



How Urban Spaces Remember: Memory and Transformation at Two Expo Sites

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International Expos can leave long-lasting imprints on host cities. The production and evolution of legacy public spaces from these events deserve scholarly attention. Case studies were conducted at two former expo sites in the US and Australia, focusing on the role of retention, reuse, heritage, and parks conservation in the evolution of public spaces. In preparation for Hemisfair '68, in San Antonio, Texas, conservationists saved 22 historic buildings out of hundreds demolished. Although only a small proportion of buildings were preserved, preservationists challenged a modernist urban renewal plan and the design became a precedent for incorporating heritage conservation in modern urban design. Today, the Hemisfair site is subject to new redevelopment plans. Calls to preserve remaining modernist pavilions challenge New Urbanist visions for the site. In a second case study, an industrial district was cleared and a working-class neighbourhood transformed for Expo '88, in Brisbane, Queensland. The site was later redeveloped into the South Bank Parklands. Over time, South Bank evolved through redevelopment and master planning, public outcry, and instances of conservation in and around the expo site. Common to both cases is the conservation of parks, heritage, and artwork, outcomes of individual and collective actions to shape urban landscapes.

Keywords: Expos, Mega-events, World's fairs, Heritage Conservation, Parkland, San Antonio, Brisbane, Historic Preservation, Collective Memory

Introduction

International expos, or world's fairs, have restructured and transformed urban spaces in host cities around the world. Former expo sites' large urban footprints, which include parks, waterfronts, civic centres, and urban precincts, represent revolutionary innovations in planning, design, and urban development. Former expo sites are also reservoirs of social memory.¹ For those who have experienced an expo first hand, there can be a deep personal connection remaining from the experience. For others, who visit a former expo site only after the event is over, meanings are crafted in interaction with what remains and how it is interpreted, as well as with the spaces that have been remade.² The leftover civic centres, precincts, and parks are often the site of shifting coalitions of public, private, and non-profit actors who seek to shape the meanings and uses of these places over time. In addition, many of these sites experience the ebbs and flows of attention and investment.

In this paper, sites in San Antonio, Texas in the USA and Brisbane, Queensland in Australia are examined as case studies of urban transformation at former mega-event sites. A focus of this research is on the role of retention, reuse, and conservation in their evolution. At Hemisfair '68 in San Antonio and Expo '88 in Brisbane, event organisers aimed to generate revenue; tout the benefits of their city as a place to live, visit, and invest; and to restructure urban space. The stages for these events were urban neighbourhoods deemed aged and blighted, on the edge of central business districts and prominent waterfronts. In both cities, on roughly equivalent areas of urban land, hundreds of buildings were levelled, and residents and businesses expelled, to make way for the expos. At both sites, a limited number of older buildings remained and were incorporated into expo site designs. Decades later, reverberations of redevelopment continue to ferment at the parklands and convention centres of each city.

While there has been historical scholarship into both expo sites, previous studies do not specifically address the conservation of buildings, structures, and artwork as aspects of the continuing evolution of the site. A main premise of this paper is that scholarship about mega-event sites should pay attention to acts of reinvestment and retention, which are often overlooked as elements of urban management. Furthermore, vignettes reveal the roles of individual actors, as well as organizations and political coalitions operating with a range of 'conservation logics,' and their mixed success.

Expo Sites and the Evolution of Urban Space

Expos often leave lasting physical imprints on host cities, but they are not static imprints. They evolve over time. The longer historical phenomenon of continuous evolution is examined only to a limited extent in existing literature.³ Historical scholarship has most often focused on the planning for and execution of the events and on



their social and cultural history. This scholarship most often concentrates on a window of time tightly bound to the origins of expositions and their immediate after effects.

Roche (2017) includes among the built legacies of mega-events not only iconic architecture, but also the site design, infrastructure, ordinary buildings, and landscape architecture from the events. He notes that mega-events leave not only a “space-filling” legacy, but also one that is “space creating.”⁴ Mega-events often result in new parklands, plazas, waterfront promenades, and civic centres. Gold and Gold (2005) write of the use of mega-events in ‘place promotion,’ and “strategies to rebrand and regenerate blighted areas.”⁵ They connect this to “urban entrepreneurialism in which the interests of the municipality and the private sector, particularly the business community converge in the act of ‘selling’ the city.”⁶ This entrepreneurial reshaping of urban space does not end immediately after the creation of a mega-event site, nor is it only new construction that plays an important role.

The retention of buildings, artwork, and parklands after a mega-event can also be indicative of collective action in the production of urban spaces. The aims of these acts of conservation can vary from entrepreneurial, market-based attempts to spur reinvestment and revalorisation of places to grassroots efforts that use conservation to resist redevelopment and commercialisation. Koziol (2003) has developed a framework for understanding preservation discourse. On one axis, the motives of an actor to preserve an object are oriented toward social associations versus the specific physical attributes of the object. On another axis, preservation is associated to a greater or lesser degree toward the market.⁷ While this framework is limited, it shows promise in articulating conservation logics. Thus the careful study of acts of conservation and their underlying logics can provide valuable information about how places are materially constructed and constituted over time and economic and social forces and power relations.

Case Study Sites

Hemisfair and South Bank are two former expo sites near to or within the central business district of each respective city. As described in Table 1, the original expo sites were roughly the same size, at 39 and 40 hectares respectively. They are both examples of restructuring older neighbourhoods into event space. Today, both sites include a mix of public parklands, convention centres, and commercial, civic, cultural and nongovernmental uses.⁸

Table 1: Comparison of sites

	Hemisfair (San Antonio)	South Bank (Brisbane)
Physical site during expo	39 hectares (96 acres)	40 hectares (99 acres)
Physical size of site at present	Dedicated parkland 19.2 acres Total site is equivalent to South Bank Parklands – Approximately 38.85 ha or 96 acres. Some sources indicate 92 acres (including parkland)	Parklands only: 17.5 hectares (43.24 acres) Parklands figure does not include the Convention Centre site or lands that have been redeveloped for mixed use development.

Hemisfair: Heritage and Destruction in Construction of the 1968 World’s fair

Hemisfair ‘68 was the first international expo held in the U.S. South. Its theme celebrated the confluence of North and South American cultures, which was an expression of Pan-Americanism and a local identities rooted in Spanish Colonial and Mexican cultural heritage re-packaged to appeal to tourists.⁹ By the 1950s, local business leaders had begun to dream of a world’s fair that would create a new civic centre, while elevating San Antonio’s reputation. When federal urban renewal funds were slated to demolish the Germantown neighbourhood in the mid-1960s for the fair, architect O’Neil Ford and the San Antonio Conservation Society, a local heritage organisation, rallied to protect trees and what were deemed the most historic of buildings from the neighbourhood.¹⁰ The Conservation Society embarked on an effort to save 200 structures identified as historic. Ultimately, only 22 buildings were preserved. Demolition of the neighbourhood would remove 2,239 residences and 686 businesses, forcing 1,600 people to move (see figure 1).¹¹ Twenty-four streets would be removed or realigned to create a consolidated site to stage the world’s fair.¹² Figure 2 below shows the Hemisfair site under construction. The extent of demolition can be seen along with trees and buildings that were preserved on site. Most of the preserved buildings housed restaurants in the concessions area of the world’s fair. In addition, fair plans preserved a portion of the Acequia Madre, a channel constructed in the 1720s to convey water to a nearby mission. The incorporation



of these historic buildings and landscapes were praised among architectural critics; although architectural critic Ada Louise Huxtable, also lamented that more had not been preserved.¹³



Figure 1: *Land area covered by HemisFair 1968.* Courtesy of University of Texas San Antonio Libraries Special Collections. [San Antonio: 1962]



Figure 2: *Aerial view of the HemisFair construction site.* Courtesy of University of Texas San Antonio Libraries Special Collections. [San Antonio: c. 1967]

New pavilions and plazas were constructed for Hemisfair '68 in modern architectural styles. Some of these survive to this day. The Tower of the Americas is a 190 meter (622 foot) structure and it remains a primary tourist destination in downtown San Antonio.¹⁴ A \$7.5 million United States Pavilion was constructed comprised of two buildings - Confluence Theatre and the Exhibit Pavilion. The Migration Plaza linked the two buildings and was intended to express a celebratory message about the cultural heritage of Texas emerging from the confluence of people of different races, ethnicities, and cultures. The entire complex was repurposed as a federal courthouse and judicial training centre a few years after the fair. The Institute of Texan Cultures was also designed to be a permanent structure and museum about Texas' ethnic, racial and cultural groups and it was retained after the fair. A Woman's Pavilion is also a fair era survivor on site.¹⁵ The ensemble of modern architectural buildings – some of them still used and others neglected and in near ruin, reflect ambivalence about how to best remember and utilize the built legacy of Hemisfair.



Questions of Preservation and Erasure Post Event

Not long after Hemisfair '68, several factors led to a state of dormancy on the former world's fair grounds.¹⁶ There were many subsequent schemes to revive what was largely perceived as a dead zone adjacent to San Antonio's most vibrant tourist area. According to one count there were more than 12 plans conceived.¹⁷ In 1988, the site was renamed HemisFair Park. While the site included a convention centre, and there were important governmental agencies, cultural institutions and nongovernmental organisations that operated on the site, city officials have often bemoaned its lack of vitality.

In 2009, the San Antonio City Council established the Hemisfair Park Area Redevelopment Corporation (HPARC), a non-profit local government corporation to manage redevelopment of the site.¹⁸ HPARC undertook a major master planning effort in 2011. The plan involved reopening streets and the creation of three new or substantially changed parks on the site.¹⁹ The Plan allocated the land under the U.S. Pavilion complex and Institute of Texas Cultures, as places for New Urbanism-inspired redevelopment with new mixed use development.

News of the Master Plan's quiet elimination of the former US Pavilion buildings and the Institute of Texas Cultures on future land use maps began to circulate among preservation advocates. The Mid Tex Mod chapter of Docomomo US, an organisation dedicated to the documentation and conservation of the modern movement, organized a local tour highlighting the modern architecture and artwork of Hemisfair.²⁰ In 2016, the Confluence Theatre was listed by the state-wide nongovernmental organisation Preservation Texas, as one of the 14 most endangered buildings in the state. That same year, the Texas Historical Commission, a state agency, determined that a portion of the Hemisfair site was eligible for listing as an historic district on the National Register of Historic Places.²¹ Eligibility or designation on the National Register of Historic Places is largely honorary, only triggering review of potential impacts if federal funds are used. In the U.S., it is up to local governments to adopt landmark designations that protect heritage properties from demolition.

Despite the local historic designation of the aforementioned Hemisfair '68 pavilions and a local historic district (see figure 3), there remains talk of the demolition of former fair pavilions by HPARC and city officials, who do not view the buildings as immediately adaptable or having uses that will generate sufficient revenue. The University of Texas at San Antonio, which still owns the Institute of Texas Cultures has issued a request for proposals for mixed use development to be built at the site of this building.²²



Figure 3: Left panel is aerial of Hemisfair. Right panel is map of local historic designations using City of San Antonio GIS data. 2018.



The future of the Woman's Pavilion also remains unsettled. On its exterior are the names and handprints of the 80 women who were involved in organizing the pavilion.²³ Over the years, the Woman's Pavilion has been neglected. A nongovernmental organisation, the Women's Pavilion at Hemisfair Park, Inc. was founded in 2007 to advocate for its rehabilitation and reuse. The organisation worked with an architect to produce plans for the pavilion and even took the plans to San Antonio's historical commission for approval. However, adaptive reuse plans have yet to be implemented.²⁴ Neither the City of San Antonio nor HPARC has committed to reuse, nor has the Hemisfair Conservancy, a non-profit organisation established to raise money for the site, committed to fundraising for rehabilitation or stabilization of this or any of the other fair structures.²⁵

While many of the 19th century and early 20th century buildings remain empty, awaiting new commercial tenants, they are still fully embraced within HPARC's master plans. Meanwhile, the modern architecture on site, even with status as either designated or eligible historic resources, are largely invisible. In this case, preservation groups advocate for their retention in shaping the future of this site. Officials from HPARC, some elected officials, and developers involved in new mixed use projects see conservation of the modern architectural legacy as an impediment to progress toward greater private sector investment on site.

Origins of Expo '88 and South Bank Parklands

Expo '88 was planned on lands along the South Brisbane River that had been transformed in the 19th century from a place of gathering for the Aboriginal Turrbal and Yuggera peoples to a precinct of wharfs and maritime businesses, commercial investment and boarding houses.²⁶ It was home and workplace to many working-class people, both of Aboriginal and European descent. By the 1970s, on the western portion of what would become the Expo '88 site, a cultural precinct was developed as part of redevelopment plans. Accomplished Australian architect Robin Gibson designed the Queensland Museum, Queensland Performing Arts Centre, and Queensland Art Gallery, which formed a complex called the Queensland Cultural Centre. A few of the 19th and early 20th century remnants of the previous neighbourhood, as well as the brutalist complex designed by Gibson, would become strongholds in the conservation of the past in South Brisbane.

In the years prior to the Expo '88, private land was resumed and consolidated with public lands. This resulted in displacement of businesses and residents through both direct demolition of buildings and increases in rents.²⁷ Many properties were demolished to make way for the Expo development (figure 4) and rents in the area skyrocketed. The concerned citizens of the surrounding communities of South Brisbane protested that, "The rich get Expo, the poor get homeless."²⁸ It is estimated that 600 residents were forced to leave their homes during the expo due to increasing housing costs.²⁹ According to Donna Lee Brian plans were met with "sustained campaigns of opposition from local residents and urban conservation action groups."³⁰ Even with the strife and resistance, the Expo was overwhelmingly reported a success in the press and is widely credited for transforming Brisbane into an international destination. The event has been called "a social and cultural epiphany that put the city on the world map and brought the place to life like never before."³¹



Figure 4: *Title: Brisbane River front to be beautified for Expo 88.* Courtesy of Queensland State Archives. [Brisbane: 16 April 1986]

After Expo '88, the Queensland State Government planned to sell Expo lands for commercial development, including a casino, after the event ended. In 1987, the River City Consortium was selected as developer and a



substantial amount of commercial development was planned including: “an international hotel and a second hotel; a 50-storey World Trade centre; commercial offices, retail and residential accommodation; an exhibition and convention centre; an Orbisphere science centre; the Endeavour island; a casino; and public open space.³² In opposition to this plan, the Lord Mayor Sally Atkinson championed the retention of lands for ‘a people’s park.’³³ Atkinson convinced the state government to retain ownership for parkland as there was significant public outcry to save the site for public use. Later Brisbane City Council began to make annual payments to support the management of the parklands by the South Bank Corporation, a body of the Queensland State Government.

Post Expo '88: Objects Cherished, Moved, Hoisted, and Protected

A legacy of Expo '88 was the mobilization of support in favour of retaining of the site in public hands, as well as the retention of buildings and artwork. An example is the Nepalese Peace Pagoda. It was constructed in the Kathmandu valley by 300 carvers and artisans from 160 Nepalese families. It was the sole example of a peace pagoda outside of Nepal other than one located in Munich, Germany. In capturing the hearts and minds of the Australian public, it garnered more than 70,000 signatures of support [in a visitor’s book] during Expo 88. It was described by then Brisbane City Councillor, David Hinchliffe, in correspondence to the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs at a formative stage of the pavilion’s retention, as “one of the half dozen most popular displays” at Expo 88.³⁴

There was, however, much uncertainty as to whether the pavilion would remain in Australia. Plans were set in motion to sell the pagoda to a Japanese buyer at the close of 1988. The Friends of the Pagoda’s public fundraising appeal was initially managed by a loose group of volunteers. Early in the public campaign, the committee enlisted the support of Sir Edmund Hillary as Patron-in-Chief of the Pagoda. Hillary ventured that the pavilion was “beautifully constructed and well worth preserving,” and his acceptance of this role was viewed as the climax of the campaign to save the pagoda.³⁵ Although federal, state and local governments made financial pledges, these contributions were tied to strong public support, which they insisted be demonstrated with fifty-thousand dollars raised entirely from the general public. The task almost proved insurmountable and it was not until the campaign’s final day that a thirty-thousand-dollar donation from Frank and Myra Pitt was secured. During the evening news which had brought the campaign’s disappointing end to the attention of the public, the Pitt’s, watching from home, decided to make the donation.³⁶ Thus, the couple’s fond memories of Expo '88, or perhaps their mutual appreciation for an object so “unusual and an icon,” became tethered in place.³⁷

Less personal or emotive motives emerge in the more recent conservation of Collins Place. The Little Big House pub resides in a heritage-listed building labelled “Collins Place” in the Queensland Heritage Register.³⁸ Collins Place is one of the last remaining residential structures in the vicinity and dates back to a period of residential and commercial growth in South Brisbane that began in the 1860s.³⁹ In the 19th century it served as a boarding house and private residence. During preparations for Expo, Collins Place was resumed, despite protests by its owner, and spared demolition to become one of the few buildings retained and integrated into Expo grounds.

In 2014, the 330 tonne building was lifted via crane onto pilotis to rest nine metres in the air.⁴⁰ The building now sits atop steel and glass wrapped space housing a burger restaurant, wedged between and dwarfed by two 14 storey contemporary towers. The towers are part of the recently constructed \$600 million dollar (AU) Southpoint development. Southpoint is described in marketing literature as a “stunning mixed-use, transit-oriented development comprising commercial, residential, retail and the new flagship Emporium Hotel.”⁴¹

Collins Place and the land in proximity to it was owned by the South Bank Corporation, which sought in 2006 to invite a developer to construct a transit-oriented development in accordance with a district master plan. Conservation of the building is enforced through heritage legislation. However, its value in the valorisation of real estate seemed to have come naturally. A YouTube video shows the way it was lifted into the air, a spectacle that added to the development’s marketing campaign.⁴² In this way, the heritage building became a sculptural element to a large development, serving the function of hosting a burger place and bar, a landmark providing wayfinding at the development’s entrance, and the occasion to issue a press release celebrating the heritage prowess of its developer.

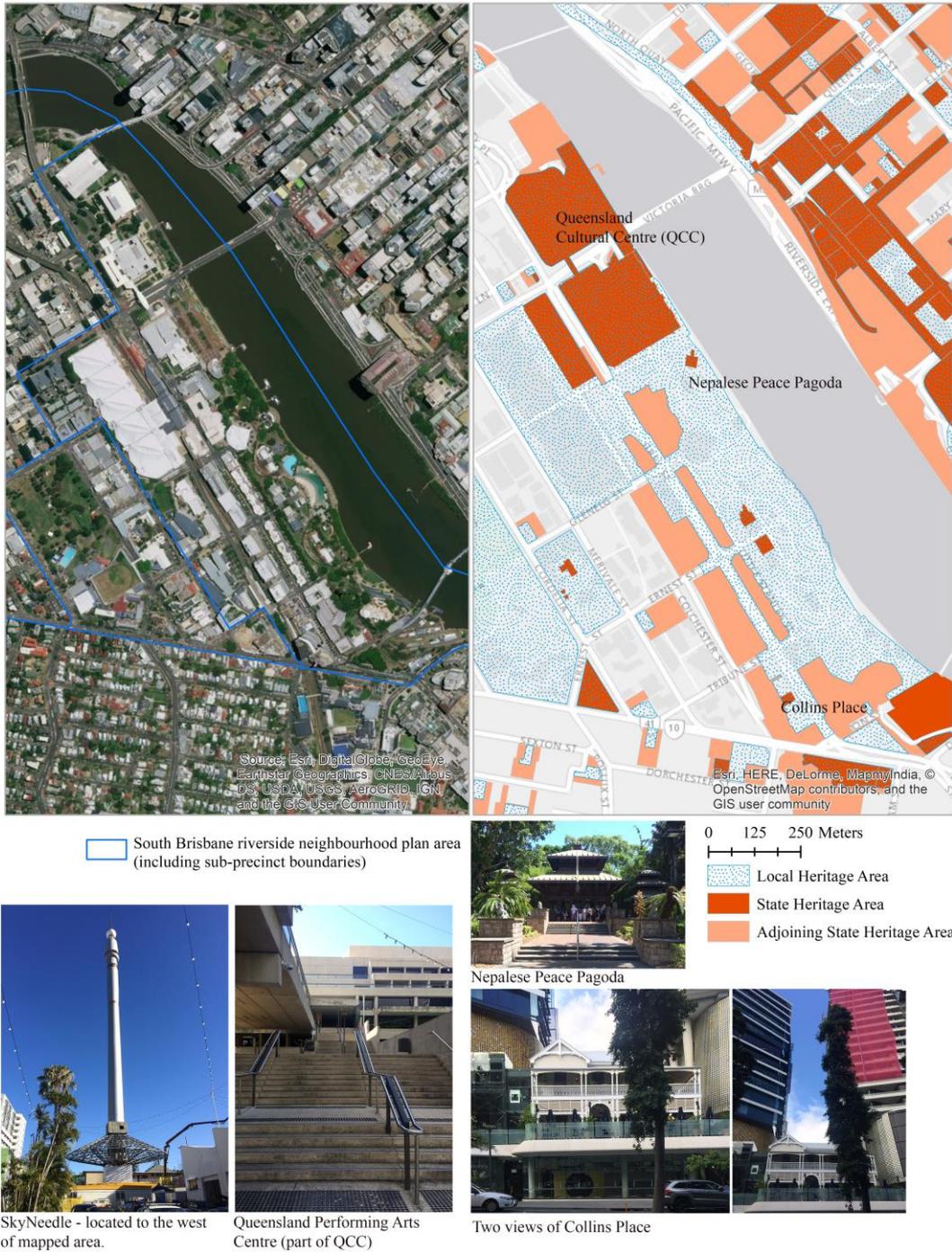


Figure 5: Left panel is aerial of South Bank. ESRI base map aerial, circa 2018. Right panel shows state and local heritage designations in and around South Bank. Bottom photos feature retained artwork, fair pavilion, and buildings constructed prior to the fair.

Similarly, the SkyNeedle is an object that has been saved, designed, moved and is now being incorporated into another mixed use development.⁴³ The SkyNeedle was designed to be a landmark for Expo '88. It was a popular meeting place, and at 88 meters it towered over the site. Designed by Australian artist Robert Owen, it was originally titled the "Night Companion." True to its original name it sported a "60-km radius xenon-beam laser-eye that surveilled the Expo and Brisbane horizon night skies."⁴⁴ At the time of the expo it was the "largest single art commission in Australia."⁴⁵ After the Expo, the SkyNeedle was to be sold to Disneyland Tokyo. At the last minute it was purchased by the Australian entrepreneur Stefan Ackerie and moved 600 metres away from its original location. The SkyNeedle now has a little less largesse as it becomes incorporated into a mixed use development and is surrounded in all directions by ever larger buildings. The artwork is now the centrepiece of the SkyNeedle Apartments, which promotes this transformation: "Once home to boot makers, fizzy drink factories



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and timber mills, the area now houses leading academies of learning, world-class cultural institutions, cool cafés, cocktail lounges and hip boutiques. Old and new sit shoulder-to-shoulder in intriguing layers of history and excitement.⁴⁶

While Collins Place and the SkyNeedle are heritage objects commodified for real estate branding purposes, the Nepalese Pagoda reifies expo memories. The Queensland Cultural Centre reflects yet another value and a different coalition of actors. The Queensland Cultural Centre was a complex of buildings built prior to Expo '88 and is situated on the edge of the South Bank Parklands. Despite the fact that it sits outside the bounds of the parklands, the complex of cultural institutions represents the force of heritage as a means of reigning in what some viewed as the potential for overdevelopment and commercialization of a cultural district. In 2014, the Australian Institute of Architects applied to list the building on the Queensland Heritage register in response to a cultural precinct plan that allowed for a 30-story commercial building to be built over the top of the performing arts centre.⁴⁷ According to the Queensland Heritage Council Chair Peter Coaldrake, there was “overwhelming community support for the application with the nomination receiving the most number of public submissions in the history of the Heritage Act—1254 in total.”⁴⁸ Conservation of the brutalist complex was yet another expression of public outcry to make certain urban spaces sacrosanct from real estate pressures.

Conclusions

Both of the expo sites represent a tabula rasa form of redevelopment, in which urban land is restructured; and residents and businesses are expelled in the production of new urban spaces. These spaces were designed to facilitate the functioning and success of a mega-event. Even as sites were scraped, actors in both San Antonio and Brisbane protested and advocated for change. The impact of this advocacy was limited, but important in both cases. In San Antonio, the retention of older structures and trees was recognized as an innovation in modern design. The scattering of buildings, such as Collins Place that were retained for Expo '88 are still appreciated in a rapidly changing South Bank precinct as historical markers that tie the present urban fabric to the site's past incarnations. Meanwhile, there has been very little recognition of the Aboriginal history at these sites until very recently as resurrected in a place name at Hemisfair and an art installation and a new cultural centre planned at South Bank.⁴⁹

After the expos opened, the attending public created new memories and attachments that for some inspired great personal investment and advocacy. As people imprint onto these landscapes over time, that creates a sense of, and attachment to, place. However, what and how things are remembered at the former expo sites is not a simple function of nostalgia to a moment in time. Once cultural values become inscribed into heritage laws or animated by capitalist interests, the calculus may change. This includes the use of heritage objects in the revalorisation and reinvention of spaces. Heritage objects can also become talismans used by neighbourhood groups to invoke heritage laws that slow the rate or nature of change in a precinct.

Heritage buildings and objects also become symbols of particular development regimes. The modern pavilions that date from Hemisfair '68 are viewed as obstacles, or even made invisible, by the Hemisfair Area Redevelopment Corporation. HPARC along with other supportive developers and public agencies, seek to eliminate barriers to a New Urbanist vision of redevelopment. Meanwhile, preservation advocates seek to render these buildings visible as cultural assets. Such conflicts expound how objects attract constituencies who seek alternative visions of the future through their orientation to the past. In Brisbane, the embrace of the brutalist Queensland Cultural Centre complex speaks not only to the receptiveness of the public to appreciation for modern architecture, but a coalition between Brisbane residents who seek to protect their neighbourhoods from 'overdevelopment' and the architects who wish to preserve Robin Gibson's legacy.

Stewart Brand has eloquently written about the ways in which buildings learn through adaptation.⁵⁰ One could apply many of these scales of adaptation to former expo sites. However, it is not only in adaptation and transformation, but also in the ways in which urban spaces are made to “remember” through the retention of buildings and landscapes from the past. In exposing human attachments and means of valuing objects and spaces, we can learn more about both the built and social legacies of mega-events and their power to transform and conserve urban space.

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Notes on contributor(s)

Jennifer Minner is an Assistant Professor in City and Regional Planning at Cornell University. She is a past president and a founding board member of the Mid Tex Mod chapter of Docomomo U.S., a non-profit dedicated to documentation and conservation of the Modern Movement in Central Texas. She holds a PhD in Community and Regional Planning from University of Texas at Austin.

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Endnotes

¹ David Anderson, "Visitors' Long-term Memories of World Expositions," *Curator: The Museum Journal* 46, No 4. (October, 2003): 401.

² Jennifer Minner, "Framing Lost Utopias: The Place of International Expositions in Time." In Dосkow, Jade, Pare, Richard & Minner, Jennifer. *Lost Utopias: Photographs of Jade Dосkow*. (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2016) 14-15.

³ Gaia Caramellino, Alessandro De Magistris & Federico Deambrosio. "Reconceptualizing Mega Events and urban transformations in the twentieth century," *Planning Perspectives* 26:4 (2011): 617.

⁴ Maurice Roche, *Mega-events and Social Change: Spectacle, Legacy, and Public Culture*. Manchester MI, UK, Manchester University Press, (2017): 200.

⁵ John R. Gold and Margaret Gold. *Cities of Culture: Staging International Festivals and the Urban Agenda, 1851-2000*. (Aldershot, Hants and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁷ Christopher Koziol. *Valorizing Heritage: Discourse and Regime in the Historic Preservation Policy Subsystem of Colorado*. Thesis. University of Colorado at Denver (2003): 15.

⁸ Research methods at both sites included archival research; analysis of news, planning documents and online medial visual observation and photo documentation and interviews. In San Antonio, the first author was involved in participant observation in the leadership of Mid Tex Mod, the central Texas chapter of Docomomo-US, a nongovernmental organization that is dedicated to the Documentation and Conservation of the Modern Movement. In addition, this author led a 2014 graduate planning workshop *Sustainable Adaptation of Large Modern Footprints* that investigated four world's fair sites from the 1960s, including HemisFair. Partners for that workshop included the CEO of the HemisFair Park Area Redevelopment Corporation and a representative of the San Antonio River Foundation. Subsequently interviews and archival research were conducted in San Antonio in 2016 and 2017. Interviews conducted in 2016 and 2017 included that of Andres Andujar, the CEO of the HemisFair Park Area Redevelopment Corporation; Anne Krause, the director of the HemisFair Conservancy; Rudi Rodriguez, a local entrepreneur and advocate for Tejano History; Sherry Wagner, one of the primary organizers for the Woman's Pavilion at HemisFair '68; and Bonnie Ayer, the former President of the non-profit the Women's Pavilion at HemisFair Park, Inc. Archival research was conducted using UTSAs HemisFair collections. In Brisbane, the authors conducted two site visits in 2017. The site visits included interviews and a focus group; a recorded walking tour with a volunteer Brisbane greeter attended expo 88; and archival research.

⁹ Robert Alexander González. *Designing Pan-America: U.S. Architectural Visions for the Western Hemisphere* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press), p. 151.

¹⁰ Mary Carolyn Hollers George. *O'Neil Ford, Architect*. (College, Station: A&M University Press, 1992), 180.

¹¹ "The Transformation Begins," HemisFair '68: A Confluence of Photographs, San Antonio Conservation Society Foundation. Accessed April 12, 2018. <https://www.saconservation.org/VirtualExhibits/hemisfair/64F4F95B-353D-44B5-8BA1-331468995560.htm>

¹² Frank Duane. "HemisFair '68," Texas Historical Association. Last modified Modified on January 28, 2018.

<https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/lkh01>.

¹³ Ada Louise Huxtable, "Remember the Alamo," *The New York Times*, April 14, 1968, 50. Lewis F. Fisher, *Saving San Antonio: The Preservation of a Heritage*. (San Antonio, Texas: Maverick Press, 2016.).

¹⁴ That is 190 meters if one does not count the antenna at the top of the structure. The Tower is also described as 750 feet tall or 229 meters when the antenna is included in the calculation.

¹⁵ There were many other temporary structures constructed for the fair. Most of those have since been demolished. A few ruins remain on the site today, including the pavilions for Kodak and Gulf Insurance. In addition, HemisFair sported an elevated mini-monorail system and water features that offered respite from the Texas heat. Most of these features are gone. Like many other expo sites, the fairgrounds were designed as a closed pedestrian area, with streets that were closed internally, the perimeter secured, and the site surrounded by a moat of parking lots. Recent master plans seek to reopen some of the closed historic streets.

¹⁶ Some had seen the post HemisFair event site as a logical location for the location of University of Texas at San Antonio. However, the campus was actually sited far north of the city. This was only one aspect of the rapid suburbanisation that affected downtown plans and vitality. Construction of additional federal buildings near the federal courthouse added office buildings on the south-eastern portion of the site that drew little if any tourist activity for HemisFair. The mini-monorail system that had offered an option for internal circulation was removed and made the site seem difficult to traverse in the hot Texas sun. The small 19th and early 20th century buildings that had housed concessions lost tenants, either through circumstances or mismanagement, sapping further energy from the site.

¹⁷ Anne Krause. Personal interview by Jennifer Minner. June 2017.

¹⁸ The HemisFair Conservancy was established a few years later to channel philanthropic funds to improve the area, which had been renamed yet again as 'HemisFair,' with 'Park' removed from its official name.

¹⁹ The creation of 'Civic Park' involved demolition of most of the Convention Centre, which had been built for the fair and rebuilding convention centre space on the north-eastern portion of the site.

²⁰ Jenni Minner. "HemisFair '68 Tour: Modern Design, Cultural History" Mid Tex Mod Docomomo_US, posted September 3, 2011, <http://midtexasmod.blogspot.com/2011/09/hemisfair-68-modern-design-and-cultural.html>.

²¹ Correspondence from Mark Wolfe, State Historic Preservation Officer, Texas Historical Commission to Amy E. Dase, Prewitt & Associates. Dated September 13, 2013. The letter specifically pointed out the "exceptional significance" of the Institute of Texan Cultures;



Confluence Theatre, Exhibit Hall and Migration Plaza, which were elements of the U.S. Pavilion; the Woman's Pavilion, and the Tower of the Americas. Eligibility for an historic district is an important step for preservation, but it is not complete protection. In the United States, it is not a federal or state heritage designation that has the most strength.

²² Richard Webner, "Institute of Texan Cultures plans to move for mixed-use development" MySA, June 15, 2017, <https://www.mysanantonio.com/real-estate/article/Institute-of-Texan-Cultures-plans-to-move-for-11223800.php>

²³ In Hemisfair '68 era publicity materials, it was described as: "a blending of the old and new of this historic area." Bennett, Arthur S. Mrs. Woman's Pavilion – Hemisfair '68. Fact Sheet produced by the Publicity Office. Despite the reputation for modern architects of the period to disregard historical context, this is an indication of yet another aspect of Hemisfair '68 that was designed to be sensitive a sense of history on the site.

²⁴ When the Women's Pavilion at Hemisfair, Inc. began leasing another building on site for its office, the added expense of monthly rent began to sap the organisation of its resources. A death in the family of the organization's president and a lack of leadership to step in, meant that momentum was lost.

²⁵ Anne Krause. Personal interview by Jennifer Minner. June 2017.

²⁶ Mary Ganis, John Minner, and Derlie Mateo-Babiano, "The Evolution of a Masterplan: Brisbane's South Bank, 1991–2012." *Urban Policy and Research* 32 No. 4 (2014): 501-502.

²⁷ C. M. Hall and J. Hodges. "The party's great, but what about the hangover? The housing and social impacts of mega-events with special reference to the 2000 Sydney Olympics." *Festival Management and Event Tourism*, 4 (1996), 13-20.

²⁸ Mary Ganis, John Minner, and Derlie Mateo-Babiano, "The Evolution of a Masterplan: Brisbane's South Bank, 1991–2012." *Urban Policy and Research* 32 No. 4 (2014): 503. Foundation Expo 88, Quotable Quotes!, Viewed 5 November 2012, Available at www.foundationexpo88.org/quotablequotes.html.

²⁹ Hall 1994.

³⁰ Donna Lee Brien. Celebration or Manufacturing Nostalgia? Constructing Histories of World Expo '88, 16, Issue 2, *Queensland Review*, (2009): 75. In addition, a local newspaper reported that aboriginal protesters led a march along city streets to Musgrave Park at the opening of Expo '88 demonstrating for land rights. <https://www.upi.com/Archives/1988/04/30/Queen-Elizabeth-opens-Expo-88-in-Brisbane/6669578376000/>

³¹ Mary Ganis, John Minner, and Derlie Mateo-Babiano, "The Evolution of a Masterplan: Brisbane's South Bank, 1991–2012." *Urban Policy and Research* 32 No. 4 (2014): 503.

³² Mary Ganis, John Minner, and Derlie Mateo-Babiano, "The Evolution of a Masterplan: Brisbane's South Bank, 1991–2012." *Urban Policy and Research* 32 No. 4 (2014): 504.

³³ Denver Beanland, *Brisbane: Australia's New World City*. Moorooka, Australia: Boolarong Press, (2016): 111.

³⁴ Alderman David Hinchliffe. Re: Peace Pagoda, Nepal Pavilion, Expo, South Brisbane. Memo to: Ian Lincoln, Department of Foreign Affairs, Dated 25 October 1988. Memo from State Library of Queensland.

³⁵ David Hinchliffe, Re: Nepalese Pagoda and Sir Edmund Hillary. Letter. Dated September 1989. Letter from State Library of Queensland.

³⁶ According to Frank Pitt: "When you've got something that is unusual and an icon, you grab it with both hands. You hang onto it... So we did that... And I said, to Myra - she doesn't always agree with me - I said, "did you hear that on the TV?" She says, "yeah." I said, "why don't we put the money in?" And she said, "yes," just like that (laughing and smiling). It shocked me!" from Foundation Expo 88. Short David Hinchliffe statement of thanks to Frank and Myra Pitt, short, sharp and meaningful, YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J8Y3rjklGUM>, Published on Sep 27, 2012.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ The two-story brick building was built c. 1889 in a Federation Filigree style and wrapped with verandas.

³⁹ There are also two other heritage listed buildings in the South Bank area verandahs that serve a similar function as pub -- Ship Inn and Plough Inn. Collins Place is the only one of the three that has been so wholly subsumed within a larger, mixed use development today.

⁴⁰ Jessica Hinchliffe and Terri Begley. Up in the air: Historic Queensland building goes sky-high for new development, *ABC News*, Last updated Updated 10 Dec 2014, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-12-10/up-in-the-air-a-queensland-historical-building-goes-sky-high/5956954>

⁴¹ Anthony John Group, About, Southpoint South Bank, <https://www.southpointsouthbank.com.au/about/> Accessed April 13, 2018.

⁴² Anthony John Group, Southpoint - Historic Collins Place reaches new heights, YouTube. Published January 13, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gQh_33ZibxY.

⁴³ Rooney, Kieran. Stefan's Expo 88 Sky Needle incorporated in new apartment development, *The Courier Mail*, Published April 11, 2015, <http://www.couriermail.com.au/news/queensland/stefans-expo-88-sky-needle-incorporated-in-new-apartment-development/news-story/63e58483ac05ae3fe1abf70ee4cb2887>

⁴⁴ Foundation Expo '88. Night Companion Notes, Foundation Expo '88, Last accessed April 13, 2018, <http://www.celebrate88.com/nightcompanionnotes.html>

⁴⁵ In the Brisbane City Council heritage register it is described as: "one of the surviving sculptures that were commissioned specifically for Expo '88 in Brisbane... this particular sculpture, by its very size, became an identifiable symbol of Expo '88. It also remembered for its integral part in the Expo fireworks spectacular, where the Skyneedle dominated the night sky over Brisbane. Brisbane City Council, Expo '88 'Skyneedle', sculpture, Heritage Register. Last updated 14 March 2016, https://heritage.brisbane.qld.gov.au/heritage_register/placeDetail.do?action=read&placeId=1525&fullDetail=true&navParam=startBasic

⁴⁶ Pradella, Where Life Shines, Pradella, Last accessed April 13, 2018, <http://skyneedle.com.au/>.

⁴⁷ Brisbane Development, Vision for Brisbane to be Nation's Cultural Hub, Brisbane Development.com, May 5, 2014, <https://brisbanedevelopment.com/queensland-cultural-precinct/>. Bochenski, Natalie, Cultural precinct to get new theatre, hotel under proposed master plan, Last updated 5 May 2014, <https://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/national/queensland/cultural-precinct-to-get-new-theatre-hotel-under-proposed-master-plan-20140505-zr4z1.html>

⁴⁸ Queensland Heritage Council, State heritage listing for Brisbane's cultural precinct, Queensland Government, Last updated 12 June 2015, <https://www.qld.gov.au/environment/land/heritage/council/media-releases/cultural-precinct>

⁴⁹ A children's playground was named the "Yanaguana Garden," invoking an indigenous word meaning river. At South Bank there are plans for an landscape installation or marker that follows an Aboriginal songline and for an Aboriginal Cultural Centre.

⁵⁰ Brand, Stewart. *How Buildings Learn: What Happens After They're Built*. New York, New York: Penguin Books, 1994.

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Figure 1: Original creator(s) unknown. *Land area covered by HemisFair 1968*, photograph, texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph66176/, University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, texashistory.unt.edu; crediting UT San Antonio Libraries Special Collections. (Accessed April 12, 2018.)

Figure 2: Original creator(s) unknown. *Aerial view of the HemisFair construction site*, photograph, Date Unknown; (texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph65971/), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, texashistory.unt.edu; crediting UT San Antonio Libraries Special Collections. (Accessed April 1, 2018.)

Figure 3: Left panel: Esri base map aerial, circa 2018. Right panel: City of San Antonio GIS data. 2018. Figure created by Jennifer Minner.

Figure 4: Agency ID: 2027. Premier's Department, Office of State Affairs, Public Relations Branch, Photographic Unit. Title: *Brisbane River front to be beautified for Expo 88*. Queensland State Archives, Digital Image ID 4526. <http://www.archivessearch.qld.gov.au/Image/DigitalImageDetails.aspx?ImageId=4526>. (Accessed April 12, 2018.)

Figure 5: Left panel is aerial of South Bank. Esri base map aerial, circa 2018. Right panel shows state and local heritage designations in and around South Bank. Figure created by Jennifer Minner. Photos by Martin Abbott.