



The juggernaut effect: community resistance and the politics of urban motor-racing events

Patricia Claudette Johnson , Christine Everingham & Phoebe Everingham

To cite this article: Patricia Claudette Johnson , Christine Everingham & Phoebe Everingham (2020): The juggernaut effect: community resistance and the politics of urban motor-racing events, Annals of Leisure Research, DOI: [10.1080/11745398.2020.1818590](https://doi.org/10.1080/11745398.2020.1818590)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/11745398.2020.1818590>



Published online: 01 Oct 2020.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



The juggernaut effect: community resistance and the politics of urban motor-racing events

Patricia Claudette Johnson^a, Christine Everingham^b and Phoebe Everingham^a

^aFaculty of Business and Law, University of Newcastle, Newcastle, Australia; ^bFaculty of Education and Arts, University of Newcastle, Newcastle, Australia

ABSTRACT

Using an investigative research method, this paper explores the neo-liberal paradigm of governance used to stage high-octane urban motor racing events. The discussion details the tactics used by Supercars Australia to anticipate and manage resistance from the impacted community through a process we term the 'juggernaut effect'. This study of the Newcastle 500 Supercar race in Newcastle, NSW found information tightly controlled by a Public/Private Partnership, which swept aside due democratic process to privilege the interests of a private corporation over community. The 'juggernaut effect' shows how power was manifested through boosterism, brinkmanship and secrecy. This paper investigates 'why' and 'how' due process is so frequently absent in event contexts. In so doing, it questions broader assumptions about the touted benefits of these events and challenges the ethics of entrepreneurial governance where government agencies may employ a marketing mandate to corrupt ethical considerations and the public's expectations of due process.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 13 January 2020

Accepted 25 August 2020

KEYWORDS

Brinkmanship; juggernaut effect; neo-liberalism; community resistance; urban motor-racing events; investigative research

Introduction

Major motor racing events staged in urban areas have much in common with mega events in terms of placemaking, high government investment, media attention and public spectacle. Cities become famous for these events, with the Formula 1 industry well known for fuelling high stakes bidding wars between those vying for the trade (Lefebvre and Roul 2011). Motor racing events are notorious in creating controversy. They are said to promote a destination's image and boost tourism, yet this claim has proved difficult to measure (Storm, Jakobsen, and Nielson 2020). Host cities claim to use these events strategically for competitive advantage (Hall 2006), urban (re)development (Lowe 2002, 2004), city re-branding, marketing power (Black and Van der Westhuizen 2010), and a number of other functions (Getz 2012). Significant public funds are used to support a city's 'festive ambitions ... through creating F1 urban spaces' (Tranter and Keefe 2001; Smith 2015). However event researchers have drawn attention to the promoters' elusive claims (Tranter and Keefe 2001; Lowe 2002, 2004; Henderson et al. 2010; Smith 2015; Gogishvili 2017; Storm, Jakobsen, and Nielson 2020) finding that many of the promotional benefits

fail to be supported by evidence, and independent economic evaluations have consistently shown their estimated economic benefits have been inflated.

Cost benefit analyses carried out in government audit offices in Australia and New Zealand have publicly exposed repeated budget blowouts, largely because governments receive inadequate advice and fail to follow proper procedure in investing public funds (ACT 2002; Achterstraat 2010; Audit New Zealand 2012). The value of their tourism legacy has also been disputed by researchers (Abelson 2011; Tranter and Lowes 2009; Storm, Jakobsen, and Nielson 2020), while issues concerning the priority given to development growth over human welfare have been raised (Hall 2006). Serious concerns have arisen about the role of host governments in staging events where benefits are disproportionately shared within governance frameworks that push democratic procedures aside to ensure benefits privilege corporate interests. Roults' (2020:np) systematic literature review of Formula 1 events found that ...

In some cases, there is a more or less glaring discrepancy between the aims of certain local political and economic elites and the aspirations of local populations. There is a risk that the project may be abandoned or create forms of exclusion or stigmatization for certain communities.

A central plank of democratic governance and due process is consultation – the involvement in planning decisions by those most directly impacted. Tranter and Lowes (2009, 157) noted with regard to the Canberra V8 Supercars event, there was 'almost complete absence of due process' in the planning of this event, ensuring that those most impacted had minimal to no voice in the planning stages. Similarly, Higgins-Desbiolles (2018, 74) found that within state-imposed major events, 'one is hard pressed to discern the local community and their interests, whereas it is much easier to identify the event goer and the event planners and managers'. These are questions of structure and agency, and this paper moves the conversation along by investigating the 'why' and 'how' due process is so frequently absent in event contexts.

More specifically, how and why are those most impacted by motor racing events excluded from the planning process? What tactics are used by the promoters to limit and manage contestation and what avenues are open for community resistance? These are the questions that guide this study of the Supercars *Newcastle 500* in Newcastle, New South Wales (NSW), an event governed by a public/private partnership between Supercars Australia and Destination NSW, a statutory state destination management organization. We position Supercars *Newcastle 500* within the broader context of neoliberalism and the entrepreneurial state (Lowes 2002, 2004; Hall 2006; Tranter and Lowes 2009; Smith 2015; Dredge and Whitford 2011; Mackellar and Reis 2014; Henderson et al. 2010) and conceptualize a process we term the 'juggernaut effect' to show how power, manifested through boosterist discourse and the tactic of brinkmanship, was experienced by those directly impacted. Just as Duignan et al's (2019, 364) research into community resistance at the London 2012 Olympics explains how '... locals were caught on the defensive and could only respond reactively', so too was the local community in Newcastle East. Proactivity was curtailed through secrecy, while planning forged ahead without local community participation. Supercars rolled into Newcastle like a juggernaut, escalating the temporal dimensions of due process, so that residents and critics were always on the back foot.

This article investigates the political processes behind staging this event to explain how community resistance was controlled and managed in the Newcastle 500 event context. It develops the ‘juggernaut effect’ as a political strategy built upon the conceptual scaffold of boosterism and brinkmanship – tactics that put the juggernaut in motion. It is divided into the following sections. The literature review informs our understanding of how legislation governing motor racing events and circulating discursive frameworks are used to manage community resistance. A methodology section follows, with results of the study organized around a discussion of the politics of place. We argue that community division was deepened and constrained through a boosterism discursive framework. Our discussion here connects with current theorizing on the entrepreneurial state to reveal how opportunities for resistance through sites of contestation and advocacy *within* the state were inhibited by the centralization of power and the ability of the Supercars/Destination NSW partnership to control the flow of information. The conclusion points to the significance of understanding the temporal dimension in the staging of the *Newcastle 500*, which ensured that the interests of the promoters and their sponsors were prioritized, and community contestation remained reactive.

Lowes statement that (2018, 212) ‘civic leaders are often relentless in their pursuit of these sport mega events’ epitomized the case in Newcastle. Despite these challenges, the local community mobilized and resisted, bringing residents together in a cohesive force to share their experiences and pursue and publicize information. While not successful in moving the race, they did raise greater public awareness about the lack of transparency in government dealings and left an unintended legacy in the form of a knowledge repository. Our development of the juggernaut effect as a conceptual tool to explain how community resistance was anticipated and managed may also help explain the management of community resistance in other event contexts.

Literature review

‘Boosterism’ provides a discursive framework which promotes events in the context of economic growth and ‘trickle down’ economics. Framing events in this way means they are too often accepted as ‘positive opportunities’ and remain uncontested by the general public (Higgins-Desbiolles 2018). Along with legislative support, government financial investment in these events is justified within such a framework. Politicians embrace ‘civic jingoism’ to create hype about events, leveraging (re)development projects (Hall 2006; Oliver 2017), where the infrastructure funding required for the event is incorporated into the state’s budget to engineer outcomes such as urban renewal (Poynter and Viehoff 2016). As Getz (2009) explains, the worth is not about tangible benefits that are actually realized, but the meanings (values) that people make of them.

Indeed, boosterism has received much scholarly attention over a number of years, particularly evident in place making, where cities and regions aim to transform themselves from ‘places of production to places of play’ (Lew 2001, 247) and ‘perceived growth centres’ (Whitson and Macintosh 1993, 221). While event hallmarking works to build a city’s brand image, Roul (2020) found motor-racing events a way to fast-track the process. Discourse using event-related terminology is framed as urban development. Events are expected to ‘inject’ or ‘turbo-charge’ the economy and international exposure is said to grow tourism and attract investment. Economic impact methodologies, which

focus on how events boost tourism expenditure, are favoured rather than cost/benefit analysis for the very reason that costs can be downplayed, if mentioned at all, and benefits inflated, or 'boosted', using multipliers long since discarded by many economists (Mair and Whitford 2013). Boosterism in this paper is positioned as an essential component of the 'juggernaut effect' and works as a trigger that supports the shaky scaffolding of 'brinkmanship'.

Critical tourism scholars have long drawn attention to the brinkmanship involved in 'winning' major events. Promoters commonly take advantage of competition between cities vying for events by threatening to take the event to another city/state if the government fails to meet their terms, thus using this strategy to extract subsidies and financial concessions (Whitson and Macintosh 1993; Hall 2006; Waitt 2001). In return, attracting major league sports franchises and other entertainment events are symbolic of a city's success on the world stage. Bidding wars create an atmosphere of intense competition, with secrecy and timing crucial. Brinkmanship forces a city's hand by emphasizing the competitive advantage of 'winning' with the benefit of boosting civic pride through place marketing.

In this way the political and economic processes that function in the interests of business and political elites are legitimized and reinforced. Indeed, brinkmanship holds serious implications for democratic governance because government decision making is rushed and checks and balance protocols sidestepped (Dredge and Whitford 2011).

Civic boosterism helps explain why challenges from independent economists using cost/benefit analyses so often fail to influence public opinion around these events. As Burns and Mule (1986, 26) found with the Australian GP held in Adelaide, people may perceive 'psychic benefits' from such events that contradict how the rational person may act. Intangible and unrealized benefits of perceived public good and spectacle outweighs the negative impacts particular individuals may experience (see also Getz 2009). The language of 'economic injection' bleeds into the event's promotional material which promises that tourism and investment opportunities will follow. Within this framework, individuals who are opposed to the event are framed as 'selfish' in relation to the 'greater good' (Lowe 2002). As Roullet (2020, 9) explains, the intense competition that exists in the securing of these events forces 'the creation of certain speculative clusters that are not at all based on real financial return on these investments'.

Indeed, Storm, Jakobsen, and Nielson (2020) show that public support depends less on the realization of the economic benefits extolled than the place marketing potential. This is particularly the case in places perceived to be in need of re-imaging. Henderson et al's (2010) study of the inaugural F1 event in Singapore showed that despite the cost the public were positive, largely because of the event's ability to generate 'pride of place'. Most important was the belief that the global reach in the marketing of the event would change Singapore's image from austere and overregulated to a 'livelier and more glamorous image of the nation' (Henderson et al. 2010, 66). The more recent F1 host governments in Abu Dhabi, Bahrain, China, India and Singapore also used the events as place marketing initiatives (Henderson et al. 2010), including the latest addition to the F1 circuit, Vietnam (Nguyen 2018).

While motor racing events held on permanent purpose-built circuits are less controversial, temporary circuits through urban areas are often hotly contested by the residents affected because of the imposition on their everyday life and the ways in which they

restrict the public's access to social spaces. As Gogishvili (2017) found in the Baku F1 event, motor racing events are the most 'exclusionary' events of all because of their extensive infrastructure requirements and the time required to install and remove them. Yet the planning for these events goes ahead with little to no community involvement (Lowes 2002, 2004) in a context that Higgins-Desbiolles (2018) describes as 'event imposition'.

Since these events commodify public roads and parklands, local community resistance is predictable. Residents and small businesses in the circuit vicinity suffer access problems and disruptions over extended periods. In Australia, special legislation is used as a strategic tactic to remove legal obstacles that might give voice to protesting communities (Lowes 2004; Dredge and Whitford 2011). Mark Lowes (2004, 77) branded the Grands Prix Act, governing the Formula 1 in Melbourne's Albert Park, as 'dangerous' and 'draconian' since it overturned Albert Park's local draft plan of management which had been drawn up with extensive community consultation. It exempted the event from other Acts of Parliament, local planning controls and environmental ordinances such as pollution and planning controls. This new plan of management privileged the corporate interests of 'a coalition of elites' over those of the community (Lowes 2004, 73).

Special legislation with similar impacts on local and environmental planning procedures has also been adopted by other Australian states. V8 Supercars has held championship series events in a number of Australian states with urban races in Bathurst, Adelaide, Canberra, Townsville, Gold Coast, Homebush and Newcastle. All have been governed by legislation specific to the event, over-riding existing local planning and environmental legislation. The requirement for promoters to submit development applications is negated, thus locking out public debate. Dredge and Whitford (2011, 486) noted how the intention behind the speedily passed NSW *Motor Sports (World Rally Championship Bill) 2009* was to avoid public scrutiny:

Requirements for the DA process and associated public consultation were clearly outlined in legislation, and local councillors expected that they would have an opportunity to engage the public in debate ... However ... it was not long before special legislation was introduced to exempt the rally organiser from these requirements.

This research focuses on the staging of the *Newcastle 500* to examine the political interplay between the bodies staging the event and the impacted community. The discursive boosterism framework justified duplicitous entrepreneurial governance practices which privileged the interests of Supercars Australia over the rights of citizens. This was made possible by the special legislation governing the event and the level of secrecy involved in the public/private partnership agreements which governed the event. Boosterism set the stage, brinkmanship inhibited due diligence and information was tightly controlled until it was too late for community contestation to be successful, or indeed, for government agencies concerned with health and safety to influence major planning decisions. The 'juggernaut effect' describes this overall strategy, which enabled Supercars to override public consultation and manage possible sites of resistance

Method: investigating the Newcastle 500

Studies focusing on major motor racing events are often in the form of a case study, which have clear spatial and temporal boundaries (Baade and Matheson 1999 [Daytona]; Tranter

and Keefee 2004 [Canberra]; Davidson 2013 [Sydney]; Lefebvre and Roulton 2011, 2013 [Montreal, Abu Dhabi]; Gogishvili 2017 [Baku]; Mackellar and Reis 2014 [northern NSW]; Henderson et al. 2010 [Singapore]). Case studies are used to gain a holistic understanding of a set of issues and how they relate to a subject (individual, group or other). For example, Smith's (2019) case study of Formula E racing in Battersea Park revealed a range of underlying issues that formed the broader public debate about the hosting of the event and the commercialization of public space. As Roulton (2020) found in his systematic literature review of Formula 1 events, it is common for authors to adopt a geographically situated case study approach. While this study focuses on a geographically situated place, it departs from the case study approach by exploring a particular problem with an investigative research methodology. According to Yin (2009), theory development prior to data collection is essential in a case study whereas investigative research operates with a 'looser conceptual scaffold' which is 'a cluster of concepts revisable in the light of ongoing data collection' (Layder 2018, 46).

Investigative research (IR) 'marries evidenced based explanations of social behaviour with distinctive strategies of data collection' and involves (Layder 2018, 2):

.. a central puzzle or incident which needs to be resolved or cleared up, a search for clues, the collection of evidence, the identification of key individuals ... and a chain of reasoning that ties these elements together and explains the initial puzzle of incident.

This method holds an emphasis on exploration, description and explanation within a defined context. There is a determined starting point, research questions are not 'rigidly determined in advance' but may shift according to what the evidence reveals. IR is open to possible outcomes 'regardless of the amount of previous research on the area or problem' (Layder 2018, 3). This method is well suited to social analysis to resolve questions relating to structure and agency in social behaviour.

IR maintains a flexible research design and helps to develop a 'conceptual scaffold' which provides an explanation of the social behaviour under investigation (Layder 2018, 19). This research does not attempt to 'balance' the debate of whether or not motor racing events should or should not occur, and nor does it position different sides of the argument. With IR there is a determined starting point and then 'research follows an exploratory and investigative trajectory... incoming data is filtered and analysed, forcing the initial assumptions to adapt to what the data reveal' (Layder 2018, 19). Contextual resources are crucial to IR, these resources become the staging point for a focus on:

... the ways in which social behaviour is shaped and influenced by cultural values, expectations and institutions, media, class income and life chances, gender, ethnicity, politics, neighbourhood and region.

In keeping with the parameters of IR, this research is informed by contextual resources to develop an explanation for the social behaviour behind it. The broad questions guiding this research became grounded by a concern with structure and agency in a defined context:

1. How and why are those most impacted by motor racing events excluded from the planning process?
2. What tactics are used by the promoters to limit and manage contestation and what avenues are open for community resistance?

With these questions acting as a focus, secondary data was gathered from industry reports, online and print media (newspaper, radio and social media), legal and government documents relating to the event and public information supplied by Supercars Australia (SA) in print and on their website (Supercars's FAST FACT sheets were also posted on City of Newcastle website). Media sources included *ABC Radio Newcastle*, the *Newcastle Herald*, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Central Coast Advocate*, and the *Gold Coast Bulletin*. Data were selected in terms of their relevance to the race from 2017 to 2019. Historical information about Supercars in the mainstream media and internet motor-racing sites was also consulted.

Data was also supplied by the Newcastle East Residents Group (NERG) in the form of written documents including information received under the *Government Information Public Access Act* (GIPA) of 2009 and through the *NSW Civil and Administrative Tribunal* (NCAT) when information was refused through GIPA. The cited reasons for refusal were commercial-in-confidence and the potential to undermine the function of DNSW. Information sought by NERG was persistent and on-going, targeting the three main players:

1. The NSW State Government through Destination NSW (DNSW).
2. Supercars Australia Pty Ltd (SA), in a public/private partnership (PPP) with DNSW.
3. The City of Newcastle (CN). Although the CN claimed in press releases to be in a 'partnership' with DNSW and SA, GIPA material revealed there was no formal partnership with either party. Rather, CN was assigned as SA's Services Provider.

Information gained through GIPA was included on a website, <https://wrongtracknsw.com>, developed by NERG initially to distribute copies of Everingham and Doyle's (2019) book, *Wrong Track: What Drove Supercars to Newcastle*. This publication was the outcome of feedback from residents who wanted their experience of the event documented and the political machinations behind the event publicized. NERG members further developed the website as a repository for supporting information to be readily accessible to students and researchers interested in major events. It contains all the GIPA information and reports referenced in this paper and is updated with GIPA material as it is received. In sum, the data gathered through the course of this research are all in the public domain with the exception of one resident who provided us with permission to use his correspondence. This email was not personal but related to legislation and the consequences of the Act.

Primary data were also gathered from participant observation. The quote from John Whiting explains the position of the researchers 'An observer is under the bed. A participant observer is in it' (Guest, Namey, and Mitchell 2013, 78). Participant observation is an objective and interactive research method used for exploratory and explanatory research. Two authors live inside the circuit and were necessarily participant observers, acting as what Guest, Namey, and Mitchell (2013, 89) position as 'highly participatory' as 'co-worker, member, teammate'. As per IR research, there is a starting point and these authors were drawn into the community resistance that grew up around NERG, and the activities of the families caught up inside the circuit and watched events unfold from the 'inside', within the 'immediate arena in which everyday situated activity takes place' (Layder 2018, 15). One researcher was on the executive of NERG and part of a larger V8 email group which was formed specifically to provide a communication channel within

the broader community concerned about the impact of the event. Information was dia-
rized, and emails circulated as the main method of communication, expressing the senti-
ments of residents and businesses impacted. Information received by residents from their
correspondence with the government agencies was also shared.

Background to the race

The inaugural *V8 Newcastle 500* was announced in September 2016 (Parris 2016). Newcas-
tle, the second oldest city in Australia, offered a panoramic coastal circuit in a regional
location two hours north of Sydney (See Figure 1).

The circuit was located in a heritage conservation area, Newcastle East, requiring exten-
sive and permanent changes to the heritage streetscape and parklands. The event was
made possible through the *Motor Racing (Sydney and Newcastle) Act 2019* four months
after the announcement of the race.

The Act allowed DNSW, in public/private partnership with SA, to assume complete
control over the planning, development and execution of civil construction as well as
the regulation of civic matters in Newcastle and its surrounding suburbs (declared race
zones) during all stages of the event. Initially the race zone publicized was in Newcastle
East, subsequently further race zones were declared in the harbourside suburbs of Carring-
ton and Stockton. In accordance with other special legislation for motor racing events, the
Act transferred 'complete power to DNSW to approve the details of this race' (McGowan
2017) and from the outset DNSW confirmed that SA 'would not have to seek approval from

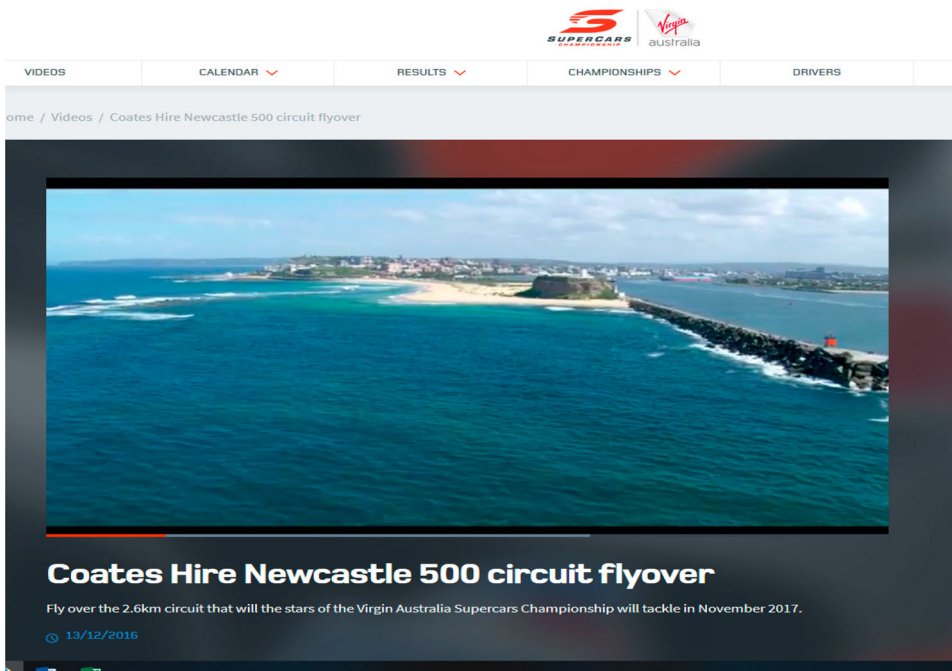


Figure 1. Supercars Website with 2016 flyover video of the 2017 Newcastle 500 circuit. Access website through <https://www.supercars.com/videos/championship/coates-hire-newcastle-500-circuit-flyover/>.

Newcastle City Council for roadworks or track infrastructure' (Parris 2016) or restrictions set upon other declared areas.

The location of the event is unprecedented in Australia. Fifty percent of the circuit is lined with homes and businesses, enclosing over 2000 residents including four department of housing complexes. This is a diverse community with a wide range of demographics from young families to the elderly and medically vulnerable. In other Australian cities that host such events there are significantly fewer residential homes affected. See Figure 2 for a comparison.

With the density of residential homes on and inside the circuit, there was bound to be health and safety concerns, with some dwellings a mere 3–4 metres from the track. Heritage streets would have to be widened and a new road built through the State Heritage listed Coal River Precinct. Access issues for the CBD and local parks and beaches were also likely to arise. Undeterred, SA chose this location because of its downtown, scenic value and visual appeal. Stunning views of the coastline and headlands were promised to a digital audience. The extent of the Newcastle 500 race circuit can be seen in Figure 3.

The event forged a new relationship between residents and CN by creating a lockdown, fenced barrier around the race zone, making it difficult for residents to move with ease around their neighbourhood. Although alternative parking was promised on

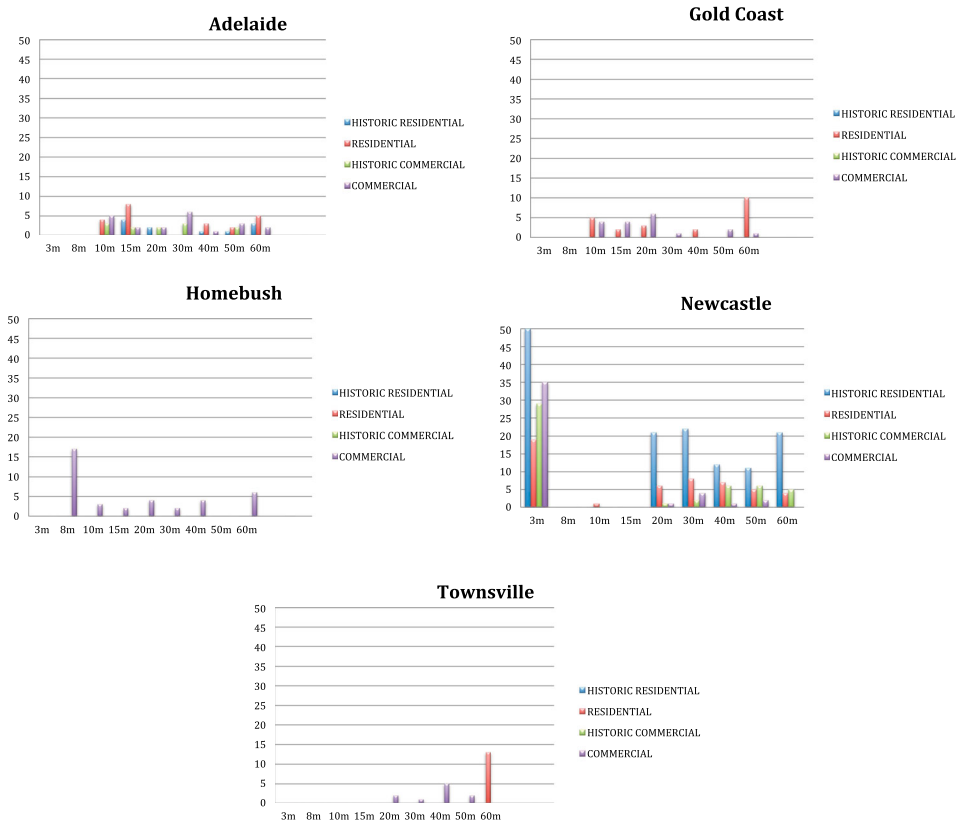


Figure 2. Comparison of urban street circuits for major racing events. (Graphs supplied by NERG, wrongtracksw.com).



Figure 3. Resident Information Plan *Coates Hire Newcastle 500* (2017).

the other side of the event zone, it was only available to those who agreed to become ‘accredited’. Accreditation effectively turned many citizens into unwilling consumers since all residents needed race tickets to enter and leave the zone for the 3-day event period. SA issued a limited number of tickets to residents which restricted the number of guests and family members they were allowed during the event. All free tickets issued to residents, whether or not they were wanted or used, were counted in the official attendance figures (23,988 in 2017) as were the free tickets given to racing teams, guests, media, school children, licensed caterers and merchandizers and volunteers. These free tickets accounted for 58.2% of Supercars official attendance figures in 2017 (GIPA DNSWGA 57).

The politics of place: developing the ‘Juggernaut effect’

This section is divided into three parts to explain the progression of the ‘juggernaut effect’. The first explains how boosterism discourses created a cultural divide which polarized community attitudes and constrained the voices of the protesters within a defensive mode. The discussion that follows explains how brinkmanship and secrecy developed an environment within which decision making was rushed to benefit the interests of SA. We connect this to the ‘juggernaut effect’, an unstoppable force that lacked transparency, bypassed public consultation and inhibited government accountability. Long standing environmental, social and development controls that formed the local government contract with the residents were abandoned. Once the juggernaut was in place, race zones transformed community space into zones with governance in the hands of SA.

Boosterism drives a cultural divide

The heralding of the Supercars *Newcastle 500* was firmly located within the boosterism discursive framework. The Newcastle public was influenced by the place-making pitches of SA, DNSW and CN, evidenced through the hype generated in digital and print media. In the context of Newcastle as a regional city undergoing an extended de-industrialisation process, the physical, symbolic and institutional redevelopment has required substantive repositioning of place image to attract new investment. The closure of the BHP works in 1999, for example, led CN to pursue post-industrial imagery through rebranding and consumption-based economic activities, with 'a new, more marketable place-image to drive the neo-liberal shift towards entrepreneurial governance' (Dunn and McGuirk 1999, 20).

Situated within this context of 'rebranding' of Newcastle, DNSW assured the public that, 'With such a huge influx of visitors, we are very confident the *Newcastle 500* will be great for Newcastle's hotels, restaurants and businesses' (Parris 2016). Media releases derived from SA's FAST FACTS repeatedly reinforced the idea through messages such as 'Driving Home the Advantages for Newcastle' which promised the city would be exposed to a global television audience of 220 million, 'worth tens of millions of dollars each year' (City of Newcastle 2017b, np). CN distributed this information on their website confusing the notion of the total *reach* of the Foxtel network worldwide with the *actual* viewing of the event – while promising even more:

It will be an opportunity to showcase the city and what it has to offer to a potential global television audience of *more than* 220 million people (City of Newcastle 2017b).

Strong government support was expressed by NSW premier, Mike Baird, who responded to residents' complaints with, '... let me tell you they can rent their places out for a fortune' (Kelly 2016). The NSW Minister for Major Events reported that

The race is expected to turbocharge the local economy by attracting approximately 81,000 visitors over the next five years, set to inject \$57 million in visitor expenditure (Kelly 2016).

While the figures politicians and government agencies spruiked appeared as verifiable facts, they were actually derived directly from Supercars' own *estimations* of spectator attendances at past events (GIPA DNSW GA38). A Green's party counsellor described the \$57 m revenue figure as 'a 'back-of-the-envelope' calculation because organizers did not release 'their working behind the sum' (Zhou 2017). These figures were reproduced in the literature distributed to the public in SA's FAST FACTS information sheets posted on the CN website and repeated in speeches in NSW parliament in support of the *Motor Racing (Sydney and Newcastle) Act* (2017). Later evidence obtained by NERG revealed SA's attendance calculations were a gross exaggeration (Parris 2018c). DNSW's 'visitor uplift' figures were also exposed as duplicitous (Parris 2019). Regardless of the truth, it did not prevent the on-going promotion of Supercars own attendance figures as the 'official' count by both DNSW and CN in 2018 and 2019.

The boosterism discursive framework, set the stage for how the *Newcastle 500* was understood by the broader Newcastle public. Statements made by politicians were misleading and allowed the concerns of those directly impacted (the local residents) to be seen as trivial and selfish. A deep and bitter cultural divide was created in the Newcastle community which framed the voices of the protesters. The *Newcastle Herald* journalist,

Michael Parris (2017a) saw a cultural division in action during the preparation for the inaugural event. He described the siting of the Supercars track as being:

... another battleground in the sometimes bitter ideological battle between preservation and progress in Newcastle.

... it's hard to ignore the cultural chasm between the 'bogan revheads' and the 'elitist whingers', to borrow the rough-and-tumble vocabulary of social media. And it's hard to imagine a more striking confluence of these cultures than running Supercars through Parnell Place.

The enthusiasm for the *Newcastle 500* event was stirred up by the showcase effect. People expressed pride in their city being displayed to the world and opposition as potentially undermining the interests of the city. The promoters successfully conjured images of Newcastle as the 'Monaco' of the south, a city with an affluent, glamorous and enviable, lifestyle. Discourses in this vein provided Supercars fans the context to respond to letters and opinion pieces written by concerned residents. Fans were wildly excited about 'winning' the East Enders' turf, while residents were left trying to respond to the claim they were privileged and being selfish – as the following commentary to Parris' (2017a) article above, reveal:

Fans

Get over yourself ... you may own your own house but not the street, or the beaches for that matter.

They should all stop being so selfish. It's one weekend for god's sake. Think of the whole community and surrounding areas not just yourselves.

Residents

It's not an elitists' area. Ten or 20 years ago it had a reputation as a bit rough, run down, dirty. There are three aged care facilities in the East end and a large social housing facility. A lot of the original residents still live there and are working class.

We've been quite conscious of saying we don't have a problem with racing, it just doesn't belong in a residential area. My husband is a racer from a long time ago. He's interested in the race, just not a race that's right outside his door.

A hip-hop video by Rob Bukey (2017) described by the local media (ABC radio) as 'hilarious', called on Newcastle people 'to stop whingeing':

What's with all this V8 hate, mate

Let me get this straight

The only thing louder than the V8s is your complaining

Newcastle Herald journalist, Jeff Corbett (2017) supported the fan hostility to objecting residents when he penned his opinion piece 'Supercars and why they are being precious in the east end':

The fact is that the V8 Supercars weekend will be a huge promotion for Newcastle and the Hunter, probably the biggest promotion of our region ever. Just as Surfest has helped post-BHP Newcastle find its new mojo, so will the Supercars And where better for such an event than our coastline, than around the harbour and beaches, than in a part of the city

that belongs to all Novocastrians, not to just those who confuse being privileged with being precious.

The vitriol against the protesting Newcastle East Enders hit a low with actual threats against business owners complaining about the impact of the event. This was picked up and reported by the (now defunct) *Newcastle Sunday* reporting on death threats: 'The threats of violence and damage to reputations through social media have increased to a level that many inner-city shopkeepers say they are now too frightened to speak publicly about the event'. While Newcastle became a city divided, concerned residents scrambled to find someone in authority to take their grievances to, other than Supercars. However, it soon became apparent there was no government authority able to act as the community's advocate as the juggernaut effect took hold.

Brinkmanship and secrecy: avoiding possible contestation

Brinkmanship operates successfully in Australia because of the 'inter-state bidding wars', a term that describes the competitive atmosphere that exists inside state parliaments to 'win' events from other states (Banks 2002), thus increasing the political capital of supporters. The tactic accelerates decision-making, using the threat of withdrawal to place decision-makers under pressure to forego due diligence. It played an important role in getting political support for the event at Homebush and for the re-negotiation of the deal after the five-year contract expired. The Premier of NSW, despite being against the event at Homebush when in opposition, was won over by Supercars' threat to take the event to Queensland when he came to power (Achterstraat 2010, 11; Clennell 2008). Brinkmanship also played a significant role in the event moving to Newcastle.

After the event left Homebush, it was expected to be hosted by Gosford, on the NSW Central Coast. When the council was amalgamated into the Central Coast Council in 2016, the administrator rejected the proposal as there was no information available, 'there was just one file note and a letter to the V8 Supercars people ... that was it. I'd ideally like six months to do up this proposal, to engage with the community and develop a business case, but we don't have that time now' (Taylor 2016). A new city had to be found – and quickly. Less than 2 months later, Newcastle's elected councillors signed up.

Brinkmanship helps to explain why Newcastle councillors agreed to SA's proposal so quickly. The minutes from a meeting between NERG members and the lord mayor (2 Dec 2016) reveal the following exchange:

Council admitted they had no clear understanding of exactly what agreement they had entered into with Supercars Australia. [The lord mayor] conceded the process had been rushed ... they had no choice because they had to put in a bid to get the event (NERG correspondence).

The justification for accepting DNSW's approach to host the *Newcastle 500* was based only on the economic impact statements provided by DNSW, along with two newspaper clippings (Phelps 2016a, 2016b) to be used for 'comparable purposes' (GIPA DNSWGA38). The articles referred to a deal being done between the Queensland government and SA, with SA declaring it would take the event to another state if the Queensland government didn't meet their demands swiftly. As the Newcastle lord mayor noted, the speedy decision they made was completely uninformed.

Besides brinkmanship, the juggernaut effect also involves tactics which ensure secrecy. Information may be withheld or delayed when requested by other government agencies if considered a possible source of contestation. For example, CN councillors signed away the funds for the costs of the necessary road works *before* the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) (between CN, DNSW and SA) was signed (CN minutes 14 Mar 2017), a document which explains the respective roles and responsibilities of each of the parties involved. At the same council meeting, all councillors had voted to sign the MoU *before* committing the funds (CN minutes 14 March 2017). However, in an exercise of brinkmanship, the Director of Infrastructure told the councillors that Supercars would take the event elsewhere if funds weren't allocated that evening.

Secrecy may be more overt. SA anticipated public protest over the operating costs CN was expected to pay towards this event and acted early to ensure that no-one, including the elected councillors, would discover what these services and costs actually were. A *Services Deed* was quietly signed by the CN's acting CEO and SA in Dec 2016. It listed two pages of on-going services council was to provide for possibly 10 years, yet a confidentiality clause in the deed specified *not even the elected councillors* were to know of the existence of the deed. The deed itself only become publicly available after NERG persisted in pursuing the information to a final court appeal by the NSW Civil and Administration Tribunal (NCAT) but even then, the costs of the services were redacted (Parris 2018a).

The importance of timing is a central element of the juggernaut effect. It helps to explain how the SA/DNSW partnership prevented public discussion about the possible impact of the event before preparations were well under way. While developments of any consequence require development applications (DA) to be put on public display, the promoters were able to avoid releasing any information and sidestep the DA process because of the provisions of the *Motor Racing (Sydney and Newcastle) Act*. It was not until after the work started to proceed – or indeed until the first event had actually been staged – that many of those impacted were able to fully understand what the Act had actually achieved. As one resident informed the V8 email group:

The majority of premises in Newcastle East were zoned under the Northumberland County District Planning Scheme Ordinance of 1960 as 'residential'. The subsequent Newcastle Local Environmental Plans have preserved this zoning through the years until the present. In the NSW Land and Environment Court, a Local Environmental Plan is classified and regularly referred to as a contract between the government and the public. In the residential zone, activities of a pollutive nature (air and noise) are specifically prohibited, meaning that residents can be assured that these activities cannot be allowed or approved on or adjacent to their premises ... The approval of the Supercar event through the residential precinct of Newcastle East is a clear breach of the contract which provided the assurances contained within the Newcastle LEP. (NERG correspondence)

By the time the Act was passed in February 2017, the Supercars juggernaut was almost ready to sell tickets. On 29 April 2017, without any plans for the construction of the circuit released to the public, Supercars held a 'Fun Day' in the Foreshore Park, which reportedly sold over 10,000 non-refundable tickets (Fellner 2017). Work on the circuit began in June 2017 without the required approval from the NSW Office of Heritage and Environment. According to state heritage legislation, before starting work SA was required to submit an *Interim Landscape Rehabilitation Plan* that required approval from the Manager of the Heritage Division based on the advice of an expert approvals

subcommittee. However, DNSW, as the authority for the event, did not intervene to stop the unlawful work, despite NERG notifying them and the Office of Heritage and the Environment on 5 June 2017 (NERG Correspondence 18 July 2017).

The rules had changed, the public contract suspended, and no one had informed the public of the likely impacts of this event. It appeared to NERG members that there was no government agency with the power to contest SA's actions or act as an advocate on behalf of those likely to be impacted, despite the active role played by the NSW government in driving the event to Newcastle.

The entrepreneurial state: obstructing contestation from within

Many commentators have acknowledged the active role the state plays in event promotion and management by using the label of the entrepreneurial state to capture both the neo-liberal emphasis on economic growth and the harnessing of state power as a central instrument to facilitate development. However, as Lauermaun (2016, 313) observed, the involvement of the state also makes it possible for diverse groups of academics, policy makers and activists to contest its decisions. When the event was moved to Newcastle in 2017, this potential for dissent and negative publicity was tightly controlled through the centralization of these diverse interest groups. DNSW became the sole authority governing the event under the Motor Racing Act. NERG protested there was a conflict of interest in DNSW's dual role as facilitator and authority, particularly since DNSW was in a partnership with the promoter. Confidence in the independence of DNSW and the agency's willingness to act on behalf of the community was further shaken when residents' concerns were met with the automated reply of 'contact Supercars' by DNSW. For example, a resident contacted DNSW to complain about the damage done to his heritage listed building during the construction work, which should not have happened if the contactors had followed DNSW's conditions of approval. Clause (68) stated, 'The use of any plant and machinery should not cause vibrations in excess of the relevant NSW guidelines and Australian standards on any premises'. This resident had vibration monitoring done by a professional group which found vibration levels had been well exceeded. Nevertheless, DNSW replied:

We have noted your concerns and raised these points with Supercars Australia, specifically referencing your concerns regarding façade damage arising from planned road works. All complaints/claims of damage should be made in writing to Supercars. (NERG correspondence, 18 September 2017)

Even the Minister for Major Events, Adam Marshall, directed residents to contact Supercars or look up the Supercars website when he responded to a resident's concerns about damage being done to public parks:

I also refer to the questions around trees and note that a fact sheet [put together by Supercars] is available which provides valuable information in regard to replanting and can be found here: (Adam Marshall, Minister Ref IM17/24849)

The concentration of decision-making in the hands of a single government agency also made it difficult for other government agencies to respond to residents' concerns, despite the NSW government claiming all agencies with an interest in the event would be able to 'work together'. In response to requests for information from NSW Health,

July 6th 2017 (File PA 18/49, Doc no. 18/995), the NSW government assured the Health department that DNSW would implement the following governance structure:

The governance structure consists of numerous working groups tasked with identifying the specific requirements of the event, considering the impacts of these on the community and planning and managing responses Planning meetings commenced in October 2016 and will continue regularly until the event, taking into consideration information presented by relevant stakeholders including the community. NSW Health has been represented at these forums since inception.

Yet, by late October, one month prior to the inaugural event, NSW Health was still seeking information from DNSW on behalf of residents (File PA 18/49, Doc no. 18/995), having received a letter signed by 85 Newcastle medical practitioners, expressing grave concerns about the impact of noise and access issues on the vulnerable residents enclosed by the circuit. The letter pointed out that mitigation measures proposed by Supercars would not be applicable to the most vulnerable residents. Greens party councillor, Michael Osborne, had told his fellow councillors:

The noise levels we are looking at are 95 decibels in people's living rooms, which is the pain threshold ... Within about 15 min we expect exposure at these levels to cause some kind of damage to hearing ... It causes a sort of stress response in the human body. You're closer to the track than spectators are. This is a part of Newcastle that was built before there were cars, so people's homes open right onto the street. They're closer than where you'd allow a marshal or a pitstop (Zhou 2017).

GIPA information (File PA 18/49, Doc no. 18/995) revealed that these concerns were passed on to DNSW by NSW Health on the 24th Oct 2017. The lengthy response from DNSW, received by NSW Health on the 26th of Oct 2017, did not accept that the doctors' concerns had any merit, nor did DNSW believe there was any need to inform the public, or indeed NSW Health, of the detail underpinning the modelling of Supercars noise management plans that they requested. NSW Health's requests were effectively sidestepped, undermining their key mandate to 'regulate public health threats under the Public Health Act; and promote safe behaviours' (NSW Health 2019). The GIPA email train received by NERG reveals NSW Health had as much trouble accessing information as the residents.

A GIPA from Safework NSW (File No: PA18/49, Doc No: G18/320) also shows the extent to which important information concerning public health and safety requested by the NSW Department of Health and Safework was delayed until it was too late for these government agencies to influence decisions. When information was finally received, it lacked the detail requested. For example, Safework NSW commissioned a peer review of Supercars noise management strategy but this was unavailable until too late to be shared amongst other agencies as requested. The peer reviewer contained the following comment, which may well have prevented the event being staged so near people's homes if it had been undertaken before work commenced on the circuit:

We are quite alarmed that the C-weighted peak sound level may (or will) exceed 140 dB(C). Page 9 of the Noise Management Plan states the commonly accepted view that any exposure above this peak may cause almost instant damage to hearing. Yet, later on, the Noise Management Plan predicts that the peak may exceed this dangerous level at a number of properties in Zaara St, Scott St and Watt St, reaching up to 150 dB(C) and then appears comfortable with controlling such levels with personal hearing protectors (earplugs).

This peer review was redacted in the first round of information received by NERG and only released by Safework following NERG's intention to take the matter to NCAT. It was received by NERG nearly *two years* after the first event had been staged, highlighting the tight control of the flow of information within and between government departments – a feature of the juggernaut effect.

Governing space: event zone configuration

As in the spatial organization of the Olympic event zone noted by Giulianotti et al. (2015), the *Motor Racing Act* allowed SA to construct the barricaded area of the event in a way that advantaged Supercars sponsors and licensed caterers at the expense of local businesses. McGillivray, Duignan, and Mielke (2019) discuss how promoters of mega events segment the city into zones that enable efficient movement by spectators from one zone to another. The movement of spectators is governed by 'official merchandise stores, sponsor activation sites, and official sport venues', encouraging the entry of spectators into official zones to spend money (McGillivray, Duignan, and Mielke 2019, 11). Event organizers have the power to control not only the space but also the gaze of the spectators to generate additional expenditure. This includes making some spaces or products invisible while highlighting 'sites of exclusive, multinational corporate entities invited to leverage global event visitor economies' (McGillivray, Duignan, and Mielke 2019, 4). While not as extensive as the Olympic event zone, nevertheless, the *Newcastle 500* 2017, 2018 and 2019 events were able to funnel spectators in a way that advantaged the catering and merchandizing outlets brought in by Supercars. The barricaded area was adjacent to the CBD and connected by temporary bridges ensuring that all catering needs were provided for within the compound. These 'strategies of containment' (McGillivray, Duignan, and Mielke 2019) encouraged spectators to spend as much time and money as possible within the event precinct.

While trickle down economic benefits were promised by DNSW (Parris 2016), only selected businesses actually profited during each event. Local media reported the economic impact of the event on local businesses as 'a tale of two cities' (Parris 2018b). Cafes lining or close to the track managed to attract customers to a greater or lesser degree, alcohol outlets within the race zone profited from the event as did accommodation suppliers (Parris 2017b). However, as reported in the survey of businesses done by NERG (Supercars Business Impact Research 2018, www.wrongtracknsw.com), even those that did well during the 2017 event, had difficulty making up for the business lost during the construction and bump-in and bump-out phases of the event. Many professional businesses and non-hospitality businesses closed for the event because of access issues, as these responses to NERG's survey illustrate: 'Not only did my clients have difficulty reaching the business, in particular during the week before and after the supercars event, so too did my staff.:'; 'I also chose to close the business as the noise would make the practice of law impossible. I therefore also met the cost of leave for 9 staff members'. Many businesses reported losing their usual clients, in the phenomenon that Matheson (2006) calls 'crowding out': 'Had to go out of town for 3–4 months [during the construction work] and spent money elsewhere'; 'Took money out of Newcastle to escape'.

The spatial configuration of the event zone also impacted on the longer-term re-zoning of the whole of the Newcastle East peninsula. As McGillivray, Duignan, and Mielke (2019, 6) note, a temporary mega sports event introduces new measures, which over time become

embedded in the planning documents of host cities. Precedents are set under the guise of being an 'exception', or a 'temporary' measure intended to maximize the benefits for the public good. The *Motor Racing Act* set such a precedent for CN's planning codes. The Act overrode the 24-month planning period stipulated in the recent release of the *Newcastle City Council Events Plan 2016–2019*. A key pillar of CN's event plan was to build community engagement and balance the impacts events have on communities (City of Newcastle 2017c).

CN's planning was also impacted with respect to its heritage policy. CN's strongly worded *Heritage Strategy 2013–2017* (City of Newcastle 2014) promised to protect and conserve the integrity of its heritage places, to preserve them from being undermined by inappropriate use. It acknowledged that unsympathetic development could undermine 'the fabric, aesthetics and meaning of heritage places' (City of Newcastle 2014, 16). During the track construction work, the rustic heritage streets of Newcastle East were widened and reshaped, some original sandstone curbing removed and replaced with concrete, and the streetscape significantly degraded with many street trees removed (Everingham and Doyle 2019). A new road was built through the state heritage listed Coal River Precinct and over 170 trees and shrubs were lost from the city's parklands (City of Newcastle 2017a). These actions were taken despite the CN's planning documents that place the responsibility for local heritage in local government jurisdiction through environmental planning instruments, regulatory services and community engagement activities.

Still, a number of those who responded to NERG's business survey felt that even though they were negatively impacted by the event, they still supported the event because they believed it was good for the city:

It's great for the City as a WHOLE and the event was something that the WHOLE city can be proud of. The televised result was beyond anything that the best tourism dollars could provide, and I have had many compliments from interstate and overseas friends about the beauty of the City from the images spread across the Globe. I had to close my office for the day as did my wife, yet we still paid staff. I viewed this as a consequence of the greater benefit for an event that benefited the City - so yes it did cost me but a cost I was happy to bear. (NERG Supercars Business Impact Research 2018)

While media coverage of the 2017 inaugural event was overwhelmingly positive, over the course of the next 2 years reportage was not always as favourable. The *Newcastle Herald* published information NERG received through GIPA about the secret deals done by SA (Parris 2018a) and information concerning a large discrepancy in SA's compilation of official attendance figures (Parris 2018c). In 2019, the *Newcastle Herald* (Parris 2019) reported on Dr Janet Aisbett's (wrongtracknsw.com) highly critical independent analysis of the Economic Impact report commissioned by CN, which questioned CN's compilation of the visitor uplift.

Conclusion

The inclusion of the local community and elected councillors in the early planning of this event would have involved disclosing information that would have provided openings for public discussion and contestation. There is a well-developed modus operandi for staging these events which ensures the flow of information is controlled until it is too late for protest to be anything other than reactive. The stage is set by releasing inflated

benefits claims, utilizing well-rehearsed boosterism discourses which win over the public and locate the event in the interests of the city as a whole. Protesters are placed in a defensive position, while planning streaks ahead, sweeping aside what should be expected from a democratic government: transparency, equal opportunity, trust and the due diligence that upholds citizen rights.

This study shows how the power invested in statutory organizations such as DNSW to carry out their marketing mandate can corrupt these expectations of good governance. As the discussion above clearly states, this paper does not stand alone in critiquing entrepreneurial governance practices in the context of major motor racing events in urban spaces. The political machinations behind these events in Australia have become streamlined through special legislation and tactics which anticipate and constrain public protest and oversight from government authorities outside the PPP. Indeed, the staging of the Newcastle 500 involved a process where misleading and deliberately deceptive benefit claims substituted for validated information and public discussion.

The image of a juggernaut developed in this paper raises questions about the possibility of successfully contesting these events. Lauermaun's (2016) optimistic view of the trends influencing the mega-event industry highlights the tensions that now exist in cities competing for the Olympics which do provide opportunities for contestation. He cites the professionalization of the agencies involved, the success of critics in drawing attention to the legitimacy of the state's intervention and the rise of anti-bid social movements, such as the No Boston Olympics (Dempsey and Zimbalist 2017) – all of which have resulted in the mega-event industry undergoing a period of substantive restructuring. However, the 25 year history of the F1 in Melbourne's Albert Park, and our study shows that the promoters of these events have been very successful in developing techniques which anticipate and avoid these possible sites of contestation. Their ability to do this has been greatly enhanced by the secrecy made possible by the rise of public/private partnerships which provide governments with the opportunity to withhold information from the public on the basis of commercial sensitivity. It is within this broader political context that the juggernaut effect materializes.

The staging of the *Newcastle 500* in such an inappropriate location did provoke resistance and counter narratives. Lack of transparency held the most weight in public debates, with the public particularly concerned about the withholding of costs. The lack of access to public leisure spaces also provoked public comment. While the strong community resistance in Newcastle East was not successful in moving the race, it did bring the community together and promoted public discussion about proper democratic process and the use of public land by private corporations. It also left an unlikely legacy – a knowledge repository in the form of NERG's wrong track website where information can be readily accessed by researchers and other communities impacted by invasive events. If they are to be successfully challenged and restructured, a collated repository of information is a necessary first step.

The persistent pursuit of information by NERG revealed the need for greater government transparency in promoting tourism more broadly. GIPA information acquired by NERG challenged broader assumptions underlying the boosterist discourses: that the benefits of visitor expenditure exceed costs and 'trickle down' for everyone's benefit. In assessing the tourism benefits of major events, these 'trickle down' benefits are simply assumed, and too little consideration is given by governments to the net triple bottom

line impacts. Greater transparency about the inputs (both tangible and intangible) in event-led tourism would help promote public discussion about whether the benefits spruiked by the promoters *were* likely to flow on to the local community and contribute to social and environmental sustainability as claimed. Clearly, transparency is not in the interests of promoters whose claims are not possible to validate. The juggernaut effect may well be a useful conceptual tool to explain how promoters avoid proper public scrutiny in the interests of private corporations across other major event contexts.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributors

Dr Patricia Claudette Johnson is an academic in Tourism and Marketing at the University of Newcastle, Newcastle Business School, Australia. Patricia engages an inter-disciplinary and post-disciplinary approach to her core research focus on advancing theory on cosmopolitanism, worldmaking and cultural literacy in tourism research. Further research focuses include analysing tourism media, cultural tourism, tourism policy making and Chinese outbound tourism.

Dr Christine Everingham is a retired academic, actively involved in the local community. As a lecturer in Sociology at the University of Newcastle, Wollongong University and Macquarie University she is published widely, her books include *Motherhood and Modernity* (1994) and *Social Justice and the Politics of Community* (2003). In 2016 she took up her pen once again to write *Wrong Track: What Drove Supercars to Newcastle* to record the experiences of the local community and the politics driving the event.

Dr Phoebe Everingham is a multidisciplinary/ interdisciplinary ECR who works across several departments, including Human Geography, Sociology/Anthropology, Education and Management at the University of Newcastle, NSW Australia.

References

- Abelson, P. 2011. "Evaluating Major Events and Avoiding the Mercantilist Fallacy." *The Economic Society of Australia* 30 (1): 48–59.
- Achterstraat, P. 2010. *Auditor-General's Report Performance Audit: Government Investment in V8 Supercar Races at Sydney Olympic Park*. NSW Audit Office. Accessed 10 October 2018. <https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/la/papers/Pages/tailed-paper-details.aspx?pk=50189>.
- ACT. 2002. *V8 Car Races in Canberra – Costs and Benefits*. Auditor-General's Office 2002 Performance Audit Report. Accessed 1 May 2020. http://www.audit.act.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0018/1205721/Report-No-5-2002-V8-Car-Races-in-Canberra-Costs-and-Benefits.pdf.
- Audit New Zealand. 2012. *Hamilton V8 Supercars*. Accessed 30 October 2019. <https://auditnz.govt.nz/assurance-services/case-studies/hamilton-v8-supercars>.
- Baade, R., and V. Matheson. 1999. "High Octane? Grading the Economic Impact of the Daytona 500." *Marquette Sport Legal Journal*. HeinOnline. Accessed 6 January 2020. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/mqslr10&div=30&id=&page=>.
- Banks, G. 2002. *Inter-State Bidding Wars: Calling a Truce*. Speech to the committee from Economic Development of Australia, Brisbane, 6th Nov. Accessed 30 October 2019. <http://www.pc.gov.au/news-media/speeches/cs20021106/cs20021106.pdf>.
- Black, D., and J. Van der Westhuizen. 2010. "The Allure of Global Games for 'Semi-Peripheral' Polities and Spaces: A Research Agenda." *Third World Quarterly* 25 (7): 1195–1214.

- Bukey, R. 2017. *Newcastle, stop whingeing*. Accessed 4 May 2020. <https://www.bing.com/videos/search?q=Rob+Bukey+newcastle+youtube&docid=608036625735026110&mid=FCCF91FF0A2BE756C8C9FCCF91FF0A2BE756C8C9&view=detail&FORM=VIRE>.
- Burns, J. P. A., and T. J. Mule. 1986. *A Framework for the Analysis of Major Special Events. Chapter 1 in The Adelaide Grand Prix: The Impact of a Special Event*. Adelaide: Hyde Park Press.
- City of Newcastle. 2014. *Heritage Strategy 2013–2017*. Accessed 29 April 2020. https://newcastle.nsw.gov.au/Newcastle/media/Documents/Strategies,%20Plans%20and%20Policies/Strategies/Heritage_Strategy_2013_2017.pdf.
- City of Newcastle. 2017a. "More Shade and Parking on Foreshore." Accessed 29 April 2020. <https://newcastle.nsw.gov.au/Council/News/Latest-News/2,000-per-cent-increase-in-shade-canopy-of>.
- City of Newcastle. 2017b. "Eight in 10 Hunter Residents see benefits in Supercars Newcastle 500." Accessed 4 May 2020. <https://newcastle.nsw.gov.au/Council/News/Latest-News/Eight-in-10-Hunter-residents-see-benefits-in-Super>.
- City of Newcastle. 2017c. "Events Plan 2016–2019." Accessed 6 May 2020. https://newcastle.nsw.gov.au/getmedia/e2bdd99a-a7cb-458f-b833-91ff84bb612b/2355-Events-Plan-2016-19-WEB_v2.aspx.
- Clennell, A. 2008. "Why the V8 Supercars will be Taxpayer-injected." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 September. Accessed 1 May 2020. <https://www.smh.com.au/national/why-the-v8-supercars-will-be-taxpayer-injected-20080930-gdswws.html>.
- Corbett, J. 2017. "Supercars and why they are being Precious in the East End." *Newcastle Herald*, 10 September. Accessed 10 September 2017. <https://www.newcastleherald.com.au/story/4911883/supercars-and-the-precious-east-end/>.
- Davidson, M. 2013. "The Sustainable and Entrepreneurial Park? Contradictions and Persistent Antagonisms at Sydney's Olympic Park." *Urban Geography* 34 (5): 657–676.
- Dempsey, C., and A. Zimbalist. 2017. *No Boston Olympics*. ForeEdge: University of New England Press.
- Dredge, D., and M. Whitford. 2011. "Event Tourism Governance and the Public Sphere." *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 19 (4–5): 479–499.
- Duignan, M., I. Pappalepore, and S. Everett. 2019. "The 'Summer of Discontent': Exclusion and Communal Resistance at the 2012 London Olympics." *Tourism Management* 70: 355–369.
- Dunn, K., and P. McGuirk. 1999. "Hallmark Events." In *Staging the Olympics: The Event and Its Impact*, edited by R. Cashman, and A. Hughes, 18–32. Sydney, Australia: UNSW Press.
- Everingham, C., and T. Doyle. 2019. *Wrong Track. What drove Supercars to Newcastle*. <http://wrongtracknsw.com>.
- Fellner, C. 2017. "10,000 Turn out to Supercars Community Fun Day at Foreshore Park." *Newcastle Herald*, May 1. Accessed 1 May 2017. <https://www.newcastleherald.com.au/story/4629704/supercars-turnout-unprecedented/>.
- Getz, D. 2009. "Policy for Sustainable and Responsible Festivals and Events: Institutionalization of a new Paradigm." *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events* 1 (1): 61–78.
- Getz, D. 2012. "Event Studies: Discourses and Future Directions." *Event Management* 16 (2): 171–187.
- Giulianotti, R., G. Armstrong, G. Hales, and D. Hobbs. 2015. "Global Sport Mega-Events and the Politics of Mobility: the Case of the London 2012 Olympics." *British Journal of Sociology* 66 (1): 118–140.
- Gogishvili, D. 2017. "The Eventful Turn: Baku and Mega-Event Led Urban Changes." Accessed 23 April 2020. <http://ge.boell.org/en/2017/04/2017/eventful-turn-baku-and-mega-event-led-changes>.
- Guest, G., E. E. Namey, and M. L. Mitchell. 2013. "Participant Observation." *Collecting Qualitative Data: A manual for applied research*. Sage Research Methods.
- Hall, C. M. 2006. "Urban Entrepreneurship, Corporate Interests and Sports Mega-Events: the Thin Policies of Competitiveness Within the Hard Outcomes of Neoliberalism." *Sociological Review* 54 (2): 59–69.
- Henderson, J., K. Foo, H. Lim, and S. Yip. 2010. "Sports Events and Tourism: The Singapore Formula One Grand Prix." *International Journal of Event and Festival Management* 1 (1): 60–73.
- Higgins-Desbiolles, F. 2018. "Event Tourism and Event Imposition: A Critical Case Study From Kangaroo Island, South Australia." *Tourism Management* 64: 73–86.
- Kelly, M. 2016. "New Newcastle Supercar Circuit Showcases City's Coastline." *Newcastle Herald*. 13 Dec. Accessed 13 December 2016 <https://www.newcastleherald.com.au/story/4351366/new-race-circuit-for-newcastle-500-supercars-video/>.

- Lauermann, J. 2016. "URBAN PULSE Boston's Olympic bid and the Evolving Urban Politics of Event-led Development." *Urban Geographies* 37 (2): 313–321.
- Layder, D. 2018. *Investigative Research Theory and Practice*. Melbourne: Sage.
- Lefebvre, S., and R. Roul. 2011. "Formula One's new Urban Economies." *Cities* 28: 330–339.
- Lefebvre, S., and R. Roul. 2013. "Territorial and Touristic Branding: Urban History and the Festive and Economic Perspectives of Montreal's Formula One Grand Prix." *Society and Leisure* 36 (1): 43–59.
- Lew, A. 2001. "Place Promotion, Boosterism and Tourism." *Tourism Geographies* 3 (3): 247–248.
- Lowes, M. 2002. *Indy Dreams and Urban Nightmares: Sped Merchants, Spectacle, and the Struggle Over Public Space in the World Class City*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Lowes, M. 2004. "Neoliberal Power Politics and the Controversial Siting of the Australian Grand Prix Motorsport Event in an Urban Park." *Society and Leisure* 27 (1): 69–88.
- Lowes, M. 2018. "Toward a Conceptual Understanding of Formula One Motorsport and Local Cosmopolitanism Discourse in Urban Placemaking Strategies." *Communication and Sport* 6 (2): 203–218.
- Mackellar, J., and A. Reis. 2014. "World Rally Championships 2009 and 2011: Assessing the Tourism Value in Australia." *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 20 (1): 17–28.
- Mair, J., and M. Whitford. 2013. "An Exploration of Events Research: Event Topics, Themes and Emerging Trends." *International Journal of Event and Festival Management* 4 (1): 6–30.
- Matheson, V. 2006. "Economic Impact Analysis." In *Handbook on the Economics of Sport*, edited by W. Andreff, and S. Szymanski, 137–142. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- McGillivray, D., M. Duignan, and E. Mielke. 2019. "Mega Sports Events and Spatial Management: Zoning Space across Rio's 2016 Olympic City." *Annals of Leisure Research*. doi:10.1080/11745398.2019.1607509.
- McGowan, M. 2017. "Newcastle Supercars Legislation Passes through NSW Parliament | Poll." *Newcastle Herald*. 22 Feb. Accessed 9 October 2018. <http://www.theherald.com.au/story/4485646/supercars-bill-gets-the-green-light/>.
- Nguyen, D. C. 2018. "Vietnam to host Formula 1 Grand Prix from 2020." Accessed 29 April 2020. <https://www.formula1.com/en/latest/article.vietnam-to-host-formula-1-grand-prix-from-2020.5GwYIGbr56A0GCycMuUM0G.html>.
- NSW Health. 2019. "Noise from Public Events." Accessed 4 May 2020. <https://www.health.nsw.gov.au/environment/factsheets/Factsheets/noise-from-public-events.pdf>.
- Oliver, R. 2017. "Sport Mega Event Planning in Toronto: From a Democratic Demand to a Democratic Demise." *The Canadian Geographer* 61 (2): 292–299.
- Parris, M. 2016. "Newcastle Supercars: Destination NSW all Revved up for Race." *Newcastle Herald*, 21 Nov. Accessed 22 November 2016. <https://www.newcastleherald.com.au/story/4306109/tourism-body-all-revved-up-for-newcastle-supercars-i-photos-video/>.
- Parris, M. 2017a. "Newcastle Supercars on a Collision Course with Residents." *Newcastle Herald*. 17 Mar. Accessed 18 March 2017. <https://www.newcastleherald.com.au/story/4534092/supercars-on-collision-course-with-residents-maps-photos/>.
- Parris, M. 2017b. "Supercars Warns Newcastle Hotels to Lower Rates." *Newcastle Herald*, 9 Oct. Accessed 10 October 2017. <https://www.newcastleherald.com.au/story/4975369/supercars-warns-against-hotel-price-gouging/>.
- Parris, M. 2018a. "Secret Supercars services Deed Shows Newcastle City Council's Obligations Piling Up." *Newcastle Herald*, 24 Aug. Accessed 24 August 2018. <https://www.newcastleherald.com.au/story/5604344/secret-services-deed-shows-newcastle-city-councils-supercars-obligations-piling-up/>.
- Parris, M. 2018b. "Newcastle 500: Pubs soak up Supercars business, but others not so lucky." *Newcastle Herald*, 23 Nov. Accessed 23 November 2018. <https://www.newcastleherald.com.au/story/5774568/pubs-soak-up-supercars-business-but-others-not-so-lucky/>.
- Parris, M. 2018c. "Newcastle 500: Newcastle City Council-commissioned Cost-benefit Report at Odds with Supercars' 2017 Crowd Figure." *Newcastle Herald*, 16 Nov. Accessed 16 November 2018. <https://www.newcastleherald.com.au/story/5759554/newcastle-council-commissioned-report-at-odds-with-supercars-crowd-figure/>.

- Parris, M. 2019. "University Expert Questions Crowd, Spending Figures in Newcastle Supercars Report." *Newcastle Herald*, 31 Aug. Accessed 31 August 2019. <https://www.newcastleherald.com.au/story/6315925/university-expert-questions-crowd-spending-figures-in-newcastle-supercars-report/>.
- Phelps, J. 2016a. "Supercars could quit Queensland for NSW if Townsville and Gold Coast deals not offered." *Daily Telegraph*, 24 June. Accessed 25 June 2017. <https://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/sport/motor-sport/supercars-could-quit-queensland-for-nsw-if-townsville-and-gold-coast-deals-not-offered/news-story/f58d4a2985451c64999877ee60f28dfc>.
- Phelps, J. 2016b. "Supercars Threat to Leave Gold Coast if new deal not Offered by Government." *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 25 June. Accessed 30 February 2017. <https://www.goldcoastbulletin.com.au/sport/gold-coast-600/supercars-threat-to-leave-gold-coast-if-new-deal-not-offered-by-government/news-story/fd89d8a6c9e19358eb7a630444e047d3>.
- Poynter, G., and V. Viehoff. 2016. *Mega-event Cities: Urban Legacies of Global Sports Events*. London: Routledge.
- Roult, R. 2020. "Formula 1, City and Tourism: a Research Theme Analysed on the Basis of a Systematic Literature Review." *International Journal of Tourism Cities*. doi:10.1108/IJTC-02-2020-0025.
- Smith, A. 2015. *Events in the City: Using Public Spaces as Event Venues*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, A. 2019. "Justifying and Resisting Public Park Commercialisation: The Battle for Battersea Park." *European Urban and Regional Studies* 26 (2): 171–185.
- Storm, R., G. Jakobsen, and C. G. Nielson. 2020. "The Impact of Formula 1 on Regional Economies in Europe." *Regional Studies* 54 (6): 827–837.
- Taylor, M. 2016. "New Council Determined to Stage V8 Supercars Series Finale from 2017." *Central Coast Gosford Express Advocate* (May 26). Accessed 16 June 2017. <https://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/newslocal/central-coast/new-council-determined-to-stage-v8-supercars-series-finale-from-2017/news-story/ddbd06ffcf92f6828b5597831a9b0d04>.
- Tranter, P., and T. Keefe. 2001. "Canberra's V8 supercars Race: Sending the right signals for road safety." Accessed 23 March 2020. https://www.australasiantransportresearchforum.org.au/sites/default/files/2001_Tranter_Keefe.pdf.
- Tranter, P., and T. Keefe. 2004. "Motor Racing in Australia's Parliamentary Zone: Successful Event Tourism or the Emperor's New Clothes?" *Urban Policy and Research* 22 (2): 169–187.
- Tranter, P., and M. Lowes. 2009. "Life in the Fast Lane: Environmental, Economic and Public Health Outcomes of Motorsport Spectacles in Australia." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 33 (2): 150–168.
- Waite, G. 2001. "The Olympic Spirit and Civic Boosterism: The Sydney 2000 Olympics." *Tourism Geographies* 3 (3): 249–278.
- Whitson, D., and D. Macintosh. 1993. "Becoming a World-Class City: Hallmark Events and Sport Franchises in the Growth Strategies of Western Canadian Cities." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 10: 221–240.
- Yin, R. 2009. *Case Study Research Design and Methods*. 4th ed. London: Sage.
- Zhou, N. 2017. "We Essentially Live Inside a Racetrack': Supercars Race Leaves Newcastle Residents Fuming." *The Guardian*. 2 Sept. Accessed 5 May 2020. <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2017/sep/02/we-essentially-live-inside-a-racetrack-supercars-race-leaves-newcastle-residents-fuming>.