

**Exploring People-centred Development in
Melbourne Docklands Redevelopment:
Beyond Physical Development and Collaborative Planning**

by

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Abstract

The main theme of this research is centring people and their specific capabilities in the process of change within urban redevelopment. In this regard, in addition to considering affected people as the key actors in the process, this research argues for the inclusion of both the reflexive and adaptive capabilities of human agents. In particular, this research focuses on the socio-reflexive process underlying the change in beliefs-in-actions at both individual and social levels that could lead to place-based identity and community building. This people-centred approach to redevelopment and its alternatives have been studied in the case of Melbourne Docklands redevelopment. The findings show that while the development approach applied in Docklands has changed during its second decade of development (commenced in 2010) towards a more collaborative perspective, it still differs from a people-centred approach and is far from reaching a community building goal. This research finishes with recommendations for a new role for planners and governments, aligned with this approach and future directions for research in urban development.

Keywords: urban redevelopment; community building; people-centred approach; socio reflexive learning; Melbourne Docklands

*To my family, maman, baba & Atefeh
For all their love, support and encouragement;*

*To Alireza,
For his endless love, support, and help.*

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List of Acronyms

CBD	Central Business District
DA	Docklands Authority
DCA	Docklands Community Association
DCC	Docklands Coordination Committee
DCF	Docklands Community Forum
DPCD	Department of Planning and Community Development
PV	Places Victoria

1. Introduction

The increasing growth of cities and urban population in tandem with intense inter-urban competition has made urban revitalization a hot topic in urban studies (Dovey, 2005; Hildreth, 2007; Breese, 2008). Many urban redevelopment projects in a variety of forms and different scales have been implemented around the world. One important concern regarding these redevelopment practices is about the role of those people who are going to be recipients (both the residents and the workers who will spend a considerable portion of their time in the developed area) of these developments and their relationship with the development process. Are they consumers of the final product - the developed area - whose presence is confined to the end of the process with no need for involvement during the development process? It has been argued extensively that the public should be engaged in the planning and development process and that their input is useful (Innes & Booher, 2010). Why is this involvement useful and what influences could it have? How should this involvement occur and what is the appropriate degree and scope of involvement? Is preparing an environment where the public can share their ideas and communicate sufficient, or is something more than mere talk required? There have been arguments about the importance of sense of belonging and identity to a place (Friedman, 2010; Ho & Douglas, 2008). Can these approaches, which advocate for communication and interaction with the public, contribute to making a place or building an identity both for a place and for people? If the goal of development is community building, identity making, and place-making (Friedman, 2010), rather than physical development of an area which will attract residents and workers who will be adapted to the area, then what approach would be helpful to actualize such goals?

In this study, by concentrating on the urban redevelopment process, a two-sided theoretical and empirical purpose is pursued. From a theoretical perspective, it looks for a conceptualization of the urban development process that realizes the importance of public agency during this process of change; recognizes their peculiar transformative capabilities in addition to their adaptive capacities; understands the nature of urban

development as context-based and socially-constructed; and that through provision of opportunities for true public participation, has the potential ability to contribute to community building and place-making (Chapter 3). For the empirical aspect, through the use of this theoretical framework, the research investigates the case of Melbourne Docklands redevelopment, to see how its development process has changed during two decades of development and to what extent it has moved from an exclusive focus on physical development towards a focus on community building. Thus, this research introduces a new people-centred approach to urban redevelopment based on a version of a social learning understanding of the process of change that I have termed a socio-reflexive perspective, which concurrently aims to create a place and a place-based identity. This research tests the case of Melbourne's Docklands with this socio-reflexive perspective.

To meet this objective, chapter two briefly sets forth the necessary background about waterfront redevelopment and the Melbourne Docklands redevelopment case. In chapter three, I will focus on the theoretical side of the research and discuss different planning approaches, and their resultant urban development perspectives. Based on this discussion and employing a conceptual framework introduced in the 'organizational learning' literature, I will present a people-centred approach to urban development. After explaining my research design in chapter four, in chapter five two decades of Docklands development will be examined to demonstrate how the involved actors, mode of interaction with public, and the focus of development have altered during this period. Then in chapter six, I will look at the development process through a socio-reflexive lens and discuss it within the framework of the proposed people-centred approach. Finally, in chapter 7 I will conclude this study with recommendations for government authorities about the future of Docklands development, and for planning professionals and local and state governments about their new role in urban redevelopment practices, and future directions for research in urban development.

2. Background

In this chapter, first I will provide some context about urban redevelopment and its recent trends, which will be followed by a discussion of waterfront revitalization and the dynamics at work in waterfront regeneration processes. Reviewing the importance and dominance of urban redevelopment, especially waterfront revitalization in current urban policies, this chapter will discuss that the majority of these developments, considering inter-urban competition, are targeting the creation of a world-class city through market mechanisms. The Melbourne Docklands case as an example of these redevelopments will be introduced as the case study of this research. Its redevelopment practice, stages of redevelopment, and its redevelopment progress will also be described.

2.1. Urban redevelopment

Since the mid-twentieth century, urban redevelopment, though in different forms, experienced increased growth. During the postwar period, demolition of slums and their replacement were the aims of urban redevelopment¹. Later, smaller urban infill projects and historic preservation became typical of redevelopment, and in the beginning of the 1980s megaprojects became another prevalent form of redevelopment. Since then, business groups in combination with political leaders have promoted the vision of the revitalized city (Fainstein and Campbell, 2011).

This promoted urban redevelopment has gained new direction in recent decades. In the era of globalization, one of the new roles of cities has been remaining competitive through attracting a variety of forms of capital: financial investment, skilled worker and qualified professionals, and local and international visitors. Within this new setting, urban

¹ Redevelopment as brownfield development not urban expansion or greenfield development.

redevelopment with its 'place-marketing' orientation has become one of the key strategies for cities to enhance their competitiveness (Ho & Douglass, 2008). Thus, redevelopment attempts have been directed towards creating a world-class city that is attractive to international visitors and businesses that has resulted in a struggle for an increased provision of services that other cities offer, such as glass buildings and towers, hotels, casinos, sport facilities, shopping centers and malls, etc. This focus raises concerns regarding emergence of "placeless urbanization" (Shaw, 2013, p. 2) or the "geography of nowhere" (Kuntsler, 1993): "an urban environment that looks like anywhere else on earth" (Chang & Huang, 2008, p. 227).

Another change related to urban redevelopments has happened in regards to governance. Along with the competition of cities to attract more global capital is the growth of the private sector that has led governments to take on an entrepreneurial character "hoping their cities will reach world-class status through public-private partnerships essentially geared to profits" (Friedman, 2010, p. 150). As a result, bureaucratic and state-led development has been substituted by neoliberal and market-led developments. While in the former it was the state which planned, formulated, financed, and led the development process, in the latter, the state set up specially established development corporations aimed at facilitating development through the private sector and "liberating the capitalist development process" (Shaw, 2013, p. 2). This implies a switch in the role of the state from control to the promotion of development. Thus, the state is no more the sole decision-maker in the process of urban redevelopment, as market actors are also involved in decision-making. With this change, gaining competitiveness has been favored over public interests.

These structural changes are not unique to specific forms of urban redevelopment and can especially be seen in waterfront revitalization, which will be discussed in the next section. Although waterfront regeneration is a specific case of urban development, due to its prevalence in recent decades, this study focuses on a particular waterfront development process. In addition, it has been extensively argued that there is no substantial difference between waterfront developments and other forms of urban development in the type and form of development (Shaw, 2013). Thus, there is no restriction in the following discussion of a people-centred development approach that

confines its applicability to waterfront developments or particular characteristics of waterfront revitalization that makes it an exclusive case for this research.

2.2. Waterfront development

One of the prominent examples of urban revitalization is waterfront transformation (Bunce & Desfor, 2007; Williams, 2004; Millspaugh, 2001; Giblett & Samant, 2011; Oakley, 2011). During recent decades a new wave of waterfront redevelopment, pioneered by Baltimore's Inner Harbour and popularised by London's Docklands (Chang & Huang, 2008), has emerged, highlighting waterfronts as potential sites for post-industrial economic growth and socio-cultural developments (Sandercock & Dovey, 2002; Schubert, 2011; Ramsey, 2011; Oakley, 2011). Policy-makers, planners, and developers are looking to waterfronts as opportunities for elevating cities within globalized urban hierarchies focusing on urban amenities and quality of life (Desfor & Laidley, 2011; Giblett & Samant, 2011). This has led to the rise of numerous mixed use waterfront redevelopments in cities all around the world such as Boston, New York, Toronto, Dublin, Sydney, Vancouver, Rotterdam, Shanghai, Bilbao, and Melbourne (Brown, 2009).

This growth of waterfront regeneration could be attributed to three reasons. First, after containerization in the shipping industry and the emergence of new technologies in maritime transport brought an end to the era of thriving docks, water's edge spaces that were once home to cargo handling facilities, manufacturing plants, ship terminals and warehouses, have slipped into devalued and derelict areas. Thus, industrial sites that had served their former functions well and contributed to wealth creation became underutilized parcels and abandoned industrial spaces that were separated from the physical, social, and economic activity of the rest of the city. The need for change in these problematic and redundant industrial waterfront spaces has provided opportunities for redevelopment (Hall, 2011; Oakley, 2011; Schubert, 2011; Marshal, 2001; Millspaugh, 2001; Cook, 2012; Galland, 2012; Shaw, 2001).

In addition to availability of land, another factor that bolsters the focus on waterfront regeneration is the role of waterfronts in inter-urban competition. Global

economic restructuring and competition among cities in a global hierarchy has initiated the process of transforming ports and waterfronts into vital sites of competitiveness in the new post-industrial context (Desfor & Laidley, 2011; Schubert, 2011; Ramsey, 2011). Waterfronts have been seen as a keystone of economic development, thus large investments have been made to transform disused docklands into spaces of opportunity for economic growth, wealth attraction and competitiveness (Desfor & Laidley, 2011; Dovey, 2005; Oakley, 2009; Marshal, 2001; Millspaugh, 2001). The inter-urban competition within globalized urban hierarchies does not confine itself to economic aspects. By shifts in the nature of cities from industrial to service- and information-based economies, the enhancement of urban quality has become crucial, and waterfronts provide remarkable opportunities for higher quality of life (Marshal, 2001; Bruttomesso, 2001).

The third feature that makes contemporary urban waterfronts interesting for revitalization is the overall role they play in re-imagining cities, and consequently, the contributions they make to place-marketing goals (Smith & Garcia Ferrari, 2012; Oakley, 2009, 2011; Dovey, 2005; Shaw, 2001; Bruttomesso, 2001). Waterfronts usually benefit from a central location in cities (Dovey, 2005; Marshal, 2001; Shaw, 2001; Millspaugh, 2001). Marshal argues that this proximity contributes to the “high visibility of this form of development” and makes waterfront redevelopment “crucial to the development of a city and also to the quality of its urban expression” (2001, p. 54). This led Millspaugh (2001) to introduce waterfronts as “catalysts for urban renewal” (p. 74) or in the terms of Oakley (2011) “bounding the future of the whole city to its waterfront revitalization” (p. 2).

Despite these drivers and factors compelling waterfront regeneration, waterfront development projects are faced with complexities. Waterfronts often face a complex structure of the involved jurisdictional authorities and the co-existence of different actors including state, regional and local authorities and port authorities, which has led to inter-governmental rivalry (Brown, 2009; Hoyle, 1999; Bruttomesso, 2001; Millspaugh, 2001). This problem often gets more complex with the establishment of a specific development authority (for example in the case of London, Toronto, Dublin, and Sydney). Furthermore, in the renewal process, a plurality of functions is assumed for the new site; the industrial-working area is being changed to become part of the city with multiple residential, commercial, cultural, and leisure functions (Brown, 2009; Bruttomesso, 2001;

Marshal, 2001). The existence of different actors and a variety of desires show that the diversity of issues that should be considered during the redevelopment process of waterfronts often conflict with another (Brown, 2009).

By reviewing waterfront revitalization cases around the world, it could be observed that the dominant focus is on physical structure-based development; in other words, the assumption that through the emphasis on construction and changes in the physical environment, people will be attracted to the place and adapt themselves to the new environment. In this view, the domain of change is confined to an objective dimension; Brown (2009) referred to this physical focus of development as expecting “built results” (p. 110) from redevelopment. This focus on the physical structure, in addition to the goals of governments to attract investments and their risk aversity, has led to the conformity of cities as they have tried to replicate the universal image of a ‘global city’, and as a consequence have lost their identity and local differentiation (Shaw, 2013; Giblett & Samant, 2011). The glass and steel high-rises, hotels, shopping streets and malls, convention centres, casinos, and aquariums are replicated in major rejuvenated waterfronts (Giblett & Samant, 2011; Brown, 2009). World-city and market-led development focusing on tourism-, art-, culture- and entertainment-based development plans (Brown, 2009) have neglected place specific cultural and heritage issues, which have resulted in a lost sense of belonging in these new sites, as Wonneberger (2011) described in Dublin’s Docklands redevelopment that people “see their local identities dislodged” (p. 56). Additionally, these new developed sites are often visually distinct from the surrounding pre-existing city and typically disconnected in governance terms – often governed by a special redevelopment authority (Brown, 2009)– which intensifies their disintegration from the urban surroundings and lack of identifying and social ties.

As a result, there are redeveloped waterfronts that are physically developed and physically connected to the surrounding area, but have no sense of community, belonging or identity attached to the developed area, or no social integration with the adjacent areas. Melbourne Docklands is an example: after its first phase of development

with the initial goal of creating a ‘world-class suburb²’, the Melbourne public perceived the development as a soulless place without any spirit of community (“Searching for Docklands’ missing ingredient”, 2009). Commencing its second phase of redevelopment, the government changed its development approach in order to put greater emphasis on communities and community building (City of Melbourne, 2012a). But can this change in approach contribute to community building and place-making? In the next section, Melbourne Docklands redevelopment will be introduced, then through the following chapters the approaches applied for its development and the resulting outcomes, and the degree of success in achieving these objectives will be discussed.

2.3. Melbourne Docklands

The Melbourne Docklands area, including 190 hectares of ex-industrial land and water (approximately 146 hectares of land and 44 hectares of water) adjacent to the central city of Melbourne, Australia, is located to the west of the city centre (VicUrban, 2009) as is shown in figure 1. It is approximately the same size as the original Central Business District (CBD) of Melbourne. From the mid 1800s, the area was dominated by industrial and transport related land-uses including wharves, warehouses, and rail yards (Wood, 2009). It was Melbourne’s busiest dock (called Victoria Dock) between the early 1900s and the late 1950s (figure 2 shows Victoria Dock during its thriving period before containerization), but similar to many other waterfronts with the commencement of containerization, its port activity declined by the late 1980s, resulting in the area being largely disused and falling into disrepair (VicUrban, 2009).

Melbourne Docklands regeneration was initiated in the early 1990s and the special purpose state development agency called Docklands Authority (which was later replaced by VicUrban and then by Places Victoria) was established in July 1991 by the government of Victoria to oversee the area’s redevelopment. The objective of Docklands

² The word ‘suburb’ is used differently in the Australian urban context compared to the Canadian urban context. Different geographical areas subsumed by one municipality are called suburbs. Thus, in Australia, the word suburb does not necessarily connote space external to the inner city.

Authority was to promote, encourage and facilitate development of the Docklands area in alignment with state objectives and policies (Docklands Task Force, 1992).

Figure 21. Docklands' location to the west of the city centre



Note: Adapted from "Boundary map of City of Melbourne" by City of Melbourne, n.d.

Figure 22. Victoria Dock before containerization



Note: Reprinted with permission from “An Innovative Strategy for Designed Development 1992 – 2007” by Hynes, 2008, p. 8.

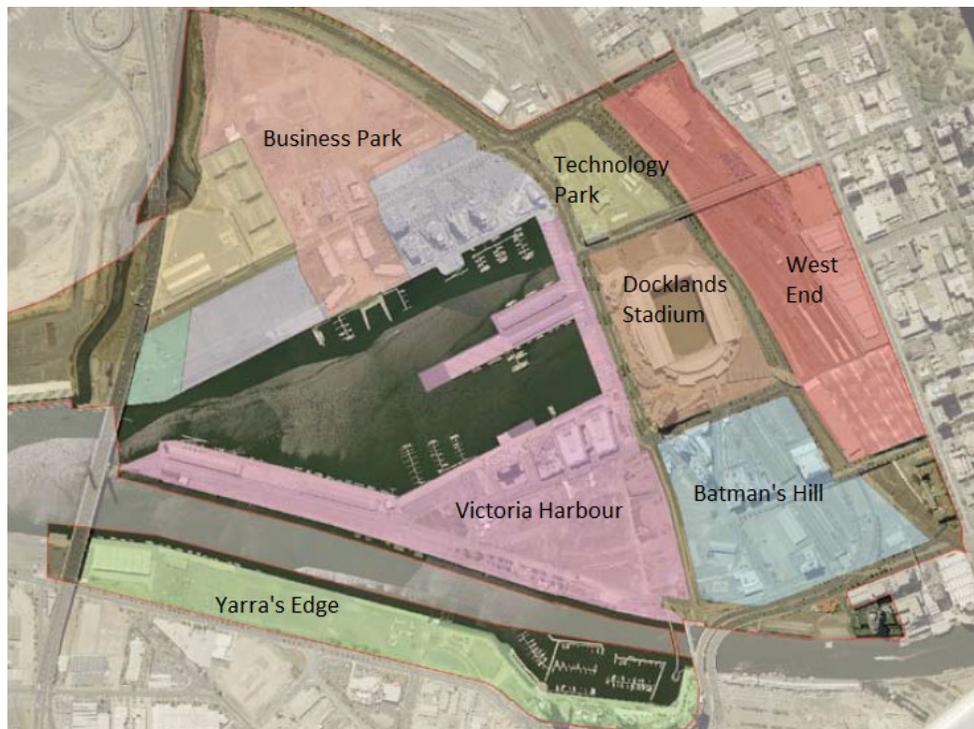
Melbourne Docklands regeneration was initiated in the early 1990s and the special purpose state development agency called Docklands Authority (which was later replaced by VicUrban and then by Places Victoria) was established in July 1991 by the government of Victoria to oversee the area’s redevelopment. The objectives of the Docklands Authority were to promote, encourage and facilitate development of the Docklands area in alignment with state objectives and policies (Docklands Task Force, 1992).

Research, analysis and feasibility studies undertaken by Docklands Authority culminated in the Docklands development strategy, which was accepted by the state government in August 1995 (Docklands Authority, 1996a). A primary development principle was that of “no cost to government” and in particular that “all design and funding of infrastructure was to be undertaken by developers” (Dovey, 2005, p. 135). The state and Docklands Authority’s intent was to encourage the private sector to be engaged in the development of Docklands (Docklands Authority, 1996b). They sought to advance the development process through private enterprise and investors on a flexible basis that is consistent with developers’ requirements and risk strategies and provide the opportunity to achieve reasonable returns (Docklands Authority, 1996a). In this regard,

Docklands Authority invited expressions of interest in the development of Melbourne Docklands in 1996 both domestically and internationally (Docklands Authority, 2002) based on a precinct plan which split the whole site into 7 precincts: Victoria Harbour, Business Park (later divided to New Quay, Waterfront City, City Studios), Yarra's Edge, Batman's Hill, Stadium, West End, and Technology Park (later changed to Digital Harbour) (figure 3).

In 1998, the State Government formally transferred local government powers and municipal management functions from Melbourne City Council to Docklands Authority (which returned back to the City of Melbourne in 2007), under the Local Government Act 1998. Thus, Docklands Authority became the temporary municipal body for the Docklands in addition to its pre-existing roles in development.

Figure 23. Docklands precinct map



Note: The figure is adapted from Hynes, 2008, p. 39. The names of precincts are added by the author referring to Dovey, 2005, p. 137.

The first development agreement was signed in 1997 and construction of a stadium (now called Etihad Stadium shown in figure 4) commenced as a 'kick start' for

development. Other projects commenced afterwards under the responsibility of Docklands Authority. The first residential construction began in 2000 with the launch of apartments in New Quay (figure 5 shows the residential apartments in New Quay) and Yarra's Edge, and the first large commercial development, which was for National Australia Bank (NAB), shown in figure 6, began in 2002 (Docklands Authority, 2002).

Figure 24. Docklands Stadium (Etihad Stadium)



Note: Photo by author, 2013

Figure 5. Residential buildings in New Quay Precinct



Note: Photo by author, 2013

Figure 6. NAB building in Docklands



Note: Photo by author, 2013

In 2003, as most of the precincts had signed development agreements, the role of Docklands Authority blurred and it merged with the Urban and Regional Land Corporation to become the Victorian Urban Development Authority, trading as VicUrban. Afterwards, redevelopment of Docklands was pursued under the supervision of VicUrban. In 2007, municipal responsibility for Docklands was transferred to the City of Melbourne, while VicUrban continued to be responsible for administering the precinct development agreements and coordinating the development of the remaining undeveloped area of Melbourne Docklands (In 2010, the City of Melbourne gained control of developed areas, and in 2012, it gained planning responsibility for developments under 25,000 square meters). VicUrban and the City of Melbourne continued their partnership in developing Docklands till 2011 when VicUrban became Places Victoria. To date, over 50 per cent of development has occurred in Docklands, representing approximately \$8.5 billion of private sector investment.

As one of the fastest-growing residential and commercial zones in Australia, Docklands has experienced both residential and commercial population growth (table 1), and now some of the biggest companies in Australia including NAB, ANZ, Ericsson, Myer, National Foods, Channel 7, and Fairfax have established offices in Docklands (ANZ, and Channel 7 office buildings are shown in figures 7-8). During the redevelopment process, from being one of Victoria’s first ports to an industrial wasteland in the 1990s, Docklands is being transformed into a modern residential, commercial and visitor destination in the heart of Melbourne.

Table 21. Change of residential and working population in Docklands during the redevelopment process

Year	Residential population	Working population
2001	658	600
2006	3,936	6,000
2009	6,000	19,000
2012	8,000	30,000

Note: 2001, 2006, and 2012 numbers are adapted from Melbourne Docklands, n.d.; 2009 numbers are adapted from VicUrban, 2009.

Figure 7. ANZ building in Docklands which includes 8000 employees



Note: Photo by author, 2013

Figure 8. Channel 7 building in Docklands



Note: Photo by author, 2013

What makes Melbourne Docklands an appropriate case for the purpose of this study is its development approach during these years and changes made to this approach. Two periods of development can be recognized in Melbourne Docklands: the first stage which started in 2000 and ended in 2010, is called the first decade of development; and the new stage, which commenced in 2010, is referred to the second decade of development. Comparing these two development periods³ reveals shifts in the development approach. While a more detailed discussion of these changes is provided in chapter 5, a brief description of these shifts will be explained below to illustrate the rationale of selecting this example as a case study for this research.

Entering the second decade of development, one of the main issues discussed regarding Melbourne Docklands is the sense of a lack of community, heart and soul, and spirit of the community, as reflected in the titles of articles in the major daily newspaper, *The Age*: “Let us not repeat the Docklands’ mistake” (2012), “Still somewhere else and not much closer” (2011), “Doyle call for council to take on Docklands” (2009). While in the first phase of development, there was no particular emphasis on the creation of a sense of community, however, in the current stage “creating a unique sense of community” (City of Melbourne, 2012a), “improving the sense of community in the Docklands and contemplating the lacking ingredient” (“Doyle calls for council to take on Docklands”, 2009), and “building on the spirit and to better engage the community and to build on the strength of the community” (“Retiring VicUrban board member”, 2010) are now priorities of the development process.

This attention to people and communities is different from the focus of the first decade, which was mostly on physical development and investment attraction. As Robert Doyle, Lord Mayor of Melbourne, stated: “While the first decade of Docklands focused on development and buildings, the second decade will centre around the people of Docklands” (City of Melbourne, 2012a). Similarly Matthew Guy, Minister for Planning, declared “the first decade challenge was how to stimulate private sector investment” (City of Melbourne, 2012a) but Docklands’ future is about “people” (VicUrban, 2010) and “to create a place for people” (City of Melbourne, 2012a).

³ Albeit the second decade of development is in its initial years, its designated policies and plans provide a reasonable base for comparison.

This orientation towards people brought about a call for more community participation and engagement in the second decade of the development process in comparison to the first decade, which in the opinion of the president of the Docklands Community Association (DCA) “residents have been treated as secondary and irrelevant; irrelevant for the first few years and then secondary for the last few years”. The necessity of community participation in the development process is noted by different actors, such as the Lord Mayor of Melbourne who said: “In the second decade, our commitment to meaningful engagement and partnerships in Docklands is important” (City of Melbourne, 2012a). This attention to community engagement is also mentioned in a variety of Docklands development plans and guidelines such as ‘Docklands Community and Place Plan’ in which it has been stated that “the community’s involvement in ongoing planning and decision-making is essential to help shape Docklands and bring life to the area” (City of Melbourne, 2012a).

The shift in the focus of development from a high degree of attention to physical and financial aspects to inclusion of community building as one of the facets of development and the move towards a more collaborative and inclusive process, which was exemplified in the preceding paragraphs, makes Melbourne Docklands a potentially appropriate case for investigating the proposed people-centred approach of development for the purpose of this research.

3. Literature review & conceptual framework

As explained in the introduction, the purpose of this study is to introduce a new approach to urban redevelopment and to test it in action through the application to a case study. The proposed approach in this research, employing a social-reflective perspective on the development process, recognizes the agency of human beings and importance of their reflective capabilities in addition to their adaptative capacities. This approach, which I have named a 'people-centred approach to development', realizes the necessity of public participation in shared planning and development action as well as shared understanding, due to the higher competency, legitimacy and responsibility that these shared experiences offer development practice. In addition, understanding the importance of place-making, this approach contributes to community building and place-based identity making.

To explain this approach, in this chapter, first, I will describe the rational approach in planning and its deficiencies due to its exclusive and objective perspective. Then, I will discuss attempts in the planning literature to consider planning as a social and inclusive process. I will review how the shift from the rational approach of planning to collaborative planning, expands the domain of knowledge –from expert knowledge to inclusion of lay knowledge– and knowledge holders –from professionals and specialists to inclusion of citizens as actors.

Although the collaborative approach makes space for a social understanding of the development process, the separation of action from the subjective world in this approach leaves them lacking. Thus, in the third section, the conceptual framework that could address the relation between the cognitive dimension and action will be explained. Employing the concept of 'mental models', the role the mental models play in forming actions and their relationship with actions at both individual and social levels will be discussed; therefore, two possible kinds of understanding from a process of change at the social level, socio-adaptive and socio-reflexive perspectives will be described.

Based on this socio-reflexive understanding, theories of social learning in sustainable development and resource management disciplines will be reviewed in the fourth section. From this review, five general principles will be extracted which provide a base for outlining the proposed people-centred approach⁴.

Founded on these principles and employing a socio-reflexive understanding of the change process, in addition to utilizing constructivist epistemology and pragmatist philosophy, the people-centred approach to urban redevelopment will be articulated and developed. An approach in which, those who are affected or may be affected by the development practice not only need to be informed and aware about the development process, but also need to truly participate in the process as key actors. In this approach, urban development is not confined to building and construction, and a developed site is not a space for accumulation of disconnected individuals. The role of urban developments is not to attract people who will adapt themselves and their lives with a given built environment. In the people-centred approach to urban development, identity making and community building is the focus of the development process which is pursued through the participation in a process of common recognition, shared understanding, and collaborative action.

3.1. Rational approach to planning

The initial theories of planning –including synoptic planning (Hudson, 1979) and the rational comprehensive model (Sandercock, 1998)– followed a rational premise that there are pre-determined goals, that planners possess sufficient knowledge and capacity to identify the public interest and to select the appropriate alternatives to bring about desired results (Friedman & Douglass, 1998; Hudson, 1979; Sandercock, 1998; Innes & Booher, 2010). An ideal planning process proposed by these theories includes steps of formulating objectives, identifying alternatives for reaching the desired objectives, predicting consequences of each alternative, evaluating the consequences in relation to

⁴ Although “people-centered” term has been used within international development studies (especially in the works of Paulo Freire (1980) and Robert Chambers (1986)), I used this term in my research to distinct the suggested approach from the dominant approach in urban redevelopment projects focusing on physical development.

desired objectives, making decisions and implementing the decided actions, which all can and should be conducted by planning professionals (Friedman, 1987; Hudson, 1979). This rational approach usually applies mathematical models and quantitative tools in the planning process (Sandercock, 1998; Hudson, 1979).

While some amendments to these theories consider the limitations of the planners' knowledge and their resources and attempt to expand the range of actors involved in the decision-making process (Friedmann, 1987; Hudson, 1979), they still consider knowledge as an objective entity which is produced and held by experts. The problem of this approach is its premise that a narrow group of experts can establish a priori principles via a scientific and logical process, which will direct the action. Thus, this approach cannot consider the social context in which "we live our lives, develop our understandings, make meanings, and develop values" and also cannot recognize the "diversity of ways of thinking and knowing" (Healey, 2009, p. 278). These theories are criticized for their positivist logic, deductive reasoning, and their scientific version of inquiry that look for objective truth (Healey, 2009). These theories have also been criticized due to their top-down approach that confines the domain of actors to planning experts and professionals which excludes public and lay knowledge (Sandercock, 1998). The reason this model has been dominant is because it provides standards and rules, which decision-makers can go through, such methods to evaluate alternatives and consequences. This model also makes professional planners the experts who know the best, makes planning scientific, and gives professional legitimacy to the professionals (Sandercock, 1998).

3.2. Collaborative and communicative approach to planning

In contrast to the rational theories, new theories have emerged that expanded the scope of knowledge and the domain of knowledge holders, and have also appended new means of knowing to the planning process. While the former group of theories accepts that there is a public interest that could be defined in advance by experts through scientific and rational methods, the latter 'post-positivist' approach argues for multiple or even unrecognized interests which should be recognized and directed to a shared one by a public through a social process (Sandercock, 1998). Allmendinger

(2002) argues that this post-positivist approach is based on the principles that positivist and scientific approaches are not sufficient, and that realizing the historical and social context of issues is important. Considering reality as a “social construction” (Allmendinger, 2002, p. 86; Healey, 2009, p. 278), emphasizing the “socio-cultural situatedness of thought and action” (Healey, 2009, p. 282), and that the creation of knowledge is through social processes, made breakthrough influences on planning theories. Within the positivist school, planners are technical experts who know more than other groups, while the post-positivist perspective believes in “no answers, only diverse and indeterminate options” and thus rather than looking for “objective evidence or reality”, the post-positivist approach emphasizes “plurality [plurality of interests], subjectivity [in addition to objective knowledge] and interpretation [indeterminacy of values and facts and their dependence upon the interpretation of the person identifying them]” (Allmendinger, 2002, p. 88).

One of the approaches emerging from this post-positivist perspective is collaborative planning with roots in the works of Habermas and his theory of communicative rationality/action (Healey, 2003; Innes & Booher, 2010; Sandercock, 1998; Howe, 2002). Habermas’s communicative rationality, which is founded on the social constructivist view, ties rationality to interpersonal communication and describes human rationality as a necessary outcome of successful communication. By locating rationality in social interactions, he recognizes a conception of reasoning as “inter-subjective effort of mutual understanding” (Fainstein, 2000; Healey, 1993). Hence, he shifts the emphasis in the concept of rationality from the individual to the social level and considers communicative action as a process of achieving mutual understandings (Healey, 2003 & 1993).

Introducing the ideas of Habermas into the planning field, especially through the works of Forester (1993), Healey (1993), and Dryzek (1990), collaborative planning calls for an interactive and interpretive process which considers the existence of diverse individual interests and ways of knowing, also values lay and local knowledge besides expert and scientific knowledge, and via interpretative inquiry tries to understand the unique context of urban problems (Innes & Booher, 2010; Sandercock, 1998). Presenting a change in epistemology from “monopoly on expertise, knowledge, and professional insight to acknowledgment of the value of local or experiential knowledge”

(Sandercock, 1998, p. 175), these theories emphasize the role of face-to-face communication and dialogue in the process of planning (Fainstein, 2000), thus the “traditional linear methods” of planning have been replaced by “nonlinear socially constructed processes” (Innes & Booher, 2010, p. 5). Instead of attempts to discover a universal truth or optimal solution, exploration of facts to create shared understanding has been pursued; consequently, instrumental reasoning has been replaced by communicative reasoning. In this approach, knowledge is a subjective entity where all members of society have the ability to contribute to its production, thus the focus in planning process is on social processes, dialogue, and communications (Innes & Booher, 2010; Holden, 2008, Friedman & Douglass, 1998; Sandercock, 1998).

Although ‘collaborative rationality’ and the planning approach, on which it is based provides more appropriate approaches to planning in regards to the current complex, uncertain and diverse urban world, it has some deficiencies especially when it comes to practice. The major focus of this approach is on providing an opportunity for authentic dialogue (Holden, 2008) which opens the door to articulating moral instructions instead of conducting rational analysis. Moving from theory to action, this approach focuses on the provision of ideal situations for negotiation, takes a “moral tone”, and thus leaves a gap between action and speech (Fainstein, 2000, p. 455). Howe (2002) citing Flyvbjerg (1998) argues that the collaborative approach is “too utopian to function as a model for understanding real life planning practice” (p. 211).

This focus on reaching shared understanding rather than joint and collaborative action is different from the focus of a pragmatist view. From the pragmatist perspective, the action and practice have primacy, giving the value of subjectivity due to its relation and connection to objectivity, thus the value of reaching co-understanding is in its potential and ability to define and imply shared action. Critical to the pragmatic notion of rationality are collaboration and groundedness in action (Holden, 2008). As Healey (2003) argues, communicative rationality is about an “abstract proposition” while “pragmatism tends toward empiricism” (Healey, 2003, p. 454). For Flyvbjerg (1998) the involvement of participants in an ideal dialogue is “discursive participation” limited to speech and is “detached” from action and the real situation (p. 188). Holden (2008) citing Festenstein, declares four themes of pragmatism which contribute to the planning approach: truth and reality are tied up with action in specific contexts; beliefs should be

open to negotiation in social settings; societies learn best when people are organised in communities of inquirers in order to test and negotiate beliefs; and involvement in an active community of inquirers is needed as a first step for people to define their individuality. Based on the pragmatist view, which underlines the association of action and knowledge, beliefs should be realized in action. Thus, a planning approach based on a pragmatist view should provide a way to consider these beliefs-in-action as: “Dewey emphasized that our knowledge gets organized and focused at critical points when we are faced with choices” (Healey, 2009, p. 279).

This call to consider beliefs-in-action has been made by Howe (2002) as well. He and also Fainstein (2000) argue that the ideal setting for dialogue and separation of action from the subjective world, leads to lack of consideration of the factors at work such as the context of the issue, the power structure, and “participants’ understanding of the world –predispositions and orientation” (Howe, 2002, p. 212). Applying Bourdieuan reflexivity, Howe argues that “the systematic uncovering of un-thought, intuitive, embodied categories and judgements which themselves are preconditions of conscious practice” (p. 210) should be central in planning. Referring to Bourdieu, he emphasizes the role of agency and claims “social location [or context] of any interested party engaged in planning, fundamentally influenced the outcomes” (p. 214). Howe explains that Bourdieu asked for exploring the “habitus” of action (p. 215) by which he (Bourdieu) meant “a set of dispositions that incline agents to act and react in certain ways” (p. 215). He described the characteristics of habitus as “empirical tendencies to act in particular ways; motivations, preferences; a kind of worldview or cosmology held by actors; skills and practical competence” (p. 215)

Another critique of collaborative planning, which has roots in its focus on a pure genuine dialogue rather than joint action, is what Sandercock (2000, 2004) calls “lack of emotions and feelings” in planning. Considering the current diversity and difference in cities, and in order to achieve Healey’s notion of “managing our co-existence in shared space” (Healey, 1997, p. 3), Sandercock introduces “therapeutic planning” as “a dialogical approach which brings antagonistic parties together to talk through their concerns. This requires an open and communicative planning process” (2000, p. 23). What distinguishes her model from collaborative and communicative planning is the consideration of “emotional involvement” (2000, p. 26; 2004, p. 8), in addition to a sole

“rational discourse” and desire for “transformative change” (2000, p. 24; 2004, p. 8). To justify emotional involvement, she refers to Howell Baum who argues that focusing on logical order in dialogue and communication leads to superficial participation: “Told to be rational, people assume they have been told not to be themselves. They may feel relieved. Planning will not require them to reveal or risk what matters” (p. 26). Thus, Sandercock calls for a process that could allow “the whole person to be present in negotiations and deliberations” (2000, p. 26). Second, she uses Forester’s work to justify a need for transformation as an outcome of the planning process. Forester (1999) discusses that the collaborative approach of planning and its related communicative process are more concerned with reaching an agreement and consensus; “interest-based bargaining and getting to yes” than individual and collective growth and empowerment or “public learning that results in permanent shifts in values and institutions” (Sandercock, 2000, p. 27; 2004, p. 139). In her discussion about the skills necessary for this approach to planning, she emphasizes facilitation, community psychology, community dynamics, building trust, and in-depth talk (2000, 2004).

Furthermore, another outcome of the planning process, which recently is gaining more and more attention, is ideas of “place-making, belonging, and identity building” (Friedman, 2010; Ho & Douglass, 2008) that to some partial extent can be achieved through real collaborative approaches. Place-making is the process of “transforming space into place, of giving identity, meaning, a sense of shared community life, and collective memory to specific locations” (Ho & Douglass, 2008, p. 199). Emphasizing the importance of place-making, Friedman (2010) explains the problem of “placeless-ness” (p. 150). He criticizes ideas such as “distantiated world,” which is structured around “flows of people, images, information and money moving within and across” (Amin & Thrift, 2002, p. 51), and underlines the importance of identity and “unique social profile” (p. 159) of each place. In order to contribute to place-making, he highlights the necessity of collaboration, of not just communicative collaboration, and instead emphasizes “reiterative social practice” (p. 154). In this regard, he argues for a planning approach in which local citizens and planners engage in ‘joint activity’. He proposes that “the ground on which both parties [official planners representing state and power and neighbourhood residents and local citizens] stand must be leveled” (p. 162), and terms his approach “collaborative people-centered planning” (p. 149).

And finally, due to the separation of thinking and action in the collaborative approach, when it is time for thinking, it advocates for pure dialogue; when it comes to action, it leads to provision of a chance to speak, vote, or build consensus. Although Innes and Booher (2010) argue that collaborative approaches contribute to the “spirit of democracy” (p. 7), for many, equal opportunity for talk, consensus building, or voting do not reflect democracy. For Dewey, democracy is not a form of governance where the majority rules, “it is the process by which the majority is formed” (Bernstein, 2010, p. 72). In the collaborative approach, still the key actor is the planner who will use, apply, and interpret the formed shared understanding (Sandercock, 1998), but Dewey rejects this separation of elite from public (Bernstein, 2010). Dewey does not see democracy as something external to community life; rather it is intrinsic to community life. Thus, giving opportunities to the public to communicate with one another and then act based upon the opinion of the majority is not democracy. According to Dewey, democracy is a form of life in which sovereignty of all citizens has been accepted based on which their participation in ‘collaborative deliberation and action’ is necessary, which could lead to respect and trust of each other (Bernstein, 2010). Thereby, his definition of democracy is not based on a “communicative model but on social cooperation” (Bernstein, 2010, p. 86). For him, democracy is not limited to deliberation, but rather it encompasses experience (Bernstein, 2010). In line with this argument that collaborative planning cannot contribute to democracy are critiques of this approach that see collaborative approach instrumental in pursuing neo-liberal projects. Purcell (2009) arguing that collaborative planning approaches support the neoliberal agenda states that “collaborative approaches are extremely attractive way for neoliberals to maintain hegemony while ensuring political stability” (p. 140). Gunder (2010) emphasizing that planning has always had an ideological component reflecting the dominant ideology of the time, argues that the growth of communicative planning theory in the recent years “facilitated hegemonic capture [of planning] by the neoliberal supporting state” (p. 309).

In summary, while collaborative planning and communicative action theories provide space for adding a subjective dimension to the objective world of planning and also realizes the value of non-expert, ordinary, local knowledge, it does not provide a way for linking this shared understanding and inter-subjectivity to action. As discussed, since the ultimate goal of these approaches is to create an ideal situation for genuine

dialogue, they separate action and knowledge and thus fail to expose beliefs-in-action. Consequently, even in the best case scenario that collaborative processes do not represent “coercing” (engagement within a context of large imbalanced power where the opinion of one group is imposed on others), “informing” (transfer of information in one way, no share of knowledge and decision making), or “consulting” (information is sought from different groups but one group maintains the power to analyse and make a decision) (Keen et al, 2005, p. 16) and target real collaboration, still, the main goal is to provide the perfect circumstances for the sharing of ideas, rather than orienting towards co-action. Furthermore, the lack of consideration of beliefs-in-action makes the possibility of shared understanding unrealistic and fictitious. Finally, the outcome of this planning process will not lead to individual, social, or institutional change, and cannot contribute to place making, identity building, or true democracy. One point that needs to be noted here is that discussing the mentioned critiques to collaborative planning does not mean that there is no advantage for planning practices in this approach. Certainly, its emphasis on necessity of dialogical approach was a breakthrough change within planning field. Furthermore, there are newer narrations of collaborative planning that shift this approach from a ‘final answer’ towards a ‘part of an answer’ which is more congruent with the argument of this research and therefore make them more as complementary not opposing approaches.

3.3. Conceptual framework for targeting beliefs-in-action

As discussed above, critiques of collaborative practices of planning partly have roots in the failure of these approaches to consider beliefs-in-action. The separation of thinking from action can lead to the formation of an unrealistic understanding. From the pragmatist perspective, truth and reality need to be understood in practice; as a result, a pragmatic planning approach should provide a way to consider beliefs-in-action. In articulating such an approach, a conceptual framework is needed that could represent the beliefs that influence and direct our actions; not a priori beliefs defined in advance of action, rather grounded in action beliefs that get organized during action. In this research, in an attempt to bridge planning theories to organizational learning literature, I based my conceptual framework on the concept of mental models.

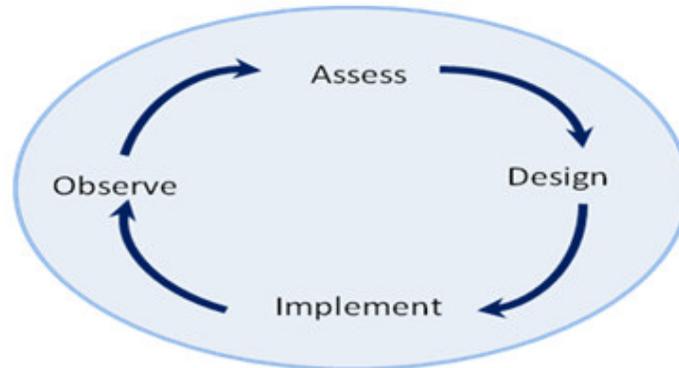
The concept of mental models has been introduced within the organizational learning discipline. Nonaka (1994) defines mental models as “schemata, paradigms, beliefs, and viewpoints ... that provide perspectives that help individuals to perceive and define their world” (p. 17). Kim (1993), building upon Peter Senge’s definition, defines mental models as “deeply held internal images of how the world works” (p. 39). He distinguishes mental models from a static memory and emphasizes that mental models are dynamic, and play an active role in what an individual sees and does. Elaborating on how mental models affect seeing and doing; he defines two constituting parts of mental models: frameworks and routines. Frameworks are the internalized beliefs and worldviews; routines, which were not considered in Nonaka’s definition, are described as the part of mental models that guide “steps in order to complete a task” (Kim, 1993, p. 40). Senge (1990) in explaining the importance of mental models, articulates them as “theories-in-use” not “espoused theories” (based on Argyris, 1978 & 1997), and highlights that “although people do not [always] behave congruently with their espoused theories [what they say], they do behave congruently with their theories-in-use [their mental models]” (p. 160). It should be noted that this emphasis on the role of mental models to shape our actions does not mean that they are specific ideas that pre-exist actions. Certainly, these beliefs-in-action are influenced by our background, knowledge, culture, and social context, however, the point is that they could not be realized prior to taking action. It is at the time of action that mental models get organized but it should not be thought that mental models emerge in the time of action and then disappear, if it were the case, there would be no use in recognizing our mental models. When realizing mental models through action, we can think about them and reflect upon them. This-self-reflexive process could help us see new possibilities, new opportunities, new solutions, and thus transform our future decisions and actions.

Therefore, the value of the concept of mental models is not merely in its ability to present beliefs-in-action; but that through connecting mental models with people’s actions, it provides a basis for contemplating a new approach to a change process that is congruent with the unique capabilities of human beings. Foster (2005), employing a system-based view, in distinguishing human beings from other biological systems, explains that a human being “interacts not only with its environment as a data field, but also through images formed of possible worlds” (p.877). Thus, human beings are not just

recipients of information from the environment which they adapt themselves to, rather they can build mental models about how the world works and thus initiate actions. The knowledge of human beings “is no longer just an accumulation of experiences; it is also a source of ‘mental models’ that can be used to determine aspects of reality” (Foster, 2005, p.877). Emphasizing this decisive characteristic of human beings, he highlights the creative and reflexive capability of human agents related to their mental models.

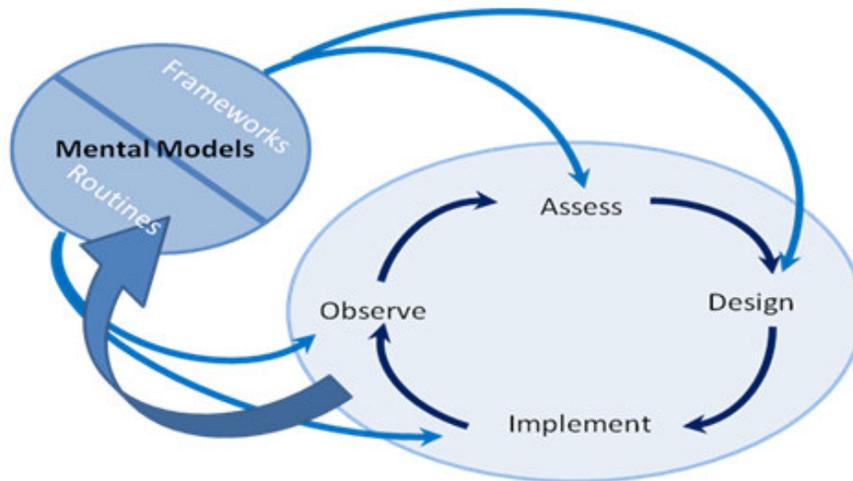
Kim (1993), embracing this potential, in contrast to earlier behavioral understandings of learning in organizations and also based on Argyris’s works, articulates a new understanding of individual learning. Argyris (1997) distinguishes ‘single loop learning’ and ‘double loop learning’. In ‘single loop learning’ (figure 9), a person designs an action, implements it, then observes the results of the action and reaction of the environment to the implemented design, and finally assesses the outcomes of his/her action, and re-designs a new action. To explain a new understanding of this learning process, Kim illustrates the role of mental models by attributing routines to operational learning (including implementation and observation acts) and frameworks to conceptual learning (including assessment and design acts) (Figure 10). Based on this conceptualization, Kim (1993) defines ‘double loop learning’ as “the process through which individual [single loop] learning affects individual mental models; which in turn affects future [single loop] learning” (p. 45). In other words, double loop learning can be considered the means of fixing single loop learning in the moment of action into one’s conceptualization that guides how we choose to act in the future. Figure 10 attempts to show these relationships. In figure 10, the arrows from routines and frameworks to four stages of adaptive learning show how mental models affect the single loop learning. The arrow from the single loop learning oval to mental models represents the change of mental models or double loop learning, based on the experiences of single loop learning, which influences future single loop learning.

Figure 9. Individual single loop or adaptive learning



Note: redesigned with inspiration from “the link between individual and organizational learning” by Kim, 1993, p. 39

Figure 10. Individual mental models and the addition of double loop or reflexive learning



Note: redesigned with inspiration from “the link between individual and organizational learning” by Kim, 1993, p. 40

Building on this definition, two views of a process of change can be envisaged. In the adaptive viewpoint, individuals modify their actions based on the response of their environment. If there is a change in their environment, the individual will adapt their actions to the new situation and thus undergo adaptive change without any change to her/his mental models. Another possible change could occur when the change, instead of being a response to the environment, emanates from modification or alteration of

mental models. In this case, the individual reflects on her/his mental models, challenges them, alter them, and thus her/his actions will change; however, this time the change is the result of reflection on mental models which can be termed a reflexive change. A significant contribution of the mental models framework is the space it provides to consider human agency (in addition to mere adaptation to the environmental stimulus). As a result, it prevents reducing human-specific reflection capacities to adaptation capabilities, which are possessed by both humans and non-humans. This distinction between adaptive and reflexive perspectives on a change process could work at a social level as well.

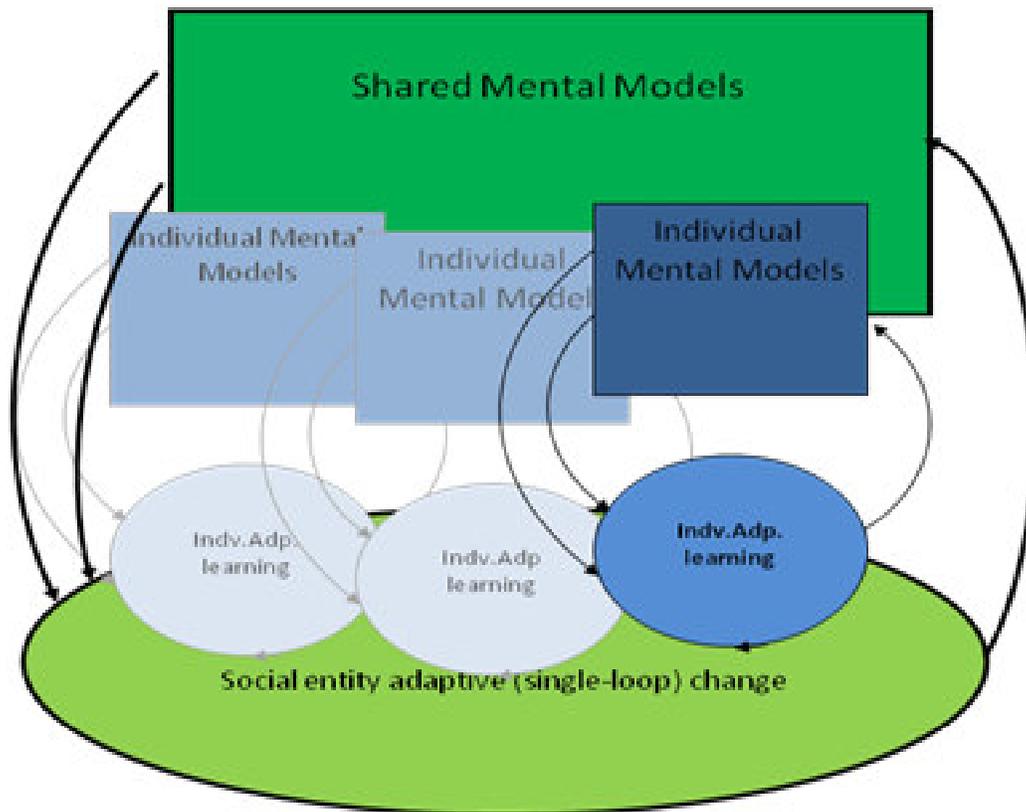
The mental models framework has also been applied beyond the individual level, at a social level. It has been used in organizational learning literature to describe learning organizations. Kim (1993) extends the definition of mental models to the organizational level, and introduces the notion of shared mental models. According to him, the dynamic memory of an organization that has “the capacity to affect the way an individual or organization views the world and takes action” could be understood as its shared mental models; that is constituted from the “standard operating procedures (SOPs)” or “organizational routines” and its “weltanschauung” (worldview) (p. 45). He benefits from the works of Argyris and Schön (1978) and Senge (1990), using the concept of shared mental models to enhance the conceptualization of organizational learning from the behavioral framework to a socio-cognitive understanding and introduces organizational single-loop learning and organizational double loop learning. Organizational single loop learning occurs when “a firm changes its behaviour in response to feedback from the environment” (p. 41) and organizational double loop learning occurs when “individual mental models become incorporated into the organization through shared mental models which can then affect organizational action” (p. 45).

Embracing Kim’s articulation of organizational single and double loop learning and founding this on a system-based view, two distinct processes of change could be envisaged at a social level for a social entity (figure 11). From an adaptive perspective, a social entity adapts to environmental feedback without any change in its shared mental models. Based on this view, any possible change for the social entity could be pursued through change in its environment. The social entity and its members will adapt

themselves to the new environment. In contrast, from a reflexive standpoint, the change process of a social entity emanates from a change of shared mental models of the social entity. There may be changes in individuals' mental models but unless this change in individuals' mental models can be communicated with other members of the social entity and shape a new shared mental model, reflexive social change has not occurred. This does not mean that reflexive individual change cannot trigger reflexive social change; in fact, the reflexive change of an individual can initiate a reflexive social change if the individual's action occurs in interaction with other members of a social entity and an inter-subjective space of this social entity – emerging as the dynamic outcome of the interaction between their mental models – can be shaped and thus incorporated into their shared mental model system. This distinction between adaptive and reflexive change of a social entity is represented below in the figure 11. The social entity is constituted by individuals who can have individual adaptive or reflexive change. Through interaction of individual mental models, shared mental models as the inter-subjectivity of the social system can be formed (as per the rectangle at the top of the figure). The arrows from the shared mental models to the large oval at the bottom of the figure show how mental models influence the four stages of assessment, design, implementation, and observation for a social entity and thus its adaptive change. The arrow from the large oval to the shared mental models represents the change in shared mental models and the resulting reflexive social change based upon it.

These two understandings of a change process at a social level have different implications in practice. While in an adaptive view, the owners of the change process are the external actors who focus on the change in the environment, in a socio-reflexive view, the owners of the change process are the social entity themselves. Furthermore, due to the important role of mental models in determining actions, even with the change in the environment, the scope of possible adaptive changes will be limited, whereas in reflexive change due to the change of mental models, broader and more transformative changes may occur.

Figure 11. Shared mental models, adaptive and reflexive change of a social entity



Two points should be considered in extending the mental model and shared mental model framework from organizations to other social entities such as communities and neighbourhoods. First, for an organization its boundaries are apparent, and the determination of its members is not a difficult task. However, for social entities like communities or neighbourhoods, their borders and memberships are fluid, which makes this task more difficult. Thus, in an organizational context, due to the existing concrete boundaries, a social (organizational) and individual identity can be shaped and recognized more easily compared to a community context. Therefore (the second point), unlike organizational usage of shared mental models that are less concerned with identity building and meaning making processes, which occur simultaneously with the emergence of shared mental models, in the case of community, the identity building and community making focus is more emphasized.

The distinction between socio-adaptive and socio- reflexive understandings of a change process, as discussed in this section, plays an important role in differentiating the proposed approach to urban redevelopment from the dominant approaches. This is especially the case with waterfront revitalization, which will be discussed in greater detail in the following sections.

3.4. Social Learning in planning

In section 3.2 it is argued that the communicative focus of collaborative approaches is different from a pragmatist perspective. Healey (2009) argues that, influenced by the pragmatic tradition, there is an approach in planning that considers planning as a “social learning activity” (p. 276), which can be seen in the works of Friedman (1987) and Forester (1999). Looking at planning as a process in which “knowledge is derived from experience and validated in practice” (Friedman, 1987, p. 81), social learning calls for “reassessing our beliefs in the flow of action in association with others” (Healey, 2009, p. 287). Holden (2008, p. 3) described the premise of social learning as that “the process of obtaining, interpreting, and acting upon information in planning for a city’s future is embedded in a collective reasoning and learning process towards public ends”. Social learning, that respects dialogue, has emphasized “mutual learning” (Friedman, 1978; Hudson, 1979), but this dialogue is not just for reaching shared understating. Rather that it is a means to seek common ground for action (Healey, 2009) and also to distinguish areas in which shared understanding will not be reached, and therefore collaborative action could not be pursued.

Another important shift of this social learning model in the planning model is a shift from a “static conception of knowledge to a more dynamic concept of learning” (Sandercock, 1998, p. 175). This social learning approach, realizing the “power of agency to invent, create, and transform” (Healey, 2009, p.), underlines the importance of building collective capacity for understanding and acting.

Although the social learning theme has been generally discussed in planning and public policy (Friedman, 1987; Holden, 2008), it has not been applied to urban development practices. In the next section, social learning theories in a few disciplines

where the concept has been applied will be discussed through a socio-reflexive lens. Built on this discussion, a number of principles will be extracted which will provide a foundation in outlining a people-centred approach to urban development articulated in section 3.5.

3.4.1. Social learning theories across disciplines

The concept of social learning introduced in planning, while it has been relatively unused in the urban development discipline, has been applied predominantly in the fields of environmental management (Keen, 2005; Tippett, et al., 2005; McCarthy et al., 2006; Reed et al., 2010; Pahl-Wostl, 2006) and sustainable development (Parson and Clark, 1995; Dryzek, 1997; Röling and Wagemakers, 1998; Stagl, 2007). As Garmendia and Stagl (2010) argue, there is no agreement on key aspects of the concept of social learning despite its spread in these disciplines. However, in this section, through reviewing literature on social learning, key points about this approach will be discussed with some modifications to address the concerns explained earlier regarding collaborative approaches in planning.

Recognition of a shared common problem: Forester (2000) argues that in the planning process “the power of parties [should be] balanced enough to make them interdependent, to make their problem-solving a joint enterprise, not the decision of one party visited upon the others” (p. 167). Innes and Booher (2010) also emphasize recognition of the “reciprocal nature of interests” by involved participants (p. 37). In line with these arguments for the realization of the interdependency of actors with each other, one issue that has been emphasized in the process of social learning, which could also contribute to balance of power, is the recognition of a shared common problem. It is this common problem that brings individuals together, reveals their inter-dependency and justifies their participation and collaboration⁵ (McCarthy et al., 2006; Janssens &

⁵ This does not mean that recognition of a shared issue is enough for participation and collaboration. Certainly, other factors such as trust and a possibility of change are also important. Keen et al. (2005) argued for three agendas for social learning: “learning platform” (which enables actors to have interaction in forums to collectively reflect and act) “learning partnership” (co-existence of public, professionals and government), and “learning values” (transformation of values) (p. 6).

Wildemeersch 2003; Schusler et al., 2003; Bull et al., 2008). Through exploring this common problem, individuals recognize their interdependency and realize the importance of the collaborative action. As Webler et al. (1995) declared, the collection of individuals should be aware of “their private interests linked with the shared interests of their fellow citizens” (p. 445). It should be noted that the recognition of a common problem does not mean having specific pre-determined goals (the way positivist approaches look at it); rather it clarifies why the individual actors need to come together to reach co-action. This recognition of a shared issue and focus on collaborative action as a desired outcome, distinguishes this approach from collaborative approaches with the desire for a pure authentic dialogue⁶.

Changes in underlying values and assumptions: It has been widely accepted that social learning implies changes in underlying values and assumptions. It offers the capacity to reframe a given problem through suspending and reflecting on deeply ingrained assumptions, and is a way of shifting dominant ideas and belief systems (Holden, 2008; Garmendia & Stagl, 2010; Woodhill, 2010; Keen et al., 2005; Janssens & Wildemeersch 2003; Reed et al., 2010; Webler et al., 1995; Albert et al., 2011; Brummel et al., 2010). Two explanations/modifications are needed about this point. First, in my conceptualization of the urban development process based on social learning, I emphasize “changes in mental models” rather than “changes in values and assumptions” as ‘mental model’ is a broader concept, which in addition to values and assumptions (frameworks), includes routines and thus represents beliefs-in-action. So by considering Kim’s conceptualization of double loop learning, not only changes in underlying values and assumptions are possible, but also changes in action and shared action could happen as well. Second, while some scholars confine the scope of social learning to social-level changes, I consider changes at both individual and social levels that provide feedback are triggers for one another. Here is a subtle point; a shared mental model is neither separate from an individual’s mental models, nor is it an accumulation of individual mental models, rather it is in interaction with individuals’

⁶ The principles discussed in this section regarding the social learning approach present a set of ideal conditions for operationalizing a social learning approach. It does not mean that in practice, all of the principles could be implemented or achieved thoroughly, but it is argued that the orientation of the practice should be toward them.

mental models. This is similar to what Kim (1993) argues about organizational learning: organizational learning is not equal to individual learning or an accumulation of individual learning, but without individual learning, organizational learning would not occur. This does not mean that the change in individual mental models is the desired outcome of the social learning process. It is possible that through the exchange of mental models, the mental models of an individual get changed; on the other hand, shared mental models cannot change through structural or contextual problems.

Interaction and communication among individuals: In order to challenge mental models and acquire new mental models, interaction among individuals is required (Garmendia & Stagl, 2010; McCarthy et al., 2006; Keen et al., 2005; Webler et al., 1995; Albert et al., 2011; Schusler et al., 2003). To reach both new individual and shared mental models, inquiry and advocacy on one's own and others' mental models is also necessary. So this process not only helps to bring the mental models from the background into the foreground of consciousness and self-understanding, but also the realization of other mental models will occur. The interaction that could lead to a change of mental models in a social entity is best described by the concept of "dialogue" (Senge, 1990; Isaacs, 1993). Issacs (1993) describes dialogue as a process in which "individuals seek to realize their mental models, analyze them and gain a shared meaning which is different from 'consensus' in which people seek some rational means to limit options and focus on the ones that are logically acceptable to most" (p. 26). For Bohm (1996) dialogue "is the ability to hold many points of view in suspension, along with a primary interest in the creation of a common meaning" (p. 246). While in dialogue, creation of the shared meaning is pursued in order to make common actions possible; in consensus, reaching an agreement is the goal. This conceptualization of dialogue and communication is different from a concept of dialogue promoted by collaborative approaches, as it could provide a common ground and a shared sense of validity for collaborative action (Innes & Booher, 2010). Emphasizing the relationship of dialogue with action, Issacs explains that "We do not merely try to reach agreement [in dialogue],... we seek to uncover a base of shared meaning that can greatly help coordinate and align our actions" (Isaacs, 1999, p. 19). Thus, this form of dialogue improves the likelihood of shared actions. Two points should be noted here. First, contrary to collaborative approaches where providing the setting for genuine dialogue is

the goal; in the social learning approach, dialogue is a tool that facilitates and assists the stage for co-action. Second, since the focus of collaborative approaches is on dialogue itself, what will be discussed in the interactions between actors would be “espoused theories” and not a reflection of “theories in use”. The attachment between the thinking and action that social learning (based on a pragmatist perspective) highlights, makes beliefs-in-action the topic of this discussion, contributing an unavoidable action component to the dialogue which may get lost in a strict dialogic approach.

Formation of shared understanding and concerted action based on it: Through dialogue among individuals and being aware of other’s ideas, values, and interests, shared understanding, which Röling (2002) called “distributed cognition” and McCarthy et al. (2006) termed “coordinated cognition” (p. 3), can be formed (Garmendia & Stagl, 2010; Woodhill, 2010; Webler, 1995; Schusler et al., 2003). This process of acquiring inter-subjective understanding or “actively giving sense” (Janssens & Wildemeersch, 2003, p. 142) leads to a creation of shared mental models that guide the collaborative action of the social entity. This focus on subjective change does not mean that social learning will be a mere cognitive change, rather it will be accompanied by joint action regarding the common issue (Garmendia & Stagl, 2010; Webler, 1995; McCarthy, 2006; Schusler et al., 2003). In picturing the domain of the change, some scholars go further and in addition to collaborative action, call for institutional changes as well (McCarthy, 2006; Pahl-Wostl, 2006; Reed et al., 2010; Garmendia & Stagl, 2010). While I am not arguing for the inclusion of institutional change as a part of the social learning process, I emphasize that institutional change could be an outcome of it, and that the social learning process could facilitate institutional changes.

Creation of sense of belonging and identity building: Finally, this process of reaching shared mental models and joint action creates a sense of identity and belonging (Reed et al., 2010; Pahl-Wostl, 2006; Mochizuli, 2007; Webler, 1995; Bull et al. 2008; Brummel et al., 2010). Emphasizing the meaning making and identity building role of the social learning process, Wenger (2010, 1998) argues that this learning process “creates boundaries, not because participants are trying to exclude others but because sharing a history of learning ends up distinguishing those who were involved from those who were not” (pp. 182). He explains that “engagement” in the common actions of the members of the social entity -who have come together to address an

issue-, “imagination” through the shared frameworks about the relation that the social entity has with the outside world and to its members, and “alignment” with the feedback that the social entity receives from the common action of its members create a sense of identity and meaning making (Wenger, 2010, p. 184). Through involvement in the process of shared-recognition, shared-understanding, and shared-action, involved actors make meaning through their experience, create an identity for themselves, get the sense of ownership and belonging, and gain commitment and responsibility for the process and its outcomes.

These points highlight principles of a social learning process. Although a social learning approach has not been practiced in urban planning, the implications of the principles are in line with “an epistemological shift in the mode of planning” that Sandercock (1998) advocates. She emphasizes the need to shift what planners do and who a planner is. To gain this new identity, instead of looking at the community as a client, a planner needs to see the community as an ally. Here is a significant shift, no more are planners key actors. The community is the initiator and the planners assist them, enable them but never impose upon them. Planners work ‘with’ the community not ‘for’ the community. It doesn’t mean that they have no relationship with the state; they strategically work with the state. Planners act “as mediator, not apart from, nor above, nor within it” (Sandercock, 1998, p. 178, citing Friedman). Thus the planners’ role is much more one of “facilitation”: helping actors recognize their common issue which requires shared action and thus realizing their interdependency; assisting them to reflect on their beliefs-in-action; smoothing the interaction between the actors and dialogue and share of beliefs-in-action; facilitating reaching a shared understanding which is a basis for shared action; and aiding implementation of shared action. Thus more than modelling skills, scenario analysis capabilities, and quantitative capacities; listening, facilitating, communicating, and trust building skills are required. Besides this facilitation role, another important role of this radical view of planners is their contribution to community empowerment. Community empowerment through individual and collective assistance to acquire new capabilities and skills, to “make people less dependent on global capital, [but] increase their social power” (Sandercock, 1998), to qualify to be able to make a difference in their own lives, and to help them acquire resources such as money, institutions, and media coverage (Fainstein, 2000). This is the empowerment process

that strengthens all “intellectual capital (knowledge resources), social capital (trust and social understanding, which builds up through face-to-face encounters) and political capital (the capacity to act collectively to develop local qualities and capture external attention and resources)” (Healey, 2003, p. 63).

Building on these points and discussion, and employing a socio-reflexive view to the development process, an approach to urban development based on a social learning understanding will be conceptualized in the next section.

3.5. Conceptualization of a people-centred approach to urban redevelopment

As discussed in chapter two, the dominant approach in urban redevelopment, specifically in waterfront redevelopment, is a ‘physical structure-based’ view to development to replicate a universal image of a world-class city (Giblett & Samant, 2011; Brown, 2009). This approach has led to placeless developments “in both processes and outcomes, [redeveloped sites] that could be anywhere” (Shaw, 2013, p. 2). With a focus on construction, physical infrastructure, and landmarks, people and their communities have been forgotten. In some cases, people and communities may be a part of this approach but they are never the focus of development; as a consequence, identity and community building are not directly considered.

This research aims to introduce a new approach to urban redevelopment, based on three premises: 1- post-positivist epistemology of the development process which implies social-constructive legitimacy; 2- pragmatist perspective on the development process which emphasizes the association of action and knowledge, and the consideration of beliefs-in-action; and 3- social reflexive understanding of the development process through employing the concept of mental models and shared mental models. I have attempted to develop a people-centred approach to urban redevelopment that does not confine development to its physical aspects, and instead puts ‘people’ at the centre of the development process to pursue a participative path. Through the recognition of human agency and reflexive capacities, participants are able

to mutually understand and collaboratively act based on the inter-subjectivity and common objectivity that they create, in order to reach a place-based identity.

To better distinguish the proposed approach from the dominant approaches in urban redevelopment, I will first explain the urban development processes that have derived from rational and collaborative approaches; then I will articulate the people-centred approach to urban redevelopment. This discussion will be conducted in three dimensions: actors involved in the development process, the form of interaction with the public, and the focus and outcome of the development process.

Urban development derived from a rational approach: The rational approach advocates the idea that the presence of experts and professionals is sufficient for a successful development process. While in state-led development, the experts are state planners whose focus is on responding to public needs which they –planners– have realized and defined; in market-led development, the experts are private planners whose priority will be addressing market demands. What both types of development have in common is a restricted domain of actors; they have ‘no participation’ from the public during the development process.

This exclusion of the public makes their interaction with the development process a form of ‘informing’; they are informed about the plans that have been made, time frame of development, and the expected outcomes. When the engagement of the public is not necessary, making them aware about the development process is sufficient, which could be done by either the private sector or the state planners. In this perspective, professional planners and planning authorities identify the problems and desired goals, through systematic analysis of alternatives and their comparison, make decisions and select the best option, and through informative forums, public sessions and the media, make the public aware about how the development process will be undertaken.

This stance of no participation of the public beyond keeping them informed about the development process is based on the assumption that whatever changes occur in the new developed environment, people will adapt themselves to the new environment. Led by this adaptive understanding and by neglecting the power of agency and the capacity of the public to transform, having buildings on the ground and the provision of

physical infrastructure is the main goal and outcome of this approach. Within market-led development, this physical development would be focused on structures that could attract investment and contribute to gaining competitiveness.

Urban development derived from a collaborative approach: Embracing collaborative approaches, the domain of involved actors in the development process will be extended to enable 'public involvement' and provide opportunity for the public to raise their ideas and concerns regarding the development process. In this view, problems, desired outcomes, and possible actions will be identified through the communication and interaction with the public in the presence of private planners, state planners or both.

Despite the fact that collaborative planning seeks a pure dialogue to reach shared understanding, in practice, due to its utopian nature, power imbalances, and limitation of resources (time, energy, and money), authentic dialogue cannot be reached. What has happened in practice is the replacement of the substantive goal of 'reaching shared understanding' by a procedural moral instruction of 'providing opportunity to the public to share their interests' and the reduction of the ideal setting for dialogue to 'consultation'. In consultation, people are asked to raise their concerns and interests, but planners merely interpret these concerns and translate them to actions. Thus, due to this separation between thinking and action, what would be discussed and shared in this process are espoused theories and not theories in use.

This consultation may be conducted through separate sessions and individually, where individuals point out their ideas and concerns separately (for example conducting surveys) resulting in no recognition of others' ideas. This lack of recognition may occur through voting where people select from amongst endpoint ideas of other actors without understanding the underlying assumptions. It could also result from the form of consensus where people acquiesce to the most acceptable option or on superficial issues without mutual understanding of the problem. Whatever the mode of consultation is, whether state or private planners conduct consultation, decision-making and acting are the roles of planners.

Although collaborative approaches to urban development provide an opportunity for the public to be involved during the development process as a source of knowledge,

given that planners remain central actors (who make decisions and define actions), the agency of the public and their transformative capabilities are not yet recognized. The adaptive understanding of the development process is dominant in these approaches, leading to a focus on physical development. However, within this perspective on the development process, planners gain inputs from the public in order to create an environment better suited to the community. Even if the importance of people and the necessity of a sense of belonging and identity are recognized, these goals will be attempted through the provision of social and community infrastructures such as open spaces, community centres, libraries, and public amenities as opposed to direct engagement of subjective, non-material aspects of sense of belonging and identity building.

People-centred approach to urban development: In both approaches discussed above, those who are going to be affected by the development process (residents and workers at the developed site) are considered either irrelevant (first approach) or secondary (second approach) to the development process. In the people-centred approach, this group will be the primary actor and the main focus in the development process.

As explained in the previous section, a key factor in the social learning process is the point at which actors are aware of their common issues and realize the interdependence among them. Within the urban development process, establishment and residency in a common geographical territory typically initiates these common issues. Although groups of people living or working (or who are going to live and work) in an area may have different desires, spending significant time in daily life in a shared site makes them face common problems that can bring them together. Under the right circumstances, the public can move from having shared issues to collaboratively deciding how to act on them.

When the public realizes their interdependency with one other, it could justify their involvement in the development process; but, this involvement is not just confined to provision of input or feedback to planners. Unlike the two approaches discussed above where the key actors are planners, in the people-centred approach, the key actor in the development process is the public. Thus, this approach advocates for true

'participation' of the public in the development process in order to reach 'co-understanding + co-action'.

This true participation is two-fold. First, it entails 'invented' as well as 'invited' participation. Miraftab (2006, 2009) defines invited participation as attempts for "citizen participation sanctioned by the authorities" (Miraftab, 2009, p. 35). So, it includes "grassroots actions legitimized by government interventions" (Miraftab, 2009, p. 38; 2006, p. 195). But the actions within the invited spaces of participation are restricted to the structure provided by the government/ planning authority; therefore, in addition to these opportunities, there should be possibilities for the public to "invent spaces for participation" (Miraftab, 2009, p. 38; 2006, p. 195) to challenge those areas that the government/ planning authority consider fixed, or to provide their (the public) concerns and ideas regarding issues that the government/ planning authority has ignored. Thereby, besides attempts "created from above by governmental interventions" to prepare a ground for public participation, there should be the potential for attempts "carved out from below, and demanded through collective action" (Miraftab, 2006, p. 201) to reflect the public's concerns. Second, true participation implies "substantive inclusion" (Miraftab, 2009, p. 40) rather than "symbolic inclusion" (Miraftab, 2009, p. 34) which means influential inclusion of the public in all stages of goal setting, decision making and acting.

Founded on this participation model and based on a socio-reflexive perspective, through dialogue and interaction, participants are assisted to recognize their own and others' mental models and thus to realize that a variety of legitimate interests exist (such as economic viability, liveability, marketing a brand, cultural preservation, and environmental protection). This is what Schusler et al. (2003), citing Forester (1999), term "diplomatic recognition" which means recognizing that others' interests are as legitimate as one's own (p. 312). The flow of ideas is oriented towards shaping shared mental models and building a common vision. But discussion of different interests and directing them towards a shared vision is not a simple task. Participants may not want to listen to others' interests or may find those ideas meaningless. They also may not realize the importance and necessity of finding a shared vision and the collaborative action based on it. This is where the facilitation role of planners becomes important. Emphasizing inter-dependency and the necessity of collaborative action, planners can

smooth this path. This approach needs resources, especially time and energy, to bring people together, and provide the space through forums, sessions, and meeting to have multi-direction⁷ discussions and dialogues so that people can share their values and interests, and consequently reach common ground for joint action.

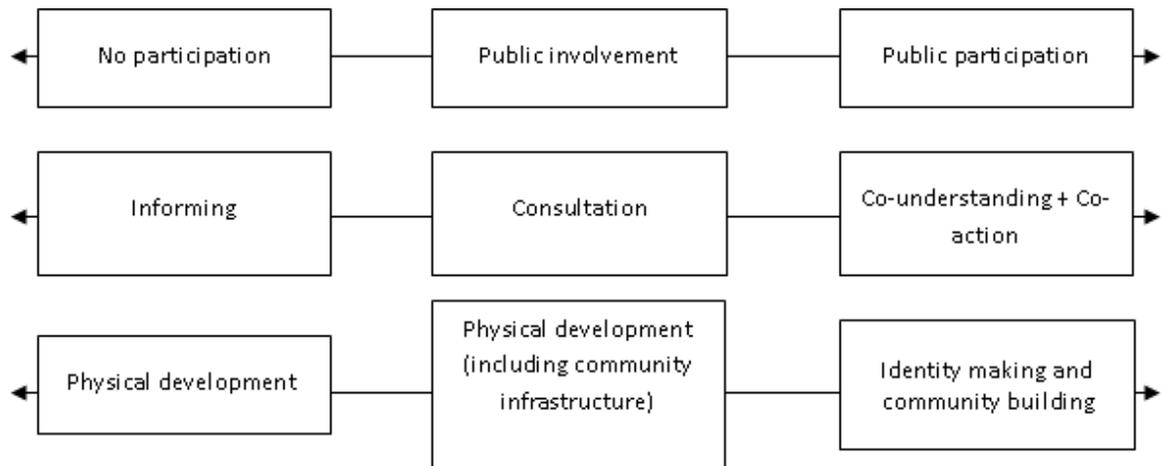
In the people-centred approach, a developed site is not envisaged as a place for the accumulation of individuals. Instead, by embracing human agency and the transformative capabilities of the public, and through this collective reflection and action, individuals can understand what matters to others, be engaged with others, develop bonds with each other, nurture mutual respect, and define themselves with other participants and the community constituted by them. This is what Wenger called “social becoming” (Wenger, 2010, p. 3). ‘Identity building and community building’ are at the heart of this approach.

These ideas which are building blocks of the discussed approaches to urban redevelopment are shown in figure 12. One point that should be noted is that each of the three axes should be seen as a spectrum of different states. Although the rational approach is best placed at the left end of the axes, and the second collaborative approach can be situated at the mid-point of the axes, this does not mean that a clear line can be drawn to distinguish these approaches.

In this research, the case of Melbourne Docklands redevelopment will be studied to investigate how the approaches to its redevelopment have changed, and to see how the outcomes and learnt lessons of this sample waterfront revitalization provide support, justification, refinement, or adjustment for the building blocks shown in figure 12. It is not claimed that the Melbourne Docklands redevelopment process reflects shifts from the left side of figure 12 to its right end, but based on the initial analysis of documents and secondary data, some moves from the left end of the axes towards the right end have been recognized. This research will be investigating the Docklands redevelopment process to recognize the existence, extent, and drivers of these movements.

⁷ Not a one-way informing process from planners to public, and not a two-way discussion between individuals and planners; but a multi-direction discussion that allows interaction and conversation between different actors.

Figure 12. Building blocks of approaches to urban development



4. Methodology and research design

4.1. Research design

As explained in the introduction, in this research both theoretical and empirical purposes are pursued. From a theoretical perspective, I aim to introduce a people-centred approach to urban redevelopment that considers the human agency of the public and their capacities, enables participation of the public in the development process, places people at the centre of the development process, and contributes to place-making. The conceptual framework outlined in the previous chapter distinguishes this approach from two other approaches derived from rational and collaborative theories of planning. Coming to the empirical aspect, this research intends to investigate the redevelopment process of Melbourne Docklands to see how the development approach taken in this case has changed, and how the approaches applied in Melbourne Docklands correspond to the approaches discussed in the previous chapter.

In designing my research, I have used the case study as Baxter (2010) describes it as an “approach” to research design rather than as a “method” to collect data (p. 82). He argues that case study approach can extend understanding about the phenomenon, which Berg (2009), referring to Geertz, describes as “thick description” of the phenomenon (p. 134). The case study approach is an appropriate method in order to explore in-depth understanding (Baxter, 2010) of the issue of research and to acquire concrete knowledge for developing descriptions and interpretations about the research topic (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Bromley, 1990). Yin (1984) argues that case study analyses are particularly useful when examining “how” questions (compared to ‘why’ questions) and when the investigator has little control over events. Both of these conditions are met in my research.

In this research, case study has been selected as a “methodology” (Baxter, 2010, p. 82) to better understand the urban redevelopment process. Thus, it is an “intrinsic” case study, as Berg, citing Stake, differentiates the intrinsic from the “instrumental” case

study, which is undertaken primarily to illustrate other cases (p. 229). In terms of Yin's (1984) categorization of case studies, my case study is descriptive. With regard to time, it is a longitudinal case study and although it is focused on one location, it has a comparative nature as it compares the two stages of redevelopment of Melbourne Docklands.

4.2. Research methods and data collection

As a commonly used methodology in various disciplines in the social sciences, case study research involves the utilisation of a wide range of different data sources (Perecman and Curran, 2006,). Berg (2009) suggests interview and observation complemented by document analysis as the chief methods of data collection in case study research. For this research, I have employed a qualitative and mixed-method approach including content analysis and interview as my methods of data collection. It also should be noted that my introduction to Melbourne Docklands derived from the research assistantship I was involved in for more than a year before starting this research. Although this research has been implemented independently from that project the research assistantship, in addition to providing me a powerful background of the case, gave me helpful insights in order to select my interviewees and related documents.

The first step of my data collection included analysis of documents related to the redevelopment process of Docklands for both the first and the second decades of redevelopment. These analyses included analysing 1- governmental reports, policies, documents, and meeting minutes: whether issued by the Victorian state government, the development authority (Docklands Authority, VicUrban, or Places Victoria), or the City of Melbourne; 2- website information: including governmental websites, community websites such as Docklands Community Association, or promotional websites like Melbourne Docklands; 3- media articles: mainly Docklands Community News (the local newspaper of Docklands) and The Age (one of the major daily Melbourne newspapers); 4- marketing and advertising brochures: issued by developers, the development authority, or the City of Melbourne; 5- academic works that looked at Melbourne Docklands as part of their research (for example works of Kate Shaw or Susan Oakley).

As Berg (2009) states, content analysis is the examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns and themes. Based on the analysis of the mentioned documents, I extracted the general themes of the redevelopment approach in each decade in terms of the involved actors, mode of interaction with the public, and focus of development.

My second source of data is the secondary data gathered for another research project related to redevelopment of Melbourne Docklands. This research includes interviews with representatives of City of Melbourne (2 representatives), government state development authority (5 representatives), developers (2 representatives), academics (2 representatives), and activists (2 representatives). The detailed list of interviewees is shown in table 2⁸. These interviews, in addition to the analysed documents, helped me to better understand the redevelopment process of Docklands and its changes, and identify patterns of redevelopment approach during the two decades of regeneration.

Table 42. List of interviewees of the secondary data

	Role/ job title of interviewee	Affiliated organization	Involvement in Docklands development	Attributed name in this research
1	Senior urban designer	VicUrban	2000-2010	Development authority 1
2	Senior manager	VicUrban	Since 1999	Development authority 2
3	Senior manager	VicUrban	2005-2011	Development authority 3
4	General manager planning and urban design	Docklands Authority/VicUrban	1997-2008	Development authority 4
5	CEO	Docklands Authority/VicUrban	1995-2006	Development authority 5
6	Urban design director	City of Melbourne (C of M)	Since early 1990s	C of M 1

⁸ Due to ethical considerations, in cases that the interviewee asked for confidentiality of his/her identity, the role/job title of the interviewee has been mentioned in general terms such as senior manager or staff.

	Role/ job title of interviewee	Affiliated organization	Involvement in Docklands development	Attributed name in this research
7	Councilor	City of Melbourne	Since 2001	C of M councilor
8	Senior manager	Lend Lease (developer)	Since 2011 (in addition to disconnected involvement since 2002)	Developer 1
9	CEO	MAB Corporation (developer)	Since early 2000s	Developer 2
10	President	Docklands Community Association	Since 2005	Community activist 1
11	Principal	Docklands community garden	Since 2009	Community activist 2
12	Professor	University of Melbourne	–	His name
13	Professor	RMIT University	–	His name

In order to augment the validity of my findings from these sources and to also acquire a deeper understanding of the redevelopment process and its changes, I conducted interviews with representatives from actors involved in the redevelopment process. As Dunn (2010, p. 101) explains, in the research interview, “the interviewer attempts to elicit information or expressions of opinion.” I have attempted to obtain information about how the involved actors see changes in the redevelopment process of Docklands, and their drivers. Informed by the concepts and themes expressed in my conceptual framework and findings from my document analysis and secondary data, I developed a script for semi-structured interviews to gain insight about interviewees’ “knowledge, experiences, viewpoints and interpretations” (Flyvbjerg, 2006) connected with the Melbourne Docklands redevelopment process.

Interviewees have been selected from five groups of actors involved in Docklands redevelopment: the state government development authority (including Docklands Authority, VicUrban, and Places Victoria), the City of Melbourne, developers, community activists, and academics. These groups of actors were identified in order to cover a wide range of involved actors to acquire knowledge about the redevelopment process from different perspectives, which could provide a more holistic understanding

of the redevelopment process. In addition, regarding the process of interviewee selection, I tried to select individuals who were involved in different stages of the redevelopment process, so information could be gathered from the whole period of development. However, the availability of interviewees and their preference to discuss the Docklands development created some limitations in this regard.

In total, 18 semi-structured interviews were done with 20 interviewees (in two of the interview sessions, two interviewees attended). The list of interviewees is shown in table 3 (the list of interview questions is presented in appendix 1). In addition, I participated in a tour of Docklands in which the Manager of Urban Design and Docklands of the City of Melbourne introduced and discussed the Docklands redevelopment process.

All of the interviews and the report of the tour were transcribed in addition to the secondary data interviews that were prepared for analysis with Atlas.Ti software. Founded on the conceptual framework developed in chapter three, using the building blocks of figure 12, and based on the initial content analysis of the documents and the insights gathered during interviews, I created an initial list of codes. These codes were clustered in a few groups each related to a general theme (such as mode of interaction, involved actors, and focus of development). Having this categorization of codes, I reviewed the interviews in order to discover other possible codes and themes embedded in my interviews. I was open to new concepts emerging from the interviews through creating new, merging, or splitting codes whenever it was necessary. After a few times going back and forth, I created a final list of codes for analysis which is provided in appendix B. I coded 31 interviews using this coding structure. After coding, I gathered quotes and codes related to each general theme and through examining them, I attempted to realize the relationship between them in order to better understand different aspects and stages of the redevelopment process.

Table 3. List of interviewees

	Role/ job title of interviewee	Affiliated organization	Involvement in Docklands development	Attributed name in this research
1	Board member	VicUrban/ Places Victoria	Since 2009	Development authority 6

	Role/ job title of interviewee	Affiliated organization	Involvement in Docklands development	Attributed name in this research
2	General manager planning and urban design	Docklands Authority/VicUrban	1997-2008	Development authority 4
3	Senior manager	VicUrban/ Places Victoria	Since 1999	Development authority 2
4	Senior manager	VicUrban/ Places Victoria	Since 2005	Development authority 7
5	Consultant	Docklands Authority/VicUrban	1996-2003	Development authority 8
6	Director of planning and design	Docklands Authority	1993-2000	Development authority 9
7	Senior staff	Department of Planning and Community Development (DPCD)	Since 1990	DPCD 1
8	Staff	Department of Planning and Community Development	Since 2000	DPCD 2
9	Manager of Urban Design and Docklands	City of Melbourne	Since 2000	C of M 2
10	Staff	City of Melbourne	Since 2003	C of M 3
11	Senior manager	Lend Lease (developer)	Since 2011 (in addition to disconnected involvement since 2002)	Developer 1
12	Development Director	Mirvac (developer)	Since 2009	Developer 3
13	President	Docklands Community Association	Since 2005	Community activist 1
14	Resident + business owner	Community activist	Since 2005	Community activist 3
15	Editor	Docklands Community News	Since 2007	Community activist 4
16	Resident (member of DCF)	Community activist	Since 2005	Community activist 5
17	Facilitator of DCF	-	-	Her name

	Role/ job title of interviewee	Affiliated organization	Involvement in Docklands development	Attributed name in this research
18	Professor	RMIT University	–	His name
19	Professor	University of Melbourne	–	His name
20	Professor	RMIT University	–	Her name
21	Professor	University of Melbourne	–	Her name

In analysing both the primary and secondary interviews, I was open in recognizing elements of the development approach and their changes. In this regard, I used four tests Yin (2003) proposes for social science research: construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability. Among these tests, external validity is related to the research design phase of research and the domain to which the findings of the research could be generalized. Internal validity is for the data analysis phase and is applied for explanatory case studies, which is not relevant to my research. Construct validity and reliability are two tests that Yin proposes for the data collection phase. Yin presents three principles for addressing construct validity and reliability during data collection: 1- using multiple sources of evidence, 2- creating a case study database, and 3- allowing potential follow-up on the case study by maintaining a chain of evidence. To address these principles, I have used triangulation of multiple sources of data including interview, governmental and non-governmental documents, news, and reports. I also organized and documented gathered data from the initial phase, developed an interview guide, conducted semi-structured interviews and used a structured process for recording and transcribing in order to deal with these concerns.

The data collected during my research and findings of my research will be described in the next chapter. In the next chapter, I will compare two decades of Docklands redevelopment using the framework of figure 12.

5. Comparing two decades of Docklands redevelopment

In Chapter 3, a conceptual framework for distinguishing different approaches to urban redevelopment process was described. In this chapter, I will compare two decades of Docklands redevelopment based on the ideas discussed in chapter 3. Using the framework of figure 12, the centre of this comparison will be study of the involved actors, their mode of interaction with the public, and the focus of the development practice. The intent is to see how the redevelopment approach of the second decade has changed compared to the first decade and if the new approach is in line with the people-centred approach introduced in chapter 3 in order to address community building and place-making goals in Docklands. Towards this goal, after giving a snapshot of Docklands redevelopment, the first decade of development and its general approach will be discussed. Then, the 'Second Decade of Docklands Project' as the main initiative of the second decade will be reviewed. Based on these reviews, their comparison with reference to the framework of figure 12 will be done. Finally, I will discuss a recent initiative in Docklands regarding a change of its governance and formation of a 'Docklands Community Forum'. As it is a new change in Docklands which is still in its initial stages, it has not been included in the previous discussion of the second decade. The approach of the Docklands Community Forum will be analysed to see how it could be situated on the axis of figure 12.

Before commencing discussion of this chapter, one point should be noticed. Although Docklands redevelopment due to changes in its development approach renders an appropriate case for studying different development approaches, in order to test the people-centred approach introduced in chapter three, it is one example with specific features that implies some limitations on this test. First, there was no pre-existing community living in Docklands before the start of the redevelopment. Having no community in Docklands prior to its development creates some difficulties for a community building goal, and also poses the question of who should realize the

necessity of the development of a place. Is recognition of the regional or local government sufficient or is bottom-up recognition also needed? Second, Docklands is a large-scale development and it has been pursued in a long time frame; which makes connection between different actors, their interactions, and any consequent common experiences more difficult. Changes in the local and regional governments and their affiliated organizations in such a long-term project, due to the key role they play, also influence the development process and interaction with the public and other actors.

5.1. Snapshot of Melbourne Docklands redevelopment

Chapter 2 explained that the initial thoughts for Docklands regeneration were initiated in the early 1990s by the Kirner government. Evaluating different proposals for how Docklands should be revitalized continued with the next government when Jeff Kennett became the premier. During the Kennett government, 'Docklands Authority' held responsibility for Docklands redevelopment. Docklands Authority continued its responsibility till 2003 when it was merged with the 'Urban and Regional Land Corporation' to form 'VicUrban', which later in 2011 was replaced by 'Places Victoria'. Table 4 summarizes different Victorian state governments involved in Docklands redevelopment and the responsible development authority in each government.

During the period 1990-2000 hardly any development occurred in Docklands but development agreements for most of the precincts were signed. Docklands was planned for development in a 20-year time frame (2000-2020). Commencing the first residential development in 2000, the period between 2000 to 2010 is named the 'first decade of development'; and the new phase since 2010 has been called the 'second decade of development'. It should be noted that this separation of the first and the second decade does not mean that there is a clear line between these two decades, and that since 2010 suddenly the development approach changed. Indeed, these changes have occurred gradually; but, the purpose of this research is to study the general and dominant approach of development during each decade.

Table 4. Summary of involved Victorian state governments in Docklands redevelopment

Premier of Victoria	Party	Period of government	Responsible development authority
Joan Kirner	Labor	1990-1992	Docklands Authority, since its establishment in 1991
Jeffrey Kennett	Liberal	1992-1999	Docklands Authority
Steve Bracks	Labor	1999-2007	Docklands Authority, till 2003; VicUrban, since 2003 and after merge of Docklands Authority with Urban and Regional Land Corporation
John Brumby	Labor	2007-2010	VicUrban
Ted Baillieu	Liberal	2010- March 2013	VicUrban, till 2011; Places Victoria, since 2011 that VicUrban became Places Victoria
Denis Napthine	Liberal	Since March 2013	Places Victoria

5.2. The first decade of development (2000-2010)

5.2.1. Context and background

Melbourne Docklands were the largest docks in Australia. As containerization commenced in the 1960s, it gradually fell into disuse as port activity relocated west and a new port was developed downstream (VicUrban, 2009). Thus, the large area of land that was no longer needed, became a “redundant brownfield site” (C of M 2) which rendered it available for redevelopment (Development authority 9; Robin Goodman, RMIT University; Kim Dovey, Melbourne University; Michael Buxton, RMIT University). Being influenced by international waterfront redevelopments in Baltimore, Boston, London, San Francisco, Seattle, and Toronto, a variety of models and proposals were offered in the 1980s and early 1990s for redevelopment of the area (Docklands Authority, 1996a).

The availability of under-utilized land was concurrent with the global discourse that implied large urban redevelopments are opportunities for economic growth, wealth attraction and competitiveness. Therefore, the proposed plans, using the language of globalization, argued for provision of space for Melbourne to join “the other great cities of the world which are using the transformation of redundant port and railway areas to

create new vigor, growth and economic activity” (Ministry of Planning and Environment, 1999). Kim Dovey, Melbourne University, explaining this discourse in the Melbourne context, describes it as another factor triggering Docklands development:

Another big driver [in addition to the existence of land] was the idea that if you’ve got these big brownfield post-industrial sites [like Docklands] and you can open them up to new investment then you can capture the new flexible flows of global capital for your city as supposed to someone else’s city. So this is a growing inter-city competition and it is seen as a way for your city to attract flows of capital, so it’s very much about attracting new capital to the city.

By the late 1980s, after a property and asset price boom, Australia experienced a severe recession and the State of Victoria a financial failure. GDP fell by 1.7%, employment fell by 3.4%, and unemployment rose to 10.8% (Hynes, 2008). It was a tough economic situation for the state government, leading to Victoria’s designation as the “rustbelt” of Australia (Development authority 5). That context strengthened the idea that saw Docklands as an opportunity to stimulate some economic activity (DPCD 2). Describing this severe economic situation, Development authority 4 explains how this influenced decisions on Docklands development:

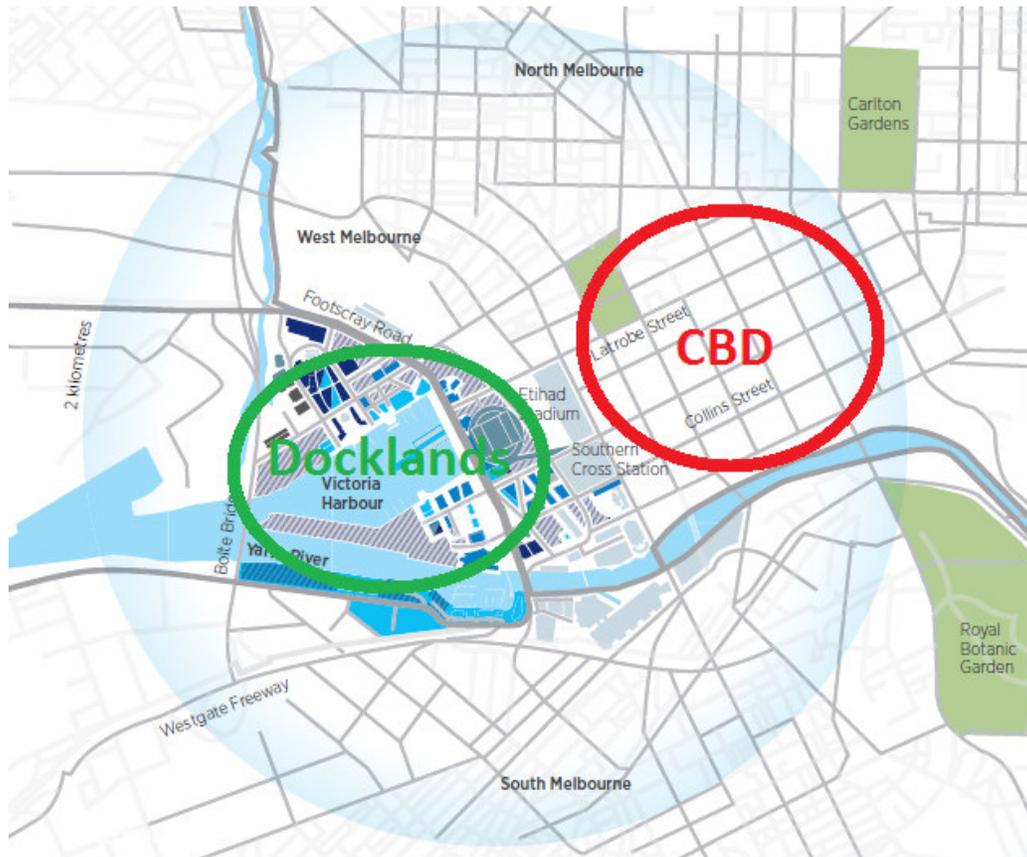
What happened is [that] you had a major economic downturn which saw the property sector go from some of the highest rental rates ever seen and I don’t think some of the rates that were set in 1988-1989 have ever returned ... what it means for us is that Australia went into recession. But Victoria was the hardest hit by that economic downturn. Principally in the property sector, it was catastrophic. In terms of the value of the office building they halved in central Melbourne, what that means is that there was the ‘rust bucket state’, so essentially what had happened was Victoria was almost broke. There was very little activity in the property sector; if you do some searching, it [property sector] was a very big player in the Australian economy, so if the property takes a big hit, it has serious consequences and this hit was very serious in Victoria. Essentially the context you had was you had an old port that was no longer being used, and you had an economic recession. What then Labour government did, Premier Joan Kirner, received bi-partisan support to develop Docklands That was really seen as an opportunity to try and use the state government asset to bring back some economic development because there was very little occurring for that period of recession.

In light of changing port technologies and inter-city competition for mobile global capital and people, and considering the poor economic conditions, the Docklands was

first envisaged as an opportunity for Melbourne to be turned into a global city to contribute to Melbourne's growth and economy (Ministry for Planning & Environment, 1999; Docklands Authority, 2002). Kim Dovey explains this world-class city' discourse as: "It was a begging of focus on the hierarchy of global cities, as somehow if you are at that hierarchy, you are more important and that you make more money and so on. There was a lot of discourse about world-class and being world-class". Therefore, there was high emphasis on creating a world-class city that can attract both national and international investors. Docklands was seen as a "world-class destination point" (C of M 3) that could change Melbourne to global cities like Manhattan (Community activist 1) or Hong Kong (Developer 1).

In addition, Docklands was supposed to address the population growth of Melbourne especially due to its location in proximity to Melbourne CBD (this strategic location is shown in figure 13), but its capacity was not just limited to responding to the normal growth of the city. To create a world-class city, the vision sought to attract people to live or work in Docklands not only from Victoria, but also nation-wide and world-wide. Thus, the Victorian State government's goal was looking to attract new population as "they were essentially wanting to create growth rather than accommodate growth and connections into the global economy" (Kim Dovey, Melbourne University).

Figure 13. Strategic location of Docklands



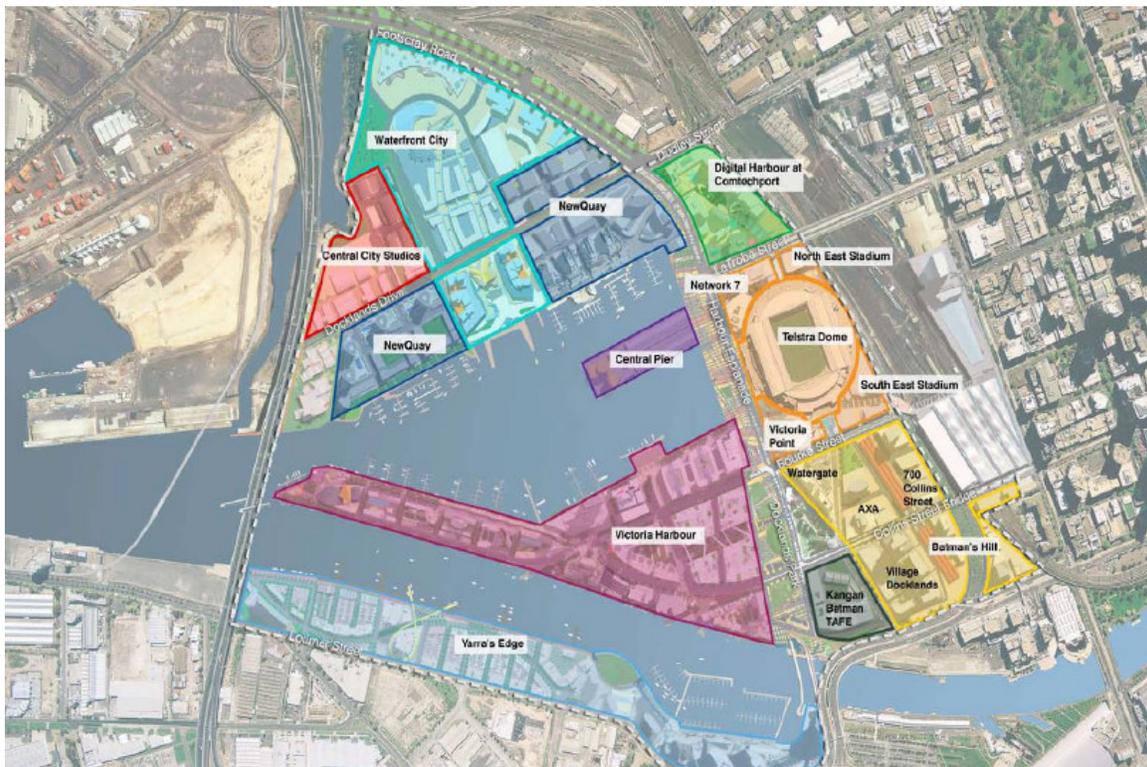
Note: Adapted from “Docklands the 2nd decade” by VicUrban, 2011, p. 8.

So, there was an intention to “develop Docklands for the economic growth of Melbourne” (Development authority 6) and the state government was interested in redeveloping it, but financially it was not in a viable situation to proceed with the development largely due to the economic recession (Oakley, 2011). In 1992, when the liberal government came to power, considering the economic recession and the lack of state resources for initiating Docklands development, the government decided to get the private sector involved. Those years coincided with the period when public-private partnerships – influenced by pro-privatization, deregulation, free-market and neo-liberal approaches – were promoted (Loxley & Loxley 2010, Siemiatycki, 2006). Thus the government decided to act “in a more Thatcherite way” (Development authority 4) and start a new model of development where “no cost to government” became the slogan for the development process. This approach was not just about Docklands development, it was rooted in the ideology of the government of the day:

Jeff Kennett embarked on an initiative called Major Projects which said if we are going to kick start the economy, one way to do it is through major projects, and Melbourne Docklands was one of those projects. It was about commencing projects using not government's funds because there were no government funds, but utilising the private sector to implement those projects (Development authority 4).

Touted as a cost-neutral project to the public, the state government and Docklands Authority looked for a mechanism that could bring private sector investment into the project. Toward this goal, Docklands Authority split up the site into seven precincts –later restructured in 10 precincts– (figure 14) and invited expressions of interest in the development of Melbourne Docklands.

Figure 14. Map of Docklands precincts



Note: Reprinted with permission from “An Innovative Strategy for Designed Development 1992 – 2007” by Hynes, 2008, p. 39.

In addition to these economic drivers, there were political interests as well. The Kennett government, criticizing the previous governments for ignoring Docklands, attempted to represent itself as a government that would initiate Docklands

redevelopment. Many of the documents and speeches issued by the Kennett government highlighted that while previous governments had not done anything about Docklands, the current government was going to make it happen (Wood, 2009; Dovey, 2005). For example, the Docklands Authority report “Melbourne Docklands: Toward the 21st Century” contained the statement that “for decades, grand plans for Melbourne Docklands were held out to the people of Victoria, but nothing happened. Now, that has changed” (Docklands Authority, 1995, as cited in Dovey, 2005, p. 136). Or in 1996 Docklands Authority held a forum called “The Time Is Now” in which Premier Kennett argued that “Docklands had been ignored by our predecessors” (Dovey, 2005, p. 138). Criticizing the previous government’s ignorance, Kennett stated that: “Development of the Docklands is a long-held dream for Melbourne. It’s been thought about, talked about and planned for more than twenty years. Finally it is about to happen” (quote by Jeff Kennett, Docklands Authority, 1997, p. 5).

Thus, the intention of the government was to become a ‘can do government’ that put projects on the ground, and therefore put emphasis on delivering developments, especially Docklands, which was a good indicator for proving its capabilities:

Kennett was a very entrepreneurial, wanted-to-get-things-done person and there were whole lots of things he tried to get going. So when Kennett came in, one of the things he saw as an indication to get things done, was Docklands development (Development authority 9).

The goal of the Kennett government was to start and implement Docklands redevelopment as soon and fast as possible in order to be assigned its creditability and also to bring political legitimation. Kim Dovey describes this as a desire for political capital in addition to economic capital:

By the mid 90s we had a liberal deregulatory regime with a very charismatic premier, Kennett, that all the imperatives then become getting the projects on the ground, what they wanted was projects on the ground but not any kind of project, they wanted projects on the ground that would be visible and would work as political capital. They wanted projects they can point to and say we did that, this is why you elected us, we got things done, this was a ‘can do’ government.

In order to gain this political capital, the Kennett government put strict time frames on the development process. In 1996, in a forum of property developers, Premier Kennett emphasized getting projects on the ground in four years to make 'Melbourne's Millennium Mark' (Dovey, 2005). Splitting the site into 7 precincts, Docklands Authority set development agreements on 10-year plans, giving way to the perception that their primary and sole concern was "to finish the buildings in 10 years" (Robin Goodman, RMIT University). Docklands Authority, along with an 'International Design Panel' and a separate 'Finance Panel', constituted of international as well as national experts, reviewed proposals and selected developers for specific projects (Development authority 4). In the bidding process for the Docklands, a premium was put on the urgent perceived need to attract private investment, where the demands from the private sector were "planning certainty" and "one-stop shop for investment approvals," and saving the public cost through "just in time" infrastructure provision (Hynes, 2008, p. 31). The City of Melbourne was excluded from the developer selection process due to a perceived conflict of interest and a desire for commercial confidentiality (Dovey, 2005). Development agreements were flexible and open to developers' ideas, but time-lines were fixed and project completion was strictly enforced by development agreements (Dovey, 2005). The main reason for cancellation of development agreements was due to the inability of developers to complete one-third of the development in half of the allotted time (Development authority 5). Many critiques mentioned in later years of the development process were attributed to its pace of development: "A lot of people think the reason it was done badly is that it was done quickly" (Robin Goodman). As the main concern of the development agreements was the time frame of development and due to ambiguities and confusions about the role and responsibility of developers and Docklands Authority, the first round of agreements collapsed on every precinct except Yarra's Edge (Dovey, 2005). In order to proceed with the development process and accomplish the envisaged economic and political goals, the state government and Docklands Authority focused on marketing Docklands to attract both national and international investment.

In 1998, the state government transferred local government powers and municipal management functions from Melbourne City Council to Docklands Authority. This exclusion of the City of Melbourne from the development process was justified by

different reasons, mainly to facilitate and accelerate the development of Docklands: “it was due to push a really strong delivery agenda and it was easier for them [the state government] to do it through an authority as opposed to relying on a council to deliver it” (DPCD 2). The fact that Docklands had no residents in those days provided room for questioning the necessity of involvement of a large democratic organization (City of Melbourne) when the goal was to get things done faster (Kim Dovey). Another reason for this exclusion was fear of NIMBYism and to give confidence and create interest for the private sector to get involved (Oakley, 2011). It was argued that local government could encumber major developments of state and national significance like Docklands. Thus in order to focus on the benefit for the whole state rather than simply the local interest, the City of Melbourne was excluded (Development authority 5). The exclusion of the local government not only is preferred by the state government, but is also the preference of developers because it “gives them confidence” (C of M 3) as Development authority 8 describes:

The state government and the minister thought unless the minister was the responsible authority, the developers wouldn't be seen in Docklands, because developers have many issues and problems in dealing with the local government. When the initial efforts were made to attract developers in '95-'96, there wasn't a lot of developer interest, and the development industry was not really that excited about Docklands. And one of the ways to get them more interested was to say that developers would have an approval process that will not involve the council.

5.2.2. Description of the development process

Development in the first decade commenced with residential buildings⁹ in New Quay and Yarra's Edge (figure 15 shows Yarra's Edge's residential development), and other developments proceeded afterwards. In the early years of the first decade, considering the fact that most of the first round development agreements were unsuccessful, Docklands Authority focused on operationalizing the second round agreements (Dovey, 2005; Robin Goodman). In order to give certainty to developers about the actualization of development, public investment was made on an extension for

⁹ Although these developments included commercial space on the ground floor and provision of associated infrastructure and public space, the main purpose was residential development.

Bourke Bridge, La Trobe and Collins streets (all connecting Docklands to Melbourne CBD), Docklands park, tramway extension, Wurundjeri freeway around Docklands and other cases which contrasted with the 'no cost to government' promise. To facilitate and accelerate the initiation of the development by developers, many of the documents issued by Docklands Authority (such as "Integration and Design Excellence", issued in 2000 or "ESD Guide" issued in 2002) provided guidelines for developers to start development and explained the development's principles.

The new government in 1999 generally continued Kennett's approach and built on the idea that the government should not engage in detailed planning, rather that it should be open to the "people with the ideas" (which meant the private sector) (Dovey, 2005) to bring forward their plans for development. Michael Buxton, RMIT, explains that Docklands Authority welcomed any ideas proposed by developers as it could accelerate the development process. In explaining this dominance of developers, he illustrates that as "they [Docklands Authority and later VicUrban] were so desperate to get any kind of development", they welcomed developers' ideas because they thought if they didn't accept what the developers wanted, the development process may face problems or its delivery speed might slow down.

Figure 15. Residential development in Yarra's Edge Precinct

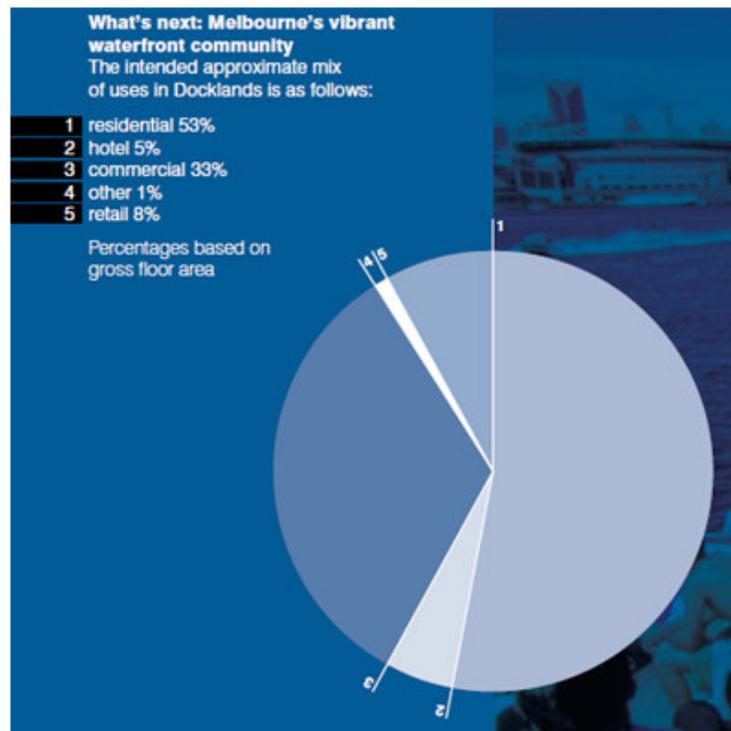


Note: Photo by author, 2013

As no specific community was recognized for the Docklands redevelopment process and because Docklands Authority/VicUrban embarked upon a market-driven approach to development, the main ideas about how development should proceed came from developers: “in the first decade, the places were very much about what the investors want[ed]” (C of M 3). To meet the primary objective of the property developers, the development process was oriented towards building projects where “there was [a] market” (Developer 1) – with proven profitability. This dominance of developers’ perspectives had another motivation as well. Allowing developers to respond to the market gives the certainty that developers could pay back land prices to the development authority, so that state government investments could be compensated, thus fulfilling the ‘no cost to government’ promise. Developer 1, illustrating this dominance and flexibility of developers, explained that it was a necessity as “we make land payments back to the authority and if we’re constrained by what we are going to do, the development authority gets no land payment”.

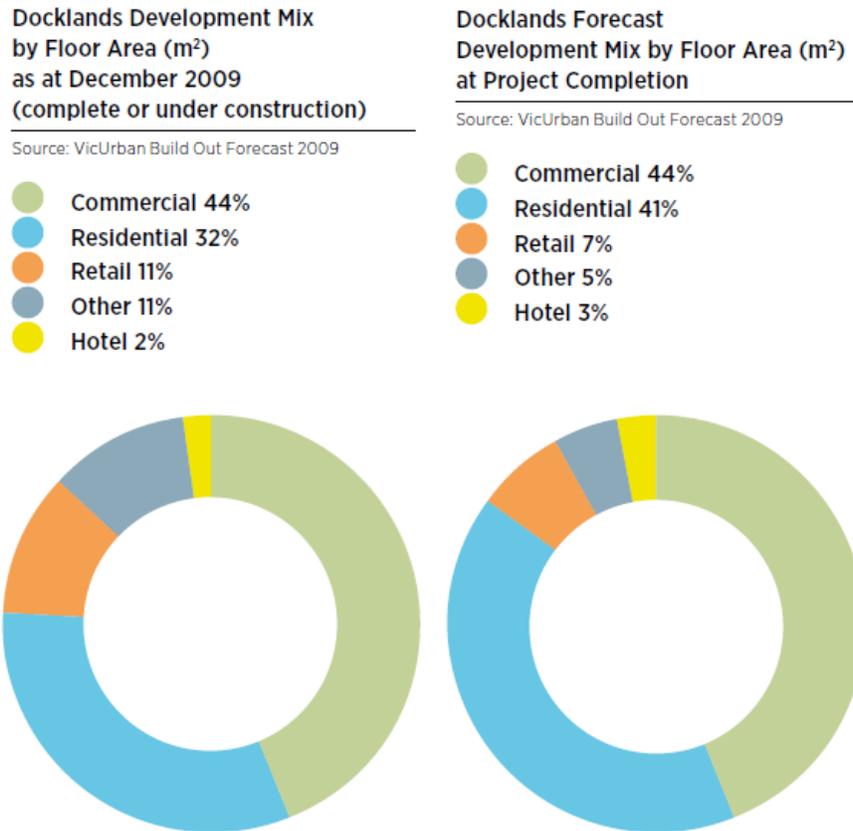
The net result was a focus on commercial development, which was the more proven type of development for the adjacent CBD, and less emphasis on residential development, which had less proven profitability in the CBD. As figure 16 shows, in 2002, the intended approximate mix of uses in Docklands was: residential 53%, commercial 33%, retail 8%, hotel 5%, and other 1%. Figure 17 shows that in 2009 these projections were revised, demonstrating that the projected residential share at time of project completion experienced a 12% decrease while commercial share increased by 119%.

Figure 16. Intended mix of uses in Docklands in 2002



Note: Adapted from "what's next?" by Docklands Authority, 2002, p. 17.

Figure 17. Docklands development mix in 2009 and forecast mix at project completion



Note: Adapted from “Docklands 1st decade” by VicUrban, 2009, p. 69.

In addition, the Docklands saw scant attention to community infrastructure, which resulted in very small amount of community infrastructure being constructed in this period. Despite some initial emphasis upon provision of community infrastructure in plans like “Docklands 2000+” issued by Docklands Authority in 2000, the development model was: “delivering a building and a bit of public open space around it and leaving everything else” (C of M 3). This does not mean that there were no rules or instructions for developers, but that development agreements were flexible and negotiable, “so if opportunities came up in the market [for commercial or residential development compared to community infrastructure], they could change mixes [of development]” (C of M 3). There were determined percentages for residential and commercial development

(derived from diagrams like what is shown in figure 16), public art¹⁰ (examples of the public art are provided in figure 18 & 19), and infrastructure in each precinct, but there was no enforcement on the order and timing of their delivery. There were regulations such as height limits, but they were voluntary not obligatory (Kim Dovey). For many, the current unbalanced development of Docklands and its following problems are mainly due to the “carte blanche given to the developers to go in and develop” (Community activist 1):

What in Docklands was very unusual, was the degree of power that individual developers had. Because basically the deal really was that they got given the precinct and as long as they develop within this precinct in a very tight frame, they can do whatever they like. And I know what they're trying to do was to make it profitable obviously.... It's kind of absolutely opposite of the more traditional planning authority led when the planning authority decides what should be there and consult with the community. There was absolutely none of that” (Robin Goodman, RMIT University).

Figure 18. Public art in New Quay Precinct



Note: Photo by author, 2013

¹⁰ One of the elements of the development agreements was that developers should devote 5% of their area for public art. Developers were responsible for 3% of it and the development authority for the remaining 2%.

Figure 19. Public art in Victoria Harbour Precinct



Note: Photo by author, 2013

Furthermore, since the ideas and plans for development were supposed to be offered by developers and needed to be approved by Docklands Authority (later by VicUrban), there was not much space for public involvement. There were no requirements to consult with the public; developers' interactions were limited to dealing with Docklands Authority/VicUrban, as Developer 1 explains: "the Docklands Authority was the coordinated group for Docklands. So for example if we want to deliver a piece of public art, we would have to engage Docklands Authority; but then they would have to engage the City of Melbourne, other relevant agencies, and the public".

Meanwhile, the performance of the Docklands Authority/VicUrban in engaging the public in the first decade leaned more towards 'informing' activities. Information about the development process, general news about the changes in Docklands, what was going to be developed by whom and in what time frame, were transferred to the public making them aware of what is going to happen in Docklands. This information and

awareness were provided through “perusal of the Docklands Authority’s reports [which] were provided in ‘annual reports’ and ‘business plans’ (for example “What’s Next” document shown in figure 20 which explained the actions taken in Docklands and its future steps) rather than planning strategies or frameworks [the typical presentation style for government documents]” (Wood, 2009, p. 199). These documents described the actions taken, what is going to be implemented in the future, and included “sketchy outlines of proposals” (Wood, 2009, p. 194). Development authority 4, describing Docklands Authority/VicUrban’s publication and interaction with the public in those years, states: “These [the annual reports and information-providing documents] were the major publications, and [in addition to Docklands] newspaper. And it was tried to get the Melbourne community to be interested in what was happening in Docklands and to sort of show how it would look like, the interaction was fairly limited”.

Figure 20. DA report explaining future steps of development (2002)



Note: Adapted from “what’s next?” by Docklands Authority, 2002

Regarding the development agreements, it was argued that due to competition between developers, these agreements should remain confidential. This precluded public scrutiny and debate about the contents of the agreements. To express the level of confidentiality, C of M 2 illustrates:

Development agreements were contracted with developers ... I [Manager of Urban Design and Docklands] myself have not seen them and even our CEO [years after they have been signed] had seen some parts of them, not the whole documents of agreements.

In addition, the Docklands Authority conducted public opinion surveys in the early years of the first decade, but the tone of the questions was leading toward confirmation of existing authority opinions, and their scope was confined to general opinions about Docklands. These surveys included questions like (Docklands Authority, 2000, p. 63):

- Do you agree Docklands will have a significant impact on Victoria?
- Do you agree Docklands will complement the existing city centre of Melbourne?
- Do you agree Docklands will be a development of which Melbourne can be proud?
- Do you believe Docklands will provide an economic boost to the State of Victoria?
- Do you support Docklands development?

Conducting similar surveys was continued till 2007, which was the main mode of public engagement in those years according to Development authority 2:

Docklands Authority [and later VicUrban] used to have these surveys; they used to conduct [surveys] more broadly, about what people thought about Docklands, what they liked about Docklands, what they didn't like. So they did conduct that sort of survey on a regular basis. We did it annually till 2007. So those were public input and I hardly remember anything else [regarding interaction with public].

There were also random informing sessions that updated people about the stages of development or signed agreements, but it was not a norm or routine enforced by Docklands Authority/VicUrban on a regular basis. A number of events were held, such as "Around the World in 80 Dishes" (Development authority 9) or new year's eve

events in which thousands of people participated (Docklands Authority, 2002), which took more of a marketing direction or in some cases raised public awareness of Docklands and its changes:

And there were open days which were not consultation but were about informing people and to get them to come down and experience it and to see, there wasn't a lot to have a look at but they organized some water events, boats, sheds, food festival on weekends to open it up and get people familiar with Docklands. And it probably helped to support the developers who were marketing their products at the same time, opportunities for residential and commercial (Development authority 2).

As residents gradually came to reside in Docklands and businesses established there, some changes could be noticed in the development process. Since 2005, VicUrban held a number of consultation-form sessions to allow people to voice their concerns. People attended these sessions and talked with VicUrban's representatives about their concerns. However, the public failed to see any impact or influence of their involvement in the development process, which consequently discouraged them from future participation. One of the community activists, who regularly attended public meetings, explaining her frustration of giving comments but seeing no change, states:

One of the major suggestions early on for Docklands was it has not enough green spaces, parklands, and that was the overwhelming comment but what came back to us wasn't what was actually said. So I think sometimes people didn't go to those meetings thinking they've already made their minds up, so why did they hold the meeting? (Community activist 5).

Another community activist, expressing a similar point about lack of public influence or impact of public involvement in the development process, declares:

They ran consultation but nothing changed. What came out did not reflect what went in. I believe it was not genuine; they were not really interested in consulting. VicUrban used to do public consultation, they announced their plans that it would happen, people came and looked at the pictures, talked about what they thought, they went in and nothing happened (community activist 4).

Transferring back municipal responsibility to the City of Melbourne¹¹, in 2007, provided space for the City of Melbourne to advocate for more roles in the Docklands development, and thus created hope among Docklanders for a more collaborative approach in the development process. Emphasizing the lack of “sense of community and civic heart” in Docklands (“Down on the docks”, 2011) and in order to improve Docklanders’ experience and enhance community building (“Doyle call for council to take on Docklands”, 2009) the City of Melbourne asked for a more active role in Docklands, which led to obtaining control of developed areas in 2010 and the planning responsibility for developments under 25,000 square meters in 2012 (equivalent to the planning powers the City holds in the Melbourne CBD).

5.2.3. *Analysis of the development process*

In this section, based on review of the first decade of development, its development approach will be discussed in terms of the three dimensions of figure 12.

Actors involved in the development process

While there was no one living in Docklands at the beginning of the first decade and no specific group other than international buyers and investors was targeted by the development process, considering exclusion of the City of Melbourne from the process, the active and influential actors in the development process were the development authority (Docklands Authority/VicUrban) and the contracted developers (C of M 3).

With the development authority’s standpoint that developers should provide plans and ideas about the development in Docklands in order to benefit ‘innovation’, developers became influential actors in the first decade. Developer 2 explains that in contrast to many other projects that developers had limited authority and government decided on many items, in Docklands there were developers who led several initiatives:

¹¹ The intention was always to return this responsibility to the City of Melbourne; the question was timing. Lobbying from the City of Melbourne, arguments to bring back local democracy to Docklands considering its evolving community, and discourses that City Of Melbourne could provide municipal services more efficiently, influenced this governance change.

They [development authority] left it up to private enterprise to come up with the idea. It seems to me that zoning and use of land is driven by developers and not government, so it was left up to us to tell them what the best way of using this land is. They have no vision, so they leave it up to us to have all the vision.

This dominance of developers led to unbalanced development. Less than 6% of the attracted investment was devoted to community infrastructure, and from the whole developed area, the portion of green space, waterfront promenades and open space were only 3.5%, 5.5% and only 1% (VicUrban, 2009). As discussed in the previous section, with the market-driven approach of the government, even the residential part of development has been impinged upon by the private sector's tendency to benefit from the existing demand for commercial development.

Mode of interaction with the public

With the market-driven approach of the government, “the market was seemingly given free reign with the public reduced to merely a ‘recipient’ of information about the redevelopment” (Oakley, 2011, p. 4). When decisions were made by investors and developers, the notion of ‘public consultation’ was blurred with that of ‘public informing’: keeping the public aware about Docklands development and its changes, transforming information in one way from the development authority to the public with no share in generating ideas and decision making. Community activist 1 criticizing this kind of interaction with the public, which saw the community as the “product of the development”, says: “They came in and say, hey, public consultation, have a look at this, this is what we are going to do. So, we were shown what they are going to do, we were made aware, and that was it, they don’t care about what we think”.

The quantity and quality of the public consultation attempts made it clear that the main goal was to make the public aware of the development process, and to prove that (especially in the last years of the first decade) there were opportunities for people to talk about their issues in order to “justify the process and its outcomes” (Community activist 4). Although some sessions were held and surveys were conducted, without recognition of the value of public input, the function of these sessions was limited. Although there were opportunities for the public to declare their concerns, no benefit resulted as their inputs were not applied into action. An active community member (Community activist 3)

who both lives and owns a business in Docklands believes that what they had said to the development authorities had been misinterpreted resulting in the misrepresentation of their meaning and core ideas. She/he explains: “you definitely feel it is lip service, that your input is channelled. I lost my faith; I felt it was just waste of my time. They have already made their decisions.” Or another Docklands’ resident regarding public consultation of the first decade states: “you went into the meeting, and they presented, and then may ask questions, you were asked for your inputs, and then they go away for 2 years, come back and present you information and you were there thinking no, that’s not what we have said” (Community activist 5).

Focus of the development process

As a result of the context of the 1990s, and especially the economic conditions, the priority of the first decade was initiating the development process and delivery of developments. Docklands had been pictured as a key economic driver of not only Melbourne but also Victoria as a whole, and thus its development became one of the main goals of the state government. Influenced by the financial situation of the state, along with the ideology of the government to use private funds for development and to achieve the “no cost to government” promise, attracting investment in tandem with physical development became a main concern for the state government and Docklands Authority/VicUrban. So, when C of M 3, at the end of the first decade, reviewed its development, he concludes:

It was very much saying, yes, we achieved what they originally had set out to do which was to get developers and investment into Docklands to actually start building, and that was very successful, what they actually did. ... Certainly, their focus was on development and gaining investment.

This emphasis was successful on its own terms. By the end of the first decade, 98% of the developable land had been contracted via development agreements (VicUrban, 2009). The resultant outcome, in terms of the progress of physical development and investment attraction, was satisfied for the development authority as Development authority 7 declares: “It achieved its intended purpose, it was very successful in that regard, but in doing that probably we didn’t tick some other boxes. I mean, what we have achieved in 10 years is incredible, just in terms of the scale of it”.

There are critiques that a superior development process would have followed a slower pace or would have been done sequentially, but the state government's decision was to accelerate the development process in order to gain the desired economic outcomes:

In fact they [development authority] could have probably done it better. Over a longer period and it would have produced a better piece of city. No question, they would've, they probably could have done that and in a longer period to deliver less would have got different developers, would have got design diversity, would have got a whole bunch of things that we're now critiqued for not having. So that's fair, but the government didn't take that decision. The government took the decision to establish a Docklands Authority to promote development, to get investment into the state, to get development away to create jobs and other economic outcomes for the state. They pushed it (Development authority 1).

This focus does not mean there was no attempt by the development authority in other areas. In fact, as the Docklands community grew, VicUrban commenced initiatives such as establishing the Docklands Newspaper, the Docklands Chamber of Commerce, and the Docklands Community Association. While these efforts have been important in shaping the Docklands community, especially in its recent years, there were few such community-orienting initiatives in the first decade which largely emerged in the second half of the first decade. Furthermore, these initiatives do not thoroughly target community building; rather, they are partly an attempt to justify Docklands development success, in order to better market it and attract more investment.

5.3. The second decade of development (2010 +)

5.3.1. *Context and background*

The second decade of development commenced in 2010 while there were about 6,500 residents and more than 22,000 workers in Docklands (VicUrban, 2010). Entering its second decade of life, Docklands was successful in reaching the number of workers and the level of investment attraction projected for it, but the residential population was far below that expected (table 5).

Table 5. Docklands population

	Resident population	Employee/ Worker population	Visitor population (per day)	Development value
Projected in 2002 for year 2015	20,000	25,000	55,000	\$ 7 billion
Real numbers in 2010	6500	22000	n/a	\$ 7 billion
Real numbers in 2012	7000	29000	n/a	\$ 8.5 billion

Note: Adapted from DA, 2002; VicUrban, 2011; City of Melbourne, 2012a.

This result could be partly explained by the focus on physical development and investment attraction during the first decade of development, the dominance of developers and their tendency at the time to trust in the profitability of commercial development, and thus less attention to community building and community infrastructure. As Docklands moved towards the end of its first decade of development, critiques of its lack of heart and soul and sense of community were expressed extensively: “one could say Docklands has in place its skeletal structure and several vital organs, but still lacks the heart and soul it has conspicuously failed to acquire in its first decade of existence” (“A chance to add heart and soul to Docklands”, 2010). This critique was not just limited to residents, the working population was also complaining about the district’s soullessness:

One of Docklands’ cornerstone corporate tenants has threatened to quit, saying infrequent public transport and a lack of ‘charisma’ and ‘soul’ puts it at risk of losing staff. Medibank Private owner, which moved 1300 staff to the Docklands from the CBD, says there is a lack of community but a plethora of structures [in Docklands] (“Lack of ‘soul’ has Docklands tenant ready to leave”, 2011)

Furthermore, Robert Doyle, Lord Mayor of Melbourne, emphasized the Docklands’ “remarkable vertical development” (“Can Docklands be put back together again”, 2013) criticized its lack of “social glue” (“Doyle call for council to take on Docklands”, 2009) and highlighted the necessity of “creating and enhancing its local character” (“Docklands: the next decade”, 2009). Even then-Planning Minister, Justin Madden, affirmed the need for attention to the local and community level in Docklands, in order to help create a community, and the necessity of more attention to “the feel and

the atmospherics of the area” (“Doyle call for council to take on Docklands”, 2009), in order to change “the area [that] would be regarded by the bulk of the population as ‘somewhere else’ [not as a home]” (“Still somewhere else and not much closer”, 2011).

Some people attribute this soullessness and Docklands’ failure to attract the expected residential population to an unbalanced development process and the lack of sufficient provision of community infrastructure. It was argued that the provision for community infrastructure and open space was not keeping pace with the density of development (“Still somewhere else and not much closer”, 2011). The first purpose built community infrastructure in Docklands is the Harbour Family and Children’s Centre (shown in figure 21), which was opened in 2009 (VicUrban, 2009). Affirming the lack of attention to community infrastructure in the first decade, C of M 3 recognizes that this shortage was due to developer dominance and declares: “I think in the first ten years community infrastructure certainly lacked because it wasn’t really the developers’ interest to provide the community infrastructure in fact”. Development authority 6 sharing the view of C of M 3, states:

It [the first decade] was essentially done as the developers want to do. This is the whole area, you bid for a part of it and then you go ahead and develop it. And then it became apparent that community infrastructure or place making wasn’t really picked up. So the second decade is trying to retrofit all of these.

As the Docklands’ community grew, there were more arguments to provide opportunities for the voices of the community to be heard. While in the early years, a lack of opportunities for public involvement was justified by the logic that ‘there is no one living in Docklands’, commencing the second decade of development there was a significant residential and working population that asked for involvement:

There is certainly a lot of push from this community to be heard, when the community evolved, we were entirely voiceless, entirely voiceless because you know the planning regime it meant and it still does that in a major development there is no requirement to consult. Not at all, it is really between the developers and the minister. In some smaller aspect there might be an opportunity to have a say but in our case we have never had any right of involvement, not at all, so I think there was recognition of that (Community activist 4).

Figure 21. The Harbour Family and Children’s Centre



Note: Adapted from “Docklands 1st decade” by VicUrban, 2009, p. 33

Development authority 2 affirming this recognition of the necessity of public involvement, states:

Docklands is set up with its own special planning permitting system which was aimed solely at getting development off the ground fast. So the normal third party community consultation aspects of the planning process were removed at the Docklands. VicUrban was set up to basically fast-track development. I think that has meant we have gotten a lot of development done over 10 years. But I think on the way it has also meant that the City of Melbourne and perhaps some members of the community have felt that they don’t have a voice in that process. I think we’ve heard that message loud and clear and the second decade is all about partnership approaches.

Furthermore, since 2007, the City of Melbourne has been involved in Docklands development by providing municipal services. Its involvement later expanded to the

control of the developed areas and also planning responsibility for the areas under 25,000 square meters. It was supposed that by involvement of the City of Melbourne as a “democratically elected local government”, Docklands development would be pursued via a governance model that is “more representative of people” (Community activist 4), and as a result Docklanders could have more opportunities to participate in the development process.

5.3.2. Description of the development process

The situation described above led to changes in the second decade development approach that can be perceived as a lesson learnt from the failure of the first decade in achieving a number of its expected outcomes, which implies that this change should have occurred earlier (Development authority 7; Developer 1). The state government and development authority realized that even if they wanted to create a world-class city, a spectacle that could attract people from outside Melbourne and also outside Australia, they needed to have a strong local community:

[In terms of whom Docklands is for] I think it does change slightly. I think there's much more recognition of the people who are living and working here. Certainly, discussions I've been involved with are: if it's working, the locals love it and it's a thriving community, visitors will come automatically. So it's more about creating a great place where people enjoy working and living, and by association, visitors will come because it's a great place to spend time. Which is slightly different than it's a place for visitors [which was at the early years of development] (Development authority 3).

Places Victoria and the City of Melbourne declared that their emphasis upon building and construction in the first decade would be shifted towards supporting people and communities in the second decade. In this regard, Robert Doyle, Melbourne Mayor, emphasized that “the first decade of Melbourne Docklands was about buildings. The second decade must be about people” (VicUrban, 2010, p. 3). Thus, phrases such as ‘create a place for people’, ‘bring a sense of community to Docklands’, and ‘the second decade is about community building’ have been widely used to distinguish the second decade from the first decade of development:

- Matthew Guy, Minister for Planning: In previous years the challenge was “how to stimulate private sector investment in”, now it is “how to create a place for people” (City of Melbourne, 2012a).
- Robert Doyle, Lord Mayor of Melbourne: “While the first decade of Docklands focused on development and buildings, the second decade will centre around the people of Docklands It brings a sense of community to Docklands” (City of Melbourne, 2012a).
- Board member of VicUrban/Places Victoria: “the first decade was about putting developments in place. And the second decade is really about retrofitting the community and cleaning up what has been done in the first decade”.
- Councillor of City of Melbourne: “we refer to the last decade as basically the works. And now we’re going to refer back to the community and the people”.
- “The first decade of Melbourne Docklands was about creating buildings and attracting investment, the second will focus on people” (VicUrban, 2010).

In order to address the lopsided development approach and improve community facilities, Places Victoria and the City of Melbourne collaboratively worked on provision of community infrastructures. They issued a list of more than 25 priorities for community infrastructure (announced in ‘Docklands Community and Place Plan’ issued by City of Melbourne, 2012a) to be delivered through the second decade:

These projects –community-based plans include a primary school, as well as plans for a library and various outdoor facilities, including bicycle paths– should correct the imbalance between private development and community infrastructure (quoted Lord Mayor of Melbourne, “A chance to add heart and soul to Docklands”, 2010).

It is argued that these priorities have been recognized through a new extensive public consultation process. Indeed, one of the points highlighted in the second decade was its extensive community engagement process (VicUrban, 2010) in order to hear community voices, which was lacking in the first decade because:

When developing Docklands 10 years ago, we had a clear idea as to what was needed to attract the necessary investment and momentum required to start developing a world-class destination. Now that the community is here, we want to ensure it has a say on how best to fulfil the Docklands vision [which now is more oriented towards people and their community] (Pru Sanderson, VicUrban CEO, cited from “Docklands-the next decade”, 2009).

Therefore, as retired board member of VicUrban Gabrielle Trainor described, the second decade will be different from the first decade:

It's a different kind of vision nowadays to create the second decade of development – to build on the spirit and to better engage the community as the population in Docklands grows, to provide more and better community infrastructure, to use a lot of recently-acquired knowledge on things like environmental sustainability and in doing so to build on the strength of the community – resident and business – that now calls Docklands home. (“Retiring VicUrban board member reflects on Docklands’ first decade”, 2010).

Towards this aim, and in order to create a shared vision, strategic directions, and actions to guide the second decade of development, the City of Melbourne and VicUrban jointly commenced an engagement program called the “Second Decade of Docklands Project” (D2). In this public consultation process, three groups of stakeholders were identified (VicUrban, 2010, p. 5):

- Public stakeholders: residents, business owners, workers, visitors, ‘hard-to-reach’ groups and the wider Melbourne public and media;
- Strategic stakeholders: senior level executives in industry, agencies, organisations, institutions and government;
- Technical stakeholders: operational level stakeholders in industry, agencies, organisations, institutions and government.

In the first phase, stakeholders’ views and aspirations for Docklands were asked in the course of more than 20 events and activities (a list of events is provided in table 6) where over 3,500 people participated among whom more than 2,000 people provided specific feedback (VicUrban, 2010, p. 6). Informed by these inputs, the City of Melbourne and Places Victoria prepared a draft shared vision¹² for Docklands with three key emerging themes: “Creating a 21st century city, embracing Melbourne’s urban waterfront, and capturing the essence of Melbourne in the Docklands experience” (VicUrban, 2010, p. 7).

¹² The draft shared vision was: “In 2020 Melbourne Docklands will be an integral part of a creative, well connected 21st century city. It will continue to be a key driver of Melbourne’s economy and offer a unique urban waterfront which reflects Melbourne’s elegance, diversity and culture” (VicUrban, 2010, p. 7).

Table 6. List of events and activities of the first phase of public consultation of the second decade

Event/activity	description	Participation
Public Stakeholders		
Second Decade of Dockland project media launch	The Planning Minister Justin Madden, Education Minister Bronwyn Pike, and the Lord Mayor Robert Doyle's media launch of the Second Decade of Docklands project. The event was attended by key stakeholders and media representatives.	64 attendees
www.docklands.com/seconddecade website	Stakeholders were encouraged to submit their ideas for Docklands in response to the five emerging themes online via the dedicated project website.	320 responses and 1367 visitors to the site
Lord Mayor's Herald Sun online discussion and comments	Following the launch of the Second Decade of Docklands project, Lord Mayor Robert Doyle hosted an hour long online discussion about opportunities for and issues with Docklands on the Herald Sun website. At the same time, readers posted comments on articles published online on the site.	292 responses
Melbourne Open House survey	The Good's Shed – VicUrban's head office and Victoria's first heritage-listed 5 Star Green Star Office – was open as part of the Melbourne Open House event. Guests, many of whom were visiting Docklands for the first time, completed a survey about Docklands.	1051 attendees and 665 surveys received
Future Docklands Business Forum	Open invitation forum with business stakeholders to discuss and prioritize key issues and opportunities associated with the emerging themes.	23 participants
Parent interviews	Semi-structured interviews with parents living in Docklands and parents who have lived in Docklands over the past five years but have since relocated. Interviews focused on opportunities for families in Docklands.	8 participants
Hard to reach focus groups	Group discussions and self completion exercises with youth, elderly, disability and culturally and linguistically diverse group representatives to explore the participants' ideas and aspirations for Docklands.	40 participants
Future Docklands Community Forum	Open invitation forum with community members to discuss and prioritize key issues and opportunities associated with the emerging themes.	35 participants
Docklands Speak Out	Drop-in style interactive community day, which gave people, particularly visitors, an opportunity to express their ideas for the future of Docklands.	150 participants
Docklands workers survey	Survey of workers from businesses big and small across Docklands to gain a detailed understanding of the perceptions and attitudes of people who work in the precinct.	103 interviews

Event/activity	description	Participation
Strategic Stakeholders		
Developers in Docklands Forums	Forums with developers within Docklands to discuss their views of and aspirations for Docklands.	16 participants
Docklands Corporate Forum	Forum for CEOs of large organizations based in Docklands to discuss their experiences of establishing offices there and their ideas about how to make it a better place.	10 participants
Government Agency Forum	Forum with government agency representatives to discuss their ideas and aspirations for planning for the next decade.	10 participants
Business/Economic Commentator Forum	Forum with business and economic experts to discuss their ideas and aspirations for planning for the next decade.	7 participants
Transport/Environment Commentator Forum	Forum with transport and environment experts to discuss their ideas and aspirations for planning for the next decade.	8 participants
Social/Arts Commentator Forum	Forum with social planning, arts and architecture experts to discuss their ideas and aspirations for planning for the next decade.	6 participants
Technical Stakeholders		
Technical Stakeholders Forum	Forum with operational level stakeholders in industry, agencies, organizations and institutions with an interest in Docklands to discuss issues and opportunities for the precinct.	87 participants
Arts and Creative Industries Workshop	Workshop with artists who have an interest in Docklands about their experiences of and aspirations for the precinct.	34 participants

Note: Adapted from “second decade of Docklands project” by VicUrban, 2010, p. 8-9

The second phase of this project was comprised of two steps. First the draft shared vision with key themes was put on the website for feedback for about three months. During this period, only 59 comments were posted on the website along with five letters received by City of Melbourne/ Places Victoria. In addition to the possibility of comment on the vision, there was an on-line feedback forum which asked a question: did the draft shared vision capture participants’ aspirations for Docklands or not? (In response, seven people said yes, seven said no and 11 were unsure.) Furthermore, people could provide their comments about the key themes. Other activities in this step included a public ‘Draft Shared Vision Launch’ with about 35 attendees, direct emails

sent to approximately 200 technical stakeholders, and direct letters sent to 141 Docklands-related CEOs, asking them about their opinion on the draft shared vision and themes (VicUrban, 2011).

Based on the outputs of these activities, a number of strategic directions and priority actions under the defined themes were compiled by VicUrban and the City of Melbourne staff with advice from some external experts (VicUrban, 2011). These strategies and actions were then tested in the second step of the second phase through a series of stakeholder and community activities including a CEO roundtable discussion (30 attendees), a developer forum (20 attendees), a stakeholder day (did not include the public, 30 attendees), a community day (residents and workers, 55 attendees), hard-to-reach focus groups (50 attendees), a series of one-on-one meetings with various stakeholders, and a survey (38 participants). Responses from these activities mainly included ranking priorities and their delivery timeframe with some comments (VicUrban, 2011, p. 9-12).

Finally, drawing ideas from these responses and lessons from the first decade and other studies, the 'Docklands Community and Place Plan (DCPP)' as a key reference document for the second decade of development was issued in 2012.

5.3.3. *Analysis of the development process*

Applying the framework of figure 12, the second decade of development is analysed below.

Actors involved in the development process

In the second decade, in addition to the development authority and developers who were dominant actors in the first decade, the City of Melbourne and also Docklanders are involved in the development process and play a more active role compared to the first decade. Attaining municipal responsibility in the final years of the first decade and later receiving control of the developed areas and planning responsibility for smaller scale developments, made the City of Melbourne one of the main actors of the second decade of development, pursuing Docklands development in partnership with Places Victoria. With the increase in Docklands population (both

residential and working) and especially with the formation of the Docklands Community Forum (which will be discussed in detail in the following sections), Docklanders became recognized as an actor group in Docklands with a legitimate voice, but whether their voices are merely heard or are acted upon is another issue that will be discussed in the next section.

Mode of interaction with the public

It was claimed that the second decade of development would occur through extensive community engagement to give Docklands' evolving community an opportunity for their voices to be heard. The second decade started with public consultation regarding shaping the shared vision and defining strategic priorities and key actions for the phase. Although it is true that the second decade employed a more collaborative approach in the development process and provided more consultation forums and sessions (Oakley, 2011) and attempted to involve different stakeholders, a few points about the second decade approach should be noted.

From the actions of Places Victoria and the City of Melbourne, it could be argued that the goal of the consultation was mainly to provide an opportunity to talk about views and concerns in addition to the purpose of informing, as one retiring VicUrban board member stated at the beginning of the second decade: "the Second Decade of Docklands process will give the community information about future developments and give lots of opportunities for people to give their views on how Docklands develops into the future" ("Retiring VicUrban board member reflects on Docklands' first decade", 2010). The described D2 project clearly shows that there were a number of different events and activities for people to provide their views and opinions.

Although this approach expands the one-directional communication (from the development authority to the public) of the first decade to two-directional communication (adding communication from the public to the development authority), it still could not provide a chance for multi-directional or dialogical communication and the opportunity for different members of the community to share and understand each other's views. The biggest group of respondents (665) were people who were asked their thoughts on Docklands while visiting VicUrban's office during the Melbourne Open House ("The feedback is in", 2010). The next two most represented groups were 319 comments from

the website and 292 comments from the *Herald Sun* newspaper online polls. All these comments were provided to VicUrban and the City of Melbourne and there was no public access to these comments. Thus, an individual or a group of participants is unable to know the ideas and comments of other people. There were some sessions that people could attend, but the style of these sessions was again based on communication between attendees and VicUrban/City of Melbourne representatives, and not oriented towards dialogue amongst attendees.

The other point is that different community groups were consulted separately. There were separate sessions for residents, businesses and large corporations in Docklands, and other stakeholders, which prevented these different groups from understanding each other's viewpoints and ideas regarding Docklands and its development, resulting in no interaction of different or conflicting perspectives.

The way the community engagement practices were conducted, the number of attendees in one session (for example 150 participants in the Docklands Speak-out), the structure of the events (for instance sending mass emails to CEOs), the range of ways to comment (put a comment on a website or answer yes/no to a question like 'does the draft shared vision capture participant's aspirations for Docklands'), all demonstrate that the goal of this extensive community engagement was to obtain input and feedback from the community rather than to discuss different views and share ideas amongst diverse members of the community.

While it is true that a large number of people (3,700 people) were consulted and lots of responses (around 2,000) were obtained, it is not clear that these responses were provided by what portion of consulted people. It is unknown of what portion of these responses were provided by those who visited Docklands for the first time¹³, it is also unknown if there was a balance between the participation of different groups and stakeholders, or if the outcome was based on the opinion of one dominant group.

Another point to consider is to what extent this feedback and input obtained from the public have been put into action and have had real influence on the development

¹³ In the 'Melbourne Open House' event, many of those represented were visiting Docklands for the first time and completed a survey about Docklands (VicUrban, 2010, p. 8)

process. Community activist 4 refers to this extensive but not influential consultation as a “consultation industry”: a cycle of consulting, meeting, and reporting with no outcome and change in action (“Democracy anyone?”, 2011); ‘check-marking’ the consultation criteria which is “just talking because it is what they get paid to do”. He describes it in the following way:

There were many consultation professionals, they held many consultation sessions, but they are all part of consultation industry. When they [VicUrban and City of Melbourne] worked out what they wanted, then they went to the consultation phase and nothing was going to change.... [They involved] all sorts of people. Yes, they took visitors, they did consultation widely. It is very common. It is a pattern. They were good at that but then nothing is changed.

Focus of the development process

Published plans, government documents, and City of Melbourne and Places Victoria staff speeches in the second decade all underline the claim that the focus of the development process in the second decade will change from physical development and investment attraction towards community building and people. The way this change has been translated in practice has been through the concentration on “creating community infrastructure and amenities” (Developer 3), as Development authority 7 mentions it as the key focus of development in the second decade:

I think the main priority is really about the community infrastructure. And that’s what’s really reflected in DCP like a school, a place for worship, the things that make a community thick so not just the buildings and the streets, some parks, something that really encourages community use and activities. I think that’s probably the key focus.

It seems that more than attempting to create a sense of community or community building, efforts have been made to make Docklands a “liveable place” (Development authority 2) and transform it from “a development site to a liveable suburb” (Planning Minister Matthew Guy in “Fear of a second Docklands”, 2012). Toward this aim, the focus on providing community infrastructures, such as a community centre and a library (the proposed plan for these is shown in figure 22), is in line with attempts to get from an ‘exceptional major project’ back down to a ‘normal’ suburb, as Development authority 7 states: “it is more about servicing Docklanders’ needs. So they can function in the

community and live here. [It is about providing] those normal features that you can find in other suburbs”.

Figure 22. Proposed plan for Docklands community center and library



Note: Adapted from City of Melbourne, 2013, p. 22

5.4. Comparing the development approach of two development decades

Reviewing the distinctions between the two decades of Docklands redevelopment reveals the changes undertaken in the development process. First, the scope of involved actors from the development authority and developers has been expanded to involve City of Melbourne and Docklands residents and workers. Second, the public informing process has been upgraded to a more consultation-driven process. Finally, the focus on construction and investment attraction of the first decade has been modified towards considering the needs of the community and creating a ‘place for people’. Employing the framework of figure 12, these changes show a move from the left of the axes (corresponding to rational approaches) towards the middle (congruent with a partially collaborative approach).

In the first decade, in line with the idea of rational approaches, that planning is an exclusive practice in which the involvement of experts who possess professional knowledge and thus 'know best' and employ a priori principles suffice for development, members of the public were excluded from the redevelopment process. Based on this view, in tandem with market-led ideas of the government of the day that strengthened developers' dominance, public participation was diluted to public informing. Which meant that instead of being involved in the development process, discussing the development plans, sharing ideas and interests, exchanging feedback and comments on future developments, contributing to decision making, and being considered as actors in the development process, the public were just informed about the final plans and timelines for project delivery with no influence on the development process. The first decade was a non-participative process dominated by the development authority and developers. The development authority provided guidelines for development and developers proposed their plans to the development authority, which were then assessed by the development authority and other experts such as the 'International Design Panel' and 'Financial Panel' with no public involvement.

In line with the adaptive understanding of the rational view, development of the first decade was confined to the physical dimension and reinforced by the economic and political context and drivers of the first decade, investment attraction in addition to physical development became the main goals of this decade. Attention to residential and commercial building and concentration on criteria such as the number of delivered residential units, the gross floor area of commercial buildings, and the amount of contracted agreements, demonstrate this emphasis. This focus amplified the non-participative development of the first decade and influence of developers and the development authority. When the goal is investment attraction and physical development, those actors whose involvement is the most relevant are developers - who know the market and can bring investment – and expert designers – who have knowledge about design and construction of buildings.

The outcome of the first decade (despite its success in attracting investment and physical development), which was highly criticized for 'lacking heart and soul', 'lacking spirit of community', and 'lacking sense of belonging', along with the growth of the Docklands community and their request to have a voice in the development process,

transformed the second decade of redevelopment toward a more collaborative approach, which coincides with Docklands community activists' argument regarding the necessity of public participation in the community building process: "Maybe design [of buildings and infrastructure] needs a top down approach to it. But when you're actually developing community and place, it's a very different process, a collaborative outcome for place and community development, needs a collaborative process" (Community activist 2).

Corresponding to the collaborative perspective, the second decade called for an interactive process, involvement of the public, and emphasis on community building. As collaborative approaches value lay knowledge in addition to scientific expert knowledge, in the second decade acknowledging the importance of public input into the development process, a variety of stakeholders were identified such as residents, business owners, workers, visitors, industry, etc. to be engaged in the process.

To ensure that "a diverse range of values and perspectives were freely expressed and heard", a public engagement process was planned to "provide opportunities for stakeholders to provide meaningful input into project decision making" (VicUrban, 2011, p. 3-4). There are a number of sessions and events asking people to mention their ideas regarding Docklands, the public are able to attend City of Melbourne meetings, there are opportunities for the public to contact the City of Melbourne and Places Victoria to voice their opinions, there are website opportunities for comment, and other possibilities for public involvement¹⁴. While the City of Melbourne and Places Victoria argued that they had more than 3,500 interactions with different stakeholders, these attempts could not provide opportunities for interpersonal communication. Engaged stakeholders could express their interests and state their concerns regarding Docklands redevelopment, but the majority of the provided opportunities were for individual participants to give feedback to Places Victoria or City of Melbourne staff. Thus they were not really concerned about creating an environment in which members of the community, whether residents, from small businesses or large corporations, could

¹⁴ In addition to these sessions, a number of public events such as heritage boat shows, community garden gatherings, and new year's eve events have been held which similar to the events held in the first decade attempt to introduce Docklands to people and inform them about Docklands development.

have face-to-face communication, exchange ideas, discuss different perspectives, reflect on their beliefs-in-action, understand others' views, and reach a shared understanding. It was attempted to prepare an equal situation (at least mentioned as a mission) that everybody can express his/her views about Docklands, even visitors who visited Docklands for the first time¹⁵, but the interaction of these opinions and interests and reaching a 'socially-constructed' view was not explicitly considered important. In the absence of social processes of communication and dialogue, the collaborative approach was attenuated to consultation. The public expressed their views and the development authority staff collected these ideas, interpreted them, transferred them to developers, and translated them into actions. The City of Melbourne and Places Victoria staff used the content of stakeholders' comments to shape the shared vision and then with the advice from some external experts, compiled these ideas into Strategic Directions and Priority Actions (VicUrban, 2011, p. 6).

As a result, and without encouraging or promoting any interaction between stakeholder groups, the emphasis on community building has been translated, and in fact reduced, to provision of community infrastructure such as community centre, library, community boating hub, outdoor multi-purpose sports court, etc. It seems that this change was mostly an effort to get from a 'special major project' to a 'normal suburb', altering the global view of the first decade to a more local view in the second decade, to supply "those normal features that you can find in other suburbs" (Development authority 7) in the hope that provision of these normal community services can bring 'heart and soul' to Docklands.

While the importance of community infrastructure for building and strengthening community is indisputable, an important point to be noted is that if these facilities could bring a sense of community, why would other Melbourne suburbs, which already have these services, suffer from the same problem of 'lack of sense of community'. This lack of sense of community and belonging is distinctively more apparent in Docklands, but "is not exclusive to Docklands; you can make a similar criticism [while in lower degree]

¹⁵ Table 5.2 shows that around half of the responses in D2 project came from visitors. The important question is whether visitors' comments should have the same weight as residents' and workers,' and can the visitors' opinions and participation contribute to community building?

about other suburbs” (DPCD 2). The point that should be realized is that what bonds people together, that forms community ties and creates the sense of belonging is not the multi-purpose centre, recreational area, or any other community infrastructure; rather, as Community activist 5 discussed, it is the common experience (such as the common experience of parents regarding school affairs) that these people have in a common place (a community which its members use a same school) in response to a common issue (common course for the good of their children) that connects them to each other and to the specific place and “help[s] in setting up a community spirit”.

It is not argued that community infrastructures are not helpful, certainly, they provide opportunities for community making and facilitate identity building for the community, but mere provision of these hard infrastructures is not sufficient for the creation and flourishing of community. Being gathered in a community centre without any interaction with another, does not create a community unless these people due to a common problem or motivation initiate a participative process, recognize and respect each other, reach mutual understanding, trust each other, act jointly, define themselves in relation to each other and to the whole; then community identity would emerge from these interactions. The redevelopment process of a site is an appropriate opportunity to practice this community building and identity making process, as there exist many common issues, problems and reciprocal interdependencies that need to be dealt with collectively.

5.5. Docklands Community Forum case

It has been explained that the second decade of Docklands development is claimed to be about people and community, which will be implemented through an extensive public engagement process. In this regard, after the D2 project, another change occurred in Docklands: a change in its governance and formation of the Docklands Community Forum (DCF). Below, DCF and its approach will be discussed in order to see how its approach differs from the approach of the D2 project and whether it corresponds to the people-centered approach introduced in chapter 3.

5.5.1. DCF formation and its role

In March 2012, the City of Melbourne and Places Victoria proposed a new governance model (appendix C) for Docklands to enhance its effective governance and improve City of Melbourne participation in decisions affecting Docklands (City of Melbourne, n.d.b). This proposal underlined that changes in Docklands governance were required so that “the voice of Docklands could be heard” (“So far, so good for community forum”, 2012). It recommended the formation of a Docklands Community Forum (DCF) in order to “enhance community input to decision making” (Docklands Coordination Committee meeting, 20 March 2012).

In fact, DCF replaced the Docklands Coordination Committee’s (DCC) consultation and engagement role, while the DCC had been intended to create opportunities for public involvement, it was subsequently reduced to a statutory committee (City of Melbourne, 2012b). DCC was established in 2007 as a place where Docklands’ future could be publicly discussed and Docklands community could have participation, but it could not play this role. Its meetings were confined to going through agenda items with no public involvement. Community activist 1 who participated in most of the DCC meetings described its sessions as: “item 1: read, moved, seconded, carried on to all the items like that”. As a result it did not provide an opportunity for participants to be engaged. A limited number of people attended its meetings which made it “very under-representative” (C of M 3). Legislatively, it was required for DCC to produce financial reports about Docklands development and it served this function well, but as Development authority 6, describing the functionality of DCC, states it did not play its engagement role:

It was doing its legislated functions but it wasn’t a means of engaging the community. Its meetings took 5 minutes; to get through the agenda, and giving reports but no opportunity for engaging the community. To look for an effective community engagement method, we established the DCF.

Therefore, DCF was set up in order to provide an environment that could be more representative of Docklanders and allow them to better participate in the Docklands development process. This improved participation meant opportunities more

than just writing a letter or sending an email to the City of Melbourne to express their views:

We need to have a mechanism on which they [community members] could get access to council, but also to the state government, to Places Victoria, because without this forum, apart from writing an email or letter, they don't have access to the decision or to why they made decisions, what is actually happening in the area, why the developers are let to do this or to do that, there are lots of questions, and this forum was actually seeking to provide access to that (C of M 3).

In order to offer this participative environment, DCF was formed with ten members as representatives from different groups: one representative member from each of the Docklands Chamber of Commerce, Docklands Community Association and Destination Docklands (a marketing and public relations body); a parent; a young person; two people with direct experience with the Docklands waterways; one person who resides and one person who works in Docklands; two people to represent business in Docklands, one person from a large corporation and one person from a small business. This group's role is two-fold: one, to talk with their local community and the community they represent, to reflect the community's views, to hear the community's feedback; and two, to "disseminate the information they [DCF members] have heard in the forum to their community" (C of M 3), and to "communicate the forum's activity and outcome back into their [DCF members] social circles, networks, worker's group, etc." (Development authority 7).

Compared to DCC, DCF has been more successful in attracting and involving people. While "most of the time only 2-3 people turn up" for DCC meetings (C of M 3) and "Council and VicUrban staff typically comprise close to 100 percent of the audience" ("Democracy anyone?", 2011), DCF meeting attendance has "reached 30-40 people" (Development authority 7). More people attend DCF because "they [the public] trust DCF members" (Docklands News editor) and "they see it's got a sense of local membership" (Development authority 7) whereas DCC was comprised of City of Melbourne and Places Victoria representatives.

Although DCF is in its initial stages¹⁶ and it is early to conclude generally about its approach, based on its early pattern, its approach will be discussed in the section below.

5.5.2. DCF: a people-centered approach to development?

Along with the collaborative approach of the second decade and trying to improve its collaborative practice, DCF has been established as an opportunity for public engagement so more diverse voices from Docklanders could be heard. In spite of its short life, it has been successful in attracting more and a broader range of community members and allowing discussion and exchange of diverse perspectives.

One difference of the DCF compared to prior initiatives is that in contrast to previous sessions which were dominated by the development authority and the City of Melbourne representatives, DCF is managed by an independent facilitator¹⁷. It does not mean that no one from the City of Melbourne or Places Victoria attends the meetings; rather, their representatives are present at meetings to answer questions or give information when necessary. Nevertheless, the point is that independent facilitation allows community representatives to set the agenda and decide on what they want to talk about rather than be directed by development authorities.

Another change is that unlike the D2 project which only asked for feedback and comment on what Places Victoria and the City of Melbourne had prepared, DCF created an environment for discussion between members of the representative group and also the members of the community. DCF meetings are different from D2 project meetings and sessions because “instead of just come and meet us and give us your ideas” (Community activist 5), which is limited to exchange of information, the forum provides space to discuss and share different views: “the forum makes efforts to create greater community communication rather than information exchange” (Development authority 7). Thus the forum is not a place where VicUrban/Places Victoria or the City of Melbourne

¹⁶ Its first meeting was held on 26th of September 2012 and its sixth meeting was held on 31st of July 2013.

¹⁷ Although, the fact that the facilitator is employed in a session by session contract raises concerns about the durability of this independence.

provides information to the public or receives comments from the public without any discussion among community members; rather, the DCF provides space for discussion and deliberation, as Belinda Lewing - facilitator of DCF meetings- emphasizes that the DCF approach aims at “getting the community involved in discussion and involved in deliberation”.

In order to provide a better environment for discussion and dialogue, attention was given to the physical arrangement of the meeting. For the first two sessions, which mainly served to introduce the forum and provide information, the representative group sat at a u-shaped table with members of the community sitting behind them. But as of the third meeting, as recommended by the facilitator, to get people engaged, seats were mixed up to allow people sit where they want, “so you have a representative group member maybe sitting next to the community member, and people have the opportunity to meet each other and to talk with each other” (DCF facilitator).

Another important point about DCF is that it is the first time that residents and worker representatives were brought together to interact with each other. DCF meetings provide a chance for each group to understand the interests, concerns and views of the other groups. In addition, diversity in the interests of members such as those of parents, youth, business owners, or workers, makes the DCF an appropriate space for interaction of different ideas. Another group whose presence in the forum seems necessary is large corporations. Despite the initial announcement that one member of the forum would represent large corporations, this position still remains unfilled.

Because DCF is still in its infancy, its early meetings have been mainly about information sharing and introduction to Docklands redevelopment plans. However, there has been a case where participants were divided into small groups, and then within the groups, which may include representatives of the City of Melbourne and Places Victoria and also members of DCF along with other community members, discussed the meeting agenda. In this session, people discussed the agenda, then the small groups were brought back to the whole, and the facilitator asked people to share what they had talked about and heard from others in their groups. It is this kind of discussion that makes reflection on one’s own and also others’ mental models possible, and could be directed towards shared understanding. Designing DCF and defining its role were not based on a

socio-reflexive perspective; therefore, thinking and reflection on beliefs-in-actions were not considered in DCF process. Nonetheless, a consequence of this communication and discussion between DCF participants is that these reflections can happen in some instances, as the DCF facilitator states: “I have seen evidence of that willingness to stop and assess and challenge assumptions and a willingness maybe to be challenged in assumptions I do see some hope for that but it is a very slow process”.

Despite new opportunities that DCF represents, there are factors that influence its transformative capacity. First, there is the issue of representativeness. DCF members were not elected by the Docklands community, rather they were selected by the City of Melbourne and Places Victoria among a group of community members who expressed interest. So, the extent to which DCF current members can represent the Docklands community and reflect common community concerns is under question. Even if there is no argument about the way they have been selected, the ten of them represent a residential and working population of more than 30,000 across seven precincts, who could have diverse concerns and problems. As a result, the important point is how these DCF members are connected with the community they represent. It seems that there is no specific means for community members to contact most DCF members. As Community activist 5, who is the parent member of DCF, explains, she shared her contact information with the child care centre but there is still concern about how community members can find DCF members:

Other parents can contact me to talk about their concerns but my concern is how do they contact me? How does the public find the contacts? I [personally] have shared my contacts with the child care centre, so if there is any issue please let me know.

She also is worried about the small number of Docklanders who are aware of the DCF, as there were a few announcements regarding DCF: “It has been mentioned in the local paper and by the Docklands Community Association. That’s it. And apart from that would be word of mouth.... I was thinking with my husband that if each building had a notice board, they knew the things that are going on, that would be very helpful” (Community activist 5).

Another concern about DCF is the frequency of its meetings. DCF has bi-monthly meetings and each meeting lasts for about 2.5 hours. Although that is a good length of time for a community meeting, 2.5 hours every two months is very limited time for discussion about variety of concerns and interests a community may have. It would suffice if it were the case that each member of DCF had interim formal and informal meetings and discussions with the rest of the community, but there is no evidence that this is happening yet. In addition, as has been discussed in chapter 3 and also earlier in this chapter, it is important that different groups could participate in discussions, so that they could recognize others and understand their interests. Although DCF created the opportunity for residents and small businesses to interact with each other, large corporations and developers have not to date participated in this process.

Finally, DCF has no decision making or administrative power, “it is only an advisor” (Community activist 1) that can propose its ideas but “decision making is still for Docklands Steering Group” (Development authority 7), which is constituted by one board member of Places Victoria, one City of Melbourne councillor, CEOs of Places Victoria and City of Melbourne, two Places Victoria general managers, and three directors of the City of Melbourne (different organizations involved in Docklands governance and their members are presented in appendix C). Consequently, still the development authority and the City of Melbourne are key actors who listen to what the community says and it is their responsibility to translate the public input into plans and actions. Thus, as Development authority 7 states, DCF does not provide decision making power to the community; rather, “It is really giving the community the opportunity to talk to the people who are the decision makers. It might influence the speed at which things would happen or the priorities, but not any other change”.

To summarize, DCF was more successful in its collaborative approach compared to the D2 project. Its structure and style in creating equal opportunity for different groups to express their views are more congruent with communicative rationality. Although it has deficiencies, such as representativeness and connection with the wider community, its main goal, according to the core idea of communicative action theory, is to create an environment such that different groups with different perspectives can explain their concerns and ideas to reach shared understanding, but not shared action. It attempts to provide opportunity for communication and discussion between participants without any

attention to how these ideas are going to be heeded in collaborative action. As a result of this separation between discussion and action, there is no space for beliefs-in-action to be revealed. Thus, its approach that is by and large concentrated on offering a possibility for communication between different groups with no consideration of action is different from a pragmatist view and its call for association of action and understanding. The role of community members in this process is similar to that of a consultant who provides information about aspects of the development process for decision-makers to take under advisement. The community's role is emphatically not that of the key actor of the development process who through true participation is involved in decision-making and action. Therefore, the dominant approach still shows correspondence with collaborative views of figure 12 rather than the people-centered approach.

6. Looking at the development process through a socio-reflexive learning lens

In the preceding chapter, the development process of the first and second decades of Docklands redevelopment have been reviewed. This review shows that the prevailing approach of the first decade – dominance of the development authority and developers, limited interaction with the public mainly in order to inform them, and the focus on building and attracting investment – corresponds to the approach derived from rational theories. The resultant outcome of the first decade was a physically developed site without sense of community, devoid of ‘heart and soul,’ and lacking identity. In the second decade, a new approach has been applied, congruent with collaborative theories, which asked for public engagement and targeted the Docklands community. In this chapter, I will examine whether the second decade approach (including both the D2 project and DCF initiative) that advocates for public involvement and interaction between Docklanders and development authorities, could contribute to the designated community building goal. Using literature on the features of what constitutes a good planning process, I will discuss Docklands’ development process through a socio-reflexive learning lens. Through this discussion, I will reveal how the applied approaches in Docklands diverge from the introduced people-centred approach and as a consequence, have not yet been able to ‘open up’ Docklanders to the development process, make different members of the community ‘recognize’ each other and their interests, ‘build new relationships’ led by this recognition, lead to new ways of seeing and thinking about issues and thus ‘new solutions’, contribute to ‘identity building’, and ‘empowering’ the Docklands community. In order to better illustrate the approaches applied in Docklands in this framework, the chapter will finish with an example which shows the difference of discussed approaches on the ground.

Before starting this discussion, one point should be noted. Criticizing development approaches applied in Docklands for being unable to achieve the desired community building goal, does not mean that the community identity – which could be

seen in some other Melbourne suburbs – is the best option for Docklands. Docklanders could choose to have a transient identity (not being imposed to them). An important point is the congruency between the desired outcomes of the development practice and the approach applied in that practice. Desire for a world-class city, as a temporary home of the creative class and other professionals, needs a different approach than targeting place-based identity and community building.

6.1. Opening up

In contrast to the case in the first decade, the second decade is claimed to be ‘about communities’ and to be implemented through extensive public engagement. Although in the D2 project there were several sessions and meetings where different groups of the public could attend to discuss their priorities and comment on the proposed plans, these efforts could not provide a public setting for the ‘opening up’ (Erfan, 2013) of Docklanders. They could not create an environment that would afford the participation of those who will be affected by Docklands redevelopment to share their views and ideas, talk about what is important for them (not what they were asked about), and exchange their deep values and underlying assumptions.

Quantitatively, more than 3,500 responses were received during the D2 public engagement process, but a large number of them were from visitors and non-Docklanders. In addition, these 3,500 responses are not ideas of 3,500 different individuals; rather, a number of ideas could be – and certainly were – proposed by one person. Community activist 1, contradicting statements about expansive public engagement, declared “from the forum of 50 people which I attended, they might get 500 suggestions, because they have multiplied out [the ideas] from the 50 people and they said we got 500 suggestions. And [then] another 500 suggestions [from another session]”. This problem that the public engagement process of D2 could not reach a broad segment of the Docklands community and was based on the interactions of a limited group of Docklanders is noted by C of M 3 as well:

So we see a lot of the same faces in actually different sorts of events that we provide, so one of the things we did note was how can we actually get the 98% of people that probably did not participate. We probably touched

2% actually giving us direct feedback on what we were doing. How can we broaden that conversation and that was one of the big things that came out of this and the subsequent development of DCF was to say what we really do want is to get a lot of voices rather than get the same people talking over the same issues over and over again. Because we did find out after two years doing this, we realized that they were the same people that continually came back to us saying not doing this not doing that.

DCF, as a means of attracting more people, involving community members, and opening them up to discussions about local interests and community-specific desires, has been more successful. Instead of simple exchange of information (desire for a specific feature, doing this or that), the DCF is (at least) attempting to involve discussion and deliberation on deeper understandings and values (why this specific feature is desired, why the development authority is doing this or that), from which the former are derived. The DCF facilitator explains this deliberative environment in relation to an active discussion about a future Docklands school:

So the first step was to have that discussion and that came up with 'school' which is why school was the issue that was brought up at the DCF and opened up to the broader discussion outside of the representative group. In the discussion about the school that we had last time, residents and workers have different opinions, there were different perspectives shared.

In order to create an environment in which opening up could occur for members of the affected community, planners and development authority need to understand the important role of the public, their knowledge and agency, and provide opportunities for their true participation.

6.2. Recognition

As a result of the approaches employed in both decades, even participants from one interest group cannot recognize the ideas and concerns of one another. Additionally, because public engagement sessions separated residents, small businesses, large corporations, developers, and other involved groups, there was no 'recognition' (Erfan, 2013; Bush & Folger, 2005) for participants of each other and their distinct and legitimate

values and interests. Recognition of others and their perspectives means acknowledging the situation and the views of others, understanding others and their problems and interests, and respecting them. This seeing and appreciating others and their perspectives means neither a forced recognition nor reconciliation, rather it is “letting go of one’s focus on self and becoming interested in the perspective of the other” (Bush & Folger, 2005, p. 77).

This recognition could not happen in the first decade as the development process was held exclusive to the development authority and development professionals. Entering the second decade and introducing a new perspective improved upon the non-collaborative approach of the first decade, but yet did not create an environment where the recognition of others and their perspectives could occur. There was no chance for discussing differing views in the public engagement sessions of D2 project and partitioning stakeholders into disconnected groups and holding sessions separately reinforced this lack of recognition. Community activist 1, affirming this lack of recognition, attributes the lack of cooperation between Docklanders to this lack of recognition: “whilst there is no recognition, not necessarily agreement but an awareness of the other side’s story, they [residents and workers] can’t have cooperation on Docklands” (DCA president).

DCF through bringing residents and workers together and encouraging discussion and deliberation amongst them could partly provide an opportunity for this recognition, as Community activist 5 explains that the discussion of the group could help business people to ‘recognize’ the concerns of residents about a possible future school: “it is very interesting because there are kind of business people, Chamber of Commerce, but they understand the concerns of people and I was really happy [that business people could recognize residents’ concerns]”.

This is why the people-centred approach, introduced in chapter 3, emphasizes realizing that the issue at hand is a shared issue that needs to be dealt with jointly. Acknowledging this interdependency, “they [community members] can begin to explore opportunities for joint approaches that address multiple interests” (Inees & Booher, 2010, p. 37). There is a shared issue that demands recognizing different involved actors and

their views for resolution. Consequently, preparing an environment suited to inquiry into and advocacy about one's own and others' mental models becomes important.

When the public engagement process is confined to voting for desired features without any deeper discussion about the reasons and assumptions behind this selection, people's opinions might seem to be different at first, but deeper discussion about their intentions could reveal common interests. As a result of deliberation, communication, and discussing underlying assumptions, participants may find commonalities on which they can cooperate (Forester, 2007), and therefore be organized around their common interests; as the DCF facilitator explains:

one of the challenges in a community group is that if you go to a community group and ask them to vote, you might get the vote which is 26 to 24, and 26 wins because it's the majority. You still get 24 people who are not very happy. But by having discussions about perspectives, they have the opportunity to talk about their views and understand why others hold different views. So when you do just vote, I don't know why 26 people say yes, why 24 people say no, when you look at the whys and the values that sit underneath, often you find areas of commonality. People say oh we want to achieve the same thing here, but we have different perspectives around what it means.

There are commonalities that exist between, for example, residents and businesses of Docklands. Although there are instances in which residents and workers have different concerns, but "a lot of things that the two populations want are going to be similar: good places to eat, somewhere you can sit in a park, or run and get fit, play a game of soccer, there's a lot of commonalities coming through the feedback from both" (Development authority 3), but recognition of these common interests by different actors has not happened in Docklands due to the approach applied.

6.3. Develop new relationships

The recognition and understanding of others and discovering possible commonalities can break down biases against each other, connect participants together, and contribute to developing new relationships (Innes & Booher, 2010), or 'repair the web of relationships' (Erfan 2013; Waldram et al., 2008). "It can change the nature of the

relationship [between participants] as participants gain new understanding of others and recognize the fundamental human concerns and experiences they all share” (Innes & Booher, 2010, p. 37). However, the development process of Docklands in the first and the second decade could not bring about development of new relationships among different community groups, nor improve prejudiced relationships. For instance, Docklands Community Association officially was established to represent residents and workers, but the workers side has not occurred due to the existence of the perception that “it [workers’ issue] is quite a separate thing [from residential issue]” (Community activist 1). Another example is about branding which because of the biased perception that branding is important only for business owners, the Docklands Chamber of Commerce general view is that “they [businesses] should not interact with the residents, just business to business” (Community activist 3). While, Development authority 7 argues that residents of Docklands also care about the image of Docklands and intend to improve negative perceptions related to Docklands, this recognition and common interest could not be expanded to Docklands residential and business community to develop new relationships among them. DCF by bringing together these two groups not only attempts to repair the biased relationships, but also through the two-fold role of its members targets creating new relationships:

You hope people actually go out and continue having the conversation, so you hope that you act as a catalyst to make that happen. So I know there are people in a representative group who go out and talk with their community (DCF facilitator).

These new relationships can facilitate and smooth the trust building process¹⁸ among participants. “It is not uncommon for trust to be engendered” as a consequence of gained new appreciation and developed relationships (Innes & Booher, 2010, p. 37).

¹⁸ Ettliger (2003) distinguished two types of trust: “emotive trust”, based on “one’s personal feelings about another”; and “captive trust”, based on “one’s judgement about another’s capacity for competent performance” (p. 146). The new developed relationship between community members based on the recognition of others could contribute to emotive trust.

In another conceptualization of the trust building process, Mayer et al. (1995) defined three factors of trustworthiness: “ability, integrity, and benevolence” (p. 717). The benevolence factor could be influenced by the newly built relationship among community members and thus facilitate trust building among them.

The built trust can enhance participation of individuals as in the case of DCF, trust by the public to DCF members, who were considered as part of the Docklands community, led to more attendance and participation in DCF compared to the DCC.

6.4. Explore new solutions

Through interactions between diverse participants to recognize other groups and their values and interests, they can reach mutual understanding about the issues they face and the desired outcomes. Due to a lack of communication and collaboration in the first and the second decade, this shared understanding has happened neither among Docklanders nor between Docklands community and development authorities. An example of this lack of mutual understanding is how people perceive a green space and how development authorities define it. C of M 3 explains that while the City of Melbourne and Places Victoria refer to having provided green space in the form of Docklands Park which is 2.2 ha in extent in the middle of Docklands, still many people complain about the lack of green space in Docklands. S/he adds that “there is something obviously wrong that people actually don’t feel it as a green space”. Thus, s/he (C of M 3) emphasizes that it is important to “understand people’s minds”, to understand how they define different features and why they request them, which remains lacking in the planning process for the second decade of Docklands redevelopment.

As a consequence of the gained mutual understanding and interaction of different ideas, when the goal is collaborative action, new solutions and creative ideas can be explored (Forester, 2007; Innes & Booher, 2010). The DCF facilitator describes how this interaction and communication could lead to a new solution through an example:

So the example is about whether the dogs should be leashed in public spaces or not. So if you pick the park and go for a vote on it, and ask community do you want this park off-leash or on-leash, 25 vote on-leash and 15 vote off-leash. So the 25 win but do you know why they have voted yes, do you know what they want to achieve, do you know why they resist? If you give them the time to talk about this, generally what you get from one side is that they don’t want dogs to touch them and the other side say we want our dog to get some exercise. So you can put a

playground and put fences around it. Everyone is fine but it takes time to go through that process.

To reach this shared understanding and consequent possible creative ideas, dialogue among participants is necessary. The dialogue, as described in chapter 3, is a process in which individuals attempt to recognize their own and others' mental models, which makes participants re-examine and reframe the mental models they previously held. The shared understanding resulting from dialogue is different from a consensus, which is an acceptable option which most can live with. This shared understanding generates responsibility for participants regarding the collaborative action:

Because the people can understand the values of others, so even if they don't agree with the decision, they feel committed to cooperate with other people to achieve the outcome that might not be their first priority, but it might address part of their mix [of priorities] (DCF facilitator).

It is important that the target of the dialogical process, considering the common action to be conducted, is interaction and exchange of mental models or theories in use, not espoused theories. If the collaborative process cannot reveal beliefs-in-action, and instead the interaction between participants downgrades to exchange of espoused theories, at the time of action, due to the divergence of espoused theories and beliefs-in-action, participants do not agree with the action (which is based on espoused theories); therefore, they do not feel committed and responsible for it, and any trust and relationships built will be blemished.

6.5. Identity building

Founded on mutual recognition, shared understanding, built relationships, and common experience, more joint actions and relationships will be established, as a consequence. As this cycle goes on, participants build community ties, define themselves in relation to each other, and a community identity will emerge as a result of these interactions (Friedman, 2010, Innes & Booher, 2010; Forester, 2007). This would be a "home-grown and owned" identity not an "imposed or imported" one ("let's define our essence create our brand", 2012), which is the outcome of the experienced common

story and identification of the shared values and shared vision of the community, which Docklands lacks. Such an identity could not be created for Docklands during its first and second decades of development. Although there have been attempts to create an identity or change it throughout the development process, introducing it as a place for business development, as a place for the creative class, as a place for students, as a place for sustainable development (Development authority 1), all of these were imposed identities. Community activist 4 argues that DCF is a place for such an owned identity to happen. Although this identity building and “drawing out and defining the common story is a difficult task” as “we all have different agendas and interests” but through the collaborative process of DCF we can understand “What are our values? What makes us special? What are we offering? What do we want? What is our essence?” (“let's define our essence create our brand”, 2012).

A dialogical process of creating shared mental models and a collaborative process of common experiences among participants, transform them from an accumulation of unaffiliated individuals into a community of meaningfully connected lives. This meaningful connection, as Friedman (2010) argued, is shaped by being lived in, but this ‘living in’ is not just residential settlement in a geographical location, it is spending time in a place, attaching one’s life to a place, caring about a place and feeling responsible about it.

An outcome of this approach to development would be a ‘place-based identity’, an identity that is based on having common experiences and a common story in a common place, not a ‘space-led’ identity, which is the result of establishment in a geographical space. The problem of Docklands is not just lack of ‘place-based’ identity; due to its transient population, it also suffers from lack of ‘space-led’ identity. There are a large number of international students, itinerants, and corporate tenants in Docklands¹⁹. Many of the units are bought off the plans (pre-sale) by international especially Asian investors who rent their units in Docklands. This has led to having a large transient population in Docklands as Community activist 3 explains:

¹⁹ 2011 Census revealed that from 3564 households, only 2262 dwellings were occupied by residents, 619 Docklands apartments were “unoccupied” and a further 685 apartments were occupied by interstate and international visitors. (“Where the bloody hell are we?”, 2012).

[The] City of Melbourne and Places Victoria should be blamed for it [the large transient population] because they marketed it for visitors. They provided serviced apartments²⁰ One of the Docklands' residents/owner ran a campaign for City of Melbourne. 85% of people s/he talked with them were visitors or work here or short-term residents, so they couldn't vote. Docklands has a very transient population.

And in this situation that many Docklanders do not perceive the space as their "permanent home" ("Docklands is different", 2010), creating a community especially through just providing community infrastructure and social amenities will be really difficult. This issue further highlights the impossibility of bring about a place-based identity with approaches applied in Docklands and underlines the necessity of a new approach to its redevelopment if community building and sense of belonging are desired outcomes for Docklands.

The place-based identity, as Friedman (2010) argues, is based on the assumption that a place is not just "a physical/built environment." More importantly, it is the "subjective feelings its inhabitants harbor towards each other as an emplaced community" (p. 149). The 'emplaced community' attaches itself to the place and cherishes and values the place for all that it represents or means to them (Friedman, 2010), and as a result feel responsible about it. As Community activist 5 explains, attaching oneself to a place and valuing it, creates sense of belonging and "once people have a sense of belonging in a community, they are more inclined to stay and they are more inclined to do things [participate in a community, spend time in a community, and care about community problems]"(Community activist 5). As a result of this place-based identity and attachment feeling to a place, members of the community feel a sense of responsibility to face future problems of the community.

6.6. Empowerment

As a consequence of the place making process described above - which includes recognition of different actors and their interests, development of new relationships, and

²⁰ An Australian term meaning furnished short-term rental apartments

identity building-, there would be 'empowerment' outcomes for the community. This empowerment is at both individual and collective levels. Individual empowerment includes acquiring new skills like inquiry, advocacy, and reflection; interpersonal communication skills; and granting sense of value and strength to individuals (Erfan, 2013; Bush & Folger, 2005). Collective 'empowerment' for participants (Innes & Booher, 2010) would facilitate the "organization of powerless individuals into a community of interest" (Bush & Folger, 2005, p. 12). Innes and Booher accepted Giddens's structuration theory, which implies that participants, their actions and agency are influenced by existing norms and institutions. But they also argued that the acquired shared understanding, built identity and relationships can create a powerful entity that could alter this structure, change institutions, and bring about new norms. The capacity that has been shaped through this deliberative and communicative process makes future collaborations possible.

While there is not yet such a capacity in Docklands, many active participants express that "there are hopes" that DCF could contribute to this capacity building (Community activist 5, Community activist 4). The DCF facilitator also hopes that DCF is an opportunity but she also adds that its potential for capacity building and community empowerment depends on the approach that the City of Melbourne and Places Victoria will take and to what extent they will extend opportunities for public involvement. She believes that the City of Melbourne and Places Victoria have created the DCF because they have recognized that "it's good to engage people" but they "don't actually know what they can do with that, what they need to do about that, how to train it, how to equip it and give it their own authority".

It should be noted that the items discussed above are not independent results of a people-centred approach based on a socio-reflexive understanding. They are neither consequences that happen in an orderly and tidy manner. Rather, they all represent interwoven elements with several types of feedback and the multiplying effects that occur together and reinforce each other. In practice, due to the context of the development process, institutional settings, and capabilities of the actors, some aspects may be more flourishing, but a minimum balance between all items is required for having a lasting thriving community.

6.7. Case example: School or Branding

In the previous sections, Docklands development has been looked at through a socio-reflexive lens to see to what extent its development approaches correspond to a people-centred approach to development. To better clarify the distinguished rational approach of the first decade, the consultative approach of the second decade and the proposed socio-reflexive approach, in this section, as an example, one case will be discussed to show how, on the ground, these approaches are different. This case is about decision making regarding the priority of the community. In reality, this decision making process has happened in one of the DCF sessions. In this session, the location of a school (which was mainly a priority of the residents, for having a better and more comfortable life) has been identified as the first priority, and area branding (which was mainly a priority of the businesses, for having more customers and thus more profit) as the second priority.

This decision making process will be discussed in three situations:

Rational approach of the first decade: Employing the approach of the first decade, Docklanders would not be involved in deciding about the priorities. Developers in partnership with development authorities would decide about the priorities and would inform the community about their plans. It can be argued that when the population of Melbourne especially its family population reached a critical mass that made a school a rational option, developers would build a school. Regarding creation of a Docklands brand, developers -considering the market- and the development authority -considering the possibility of investment attraction- would work on developing a brand for Docklands.

Consultative approach of the second decade: if the approach employed in D2 project was at work, residents and workers would be invited to separate public engagement sessions and they would be asked to rank their priorities regarding Docklands. Based on the frequency of each option, the top priorities would be identified. In this situation, there would be no chance for discussion between the two community groups, recognition of each other and understanding of different mental models, formation of shared understanding; and as a consequence, joint decision and action that both groups feel committed to it would not occur.

There has been discussion about priorities of the community in DCF sessions. The facilitator made efforts to allow each group to talk about its interests and views. Residents expressed their interest in having a school, as they had children or knew others who had children and wanted a school in Docklands so that these children could attend. They also perceived a school as a necessary element for a residential community. Businesses also stated that branding could be a way of marketing for their business. Being aware about views of each other, they were oriented towards an agreeable option that they can live with. Consensus was reached: school is priority number one and branding is priority number two; “It doesn’t mean that everybody agrees with it, but they agree they can live with it” (DCF facilitator). However, in this situation again recognition of underlying values of others has not happened and mutual understanding has not been reached. They have agreed on an action but to what extent they will be committed to it and to what degree it will be implemented remains to be seen.

Proposed socio-reflexive approach: Founding on socio-reflexive understanding, the facilitator needs to create a setting for open up of participants and help them to reflect on their values and core assumptions: What factors can influence the comfort of residents’ lives? What roles a school can play that make it necessary for a residential community? What do businesses want from marketing? It is necessary that the facilitator assist participants to think more deeply about their interests, referring back to their previous decisions and actions to help them realize their mental models. In previous public engagement sessions, residents have asked for easy access to several services like food, health, and entertainment. They also see school as a community infrastructure that can attract more people to Docklands. So, having access to a range of services and attracting more people to Docklands is important for them. Businesses, formerly, have supported constructing a hotel on a public plaza because they thought a hotel would mean more customers, as a consequence, more profit for them. Thus, their criterion for supporting or rejecting a proposal is its contribution to profit-making.

Further dialogue could reveal that residents need businesses in Docklands to address their demands in order to have a comfortable life. They could also realize that closing of businesses is not preferred for them (as DCA president explains about closing of 40% of restaurants, “let’s define our essence”, 2012). They don’t want to live in towers

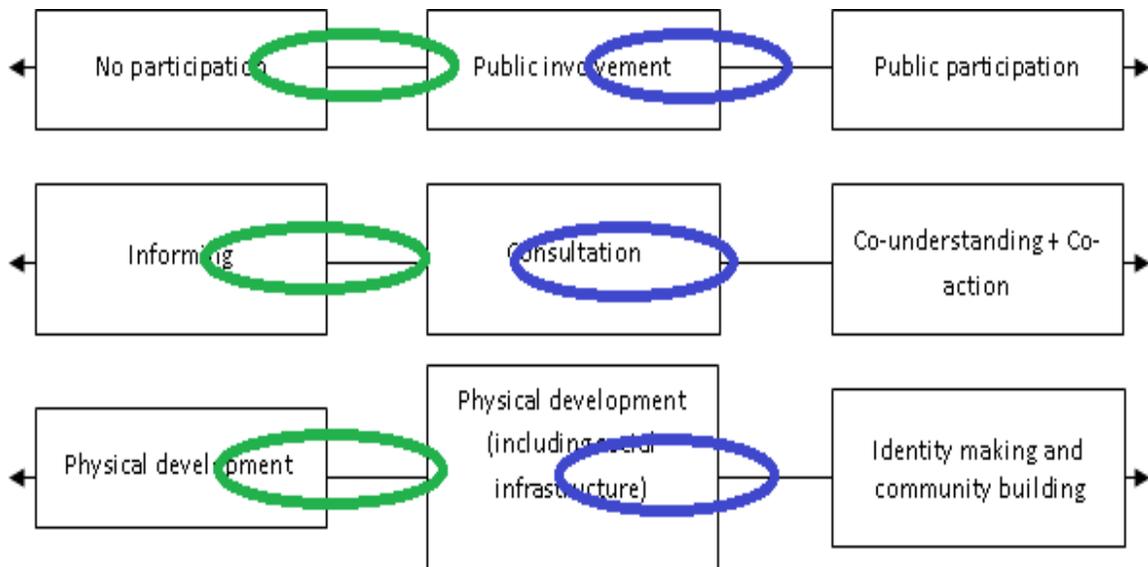
which shops of their main floor are all closed. They know that closed and broken businesses will discourage people from coming to Docklands. On the other hand, businesses could also realize that one potential key customer for them could be Docklands residents. Therefore, if a school can attract more people to reside in Docklands, it means more customers for businesses. Furthermore, these local customers can be a good marketing agent through spreading word of mouth.

As a result of this dialogue, they can recognize each other's values; they can realize that they both have a common interest (attracting more people to Docklands) on which they can collaborate and attempt to explore new solutions. Continuity of this approach and having more common experiences, could improve resident-business relationships, help them to shape shared values, develop bonds among them, and form Docklands community.

7. Conclusion

As explained in the introduction chapter, this research pursues both theoretical and empirical purposes. In the theoretical perspective, I have introduced a people-centred approach to urban redevelopment, based on pragmatist perspective and socio-reflexive understanding, to target community building and place making. For the empirical aspect, my analysis of Docklands redevelopment process reveals that its development approach has changed in the second decade compared to the first decade. Although this change shows movement from the left end of the figure 12 towards the right end, it could not reach the principles of the discussed people-centred approach. Figure 23 attempts to demonstrate this movement.

Figure 23. Changes of Docklands development approach



Note: The green circles are indicators of the first decade and the blue circle represent the second decade of development

Conclusion and recommendations of this research will be four-fold: for Docklands development authorities including Places Victoria and the City of Melbourne, for planning

experts, and for local and regional governments, and for future research in urban development.

7.1. Conclusion and recommendations for Docklands development authorities

The analysis of the Docklands redevelopment process shows that though the top-down exclusive approach of the first decade can advance physical urban development, it could not bring sense of community to the developed site. It also discusses that the public engagement process of the second decade and change in Docklands governance, while it did provide a more collaborative approach to development, it still could not contribute to identity building and place-making goals. Therefore, if Places Victoria and the City of Melbourne are really interested in creating communities and sense of belonging, their approach in considering Docklanders as irrelevant or secondary to Docklands redevelopment should be changed to perceiving them as the owners of the development process and thus providing opportunities for them to be “true participants not just spectators” (“2012 is the year”, 2012) is necessary. Towards the goal of community building, public participation should not be considered as a box that needs to be ticked; rather, it should be a guiding principle that influences all aspects and dimensions of development. In this regard, the mere provision of opportunities for Docklanders to mention their ideas or talk about their concerns is not enough; in addition to respecting Docklanders and their participation, opportunities should be provided for them to have dialogue and discussion in order to reach co-understanding and co-action.

The point that needs to be realized is that, as mentioned earlier, this research does not want to impose the community building goal to Docklands; rather what has been argued for is that if Docklands development authorities intend to see a sense of community and belonging in Docklands, they need to change their approach. But, if their priority is creating a world-class city that could attract global mobile population and capital, then sense of community – as can be seen in some other Melbourne suburbs – should not be a desired or expected outcome. This transient character could be Docklands identity if Docklanders want it to be. It will be a different character but “this

isn't necessarily a bad thing. As our city grows and global workforces become more mobile, and jobs more temporary, having an urban area designed for this fluid market is not bad, just different" ("Docklands is different", 2010), which also needs a different approach contrasts to when community building is desired. However, the point is that this difference and intention to be different should come from Docklanders, and not imposed by Places Victoria and the City of Melbourne.

7.2. Conclusion and recommendations for planners, and planning experts

As discussed in chapter three, the people-centred approach to development requires a shift in the role of planners. Understanding development practice as a socio-reflexive learning process and realizing community members as the key actors of the development process not clients or customers, call for new roles and tasks for planners. Planners need to act more as 'facilitators' who assist the community to recognize its issues (not define a problem for them), help community members to realize each other and their interests and facilitate their interaction (not focus on interaction between community members and planners), and enable their individual and collective potential and capacity to reach solutions (not impose solutions to them). Planners should accompany the community in all stages of recognizing, understanding, and acting, but not as the leaders who know better and more than others, as an assistants to community. To play this role, planners need skills such as listening, facilitating, negotiating, communicating, storytelling, and trust building.

This change could not just happen in the professional sphere; it needs changes in the academic sphere as well. This shift in role of planners and the new skills they need to acquire should also be recognized by planning academics. In case of Melbourne Docklands, planning professors criticize Docklands development due to lack of attention paid to planning principles or lack of proper planning. This perspective, based on rational view, is built on the assumption that through commitment to planning principles in Docklands development process, many of its current problems would not exist and thus see planning as a 'cure-all' solution. There is no doubt that the dominance of planning experts instead of developers will result in a different outcome and that employing

planning rules can prevent problems such as ‘being wind-swept’ or ‘being dominated by high rises’. Ultimately, the commonality between this view and the approaches applied in Docklands is that all are founded on an adaptive understanding of the development process. Recognizing human agency and reflexive capabilities of the public, planning academics could help in promoting the “new professional identity” (Sandercock, 1998, p. 177) of planners as facilitators and mediators. The new identity should not be contemplated as the exclusion of planning professionals or architects or urban designers from the redevelopment practice. Their involvements are necessary and helpful, unless their roles go beyond the role of public and substitute public involvement.

7.3. Conclusion and recommendations for local and state governments

Governments should realize that “private markets do not act in the public interests” (Shaw, 2012). Thus, local and state governments, as public sector actors need to revise their relationships with the private sector. Instead of partnerships with the private sector, which mostly leans towards market’s interests, more emphasis needs to be put on serving public interests. This does not necessarily mean that governments themselves should directly respond public demands, with emergence and growth of discourses of ‘civil society’²¹ and ‘social economy’²², governments’ actions could be oriented towards enhancing civil society and social economy, organizational forms and structures that could contribute to true participation of public. For example, regarding urban development practices, efforts could be made to assist establishment of co-operatives and to prepare ground for partnerships between these cooperative organizations and developers instead of partnerships between governments and

²¹ By civil society I mean what Friedman (1998) defines as civil society: “those social organizations, associations, and institutions that mediate between the individual and the state” (p. 21). Angeles (2007) adds another feature to these “dense networks of organizations and institutions that mediate between state and citizens” which is that they “challenge and transform hegemonic state policies and market practices” (p. 5).

²² By social economy I mean what Quarter (2010) defines as: “a bridging concept for organizations that have social objectives central to their mission and their practice” (p. 11) and including organization forms such as cooperatives, non for profits, credit unions, social enterprises, etc.

developers. Instead of establishment of special authorities and forms of partnership between public and private sector that result in dilution of public participation and citizen engagement and the “treatment of citizens as clients or customers” (Krawchenko & Stoney, 2011, p. 80), a purpose-built cooperative body could be partnered with a developer with public sector supervising this partnership. In this situation, in contrary to public private partnerships where the demand is either created by government or recognized by market, demand is formed and requested by citizens.

Another recommendation for governments is related to the scale of development projects. As stated by different actors in Docklands case (General manager planning of DA/VicUrban, board member of VicUrban/PV, senior manager of VicUrban/PV), commencing a large-scale development not only makes public participation difficult, but also creates problems for coordination between precincts, especially at the locations between these precincts or their intersecting areas. Starting development in smaller scale and in sequential order could facilitate the development process and also better contribute to community building or place making as Friedman argues (2010).

And final point is about operationalizing the people-centred approach discussed in this research. It has been argued that participants need to have interaction and discussion with each other in order to reach collective action based on shared understanding. Considering the busy schedule most of people these days have, communication technology could be used to assist interaction of community members and their participation. Sending emails and newsletters, having on-line forums, presenting large amount of information on websites, on-line discussion panels all could be useful in enriching the participation environment. This does not mean that the face-to-face sessions and meetings, which require physical attendance, should be removed. Face-to-face meetings are important in building trust and new relationships, but the advances of communication technologies could be utilized in order to provide and disseminate background information and keep continuous contact.

7.4. Future directions for research in urban development

This research has presented a theoretical framework, which emphasizing the specific and key roles that the public could play, introduces a new approach to urban development. Practically speaking, it studies the development process of Melbourne Docklands to test the proposed approach in this case.

Reviewing both theoretical and practical aspects of this research, suggests the potential for further research on both sides. On the theoretical side, it opens up the possibility of research on approaches to urban development that provides space for the public to be the key actor of the process. The “therapeutic planning” of Sandercock (2004) and “insurgent planning” of Mirafteb (2009) are good points to start. In addition, as Friedman (2010) argued, there is a need to shift the focus of planning from the objective and physical dimension to subjective side. Therefore, a development approach in need of consideration is an approach that targets place-making and identity building goals. It is a call for approaches that consider identity building and place-making as indigenous outcomes of the development practice not as exogenous results.

On the practical side, two directions for future research are possible. First, the development process of Docklands in future years could be studied to look for any other changes in its approach and either its divergence from or convergence to the people-centred approach. Second, the introduced people-centred approach and more generally the framework of figure 12 could be studied in other waterfront and urban development practices. These studies that could be followed by cases with smaller scales and shorter timeframes and also examples with pre-existed communities could help to improve the theoretical dimension.

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Appendix A.

Interview questions

Firstly, explain that in the initial questions, it is desired to know the answer of the question for both the first and the second decade of the development separately and the comparison between the two decades, how it has changed between the two decades, its reasons and drivers for change between the two decades.

- Drivers and goals of the development:

In late 1980s and early 1990s, what were the main drivers for the Docklands development? What factors triggered the state government, or other actors (City of Melbourne, Committee for Melbourne, Melbourne Working Group) to plan for Docklands development? (Providing an urban development model, overcoming the recession, economic prosperity, branding Melbourne, showing off, ...) What was the goal of Docklands development in the first decade? What vision was pictured for Docklands in the first decade? (A residential place of living, visitor destination, a hub for international creative class, an appendix to CBD ...) What was the social map of Docklands in the minds of the state government and City?

Has this vision changed during the two decades of development? Is the same goal being followed during the second decade of development or in any way the initial goal and orientation of the development has been changed in the second decade? (in terms of who constitute its population, what services it should provide, what should be its features, ...) If the envisaged picture for Docklands in the second decade is different from what has been pictured in the first decade, why has this change happened? What reasons caused this change?

How was the character of Docklands defined in the first decade? To what extent was it considered as a separate distinct area or an integrated district of Melbourne? Was it imagined with its own identity and character or its identity was tied with Melbourne? How this character and identity has changed in the second decade? Has Docklands been more integrated with the City of Melbourne in the second decade or it has been more separated? How has this issue affected the development process and its related policies and plans or the involvement of different actors and groups?

- Development process:

How did the goal or vision, which was pictured for Docklands, translate in the development process? In the first decade, how did it define the priority of the development process? How did it affect the development process in terms of its focus (commencing the construction, financial issues, having interaction with different groups and reaching consensus about what Docklands should be, public participation, public involvement)?

What about the involved actors? Were different groups or actors involved in the development process? (private architects and developers, City of Melbourne, state government, state government development authorities including Docklands Authority, VicUrban, and the public)? Which group was more effective? Which actor did play the central role?

Commencing the second decade of the development, is there any change in terms of the focus of development in comparison to the first decade? Have the priorities of the development process changed? What about the extent of involvement of different actors? Is any particular group being more involved or less considered?

What was the reason for these changes? Why did the focus or the priority of the development change? Are these changes due to any failure in outcomes or feedback from the first decade? If

yes, what were the expected outcomes? If not, what were the drivers for this change? Why a particular group has been involved more seriously? Why a specific goal has been focused in the second decade?

In the late years of the first decade and especially by commencing the second decade, through reviewing the governmental document, general plans, or even the developers' commercial brochures, you can see more attention to or highlight on terms such as "community", "public participation", and "belonging". Is this a new focus in the second decade or was it followed in the first decade as well? Why this focus has been emphasized? Is it something new to the development process? Is it in response to some feedback from the results of the development in the first decade?

- Specific cases

Docklands Community Place Plan: Docklands Community Place Plan is a key reference document for the second decade of development. It is said that it is the result of the 18 months consultation of Places Victoria (VicUrban successor) and City of Melbourne with people. It outlines the future development path of Docklands. It is claimed that the document shows the priorities of the community for Docklands to reach the liveability goal. It follows three main themes: Capturing the essence of Melbourne, embracing Melbourne's waterfront, and creating a 21st century city. It mentions community priorities as: public spaces, library and community center, primary school, business networks and waterside attractions.

Especially in the recently-issued "Docklands Community Place Plan", the focus on a "place for a community" and "community engagement" could be seen. Welcoming the ideas of the community, considering their priorities and attention to community building were more emphasized in this plan. What was the idea behind this document? Is it a general plan for the second decade of development or does it attempt to picture a new vision for Docklands? Does it introduce a new approach to Docklands development in the second decade?

How was this document developed? How were the community ideas and priorities recognized? What was the process that resulted in this document?

What was the community that was supposed to participate in this process? People who live in D, those who work in D, people of Melbourne, ...? Who have participated in this process? Was this participation confined to Docklands residents or did it include Docklands workers or Melbourne residents? What portion of the expected community has been involved?

How have the public participated in this process? (How would you characterize this participation: informing, consulting, co-understanding or co-action?) Did the community have the chance to have conversation with each other to share their ideas and concerns or they provided their ideas to the Places Victoria and City of Melbourne individually? Are the priorities defined in this document result of public discussion or it is the understanding of Places Victoria or City of Melbourne from public input?

This plan described that that the Docklands vision is:

"In 2020, Melbourne Docklands will be an integral part of a creative, well-connected 21st century city. It will continue to be a key driver of Melbourne's economy and offer a unique urban waterfront, which reflects Melbourne's elegance, diversity and culture."

How this vision was defined? To what extent does it reflect public's input or opinion?

Has there been any other opportunity for the public to have dialogue with each other and also with Places Victoria and City of Melbourne to express their ideas about Docklands, their concerns, visions, and expectations?

Is this similar to the practiced process in the first decade? To what extent were opportunities for public interaction provided in the each first and second decade: sessions for dialogue, interaction of different interest groups, participation in vision building, and social activities.

Docklands governance: In March 2012, the City of Melbourne and Places Victoria proposed a new governance model for Docklands. The Docklands Coordination Committee activity will be limited and it will have two public meetings in a year. A new formed Docklands Community Forum comprises between 10 and 12 members with a diverse range of Docklands experience and diverse backgrounds, and it has a bi-monthly public meeting

The governance of Docklands has been changed recently. The Docklands Community Forum has been established and the Docklands Coordination Committee has been limited in its function. What do you think about this change? Why this change was proposed? What was the driver for this change? What reasons justified the change in Docklands governance?

How the new governance will influence the future development of Docklands? Will it provide more opportunity for public involvement? Will it follow a new approach or procedure? Are its methods for making decision about Docklands different? What topics will be discussed and what issues will be followed by this forum?

- General lessons:

What are the learnt lessons from the development process? What feedbacks or insights does it provide for future steps? If you are going to be involved in another urban development process, will you follow the similar process? What changes do you think are necessary?

Appendix B.

Analysing codes

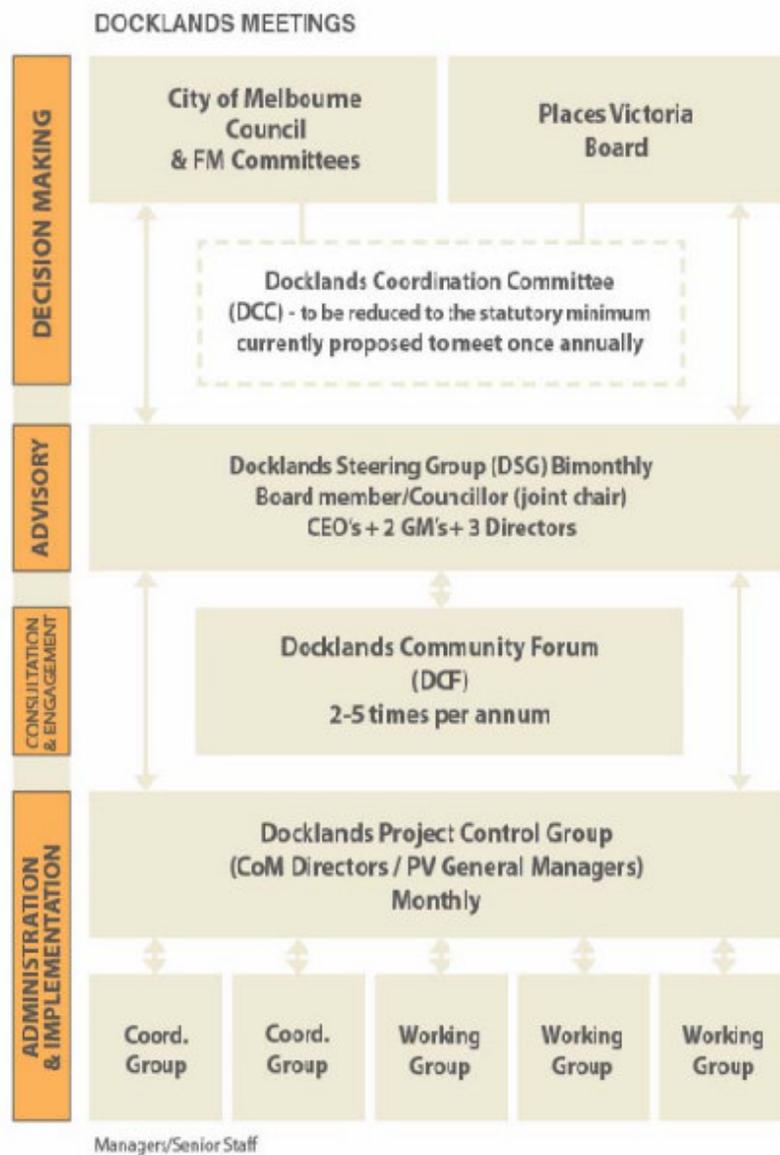
Table B.1 *Codes used for analysis of interviews and documents*

0 decade	history of D	scale of development
1st decade	identity building	school
2nd decade	individual change	sense of belonging
accumulation of individuals	informing	separated from M
adaptive change	institutional change	service apartments
brand	integration with M	social change
C of M	investment attraction	social infrastructure
change of gov	learning	transient population
co-understanding & co-action	local view	trust
collaborative process	market-led	VicUrban
communication technology	no cost to government	vision of D
community building	no public participation	world city image
consultation	people	
DCA	physical development	
DCC	place-less development	
DCF	place-making	
DCPP	PPP	
developer dominance	private interests	
development agreements	profit making	
development cycle	public interests	
dialogue	public involvement	
empowerment	public participation	
experts and professionals	PV	
external views	reflexive change	
form of community	residents and businesses	
global view	role of planner	

Appendix C.

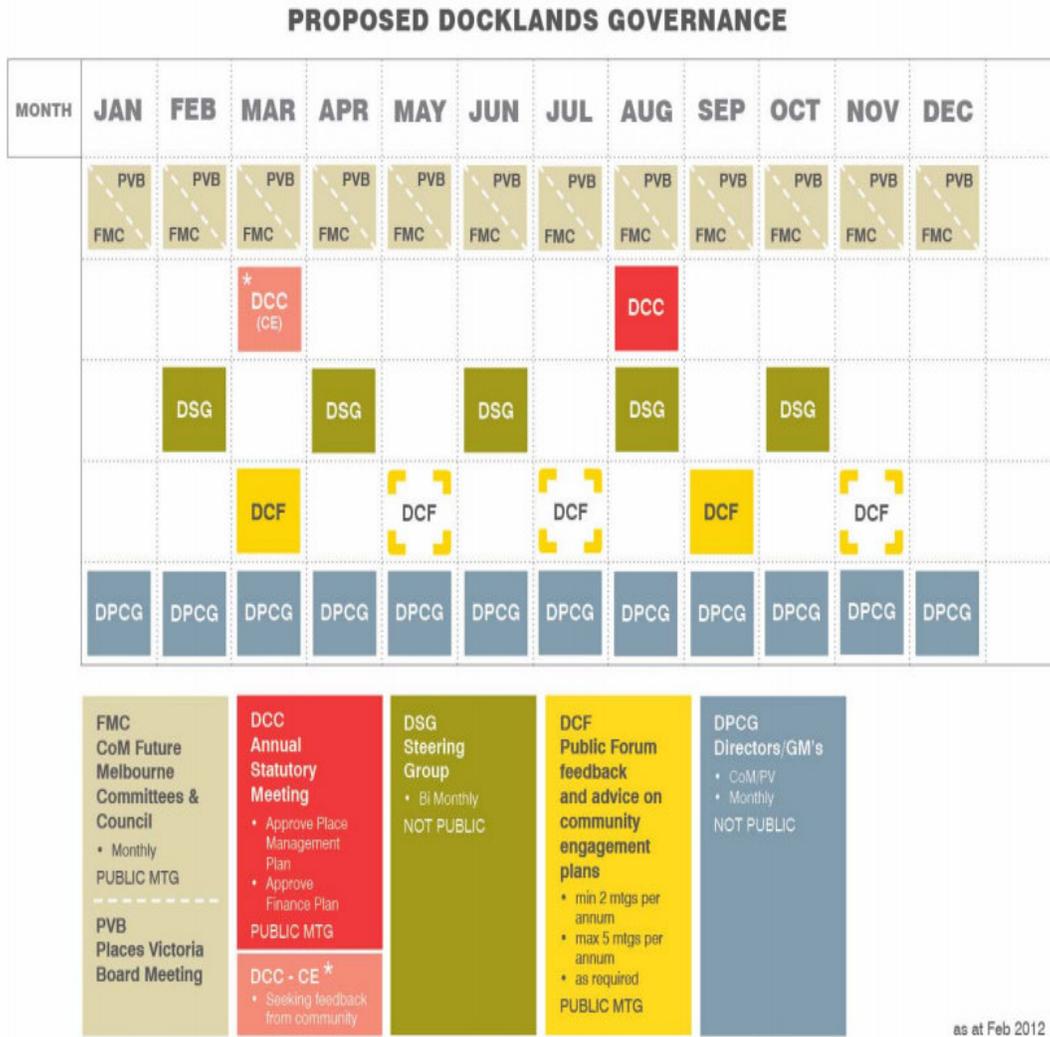
Docklands Governance

Figure C1. Proposed governance model for Docklands



Source: Docklands Coordination Committee report on 20 March 2012. Retrieved from <http://www.melbourne.vic.gov.au/AboutCouncil/Meetings/Lists/CouncilMeetingAgendaItems/Attachments/9640/5.2.pdf>

Figure C2. Proposed governance model for Docklands



Source: Docklands Coordination Committee report on 20 March 2012. Retrieved from <http://www.melbourne.vic.gov.au/AboutCouncil/Meetings/Lists/CouncilMeetingAgendaItems/Attachments/9640/5.2.pdf>