

modern waterfronts was opened in Baltimore in July 1980. The city's Inner Harbor Renewal Plan was seen as providing an innovative solution and fresh impetus to the problem of inner city decay that characterized the beginning of the post-industrial period. It remains one of the most complete examples. The reclamation of the waterfront has subsequently become a symbol of post-industrial status. In the global economy of the information age they offer the opportunity to signal national and local identity. And like other competitive global products they have developed a structure that is pretty well universally applicable while at the same time capable of being adapted for local consumption.

Baltimore, seen as a national symbol of decay, had been working on its downtown plan for fifteen years (Baltimore City Department of Planning, 1986). The city brought together most of the characteristic elements of waterfront development. The authorities recognized that the problem was of a scale too large for the private sector alone to take on and sanctioned the heavy use of public funds as seed money for private investment. The project was managed by an unusually centralized city government that had merged neighborhood and economic development into one department. It was led by a far-seeing and energetic director working in tandem with an equally committed and powerful mayor. The initial focus was on the downtown area. The subsequent continuation of development reclaimed the waterfront with a series of "flagship" projects starting with the Harborplace festival-market development and a new aquarium. High-quality infrastructure around much of the inner harbor opened up what had been private and inaccessible, enabled access to the community for a wide variety of uses that embedded the area in local consciousness, and so attracted further development. The range of issues and the balance between old and new was set out in contemporary documents:

Millions of public and private dollars are committed to keep the Port competitive and to enhance its stance in the international marketplace money. There are also plans which call for rehabilitating commercial properties, converting vacant warehouses and building new housing, improving the water quality, and increasing the recreational use of the shoreline and water.

(Baltimore City Department of Planning, 1986)

The second generation

The second generation of post-industrial waterfronts was led by organizations that were set up specifically to develop their waterfront area, building on, testing, and expanding the package of measures pioneered in Baltimore. These developments mostly belonged to the 1980s and some even came to characterize that decade. Boston was a key player in this second wave just as it had been inspirational in the first, with the establishment of the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) as a dedicated multi-disciplinary body charged solely with the task of regenerating the Charlestown Harbor area of the city. It was a global movement with influential projects in Darling Harbour in Sydney, Australia; in Toronto, Canada; and in Cape Town, South Africa.