# Sport: The neoliberal 'cultural glue' of Melbourne, Australia

## Alistair John
College of Health & Life Sciences,
Brunel University London

Adopting an urban entrepreneurial approach of selling the 'city' as an attractive place in which to locate global footloose capital, the State Government of Victoria, Australia has, over the past three decades, strategically invested public funds into major sporting events in Melbourne. The aim of this paper is to outline the role of sport as a form of 'cultural glue' which has supported the Victorian Government's neoliberal agenda of creating an environment (social, cultural and physical) conducive to commercial activity. A (con)textual analysis of newspaper articles was conducted in conjunction with interviews of influential cultural producers of the 'sport city' – most notably state premiers, members of parliament, CEOs of public sports trusts and newspaper journalists. Four case studies were employed to examine urban entrepreneurialism and the re-regulating state: i) the construction and redevelopments of 'Melbourne Park' to host the Australian Open Tennis Championships; ii) the failed bid for the 1996 Olympic Games and hosting of the 2006 Commonwealth Games; iii) the acquisition of the Australian Formula One Grand Prix and continued political, corporate and media support for the event and; iv) the construction of two urban stadiums, one publicly funded and one privately-owned. Findings illustrate that the Victorian state has successively re-regulated a neoliberal urban entrepreneurial strategy, often preventing dissident groups from resisting neoliberal activities, through its monopoly over the legitimate use of symbolic and material violence.[1]

*****

I approach my examination of Melbourne by conceptualising the state, like Bourdieu, as the "the repository of all the universal ideas associated with the idea of the *public*",[2] or as the central bank of symbolic capital,[3] which shapes and defines society. Moreover, within the bureaucratic state, power struggles occur as agents within the bureaucratic field contest for the legitimacy to distribute and redistribute public resources.[4] In Melbourne, a self-proclaimed and industry awarded 'sport city',[5] the use of public resources to support elite

sport during the past three decades has been widespread. The decision to focus public investment on sport has been framed by an urban entrepreneurial approach to governance that supports a policy agenda of investing public funds to present the city as an ideal location for capital investment under the guise that wider benefits for the state will be achieved.[6] By strategically using elite sport, a cultural activity which serves to reinforce neoliberal ideology,[7] the Victorian state has supported the (re)construction of a 'legitimate' culture which accepts and naturalises neoliberal processes. In order to regulate this sporting urban entrepreneurial strategy, the Victorian government has often employed tactics to prevent full disclosure of information to the public, along with mechanisms – specifically anti-protest laws – which control the public's ability to organise resistance. The aim of this paper is to outline the role of sport as a form of 'cultural glue'[8] which has supported the Victorian Government's neoliberal agenda of creating an environment (social, cultural and physical) conducive to commercial activity.

## Neoliberalism

While some argue that we are currently witnessing a reduction of the state,[9] a number of social scholars maintain that neoliberalism has not rendered the state obsolete. Contrary to an economic approach, neoliberalism is understood as a political project to 'reengineer the state'.[10] I concur with this premise and more specifically follow Loïc Wacquant's conceptualisation of neoliberalism. In brief, Wacquant argues that neoliberalism involves imprinting market-like mechanisms on everyday life in combination with the retraction of the Fordist-Keynesian welfare safety-net and incorporation of disciplinary 'workfare' policies, increasing penalisation to contain disorder and re-assert the authority of the state whilst advocating individual responsibility to reduce state accountability in matters social and economic.[11]

The role of sport as a reflection, or driver, of neoliberalism has been illustrated by a number of scholars.[12] Coakley, for example, asserts that elite sport often serves to reaffirm "a belief in competition as the primary basis for assessing merit and allocating rewards".[13] As such, an ideology that perpetuates the notion that "economic winners deserve power and privilege" while "economic failure is due to poor choices or weak character" is constructed.[14] Moreover, these elite sports teams and athletes provide a key vehicle for corporations to "inject into public discourse messages promoting consumption as a lifestyle".[15]

## Urban Entrepreneurialism

Urban geographers have labelled the shift in urban design, politics and character since the 1970s as 'urban entrepreneurialism'.[16] Harvey explains that the strategy aims to present the city to multinational corporations as an ideal location for capital investment.[17]

The approach is "embedded in a framework of zero-sum inter-urban competition for resources, jobs and capital,"[18] as post-industrial cities replace warehouses and manufacturing with "managerial and administrative arms of the public and private sectors,"[19] often associated with international finance, information and communication services and, consumption.[20] Hubbard, meanwhile, explains that urban entrepreneurialism has seen an ideological shift in the role of government, away from local and welfare provision towards economic growth.[21]

The use of sport as an urban entrepreneurial tool is not a new phenomenon, however it appears that sport infrastructure and events are increasingly being used for urban reimagineering and regeneration of 'derelict' areas. The desired result is a *sanctioned* urban space[22] that is fortified from perceived dangers to permit consumerism.[23] Of particular concern is that these, often, public spaces are frequently created using public money – and with the backing of public authorities – but mostly serve private interests.

## Political and sporting context

Similar to many western manufacturing cities, Melbourne, in the early 1970s encountered a period of deindustrialisation.[24] By the early 1980s, Melbourne was deteriorating with inner-city business/factory closures resulting in derelict buildings throughout the CBD.[25] In April, 1982, the John Cain-led Labor party were elected and in an attempt to reverse the effects of deindustrialisation implemented a Keynesian-style interventionist economic strategy based on selecting and investing in Victoria's perceived competitive strengths.[26] While sporting culture has a long history in Victoria,[27] I argue that the 1984 economic strategy, *Victoria: The Next Step*, commenced a more specific use of sport as an economic tool. Davidson explained that the document illustrated Labor's selection of a number of perceived competitive strengths, as "real engines of Victorian growth",[28] in which the State Government could then intervene to improve efficiency. One 'engine' was "the national role of Melbourne as a major trading, cultural and *sporting centre*, and the land-use opportunities to further develop that role [emphasis added]".[29] The strategy explicitly cited the desire to host sporting events in order to promote Melbourne, attract tourists and entice corporations to relocate their administrative headquarters to the Victorian capital. In the eight years following, Labor constructed a National Tennis Centre (NTC) to host the Australian Open Tennis Grand Slam, submitted a bid for the 1996 Olympic Games and established a state-owned company with the explicit remit to acquire major (sporting) events.

Cain was followed by Jeff Kennett, a political larrikin,[30] who employed a strategy of place promotion in an attempt to capture a larger share of investment, jobs and tourism from rival states.[31] Adopting a 'Thatcherite agenda' of free-market reform along with corporate-

friendly laws,[32] Kennett attempted to entice major (sporting) events with prominent global media broadcasting appeal to the city. Further sporting initiatives occurred under the Kennett Liberal-National coalition (1992-1999) – including a 54,000-seat docklands stadium, secret negotiations for the Australian Formula One Grand Prix (F1 GP) contract, upgrades to the NTC and, submitting a bid for the 2006 Commonwealth Games.

Subsequent governments, both Labor (1999-2010) and Liberal-National (2010-2014) retained a similar neoliberal approach to governance[33] along with the strategy of 'selling' the city as a desirable place for footloose capital and international investment. Labor organised the 2006 Commonwealth Games, constructed an elite football stadium, commissioned a significant redevelopment of the NTC and, twice extended the F1 GP contract. In addition, the Liberal-National coalition re-negotiated the GP contract and approved further investment into the NTC.

## Methodology

Locating this study within a critical cultural studies framework,[34] material was collected across various platforms to capture and reconstruct the social, political, economic and cultural networks which have shaped the 'sport city'. The study was narrowed by restricting the time frame to after 1984 – the year '*Victoria: The Next Step*' was released – with a specific focus on the following events/developments:

1. Construction and redevelopments of the National Tennis Centre (NTC),
2. Two multi-sports events (1996 Olympic Games bid and 2006 Commonwealth Games bid and hosting),
3. Acquiring and hosting the Australian Formula One Grand Prix (F1 GP), and
4. Construction of an urban football stadium.

A contextual analysis of two major daily newspapers (the left-leaning *Age* and right-leaning *Herald Sun*) was undertaken to reconstruct the events and highlight issues of contest. In addition, transcripts from parliamentary debate were examined to 'check' reliability of journalist reports and provide additional political voice while government policy and public audit reports were used to help contextualise the 'political field'.

Finally, 16 semi-structured interviews were conducted with purposive sample of key 'decision-makers' – including two current MPs, three former premiers, a former treasurer, two former government advisors, a former city councillor and four current or former CEO's of major state sports trusts/companies. In addition to political decision-makers, the president of a major resistance group, a sports journalist and a former editor of *The Age* were interviewed.[35] Access was obtained through direct (email and telephone) requests and 'snowballing'.[36]

## Discussion

A detailed discussion of each case study, while insightful, is not appropriate for this length of paper; as such I limit my discussion to the four key themes that emerged from this analysis of the 'sport city': (i) the use of public resources for entrepreneurial activities; (ii) the representation of domestic and international cities as threats to Melbourne's 'sport city' status; (iii) a lack of public consultation and; (iv) the enacting of government laws to permit neoliberal activities.

Labor's economic strategy *Victoria: The Next Step*, designated sport as one of Melbourne's competitive advantages and, along with the creation of the state-owned event acquisition group, the Victorian Major Events Company,[37] illustrated the state's urban entrepreneurial strategy of encoding Melbourne as a sporting destination during the 1980s. As the central bank of symbolic capital which shapes and defines the '*public*',[38] the neoliberal Victorian state has successfully (re)defined the public interest in market-like terms which favour urban entrepreneurial economic developments that service the urban elite.[39] Commercialised sport is one pursuit which has been defined as essential in delivering the urban entrepreneurial agenda; as such, elite sport has been classified as deserving of public resources.

By locating the NTC at Melbourne Park (formerly Flinders Park), the state indicated a willingness to appropriate a limited and valued public resource (urban public parkland) in the name of city boosterism. Similarly, the temporary use of Albert Park for the F1 GP and the alienation of a wedge of Royal Park for the Commonwealth Games Athletes Village highlight the state's propensity to prioritise the use of public parkland for commercial activity. Further public resources (land and taxes) were used by the state to build the Rectangular Stadium on the contention that it serviced the entertainment needs of professional workers (specifically the rugby union urban elite and wealthy migrants from Europe and the Northern states of Australia). In the process of investing public funds to build this stadium for elite sport, less profitable activities (athletics) were evicted from the 'sports precinct', Olympic Park (a historically important sportscape) was privatised by Collingwood FC and corporate sports franchises were given priority use of Gosch's Paddock - open public parkland previously free of commercial activities.

Threats from cities posited as rivals in the zero-sum urban entrepreneurial game justified the *need* for state-funded sporting facilities such as the NTC and Grand Prix infrastructure at Albert Park. These 'threats' allowed the government and quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations (quango) managing major events to position elite sport as holding significant cultural and economic capital in the post-industrial city. Media and political references to 'rival' city attempts to 'steal' Melbourne's F1 GP or the 'grand slam' status of

the Australian Open,[40] with little tangible evidence, has served to (re)produce the common-sense belief amongst the Melbourne public of the *need* to re-invest in the urban entrepreneurial strategy. Moreover, the sustained citing of the uniqueness and (often intangible) economic value of sporting events to the city has served to (re)present, in the minds of Melbourne's citizens, the importance of the political and urban elite's desires to position the city near the crest of the "global urban status hierarchy".[41] The perceived importance of maintaining this paramount position has allowed subsequent governments to extend investment of public resources into the sportscape by claiming this investment ensures Melbourne's global reputation as a 'sport city' is preserved.

A lack of public consultation was often evident when decisions were made about sporting events/infrastructure. In order to justify this lack of consultation a number of arguments were used: (1) Key decision-makers expressed that a need to keep plans secret from rival states/nations is an important strategy for acquiring events (for example the F1 GP). In addition, commercial confidentiality agreements, cited as requirements of any contract between the state and third parties involved in sporting developments served to ensure the protection of private interests and limit public knowledge. (2) Community consultation was deemed to delay development projects and framed as an obstruction to progress.[42] As such, projects (such as the Athletes Village and Rectangular Stadium) were designated as being of 'state importance' in order to permit the fast-tracking of decisions with minimal public consultation. (3) The failure by previous governments to consult the public on major projects resulted in any Opposition criticism being dismissed as hypocrisy.[43] Decisions occur within the bureaucratic field[44] where political actors contest for the legitimacy to represent the public, however it often appeared that Opposition criticism of the government held little weight due to similar misdemeanours by the Opposition when in power. (4) The public's voice was considered to be appropriately substituted by apolitical quangos and 'expert panels'. For example, the Kennett government in keeping with its 'free market' approach implemented a strategy of putting projects out to tender and employing a quango or 'expert panel' to suggest recommendations to the government; in doing so Kennett excluded the public from the decision-making process.[45] Indeed, Cahill and Beder claim that Kennett replaced consultation with persuasion; choosing to spend funds on promoting its vision through advertising campaigns rather than seeking public opinion.[46] Limiting public involvement has ultimately produced a 'sport city' which appears to largely be in the hands of the political and urban elite who have dictated a vision for the state that serves their interests.

Quangos operating at arm's length to the government but holding significant power with minimal responsibility to the public in terms of consultation and democratic structures

were often created to determine the direction of sporting initiatives. Even a cursory analysis of the aims of prominent sporting quangos, such as Melbourne and Olympic Parks Trust and Australian Grand Prix Corporation (AGPC), elucidate an emphasis on 'profit' generation, rather than social wellbeing.[47] Of concern has been government-authorised exemptions to various state laws (for example, heritage, environmental and freedom of information laws) to permit these quangos to engage in commercial activity along with increased 'security' powers to avoid public resistance (such as the prevention of public protests in areas of Albert Park designated by the AGPC) . Moreover, the retracted powers of local government (Melbourne City Council) which often provided representation for commercially adverse local views have further acted to permit commercially-friendly activity on public parkland.  Indeed, the regulation of resistance illustrates the power of the neoliberal state; for example, law changes were implemented to fast-track developments at Albert Park, Melbourne Park and Royal Park while temporary anti-disruption laws were put in place to limit the effectiveness of Aboriginal protests during the Commonwealth Games.[48] This corporate-friendly environment has been shaped by the government's urban entrepreneurial agenda of enticing global footloose capital and reducing the rights of the public which has ultimately served the interests of (global) corporations. This has been achieved through redefining the *public's interest* to entail government support for economic productivity at the summit in the guise that benefits will trickle-down to the wider society.

## Conclusion

Elite sport serves as a form of 'cultural glue' which has supported the Victorian Government's neoliberal agenda of creating an environment conducive to commercial activity; that is, the sanctioning of urban sportscapes and public resources to permit and encourage "consumption-oriented capital accumulation".[49] The ability to define the public interest allows the state to construct a social world which reflects the interests of those richest in various forms of capital.[50] Of importance, as Wacquant expresses, is that:

> [T]he state does not exist only 'out there,' in the guise of bureaucracies, authorities, and ceremonies: it also lives 'in here,' ineffaceably engraved in all of us in the form of the state-sanctioned mental categories acquired via schooling through which we cognitively construct the social world.[51]

That is, citizens have been socialised to consent to the actions and visions of the state through education and other state-sanctioned institutions such as the media and legitimate cultural activities, such as sport. Together with the redefinition of the public interest in market-like principals, the premise that consuming elite sport is an important element of 'being Victorian', or embodied cultural capital, [52]  has served to reinforce a neoliberal

doctrine of economic productivity through individualisation, competition, meritocracy and consumerism. In this manner, sport has become a form of 'cultural glue' which fastens the values and motives of the public to neoliberal ideologies. Moreover, the desire to retain this unique 'sport city' identity has permitted neoliberal practices, such as commercially sensitive contracts between the state and private sector and legislation to prevent dissident activities at corporate-friendly events, to be employed by the state.

---

## Notes

[1] Pierre Bourdieu, "Rethinking the state: genesis and structure of the bureaucratic field," *Sociological Theory 12*(1) (1994), 16.

[2] Pierre Bourdieu, "Neo-liberalism, the Utopia (becoming a reality) of unlimited exploitation," in *Acts of Resistance: Against the new myths of our time,* ed. Pierre Bourdieu (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 102.

[3] Loïc Wacquant, "Pointers on Pierre Bourdieu and democratic politics," *Constellations, 11*(1) (2004), 8.

[4] Loïc Wacquant, "*Marginality, ethnicity, and penality in the neoliberal city: an analytical cartography*," last modified June 23, 2013, http://loicwacquant.net/assets/Papers/MARGINALITY ETHNICITYPENALITY-Article-ERS.pdf, conceptualises the bureaucratic field as "the web of administrative agencies that both collaborate to enforce official identities and compete to regulate social activities and enact public authority" (p. 10) which puts the "spotlight on the distribution (or not) of public goods" (p. 10).

[5] "Melbourne wins top sports city gong," *Victoria Major Events Company*, last modified April 15, 2014, http://www.tourism.vic.gov.au/component/edocman/?view=document&id= 674&Itemid=0; Peter Rolfe, "Melbourne crowned world's sports city of decade," *Herald Sun*, last modified April 20, 2016, http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/victoria/melbourne-crowned-worlds-sports-city-of-decade/news-story/48c6a20cdea779a410742185a794cfe2; "Sporting capital welcomes two new clubs," *The Age*, August 5, 2010, 16.

[6] David Harvey, "From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: The transformation in urban governance in late capitalism," *Geografiska Analer, 71*(1) (1989), 4

[7] Jay Coakley, "Ideology doesn't just happen: sports and neoliberalism," *Curitiba, 1*(1) (2011), 67-84; Michael L. Silk and David, L. Andrews, *Sport and Neoliberalism: Politics, consumption and culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012a).

[8] Loïc Wacquant, "Three steps to a historical anthropology of actually existing neoliberalism," *Social Anthropology, 20*(1) (2012), 72.

[9] Aihwa Ong, *Neoliberalism as exception: mutations in citizenship and sovereignty*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.

[10] Mathieu Hilgers, "The three anthropological approaches to neoliberalism," *International Social Science Journal, 61* (2010); Mathieu Hilgers, "The historicity of the neoliberal state," *Social Anthropology, 20*(1) (2012); Bob Jessop, "Putting neoliberalism in its time and place: a response to the debate," *Social Anthropology, 21*(1) (2013); Jamie Peck and Nik Theodore, "Reanimating neoliberalism: process geographies of Neoliberalisation," *Social Anthropology, 20*(2) (2012); Loic Wacquant, "Crafting the neoliberal state: workfare, prisonfare, and social insecurity," *Sociological Forum, 25*(2) (2010); Wacquant, "Three steps to a historical;" Wacquant, "Marginality, ethnicity, and penality."

[11] Wacquant, "Crafting the neoliberal state;" Wacquant, "Three steps to a historical;" Wacquant, "Marginality, ethnicity, and penality."

[12] Coakley, "Ideology doesn't just happen," Silk and Andrews, "*Sport and Neoliberalism;*" Eick *Volker, "A neoliberal sports event? FIFA from the Estadio Nacional to the fan mile," City,14(3) (2010), 278-297.*

[13] Coakley, "Ideology doesn't just happen," 75.

[14] Ibid., 75

[15] Ibid., 75

[16] Tim Hall and Phil Hubbard, "The entrepreneurial city: new urban politics, new urban geographies?" *Progress in Human Geography, 20*(2) (1996); Harvey, "From managerialism;" Marc Levine, "Downtown redevelopment as an urban growth strategy: a critical appraisal of

the Baltimore renaissance," *Journal of Urban Affairs, 9*(2) (1987); Gordon MacLeod, "From urban entrepreneurialism to a 'revanchist city'? On the spatial injustices of Glasgow's renaissance," *Antipode, 34*(3) (2002).

[17] Harvey, "From managerialism".

[18] (Harvey, "From managerialism", 5.

[19] Ian Winter and Tracey Brooke, "Urban planning and the entrepreneurial state: the view from Victoria, Australia," *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, 11*(3) (1993), 264.

[20] Michael, L. Silk and John Amis, "Sport tourism, cityscapes and cultural politics," *Sport in Society, 8*(2) (2005).

[21] Phil Hubbard, "Urban design and city regeneration: social representation of entrepreneurial landscapes," *Urban Studies, 33*(8) (1996), 1441.

[22] Michael L. Silk and David L. Andrews, "The governance of the neoliberal sporting city," In *Sport and Neoliberalism: Politics, consumption and culture*, ed. Michael L. Silk and David L. Andrews, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012b).

[23] Kimberley Schimmel, "Deep play: sports mega-events and urban social conditions in the USA." *The Sociological Review, 54*(s2) (2006); Kimberley Schimmel, "Neoliberal redevelopment, sport infrastructure, and the militarization of U.S. urban terrain," in *Sport and Neoliberalism: Politics, consumption and culture* ed. Michael L. Silk and David L. Andrews (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012).

[24] Tony Dingle and Seamus O'Hanlon, "From manufacturing zone to lifestyle precinct: Economic restructuring and social change in inner Melbourne, 1971-2001," *Australian Economic History Review, 49*(1) (2009), 52; James Forrest, "Social impacts of economic restructuring in Australia," *The Australian Quarterly, 67*(2) (1995), 43.

[25] Seamus O'Hanlon, "The events city: sport, culture, and the transformation of inner Melbourne, 1977-2006," *Urban History Review, 37*(2) (2009), 30.

[26] Mark Considine and Brian Costar, "Introduction," in *Trials in Power: Cain, Kirner and Victoria 1982-1992*, ed. Mark Considine and Brian Costar (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1992); Alistair Harkness, "Triumphant, troubled, then terminal: an examination of the Cain and Kirner decade 30 years on," *Labour History, 105* (2013).

[27] Richard Cashman and Tom Hickie, "The divergent sporting cultures of Sydney and Melbourne," *Sporting Traditions, 7*(1) (1990); Graeme Davison, "Welcoming the world: The 1956 Olympic games and the re-presentation of Melbourne," *Australian Historical Studies, 27*(109) (1997); Dave Nadel and Graeme Ryan, *Sport in Victoria: A History* (Melbourne: Ryan Publishing, 2015).

[28] Kenneth Davidson, "Victoria, the next step is just the first step," *The Age*, April 10, 1984, 13.

[29] Parliament of Victoria*, Victoria: The Next Step: economic initiatives and opportunities for the 1980s* (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1984), 7.

[30] Nicholas Economou, "Jeff Kennett: The larrikin metropolitan," in *The Victorian Premiers, 1856-2006*, ed. Paul Strangio and Brian Costar (Sydney: The Federation Press, 2006).

[31] Benno Engels, "City make-overs: The place marketing of Melbourne during the Kennett years, 1992–99," *Urban Policy and Research, 18*(4) (2000).

[32] Leonie Sandercock and Kim Dovey, "Pleasure, politics, and the 'public interest': Melbourne's riverscape revitalization," *Journal of the American Planning Association, 68*(2) (2002).

[33] Barbara Coffey, "Another opportunity lost? Victorian Labor's enactment of sustainability, 1999-2010," *Australian Journal of Public Administration, 71*(3) (2012); Annette Kroen and Robin Goodman, "Implementing metropolitan strategies: lessons from Melbourne," *International Planning Studies, 17*(3) (2012); Robert Nabben, "Opportunity lost? Victorian Labor's enactment of community development 1999-2006," *Australian Journal of Public Administration, 70*(3) (2011); Kate Shaw, "Docklands dreamings: Illusions of sustainability in the Melbourne docks redevelopment," *Urban Studies, 50*(11) (2013); Marcus Spiller, "Social justice and the centralisation of governance in the Australian metropolis: a case study of Melbourne," *Urban Policy and Research, 32*(3) (2014).

[34] Ben Agger, *Cultural Studies as Critical Theory* (London: The Falmer Press, 1992).

[35] Despite numerous attempts, all requests to interview journalists/editors from the *Herald Sun* were rejected.

[36] Patrick Biernacki and Dan Waldorf, "Snowball sampling: problems and techniques of chain referral sampling," *Sociological Methods & Research 10*(2) (1981).

[37] The Victorian Major Events Company (VMEC) was set up in 1991 as an "events acquisition group ... with an entrepreneurial vision for creating and securing major sporting, entertainment and cultural event opportunities for Melbourne and Victoria" VMEC, "*About,"* accessed October 30, 2015, http://www.vmec.com.au/about#!/about, para. 1-2.

[38] Wacquant, "Pointers on Pierre Bourdieu."

[39] Sandercock and Dovey, "Pleasure, politics".

[40] Fran Cusworth, "Engines revved until 2010," *Herald Sun*, August 17, 2000, 9; David Rood, "Facelift at Melbourne Park to keep Open on side," *The Age*, January 18, 2008, 6; Leo Schlink, "Unforced error: Neglected facilities threaten Open," *Herald Sun*, January 18, 2008, 97; Ellen Whinnett and Sam Edmund, "Grand plan for Open: Premier serves notice of mega stadiums upgrade," *Herald Sun*, January 18, 2008, 5.

[41] Schimmel, "Deep play", 160.

[42] Sandercock and Dovey, "Pleasure, politics".

[43] "Cain accuses Opposition," *The Age*, July 4, 1985, 3; Parliament of Victoria, *Parliamentary debates: Legislative Assembly: Official Hansard*, 419, (1994), 413.

[44] Bourdieu, "Rethinking the state"; Wacquant, "Marginality, ethnicity, and penality."

[45] Winter and Brooke, "Urban planning," 270, argue that quango's serve to exclude the public from the decision-making process in Victoria.

[46] Damien Cahill and Sharon Bedner, "Neo-liberal think tanks and neo-liberal restructuring: Learning the lessons from Project Victoria and the privatisation of Victoria's electricity industry," *Social Alternatives, 24*(1) (2005); Mark Lowes, "Neoliberal power politics and the controversial siting of the Australian Grand Prix motorsport event in an urban park," *Society and Leisure, 27*(1) (2004).

[47] The MOPT states its purpose as being "a world class *business* delivering world class experiences" (emphasis added) while the Australian Grand Prix Corporation states its mission as providing "…Melbourne and Victoria with world class international motorsport events that deliver increased promotional and economic benefits to the State of Victoria".MOPT, "Melbourne & Olympic Parks Annual Report 2014," accessed December 18, 2015, http://www.mopt.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/MOP0156-AnnualReport_2013-14_WEB.pdf, 4; AGPC, "*Annual Report 2013-14,*" accessed July 25, 2015 http://www.grandprix.com.au/docs/ 2014/annual-report/AGPC-2014-ANNUAL-REPORT.pdf, 6.

[48] For law changes to allow fast-tracking see Parliament of Victoria, "Victoria: The Next Step"; Lowes, "Neoliberal power politics"; Royce Millar, "Games site project fast-tracked," *The Age*, March 24, 2003, 8; Farrah Tomazin, "No impact study for Parkville site," *The Age*, October 25, 2002, 2; for law changes to limit the effect of protests during the Commonwealth Games see Royce Millar, "Camping, hunting and heckling cut from events program," *The Age, March 13, 2006,* 4.

[49] Silk and Andrews, "The governance of the neoliberal sporting city," 127.

[50] Bourdieu "Neo-liberalism, the Utopia," 102.

[51] Wacquant, "Pointers on Pierre Bourdieu," 8.

[52] Pierre Bourdieu, "The forms of capital." In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by John G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 47.

# Bibliography

Agger, Ben. *Cultural Studies as Critical Theory*. London: The Falmer Press, 1992

AGPC. "*Annual Report 2013-2014*" Accessed July 25, 2015 http://www.grandprix.com.au/docs/2014/annual-report/AGPC-2014-ANNUAL-REPORT.pdf

Biernacki, Patrick and Dan Waldorf. "Snowball sampling: problems and techniques of chain referral sampling." *Sociological Methods & Research 10*(2) (1981): 141-163.

Bourdieu, Pierre. "The forms of capital." In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by John G. Richardson, 241-258. New York: Greenwood Press, 1986.

———, "Rethinking the state: genesis and structure of the bureaucratic field." Translated by Loïc Wacquant and Samar Farage. *Sociological Theory 12*(1) (1994): 1-18.

———, "Neo-liberalism, the Utopia (becoming a reality) of unlimited exploitation." In

*Acts of Resistance: Against the new myths of our time* edited by Pierre Bourdieu, 94-105. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998.

Cahill, Damien and Sharon Bedner. "Neo-liberal think tanks and neo-liberal restructuring: Learning the lessons from Project Victoria and the privatisation of Victoria's electricity industry." *Social Alternatives, 24*(1) (2005): 43-48.

"Cain accuses Opposition." *The Age*, July 4, 1985.

Cashman, Richard and Tom Hickie. "The divergent sporting cultures of Sydney and Melbourne." *Sporting Traditions, 7*(1) (1990): 26-46.

Coakley, Jay. "Ideology doesn't just happen: sports and neoliberalism." *Curitiba, 1*(1) (2011): 67-84.

Coffey, Barbara. "Another opportunity lost? Victorian Labor's enactment of sustainability, 1999-2010." *Australian Journal of Public Administration, 71*(3) (2012): 303-313.

Considine, Mark and Brian Costar. "Introduction." In *Trials in Power: Cain, Kirner and Victoria 1982-1992*, edited by Mark Considine and Brian Costar, 1-10. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1992.

Cusworth, Fran. "Engines revved until 2010." *Herald Sun*, August 17, 2000.

Davison, Graeme. "Welcoming the world: The 1956 Olympic games and the re-presentation of Melbourne." *Australian Historical Studies, 27*(109) (1997): 64-76.

Davidson, Kenneth. "Victoria, the next step is just the first step." *The Age*, April 10, 1984.

Dingle, Tony and Seamus O'Hanlon. "From manufacturing zone to lifestyle precinct: Economic restructuring and social change in inner Melbourne, 1971-2001." *Australian Economic History Review, 49*(1) (2009): 52-69.

Economou, Nicholas. "Jeff Kennett: The larrikin metropolitan." In *The Victorian Premiers, 1856-2006*, edited by Paul Strangio and Brian Costar, 363-381. Sydney: The Federation Press, 2006.

Engels, Benno. "City make-overs: The place marketing of Melbourne during the Kennett years, 1992–99." *Urban Policy and Research, 18*(4) (2000): 469-494.

Forrest, James. "Social impacts of economic restructuring in Australia." *The Australian Quarterly, 67*(2) (1995): 43-54.

Harkness, Alistair. "Triumphant, troubled, then terminal: an examination of the Cain and Kirner decade 30 years on." *Labour History, 105* (2013): 27-46.

Harvey, David. "From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: The transformation in urban governance in late capitalism." *Geografiska Analer, 71*(1) (1989): 3-17.

Hall, Tim and Phil Hubbard. "The entrepreneurial city: new urban politics, new urban geographies?" *Progress in Human Geography, 20*(2) (1996): 153-174.

Hilgers, Mathieu. "The three anthropological approaches to neoliberalism." *International*

*Social Science Journal, 61* (2010): 351-64.

———, "The historicity of the neoliberal state." *Social Anthropology, 20*(1) (2012): 80-94.

Hubbard, Phil. "Urban design and city regeneration: social representation of entrepreneurial landscapes." *Urban Studies, 33*(8) (1996): 1441-1461.

Jessop, Bob. "Putting neoliberalism in its time and place: a response to the debate." *Social Anthropology, 21*(1) (2013): 65-74.

Kroen, Annette and Robin Goodman. "Implementing metropolitan strategies: lessons from Melbourne." *International Planning Studies, 17*(3) (2012): 303-321.

Levine, Marc. "Downtown redevelopment as an urban growth strategy: a critical appraisal of the Baltimore renaissance." *Journal of Urban Affairs, 9*(2) (1987): 103-123.

Lowes, Mark. "Neoliberal power politics and the controversial siting of the Australian Grand Prix motorsport event in an urban park." *Society and Leisure, 27*(1) (2004): 69-88.

MacLeod, Gordon. "From urban entrepreneurialism to a 'revanchist city'? On the spatial injustices of Glasgow's renaissance." *Antipode, 34*(3) (2002): 602-624.

"Melbourne wins top sports city gong." *Victoria Major Events Company*. Last modified April 15, 2014. http://www.tourism.vic.gov.au/component/edocman/?view=document &id= 674&Itemid=0

Millar, Royce. "Games site project fast-tracked." *The Age.* March 24, 2003.

———, "Camping, hunting and heckling cut from events program." *The Age. March 13, 2006.*

MOPT. "Melbourne & Olympic Parks Annual Report 2014." Accessed December 18, 2015. http://www.mopt.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/MOP0156-AnnualReport_2013-14_WEB.pdf

Nabben, Robert. "Opportunity lost? Victorian Labor's enactment of community development 1999-2006." *Australian Journal of Public Administration, 70*(3) (2011): 287-297.

Nadel, Dave and Graeme Ryan. *Sport in Victoria: A History*. Melbourne: Ryan Publishing, 2015.

O'Hanlon, Seamus. "The events city: sport, culture, and the transformation of inner Melbourne, 1977-2006." *Urban History Review, 37*(2) (2009): 30-39.

Ong, Aihwa. *Neoliberalism as exception: mutations in citizenship and sovereignty*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.

Parliament of Victoria. *Victoria: The Next Step: economic initiatives and opportunities for the 1980s.* Melbourne: Government Printer, 1984.

———, *Parliamentary debates: Legislative Assembly: Official Hansard*, 419 (1994): 1-814.

Peck, Jamie and Nik Theodore. "Reanimating neoliberalism: process geographies of neoliberalisation." *Social Anthropology, 20*(2) (2012): 177-185.

Rolfe, Peter. "Melbourne crowned world's sports city of decade". *Herald Sun*. Last modified April 20, 2016. http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/victoria/melbourne-crowned-worlds-sports-city-of-decade/news-story/48c6a20cdea779a410742185a794cfe2

Rood, David. "Facelift at Melbourne Park to keep Open on side." *The Age*, January 18, 2008.

Sandercock, Leonie and Kim Dovey. "Pleasure, politics, and the 'public interest': Melbourne's riverscape revitalization." *Journal of the American Planning Association, 68*(2) (2002): 151-164.

Schimmel, Kimberley S. "Deep play: sports mega-events and urban social conditions in the USA." *The Sociological Review, 54*(s2) (2006): 160-174.

———, "Neoliberal redevelopment, sport infrastructure, and the militarization of U.S. urban terrain." In *Sport and Neoliberalism: Politics, consumption and culture* edited by Michael L. Silk and David L. Andrews, 160-176. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012.

Schlink, Leo. "Unforced error: Neglected facilities threaten Open." *Herald Sun*, January 18, 2008.

Shaw, Kate. "Docklands dreamings: Illusions of sustainability in the Melbourne docks redevelopment." *Urban Studies, 50*(11) (2013): 2158-2177.

Silk, Michael, L. and John Amis. "Sport tourism, cityscapes and cultural politics." *Sport in Society, 8*(2) (2005): 280-301.

Silk, Michael, L. and David, L. Andrews. *Sport and Neoliberalism: Politics, consumption and culture*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012a.

———, "The governance of the neoliberal sporting city." In *Sport and Neoliberalism: Politics, consumption and culture*, edited by Michael L. Silk and David L. Andrews, 127-142. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012b.

Spiller, Marcus. "Social justice and the centralisation of governance in the Australian metropolis: a case study of Melbourne." *Urban Policy and Research, 32*(3) (2014): 361-380.

"Sporting capital welcomes two new clubs." *The Age*, August 5, 2010.

Tomazin, Farrah. "No impact study for Parkville site." *The Age*, October 25, 2002.

VMEC. "*About*". Accessed October 30, 2015, http://www.vmec.com.au/about#!/about

Volker, Eick. "A neoliberal sports event? FIFA from the Estadio Nacional to the fan mile." *City,14*(3) (2010): 278-297.

Wacquant, Loïc. "Pointers on Pierre Bourdieu and democratic politics." *Constellations, 11*(1) (2004): 3-15.

———, "Introduction." In *Pierre Bourdieu and Democratic Politics: The Mystery of Ministry*,

edited by Loic Wacquant, 1-9. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2005.

———, "Crafting the neoliberal state: workfare, prisonfare, and social insecurity." *Sociological Forum, 25*(2) (2010): 197-220.

———, "Three steps to a historical anthropology of actually existing neoliberalism." *Social Anthropology, 20*(1) (2012): 66-79.

———, "*Marginality, ethnicity, and penality in the neoliberal city: an analytical cartography.*" Last modified June 23, 2013, http://loicwacquant.net/assets/Papers/MARGINALITY ETHNICITYPENALITY-Article-ERS.pdf

Winter, Ian and Tracey Brooke. "Urban planning and the entrepreneurial state: the view from Victoria, Australia." *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, 11*(3) (1993): 263-278.

Whinnett, Ellen and Sam Edmund. "Grand plan for Open: Premier serves notice of mega stadiums upgrade". *Herald Sun*, January 18, 2008.