was less fashionable and the value of inner city areas was obvious to developers.⁸⁵ Plans for a three-tower development on the MSB/Pymont Point site to finance low-income housing had collapsed by late 1983.⁸⁶ Meanwhile, families of squatters continued to occupy the derelict Pymont

⁸¹ *Sydney 1842-1992*, 268; Meriton Apartments Pty Ltd: *Conservation Options: Pymont Incinerator*. Report prepared by Ken Maher Schwager Brooks & Partners Pty Ltd, June 1990, 5-8, 45. This Report concluded that conservation was neither practical nor cost effective and recommended reconstruction of portions of the building.

⁸² Fitzgerald & Golder, 119, 121

⁸³ *Sydney 1842-1992*, 125; *SMH* 18 June 2000

⁸⁴ Matthews, 105; *SMH*, 2 Sep 1981, 5 March 1983, 1 June 1983

⁸⁵ *SMH Good Weekend*, 23

⁸⁶ *SMH*, 4 March 1983, 6 Dec 1983

Point terraces, the pressure of looming eviction bonding them into a fragile community.⁸⁷ Home owners, however, were less inclined to cling to their besieged territory if offered attractive compensation. In March 1985, for example, one of the biggest inner-city auctions saw Victorian terraces in little Mount Street and Bulwarra Road being sold to K-Tel International for above market prices.⁸⁸

In April 1986, City Council sold all its Pymont land to the State Housing Commission, except for the Ways Terrace flats. With their last avenue of appeal gone, residents felt once more betrayed. As the President of the Pymont Ultimo Historic Society said: 'A community is about people and you do not win them over by destroying their lifestyle and crushing with unchallenged planning.'⁸⁹ In December 1987, the Department of Housing proposed a mixed private/public housing project for Pymont. By September 1989, the approved development, called Jones Bay Apartments, was in the hands of the private company CRI. Ways Terrace remained the only public housing on Pymont Point but was surrounded by the new development which also threatened to resume part of James Watkinson Reserve. Residents mobilised, sending a fruitless deputation to the Department of Housing. In 1989, part of the Reserve was destroyed before CRI abandoned the project but, as always, external agencies had plans for Pymont.⁹⁰

The 1990s began with yet another proposal for Pymont which would inconvenience rather than advantage residents. The State Government revived earlier plans to use Pymont's Wharf 8 for a central city heliport. It met with vocal opposition from Pymont and Balmain residents who would be subjected to intolerable noise levels with up to 18 landings a day. Lord Mayor Sartor and local Labor MP Sandra Nori also objected and the combined opposition finally led to the abandonment of the project.⁹¹ The idea of a heliport was briefly revived, however, in April 2000 as a means of shuttling Olympic Games officials from Homebush to Darling Harbour but the State Government remained firmly opposed.⁹²

In 1991, Pymont-Ultimo was the ideal candidate for the Commonwealth Government's Building Better Cities program, aimed at reforming urban management processes through partnerships between government, the private sector and the community.⁹³ In October 1992, the Ultimo-Pymont Regional Environment Plan was launched and the City West Development Corporation was established. City West envisaged major residential, commercial and recreational developments on Pymont Point. Existing street patterns and heritage-listed terraces were to be retained, waterfront promenades were to be designed and community parks and squares were to be built or enhanced.⁹⁴ The proposed residential development was aimed at middle-

⁸⁷ SMH, 13 April 1984

⁸⁸ SMH, 6 March 1985

⁸⁹ SMH, 9 April 1987

⁹⁰ Fitzgerald & Golder, 122

⁹¹ SMH, 12 July 1988, 29 July 1988, 26 Sep 1991

⁹² SMH, 19 April 2000

⁹³ Keilhacker, 53

⁹⁴ Sydney City Council: *Position Papers on Ultimo/Pymont*. 1 December 1993; NSW. Department of Urban Affairs and Planning: *Urban Development Plan for Ultimo-Pymont Precinct: 1995 Update*. Sydney, the Department, 1995.

income earners, a piece of social engineering that included only 700 affordable housing units. The traditional residents were only partly mollified by the return of James Watkinson Reserve, renamed Interim Park, and the survival of Ways Terrace, the site of Macarthur's 1806 picnic.⁹⁵ Some of the affordable housing, mainly in refurbished Victorian terraces, was provided by the non-profit City West Housing organisation, formed in 1994 to protect the local community from rampant development.⁹⁶

With the downturn in the wool industry, huge woolstores on prime property became available. In one of the largest warehouse conversions in Sydney, the Goldsbrough Mort apartment building became a showpiece of urban renovation. In a world-wide trend, it was now a sign of sophistication to live in the inner city and, by 1996, it was popular with renters who walked to work at Darling Harbour or the Sydney Casino. All did not run smoothly, however, and in March 1999 the owners physically repossessed their own apartments from Astor Goldsbrough, the management company which had tried to let them as hotel accommodation.⁹⁷

Another Ultimo landmark, occupying about one hectare in Wattle Street, was the Farmers & Graziers woolstore which reappeared on the market for nearly \$10 million in October 1995.⁹⁸ Meriton Apartments planned a multi-million apartment conversion but objected to the preservation of heritage machinery within the buildings and to Council's condition that they operate a Wool Museum on the site.⁹⁹ Vacant woolstores were obviously expensive and difficult to convert and the land itself was more valuable. In July 1992, the 1909 Australian Mercantile Woolstore at Ultimo was engulfed by fire under suspicious circumstances. In scenes reminiscent of other woolstore fires, thousands of spectators crammed vantage points to watch the crumbling walls and falling debris. Blame was laid on squatters who had recently been evicted from the building but existing heritage legislation was equally culpable for failing to protect the area's historic buildings.¹⁰⁰

By 1997, some 4,822 dwellings had been approved and the population had increased from 3,100 in 1991 to 7,000. A new community centre opened in Ultimo in 1996, Harris Street was rejuvenated with cafes and restaurants, Pyrmont Point Park was popular, and ferry services had been restored to the peninsula.¹⁰¹ The City West Affordable Housing Program aimed at providing housing for both low and moderate incomes to encourage a balanced cross section of population. Affordability is relative, of course, but of the 7,500 to 9,000 projected dwellings only 600 units, approximately 6-7%, were public rental housing. Clearly, the development was aimed at middle to upper income earners.¹⁰²

⁹⁵ SMH, 19 Nov 1993, 23 June 1993; Fitzgerald & Golder, 127

⁹⁶ SMH, 20 Nov 1997

⁹⁷ SMH, 10 July 1990, 30 March 1994, 23 Jan 1996, 14 Dec 1996, 14 Oct 1997, 18 Mar 1999.

⁹⁸ SMH, 17 Oct 1995, 14 Oct 1997

⁹⁹ SMH, 14 Oct 1997

¹⁰⁰ SMH, 7 July 1992, 16 Feb 1996

¹⁰¹ City West Development Corporation: *City West Urban Renewal: six years on*. City West Development Corporation, 1998, 4; Ultimo Pyrmont Development Bulletin, No 1

¹⁰² NSW. Department of Urban Affairs and Planning: *Affordable housing: revised City West Affordable Housing Program*. Sydney, the Department, 1996

A Post Occupancy Survey of New Residents found that location, access to the CBD by foot, and affordable housing had enticed them into the area. The new residents, mainly unit-dwellers, were young and educated with jobs in the tertiary and service sectors, some were of Asian origin, and many were employed by Sydney Harbour Casino. Their main complaints related to the lack of supermarkets, local shops, cafes and recreational amenities, facilities vital to the development of a local community.¹⁰³ Unlike a century earlier, there were no complaints of dirt, coal dust, congestion, or industrial noise. Older residents of the heritage-listed terraces were more concerned by lack of parking, complaining of their frontages being occupied by drivers from multi-storey flats.¹⁰⁴ The majority of new Pyrmont residents are childless renters, raising concern about community continuity. And yet, at the other end of the peninsula, Ultimo Public School, faced with closure ten years ago, has doubled its enrolments in two years, indicating that inner-city habitation and family life are not necessarily incompatible.¹⁰⁵

In August 2000, Lilyfield became the latest terminus for a light rail system passing through the peninsula from Central Railway. A section to Wentworth Park had been operating since the early 1990s, at long last putting to use the remnants of the old Darling Harbour goods yards. The model of late nineteenth-century industrialisation was born again as a model of post-industrial urban renewal. Pyrmont-Ultimo now had nearby Central Railway, ferries, buses (mainly to the Casino), light rail – and the monorail. The monorail loop around the CBD and Darling Harbour had been built despite massive community protests in the late 1980s but took until 1996 to turn a healthy profit.¹⁰⁶ The light rail is less intrusive than the monorail but how beneficial it is to the people of Pyrmont Ultimo remains to be seen.

The trend towards Manhattan-style inner urban living has boosted unit sales in Pyrmont Ultimo. Galaxy TX, Foxtel, and Network 10 have acquired valuable sites and private developers have bought into Bowman/Harris Street, the Gateway development, and Point Street.¹⁰⁷ One of the largest urban waterfront redevelopments in Australia is turning the old CSR site into a new inner-city neighbourhood with in-house community facilities. It includes some heritage-listed buildings being recycled for residences.¹⁰⁸ The developers have renamed the site Jacksons Landing for no historically-significant reason but it is more appealing than Chowne's Wharf or The Sugar Refinery.

Sydney's most impressive urban renewal project has injected new life into the peninsula. And not all of the physical past has disappeared. Much of the peninsula is recognised as a heritage precinct with many hotels, woolstores, terraces, and other items listed on the NSW Heritage Register. Those long-term residents who had been

¹⁰³ G. Cox, & S. Miers: *Post occupancy survey of new residents to Ultimo Pyrmont*. Sydney, Dept of Urban Affairs & Planning, City West & Better Cities Branch, 1996; *Ultimo Pyrmont*

Development

Bulletin. No 2

¹⁰⁴ *SMH*, 2 Nov 1998

¹⁰⁵ *SMH*, 13 Feb 2000, 19 April 2000

¹⁰⁶ *SMH*, 26 Oct 1996, 2, 6 & 14 Dec 1997, 3 Feb 1998, 10 Nov 1998, 15 Dec 1999

¹⁰⁷ Keilhacker, 75; *SMH*, 14 Feb 1998, 22 Mar 1998, 10 Oct 1999

¹⁰⁸ *SMH*, 11 Feb 1998, 10 August 1998, 18 June 2000

forced out or have sold up may have regretted their hasty departure. Or they may have decided that the latest changes, the most wide-ranging, contentious and orchestrated of so many social and physical changes to Pyrmont and Ultimo, have made them strangers in their own community.

2.4 The New Casino: Crime And Controversy

Initial proposals for a Sydney casino were met with opposition from moral crusaders associating crime with gambling and from welfare workers familiar with the devastating effects of compulsive gambling. The proposal should not have been too surprising considering Australians' obsession with gambling. Two-up is a national pastime, Melbourne Cup Day is a defacto national holiday, and local newsagents with their lotto cards and scratchies have become legal betting shops.

Gambling was transported to the colony with the convicts. Bets were laid on horse racing, cockfighting, foot races, cards, coins, bingo, and even, in a notorious 1875 case, on cricket. The local gentry enjoyed horse races and picnic race meetings at which large sums were wagered. From 1876 to 1920, temperance and religious groups attempted to pass anti-gambling legislation, some of it directed against Chinese gambling establishments. In the face of such an entrenched gambling culture, this was doomed to failure. By the end of the first World War, it was obvious that State government revenues could profit from legalised gambling. State Lotteries financed major projects like Sydney's Opera House and art unions, raffles, and bingo became respectable forms of gambling. Meanwhile, of course, Starting Price bookies and local casinos continued to operate illegally.¹⁰⁹

In 1956, New South Wales was the first State to legalise poker machines in registered clubs. These were extremely profitable, with busloads of interstate punters crossing the Queensland and Victorian borders for a flutter. By the 1970s, the NSW Registered Clubs Association included some 1500 Clubs and three million members across the state. When the idea of a legal casino was mooted, the major resistance came from the registered clubs who depended on the poker machines for their profit.¹¹⁰

Partly because of their lack of appeal to workers and partly because of their tarnished reputations, large scale casinos were a late development in Australia's gambling history. The first casino was opened at Hobart's Wrest Point in 1973 with strict regulations to control corruption and crime. A New South Wales judicial inquiry in 1977 advised against a Sydney casino and recommended the regulation of the numerous illegal casinos.¹¹¹ A former American Mafia boss warned a Citizens Committee on Gambling and Drugs that a Sydney casino would open up a Pandora's box of organised crime, prostitution, violence and drug abuse.¹¹² As society became

¹⁰⁹ R.Lynch, 'The Growth of Casinos within the Australian leisure and gambling industries', *Nazan University Centre for Australian Studies*, No 11, Sept 1997, 3-4; *Red Tape*, 160. For a history of gambling, see Peter Charlton's *Two Flies up a Wall* (1987)

¹¹⁰ Lynch, 15

¹¹¹ Lynch, 5

¹¹² *SMH*, 28 December 1976

more liberal, tourism increased, and more Asian immigrants arrived, governments saw the commercial advantages and employment opportunities offered by casinos. By 1986, there were casinos operating at Darwin, Alice Springs, Launceston, the Gold Coast, Perth, Adelaide and Townsville.¹¹³

In November 1985, NSW Premier Neville Wran announced that Sydney's first legal casino would be built on a three hectare site in the Darling Harbour development. A temporary casino was to open in the meantime. All profits were to be spent on hospital and welfare services. By June 1986, the Hooker-Harrah consortium has won the contract with a \$610 million bid. Following a NSW Police investigation of the US operations of the Harrah Group, the Government cancelled the bid in August 1986. In 1987, a bid by the Malaysian casino operator, Genting, which had interests in both the Adelaide and Perth casinos, suffered a similar fate.¹¹⁴ Curiously, Harrah's merged with Showboat in 1998 to become the major stakeholder in the Star City Casino.¹¹⁵

After a decade of opposition from churches and registered clubs, the Casino Control Act was passed in 1992 and a Casino Control Authority was set up to organise bids for Sydney's first legal Casino.¹¹⁶

In April 1993, the Sydney Harbour Casino Consortium revealed its development proposals. The chosen location for the new casino, one of the biggest in the world, was the old Pyrmont power station land because it was the only site large enough.¹¹⁷ A report by Professor Peter Swan concluded that NSW clubs could survive the opposition so over 500 poker machines were permitted in the new casino.¹¹⁸

Whether Pyrmont would survive this new incursion was debatable. City Council, the Royal Australian Institute of Architects and local residents criticised the scale and location of the master plan prepared by City West Development Corporation. Increased traffic circulating in residential streets was a major consideration. According to Council, Wharves 9 and 10 on the city side of Pyrmont would be a less intrusive location. Yet again, residents came out in protest at the 'ugly Gold Coast development' with its extended construction hours. City Councillor Elizabeth Farrelly claimed that if the casino went ahead as planned 'we might as well wash our hands of Pyrmont as a mixed-use residential precinct'.¹¹⁹

Leighton Properties and the US casino operator Showboat Inc were the successful bidders, engaging Philip Cox as architect.¹²⁰ He defended his casino complex with its towers, hotel, theatre, and apartments, asserting that the plan was appropriate for a mixed use urban village where people could both live and enjoy leisure time.

¹¹³ Lynch, 12

¹¹⁴ *SMH*, 2 July 1986, 11 November 1987; NSW Parliament: *Report compiled by the Darling Harbour Casino Investigation Team*. Volume 1, 5 August 1986

¹¹⁵ *SMH*, 18 Feb 1998, 13 May 1998. A new inquiry was held to investigate Harrah's suitability to run the

Casino but, lacking any public submissions, no public hearings were conducted.

¹¹⁶ Keilhacker, 63

¹¹⁷ *SMH*, 8 April 1993

¹¹⁸ *SMH*, 3 April 1993

¹¹⁹ *SMH*, 14 May 1994, 11 July 1994, 25 & 26 July 1994

¹²⁰ Keilhacker, 75

Residents of Pyrmont, he said, would once more have access to the foreshore and the area would be enlivened by public spaces with restaurants and bars.¹²¹

Despite opposition, a temporary casino opened in September 1995 and by late 1997 the permanent Star City Casino was completed on the power house site. Multiple reports followed, aimed at profiling the casino's clientele and evaluating its impact on the community.¹²² The Development Application of 1994 acknowledged issues of problem gambling, organised crime, and the casino's impact on the locality. It had forecast a reduction in street crime with the closure of illegal gaming houses.¹²³ This was corroborated in a 1997 report by Robert Lynch, concluding that the anticipated upsurge in crime had not eventuated, despite an increase in offences reported to police. A community safety audit by a consortium of local organisations studied residents' perceptions of casino generated crime.¹²⁴

One of the main fears for local residents was drunken behaviour, with the Pyrmont Bridge Hotel being singled out.¹²⁵ There is some irony in this, as older residents would have remembered the hotel as Monty's, a notorious seamen's dive where prostitutes were regularly raffled off. In fact, two brothel applications to operate near the casino were rejected by the City Council in January 1998.¹²⁶ Council claimed there were no brothels within the area but locals would have been aware of illegal bordellos operating in their region for years. Since the first police constable arrived in the mid-1860s to check on smuggling at the wharves and disorderly conduct in the six pubs on the peninsula, waterfront Pyrmont was no stranger to rowdy hotels and brothels.¹²⁷

As the population began disappearing after the second World War, the police presence also declined. By 1987, Ultimo residents had lost their nearest police station at Regent Street because of the centralisation of Sydney police activities. The numbers of break and enters subsequently soared.¹²⁸ The casino has increased police surveillance in the area and, together with improved lighting, enhanced security. The more serious street crimes have occurred at the Ultimo end of the peninsula and cannot be directly related to the casino. In 1998, a woman's battered body was found in Wattle Street, a man was bashed to death returning home from the casino, and a policeman was killed by a gang of youths in William Henry Street. Headlines described Ultimo as 'The Suburb living in fear' and neighbours expressed concern about dance parties at the Ultimo Community Centre.¹²⁹

¹²¹ SMH, 23 May 1994, 12 July 1994

¹²² Lynch, see bibliography page 24; NSW Casino Control Authority: *Report on the location, size and style*

of the NSW Casino. Jan 1993; M.Bounds et al: *The Impact of the Sydney Casino on the social composition and residential amenity of the residents of Pyrmont-Ultimo*. Reports 1-3, 1998-2000.

¹²³ NSW. Department of Planning. *Development application to the Minister for Planning for the Sydney Harbour Casino, Pyrmont Bay, Sydney*, 31 August 1994. 4 Vols. Sydney, the Dept, 1994. Volume 1: Statement of Environmental Effects - Sydney Harbour Casino, 113, 144

¹²⁴ Bounds, Report 2 May 1999, Chapter 2

¹²⁵ Bounds, Report 2 May 1999, 7

¹²⁶ SMH, 4 Jan 1998

¹²⁷ Fitzgerald & Golder, 44

¹²⁸ SMH, 9 April 1987

¹²⁹ SMH, 1, 2, 4, 8 & 11 Mar 1998, 8, 9 & 11 Nov 1998

Casino activities are regulated by the Casino Surveillance Division of the Department of Gaming and Racing and by the NSW Casino Control Authority.¹³⁰ In April 2000, the Authority's chairwoman Kaye Loder was forced to resign for publicly regretting the banning of a Vietnamese high-roller and heroin dealer. The State Opposition urged the Premier to reassure the public 'that the casino isn't being used as a laundromat for drug money.' Police Commissioner Ryan said that 2085 people had been banned by the casino, police or the surveillance branch since the casino opened in September 1995.¹³¹ Casinos need big spenders to profit and this was not the first time that incidents of crime, guns, sex and drugs have been highlighted but it is doubtful whether these impact directly on local residents.¹³²

Compulsive gambling is another inevitable problem associated with casinos. In February 1998, there was outrage when it was reported that children were left all day in the casino carpark. The casino banned thirty-three parents who had mistreated their children in this way.¹³³ The NSW Council of Social Service (NCOSS) is concerned about such problems and supports an independent gaming commission to provide consumer protection for gamblers. The Casino Community Benefit Fund also monitors problem gambling. It derives a levy of 2% from the casino's gaming revenue to fund community developments and examine the impact of the casino on local residents.¹³⁴

Older and/or longer term residents are likely to feel more threatened by the Casino. Although there has always been crime on the peninsula, it was within their own community and the criminals were probably neighbours. The changing demographic has introduced for the traditional residents a perceived new level of crime perpetrated by strangers and likely to be on a much larger scale. It is obvious that the casino cannot be held solely responsible for local crime. The Darling Harbour complex, refurbished hotels, and all the developments on the peninsula have introduced social changes affecting the neighbourhood.

The only certainty is that the casino is there to stay, providing revenue for the NSW Government, employment opportunities, a new entertainment venue, and a major tourist attraction. As always, the concerns of the locals are subservient to those of the wider community.

¹³⁰ *SMH*, 11 August 1998

¹³¹ *SMH*, 25 to 27 April 2000

¹³² See for example *SMH*, 18 June 2000, 20 Aug 1999, 1 May 1999, 4 Feb 1998, 18 Jan 1998

¹³³ *SMH*, 18 Jan 1998

¹³⁴ *SMH*, 11 Aug 1998; Michael Bounds, Reports 1 to 3. See also *SMH*, 17 & 19 April 2000, 24 July 1999, 17 Oct 1998, 10 Aug 1998, 24 Dec 1997, 12 Aug 1997, 5 & Mar 1997, 13 April 1996

3. CONCLUSION

This concludes the final report of the Urban Studies Research Centre for the Casino Community Benefit Fund funded research on The Impact of the Sydney Casino on the Social Composition and Residential Amenity of the Residents of Pymont Ultimo

The study has sought to identify what constitutes Pymont Ultimo as an evolving area and to situate the impact of the casino within the full complexity of urban change and development. Pymont Ultimo is in many ways an archetype of inner city Sydney of the future. As identified in earlier reports it is highly cosmopolitan; 25% of the population comes from overseas and it is currently highly transient based on our survey data. It is a dormitory suburb for a burgeoning local and CBD employment base for the young and well educated, as demonstrated by the very high proportion of the population who walk to work. It is also an ideal typical example of urban consolidation policies in action.

Our literature search at the beginning of this project revealed that past research had rarely been concerned with the impacts of casinos on the immediate area in which they are situated. This was the case in relation to both Star City and national and international studies of casino impacts. Where reference is made to the local impacts of casinos, local generally refers to the city in which the venue is located.

It could be anticipated that the Casino's impact might parallel that of any large scale industry or tourist attraction and we investigated past research to identify possible impacts in this context for inclusion here. The physical and social impact of the casino on Pymont Ultimo is diffuse. The impacts are more metropolitan than local as the Casino attracts relatively few locals as patrons or employees, and the effects of parking and traffic are largely restricted to the precincts immediately proximate to the Casino. The location of the building precludes it from being visible to most residents as it is almost too close to see in the dense traditional and new urbscape of Pymont. It does create a barrier to pedestrian movement and a blank face to the local community but in doing so, it continues an urban design flaw which divides the whole of the peninsula along the escarpment leading down to Darling Harbour and the city.

The initial bid document for the Star City Casino addressed questions of design, construction and operation of the Casino and its related developments, but was largely concerned with insuring that management was free from criminal influence rather than addressing the potential impacts on the area. The broad criteria regarding design of the casino related to the building as a stand alone facility, and did not deal with the design issues concerning how the Casino would relate to its surroundings or pedestrian movements.¹³⁵

Baines and Taylor's study of social impact assessment of Casinos in New Zealand¹³⁶ has argued that two areas of impact are usually anticipated in Casino development: those that are site specific and those that are likely to be experienced in a wider regional basis. The typical site-specific impacts relate to traffic movement and

¹³⁵ Casino Control Authority NSW, The Sydney Casino Australia Invitation Document, May 1993

¹³⁶ Baines J and Taylor N. Who Is Taking The Gamble - Social Impact Assessment Of Casinos In New Zealand 1998 International Organisation of Impact Assessment Conference, Christchurch, New Zealand

congestion, parking, crime, noise and both trade increases and trade divisions. Impacts expected in the wider community typically related to employment generation and diversion and other regional economic impacts, tourism impacts and cultural impacts, and impacts on gambling behaviour, gambling problems and social services.

McMillan¹³⁷ argues in the context of local impacts that national authorities are losing control of domestic economies in the wake of the influence of the global market. She argues that the European Casino industry is driven by social objectives such as protection of the community, encouraging revenue from tourists and prevention of crime and fraud. European Casinos aim at benefiting the local economy, unlike the profit driven approach typical of the American model where Casino development has been concentrated in isolated areas. In consequence American Casino corporations have sought new markets in other nations, pushing global Casino development. Yet this process has had to take account of the social settings to which the American model is exported. It could be argued that the American model as portrayed by McMillan has driven the development of Star City. The style and corporate influences apparent in its development are very much of this model. The local influence of crime, probity and taxation concerns and the hegemony of the club industry were highly influential in its form, regulation and location.

Early in our research we identified the Casino as part of the emerging consumption orientation of the city akin to many other forms of development designed to revitalise the de-industrialising areas of global cities. Barringer¹³⁸ styles the use of casinos, stadia and convention centres as the *Carnival City* model of development. He believes this panacea for a revitalised city is a misguided use of public investment. According to Barringer, the nature of the attraction varies from city to city. Sometimes it is a stadium or a casino but its aim is to lure visitors from the suburbs and beyond and certainly this is the source of patronage for Star City.

In the USA many of these facilities gain subsidies from the city, state or federal governments but it would be difficult to argue that Star City apart from its monopoly status had attracted any subsidy from the state. Pymont Ultimo and the industries located there are the beneficiaries of enormous infrastructural investment by the state and federal government via the Better Cities programme. The casino is a net contributor to the revenues of the state and perhaps to the viability of the infrastructure of Pymont Ultimo via its location on the light rail.

Barringer argues casinos reduce the spending power of local residents, and local restaurants are squeezed out by cheap casino food and public relations campaigns aimed at bringing the tourist to the casino. The evidence of our research is that locals rarely use the facilities of the Casino and while there is evidence of an under-provision of local entertainment services, this is a problem of planning the sequence of development and the effect of Darling Harbour rather than exclusion by the Casino. Locally directed advertising by the casino has been designed to engage the locals in community activities and minimise any adverse effects of promotions rather than to attract the patronage of the local population.

¹³⁷ McMillan J From Glamour to Grind - The Globalisation of Casinos

¹³⁸ Barringer D The New Urban Gamble - The American Prospect - Princeton University Press 1997

The interest of the State government in New South Wales in casino development parallels that of other developed nations. With a shift to a service based economy¹³⁹ legalised casino style gambling has expanded rapidly as state revenue based on manufacturing is declining. The drive to provide jobs in the local economy is also an incentive as the majority of casinos provide approximately 500-700 jobs per facility. In February of this year there were 3685 employed by the casino but only 221 of these lived in Pymont Ultimo. This illustrates our general conclusion that the metropolitan footprint of the Casino is wider and more diffuse than is revealed in local research. This does not, in any way, detract from the importance of identifying the local effects but illustrates that these are contingent and cannot be assumed from international studies, particularly where the definition of local is undefined and the social and historical circumstance of development differ.

One of the most important factors in casino development in Australia has been the promise of tax revenues. While this has led to the detailed monitoring of development and gaming practices, it has also arguably allowed a climate of concession with regard to taxation regimes and gamblers of criminal background to emerge in competition between the states. Debates over tax in the Australian context have provided a continuous source of competitive bidding between states and casino operators to minimise the returns to the state and maximise returns to shareholders. Barringer argues this may result in declining benefits from this type of development to local communities and a net loss to the economy through competition with local facilities.

The Productivity Commission in its recent report on gambling in Australia argued that the increasing proliferation of gambling opportunities with the privatisation, promotion and tempo of gambling, had resulted in a trebling of gambling expenditure in the past 15 years. Gambling has grown most rapidly in those states with liberalised access to gaming machines, resulting in a doubling of taxation revenues from gambling to nearly 12% of State and Territory governments tax revenue. With such a major impact on Australian society from gambling in the past decade, one might suspect that the local effects of a casino in the traditional inner city area of Pymont Ultimo would reflect and magnify these trends. The evidence of major local impacts is, however, far from clear.

The current inquiry into the Star City Casino under Justice McClellan has concluded that a significant number of the major gamblers at the Casino were criminals and that there was evidence of prostitution and loan sharking in the casino¹⁴⁰. It is not apparent, however, that this is reflected in the local area and it appears to be restricted to the high rollers of the Casino. Indeed the Productivity Commission concluded that "Street crime in the vicinity of gambling venues does not appear to be any greater and if anything is of less concern than in other places"¹⁴¹.

¹³⁹ A' UNLU International Gaming Institute-The Economics Of Gaming , 1996

¹⁴⁰ Justice McClellan Star City Inquiry Public Hearing 31 August 2000 pp21-22

¹⁴¹ Commonwealth Government Productivity Commission Inquiry into Gaming Summary p 29

The Casino constitutes a very small proportion of gambling activity in New South Wales but attracts a significant amount of publicity as a prominent and controversial icon of the recent liberalisation of gambling. Concern over the possible impacts of the Casino has insured its continuing high profile. Its activities are regulated by the Casino Surveillance Division of the Department of Gaming and Racing and by the NSW Casino Control Authority.¹⁴² It is reported that 2085 people had been banned by the casino, police or the surveillance branch since the Casino opening.¹⁴³ The effects of the Casino on its local area may not be direct but may be a product of impressions of illicit activity stigmatising the area or the displacement of activities to other parts of the locale in the wake surveillance in the Casino itself. Gaming controls¹⁴⁴ reflect how gambling is conducted in individual countries and states and the development of legislation is a response to, and a reflection of public concerns.

Lynch¹⁴⁵ drew the conclusion from his study of crime and the Casino that the anticipated increase in the instances of crime failed to eventuate in the early months of the Casino's operation. Following two years of operation of the temporary Casino, he found a general increase of incidences of crime in Pymont/Ultimo but these he attributed to population growth via the City West Project on the Pymont Peninsula. However there are a number of examples that show criminal activity is still involved in the management of casinos as we point out above. The attempt to curtail these practices through regulations and controls are in some respects implicated in the local urban effects of casinos. As we argue the casino creates a *cordon sanitaire* of surveillance in its immediate vicinity, reducing crime in the area. This may, of course, result in crime's displacement. There is some argument that this is occurring in crime within the least monitored sections of the Casino and hotel complex itself and in relation to car break ins in the security shadow beyond the purview of Casino surveillance but this is difficult to verify.

¹⁴² SMH, 11 August 1998

¹⁴³ SMH, 25 to 27 April 2000

¹⁴⁴ A'UNLU International Gaming Institute, Ch3. The Regulation and Control of Casino Gambling

¹⁴⁵ Lynch R, A preliminary analysis of crime in relation to the Sydney Harbour Casino, 1997.

One of the other issues that have continued to be associated with the development of casinos is an increasing dependency on casinos and the dislocation of existing industries. This is a possible metropolitan effect associated with the displacement of activity and the opportunity cost of revenue channelled into gambling but it is not significantly evident at a local level. Clayton¹⁴⁶ looked at the continual growth in casino and hotel development in Las Vegas, a process transforming the city and bringing apartment complexes, townhouses and single family subdivisions. The impacts of casinos can be likened to, and share much in common with, the impact of other large scale developments such as stadia on urban communities. Stadia like casinos are the most recent version of pedestrian malls, convention centre developments, or festival centres, as urban economic cure-alls. Knack¹⁴⁷ argued the development and upgrade of stadiums for economic re-generation of cities is often associated with office development choosing sites adjacent to stadium facilities to take advantage of low cost parking. There is no evidence of such a correlation here and parking is, in the wake of residential development, emerging as one of the most significant problem areas for the peninsula.

Knack argued that stadiums should preferably build on the existing character of an area or a community and arguably the community relations activities of the Casino have made a strong attempt to do this. The existing character or *genius locus* of Pymont Ultimo is only now becoming evident.

Meulman¹⁴⁸ talks about the need for malls and shopping centre expansion to create a central node by including recreational and essential services at the centre of each facility. Such centres generally lack the important components available in traditional town centres such as medical, pharmaceutical and dental facilities. Certainly the lack of supermarket and other essential facilities and the need to travel by car to the Broadway shopping complex is a concern of local residents, but it is doubtful that responsibility for this gap rests with the Casino

Major casinos derive significant revenue from tourism and this has two implications. The first is the attraction of tourists to the local area and in general our research revealed that tourism was viewed positively by the locals. The second is the possibility that casino revenues may be less dependent on local than tourist revenue. Leiper¹⁴⁹ argues that the pro-casino lobby appear to use tourism as a kind of Trojan Horse, disguising the point that the major gambling market is in the local population. If locals become the primary target of the Casino for gambling the negative economic impacts in the local economy increase. This view was supported by a study in Wisconsin which found that approximately 80% of the revenue from Casinos came from residents of Wisconsin (Wisconsin Policy Research Institute Report, 1995). This proximity effect is not the case in Pymont Ultimo.

¹⁴⁶ Clayton D., Las Vegas Goes for Broke, The American Planning Association Journal 1995

¹⁴⁷ Eckdish Knack R., Stadiums - The Right Game Plan, The American Planning Association Journal Volume 52, No. 9 - 1986

¹⁴⁸ Meulman K., Major Shopping Centres - The Towns of Yesteryear, The Queensland Planner, Vol 35 - No. 4- December 1995

¹⁴⁹ Leiper N., Tourism and Gambling GEO Journal 1989

Hallebone's¹⁵⁰ research into attitudes to gambling and the Crown Casino in Melbourne described casinos as ranked social class settings and documented racist comments with a stated perception that Asians were the problem gamblers. Respondents in Pymont Ultimo commonly associate problem gambling with Asian ethnic group patrons. This appears to be a generalised perception and we have not attempted here to investigate its empirical support. This perception does not appear to correlate with or contribute to any widespread stigmatised or negative view of Asian ethnic group residents in the peninsula.

The 1996 census found that fifty per cent of the Pymont-Ultimo population was between the ages of 20 and 34 and 71% between 15 and 44. In the late 1990s there has been an increase in the number of people over fifty. Often referred to as 'empty nesters' these new entrants sell their homes in the suburbs and opt for an inner-city existence in upmarket developments such as Jackson's Landing overlooking the water on the Pymont headland. The size of the units and their extremely favourable location appeal to people over fifty whose children have left home and who are now finding their homes too large to maintain. The prices of these apartments tend to exclude the younger buyers. The survey found that just under one in five households had at least one child living at home.

Many of the key informants sensed that there had been an increase in the proportion of married couples in the area since the 1996 census as many of the new, upmarket developments are geared towards couples and families. The USRC survey suggested that the proportion of households occupied by couples is increasing. There has been a substantial increase in the number of families in the area illustrated most concretely in the rising number of pupils enrolled in Ultimo primary school. Mainland China (including Hong Kong), Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Taiwan and the Philippines were the main countries of pupils' origin. While many come from high residential densities and are fairly recent arrivals, many have had a long history in the area. This increase in the number of families was also encouraged by a shift in the policy of the Department of Urban Affairs and Planning (DUAP).

Most residents in Pymont are now in white-collar occupations and the rents in Pymont-Ultimo and cost of the units means that it is difficult for people in low-income jobs to live in the area. With the recent completion of part of the Jackson's Landing project and other prestigious developments, the number of high-income earners as residents has increased. About 35 per cent of the respondents to the USRC survey earned more than \$60 000 a year.

By contrast the 1996 census found that two thirds of residents were tenants. Most of the key informants felt that the proportion of owner-occupiers had increased since that time. The tenure profile of an area is an important determinant of residential stability, which in turn is an important criterion for a sense of community. One of the key reasons for the very strong social ties that existed in Pymont and Ultimo up to the 1960s was the long history of most residents in the area. Recently Pymont-Ultimo has been a far more transient community. Some of the current movement in the area is the

¹⁵⁰ Hallebone E., Saturday night at the Melbourne Casino, *The Australian Journal of Social Issues* - Volume 32 No. 4 - 1997

result of churning as residents seek out better accommodation when it comes on to the market.

Long-established residents lament the apparent lack of community now and recall the sense of community from when Pymont Ultimo was primarily a working class area. As our history indicates the process of depopulation of Pymont Ultimo was well underway in the 1960s as the population dropped from 4007 to 2598 in that decade, some forty years ago. Yet the perception of a community lost is strong in the remaining few who believe that some of the people who have moved into the area, have deliberately tried to undermine the old residents and their sense of community. This is clear evidence of a changing character to the area. These older residents argue that the transient young people are not inclined to push for things, yet there are potentially more long-term residents in Pymont Ultimo now than there have been for half a century. Perhaps the emerging struggle over the smokestacks for the RTA tunnel will be the catalyst that will demonstrate a new sense of community.

The redevelopment of Pymont-Ultimo has led to an increase in the level of ethnic diversity in the area and while there is no evidence of serious mixing neither is there evidence of overt hostility. Some see the increasing diversity of the area as an impediment to community arguing that what is occurring is the development of 'ethnic villages or different national groups clustering and creating social ties and networks within their particular grouping. The social ties between the Department of Housing residents and the rest of the residents are minimal. More recent residents have different expectations. They do not expect to know a large proportion of the population and find the increasing diversity exciting and refreshing rather than a threat. Some view the diversity of the population as a key reason for there being a sense of community in Pymont. They are open to becoming friendly with people and a great deal of the social contact takes place in the pubs, very much as it might have a century ago.

It appears from our survey that women, married couples and owner occupiers are more likely to establish or perceive the existence of networks of kindred spirits in the area of residence than are unmarried residents. Half of all the respondents who were owner-occupiers agreed that there was a sense of community in their neighbourhood compared to one in five respondents who were tenants in private dwellings. This would bode well for the formation of a sense of community identity in the future.

Further evidence of the erosion of the traditional and emergence of a new *genius locus* is the declining sense of relevance of the community organisation in the face of redevelopment. As in most residential areas, community organisation has relied on the remarkable commitment of a small group and some significant victories such as the retention of the James Watkinson Reserve. Many of this group have now withdrawn from local politics and they feel disillusioned, resigned to their lack of control and burnt out. The new residents, they believe, are not interested in community issues or perhaps the newer, more affluent residents who become involved in community activities are on the side of the developers rather than the 'community'. A new or perhaps several new communities would appear to be emerging with different values and commitments to the traditional residents. Although in Pymont the Precinct

Committee disbanded some time ago the Council meeting on the first Tuesday of every month is still well attended.

The emerging issue in the peninsula is the proposed smokestack, which the RTA wants to place in the region of Darling Harbour. This has united old and new residents and residents from Pymont and Ultimo. Besides the threat of pollution, owners are also worried about what impact the stack will have on housing prices. Where once in industrial Pymont Ultimo there was smoke from the powerhouses seven days a week, now pollution is a major issue in the locality due to the large number of arterial roads that run through and alongside the locality accentuated by the density of the development.

Perceptions of crime differ markedly; elderly residents tend to have a strong sense that crime has become a serious concern. Younger residents tend to be far less concerned about crime and business in the area has not raised the issue as a major concern. Still there is a common perception that the Casino has contributed towards crime due to the 24 hour business, an increase in drug dealing and in the number of brothels. Respondents living in close proximity to the casino were more likely to believe that the Casino had created more crime, in comparison to some areas in Ultimo where less than one third of respondents strongly agreed or agreed. A common argument was that besides the casino contributing to crime, locals living in the housing commission areas also committed crime. As Lynch identified, any actual increase in crime is more likely to be a function of the rapidly increasing population in the area and in general the level of security experienced by residents in the area is quite high.

The area is now dominated by high tech industries and associated services. A number of cafes, restaurants and delicatessens have set up shop and Pymont in particular has become a 'café society'. Business people are happy with the way the area has developed and with their decision to locate in the Pymont-Ultimo. The promise of continuing residential and commercial growth of the area is the key factor that initially drew them to the area and keeps them there. Although there has been a burgeoning of cafes, many residents feel the retail sector in the area is still undeveloped as there is limited retail and a lack of fashion shops. The Broadway shopping centre is where residents tend to shop but it is difficult to access without a car and many rarely use their vehicle other than for this purpose. For older residents who were generally less mobile and less affluent, this is a big issue and the problem is intensified by the inadequate bus service between Pymont and Broadway.

The increase in the number of residents and number of workers in the area was viewed as a key reason for the increase in traffic. The streets of Ultimo were viewed as far busier and more inhospitable than Pymont and respondents who lived near the casino felt that since the casino had started its operations, traffic in the area had increased. The common perception was that the casino increased traffic only at certain times the main change occurring on Saturday night. A much bigger issue, for residents is parking. While the 1996 census revealed an extraordinarily high percentage of residents walked to work (32%) it appears this has not been reflected in a comparable reduction in car ownership. Developments provided far too few parking spots forcing residents to use the surrounding streets; construction traffic, business, further

residential development together with the Casino itself has worsened the problem and it has not been resolved by the introduction of residents parking permits.

The parks in the Pymont-Ultimo area have been hard fought for and even Mary Anne Park in Ultimo which evoked great controversy because it has no shade appears to be well used. As is Darling Harbour which for seven in ten respondents was the number one attraction in the Pymont-Ultimo area.

The area is served by buses, the light rail system, to a limited extent by the monorail but despite the numerous options, many of the Ultimo residents are dissatisfied with the public transport system. The attempts to improve the bus service have purportedly been hindered by the agreement between the City of Sydney Council and the company that operates the light rail system whereby no new bus services can be introduced in the Pymont-Ultimo area unless the light rail company gives its approval.

While some informants, more especially the long-established residents were vehemently opposed to the Casino being located in Pymont the majority felt that the impact of the Casino on the daily lives of residents was not significant or did not elicit much passion. Many said that they disliked the building but were not disturbed by the presence of the Casino. Many of the younger residents liked the fact that it was a 24 hour facility and that when they were bored they could always pay the Casino a visit.

Newer Ultimo residents, especially, because of their physical distance from the Casino, were likely to say that they did not have strong feelings one way or the other and that it played little or no part in their lives. For some Pymont residents the Casino had a more direct impact as some patrons left the casino premises drunk and made a good deal of noise late at night walking to their motor cars. Still, across the peninsula, just under half the respondents felt the Casino had made a positive contribution and the responses of respondents living close to the Casino were similar to the responses of respondents living in other zones. Most key informants were critical of the Casino design and the general feeling was that only a small proportion of residents use the Casino on a regular basis.

Most informants were pleased that the area had been redeveloped but there was a good deal of criticism as to how the development had actually proceeded. The Department of Urban Affairs and Planning feel that their major development goals in the area have been achieved and the area is remarkably successful in terms of urban consolidation. Most informants felt that the development must stop, as the area was becoming too dense.

Many informants felt there were discernible and important differences between Ultimo and Pymont. A common conclusion was that Ultimo was the "poor relation" in that most of the resources had gone into Pymont. The example most frequently used to substantiate this conclusion was Harris Street. Harris Street in Ultimo is inhospitable and extremely busy, while Harris Street in Pymont is characterised by a relatively sedate traffic flow, large pavements and a lovely square.

Despite voicing concerns, our respondents enjoyed living in Pymont-Ultimo. They enjoyed the easy access, the ability to walk to work and to many facilities, and the increasing number of cafes. It does appear that Sydneysiders who elect to live in units

in the inner city are enjoying the experience. Three-quarters of respondents felt that their quality of life in Pymont-Ultimo was good or very good. Where they lived in Pymont-Ultimo had no impact on how they responded to this question.

The constant redevelopment of Pymont Ultimo is a factor in all aspects of its social and physical character. This is not only indicative of the provisional nature of its social and physical form but also of the day to day experience of people living in the area. Every day the area changes and every day new people move in or come to work in the area. As the population grows and the built and social form in some areas becomes relatively stable there is the opportunity for an identity to crystallise in the area. For the majority of residents, particularly in Pymont the experience is one of living in a zone in transition. Only in the last eighteen months are there people who have not experienced the incessant noise of building, the parking and congestion effects of construction traffic and ambience of a streetscape under construction. Children play in the rubble of construction sites and the chatter of the jackhammer punctuates their cries in the playground. The walk home from the city is a maze of barriers and a tunnel of scaffolding that is gradually peeled away to reveal a new suburb. As the trees and turf of the newly landscaped developments take root so will the lives and traditions of the new residents in Pymont Ultimo. The casino appears to play a relatively minor role in this new community.

4. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bounds, M., Miers, S., Pfister, N. and Searle, G. 1998. *The Impact of the Sydney Casino on the Social Composition and the Residential Amenity of the Residents of Pyrmont-Ultimo, Stage 1, Report 1.* The Urban Studies Research Centre, UWS Macarthur.

Bounds, M., Searle, G. and Stapleton, C. 1999. *The Impact of the Sydney Casino on the Social Composition and the Residential Amenity of the Residents of Pyrmont-Ultimo, Stage 1, Report 2.* The Urban Studies Research Centre, UWS Macarthur.

Bounds, M., and Morris, A. 2000. *The Impact of the Sydney Casino on the Social Composition and the Residential Amenity of the Residents of Pyrmont-Ultimo, Stage 2, Report 1.* The Urban Studies Research Centre, UWS Macarthur.

The News, Pyrmont and Ultimo. Various issues.

Aplin, Graeme & Storey, John: *Waterfront Sydney 1860-1920.* Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1984.

Ashton, Paul: *The Accidental City: planning Sydney since 1788.* Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1993

Australian Dictionary of Biography. ANU/MUP, 1966+

Balint, Emery, Howells, Trevor, & Smyth, Victoria: *Warehouses & Woolstores of Victorian Sydney.* Melbourne, OUP, 1982

Barnett, Winston: *Imagining Pyrmont: an end state: a critique of statistical intentions.* University of Technology Sydney, Faculty of Design, Architecture & Building, 1998

Cannon, Michael: *Life in the Cities: Australian in the Victorian Age: 3.* Melbourne, Nelson, 1975

Charlton, Peter: *Two Flies up a wall: the Australian passion for gambling.* NSW, Methuen Haynes, 197

City West Development Corporation: *City West Urban Renewal: six years on.* City West Development Corporation, 1998

City West Development Corporation: *Doors were always open: recollections of Pyrmont and Ultimo.* Compiled by City West Development Corporation and Margaret Park, 1997.

Clune, Frank: *Sage of Sydney.* Sydney, Halstead Press, 1961

Cox, Gary & Miers, Stacey: *Post occupancy survey of new residents to Ultimo Pyrmont.* Sydney, Dept of Urban Affairs & Planning, City West & Better Cities Branch, 1996

- Darling Harbour: the official magazine*. c1990 [ML Q919.441/33]
- Darling Harbour Casino Investigation Team. *Report*. 2 volumes. Sydney, Govt Printer, 1986
- Fitzgerald, Shirley: *Red Tape, Gold Scissors: the story of Sydney's Chinese*. State Library of NSW Press, 1997
- Fitzgerald, Shirley: *Sydney 1842-1992*. Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1992
- Fitzgerald, Shirley and Golder, Hilary: *Pymont & Ultimo under siege*. Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1994
- Godden, Christine, ed: *CSR Pymont refinery centenary 1978: photography project*. NSW, Australian Centre for Photography, 1978
- Keilhacker, Theresa: *Urban Densification in today's cities with reference to Pymont-Ultimo in Sydney and Dorotheen/Friedrichstadt in Berlin*. University of Sydney, Master of Architecture, 1998
- Kelly, Max, ed: *Nineteenth-Century Sydney: essays in urban history*. Sydney University Press in association with The Sydney History Group, 1978
- Meriton Apartments Pty Ltd: *Conservation Options: Pymont Incinerator*. Report prepared by Ken Maher Schwager Brooks & Partners Pty Ltd, June 1990
- Lynch, Rob, 'The Growth of Casinos within the Australian leisure and gambling industries', Nanzan University. Centre for Australian Studies. Number 11, September 1997
- Matthews, Michael; *Pymont & Ultimo: a history*. Sydney, 1982
- NSW. Casino Control Authority. *Report on the location, size and style of the New South Wales Casino*. January 1993
- NSW. Department of Planning. *City West Draft Regional Environment Plan*. Sydney, the Department, 1991
- NSW. Department of Planning. *Development application to the Minister for Planning for the Sydney Harbour Casino, Pymont Bay, Sydney, 31 August 1994*. 4 Vols. Sydney, the Department, 1994. Volume 1: *Statement of Environmental Effects - Sydney Harbour Casino*.
- NSW. Department of Housing: *Bowman Street master plan 94/1: community and public housing Pymont Point*. Sydney, 1994.
- NSW. Department of Planning. *Ultimo-Pymont-Precinct Planning Study*. Prepared from Report by Travis Partners Pty Ltd, Sydney, the Department, c1991

- NSW. Department of Urban Affairs and Planning: *Affordable housing: revised City West Affordable Housing Program*. Sydney, the Department, 1996
- NSW. Department of Urban Affairs and Planning: *Ultimo-Pyrmont Development Bulletin*. No 1: July 1992 to June 1996 No 2
- NSW. Department of Urban Affairs and Planning: *Urban Development Plan for Ultimo-Pyrmont Precinct: 1995 Update*. Sydney, the Department, 1995.
- NSW. Local Government Community Services Association. Social Planners Division: *All you wanted to know about social impact assessment but were afraid to ask! Social Impact Assessment Seminar, Dougherty Centre, Chatswood, 23 May 1996: Seminar Papers*. 1996
- NSW. Parliament. *Report compiled by the Darling Harbour Casino Investigation Team*. Volume 1, 5 August 1986
- Pentecost, R: *The Darling Harbour Development Project*. Sydney, Telecom Society, Historical Branch, 1987
- Petersham College of Tafe: *Thinking Back: some memories of residents of Ultimo and Pyrmont*. 1980? Based on a social history programme by the Outreach Project at Petersham College of TAFE through the Sid Fegan Activities Centre, Ultimo
- Roe, Jill, ed: *Twentieth Century Sydney: studies in urban & social history*. Sydney, Hale & Iremonger in association with The Sydney History Group, 1980
- Spearritt, Peter and DeMarco, Christina: *Planning Sydney's Future*. Sydney, Allen & Unwin in conjunction with the NSW Department of Planning, 1988
- Stephenson, P R & Kennedy, Brian: *The History and description of Sydney Harbour*. Sydney, Reed, 1966
- Sydney City Council: *Action Planning Forum 22 November 1972*
- Sydney City Council: *Position Paper on Ultimo/Pyrmont*. Sydney, the Council, 1993
- Thomson, John Whyte: *Power House: a study of the relocation of the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences in a development of the Ultimo Power Station and the Ultimo Tramway Depot*. Sydney, Government Architect's Office, 1978.
- Turbet, Peter: *The Aborigines of the Sydney District before 1788*. NSW, Kangaroo Press, 1989
- Webber, G P, ed: *The Design of Sydney: three decades of change in the city centre*. Sydney, Law Book Company Ltd, 1988
- Wotherspoon, Gary, ed: *Sydney's Transport: studies in urban history*. Sydney, Hale & Iremonger in association with The Sydney History Group, 1983

Methodology

Two main methods were used for this stage of the research - semi-structured in-depth interviews and a survey questionnaire. (copies attached)

The semi-structured in-depth interviews

For this report and the preceding one, a total of 42 in-depth interviews were done with a range of key informants. The key informants included three groups of residents: residents who had moved into the area in the 1990s; residents who had lived in the area prior to the redevelopment and residents who had been active in community organisations in either the Ultimo and Pyrmont area. The newer residents were able to give a perspective on why they had decided to move to Pyrmont-Ultimo, how they found living in a high density situation close to the city and their perceptions and usage of the casino and other facilities in the vicinity. They were also asked to comment on issues like traffic and crime. The older residents were able to compare the new area to the old area and discuss how the area has changed and the impact of these changes on their everyday life. For both groups their perceptions of the casino and its impact was a key focus.

Residents who had been very active in the community were able to give a finely textured account of the issues that had confronted the area since the redevelopment and how the community and authorities had responded to these concerns.

Business people in the area were asked to comment on the redevelopment from their perspective. Many of them also had an intimate knowledge of the locality.

Real estate agents, developers and officials involved in the redevelopment were interviewed in order to obtain a sense of the property market in the area, a profile of the purchasers and the process of redevelopment.

Community workers and principals have contact with a wide range of people in the locality in which they are based and generally have an excellent grasp of the views and concerns of the community.

The questionnaire survey

A questionnaire survey was conducted so as to obtain data that could be generalised to the population in Pyrmont-Ultimo. A total of 1 000 questionnaires were mailed out to residents. The sample was randomly selected by selecting every nth name on the 1999 electoral role*. In addition to the mail out, all 300 units in Dalgety Square in Ultimo received a questionnaire. A total of 120 questionnaires were returned. The questionnaire focused on the gathering of basic demographic data, and perceptions around the impact of the casino and redevelopment.

**PARTICIPATION INFORMATION SHEET
UWS MACARTHUR
URBAN STUDIES RESEARCH CENTRE**

Dear Sir / Madam,

**The impact of the Sydney Casino on the social composition and
residential amenity of the residents of Pyrmont Ultimo**

The Urban Studies Research Centre of the University of Western Sydney Macarthur is undertaking this research by accredited researchers / postgraduate students employed by the Urban Studies Research Centre.

WHAT THE PROJECT IS ABOUT

The research is part of a two-year study funded by the Casino Community Benefits Fund to assess the impacts of Sydney Harbour Casino on residential amenity and the social and physical character of the local area.

WHAT IS INVOLVED FOR A PARTICIPANT

If you should agree to participate we ask you to complete the enclosed questionnaire regarding the Casino and the area in which you live and some other areas and your views on various factors which effect or may effect the quality of life in the area.

The questionnaire will take about 10 to 15 minutes to complete and you should feel free to avoid answering any question about which you are unsure. Please return the questionnaire in the attached reply paid envelope.

THE RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Your responses to the questionnaire will be compared anonymously with those of other respondents. There should be no discomfort in responding and your involvement is entirely voluntary.

WHO IS CONDUCTING THE PROJECT?

This research is being conducted by Dr Michael Bounds and Dr Glen Searle of the Urban Studies Research Centre and UTS, Dr Bounds can be contacted at the University of Western Sydney Macarthur on Ph: 9772 6322.

USE OF FINDINGS

All information from this research will remain anonymous, be used for academic publications and be retained in a locked filing cabinet

The Urban Studies Research Centre is an academic Research Unit and has no commercial affiliations. Your participation in this research will be completely anonymous. The findings of this research will be available for academic publications.

We are happy to feed back to you any aspects of the research at a later date. If you wish to confirm any aspect of the research or the bona fides of the researchers, you may contact:

Dr Michael Bounds
Director
Urban Studies Research Centre
FASS 4B
UWS Macarthur.
Telephone 9772 6322

Thank you for your assistance.

Dr Michael Bounds
Director
Urban Studies Research Centre.

"This research project has been approved by the University of Western Sydney, Macarthur Ethics Review Committee (Human Subjects). Any complaints or reservations about this research may be directed to the ethics Committee through the Executive Officer, Claire Kaspura, on telephone number (02)4620 3641.

Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated fully and you will be informed of the outcome."

QUESTIONNAIRE

**The impact of the Sydney Casino on the social composition
and residential amenity of the residents of Pyrmont Ultimo
Casino Community Benefit Fund**

**Urban Studies Research Centre
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Zone -
UWS Macarthur**

**Researcher: Dr Michael Bounds , Director, Urban Studies Research Centre ,UWS
Macarthur**

Anonymity

Your characteristics are identified in the questionnaire but your identity will remain anonymous. If you are happy to be contacted again contact details will remain confidential and only be used by the principal researcher for further contact later in the research

Please tick the appropriate response(s) or write in your answer where appropriate.

1. Please specify your sex. Male ₁ Female ₂

2. What is your age? (Please tick appropriate category).

10-20	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	51-60	<input type="checkbox"/> ₅
21-30	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂	61-70	<input type="checkbox"/> ₆
31-40	<input type="checkbox"/> ₃	71-80	<input type="checkbox"/> ₇
41-50	<input type="checkbox"/> ₄	80+	<input type="checkbox"/> ₈

3. In what country were you born? _____

4. What is your current occupation? _____

5. How long have you lived in Pyrmont/Ultimo? (Please indicate number of years).

Less than one year

_____ years

6. What is the highest educational qualification you have attained?

- No Qualifications 1
- Secondary Education 2
- Trade qualification 3
- Diploma 4
- Bachelor Degree 5
- Higher degree 6
- Other 7
- (please specify) _____

7. Please tick the category that best describes your living arrangement

- Owner 1
- Mortgage/Owner 2
- Private Rental 3
- Public Housing Rental 4
- Other (please specify) _____

8. What is your marital status?

- Married 1
- Single 2
- De Facto 3
- Widow/Widower 4
- Divorced 5

9. How many children do you have _____
(If no children please go to Question 11)

10. Of these children how many are living at home _____

11. Please indicate your current level of income (please tick appropriate category)

- | | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| 0 - \$15,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | \$61,000 - \$75,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| \$16,000 - \$30,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | \$76,000 - \$90,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| \$31,000 - \$45,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | \$91,000 + | <input type="checkbox"/> 7 |
| \$46,000 - \$60,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | | |

*If you have any additional comments on the following questions,
please use the back of the questionnaire to respond further.*

12. Overall has the casino contribution to the area been positive or negative in your opinion?

Positive 1 Negative 2

13. Have you noticed a difference in traffic since the casino began operating.

Yes 1 No 2 (If no, please go to question 15).

14. If yes, what differences have you noticed?

- | | Yes | No |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Increase in traffic | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Decrease in traffic | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Delays in public transport | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Overcrowding on public transport | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| An increase in traffic noise | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| A decrease in traffic noise | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| An increase in illegal parking | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| A decrease in illegal parking | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| An increase in traffic congestion | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| A decrease in traffic congestion | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

Other (please specify): _____

15. If you agree that there has been an increase in traffic in the area would you attribute it to any of the following?

- | | Yes | No |
|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Not enough parking space | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| Design of access to the Casino is poor | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| Outsiders cruising in the area | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| Influx of people to the Casino | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| Increase in number of residents in the area | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| Increase in number of people working in the area | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| Not applicable
(do not think there has been an increase in traffic) | <input type="checkbox"/> | |

16. Has the traffic in the area made it more difficult to partake in any of the activities listed below?

- | | Yes | No |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Sport | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| Shopping | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| Going to the pub | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| Eating out | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |

17. Has the traffic contributed to any of the following?

- | | Yes | No |
|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Poor community relations | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| Friction with patrons to the Casino | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| Road rage | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |
| If you are an employer in the area,
Problems with staff | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ |

18. Are there any days or times of the day, when traffic conditions change noticeably that you can attribute to the casino? (please tick appropriate response).

- | | Weekday | Saturday | Sunday |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Morning | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ |
| Afternoon | <input type="checkbox"/> ₁ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₂ | <input type="checkbox"/> ₃ |

Night time ₁ ₂ ₃
 Peak hour ₁ ₂ ₃

Please indicate the level to which you agree with the following statements by ticking the appropriate box.

19. **The casino makes a positive contribution to the appearance of the area**

Strongly agree Agree Neither agree/disagree Disagree Strongly disagree
₁ ₂ ₃ ₄ ₅

20. **Locals use the casino on a regular basis**

Strongly agree Agree Neither agree/disagree Disagree Strongly disagree
₁ ₂ ₃ ₄ ₅

21. **Casino patrons are settling in the area to be closer to the casino facilities**

Strongly agree Agree Neither agree/disagree Disagree Strongly disagree
₁ ₂ ₃ ₄ ₅

22. **There has been an increase in casino employees moving to the area.**

Strongly agree Agree Neither agree/disagree Disagree Strongly disagree
₁ ₂ ₃ ₄ ₅

23. **Since the opening of the casino there has been friction between local residents and patrons of the casino.**

Strongly agree Agree Neither agree/disagree Disagree Strongly disagree
₁ ₂ ₃ ₄ ₅

24. **The opening of the casino has created more crime in the area.**

Strongly agree Agree Neither agree/disagree Disagree Strongly disagree
₁ ₂ ₃ ₄ ₅

25. **Since it has opened, the casino has attracted more police activity in the area.**

Strongly agree Agree Neither agree/disagree Disagree Strongly disagree
₁ ₂ ₃ ₄ ₅

26. Since the opening of the casino there has been an increase in private security in the area.

Strongly agree 1 Agree 2 Neither agree/disagree 3 Disagree 4 Strongly disagree 5

27. The Olympics will create more congestion in Pymont/Ultimo?

Strongly agree 1 Agree 2 Neither agree/disagree 3 Disagree 4 Strongly disagree 5

28. There will be an overall increase of tourist numbers to local attractions during the Olympics

Strongly agree 1 Agree 2 Neither agree/disagree 3 Disagree 4 Strongly disagree 5

29. Please rate the following attractions in the area from 1 to 7 (1 highest attraction – 7 lowest attraction) by writing the appropriate number next to the attraction.

Darling Harbour	_____
Star City Casino	_____
Maritime Museum	_____
Powerhouse Museum	_____
Local Parks	_____
Local Pubs	_____
Restaurants/Cafes	_____

30. Has tourism in Pymont/Ultimo made the area a more desirable place for you to live? (Please tick the appropriate response).

Yes 1 No 2

31. What effect do you think the Olympics will have on the area? (Please tick the appropriate response).

Positive 1 Negative 2

32. The changes occurring to the Pymont/Ultimo area through building redevelopment has created positive changes for the area

Strongly agree ₁ Agree ₂ Neither agree/disagree ₃ Disagree ₄ Strongly disagree ₅

33. The redevelopment of the area has changed the social character of the local area

Strongly agree ₁ Agree ₂ Neither agree/disagree ₃ Disagree ₄ Strongly disagree ₅

34. There exists a sense of community in your residential area

Strongly agree ₁ Agree ₂ Neither agree/disagree ₃ Disagree ₄ Strongly disagree ₅

35. Have you noticed changes occurring in:

	Yes	No
People you see on the street	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂
Types of people living here	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂
The local shops	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂
Restaurants	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂
The local pub	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂
Childcare Facilities	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂
Money Lenders	<input type="checkbox"/> ₁	<input type="checkbox"/> ₂
Other (please specify)		

36. Overall would you say these changes due to redevelopment in the area have been

Positive ₁ Negative ₂

37. How would you rate the quality of life in the Pymont-Ultimo area?

Very good ₁ Good ₂ Average ₃ Bad ₄ Very Bad ₅

38. Are there any further comments you would like to make?

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey regarding the Star City Casino and other developments in Pymont Ultimo.
Could you please return the survey in the attached reply paid envelope by 6 September 2000

If you are interested in assisting further with the research by being interviewed on the topic, please leave a contact name and telephone number below and Dr. Michael Bounds will contact you in the near future.

NAME:

TELEPHONE:

"This research project has been approved by the University of Western Sydney, Macarthur Ethics Review Committee (Human Subjects). Any complaints or reservations about this research may be directed to the ethics Committee through the Executive Officer, Claire Kaspura, phone (02)4620 3641.

Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated fully and you will be informed of the outcome."

Appendix 2

St No.	Address	Building Name	Description	Completion Date	RS Units	RS B/sit	RS 1 Bed	RS 2 Bed	RS 3 Bed
8-14	Ada Pl		Residential conversion	Jan-1996	14		14		
60	Bowman St	The Elizabeth (Former CSR Boiler House)	Conversion of the Boiler House and Rum Store for residential and business uses	May-2000	44			2	42
134-164	Bulwara Rd	Darlington - Stages 2 & 3	Residential building	Jun-1996	129	1	3	111	14
32-34	Bunn St		Residential building	May-2000	90			55	35
24-40	Harris St		Residential Development	May-1997	68		39	15	14
45-55	Harris St	John St Square	Residential and retail development	Mar-1999	71		42	22	7
107-109	Harris St		Refurbish and extend terraces	Aug-1998	6		3	3	
223-229	Harris St		Two apartment buildings. City West DC - Affordable Housing. Completion Due July 1997	May-1997	61		27	28	6
1-5	Harwood St	Harbour's Edge	Nine storey residential building. Completion due June 1998	Nov-1997	96		93	3	
45	Jones St		Six storey residential building	Aug-1999	23		9	10	4
54-64	Macarthur St		Two, two to five storey residential buildings. Affordable housing development.	Apr-1996	32		13	17	2
82	Mary Ann St	Cooney Site	3 to 8 storey residential building	Dec-1999	110	2	58	41	5
2-2B	Mill St	Cnr Mill & Bayview	Residential development	Apr-2000	6				6
100	Miller St		Three storey residential building. Affordable Housing development. Completion due Sep 1997.	Oct-1997	27		8	10	9
102	Miller St	The Palladium	10 storey and eight storey residential buildings	Dec-1999	275	3	27	206	39
104	Miller St	Richmont	10 storey residential building.	May-2000	118		68	48	2
	Mount St	Rum Store Building	Refurbishment of existing Rum Store Building on CSR Site, conversion to residential	May-2000	13		1	6	6
117-125	Murray St		Residential development	Jan-1999	41		2	29	10
127	Murray St		9 level residential building	Jan-1999	17		1	15	1
137	Murray St		8 storey residential building. Affordable housing development.	Aug-1997	13		12	1	
1-27	Murray St	Gateway - Stage 1	Mixed commercial, residential and tourist development	Jun-1999	89		1	28	60
109-133	Point St		Nine storey residential building. Completion due Aug 1998	Aug-1998	76		14	48	14
1-9	Pymont Bridge Rd		9 storey residential building	Jan-1999	45		7	22	16
17	Pymont Bridge Rd	Westpac Archives	Change of use and additions for residential use.	Oct-1997	45		9	24	12
120	Pymont St	Mirage	Four and 10 storey residential buildings. Part of development completed. Completion Due Jun 1997	Jun-1997	224		21	185	18
149	Pymont St	Paragon	Two residential buildings of nine and seven stories	Mar-1999	172	1	72	89	10
199-223	Pymont St		10 & four storey apartment building	Jun-1996	108		40	50	18
2-10	Quarry Master	Tara	Residential development	Jul-1999	66		7	54	5
26	Saunders St	The Venetian	Residential development	Jan-2000	63		9	44	10
372-428	Wattle St	Dalgely Square	Residential conversion.	Feb-1999	307	3	80	172	52
2-44	Bunn St		Residential apartment building	Jun-2000	38	0	15	19	4
211-221	Harris St	Tymbrand Site	11 storey residential building. Approved by Court	Jun-2000	138	1	76	54	7
531-533	Harris St		Four storey residential / commercial	Jun-2000	7		1	5	1
54-66	John St	The Terraces (Sites C1 & C2)	Terrace Housing project	Jun-2000	63				63
43	Murray St		Nine storey residential and commercial building. Conversion of former warehouse.	Jun-2000	9			6	3
	Waterfront East	Regatta Wharf (WE2)	14 to 17 storey residential buildings	Jun-2000	159			106	53

2863