

Faculty of Humanities
School of Social Sciences and Asian Languages

‘Whose City/Whose Fremantle?’
Reconceptualising Space for an Open Politics of Place

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Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgment has been made.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

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Abstract

The notion of space being eroded by time underpins the dominant formulations of globalisation premised on time-space compression. The consequences have included the announcement of the ‘end of geography’. More recently, a spatial turn has repositioned the concept of space at the forefront of Human Geography. The aim of this thesis is to contribute to the ongoing theoretical reconceptualisation of space with an empirical study of the contested port city of Fremantle. Set within the broader metropolitan area of Western Australia’s capital city, Perth, Fremantle is simultaneously constructed by local and external actors as a ‘city under threat’ and as a ‘city in decline’. It is the dominant port city of Western Australia and differs in many ways, historically, physically, culturally and economically from its modern, suburban surrounds. Using the question ‘whose city’ in my interactions and observations within Fremantle, I began to see contestations for space emerging. This thesis explores four controversies pertinent to the ongoing battles to define (the meaning of spaces within) Fremantle. The forces of change impacting on Fremantle include de-industrialisation, gentrification, urban entrepreneurialism and heritage construction; however these challenges have served as contingencies which have enabled the opening up of these controversies to other voices. My participant observations, overlaid with a discourse analysis of content from the local *Fremantle Herald* newspaper across the decade 2000 to 2010, have allowed me to critically engage with these local political controversies. What I found is that, if space is reconceptualised not as a fixed surface but as relational, contested and always in process, then no one group or individual can ever truly claim ownership of or an identity for Fremantle. Consequently what is at issue are the local terms by which competing groups and individuals stake their claims to the ownership or the meaning of the city. Drawing on the work of Doreen Massey, Nigel Thrift and Matthew Rofe, this thesis aims to contribute to the ongoing reconceptualisation of space occurring in contemporary post structuralist scholarship.

Acknowledgements

The great Czech distance runner, Emil Zatopek, once said: 'If you want a challenge, run one hundred metres. If you want to experience life, run a marathon'. Accepting the challenge of a PhD, in my experience, has been much like the marathon, an unfolding story, full of twists and turns and wrestling with doubts over whether I would indeed make it to the finish line. Thankfully, I have had many people who have supported me faithfully along the way and I wish to thank them here.

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1.0 Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 ‘Whose City?’ – Fremantle

Cities are alluring constructs. They can be spaces of problems and of possibilities simultaneously (Massey, Allen, and Pile 1999). The literature on cities is comprehensive and exhaustive yet fascinating and this interest seems to be increasing. One reason for this, perhaps, is that the decade from 2000-2010 marks the first point in human history when more people live in cities than in rural areas, and when the megacity has emerged as a global phenomenon (Hall 1997). Maybe the rising tide of urbanisation coupled with predicted population growth to 9.1 billion people by 2050 (United Nations 2007), mean that what happens in cities over the next century will define our global geography. Questions such as ‘are today’s cities sustainable both environmentally and socially?’ (Massey 1999b, 164) set a thrilling challenge, but they also feed into neo-Malthusian fears of a breaking point and an apocalyptic future (Angotti 2006; Graham and Boyle 2002). In this thesis I want to argue for caution in responding to such polarising visions and for a way of doing geography that is more nuanced and perceptive of sophisticated approaches to the concept of space.

Space is crucial to geography. One of the key components of the theorising of globalisation has been that technological innovation is driving time-space compression leading to a concept of the world as becoming more closely interconnected (Harvey 1989a). While this may be true for some, technological innovation may also have produced isolation or alienation, for others (Thrift 2002). What is implicit in the time-space compression thesis is an envisioning of scale as ‘pre-given’ and of space as a surface. Merging these two gives a presumption of globalisation as a smooth process obscuring the power-geometry involved in its production (Massey 1993; Rofe 2003). Therefore, this thesis is as much an argument for a reconceptualisation of space as it is about a specific city or indeed about cities in general.

The reconceptualisation of space has implications for place and makes approaching the City as a coherent entity, problematical. While Massey (1999a) has argued that it is the diversity of spaces in the City which holds out hope for the dissidents and the ‘makers-of-mischief’, Short (2000) has contended that cities are inherently authoritarian. ‘Street layouts, traffic lights, police, the location of things: there is an imposed structure to our lives, our behaviours, the paths that we trace through time and across space’ (Short 2000, 19). Massey and Short are approaching the City from different angles. Short has written in the context of ‘late capitalism’ (Harvey 1989a) where many (though clearly not Short) believe that the deregulation of the market will lead to a less authoritarian City, while Massey has argued that the enormity of the City offers spaces of resistance wherein authority can be, albeit selectively, undermined. Their enduring questions are the same, for whom does the city exist and by whom is it adapted? Short (2000) has pointed out that deregulation is actually reregulation and that whether planners plan, is a less important issue than who has the power to plan, while Massey (1999a) concluded that perhaps one of the positive attributes of cities is that no one individual or group can completely own them leaving open the possibilities and the contingencies of space.

The question of ‘whose city’ is provocative. It often yields contradictory responses (Massey and Jess 1995). What it provokes however is a rethinking of how space and place are conceived and/or claimed and this opens up dialogue and the need for explanation.

1.1.1 The Field: What is at issue in Fremantle?

The subject of my study is Fremantle, Western Australia. My association with Fremantle is mixed. Over the past five years I have become increasingly familiar with the urban scene of Fremantle, engaging in a sessional teaching position at the University of Notre Dame Australia (NDA) in Fremantle’s West End, as well as enjoying the vibrancy and intensity that Fremantle as an entertainment and tourist precinct has to offer. Fremantle also features in stories from my family’s history and in many other ways, which have informed my imaginations of the place. Coupled with the question, ‘whose city’, and the increasing amount of my time being spent in

Fremantle, I began to see battles and contests for space emerging within my critical focus. By scratching the surface of these contestations it was possible for me to discern strong claims for the 'defence of place' based on a sense, or senses, of place in Fremantle which is frequently very highly valued by the protagonists, but in complex and often contesting ways. It was not just campaigns to preserve the built environment that were being asserted, but the maintenance of what the protagonists saw as a very particular Fremantle ethos. Fremantle has a strong association with the arts and a quote by local author, Craig Silvey, in the *Sunday Times* (October 16, 2005, page 10-11), helps to illustrate what I am saying here:

We need more places like Fremantle. A place that stands in defence, not on the fence. A place to truly keep the bastards honest. A strong community of culture and care... and an objective finger on the pulse of its own history. It's worth preserving. Worth protecting. Worth holding on to. Worth celebrating.¹

This quote describes Fremantle as having a strong sense of identity and indeed the claims reverberate with many Fremantle inhabitants. However, what it also implies is that the whole character and essence of Fremantle has been and continues to be positioned by local defenders of place, as under threat. This claim is exemplified in a recent book on the history of the Fremantle Society entitled *Fighting for Fremantle* (Davidson and Davidson 2010). However, the self-proclaimed 'defenders of Fremantle' do not have it all their own way. Competing groups also position Fremantle as under threat, the threat of stagnation. In arguing their position, these groups describe Fremantle as a city in decline and point to rival groups as the 'Old Guard' and a 'do-nothing-brigade' (see chapter five).

On the contestation of place, Massey and Jess (1995, 134) have proposed:

what (is) at issue...are rival claims to define the meaning of places and, thereby rights to control their use or future...in arguing their positions the different sides in each dispute describe the places differently: they see the place from different points of view and they emphasise different (even opposing) characteristics. The argument

about the future of the place thus rests very much on whose interpretation of the place wins out.

To set the scene and the issues relating to this locality study, I will begin with a short rumination describing a commonly traversed route from Perth to Fremantle.

1.1.2 The Perth to Fremantle Train Ride

Departing from Perth train station, the train ride to Fremantle takes us through the leafy, well-to-do western suburbs before it eventually intersects with the coast at Victoria Street station. On a clear day, the first glimpse of the coast provides passengers with a brilliant panoramic view of Rottnest Island and the white sands of Leighton and Port Beaches (see Figures 1.1 and 1.2). Out of the opposite window, the industrial buildings of North Fremantle approach and pass by in contrast to the residential dominance of the western suburbs and suggestive of the train's imminent arrival at the port of Fremantle. The abandoned One Steel building features first, followed by the former Matilda Bay Brewery (see Figure 1.3) originally a Ford car assembly plant and now earmarked for housing redevelopment. A few hundred metres further on is the iconic Dingo Flour Mill (see Figure 1.4), remarkably still in operation but also fated to meet its day with the developer. The painted Red Dingo emblazoned on the tall structure, stands out like a beacon on the coast, as an iconic symbol, instantly recognisable to many West Australians.ⁱⁱ On the ocean side again, the view of the coast is momentarily interrupted, as the train passes apartment construction occurring at Leighton Beach (See Figure 1.5). This construction site is well known to West Australians; a local political campaign, 'Save Leighton', opposing 'exclusive' beachside development, received statewide attention in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The current 4 hectares of development is a significant compromise gained by the Leighton Action Coalition, who fought tirelessly against an original 17 hectare development proposed by the state government. It is evident from the train trip that the ocean views and access to the beach are important assets for the local community and that the landscape is shifting. The scene narrows into a claustrophobic wind through container storage yards, sheds and the old limestone houses of North Fremantle, then opens up again, to reveal a spectacular view of the

working port and the city of Fremantle (see Figure 1.6). As the train crosses the bridge spanning the Swan River, the activity on the water often draws the attention of passengers. On North Quay the masses of containers are stacked and interwoven neatly in all sorts of colours, providing an impressive backdrop to the city proper. On the south side of the harbour, Victoria Quay, once the dominant quay for trade, is more commercially focused these days. At any one time there may be all different types of ships in the harbour; container, 'sheep-ships', car carriers and luxury cruise liners. As the train crosses the bridge there is generally a routine pause just out from Fremantle station, as the train returning to Perth pulls out. Another imposing entry statement then greets the passengers. Whether arriving by train or disembarking a cruise ship one of the first glimpses of Fremantle City is of the industrial buildings of Fremantle's East End dominated by the Wool Stores buildings. Any first impressions, or preconceptions, of progress and vibrancy are quickly confounded by a streetscape of industrial decay and decades of neglect and abandonment (see Figure 1.7). The 4-5 storey warehouses, dating from the 1920s, display all the hallmarks of de-industrialisation in the city, exhibiting smashed windows and crumbling facades. As the train limps into Fremantle railway station, and passengers alight, the flow of traffic pulls tourists and students along and in the West End the promise of one of the world's best and most well preserved 19th century urban precincts awaits.

1.1.3 A pictorial version of the Perth to Fremantle Train Ride



Figure 1.1 Panoramic view of the Indian Ocean



Figure 1.2 Panoramic view looking south towards Fremantle



Figure 1.3: The Matilda Bay Brewery (renovated)



Figure 1.4: The Dingo Flour Mill (still in operation).



Figure 1.5: Leighton development.



Figure 1.6: Fremantle Harbour (North Quay with the containers and cranes and Victoria Quay on the city side).



Figure 1.7: The Wool Stores (A symbol of Fremantle's connection with the commercial wool industry and indicative of more recent de-industrialisation and urban decay.)

1.2 Proposal

This train ride from Perth to Fremantle is one that I have travelled many times. Being able to gauge the reactions of passengers, as the train arrives at the port and again as it comes to a halt outside the Wool Stores, continues to intrigue me. The interest that the port city generates amongst passengers, speaks to broader arguments within the community that Fremantle is a 'city of difference' (Fincher and Jacobs 1998) and a 'place of consequence' (Ewers 1971; Reece and Pascoe 1983). However, while numerous local actors postulate a collective identity for Fremantle, my rumination above implies that the story of Fremantle is by no means singular. The built landscape is a concrete reminder that there are many different histories and trajectories which have brought Fremantle to this point in time-space. So too, the new developments along the coastline demonstrate that there continues to be a multiplicity of new connections and trajectories intersecting in this city. Indeed, opening up to the temporal, and presenting many voices and possibilities, rather than a singular history is as much a part of this thesis as is the opening up of space. One recurring theme throughout this thesis is that space should not be equated with

surface. The point here is that space is contemporaneous. Therefore the train ride from Perth to Fremantle is not travelling across fixed space where space is a surface; this is to deny space its contemporaneity, which implies that the lives and social relations in Fremantle are only activated upon arrival. The issue here is both to challenge the notion of a singular (hegemonic) story and to recognise the spatial openness of the place. For the way in which I seek to explore and extend this relatively recent thinking in this case study of Fremantle implies, that the surface traversed in the train ride above would more accurately be described as a movement across topography (Massey 2005).

1.2.1 Research Questions

In this research proposal I want to hypothesise a rethinking of space, ownership and place. To do this I have developed three specific questions. Firstly, what are the processes driving and resisting both changes in place-identity and competing claims of ownership in Fremantle? Secondly, what conceptualisations of space are being incorporated into these claims of ownership and attempts to define the identity of Fremantle? And finally, if space is reimagined as relational and always in process, what implications does this have for the question 'whose city'/whose Fremantle?

The intellectual motivation for this study emerges from questions such as; What would it mean to reconceptualise space, not as a surface or equated with representation, nor as reductionist dualisms where place/space is equated with concrete/abstract, but rather space as the sphere of 'real heterogeneity and difference', a commitment to the 'openness of the process of becoming' (Massey 2005, 21) and where it is the 'spatial configurations of social relations' which impact upon what happens in the City (Massey 1999b, 163)? Theoretically this thesis attempts to achieve a local contextualisation of the reconceptualisation of space. While the scholarly contribution involved in this movement has provided a powerful critique of modernist narratives and of the prioritisation of time in post-structuralist scholarship, the application of this burgeoning theory remains empirically untested. It is argued here that any attempt to understand the city through a reconceptualisation of space demands a 'place-based' (as opposed to 'place-bounded') analysis which

acknowledges how the city is interpreted by people in their 'everyday' lives. The importance of the ways in which culture and capital are played out differently in different contexts is a crucial factor in the contemporaneity of space. The significance of Fremantle to this challenge is that it is a multifaceted port city, undergoing complex social, cultural and economic transformations, and with significant heritage value at a variety of levels.

The issues facing Fremantle can be set within the broader processes of urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey 1989b; Oakley 2009) and gentrification (Reid and Smith 1993; Rofe 2004; Zukin 1995) and are suggestive of a city precariously placed economically and dealing with challenges to its identity resulting from an influx of newer residents, and outside investment. The urban actors and entrepreneurs involved in these processes are often posited as the 'enemy' or as the 'bastards' by many of those who describe themselves as local, as in Silvey's quote above. The political economy literature on urban entrepreneurialism and gentrification has documented the costs of displacement of existing working class communities and the transition from wealth redistribution in the welfare state to a retreating role of the state, unfettered free-market capitalism and wealth concentration (Oakley 2005; 2009). However, there has been a tendency to construct these processes as hegemonic, whereby the local is the victim of the global (Hubbard 1996; Wood 1998), which poses a real challenge of space. A reconceptualisation of space, wherein space is not a surface to be tamed by the hegemonic forces of time and capital, but the sphere of possibility and real heterogeneity (Massey 2005) presents a challenge to structuralist views of the political economy of cities.

What I seek to achieve through the empirical exploration and extension of a reconceptualisation of space in this thesis is a view of space as a meeting up of multiple trajectories, where space is interpreted not as a surface but as relational, where the identity of a place is always contested and always in process. This instantaneously presents a challenge to those claims of ownership of the City which draw on a 'timeless' place-boundedness but also provides a theoretical lens for critiquing the attempts to define the meaning and identity of place by more recently arrived groups and individuals and the urban actors who seek to attract them. Thinking spatially in this way also means that what happens in Fremantle must be

set within a multiplicity of interconnections and disconnections going on elsewhere in contemporaneous time-space. Fremantle does not exist in isolation.

Secondly, such a reconceptualisation of space presents a challenge to the concept of ownership as something that is also always open, contested and in process. Therefore I approach ownership in Fremantle as a socio-political question concerned less with how to measure the degree of ownership (although this may be part of the mix) but rather with the terms by which claims of ownership are established and negotiated. If space is thought of as relational and always in process the City can never completely be owned by one individual or group. Indeed it is the misconception of space as a surface which, I will argue, leads to attempts to create local exclusivities and the purification of space. What is important is to acknowledge Massey's (1999a) conclusive claim that it is clear that certain groups exert greater power than others.

Finally, there is the issue of place. While there may be a certain sympathy associated with local defences of a place like Fremantle against the openness and invasiveness of international capital and corporate investment, where these articulations of place rely on local exclusivities however, I argue, they are in need of reworking. A reconceptualisation of space frames such claims as partial. Significantly, far from proposing an endless relativism, or a de-territorialisation of place, the challenge again is, on what terms are the identities of place to be established and defended? Reconceptualising space as open and as always in process does not mean emptying place of its meaning (Massey 2005). Treating space as the sphere of a 'space of flows' (Castells 1989) again confines it as a fixed and immobile surface. What is being asserted here is that the production of space, and consequently of place and identity is relational. This means that place can be approached as both a material reality and as an imaginary. How place is imagined also influences the outcomes of conflicts over space (Bridge and Watson 2000).

1.2.2 The Gap

Attempts to reconceptualise space present an ongoing challenge in post-structuralist writing. There have been many successes in post-structuralism, for example Mouffe

and Laclau's (2001) conceptualisation of a radical democracy (also see Zournazi 2002) is important for opening up time and history to the political (Massey 2005). However it is the spatial that continues to be undernourished. The aim of this thesis is to build on the gap that Doreen Massey (2005) identifies, in solidarity with Nigel Thrift's commitment to develop 'non-representational theory' (Thrift 2003, 2008), for a reconceptualisation of space within post-structuralism. Further developing this approach to space is more than theoretical. By opening up the spatial to ongoing claims of ownership and to a continuous meeting up of trajectories, of narratives reproducing 'local exclusivities' and of forces seeking to 're-image' the City can be politicised. Practically this means establishing the terms by which different claims of ownership are asserted in Fremantle and identifying who or what may be 'othered' or 'excluded' in the process.

1.3 Thesis Organisation

1.3.1 Chapter 2: Theoretical, Conceptual and local perspectives

In the following chapter I begin to develop the reconceptualisation of space detailing the work, particularly by Massey (2005), which has already gone into this process. Nigel Thrift (2008), 'whose work has explicitly set out to invent a field of "non-representational theory"' (Barnett 2008, 187) has also engaged in this reconceptualisation. However, his approach is beyond the scope of this thesis although his critique of modernist narratives is included herein. I also identify a set of terms that I have found to be crucial to an interrogation of the local claims of ownership; namely difference, narrative and power. By adding the contemporaneity of space to these terms, a more critical approach to the claims which emerge in my case studies can be undertaken. Further to this, I weave in the processes of gentrification, urban entrepreneurialism and heritage construction as contextual forces of change relating not only to Fremantle but to many other urban areas. The challenge throughout is how space is conceptualised. Another significant issue which surrounds the reconceptualisation of space and the question 'whose City/whose Fremantle' is the concept of globalisation. Massey is particularly concerned with the

power-geometry which controls the process of globalisation (Massey 1993). In *for space* (2005, 177-178), Massey has pointed to an ‘emerging characteristic of globalisation as we know it whereby ‘the powerful’ (through whatever source their power derives) have the ability both to conduct and control their lives internationally and to defend a secure place of their own’. Massey has contended that we experience ‘(g)lobalised places, indeed, but selectively so’ (Massey 2005, 178). David Ley (2004) has argued similarly that the geography of the new ‘transnational elite class’ is highly selective and that in constructing their own space they may not have it all their own way, invoking the classic novel by Tom Wolfe *The Bonfire of the Vanities* (1987) to illustrate his point. The argument presented here is that spaces within the City are claimed by some to be more global than others (Rofe 2009). Certainly this is the case in the marketing of new inner-city apartments in Fremantle for example (see chapter six). The issue of the local/global nexus is significant to the reconceptualisation of space/place in Fremantle. The spatial approach to globalisation can therefore be seen to problematise the processes of gentrification, urban entrepreneurialism and heritage construction in a ‘tourist-historic’ (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000) port city such as Fremantle (Jones 2007). These issues will be discussed further in chapter two.

1.3.2 Background and Methods

In chapter three I will contextualise the current issues in Fremantle in their historical background. Furthermore I will detail the methods used in this research. Drawing on Jones’ (2007) use of Ashworth and Tunbridge’s (2000) ‘historic gem’ archetype, the phases of ‘resource creation’, ‘dormant resource’, ‘race for survival’ and ‘resource maintenance’ are used to contextualise the historical changes and trajectories relating to the issues presented in the four case study chapters. One of the significant earlier events to have impacted on Fremantle was the America’s Cup yacht race, hosted by the port city in 1986-87 (in the ‘resource maintenance’ phase). Jones has argued this hallmark event put the foot on the accelerator of gentrification and it continues to be remembered as a reference point in Fremantle. Macbeth, Selwood and Veitch (2011) have explored this pivotal historical reference point, comparing and contrasting the event as either a potential paradigmatic shift in Fremantle’s identity or as another

‘drop in the ocean’ in relation to historical changes brought on by the local responses to de-industrialisation. The significance of the America’s Cup defence, as an atypical event, is that it informs a meta-narrative asserted in Fremantle and identifiable in the media, whereby Fremantle is said to be ‘sailing away’ and this has been appropriated with different meanings by competing groups.

The methods section in chapter three details my use of the *Fremantle Herald* and participant observation to explore and answer the research questions outlined above. For my case studies I will interrogate the competing claims to space at different ‘hot spots’ as they emerged on the ground, but more particularly from my reading of the local newspaper, the *Fremantle Herald* across the period 2000-2010. The decision process which led me to settle on the four specific case study chapters relates somewhat to the prominence of these spaces (the West End, Victoria Quay, the East End and King’s Square) (see Figure 1.8) in Fremantle’s story over the decade. The four spaces are by no means a coherent entity or fixed zones, nor do they encapsulate Fremantle as a whole, yet they have meaning and significance within the broader constructions of Fremantle. My use of the term boundary (see chapter two) in relation to how I view the four case study areas, is taken from Geraldine Pratt (1998) whereby places are not bounded and static yet boundaries do exist which are contingent on the selectivity of openness and closures which inform them. Again boundaries may be a material reality (such as a train line, which in the case of Fremantle creates a boundary between the City and the Port) but they are also relational. A critical investigation of boundaries helps to ‘reveal the processes and power relations that produce bounded areas’ (Pratt, G 1998, 31).

There are many other spaces which inform the broader identity of Fremantle and have particular historical significance, for instance the Fishing Boat Harbour, South Fremantle and the Cappuccino Strip (South Terrace) (see Figure 1.8), but I have decided on the four topics as an outcome of their significant ‘on-going’ local political controversies during the last decade which have emerged from my reading of the *Fremantle Herald* as well as from my engagement in the ‘participant observation’ of Fremantle.



Figure 1.8: A street map of Fremantle. I have shaded the imagined geographical boundaries of the; West End, Victoria Quay, East End, Kings Square, and the Cappuccino Strip. (Source: http://www.staywa.net.au/western_australia_information/maps/maps_experience_perth.html date accessed, March 7, 2012)

1.3.3 Case Studies

In this next section I will briefly discuss the issues being addressed in the case study areas of the West End (see chapter four), Victoria Quay (see chapter five), the Wool Stores in Fremantle’s East End (see chapter six) and Kings Square (see chapter seven).

1.3.4 West End

In chapter four I detail the ongoing controversy surrounding the establishment of the University of Notre Dame Australia (NDA) and local actors who perceive the ‘buy up’ of this area and the continued growth of the university to be contributing to a neighbourhood monoculture. The West End is a particularly sensitive area of Fremantle for many locals who came to Fremantle in the 1960s and 1970s seeking a different type of lifestyle and reacting to the destruction of heritage buildings occurring in Perth. In *Fighting for Fremantle* (2010) Ron and Dianne Davidson document the history of the Fremantle Society, which was formed in reaction to proposals in the 1960s to demolish a significant portion of the buildings along High Street in the West End as part of a street-widening project. Largely due to the campaigning of this local heritage conscious group of newcomers, much of the West End’s Edwardian and Victorian streetscape was preserved. Consequently, when NDA began buying up West End buildings in the late 1980s, the Fremantle Society and other local complainants again responded as a group whose city was perceived to be under threat. In this chapter I seek to draw out the competing claims to place in the West End. What is of interest in this chapter are the ways in which opposing groups position themselves in an attempt to define the meaning of the West End.

1.3.5 Victoria Quay

Across from the West End, towards the working port, is another historic precinct, Victoria Quay. Initially this quay was the centre for port activity and also briefly housed the railway workshops which were relocated to Midland in 1904 (see, Bertola and Oliver 2006; Hutchison 2006). However, technological innovation, the development of container shipping on North Quay and the construction of an industrial port and complex at Kwinana, ~20 kilometres south of Fremantle, have resulted in large portions of Victoria Quay becoming surplus to the needs of Fremantle Ports. In chapter five I will address the issue of a commercial development controversy which has spanned the decade. The rise of urban entrepreneurialism in the context of inter-urban competition has been well

documented by Harvey (1989b) and, on Port Adelaide, by Oakley (2005; 2009). The redevelopment of previous 'brown-field' sites and the potential scale for 'flagship' waterfront projects relates to Fremantle Ports' leasing the land to ING real estate to develop and manage a \$200 million commercial development. This controversy has pitted local organisations including the Fremantle Society against Fremantle Ports, ING and the state government (which ultimately has the last say since the land is state owned). However, what I aim to demonstrate in chapter five is that Victoria Quay, although state land, is inextricably linked to identities of Fremantle as a City and as a working port. Therefore, while the re-imaging of Victoria Quay was informed by urban entrepreneurialism, the resistance to this process involved a cultural politics approach.

1.3.6 The Wool Stores in Fremantle's East End

Further to the East and back across the railway line is Fremantle's East End. The East End acts as the antithesis of the West End. Since the early 1900s the East End has been characterised by commercial warehouses, most notably Wool Stores. As the wool companies moved out of town to more efficient facilities in outer suburban industrial estates, one of the largest Wool Stores was purchased by entrepreneurial developer, Marilyn New, who was drawn to investment in Fremantle at the time of the America's Cup (Macbeth, Selwood, and Veitch 2011). The development controversy at the Wool Stores is particularly informative in the interrogation of the question 'whose city' at place where commodification, urban escapism, urban entrepreneurialism, contested heritages and cultural politics collide in what is increasingly acknowledged in the local community as a hub for (graffiti) artists and skateboarders but is, perhaps, a demolition waiting to happen.

1.3.7 Kings Square

The fourth case study brings the journey back to the symbolic centre of Fremantle, Kings Square. It was formerly the central square according to the earliest town plans

(see chapter three) and was named in honour of the King of Great Britain and Ireland, the ruler of the colonial empire. This name of the square is colloquially used interchangeably with that of St Johns Square (and was formerly recognised as such for a period of time), reflecting the establishment of the church which was built in the square in 1845. Dominant narratives of Kings Square between 2000 and 2010 position it as an embattled city heart in need of resuscitation (Kwintowski 2003f; Wilson-Chapman 2010a). It is my aim in this chapter to interrogate ‘place-making’ and creative city marketing strategies for Kings Square in the context of what was defined as a ‘social problem’, in the local media. Simultaneously, imperial and entrepreneurial, Kings Square is heavily coded as ‘white’. In chapter seven, I examine the potential for regenerating narratives to do with colonialism, empire and entrepreneurialism to be exclusionary for the indigenous individuals and groups currently using the square. The question ‘whose city’ in the space of Kings Square draws into sharp focus the terms by which the city of Fremantle has been established. It also questions how regenerating narratives may be reproduced today.

1.4 Challenge

Each of these four case studies presents a challenge to conceptualisations of space as abstract and ‘out there’ and of place as ‘bounded’ and somehow ‘self-evident’. In exploring and extending the reconceptualisation of space against empirically complex case studies, the question of ‘whose city’ is thereby rendered open to a multiplicity of possibilities and problems. It is not specifically the degree of ownership that is at issue here, but rather the terms by which the identities of Fremantle are constructed and claimed. To open up Fremantle to the question of ‘whose city’ presents a challenge best summed up by Massey (2005, 169):

The challenge of the negotiation of place is shockingly unequal. And the politics, economics and cultures of space – through white flight, through gated communities, through the class-polarising geographies of market relations – are actively used in the production of that inequality...We come to each place with the necessity, the responsibility, to examine anew and to invent.

And so, here goes.

2.0 Chapter Two: Conceptualising Space within the context of ‘Whose City?’: Theoretical, conceptual and local perspectives

2.1 Introduction:

The allure of the City often highlights the paradox, whereby the City can be, ‘good and bad, civilised or blighted, source of enlightenment or vice’ (Drewe 1997, 1). These contradictions have provided a rich source of inspiration for scholars, poets, artists, and musicians alike. However, not all urban theorists acknowledge this, nor do all urban theorists appear to be on the same page. Within urban scholarship there remains a considerable divide between the ‘pro’ and ‘anti’ urbanists. Jane Jacobs’ writing in the 1960s ‘set the tone’ for ‘putting the City first’ (Massey 2005, 78-79; Soja 2000) in which she ruthlessly attacks Patrick Geddes, Ebenezer Howard, Le Corbusier and Lewis Mumford, labelling them, ‘de-centrists’ and ‘anti-urban’ for their inability to acknowledge and interpret generators of diversity from ‘below’. The ‘visionaries’, as Peter Hall (1996) describes these men, in his opening preface to *Cities of Tomorrow*, are often idealised by those with an urban fetish including Robert Drewe (Drewe 1997, 3) who, despite providing my lovely opening quote, disagreed with Jacobs, acknowledging that Mumford, in his introduction to *The Penguin Book of the City* was: ‘for (his) urban fervour the self-proclaimed “child of the city”... (and) was streets ahead’. Even the prolific urban theorist on global cities, Mike Davis (2006), has been labelled ‘anti-urban’ for his work *Planet of Slums* by Angotti (2006, 961) who describes this work as possessing an ‘apocalyptic rhetoric’, which feeds into ‘longstanding anti-urban fears about working people who live in cities’. Given such extensive and contradictory writing on the city it can be difficult to know how to approach a study on the City. Nevertheless, Geographers, given their longstanding concern with the spatial, have much to contribute to the scholarship on understanding cities.

First of all, it is difficult to generalise about the city because ‘much of what composes it is routinely hidden or unacknowledged’ (Allen 1999, 65). Drawing on Henri Lefebvre (1991), Allen points out that spaces within the city are routinely coded with rhythms and meaning, whereby some are dominant and others may be

obscured. Allen (1999, 65) labels the power to 'smother difference' as being integral to who is seen as in place and who may be constructed as 'out of place'. Building on the work which Doreen Massey, John Allen and Steve Pile (1999) have contributed to the understanding of cities, it appears that it is the ways in which they conceptualise space and difference which affects how one may perceive a given writer to be 'pro' or 'anti' urban. The popular concepts of urbanisation and globalisation have led to many apocalyptic concerns (particularly as the decade 2000-2010 is acknowledged in Fellmann, Getis and Getis (2007) as being the first time that the global population living in urban areas, has outweighed their rural counterpart and has related this to concerns over the social and environmental sustainability of cities. To such enormous issues Massey (1999b, 169) simply states, a rider must be added to questions relating to the City, 'you have to ask "for whom?"'.

Secondly, thinking spatially is a way of addressing issues within the City whereby the 'contemporaneity' (Massey 2005) of difference, local narratives and power enable alternative and more nuanced approaches to the dominant coding of processes such as globalisation and urbanisation, and their 'spin offs' including gentrification, urban entrepreneurialism and the growth of heritage industries (Hewison 1987). The criticism, particularly of modernist (Thrift 2002) and political economy approaches (Hubbard 1996) is that too often the multiplicity of trajectories, voices and relationships are conflated in singular and linear narratives.

Finally, this reconceptualisation of space impacts upon the concept of place. This thesis is not only concerned with contributing to the understanding of cities through a reconceptualisation of space but, more broadly, through a consideration of the various dimensions of place. Fremantle is simultaneously a City and a place. In the following chapter I will background the situation of Fremantle as a City within the broader metropolitan region of the Western Australian capital city of Perth. Therein, the place name, Fremantle, takes on a significance beyond that which a purely spatial approach to cities may be able to accommodate and meets up with the theoretical literatures on 'commodification' (Jackson 2004), 'selling places' (Kearns and Philo 1993) and 'gentrification' (Shaw 2007), processes which may occur at different scales and spaces within the City. Again, what is fundamental within this critical literature is an appreciation of space as contemporaneous, open and always in

process. Place is where the issues and complexities of ‘global’ and ‘local’ space comes to ground (Harvey 2000b; Rofe 2003). Central to this is the argument that places are simultaneously material and imagined (Dunn, McGuirk, and Winchester 1995; Winchester, McGuirk, and Dunn 1996). The significance of this, as Bridge and Watson (2000, 16) have argued in their introduction to *A Companion to The City*, is that ‘if we take seriously the power of the imagination, then questions also need to be asked regarding in which sites and institutions different imaginings are produced and with what effects’.

Therefore, the theoretical concern of this thesis relates predominantly to the mistreatment of space in approaches to the understanding of place and the City, and to ground this concern in a study of spatial and planning issues in Fremantle, Western Australia. It is a research thesis that is particularly inspired by the work of Doreen Massey and her attempts to put space on the agenda within post-structuralism, and is in tune with other theorists including Nigel Thrift, Matthew Rofe and David Ley who continue to assert that ‘space matters’ (Rofe 2009, 303).

2.1.1 The Question – ‘Whose City’?

In the early morning around 8 a.m., along South Terrace in Fremantle, if you listen carefully to the sounds, you may hear (amongst other goings-on) older Italian men meeting at *Gino’s* for their routine coffee and catch up. Their conversations are here and now, but they are also symbolic of an historical claim to place. Fremantle has a long association with southern European migration, particularly post WWII, and as an entrepôt for migration into Western Australia, including the first of the British settlers aboard the *Parmelia* on 2 June 1829 (Hutchison 2006). Indeed some might argue (albeit with no consideration of the local Indigenous population) that the cosmopolitan identity of Fremantle that ‘makes it what it is today’ began with the establishment of the Italian fishing industry in the Fishing Boat Harbour (see Figure 1.8, page 16) (Basile, personal communication October, 2008).

The point of this example is to indicate that any answer to the question ‘whose city’ often depends on who is being asked and, further to this, that place, rather than being

perceived as 'bounded' or 'pre-given' (Massey 2005), can be better understood as a meeting up of different stories and trajectories. The power of this question to provoke competing and contrasting claims works well in unsettling conceptualisations of space and place as fixed. Furthermore, there is another more nuanced point worth making from this example, namely that ownership and belonging to place is not simply what might be found in a land registry, but rather the ingredients that go into constructing the identity of a place are enacted (in the everyday) as much as they are claimed through other more formal channels.

The question, 'whose city' then, has been perennial in the social sciences. Ray Pahl (1975) popularised the question in his work, *Whose City?*, investigating the challenges between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'. Drawing on the work of Max Weber, Pahl, made some important claims about the dominant groups' need to relinquish power if there is to be greater equality. The concept of redistribution however has been problematised more recently, with Bridge and Watson (2000, 14) suggesting 'this was a relatively benign imaginary, wherein resided the possibility for change and reform'. In a similar vein, Dunn (1998) points to an assimilationist thread in the theoretically inspired Weberian and Marxist writings on the City in his work on rethinking ethnic concentrations. Dunn has argued that, in an attempt to achieve equality across ethnic and class differences an inherent power to smother, rather than to privilege, difference is evident. Hence the contemporaneity of difference and place is lost.

Massey (1999a) and Kofman (1998) have also focused on the question 'whose city?'. Massey drew upon the question in her televised documentary for the Open University, where she investigated the increasing social polarisation resulting from the powerful processes of urbanisation and globalisation influencing Mexico City. Similarly, Kofman, in her critique of the conceptual hierarchy of global cities, took a Lefebvre-inspired look at the question of 'whose right to the city' and showed the ways in which power is encoded in space in order to exclude. In both studies, it is their reconceptualisations of difference which are designed to unsettle naturalised power structures. Massey's direct posing of the question "whose city is it?" to a range of individuals in the television programme is most instructive because it provoked seemingly paradoxical responses from the interviewees, all of whom claimed that Mexico City belonged to anyone but them. In the case of the rural

migrants clinging to parachute settlements on the edge of the City, it was the government and the ruling elite who owned the City. However, for the Meryl Lynch financial broker living in a wealthy suburb, it was the poor and the people who ‘cannot move’ who own the City, because the wealthy were too afraid to go out of their houses. Rather than descending into a reductionist treatment of such questions for example, ‘is the growing population of Mexico City sustainable both socially and environmentally?’ the question of whose city opens the issue up to a multiplicity of voices. Massey also showed how some spaces in the City can be liberating for the underprivileged. When thinking about approaching Fremantle as a case study what drew me to the question of ‘whose city?’ were the claims by many different groups that the City did belong to them. In a place where identity is fiercely contested and is often associated with particular aspects of the built environment, I realised that a study on the different spaces within Fremantle could make a contribution to the ongoing scholarly work on the reconceptualisations of space and the politics of place.

In developing the conceptual tools with which I investigated the four case studies in the chapters to follow (see chapters five to eight) it is important to situate the reconceptualisation of space as it is occurring within critical geography and to consider how this relates to the broader social, economic and constructional processes currently occurring in Fremantle. In the remainder of this chapter, I will introduce a number of terms (difference, local narratives and power) which can be used to problematise the issues of ownership and belonging in Fremantle – and elsewhere – and thereby to open up a relational politics of place. Finally in this chapter, I will consider the significance of the processes of gentrification, urban entrepreneurialism and heritage construction as they relate particularly to port cities as a lead in to the background chapter on Fremantle to which follows.

2.2 Theoretical Perspectives: Reconceptualising Space

Space is a particularly difficult term to conceptualise because it has many double-usages. Massey (2005) claimed, in *for space*, that the way we think about space, even implicitly, has effects and, more generally, that the way we approach an

argument influences its form and therefore our thinking about space, even implicitly, affects our resultant thoughts. In the paradigm of post-structuralism, significant work (Laclau 1990; Laclau and Mouffe 2001; Zournazi 2002) has endeavoured to open up time and history to the spatial yet, as Massey has argued, conceptualisations of space have often remained (in modernist approaches) both within the realm of the fixed and as a surface and has thus been equated with this representation. Massey's proposed alternative is to campaign for a reconceptualisation of space as a process of becoming, which is dynamic, contemporaneous and always open. In other words, 'it is not "space itself" which influences what happens... but the spatial configurations of social relations' (Massey 1999b, 166). In this section, I will problematise modernist conceptions of space as they appear in post-structuralism and indicate how a reconceptualisation of space in the manner proposed by Massey has implications for the construction of place and for a number of issues related to the spatial including processes of globalisation, urban entrepreneurialism and heritage construction.

2.2.1 Opening up space

Within the discipline of geography the concept of space has a controversial legacy much of which has to do with the 'conquering' and 'taming' of space, particularly in the context of geography's early role as a handmaiden of imperialism. Consequently, when the 'age of globalisation' and 'late capitalism' was acknowledged (Harvey 1989a) debate accompanying the perceived annihilation of space by time, resulted in some critics declaring the 'end of geography' (Waters 1995, quoted in Rofe 2003, 2515; Massey 2005, 97). The implications of this claim were that the geographical variations created by natural boundaries and by distance had been shattered and that difference, as an essentialist concept, was nullified. The resultant paranoia over 'sameness' was carried through various intellectual threads including Marxist contentions of the power of capital to commodify difference in an urban landscape of increasing entrepreneurialism. What is ironic about the time-space compression thesis (Harvey 1989a) however is that, as technological innovation has brought the world closer together, and footloose multinational corporations have continued to

expand their 'web of influence' (Weightman 2006, 83), it is time (in terms of travel across a surface) that is being shortened and space (as distance) which is being extended (Massey 2005). Nevertheless, the assumption that time conquers space (the prioritisation of time over space) and the treatment of space as the negative opposite of time, continues to pervade the literature on place, robbing space of its dynamism and openness.

Prying open space from the confines of the time-space compression thesis requires the unsettling of the assumption that space is a surface. One reason for this assumption is that 'Unlike time, it seems, you can see space spread out around you. Time is either past or to come or so minutely instantaneously *now* that it is impossible to grasp. Space, on the other hand, is *there* (Massey 2005, 117, original emphasis)'. The implications of thinking of space as a surface have been extensively criticised in relation to the 'age of discovery' (Bellec, Davidson, and Ayre 2002; Parry 1963) when European colonisers set about claiming the rest of the world. One of the gains from post-colonial writing has been the opening up of 'other' voices to contest the dominant colonial histories, which had often privileged the trajectory of the singular story. However, rarely has this critique been applied to the broader conceptualisation of space. Massey (2005) described the meeting up of the Spanish coloniser, Cortés, with the Aztecs in their city of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City today) shifting the point of meeting between the two dominant trajectories and world views to show that, far from Cortés conquering space to reach these new lands, there were already many alternative historical trajectories occurring in this place. Massey is particularly critical of the colonial narratives that describe the 'conquering of space', having argued strongly that such thinking positions the 'other' as being immobile in time and space, and as simply awaiting discovery. While this view has implications for how history and time have been recorded and received (a significant part of the post-structuralist project), it also has implications for how space is conceptualised.

The issue remains that thinking of space, as simply a fixed co-ordinate on a map or on the ground is problematic. Particularly in structuralism, representation has been conceived of as spatialisation. Space as a surface in this conception would remain the same, entertaining the mobility of the social and the cultural. However, as Massey has argued: 'If you really were to take a slice through time it would be full of holes, of disconnections, of tentative half-formed first encounters' (Massey 2005, 107).

This is not to mention that the ground itself would also be different, as Massey details well in her case study on ‘immigrant rocks’ (Open University 1997). The conceptualisation of space as ‘fixed’ is unsettled nicely in critical migration stories. A common migrant tale, involves the tension between feelings of ‘alienation’ at the place of destination, which is offset by the imagination of ‘home’ and a longing to return. However, as Berger and Mohr (1975, quoted in Massey and Jess 1995) so eloquently illustrate in their creative piece the migrant’s journey is reframed when, upon their return, their home place has changed.ⁱⁱⁱ Massey (2005, 124) described this type of migrant travel as a journey across a surface ‘sloping backward in time’, while the account of Cortés in his expedition to discover the new world can be read as a journey across a surface which ‘slopes forward in time’ with the lives of those awaiting discovery, ‘immobile’. The issue, either way, is that to think that one can go backwards or forwards in time-space ‘is to deprive others of their ongoing independent stories’ (Massey 2005, 125). By rejecting space as a surface, this concept can then be torn free of these referents. Alternatively then, space can be renegotiated as a meeting up of trajectories, where new connections and disconnections are continuously being made. Massey (2005, 199) illustrated this point in her critical reflection of a train ride she took from her home in London to her work in Milton Keynes:

Thinking space as the sphere of a multiplicity of trajectories, imagining a train journey (for example) as a speeding across on-going stories’... At either end of your journey, then, a town or city (a place) which itself consists of a bundle of trajectories. And likewise with the places in between. You are, on that train, travelling not across space-as-a-surface (this would be the landscape – and anyway what to humans may be a surface is not so to the rain and may not be so either to a million micro-bugs which weave their way through it – this ‘surface’ is a specific relational production) you are travelling *across trajectories*.

2.2.3 Space in Post-structuralism

The achievements of post-structuralist scholarship are well noted. According to Massey, scholarship on post-structuralism has contributed to the ‘dynamisation and dislocation of structuralism’s structures...it has imbued those structures with temporality and cracked them open to reveal the existence of other voices’ (Massey 2005, 42). Revealing the multiplicity and contestation in the construction of places and in how history is treated (time as temporal) is very much in tune with post-structuralist approaches to the politics of space, wherein space is considered not to be a fixed surface but relational and contemporaneous. However, despite these gains, Massey has been particularly concerned with the ways in which space has continued to be equated with representation, and with how it is implicated in what she terms, the ‘horizontality of deconstruction’.

Massey (2005) takes Laclau and Derrida (amongst others, including De Certeau) to task over their treatment of space. Despite the acknowledgement that both authors’ works are completely in tune with the aim of opening up a more democratic politics, Massey has proposed, that it is their limited focus on conceptualising the spatial which has left ‘a whole potential field of the sources of dislocation... unexplored’ (Massey 2005, 44). Laclau, in his work, *New reflections on the revolution of our time* (1990), has claimed that ‘dislocation is the very form of temporality. And temporality must be conceived as the exact opposite of space. The ‘spatialisation’ of an event consists of eliminating its temporality’ (Laclau 1990, quoted in Massey 2005, 43). Massey has argued that, in Laclau’s case, it is a problem of terminology, ‘If he were to drop the equation of the terms space/spatial with causal closure (and hegemonisation-representation), all would be well... (the implications thus are that) ‘a whole potential field of the sources of dislocation is left unexplored’ (Massey 2005, 44).

The challenge of space in contemporary ‘post-structural’ literature has also been the subject of Nigel Thrift’s (2008) work on ‘non-representative theory’. Thrift’s conceptual turn away from a fixation on representation and to a reconceptualisation of space ‘permits the recognition of a world that is far messier than hitherto imagined and in which order, pseudo-order and near inchoateness can all exist at the same

time' (Robertson 2012 in press). In agreement with Massey, Thrift has argued for a conceptualisation of space that is always in process and where both human and non-human practices are continually in the making (Thrift 2003). The critical point in 'non-representational theory' is that rather than '(t)he world is like a text' Massey has argued that 'texts are just like the rest of the world' (Massey 2005, 50).

Massey's (2005) critique of Derrida and the 'horizontalness of deconstruction', demonstrates this point. Again, Massey has conceded that Derrida's work is 'entirely in the spirit' with what Massey argues in *for space*, it is just that the spatial, in this circumstance, is being equated with the textual. Derrida also concedes that 'for deconstruction to live, and particularly when it is being transported into new areas, it will need to be transformed' recognising the importance of spatiality. However Massey has argued that, with the popularity of this method (deconstruction), the 'penchant for generalisability' becomes a problem (Massey 2005, 50). The problem lies in equating space with textualisation. Massey (2005, 39) asserted that '(i)n order for there to be relations there must of necessity be spacing'. While Derrida wrote 'even if there is no discourse, the effect of spacing already implies a textualisation' (Derrida 1994, quoted in Massey 2005, 50). This subtle yet critical point is explained by Massey again. Derrida approaches space as a text, whereas Massey has argued that 'texts are just like the rest of the world' (Massey 2005, 50) thus freeing space and opening it up to what Thrift (2008) terms 'non-representational theory'.

2.3 The openness of Space and the politics of Place

2.3.1 Space of Flows

One criticism of Massey's work (Pratt 1998) is her conceptual requirement for space to be left open rather than seeing it as a fixed surface, or an empty container. Possibly the best way to explain this is through Thrift's (2002) critique of Manuel Castells' (1989) 'space of flows'. This issue also relates to the concept of place which thereby becomes part of the confusion. Kaplan and Donald (2001) are critical of Massey's politics of place, where place is not bounded but rather 'open and

porous to flows from beyond'. They argue, 'however, that a notion of place that has no boundaries empties the concept completely of its content' (Kaplan and Donald 2001, quoted in Massey 2005, 175). This critique, although flawed, is perhaps a good point at which to connect the reconceptualisation of space with the politics of place.

Kaplan and Donald (2001) confuse Massey's politics of openness with flow across a surface wherein space/place is fixed as an empty container. However space, as Massey has conceptualised it, is not the 'space' in a 'space of flows'. 'Space' in a 'space of flows' again implies a fixed surface across which people, goods, money flow. To campaign for an openness of space in a space of flows would be to argue for a borderless world. Instead, in Massey's reconceptualisation of space, the landscape is considered to be fluid and bound up in the ways that spatial configurations of social relations are formed, creating boundaries and power geometries of openness and closures. Massey is not dedicated to the ethical principle of an openness of flows, whatever those flows might be (capital, labour, travel, goods) but rather to an openness of a politics wherein the terms by which closures and openings are created, controlled, maintained and broken, are socially constructed. Acknowledging space as a meeting up of trajectories, a 'throwntogetherness' and as something that is continually in process, redirects our focus toward the terms of engagement in the closures and openings that occur. From this position, any essentialist, bounded and/or self-evident claim to place, is dislocated.

To further elaborate this point, Thrift (2002) takes three of the big names in global economic theory, Fredric Jameson, Manuel Castells and David Harvey, to task over their conceptualisations of space. Each theorist has written on the changing map of global capitalism with 'a considerable degree of apprehension about our ability to comprehend these transformations' (Thrift 2002, 31). Picking up on Thrift's critique of Castells (1989), Thrift (2002, 33) has argued:

Clearly the world has become more difficult to understand as it has become more and more complex. Certainly, there is an electronic space of flows. Of course, the world has speeded up. But because the world is more difficult to understand doesn't mean that nothing is

understandable. The space of flows doesn't reach everyone. Speed isn't everything. The story is as much in what is missing from these accounts as in what is there.

The point here is that globalisation, the interconnection of the world, is not self-evident, it is a project wherein connections are made, often creating other disconnections. To link this back to Massey's argument for space as open, porous and always in process, fractures the claims whereby globalisation is considered an 'inevitability' opening it up as a political process, wherein the terms by which new (hyper-speed) connections and disconnections are constructed can be critiqued. Therefore, the notion of boundaries, is not in opposition to Massey (2005), nor to Thrift's (2002), reconceptualisations of space. Thrift points this out, in his case study on the flow of international money, in which he has characterised South Central Los Angeles as an 'electronic ghetto', a place where 'the space of flows comes to a full stop' (2002, 39). This is an example of a closure. Thrift concluded that, in terms of a 'space of flows', in this case of international money, the central business district of Los Angeles is more interconnected spatially with London, New York and Tokyo than it is with the neighbouring suburb of South Central Los Angeles. The danger here might be to assume that South Central Los Angeles is thereby left off the map. However, a rethinking of space wherein a 'space of flows' is only one of many 'spaces of flows' allows for alternative voices and conceptualisations of South Central away from that of a local victim of globalisation. This blows apart the conceptual hierarchy of cities and countries all being located on a continuum to development, by which some places are considered 'backward' and where structural adjustments within the economy can help them to progress. The movie *Boyz n tha Hood* (Singleton 1991) was an attempt to fracture the dominant narratives of place and provide an alternative voice on and for South Central Los Angeles.

2.3.2 Boundaries

Nevertheless, the issue of boundaries remains. One of the leading theorists attempting to put the concept of boundaries at the forefront of post-structuralism's quest to dislocate and open space and place is Geraldine Pratt. Pratt (1998) has

bounced off Massey's (1994) work *Space, place and gender* but she has done so in a nuanced way, pointing out '(s)o too, it has been argued that it is inappropriate to view places as bounded because any boundaries are permeable, the global flows through the local, and the local is always dynamic' (Pratt 1998, 27). While Pratt uses this argument to set up her case for the reality of boundaries, she is also explicit in pointing out her rejection of the 'city as a mosaic of spatially discrete and spatially bounded social worlds' thesis, which was implicit, if not explicit, in the geography of the Chicago School and in numerous other formulations of geographical development. However she has described a middle ground wherein de-territorialised mobile identities and fixed boundaries are both problematic. Pratt (1998, 27) contends that, 'the denial of the reality of boundaries would seem to be a luxury affordable only to those not trapped by them'. Incorporating her own work and with Susan Hansen (Pratt and Hanson 1988), Pratt has pointed out that '(w)e do not, however, see bounded places and spatialised identities as natural and static; our point has been to reveal the processes and power relations that produce bounded areas and the implications of these for those who are contained and enact their identities within them' (Pratt 1998, 31). While Massey's work is often cited in opposition to this contention, this is precisely in line with what Massey has argued in *for space*. It also resonates with the work that Kevin Dunn (1993, 1998) and Wendy Shaw (2000, 2007) have conducted on the suburbs of Cabramatta and Redfern in Sydney, Australia.

Massey's (2005, 130) concession is that '(s)ometimes there are attempts at drawing boundaries, but even these do not usually refer to everything: they are selective filtering systems; their meaning and effect is constantly renegotiated. And they are persistently transgressed'. A definition of boundaries as relational and negotiated again opens the process of their construction up to political discourse. Approaching place in this considered way takes into account Lefebvre's concern with the ways in which power is coded and encoded through humanity's daily rhythms and movements. Allen's (1999) use of Lefebvre's (1991) work to show how 'spaces are coded by dominant rhythms which are able to give the impression that in a particular space, or in a particular building even, only certain groups are actually present' (Allen 1999, 65) has been beautifully described by Massey (2005) when she was writing on the IRA bombings in London which provoked the City authorities to put

the central area into lockdown. While this appeared to be a (boundary) closure, certain groups and individuals (namely workers in the financial sector) were allowed access to the secured area. What was involved was a highly selective process of inclusion and exclusion. Yet, Massey points out, a whole other set of selective inclusions are involved, for example cleaners and people with the jobs which Lefebvre describes as not perceived as present, but which were required for the City to function. Space is relational and, importantly, what are at issue here are the terms by which the closures and openings are negotiated. Short (2000, 19) described the urban built form as ‘a system of boundaries and transgressions, centres and peripheries, surveillances and gestures’.

2.3.3 More on Place: Making sense of space

Reconceptualising space as relational, a meeting up of trajectories, always in process, then has implications for how place is conceptualised. To refine Kaplan and Donald’s (2001, quoted in Massey 2005) critique of Massey, rather than a ‘politics of place’ Massey (2005) has asserted a ‘relational politics of place’, the emphasis being that determining what is at issue is a social choice. Massey has written that ‘(a) relational politics of place, then, involves both the inevitable negotiations presented by throwntogetherness and a politics of the terms of openness and closure’ (Massey 2005, 181). Furthermore, the reconceptualisation of globalisation as asserted by Rofe (2003, 2009) and Massey (2005), adds a further spatial element to the conceptualisation of place, meaning that places are influenced by connections, disconnections and decisions that may be made elsewhere. Places do not exist as a closed system. Far from the implications of the ‘time-space compression’ and ‘space of flows’ theses, where the local is the victim of the global, what a new thinking on space then raises, is a ‘politics of connectivity’ (Massey 2005, 181).

2.3.4 How do the global and the local relate?

If the local scale is considered to be the realm of ‘experience, locality, home and work’ (Taylor and Flint 2000, 45) then the global scale can alternatively be positioned as ‘out there’. This concrete/abstract dualism also reveals itself in conceptualisations of place and space (Massey 2005). Yi-Fu Tuan (1977, quoted in Massey 2005, 183) has proposed that “space” is more abstract than “place”. Social theorists often render space abstract where ‘place is space to which meaning has been ascribed’ (Massey 2005, 183). A simplistic conflation of the local as place and the global as space appears to be at work in such conceptualisations. However, this is to deny space any form of meaning, again positioning it as fixed, closed and as a surface. The assumption made here is that space as a concept has no meaning outside that which is ascribed to it through representation. ‘The couplets local/global and place/space do not map on to that of concrete/abstract. The global is just as concrete (not in the sense of the term fixed but rather has material implications) as is the local place’ (Massey 2005, 184). Rofe (2009) put forward arguments similar to those of Massey, when he investigated Sydney’s new global elite class. Rofe found that, when inner-city residents of gentrified suburbs constructed their material space as globally integrated, it was often in opposition to a geographical imagination which necessarily relied on the construction and stigmatisation of the outer suburbs as non-globally. Thrift (2002, 39) came to a similar conclusion: ‘What we find, in other words, are networks that are always both “global” and “local”’ and this applies whether such networks appear in South Central Los Angeles or in the suburbs of Sydney.

Rofe (2003, 2009) amongst others (e.g. Ley 2004; Jackson 2004) has mounted a strong attack against notions of space as being eradicated through the ‘domestication of time’ (Douglas 1997, quoted in Rofe 2009, 296). The issue that Rofe raises in his accounts of respondents living in Sydney, who negotiate simultaneously between their material local and global spaces, challenges those conceptualisations of space, such as those mentioned above, wherein space is the realm of the ‘dead’. Place is not space to which meaning is ascribed because, as Rofe demonstrates, places are not coherent entities and it is the spatial configurations of social relations which rather give meaning to places. On thinking about place spatially then, Massey (2005) has

drawn on Arif Dirlik's (1998) use of the term 'place-based' as opposed to 'place-bound' in recognising the importance of space beyond place. "Place-based" implies that the "project of place" is influenced by trajectories and mixities beyond the local (Massey 2005, 184) whereas 'place-bound' suggests that those things found in place are somehow 'self-evident'. Consequently, not only is place produced through a meeting up of historical trajectories in the 'here', but thinking about the construction of place spatially means recognising that the identity of a City, for example Fremantle, is always being negotiated from within and beyond both its material and its imagined boundaries.

2.4 Conceptual Perspectives

It is interesting that two key thinkers on space and place, Doreen Massey and David Harvey rarely acknowledge each other in their work. Sheppard (2009, 1037), in his review of Massey's work *for space*, noted that there is a lot to be gained from a close comparison of the two: 'Both Harvey and Massey articulate a relational approach to space, albeit drawing heavily from seemingly distinct (dialectical/Marxist and post-structural/feminist) philosophical traditions, and coming to quite different political judgements. While Harvey's approach has argued 'that the hegemony of capital forecloses political opportunities for disempowered and fractionated majorities' Massey's reconceptualisation of space focuses on the openness of the outcome where 'identities and relations are co-constitutive' (Sheppard 2009, 1037). It is worth acknowledging the tension between the two as each tempers the other. The significant challenge is to address how Massey's reconceptualisation of space challenges Harvey's sustained examination of time-space compression (1989a). Sheppard (2009, 1037) has argued that Massey's 'emphasis on space rather than space-time runs the danger of reifying the former'. It is worth exploring Harvey's position in order to generate some scholarly depth and some critical questions pertaining to Massey's reconceptualisation of space.

Writing from a Marxist political economy perspective, Harvey is skeptical of the power of capitalism to enhance and play on 'difference' as a means of exploiting and dividing the working class. In a plenary paper presented to the *European Workshop*

on the Improvement of the Built Environment and Social Integration in Cities (1992), Harvey reacted strongly to the ‘privileging’ of difference championed by Iris Marion Young (1990). Harvey focused his critique on events which occurred in the public open space of Tomkins Square in New York City.

Harvey’s (1992, 591) challenge read:

What are we to make of the fact that the uses turn out to be so conflictual and that even conceptions as to what the space is for and how it is to be managed diverge radically among competing factions? To hold all the divergent politics of need and desire together within some coherent frame may be a laudable aim, but in practice far too many of the interests are mutually exclusive to allow their mutual accommodation.

The competing differences present in the square had been detailed in the *New York Times* (1991, quoted in Harvey 1992, 590):

There are neighborhood associations clamoring for the city to close the park and others just as insistent that it remain for the city’s downtrodden. The local Assemblyman, Steven Sanders, yesterday called for a curfew that would effectively evict more than a hundred homeless people camped out in the park. Councilwoman Miriam Friedlander instead recommended that Social Services, like healthcare and drug treatment, be brought directly to the people living in the tent city. ‘We do not find the park is being used appropriately’, said Deputy Mayor Barbara J. Fife, ‘but we recognise there are various interests’. There is, they go on to say, only one thing that is a consensus, first that there isn’t a consensus over what should be done, except that any new plan is likely to provoke more disturbances, more violence.

The result, as Harvey reported, was the government’s choice to close the square and place it under permanent guard with everyone evicted. Harvey described this as ‘the bad edge of postmodernity’, ‘militarizing rather than liberating space’ (Davis 1990, quoted in Harvey 1992, 591). However, the concept of difference can be expanded.

Thinking about the events of Tompkins Park in relation to Massey's reconceptualisation of space, this is by no means the end of the story. What occurred in Tompkins Square was an attempt to purify space whereby a particular order could be either restored or renegotiated. The *New York Times* article described the situation as one in which various interest groups were unable to achieve a consensus on how the park should be used, yet this fails to illustrate the power relations involved. By interrogating the terms of the closure and the process up to the re-opening of the Square, it might be possible to clarify which groups hold greater power than others.

Kevin Dunn (1998) finds that approaches such as the one Harvey outlines above, are premised on an assumption that the 'retention of difference' is held to be negative, in turn legitimising the cultural dominance of the majority group. Alternatively, Harvey (1992, 590) has argued; 'at what point do we consider homelessness an expression of self-diversification'? Certainly the issue is a sobering topic, yet more often than not, as Jane Jacobs (1961) asserted, it is not the poor who displace the wealthy, but the other way round. Allowing the Square to remain open may at least have given homeless people a space to occupy, however temporary that might have been. Thinking about the issue of homelessness spatially, however, requires consideration of other powerful processes involved, a situation of which Harvey is only too acutely aware (Harvey 2000a).

What the 'politics of difference' approach has sought to do is not to reinforce 'otherness', but to conceptualise the landscape whereby 'difference does not mean otherness, or exclusive opposition, but rather specificity, variation, heterogeneity' (Young 1993, quoted in Dunn 1998, 511). This breaks with the assumption that 'difference' must always be constructed as negative, and where 'eliminating oppression thus requires eliminating groups' (Young 1990, quoted in Dunn 1998, 510). Homelessness in the city square should not be glorified, but the defence of the space for homeless people to shelter, particularly where there is access to facilities, which are often found in more central areas, can legitimately be defended. This of course depends on how a central square is coded through dominant representations (see chapter seven, the debate on Kings Square). The critical point here is that the 'politics of difference' approach does 'not reject or suppress difference as part of (an) advocacy for subordinate groups, nor as part of their exposure of oppression'

(Dunn 1998, 510) but seeks to open up the terms by which difference may be elided, acknowledged and/or negotiated.

2.4.2 'Invoking ownership' and 'belonging' in the City: The use of narrative

In Massey, Allen and Pile (1999) the question 'what is a city?' is addressed. One of the claims that were made in their article is that the City can never be truly grasped as a whole. To do so is to deny space as the sphere of heterogeneity and as the meeting up of trajectories (Massey 2005). Indeed, this is one of the issues that Thrift (2002) took up in his critique of Jameson, Castells and Harvey. Thrift (2002, 33) wrote of these three accounts:

They make a wonderful modernist detective story, full of mystery (illegibility), spirit (the space of flows), and pace (time-space compression). But do these three barometers of modernity convincingly represent the modern world?... What we can say instead is that they produce a partial representation which does not recognize its own partiality.

Nevertheless, narratives are a powerful means of defining the meaning of place. They may also be a reaction to and may be used as a defensive strategy against the more powerful forces of outside capital (see chapter five). Again what is at issue are the terms by which narratives of the city are evoked and whether 'other' voices are being silenced in the resultant contestations. To add another layer of complexity at this point, similar to Massey's finding from Mexico City, wherein ownership was denied to hide forms of (economic) power, powerful groups often maintain a silence. The theme of narrative as well as that of silence therefore runs throughout this thesis (particularly in relation to the local communities' complaints about the University of Notre Dame in chapter four).

2.4.3 Power Plays and the City

The identification of unequal power relationships also requires consideration. In the reconceptualisation of the spatial, interrogating the terms by which certain closures and openings are constructed is part of the process, as are the narratives that are evoked to present place and spaces as ‘self-determined’. This issue runs throughout the four case studies in Fremantle where multiple claims have been made to the right to define the meaning of a place, but it is clear that certain claims possess greater power than others to influence public debates. The work that Gusfield (1981) carried out on the ‘public problem’ of drink driving is relevant to how I came to identify whose claim was more powerful than those of its rivals. Gusfield defined ‘ownership’ as: ‘derived from the recognition that in the arenas of public opinion and debate all groups do not have equal power, influence, and authority to define the reality of the problem. The ability to create and influence the public definition of a problem is what I refer to as “ownership”’ (Gusfield 1981, 10). There are numerous actors and putative owners in my stories of Fremantle and these will be discussed in chapter three.

2.5 Local Perspectives

The threads running through the three terms discussed above (difference, narrative and power) involve processes including; gentrification, urban entrepreneurialism and heritage construction. Again, these processes are not necessarily local in origin, and their power to influence the future trajectories of Fremantle may, and often do, derive from beyond its boundaries. There has been much written on these topics but what I would like to emphasise in this section are the tensions involved when local participants are not passive consumers of global homogenising forces, but active protagonists, albeit within unequal relationships of power which are continually shifting. A further significant local point is that, amongst its other roles, Fremantle is a port city and remains a working port and a significant amount of scholarly research has focussed on port cities as a special urban case and on developing a critical framework for studying these processes in port city contexts.

Port cities are often referred to as gateway cities. Functionally, port cities are gateways through which goods and people flow. Port cities traditionally had a gritty industrial and working class reputations and were also the points through which many migrants first set foot in new homelands and this has consequently influenced the growth of social and cultural difference which characterises many port cities. Ports have also functioned as economic anchors creating opportunities for businesses and industries to emerge as a result of their proximity to the goods being exchanged. Glaeser (2011) writes that the concentration of the garment industry in New York City owes its success to the proximity of cotton and textiles that came through the port. The location of industrial facilities and warehouses in close proximity has also influenced the built form of many port cities, as well as adding another significant element to the 'gritty, working-class' character of many ports. Their role as command and control points (Hall 1997) in the age of European colonisation remains embedded in much of the built architecture of many ports. Massey (2005, 149) also described how the dominant local articulations of Hamburg as a 'major port and very visibly open to ships and workers and capital from around the world had long evoked one image of the city as cosmopolitan'. Given the diversity of influences on show in many port cities, they provide excellent local case studies by which to disrupt closed conceptualisations of place. However, as the claim in Hamburg as 'one image of the city as cosmopolitan' indicates, a relational politics of place is by no means self-evident.

A significant issue for many port cities, particularly those established during the colonial period, is that they face massive issues with de-industrialisation through technological innovation. This has caused many port cities to stagnate and to experience serious unemployment issues as documented in Liverpool (Open Universities Australia/ABC 1996). It is perhaps, when cities experience these economic problems that the processes of gentrification, urban entrepreneurialism and heritage construction may not merely gain a foothold but be seen as a panacea.

2.5.1 Gentrification

Shaw (2007, 6) wrote ‘Processes of gentrification... are well understood for their capacities to marginalize and exclude along lines of difference (such as class, ‘race’ and gender)’. Particularly from a political economy perspective, the power of capital to manipulate difference has been acknowledged (Harvey 1989a). So too has the post-structural response (Dunn 1998) wherein undercurrents of assimilation flow through aspects of the political economic critiques. Fremantle has been undergoing a process of gentrification since the late 1950s and early 1960s with Jones and Shaw (1992, 5) identifying the local potential for socio-political conflict:

Fremantle’s new economic role as a centre for tourism in general and cultural tourism in particular, is not directly compatible with the city’s original port and commercial functions...many of the more recently arrived residents not only have a vision of Fremantle which differs markedly from that of the longer term inhabitants, they are also more likely to possess the economic, political and organisational abilities which will enable them to achieve their desired ends.

Macbeth, Selwood and Veitch (2011) have identified three waves of gentrification in Fremantle, and their categorisation provides a good starting point for interrogating the variations between groups and between the different claims and narratives whereby claims of ownership have been staked. This provides a context for a consideration of gentrification within this thesis that takes into consideration its cultural politics as well as its political economy (Pratt, Andy 2009). In chapter six, I draw on Wendy Shaw’s (2007) work on urban escapism which examines some of the exclusionary forces of gentrification. Perhaps the most succinct explanation of this process is articulated by Massey (1999, 110) ‘(w)hile there may on occasions be egalitarian jostling, recent more sceptical writing has pointed to middle-class invasions of inner-city areas as attempts to enjoy different peoples as exotica, not really to engage with difference but to treat it, rather, as “local colour”’.

2.5.2 Urban Entrepreneurialism

Harvey (1989b) popularised the framework for understanding urban entrepreneurialism as a counteraction to ‘the alienation and anomie that is increasingly a symptom of globalisation as space becomes annihilated by time’ (Hubbard 1996, 1445). The politics of re-imagining cities has been appropriated and further developed in numerous works since then. Oakley (2009) uses the concept of urban entrepreneurialism in her work on the redevelopment of the old industrial waterfront in Port Adelaide highlighting the retreating role of the state, the power of industrial narratives to be appropriated by entrepreneurial actors as a means of representing this as the problem and new development as the solution, and the appropriation of sustainability as an uncritical response to the excesses of suburban sprawl. These concepts are particularly relevant to the case study on Victoria Quay in chapter five. This framework also draws heavily on the conceptualisation of a global hierarchy of cities (Sassen 2001), wherein cities compete for relevance and investment through the re-imagining that can be brought about through large-scale projects in the hope of somehow altering their future trajectories (Massey, Allen, and Pile 1999).

Harvey’s (1989b) and others conceptualisations of urban entrepreneurialism have the potential to fall into the trap of positioning the global as something which is ‘out there’ or ‘up there’. Massey has argued that these assumptions are ‘reinforced by imaginations of place, or of the local, as victims of global space: the association, in Escobar’s (2001) words, of place, the local and vulnerability on the one hand, and space, capital and agency on the other’ (Massey 2005, 185). The most forceful critical considerations of urban entrepreneurialism’s deficiencies have come from Hubbard (1996) and Wood (1998) and are implicit in the work of Ley (2004) and Jackson (2004) on globalisation. Hubbard critiques this activity from the point of view of culture (rather than space) where ‘much of this work ... takes an impoverished view of culture, and fails to explore adequately the way that cultures are negotiated and contested at the local level (Hubbard 1996, 1446).

2.5.3 Contested Urban Heritages

Since the 1990s there have been many publications dedicated to the study of contestation and of 'alternative' voices in the growing heritage (closely associated with the tourism) industry (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000; Jones and Shaw 2007; Robertson 2012 ; Shaw and Jones 1997; Waterton and Watson 2010). However, as Tunbridge, Jones and Shaw (1996) state, scholarly contributions on the heritage industry can be traced back to at least the 1970s. The genealogies of this complex and emotive field resonate with what Tunbridge, Jones and Shaw (1996, 5) wrote 'that all heritage is the subject of actual or potential conflict and is thus intrinsically "dissonant"'. Harvey (1989a) has also developed a conceptual framework for understanding the growth of the heritage industry through his review of globalisation and time-space compression. He argues that the increasing mobility of international capital is counterpoised by the less fluid movement of people resulting in the rise of exclusive nationalisms, the problem being that 'place-bound' identities are being renegotiated as a means by which working people can defend their locales against more mobile 'new global elites' (Rofe 2009). The ability of modes of capital to manipulate these changes has the potential to reduce difference to commodified pastiches and romanticised histories and this is particularly pronounced in the heritage industry (Massey and Jess 1995; Taylor and Flint 2000). A focus on contested heritages can provide various groups with a means by which to challenge the hegemony of the 'establishment' heritage industry, whose representations tend to have the power of official acceptance. Waterton (2010), in her critique of English cultural tourism identified a process of 'othering'. Waterton quoted Stuart Hall (2005) on the heritage industry to argue '(t)hose who cannot see themselves reflected in its mirror cannot properly "belong"' (Hall 2005, quoted in Waterton 2010, 155).

Robertson (2012 in press) has edited a collection of contested heritage articles, (including one by Jones on Fremantle) in the spirit of what has been termed a 'heritage from below'. The point of this shift is to steer away from the inevitability of commodification and economic determinism described as 'heritage from above'. Robertson (2012 in press) has written:

The idea of heritage from below rests... on the realisation that, whilst the economic realm cannot be wholly separated from heritage, there exist uses of the past in the present that are only minimally related to the economic and that such uses can function as cultural resources for counter hegemonic expressions.

While this edited book opens history up to contemporary interpretations, a central purpose of all heritage creation according to Graham Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000), there is still room for the challenge of opening space up as a process. Although Robertson uses the term landscape instead of space, and he sees the land underfoot as a fixed surface, a constant across history, it is important that the metaphor of the land holding the memories from the past, is tempered with Massey's (2005, 192) conclusion:

My question is can this temporal extension be paralleled in the spatial? As 'the past continues in our present' so also is the distant implicated in our 'here'. Identities are relational in ways that are *spatio-temporal*. They are indeed bound up with 'the narratives of the past' (Hall, 1990, p. 225) and made up of resources we 'inherit' (Gilroy, 1997, p.341), but not only did those pasts themselves have a geography, but the process of identity-construction is 'ongoing' (Gatens and Lloyd) *now*.

Therefore a reconceptualisation of space pushes the critical approaches to heritage construction even further.

2.6 Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter has been to develop an approach for thinking about the current condition of Fremantle in relation to Massey's (2005) reconceptualisation of space and a relational politics of place. The importance of freeing 'space' from modernist interpretations which have also flowed through into post-structural writing is imperative. However, some restraint is required because what is being asserted

here is not naïve openness to any kind of flow, but a critical focus on the terms by which connections and disconnections are constructed as well as those by which boundaries and openings are controlled. Massey has concluded that the ‘real socio-political question concerns less, perhaps, the *degree* of openness/closure (and the consequent question of how on earth one might even begin to measure it), than the *terms* on which that openness/closure is established’ (Massey 2005, 179 original emphasis).

Thinking about the local place of Fremantle spatially then acknowledges that identities which claim to invoke the city as a whole are inevitably partial and rather are made up of a multiplicity of trajectories. The terms of difference, narrative and power thread themselves through the following chapters in a way which acknowledges their contemporaneity. Furthermore, the processes of gentrification, urban entrepreneurialism and heritage construction, inform the issues arising in the case studies to follow.

The spatial is every bit as grounded as the concept of place. It provides the framework for understanding place as a meeting up of trajectories, a throwntogetherness, something that is not bounded. In the following chapter I will introduce the space and place of Fremantle as a background for the case studies in chapter’s four to seven.

3.0 Chapter Three: Background and Methods



Figure 3.1: Aerial photograph of Fremantle and Perth (located further upstream). Note: The central business districts of Fremantle and Perth are significantly located on opposite banks of the river. (Source: Kristian Maley Aerial view of Fremantle June 4, 2005)

3.1 Introduction

Fremantle is a ‘city of difference’ (Fincher and Jacobs 1998). One aspect of the city’s difference relates to its contrast and rivalry with the capital city of Western Australia, Perth. Brian Shaw (1979) wrote that any construction of Fremantle must consider the city as separate from Perth. Fremantle was the first point of settlement for the new colonisers, on the south bank of the Swan River, with Perth located on the north bank approximately 20km upstream (see Figure 3.1). A rocky bar at the mouth of the Swan River blocked access for ocean going vessels meaning that, in the early years of the colony, Fremantle was a key transshipment point and therefore

rivalled Perth for population growth, power and significance, establishing its position as the ‘western gateway’ (Ewers 1971).

Fremantle and Perth’s spatially separate beginnings are contrasted with their coalescence as suburbanisation from both nodes occurred over the twentieth century. Jones (2007, 169) observed that ‘the City of Fremantle...is now but one municipality in the large and administratively fragmented Perth metropolitan area’. Despite this, there remain contested and imagined boundaries as to where Fremantle ends and Perth begins. Shaw (1979) cites a common perception in Fremantle that Fremantle ends and Perth begins at Applecross in the east and Cottesloe to the north (see Figure 3.2). The identification of these two well-known high status socio-economic areas as the borderland is also indicative of dominant constructions representing Fremantle as a ‘working-class’, ‘port-city’.



Figure 3.2 Metropolitan area of Fremantle and Perth. (Source: http://www.staywa.net.au/img/maps/map_perth_suburbs.gif date accessed: March 7, 2012)

Conceptually, this brief introduction points out the fluidity of place (Massey and Jess 1995) and, in particular, of this place. The boundaries that I am negotiating in this

study include the City of Fremantle, with a population of c.25, 000 (see Figure 3.3) and the suburb of Fremantle, 6160. A further layer of complexity pervades this study with the jurisdictional split between the Port and the City (see Figure 3.3). The port land, including Victoria Quay (on the City side) and North Quay, remain firmly under the control of the state. Jones (2007, 174) wrote that ‘Fremantle and its port were essentially synonymous for a century and a half... however, both the spatial and the social divisions between the City and the port have (since the 1970s) come increasingly into focus’. This separateness is dealt with in the controversy over a proposed commercial development on Victoria Quay (see chapter five) and brings into sharp spatial focus the tension between Fremantle and Perth (in this case Perth as the control point of the state government).

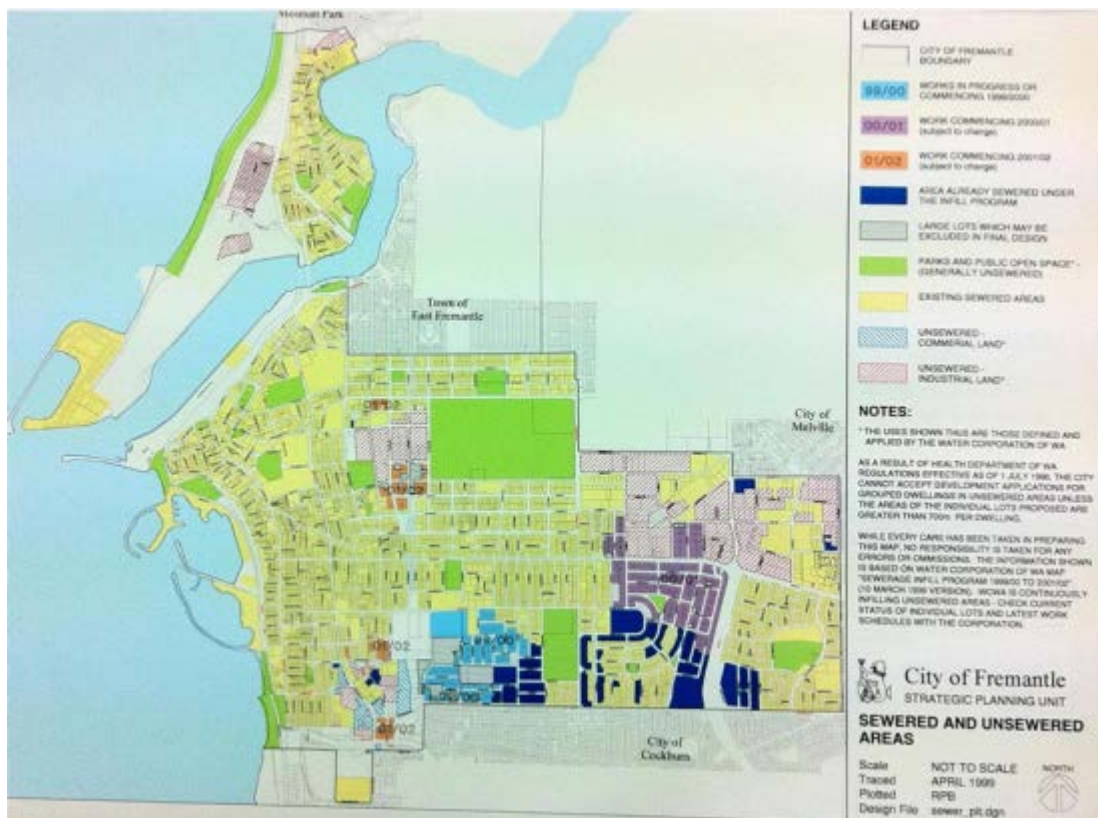


Figure 3.3 The City of Fremantle municipal boundaries. The grey areas on North Quay and Victoria Quay denote the Fremantle Ports area. (Source: Fremantle Local Historical Library Collection City of Fremantle – Sewered and unsewered areas 1999)

However, where the ‘boundaries’ of Fremantle begin and end, depend on whom you ask. Bridge and Watson (2000, 7) argue, ‘(c)ities are not simply material or lived spaces – they are also spaces of the imagination and spaces of representation’.

Consequently, different imaginaries of Fremantle, such as that described by Shaw (1979), rely on selective perceptions. In contrast to the extensive reach of Fremantle alluded to by Shaw, a disgruntled ratepayer in Beaconsfield (a suburb within the City of Fremantle, postcode 6162, see Figure 3.4) might argue that Fremantle ends at Hampton Road, invoking a preference on behalf of the council towards matters involving the built environment in the centre of Fremantle, postcode 6160 (S. Wainwright, personal communication 10 August, 2011). Therefore, there is an inherent tension concerning ‘how the city affects the imagination’ and ‘how the city is imagined’ (Bridge and Watson 2000, 7).



Figure 3.4 Surrounding suburbs of Fremantle 6160. (Source: http://www.staywa.net.au/img/maps/map_perth_suburbs.gif date accessed: March 7, 2012)

In this background chapter I seek to reconstruct the chronological framework that Jones (2007) applies to Fremantle’s achievement of ‘historic gem’ tourist historic city status (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000) in order to contextualise the controversies that I am interrogating in historical terms. I also want to use this chapter to introduce the four case study localities as well as my most important data source, the *Fremantle Herald*, and a number of key topics and urban actors. What I seek to foreground here are the ways in which different groups in Fremantle lay claim to place. The complexities of jurisdictional boundaries and the presence of a lively local political landscape provide fertile ground for this inquiry into ‘sense of

place'. This study is therefore as important for its contribution to the scholarship of space and place as it is to that of Fremantle.

3.2 Reconstructing Fremantle

Jones (2007, 169) argues that the 'urban fabric of central Fremantle, and particularly of its West End area, conforms, in many ways, to the 'historic gem' archetype described by Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000, 155)'. As Jones contended, the identity of Fremantle is more complex than can be encompassed in the conceptual framework of a 'tourist-historic' city. However it is useful, as an historical and heritage background, to frame the controversies/case studies involving the West End, Victoria Quay, the Wool Stores and Kings Square in a longitudinal perspective. Ashworth and Tunbridge's four phases in the creation of an 'historic gem', which Jones applies to Fremantle, are; '*resource creation*', '*dormant resource*', '*race for survival*' and '*resource maintenance*'. I have adopted this chronological framework in my discussion below in which I also weave the broader processes of colonialism, modernisation, de-industrialisation and gentrification, to inform the case studies to follow in chapter's four to seven. I will also highlight a number of significant historical moments extending from pre-colonial indigenous occupation of the area to the hosting of the hallmark event, the America's Cup yacht race, an event which Macbeth, Selwood and Veitch (2011) have termed a 'paradigmatic shift' that has, since 1986-87, informed the planning controversies and the identity of Fremantle more broadly.

3.2.1 Early Beginnings: Walyalup Land

The Ashworth and Tunbridge framework does not critically assess the social and cultural landscape prior to townscape development. I have broadened the scope here to include the dispossession that occurred when Fremantle was claimed by Captain James Stirling for the British Empire in 1827. Most historical accounts of Fremantle since the 1980s acknowledge the original custodians of the land, the Noongar people

who referred to the area as Walyalup (*The West Australian*, 11 April, 1902, page 6).^{iv} However, rarely in the literature is consideration given to the contested claim to place of indigenous people in the city today.

The Noongar people, having won a native title claim to the Swan River in 2006 (Grant and Hendry 2006), are formally recognised as the traditional owners of the Swan River plains, including Walyalup, on both sides of the Swan River mouth (*Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal* Saturday 20th April, 1833, page 63). While this ‘traditional ownership’ is often recognised in customs such as the ‘welcome to country’ that occurs at both formal and festival occasions in Fremantle and elsewhere in Australia, there continues to be a powerful narrative positioning indigenous people as ‘outsiders’ in Fremantle as I discuss in chapter seven on Kings Square.

Notable historical reconstructions of Fremantle retell the early conflicts between settlers and Noongar’s over space and resources (Dowson 2004b; Hutchison 2006; Reece and Pascoe 1983). Reece and Pascoe (1983, 12) described the events of 1833 and 1834 as having ‘seem(ingly)...ended all conflict in the Fremantle area’. A period of overt conflict may have ended but, for the local Noongar people, this meant banishment from the town.

The exclusion of Aboriginal people from Fremantle has a long history. David Hutchison (2006, 21) described how, in 1833, a militia group was established advocating the banning of Aboriginals from Fremantle and, as Aboriginal land was increasingly being taken over by settlers, the local Noongar people ‘became fringe dwellers in camps on the outskirts of town’. In 1905 an act of parliament in Western Australia ‘restricted access by Aboriginals to towns after 6pm (and) (t)his continued until the 1967 referendum, which declared Aboriginal people Australian citizens and gave them voting rights’ (*The West Australian*, April 16, 2003, page 6). Hutchison further details laws enacted between 1927 and 1947 that prevented the access of Aboriginals to the metropolitan area unless they were in ‘lawful employment’ (Hutchison 2006, 21).

The social history of buildings in Fremantle’s West End also reveals the tension between settlers and Noongar’s. The oldest building in Western Australia, the Round House, an icon of Fremantle’s built heritage, functioned as holding cells for

incarcerated Aboriginals from around the colony awaiting shipment to the Rottnest Island prison whence most never returned (Litchfield 1998). Muecke (2004, 89) pointed out that this continues to be a silent history where ‘not even any sanitised cultural tourism versions of signage or museum displays’ inform tourists and locals about this history. Transportation to Rottnest Island was occurring as early as 1838 (Hutchison, 2006) and continued until 1931 (McGarty et al. n.d.)

The significance and occupation of Walyalup prior to settlement in 1829 is now being asserted, particularly in a Fremantle ‘walk’ led by local Noongar elder, Len Collard (Blagg 2010). However, ‘rights to the city’ for Aboriginals in Fremantle remain contested and, while there has been a high level of participation and recognition in the realm of festivals (in particular ‘National Aborigines and Islanders Day Observance Committee’ NAIDOC week), there remains an ongoing reproduction of hegemonic colonial narratives (Kerr 2011) which continue to construct indigenous people as out of place in the city (see chapter seven).

3.3 Townscape Creation

I will now present an historical account of the townscape creation of Fremantle based on Jones’ (2007) application of the Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) ‘historic gem’ archetype.

3.3.1 Resource Creation

Jones (2007) explains that Fremantle differs slightly from Ashworth and Tunbridge’s (2000) idealised version in which the (tourist) historic townscape is constructed in one single economic and physical phase. Three distinct periods characterise the period of resource creation in Fremantle. It is the continued preservation of buildings from the periods of the first colonial settlement (in 1829) convict transportation (1850-1868) and, especially, the Western Australian Gold Rushes and associated

port development of the 1890s and early 1900s, which form the basis of Fremantle's townscape today.

Colonial Settlement from 1829

The earliest town plans for Fremantle helped to shape its distinctiveness. The plans set out by Western Australian Surveyor-General, John Septimus Roe, in 1830 and revised in 1833 (see Figure 3.5), are maintained in the layout of Fremantle's central area today. There is some conjecture as to Roe's control over the published version of the 1830 plan and the 1833 revision is celebrated as a more symmetrical and economical use of space on what was a narrow peninsula (Shaw 1979). The most significant alteration was the repositioning of Kings Square with High Street as the City's spine (see Figures 3.5 and 3.6). Shaw (1979, 333) described Roe's 1833 plan as showing 'vision at a time when the entire population of the town was adequately contained at its western extremity, and the future of the colony was by no means assured'.

Roe is also celebrated for establishing a townscape form for Fremantle to rival that of the other colonial outposts in Western Australia, including Perth (Reece and Pascoe, 1983). Attempting to work within the limitations of the narrow peninsula between the Swan River and the Indian Ocean upon which central Fremantle is located, Roe broke with the standard zoning pattern, which had been drawn up for Perth, instead deciding on smaller allotment sizes, requiring buildings to be constructed right up to the street line. Coupled with the abundance of local limestone for construction, the development of what is now the West End of Fremantle is described as having a cohesive, European atmosphere. Reece and Pascoe (1983, 7) describe the significance of this decision for the current context.

The consequence of this economical use of space and local limestone was an intimacy of feeling and an organic unity which the nucleus of the town has preserved through all its vicissitudes.

Fortuitously, this 'European atmosphere' complements the subsequent influence that Southern European migrants have had on Fremantle and fits neatly into modern day tourist and 'city-marketing' reconstructions of Fremantle as a cosmopolitan city. Macbeth, Selwood and Veitch (2011, 5) argue that the notion of a 'Fremantle

identity' plays a significant role in the current heritage movement and that this 'sense of Fremantle's identity, with its links to the built environment, a sense of 'separateness' from Perth, and the importance of social values' is what provides the connection between Fremantle's past (as a Port City) and its future as a 'tourist-historic' city.



Figure 3.5: Roe's 1833 Plan for Fremantle (Source: Fremantle Local Historical Library)

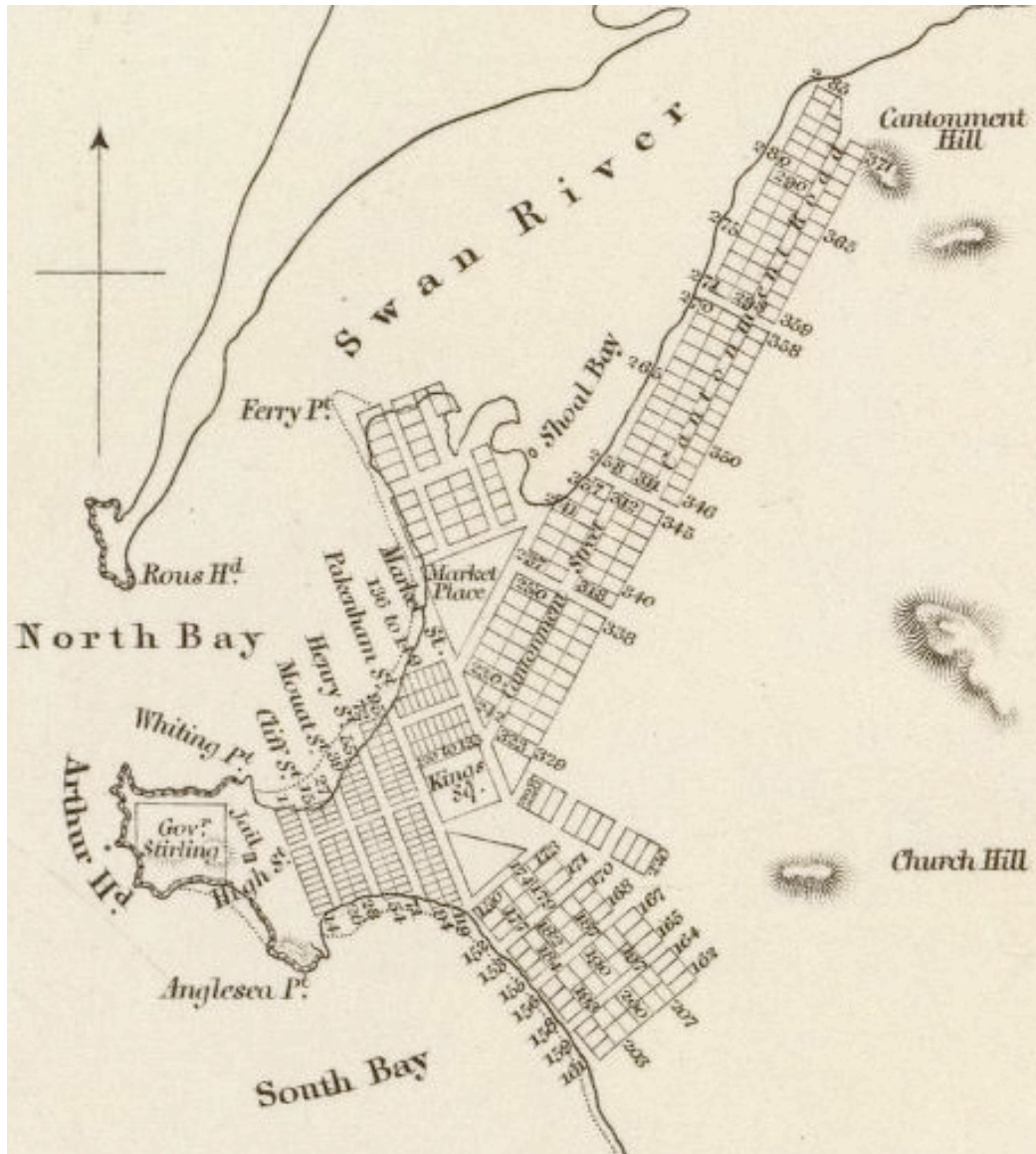


Figure 3.6: 1844 'Arrowsmith' map of Fremantle

(<https://picasaweb.google.com/thebodgie/HistoricalImages#5217805426939083394>

Date accessed March 7, 2012). (Note: This map is dated 1844 however, it shows Kings Square in the position of the 1830 map before Roe's re-orientation in 1833.)

However, despite the strong claim for a 'Fremantle Identity' as 'working class', resistant readings of Roe's 1833 plan, and of the continued attempts to preserve this, point to a form of social control being written into the landscape. Brown (1996) *The Merchant Princes of Fremantle* details the stories of a colonial elite class of families who 'ruled' Fremantle during the period from 1829-1850. The juxtaposition of the Round House Gaol atop of Arthur Head (1832) and St John's Anglican Church (1843) in Kings Square at the other end of High Street (see Figures 3.7, 3.8 and 3.9)

has been described by Reece and Pascoe (1983, 6-7) as far from accidental: 'Roe and the other members of the ruling class believed that social order depended on the fear of physical punishment and of eternal damnation'. Significantly, the names of these elite families remain inscribed and preserved on the buildings throughout the West End and along Market Street and South Terrace. Conversely, in the more recent past Fremantle has had a long history of trade unionism and has been a safe Labor seat from the 1930s almost to the present (Macbeth, Selwood and Veitch 2011). Local actors, constructing Fremantle in opposition and in rivalry to Perth often highlight the City as being 'socially accepting' and 'alternative' even a little 'bohemian' (Syme, McLeod, et al. 1989). Despite this, there remains a strong tension between 'alternative lifestyles' and 'conservatism'. The latter is depicted succinctly in Kerr's (2011) paper, *Reproducing Temples in Fremantle*.

Kerr's (2011) original reading of a form of social control being written into the landscape goes beyond the classic reference to the Round House – St John's Church spatial relationship described above. Rather he compares the High Street axis with that of the Suku Temple in Central Java. Kerr (2011, 1) described his initial visit to Fremantle as 'encountering something special, perhaps sacred, about the place beyond the effort that had gone into preserving the nineteenth to early twentieth century streetscape'. The way the Suku Temple functions mystically on three levels, but notably as a purifying passage before entering the temple's house with the upper level positioned as the temple's 'Holy of Holies' resonated with Kerr following a common tourist walk in Fremantle from the Whalers Tunnel under the Round House (see Figure 3.7), up High Street to Kings Square (see Figure 3.9) and then continuing along High Street to the War Memorial on Monument Hill (see Figure 7.2, page 209). In Reece and Pascoe's (1983) depiction of the social and moral control imposed by the town plan, this significance appears consigned to history, whereas in Kerr's reading, the extension of High Street beyond Kings Square and the construction of the War Memorial on Monument Hill (see Figure 7.5, page 211) are all more recent additions. In conclusion, Kerr (2011, 15) draws out connections with 'Anglican, Masonic, nation-building and empire-regenerating narratives' being produced and reproduced through the built environment. Kerr's resistant reading of Fremantle's townscape was particularly informative for my chapter on Kings Square (see chapter seven).



Figure 3.7 The Round House gaol built in 1832.



Figure 3.8 High Street looking east.



Figure 3.9 St John's Church 1882 in Kings Square.

Convict Period 1850-1868

With the colony in economic crisis in the mid nineteenth century, the merchant families of Fremantle and, indeed, the ruling class of the entire colony, lobbied successfully for the importation of convict labour to speed up development at a time when the eastern Australian colonies discounted this practice (Reece and Pascoe 1983). Prior to this, Western Australia had prided itself on being, like South Australia, a free settlement (Pitt Morison and White 1979). The decision for the convicts to be housed in and, indeed, to construct their own prison in Fremantle (see Figure 3.10) further heightened the distinctions between Fremantle and the capital, Perth. The convict stigma has only recently been renegotiated with Fremantle Prison's inclusion in the 2010 Australian Convict Sites UNESCO World Heritage listing (Jones and Shaw 2011).



Figure 3.10 Entrance to the convict built Fremantle Prison.

However, this period saw the extension of Fremantle in an Eastward direction and a number of significant contributions were made to the city's built environment including the prison, 'the warders' cottages... the Asylum (now the Fremantle Arts Centre) and the Commissariat and Old Customs House (now the shipwreck Galleries of the Maritime Museum)' (Hutchison 2006, 31). During this period of growth, Fremantle began to rival Perth for dominance and status. In 1848 the population of Perth was 1148 and that of Fremantle was 426. By 1859 Fremantle's population was beginning to 'overhaul that of Perth' (Hutchison 2006, 31), with the population of Perth recorded as 2762 and that of Fremantle as 2392, not including prisoners (Shaw 1979). During this period Fremantle sought to replace Perth as the capital city of the colony. However this was denied (Shaw 1979).

Gold Rushes and Port Development 1868-1910

Arguably the biggest influence on the built form of Fremantle, particularly in the West End, came with the 'discovery of gold some 600km east of Fremantle' (Jones and Shaw 2011). As the gateway to the state, Fremantle's connection with the influx of migrants from interstate and overseas was significant. However Shaw (1979) points out that, unlike in the convict era, the inward investment as a direct result of the Gold Rushes was spread more evenly across the state. Nevertheless Fremantle's population grew rapidly, from 3641 in 1881 to 20,444 in 1901 (Jones and Shaw 2011). Infrastructural improvements, including the opening of the rail link between Fremantle, Perth and Guildford in 1881, accommodated the vast numbers of people entering through the port city and a building boom in the West End began. Perhaps the best illustration of this building boom in the centre of Fremantle is captured in John Dowson's (2004b) book *Old Fremantle*. Hutchison (2006) also points out that the gold rushes attracted a number of architects from the eastern colonies/states. Hutchison's close reading of this growth spurt notes that the overall character and form of Fremantle was not destroyed in this period but rather that new styles and facades were added to the townscape (Hutchison 2006, 36-38).

Significantly, for my chapter on the West End (see chapter four), this was the period when its 'historic hotels' were built. The 'Cleopatra, Commercial, Esplanade, Freemasons, Fremantle, his Majesty's, Newcastle Club, Orient and P&O' (Hutchison 2006, 37) all survive today albeit often as properties of the University of Notre Dame Australia (NDA) (see chapter four). Reece and Pascoe (1983) also characterise this period as when the 'great' pubs of the West End were constructed.

In 1897 the ambitious engineering challenge undertaken by the state's engineer-in-chief C.Y. O'Connor, led to the construction of the inner harbour. There was some local resistance to these changes with Shaw (1979) and Ewers (1971) commenting on local sentiment that the feared removal of the 'bottleneck' created by the limestone bar at the mouth of the Swan River, would result in vessels bypassing Fremantle and depriving the town of business. The construction of Victoria Quay, as part of the inner harbour reclamation, created a strong connection between the 'working port' and the West End. Up until the containerisation of the shipping industry, which hit Fremantle in the late 1960s, Victoria Quay functioned as the

dominant wharf. It is where the famous industrial dispute *Bloody Sunday* of 1919 occurred (Hutchison 2006, 56-58; Jones 2012 in press) and cemented the identity of Fremantle as both a 'Port City' and a working class one.

Shifting Centres and Eastward Development

Although it extends the resource construction phase somewhat, the period around the gold rush from the 1880s through to the 1920s was also significant in shaping the townscape of the East End. Fremantle was declared a municipality in 1883 and the need for a town hall became a significant issue for the community. It was eventually decided that the town hall would be constructed in Kings Square in a deal the Anglican Church that required the demolition of the original St John's and the construction of a new church on a site that allowed for the extension of High Street and the eastward growth of the town. The new St John's Church was completed in 1882 (see Figure 3.9) and the Town Hall soon followed in 1887, reaffirming the space of Kings Square as a 'civic centre' and a place of authority (Hutchison 2006).

The construction of Victoria Quay eventually forced the relocation of the railway station from the end of Cliff Street, to Market Street. The station was also linked with Queen Street, which borders the eastern end of Kings Square. This move pulled the centre of activity eastwards and the retail and commercial heart shifted to the intersection of Market Street and High Street (see Figure 1.8, page 16) (Shaw 1979). It was at this point in time that the relative decline of the West End began.

What I therefore argue is that the concept of the centre of Fremantle is a contested one. Kings Square featured prominently in Roe's 1833 plan and it has continuously been constructed in official discourse as the town's symbolic centre. It is the site of two significant buildings, the Anglican Church and the Town Hall, that represent the establishment in Fremantle. Yet the centre of commercial activity, which shifted from Cliff Street eastward to the intersection of High and Market Streets in the Gold Rush era has, since the 1980s, moved south around Market Street into South Terrace, which is currently referred to as the Cappuccino Strip or Tourist Strip (see Figure 1.8, page 16). The influence of the Southern European immigration and colonisation of the south of Fremantle (Reece and Pascoe 1983) has facilitated the refashioning of South Terrace into a cosmopolitan precinct with a café culture. Conversely the symbolic centre, Kings Square, has tended to languish. The railway station opening

that linked up with Queen Street, and potentially would have provided a pedestrian flow into Kings Square, is now blocked by a bus exchange outside the station. My point is that there can be multiple centres within the city and that the centre of activity is not static. The process of revitalising Kings Square, which I detail in chapter six, relates to the question of ‘whose centre?’ and considers what the current revitalisation project might tell us about the current identity and meaning of Fremantle.

Despite the contestations surrounding the concept of the centre, the Eastward growth was significantly influenced by the construction of Victoria Quay. By the 1920s, wool stores began to dominate the East End border. Reece and Pascoe (1983, 101) argue that, although the importance of the wool industry had brought jobs into Fremantle, ‘it ... blocked off the port from the town at a visual level’ (see Figure 3.11). The wool industry boomed again in the post war period and a number of additions were made to the Wool Stores in the 1950s and 60s creating an even more imposing built form in what was perhaps the last act of (built heritage) resource creation.



Figure 3.11 Cantonment Street Wool Stores (Source: Stephenson and Hepburn 1955 photograph 86 between pages 192-193).

3.3.2 Dormant Resource

1910-1955

As the economic prosperity associated with the Gold Rushes subsided and the onset of the Great Depression in 1929 took hold, the built fabric of Fremantle remained relatively unchanged. From this point to the mid-1950s Fremantle's built environment, 'virtually stood still' (Reece and Pascoe 1983, 104). However, the identification of Fremantle as a 'working-class' city continued to strengthen. Hutchison (2006, 38) describes Fremantle in 1929 (the colony's/state's centenary and the year that Fremantle became a City) as an, 'industrial and mercantile city' as well as a 'working class city' with the largest employment group being 'waterside workers'.

Paradoxically, it is often during periods of economic woe that a city's social identities are formed. This can also be related to the expansion of the economy in other areas. Certainly in the early twentieth century at least until the great depression of the 1930s, the Italian and Portuguese community in Fremantle began to flourish. The deep-sea fishing industry, which they dominated, grew and, in 1948, the inaugural 'Blessing of the Fleet' ceremony, with its associated march through streets and celebrations, began a long tradition which has continued in Fremantle to the present day (Reece and Pascoe 1983).

During this period, Fremantle's growth was constrained by both WWI and WWII. In the early 1940s Fremantle became an important US and British submarine base (Jones 2007). The federal member for Fremantle, John Curtin became the wartime Prime Minister and Curtin and another important local WWII figure and, later, state governor, Hughie Edwards, are now memorialised in Kings Square (see chapter seven).

Hutchison (2006) noted that, during this period, the seeds of the threat to Fremantle's built heritage - and thus of the subsequent resistance to this threat - were being sown in state parliament. Hutchison refers to a 1925 Act of Parliament, which presaged proposals in the 1950s and 1960s to demolish a significant number of buildings in Fremantle. According to Hutchison (2006, 38) the act:

(E)mpowered the Municipality of Fremantle to introduce new building lines for future road widening, particularly in the central business district. If a new building was proposed it would have had to be set back to the new alignment, and the land between the new and the old building lines would have been vested in Fremantle Council.

This act of parliament had the potential to seriously undermine the atmosphere of the West End, as produced by Roe's 1833 allotment plan. A material example of what may have been can be seen at 93 High Street, now a vacant property but originally the TAB building (see Figure 3.12 and 3.13) had redevelopment occurred on a much larger scale.^v More recently, this building has become the focus of a healthy debate about what constitutes heritage, with a number of prominent planners and architects calling for the TAB building to be demolished and another building constructed to reinstate the original building line and height. Conversely, the current mayor, Brad Pettitt, argued for the retention of the building on the basis of a broader definition of heritage, wherein heritage represents not aesthetic uniformity but a preservation of an historical story (Pettitt 2005; Willicombe 2005). This debate occurred in the local newspaper the *Fremantle Herald*. Debates occurring in the *Fremantle Herald* across the period 2000 and 2010 form a significant component of my research methods and will be discussed later in this chapter.



Figure 3.12 Old TAB building.



Figure 3.13 High Street in the West End (Note: This photograph was taken during the university of Notre Dame's summer break 2009-2010).

3.3.3 Race for Survival

De-Industrialisation 1955-1970

Economic restructuring and a resource boom in the state's north significantly influenced Fremantle during the post-war period. Jones (2007, 173) described this period as a 'race for survival' in an economic and physical sense. Economically, the de-industrialisation of ports across the world was occurring, with more peripheral alternatives being favoured and technological innovations such as containerisation, impacting on the employment base which linked cities to their ports in human terms. While Fremantle remains a working port, the construction of a heavy industrial and port complex in Kwinana, 20km south of Fremantle, drew industry away and, in the late 1960's, containerisation triggered a decline in the workforce at the port as Fremantle became the main container port for the state. The first container ship arrived at the bulk handling facilities on North Quay in 1969. Up until this point Fremantle's local labour force had been heavily dependent on the port's operations. Roberts (1995, 38) described the sense of loss, referring to North Quay as the 'soulless container berth' and the modernised vessels as 'top-heavy "coffin ships"'.

Unfortunately the Fremantle Passenger Terminal was opened in 1962 on Victoria Quay just as the commercial aviation industry began to take over international travel. The passenger ships had, up until this point, heavily shaped the social history of Fremantle, with numerous migrants to Western Australia passing through the Fremantle 'gateway'. The rise of Perth airport effectively ended Fremantle's hold on this title (Ewers 1971; Jones 2007). Consequentially, parts of Victoria Quay became surplus to port operations and began to stagnate. While the port of Fremantle remains very much a working port, the connection between city and port began to turn from an economic and lived relationship to one that is more symbolic and visual (Jones 2007). Fortuitously, the old sheds of Victoria Quay, representing a 'gritty industrial heritage' of 'human scale' (Dowson 2006) remained in their dormancy phase in preparation for the development contests to come.

The social history of the 1950s and 1960s tends to be viewed nostalgically (Roberts 1995). As employment on Victoria Quay became scarce, the West End became romanticised for its heady days as a 'rough and tumble' boozy precinct. At the same

time, Fremantle was expanding its retail industries, centred around High and Market Streets and into Kings Square. The Stephenson and Hepburn (1955) *Metropolitan Plan for Perth and Fremantle* proposed the demolition and relocation of the Town Hall, to the site of the Fremantle Prison, which was also tagged for partial demolition and relocation, to open up the area for the further expansion of Fremantle's burgeoning retail industry. This modernist interpretation of the landscape describes the West End as geographically disadvantaged and in need of a re-direction of activity, by means of a ring road, so that the western end of High Street could 'come back into its own' (Stephenson and Hepburn 1955, 191).

Resource Boom

Nevertheless significant economic and demographic shifts were occurring in the state. A resources boom in the 1960s and early 1970s, based on the immense iron-ore deposits in Western Australia's northwest, far outstripped the demographic changes resulting from the Gold Rush of the 1890s. Again the fortunes of Fremantle and Perth diverged. Significantly, Jones (2007) argued that Fremantle's subsidiary position, in relation to Perth at this point in time, proved favourable for the retention of its built heritage. By contrast, economic development was being prioritised over heritage maintenance in Perth, resulting in the significant demolition of its Gold Rush architecture turning the Perth central business district into what many Fremantle (and even Perth) locals describe now as a 'soulless skyscraper city' (as Linley Lutton, one of the panelist's on the Fremantle Heritage Q and A panel, remarked (Victoria Hall, May 31, 2011 Fremantle Heritage Festival)). At this point, Fremantle began to receive its first wave of gentrifiers, many of whom were escaping modernisation of Perth and its suburbs, and were attracted by Fremantle's abundance of 'heritage' buildings. Jones (2007, 173) wrote: '(b)y the early 1970s, however: lessons from the destruction of built heritage in Perth had been learned and Fremantle's historic townscape had gained in local scarcity value'.

The defence of Fremantle's built heritage was quickly mobilised by this wave of gentrifiers, who were passionate about heritage architecture and disillusioned with what they had witnessed in Perth. The formation of the Fremantle Society in 1972 emerged out of this climate (Davidson and Davidson 2010). Jones and Shaw (1992) point out that Fremantle's changing economic role and the influx of newer residents

with a changed vision for the city increased the scope for socio-political conflict. Fremantle became a battleground between the modernist vision and of the Stephenson and Hepburn Plan (1955) and the preservationist interests of the Fremantle Society and its supporters. Hutchison (2006, 45) described the council's concern with keeping commerce and industry in Fremantle as their motivation for an aggressive modernisation push in the 1960s, which saw older terraced houses cleared and 'featureless' commercial and high-rise flats erected. The Myer and Queensgate buildings and car park, adjacent to Kings Square, are a case in point (see Figure 3.14 and 3.15).



Figure 3.14 Myer building in Kings Square



Figure 3.15 Queensgate building adjacent to Kings Square

A proposal to widen High Street to four lanes, linking up with a freeway through Henry Street would have severely undermined the cohesion of the West End. The TAB building, discussed earlier, takes on even more significance as a visual reminder of what might have been (see Figure 3.12). Changes in the West End did occur however, with council orders to remove verandahs, a feature of the historic streetscapes, and the removal of the tram system as the priorities of the motor vehicle were given preference. Much of the proposed demolition and reconstruction was

prevented as a result of the economic stagnation of the West End and the demographic and therefore political shifts occurring in this first wave of gentrification (Macbeth, Selwood, and Veitch 2011).

3.3.4 Resource Maintenance: 1970 -2000 Successive waves of gentrification and the hosting of the America's Cup

The emergence of the Fremantle Society gave a political voice to the first wave of gentrifiers. The society's founder, Les Lauder, who is revered by some as the 'saviour' of Fremantle (Davidson and Davidson 2010; Smith 2005), is a good example of a young professional with heritage consciousness who moved to Fremantle attracted by its built environment and disillusioned by the destruction of heritage in Perth. Davidson and Davidson (2010, 23), in their history of the Fremantle Society, aptly named *Fighting for Fremantle*, quote Lauder as follows:

I'd come as a child to visit other relatives in Fremantle, and I suppose in the very early days I shared some of the prejudices against Fremantle. It seemed very run-down and grotty and uninviting. At the same time I was aware of the vestiges of its former glory...I became conscious of the fact that much of Fremantle was intact and that Perth was clearly losing its soul.

Jones and Shaw (1992) describe this demographic shift of people with a vision and an awareness of Fremantle's built environment who were more likely to possess the 'economic, political and organisational abilities...to achieve their desired results' (Jones and Shaw 1992, quoted in Jones 2007, 174). The West End, Fremantle Markets (see Figure 3.16), Fremantle Prison (see Figure 3.10) and other notable buildings were all spared demolition by the active work of the Fremantle Society with Lauder's expertise in applying for grants from the federal government in Canberra often credited for the successes of the society (Davidson and Davidson 2010). In a short space of time (by 1976) the Fremantle Society had a significant number of members elected to council.



Figure 3.16 Fremantle markets.

In effect it can be argued that the Fremantle Society became the guardians of the built heritage of Fremantle's *belle époque* through the battles that they fought to save it. Macbeth, Selwood and Veitch (2011) devised an ethnography describing the successive waves of gentrification. Their description of the first wave of gentrifiers (to which one of the authors claims to belong) helps to support this claim. It is worth quoting here at length:

The first wave of gentrification can be characterized as people who came to Fremantle for what it was, including the somewhat rundown look and feel of the place, its mixed residential and industrial life and the rich tapestry of migrant populations that made Fremantle home. This wave of middle class professionals, artists, students and academics appreciated Fremantle the way it was, including cheap real estate and rents, narrow streets and none of the hustle that was Perth. While members of this wave of gentrification were more conservation

and preservation orientated than anything, and while they put up with abattoirs and wool scouring and greasy beaches, they opened the doors to the second wave. (Macbeth, Selwood and Veitch 2011, 14)

The second wave of gentrifiers coincided with further development pressures that were driven by Perth entrepreneurs in the 1980s due largely to the successful bid for Fremantle to host the America's Cup yacht race in 1986-87. Fremantle's preparation for hosting this hallmark event was spurred on by overly optimistic reports in government and business circles about the reciprocal benefits of tourism and collaborative government grants to fund redevelopment (Hall and Selwood 1989). In the build up to the cup defence, the state and federal members of parliament for Fremantle were also the state and federal treasurers (Jones and Selwood 1991). This focus on Fremantle also provoked a strong reaction from scholars questioning the costs of Hallmark events with Perth hosting the 1987 *People and Physical and Environment Research Conference* under the theme 'The Effects of Hallmark Events on Cities' which culminated in a collection of papers critically assessing the impact of the Cup on Fremantle (Syme, Shaw, et al. 1989).

Macbeth, Selwood and Veitch (2011, 15) describe the ideology of the second wave of gentrifiers as being connected to the re-imaging visions that surrounded the preparations for the Cup.

The second wave of gentrifiers liked the idea of preservation but also brought with them a desire to 'clean up' the place, to make Fremantle acceptable on the international circuit of the rich and famous. Narrow streets and quaint buildings are acceptable, whether whole or as facades, but they must be brightly painted and there should not be too many of the working class poor, unemployed or 'colourful' types around.

The hype leading up to the America's Cup quickly dissipated when the American yacht, skippered by Dennis Connor swept to victory with little competition from the local entry. In terms of the long-term heritage impacts of the event on Fremantle, the loss may have been the best possible outcome (Hall and Selwood 1989; Jones and Selwood 1991). According to Hutchison (2006, 47), one lesson that came from the

redevelopment push was the discouragement of façadism, particularly after the redevelopment of Pakenham Street in the West End, which Hutchison compared to a 'film set'.

It is clear that a significant social and economic transformation of Fremantle has been taking place since the late 1960s. The hosting of the America's Cup brought this historical reconstruction up to the point where urban entrepreneurialism, as described by Harvey (1989b), was beginning to take hold. However, what is noted in Macbeth, Selwood and Veitch's (2011, 15) ethnographic contribution, is that the America's Cup can be considered as marking a 'paradigmatic shift' in the current changes and challenges impacting on Fremantle. The authors describe a mutual respect between the first and second wave of gentrifiers, who were 'basically in love with Fremantle as it was at its core'. This is contrasted significantly with the views of a third wave of gentrifiers (post America's Cup) who are considered to be of a 'different ilk' (Macbeth, Selwood and Veitch 2011, 15).

This reconstruction brings me to the current context of my study (from 2000 to 2010). In the 1990s the Fremantle Society, the first wave of gentrifiers and to some extent the second wave began to characterise Fremantle as a city 'under threat'. Although, many battles over the built environment had been fought and won in the 1970s and 1980s (Davidson and Davidson, 2010), planning controversies continued, many of which were informed by disagreements over what Fremantle is considered to be at its 'core'. For many residents a late nineteenth, early twentieth century townscape of a human scale, with a cosmopolitan social mix that is 'socially accepting' and strong connection with the 'working-class' symbolised by a working port on North Quay was under threat from various forces of change. In terms of Massey and Jess' (1995) argument that what is at issue in the battle to define the meaning of place are rival groups seeking to stamp their 'authentic' representations of place on the wider community, it is evident that there is at least one group in Fremantle which is continuing to strongly articulate and to seek to preserve their vision of Fremantle's essence.

3.4 Fighting For Fremantle?

In the Post-America's Cup context, the question of 'whose city?' is informative for teasing out the different claims to place and the ways in which these claims are authenticated. A number of planning controversies set within the broader processes of gentrification, urban entrepreneurialism and the shift towards tourism and heritage have led to a turbulent period in Fremantle's local politics. A third wave of gentrification is particularly evident in the West End and East End of Fremantle. In the West End, Notre Dame University has established itself in the 'heart' of this historic end of town. The growth of the university has pitted longer-term residents against the university over issues of exclusion, loss of identity and the non-rate paying status of this religious institution (see chapter four). Since the late 1980s, NDA has grown to become one of the biggest landowners in Fremantle, meaning that education now sits alongside tourism as one of the city's major industries.

The stagnation of Victoria Quay has seen the continued neglect of its industrial architecture. In the late 1990s, the state government, in collaboration with Fremantle Ports (the state government instrumentality which has the charter to operate on Victoria Quay and North Quay) and the City of Fremantle, compiled a master plan to guide future redevelopment of this precinct. It is clear that Victoria Quay plays a crucial role in Fremantle's identity as a 'gritty-industrial' working (class) port city. Consequently, the decision to grant the multi-national corporation, ING, a 99-year lease to develop the area has set in train a battle of representation, bringing into conflict the state and local government, the port and city and the development and heritage lobbies.

Furthermore, technological change has resulted in the redundancy of the warehouses of the East End, which line the inner harbour. This area had come to be dominated by Wool Stores. Since the 1980s, the dominant Wool Stores buildings have been on-sold and redeveloped, with the major exception of one controversial site. There are other instances of industrial decay in the East End, but none stand out nor attract more controversy than the Wool Stores, owned by property developer and former Fremantle Chamber of Commerce President, Marilyn New. Macbeth, Selwood and Veitch (2011) describe her as one of the second wave of gentrifiers attracted to

Fremantle for the potential entrepreneurial benefits. Marilyn New owns both the Esplanade Hotel, which was massively redeveloped to take advantage of the America's Cup defence, and the Wool Stores. Her plans for the Wool Stores site included an already completed luxury apartment complex, the Victoria Quay Apartments (VQA stage one), and the current battle (VQA stage two) has reached a stalemate between the developer and the council over the heritage conditions (see chapter six). This issue illustrates the trend towards 'selling Fremantle' (Kearns and Philo 1993) as an internationally significant space of consumption. This type of urban entrepreneurialism is considered to be driving the third wave of gentrifiers. Macbeth, Selwood and Veitch (2011, 15) described this group as:

The new breed of gentrifiers are of the affluent middle class needing bigger, preferably two-storey, houses, off-street parking, air-conditioning and gated yards, or plush inner city apartments akin to those that have recently replaced and rejuvenated the former industrial zone bordering Perth's Central business District...While not 'supergentrifiers' (Butler & Lees 2006), the newcomers have come to Fremantle to change it into their image of a glitzy, glass-fronted, stainless steel and wrought iron caricature of what it used to be. They have no sympathy or understanding of the culture that develops when people do not live behind remote-controlled gates, when they park on the street and interact with their neighbours.

Clearly at issue here is a concern or 'threat' that some peoples', and even some (earlier) gentrifiers', visions of Fremantle are 'sailing away', which forms a meta-narrative for this research. At another extreme, however, my interrogation of the Wool Stores dispute also includes the added complexity of a subgroup of skateboarders who, since the 1980s, have made the derelict building their own, and, in doing so have contributed to the construction of Fremantle's complex identity.

Finally, this era of urban entrepreneurialism and 'city-marketing' often requires a 'symbolic centre' (Jacobs 1996). Kings Square was designated as the town centre in the Roe plan of 1833, but functionally the centre of Fremantle has shifted numerous times, and arguably it only centred on Kings Square in the 1950s and 60s, a period and a situation remembered nostalgically by some. Since the pedestrianisation of

High Street in the 1980s however, Kings Square has declined as a retail centre. Over the past decade battles to re-instate the square as the ‘civic heart’ of Fremantle have been fuelled by complaints of anti-social behaviour, by indigenous groups and individuals congregating in the Square. The battle to revitalise and reinstate Kings Square as the ‘civic heart’ of Fremantle can also be understood within the broader battles pertaining to the reimagining of the city as a place attractive for inward investment.

Over the period 2000-2010 it is these four case studies, which have stood out and provoked substantial local and broader interest and coverage in the local media. While the context for each controversy can be tied into the processes of de-industrialisation, gentrification and the rise of urban entrepreneurialism, what is crucial to my investigations of these case studies is the way(s) in which these spaces have been conceptualised. By teasing out the claims which resonate with notions of ownership and belonging and which attempt to stamp an ‘authenticity’ on these places, I seek to unsettle these claims by interrogating and reconceptualising how space has been considered and used in these conflicts.

3.5 Methods:

Baxter and Eyles (1997, 509) have sought to expose a gap in and the need for substantive elaboration clarifying ‘the ways in which the methodology and methods are carried out’, in their interrogation of 31 empirical and eighteen substantive papers in social geography. The absence of rigour in a large amount of qualitative research appears to be the primary concern of the authors, as opposed to quantitative research which Baxter and Eyles have described as possessing ‘relatively well-established and agreed strategies’ (p510). While the aim of this section is to elaborate on the research methods employed in this thesis based on the ‘rigour’ Baxter and Eyles (2007) demand, it is also important to add a caution to the struggle for qualitative scholars to align their work with their scientific counterparts, that what might underly this is what Massey (2005) terms a ‘reliance on science’. The challenge worthy of accepting, in Baxter and Eyles (2007) work, is to provide clarification for each research method in how they relate to the research questions and ‘why particular voices are heard and others silenced’ through the selection of methods (p508).

Discourse Analysis of the Fremantle Herald



Figure 3.17 The Fremantle Herald headquarters on Cliff Street.

My decision to concentrate on the weekly *Fremantle Herald* as a main source for a discourse analysis of the four case study conflicts, and, more widely, of the changing nature and identity of Fremantle, is based on a number of factors. I chose to read every edition of the paper from 2000 to 2010 and to cross reference significant stories and events with the other newspaper in Fremantle the *Fremantle Gazette* – which is not as exclusively local as its name might suggest. This decision was not about privileging a local voice (*Fremantle Herald*) over what could be conceived as an external voice (*Fremantle Gazette*), but, rather that the information and voices relevant to this thesis are concentrated on more in the former than in the latter which includes generic metropolitan wide news, editorials and letters. The decision to focus on one newspaper as opposed to another is a delicate operation. In his methodological appendix to the work *Front Page Economics Suttles* (2010) performs a similar task by defending his concentration on the *Tribune*, as opposed to the other major newspapers in the US, to explore the terminology and narrative tropes used to describe ‘the economy’ in his comparison of the 1929 and 1987 market crashes.

Rofe (2004) unpacks the methodology of media discourse by grappling with the perennial issue central to urban geography, the notion of physical and imagined space (Bridge and Watson 2000, 5-17). Rofe (2004) has argued that physical place is overlain with 'a space upon which social meanings and narratives are inscribed'. According to Rofe (2004, 195), it is the relationality of 'processes, struggles and negotiations' of the social meanings and narratives inscribed through physical place, which constitutes the discursive landscape. Specifically then, Fremantle as a place constitutes a discursive landscape. Elsewhere, Rofe and Oakley (2006, 274) have argued that the potential of discourse ‘rests in its ability to appear natural and hence to remain unquestioned’. A discourse analysis of the *Fremantle Herald* then seeks to engage with methods by which the identity of Fremantle is asserted, claimed and sought to be stabilised through the media. By critiquing the discourses relied on to stabilise and or construct issues can then provide a ways of exploring the concept of ownership.

The *Fremantle Herald* began in 1989, in the local context of a post-America's Cup Fremantle (Davidson and Davidson 2010), when a number of large-scale planning battles seemed likely to impact significantly on the identity of the place. The *Fremantle Herald* based itself in Cliff Street in the West End (see Figures 3.17 and 1.8, page 16) which, as mentioned above, was the initial centre of commercial life and business in the city (Shaw 1979). The newspaper remains independent but highly engaged in the local political scene to this day and boasts a larger readership than its counterpart.

By contrast, the *Fremantle Gazette*, which has been running longer than the *Fremantle Herald*, was originally based in Fremantle but suffered a similar fate to many other local independent newspapers in Perth, when it was bought by the Community Newspaper Group (in which News Limited owns a majority stake). Since the *Gazette* was bought out, its connection to Fremantle has been compromised. The paper no longer has its main office in Fremantle, its content is only proportionally local and its editorials and opinion pieces are more Perth-centric.^{vi} The *Fremantle Herald* has taken great pleasure in pointing out to their readership their commitment to Fremantle and superiority over their competition, with headlines across the decade including: *Murdoch paper in Fremantle retreat* (February 5, 2000, page 1); *Murdoch papers in free-fall* (November 18, 2006 page 1); *Herald Soars* (October 18, 2008, page 1) – all page one stories.

Reading through ten years of the *Fremantle Herald* proved extremely interesting. A feature of the paper is that its many editorial notes bluntly state its editorial line (examples abound throughout this thesis). I often found myself laughing out loud at the cheeky (and at times irreverent) editorial quips, particularly at the expense of state politicians provoking characteristic antagonism at the local-state scale.^{vii} Furthermore, in contrast to the *Fremantle Gazette*, the *Herald* prides itself on giving voice to the local community, often boasting four letters pages and a popular *Thinking Allowed* section, which is an open invitation for locals to submit a more substantive opinion piece generally on local political conflicts. The *Thinking Allowed* section has proved a rich source of material relating to my research objectives.

The editor and owner of the *Fremantle Herald* is Andrew Smith. Smith has had a long association with Fremantle as a Fremantle Society committee member as well as through his newspaper which has been successful enough for Smith to add another local newspaper in Perth's suburbs, *The Voice*. The naming of the *Fremantle Herald* is also instructive. In 1867 James Pearce established a local Fremantle newspaper called the *Fremantle Herald* with a sympathetic bent towards the working class and former convicts (Ewers 1971). According to Reece and Pascoe (1983, 34-35) the paper also 'did a great deal to preserve and foster Fremantle's separate identity and to keep alive the feeling of rivalry with Perth. When the paper was revived between 1919 and 1921, at the height of one of the great clashes between the workers unions and the authorities, in the history of the city and port, Reece and Pascoe (1983, 90) described it as a 'lively mixture of gossip and cheeky left-wing politics' and again it provoked the rivalry between Perth and Fremantle. The description of the *Fremantle Herald* then and the paper of the same name now, bear an uncanny resemblance.

I have also discovered other connections relating to the *Fremantle Herald*. Local historical fiction writer Denis Roberts (1995) makes an interesting admission in one of his concluding short stories entitled 'Old Fremantle – Slipping Away', in his book *Fremantle: a people's place*. Roberts (1995, 37) wrote: 'Fremantle is rapidly becoming a rich person's town...our only hope is in a popular movement, led by a crusading press, that will DEMAND social justice and a better environment for our city'. The connection between Roberts and the *Fremantle Herald* is acknowledged in the introduction to the book, which describes how the book came about when Roberts was encouraged to this undertaking by Ken Posney, the local director of community services for the City of Fremantle, who recognised him from a series of articles he had written for Andrew Smith's *Fremantle Herald* (Roberts 1995, 4).

While there needs to be an awareness of an editorial position within the *Fremantle Herald*, which informs the way in which the newspaper contextualises and conceptualises change and conflict in Fremantle, the news media is also a good medium for use in the study of planning conflicts insofar as it seeks to provoke controversy in an attempt to both respond to public opinion and increase its readership. The argument here is that a newspaper simultaneously produces and responds to public opinion for multifarious reasons not the least of which are advertising and advertorial dollars. Glassner (1999) identified a similar role of the

news media in his interrogation of why citizens of the United States of America were afraid of the wrong thing. Glassner (1999, xxiii) wrote:

Any analysis of the culture of fear that ignored the news media would be patently incomplete, and of the several institutions most culpable for creating and sustaining scares the news media are arguably first among equals. They are also the most promising candidates for positive change.

The ability of the *Fremantle Herald* to conceptualise change and conflict in Fremantle is exemplified in the four case studies which follow. As I mentioned above, the editorial notes reveal the editorial line of the paper. In chapter four I describe how the *Fremantle Herald* deliberately set up the university (which had previously experienced significant local opposition for buying into the West End late in the 1980s with the suspicion of a ‘take-over’) by provoking comments from Campus Service Manager, Terry Craig and, at times, from former Vice Chancellor, Peter Tannock, about their intentions to buy certain properties. After each hotel purchase was publicised the local paper immediately sought the university’s comments on other properties. The university had been playing a political game since its first proposals in Fremantle, but it must not have known what it was up against with the *Fremantle Herald*. Time and again the university spokespeople would deny their intentions to buy more historic hotels, but eventually they did so, prompting the *Herald* to take great delight in reminding the public of the university’s earlier statements. In the context of the university’s controversial beginnings, which had been criticised by the Fremantle Society as secretive (Davidson and Davidson 2010), the ability of the paper to continually set up the university exacerbated the perceived disconnection between the community and the institution. In chapter five the *Fremantle Herald* sought to provide the platform for an advertisement war between the proponents of the proposed commercial development for Victoria Quay, Fremantle Ports and ING, and the local opponents. Similarly in chapter six the editorial notes accompanying letters openly critique the new wave of gentrifiers framed in the letters as destroying the identity of Fremantle. Despite this, the *Herald* benefits significantly from real estate advertisements in its paper. In chapter eight I argue that a question mark remains over an anonymous letter complaining about Aboriginal people in Kings Square as directly correlating to the social problems in the square. This anonymous letter was published at the height of a broader local

political debate about re-opening High Street Mall to traffic, which implicated Kings Square because the pedestrian mall runs right through the middle of it. The racist letter is accompanied by an editorial note supporting the letter. The re-opening of the mall was argued by its proponents as a panacea for the social and economic woes of Fremantle's West End and centre square. Therefore my use of the *Fremantle Herald* acknowledges the tension Glassner (1999) identifies above, but I seek to push this critique further by incorporating the *Fremantle Herald* into my methods as a local actor with a distinctive power to provoke controversy and to push its own ideological agendas while simultaneously seeking to respond to public opinion. Furthermore, the role of the newspaper is considered within the context of its pursuit of the advertising dollar.

So, just as Fremantle is not an average part of Perth, so too the *Fremantle Herald* is not an average part of the Perth media. I am conscious of the *Fremantle Herald's* role in the local political debates within Fremantle but it also provides an increasingly rare example of a newspaper heavily engaged in, and often driving, local political conflicts, in which the thoughts of, in particular, the big players in the community are well known but those of the smaller players often crave an outlet. The paper creates a lively and healthy democratic landscape with its own quirks.

Collating and coding ten years of the Fremantle Herald

The method I used to collate and code ten-years-worth of newspaper material was an exhaustive process involving reading thoroughly through each newspaper starting from 2010 and traversing back to 2000 and capturing a digital image of each relevant news article. I then uploaded these onto my personal computer and categorised them chronologically into the four case study topics. I also filed a significant amount of news stories relating to historical representations of Fremantle and other planning related disputes. After the articles were collated I reviewed them again keeping a detailed copy of quotes attributed to local and external actors and notes on the articles. These were saved in word documents and allowed for an electronic search of individual articles, key words and quotes by local actors.

What I was looking for in my reading of the *Fremantle Herald* were issues to do with the identity of Fremantle and how difference was being asserted in selective narratives which sought to invoke a sense of ownership and meaning of place. I was also interested in how much voice was given to particular individuals and groups and who it was that were silent. In essence, I was looking for contestation and alternative points of view on unfolding and emerging issues, particularly as they applied to the West End, Victoria Quay, the Wool Stores and Kings Square. ^{viii}

I had initially set out to interview prominent spokespeople and other associated participants to do with my study. However, after reading through ten years of the *Fremantle Herald* I realised I had an overwhelming amount of information to work through and that this would be sufficient for this particular project. ^{ix} Although, Baxter and Eyles (1997, 509) discuss the importance of verifying the accuracy of information gathered on individual respondents, my decision not to interview the key voices mediated through the *Fremantle Herald* aligns with Iris Marion Young's (1990, 312-20) theoretical argument that even face-to-face relations are mediated and therefore the search for accuracy will always be partial. Thrift (2002) engages with recognition of partiality in relation to modernist narratives. It is important to stress here that, although the *Fremantle Herald*, cross referenced with the *Fremantle Gazette*, form the primary source of data collection, the *Fremantle Herald* is not the only voice in this thesis, but rather multiple voices are framed through the *Fremantle Herald*. My aim is to investigate voices that are silenced through participant observation and ethnographic work, which I detail next.

Ethnographic Observational Research in Fremantle

Another significant component of my methodology has been participant observation and informal conversations in place. As I mentioned in the introduction, my connections to Fremantle are mixed and so I found that my initial ideas were partly formed as a result of the time spent in this place and that reflection on these ideas occurred, particularly on the train ride from Fremantle to my home and back again. The notion of the flaneur has always intrigued me and, while I am aware of the critiques of the 'independent observer' and the 'assimilatory forces' of the Chicago

School urban sociologists (Dunn 1998; Massey, Allen, and Pile 1999; Valentine 2001), I have found myself developing and identifying my assumptions and ideology as I spend time in place. Therefore in a number of ways the methods that I have used have included elements of an auto-ethnographic approach. Behar (1996, 5) has identified an inherent tension involved in this strange ‘business of humans observing other humans’ – participant observation: ‘(o)ur methodology, defined by the oxymoron “participant observation,” is split at the root: act as a participant, but don’t forget to keep your eyes open’. With this challenge in mind, the type of ethnographic work employed in the research methods for this thesis relates to what Baxter and Eyles (1997, 513-514) term ‘persistent observation’. This observational technique is complementary to other methodological approaches, including ‘purposeful sampling’, and is seen by Baxter and Eyles to be a rigorous process of selecting interviewees and also ‘prolonged engagement’ (p514); ‘persistent observation involves focusing on the ‘things that count’ in terms of the research question asked’. However, there are theoretical problems in this approach, such as who decides the ‘things that count’. One of many moments of self-realisation occurred when I was sitting in Kings Square on a Monday lunchtime (April 6, 2009) observing the scene. Kings Square is an embattled square (see chapter seven) and has a more mixed ‘spatial configuration of social relations’ (Massey 1999b, 163) than many other parts of Fremantle. After spending about an hour sitting on the same park bench I had become quite familiar with a number of characters who were appearing and disappearing regularly. There was an air of mischief about the scene and it very quickly dawned on me that the faces I was beginning to see repeatedly would no doubt be aware that I was becoming a constant for them. I thought now would be a good time to move on as I realised that I was certainly not a neutral observer in the Square but an active participant viewing the scene through my own ideological lens and, perhaps more importantly being viewed by others. In chapter seven, I detail another event I witnessed in the Square. This time my ideological lens was refracted by the windows which separate the local history library from Kings Square outside. The story I tell there is integral to my insights on how power operates in the Square.

Another methodological technique employed in this thesis is termed prolonged engagement (Baxter and Eyles 1997, 514). The significance of prolonged engagement involves ‘spending sufficient time in the field to build trust and rapport

with the respondents, to learn the ‘culture’ of the relevant group(s) and to investigate possible misinformation/distortions introduced by myself or my respondents. My repeated visits to the Wool Stores, for purposes including, recreation, field trips and participant observation fall under this method of prolonged engagement which is important for conceptualising change over time at the site. In chapter six I have sought to weave ethnographic observations of skateboarders across 2007 to 2010 through the political controversy occurring at the Wool Stores. I also taught an introductory Human Geography unit at Notre Dame University from 2006-2008 and similar units at Curtin University, where I took my students on a walk through Fremantle. The conversations with these students and their relationships with Fremantle and with the controversies highlighted in this thesis have also helped to inform my research (see chapter six). Therefore I approach this thesis as a participant observer, aware that I carry ideological lenses and seeking to position myself in reference to these.

3.6 Conclusion

This background and methods chapter on Fremantle shows how local actors have sought to construct and continue to construct Fremantle as a city of difference, particularly in relation to Perth. Fremantle’s unique cultural heritage is categorised well in the four phases of townscape creation as set out by Jones (2007) which contextualises the current fights under way over Fremantle’s identity in the four case studies that I have identified. The built environment of Fremantle is shown in this chapter to be significantly bound up with identities of place and in particular with those identities that are asserted by members of the Fremantle Society. The purpose of this chapter has been to set the historical context. The broader narrative of Fremantle ‘sailing away’ has been informed by nostalgic claims to the place-bound identities of the past while it has simultaneously been espoused in competing ways by rival groups whose claims often rely on their assertions of the inevitability of global hegemonic forces. My decision to employ a discourse analysis of the *Fremantle Herald* across 2000 to 2010 as a major data source was further informed by its historical background. The *Fremantle Herald* has played and continues to play

a significant role in contextualising and conceptualising change and conflict in Fremantle. In the next chapter I introduce the first of my four case studies. This is situated in the West End, the historic part of Fremantle which Notre Dame University has begun to colonise.

4.0 Chapter Four: ‘Our city is under threat’: Competing representations of Notre Dame Australia in Fremantle’s West End

4.1 Introduction

The West End of Fremantle has undergone a significant number of changes since the British claimed the Swan River Colony/Western Australia in 1829. The previous chapter highlighted a number of phases of urban and heritage change from ‘resource creation’, ‘dormant resource’ and ‘race for survival’ to ‘rediscovery’ which have all impacted on the identity of the West End (Jones 2007). The townscape has signified at various times ‘wealth and power’, with the initial colonisation and establishment of the ‘merchant class’ and during the gold rush, whilst at other periods it has signified ‘stagnation and decline’, particularly associated with the de-industrialisation of Victoria Quay since the 1960s. These shifting identities are not only influenced by economic changes but also by the narratives which surround them (Dunn, McGuirk, and Winchester 1995). In this chapter I seek to critically engage with the identity construction of the West End, in the late rediscovery phase, during which the arrival of the University of Notre Dame Australia (NDA) in 1989 and its subsequent expansion have provoked controversy.

The significance of this interrogation into the shifting identity of place is important for the geographical inquiry into how space is being reconceptualised (Massey 2005) and how place is being socially constructed (Oakley 2005; Rofe 2004). As Dunn, McGuirk and Winchester (1995, 149) describe ‘the notion that places are constructed, symbolically as well as materially, allows us to problematise the identity of place, and to expose the ideologies and the actors behind such (re)constructions’. Since NDA’s ‘buy up’ of West End properties began in the late 1980s, the social and economic landscape of the West End has been transformed significantly. Accompanying these changes have been local constructions of a problem articulated broadly in the claim by Roberts (1995, 36) that ‘our city is under threat’. What I will argue in this chapter is that engagements with this particular ‘defence of place’ necessarily rely on specific nostalgic historical representations of the West End privileging and perhaps idealising it as a ‘worker’s paradise’ and a

‘people’s city’ (Davidson and Davidson 2010; Roberts 1995). Waterton (2010) points out that one of the byproducts of place marketing is that it often involves a process of ‘othering’.^x

What is at issue here is the battle to define the meaning of the West End. While opponents of the university work to position NDA as ‘outsiders’ and ‘free riders’ who are creating an ownership and socioeconomic monoculture through economic privilege, supporters of the university draw on a different interpretation of history whereby the West End was considered to have been a ‘dead end’ long before NDA arrived. These proponents argue that, far from monopolising the area, the university has brought ‘life and colour’ (Grzyb 2002; Longley 2007). Part of Massey’s (2005) challenge to hold space open, requires dealing with a multiplicity of voices which, as Rofe and Oakley (2006, 272) illustrate in Port Adelaide, ‘speak of the same space’, yet each in their own way, ‘assert a different sense of place’. In this chapter, I will attempt to pry open notions of ‘secrecy’ and ‘transparency’ as they arise in the competing attempts to define, qualify and quantify, the ‘authenticity’ of land use in the West End. Therefore, the intention is to open up ‘a relational politics for a relational space’ (Massey 2005, 61) to interrogate the terms in which the question ‘whose city?’ is being negotiated here.

4.2 Setting the Scene

I will begin this chapter with three ruminations to help set the scene for the question ‘whose city/whose Fremantle?’.

4.2.1 First Ruminations: ‘Life’ and ‘Colour’ in the West End

The street scene in the West End of Fremantle differs markedly depending on what time of day or season of the year that you are there. Throughout the decade 2000 to 2010, the dominant patterns of activity have centred on the peaks and troughs of the NDA academic calendar. The relief for some commercial traders in Fremantle’s

West End, when students flock back into the area from their summer break, is reflected in comments such as John Longley's (2007, 4) (the President of the Fremantle Chamber of Commerce at the time) letter in the *Fremantle Herald*:

How wonderful it is to see the Notre Dame students back at university and the West End streets once again full of life and colour. I have noticed retailers and café proprietors welcoming them and it is great to hear accents and language from all over the world back in the West End.

Earlier in the decade the *Fremantle Herald* ran the story, 'Notre Dame kicks off academic year': 'The peace and quiet in Fremantle's West End is about to come to an end as around 800 students kick off Notre Dame University's new academic year this week' (*Fremantle Herald*, February 16, 2002, page 7)^{xi}

In both quotes it can be inferred that the return of students is contrasted significantly with the quiet and presumably less profitable vacation period. While one of the aims of this thesis is to show how spaces are multifaceted and always in process, another significant issue has to do with how the identities of places are contested. These descriptions of NDA students bringing 'life' and 'colour' (Longley 2007) back into the West End offend others who argue that NDA is destroying and supplanting the area's former colour and life (Lauder 2005; Meyer 2005). What is at issue in the contention between these alternate points of view is essentially a contestation over the identity and ownership of the identity of the West End. Longley's description of the 'sounds of the West End', where diverse accents and foreign languages can now be heard could be said to be an attempt to relate the current landscape with the 'old Fremantle' identity of the West End, when Southern European migrants set up the fishing industry and port operations on Victoria Quay brought sailors into Fremantle from all over the world.

When 'class is out', the West End has been described as a 'ghost town' and a 'dead end' (Hefferon 2005, 4; Loopers 2001, 5) and, while this is predominantly related to the vacation periods, it also mirrors the activity in the area after around 3pm when students flood out of the area and the tourist oriented South Terrace Cappuccino Strip (see Figure 1.8, page 16) becomes the closest place where you can buy a

coffee. In this temporalised context, the significance of NDA’s annual parade through the streets at the beginning of the new academic year (in late February) can be read as an attempt to not only legitimise the place in the West End but also to draw ‘positive’ comments from the broader community on their status, indicated by the following report in the *Fremantle Herald* (Dominguez 2003, 8):

Notre Dame’s new academic year got off to a colourful start last week with a march through the streets of Fremantle by more than 700 students and staff.

Students carried university banners and flags and staff members wore their traditional gowns.

Goheen (1994) has explored how processions in urban public space in Toronto in the 1840s and 1870s were about a contestation for recognition and rights to space in tension with the (in)capacity of the city’s administration to control performance in public space. The NDA commencement parade is a tradition that the university has been building on whereby students and staff are encouraged to perform a territorial ritual that seeks symbolically to claim the West End. My account of the parade in February 2011 follows:



Figure 4.1 Notre Dame’s commencement parade route 2011. (Source: <http://www.lookatwa.com.au/Zones/fremantlemap.html> date accessed – March 7, 2012)

Around three to four hundred students, staff and dignitaries gather in Mouat Street in the West End around 9am as part of the university's Orientation Week festivities. The street is closed to traffic at each end and a stage has been set up for a formal address to herald the new academic year. The parade through the streets of Fremantle has become a popular event on the calendar for students and staff. The theme for this year is to dress in purple, the colour of the local Fremantle Dockers football club (see Figure 4.2). Embracing the opportunity to dress up, the Medical Students Association of Notre Dame congregate behind a banner dressed in their hospital 'scrubs' setting a jovial mood for the day. The speeches begin with a word from the Vice Chancellor Celia Hammond and then from the mayor of Fremantle, Brad Pettitt. A number of other city councillors, notably deputy mayor John Dowson, a local West End resident, who is also one of the most vocal critics of the university, mingle beside the stage. Pettitt welcomes the students into the new academic year, assuring them that NDA is an important part of the Fremantle community. Pettitt speaks candidly, hinting that he is jealous of the opportunity that NDA students have to attend a university in inner city Fremantle. After the mayor's speech, there is a blessing of the Deans, when the Deans of all the Schools line up on stage for a sprinkling of holy water. Once these formalities have been completed, the students are directed towards the Esplanade where the parade begins (see Figure 4.1 and 4.3).

The procession is led by the energetic and boisterous WASAMBA percussion group who provide the beat and the chants as they lead the students along Marine Terrace and around the course which takes in the main Cappuccino Strip before heading back down High Street to the heart of the campus (see Figures 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8). The decision to employ the assistance of WASAMBA is interesting. The WASAMBA group has been based in Fremantle since 2003 and are the self-professed 'Freo's carnival drummers' who 'make festivals festivals' (WASAMBA n.d.). The group is well acquainted with Fremantle festivals and have an affinity with Fremantle's art and busking scene. The annual Fremantle Arts festival rivals any of the other festivals held in Fremantle for popularity and scope, and each year international street performers are attracted to the event. WASAMBA has led the Notre Dame procession for a number of years now and imbues the parade with a beat and atmosphere readily accepted and associated with numerous annual

Fremantle street parades including those by trade unionists and the Southern European fishing community. Without the rhythm provided by the group, I wonder if the students would chant 'Notre Dame! Notre Dame!' or any other rallying-cry, particularly given their potential for provoking antagonism from those who do not see the university as an appropriate user of the West End's heritage buildings .

On this particular day it is a quiet morning on the Cappuccino Strip. As the police bring the traffic down to one lane, vehicles waiting for the procession to pass are mixed in their reaction. The best reception however, occurs when the march turns off the Cappuccino Strip and into High Street for its run back down into the West End. Backpackers staying at the old 'Commercial Hotel' building are awakened and lured out onto their balconies by the 'familiar' beat to see what all the fuss is about, and possibly what they might be missing out on (see Figure 4.9).

Overall the march lasts about 20 minutes and is enjoyed by the students, who nevertheless looked a little shy in contrast to the extroverted WASAMBA group. The streets were on the whole fairly quiet and not much attention was drawn to the parade. As the march re-entered Mouat Street a band was sound checking ready to kick off the less formal festivities of the day (see Figure 4.9).

Pictures of the Commencement Parade 2011



Figure 4.2 Overlooking Mouat Street.



Figure 4.3: Notre Dame student and staff parade.



Figure 4.4: Parade in South Terrace (Cappuccino Strip).



Figure 4.5: Parade moves along the Cappuccino Strip.



Figure 4.6: Procession interruption. .



Figure 4.7: Parade veers onto Market Street.



Figure 4.8: Parade turns for home.



Figure 4.9 Backpackers watch on.



Figure 4.10 Band performs at Orientation.

4.2.2 Second Ruminaton: The ‘walk against secrecy’

On the 19th March 1989 a parade of a different kind was held through the streets of the West End. The ‘walk against secrecy’ (Fremantle 1989), as it was termed, was organised by the Fremantle Society who, along with other locals took to the streets in reaction to the proposal for a university in the West End and the secrecy that was surrounding negotiations apparently being undertaken by the syndicate which was accused of buying up a large number of buildings, particularly in the West End, but also across Fremantle on the university’s behalf. The march was attended by around 300 people and its purpose was to walk through the West End and point out which buildings were reported to be linked to the university in an attempt to depict the extent and the purported invasiveness of the university’s intentions (*Fremantle Gazette*, “Walk against ‘buy-up’”, March 14, 1989). The walk attracted statewide media attention with clips shown on the ABC and Channel 10 news and a follow-up story appearing in the local press (Ayers 1989). Judging by the quote, which featured on ABC television, by the Federal Member for Fremantle at the time, John Dawkins, the mood of the group was agitated.

I think there is an obligation, at least at this stage, for them (NDA and affiliates) to tell us precisely what they have in mind, because what I've been told involves a proposal for a very small university indeed, one which wouldn't on the face of it need the kinds of numbers of buildings which apparently have been acquired. (Davidson and Davidson 2010, 94)

This contrasting march through the streets is important in framing the context in which some of the broader community interpreted NDA's arrival in the West End. The issue of secrecy and fear of a near complete takeover of the area continued to inform constructions Notre Dame's identity by rival groups from 2000 to 2010.

4.2.3 Third Ruminations: 'Ode to the 'old Fremantelians'

The social history of Fremantle as a 'working class' port city is characteristically illustrated by many stories and narratives about the West End in the 1950s and 1960s. A collection of short stories, *Fremantle: a people's place* (1995), written by Denis Roberts, documents the imaginings of 'old Fremantle' in the 1960s. A quote from the short story 'Freo – a worker's city' (Roberts 1995, 22) helps to portray the terms by which the West End came to be identified as a working class precinct.

Right from the first slate and stone dwellings of our early settlers, the city's structures have literally and liberally been bonded with the blood of its workers.

The twist in the story is that this quote has a double usage. It is not only speaking of the blood spilt in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when convicts and other working class labourers worked to construct the buildings of the West End, but also in reference to the fights that would break out at the end of the night in the 1960s at some of the 'popular' and now 'historic' hotels and pubs. The working conditions on the port were hard and job security tenuous and, as Roberts described, the 'drinking' and 'living' reflected this. When the 'coffin ships' (i.e. the container ships) (Roberts 1995, 38) arrive in Fremantle Harbour, displacing many of the

waterside workers, this way of life began to change. In the current context of the West End, Notre Dame is seen as a symbol of this change. 'Old Fremantle' is continuing to be displaced by the growth and dominance of this new activity. A letter written by Ray Briggs (2001, 4) offers one view of this change.

I am writing to express my deep gratitude to Professor Greg Craven and Notre Dame University for bringing, as he said in the West Australian newspaper last month, some 'life and colour' back to the West End of Fremantle.

I am almost too ashamed to admit that I used to frequent the P&O and Orient Hotels with the rest of the dull and lifeless locals. And worse, I actually believed I was enjoying myself listening to those bands as they vainly attempted to enliven our miserable plebian existence.

Thank goodness you guys have come along and put an end to all that dull nonsense.

Thank you also, for turning the old High Street bar of the P&O into a classroom. No more of that tacky working class history on the walls! I mean, pictures of old Fremantle footballers, really! And that old wooden bar! So big! So ugly! So...well, Australian.

And I, for one, am hoping the locals might actually be allowed to visit the university tavern when it opens in the P&O (after we are deloused, obviously) because then you guys would get a chance to study our culture in captivity.

Better still, you could get rid of that classroom and refectory, recreate the High Street bar and study us in our natural habitat...

Anyway, thanks again and welcome to all the kids from middle America. We have plenty of room for you here in Fremantle.

I was wondering, though, if you could possibly see your way clear to leave just a little room for us.

Thanks ever so much.

The sarcastic letter is an example of the many that appeared in the *Fremantle Herald* criticising NDA's 'buy up' of the West End and, in particular, of its historic pubs.

The traditional identity of this place was perceived to be under threat. The references to 'historic' pubs and their associated vibrancy are claimed to represent a long standing identity that its proponents see as more 'authentic'.

These opening ruminations seek to provide some historical context to the economic changes occurring in the West End and the narratives which surround them.

4.3 Introduction to the Battle for the West End 2000 to 2010

An oft quoted evaluation of Fremantle's West End is that it is one of the best examples of a uniform and complete late nineteenth/early twentieth century, Victorian/Edwardian streetscape in the southern hemisphere (Davidson and Davidson 2010; Nevill 2007); the 'jewel in the crown' of Fremantle (Potter 2007, 4). Local journalist, Adrian Kwintowski wrote in an advertorial; '(t)he West End of Fremantle is undoubtedly what gives the port city its character' (Kwintowski 2001f, 8). However, since Notre Dame arrived in the West End, there has been ongoing tension within the community and a sense, in the minds of some, that the essence the West End's 'character' and identity is being eroded. Both reports in and letters to the *Fremantle Herald* across the decade have tended to construct NDA and its backers as outsiders and free riders who are responsible for monopolising and sanitising what was once a vibrant, edgy, working-class precinct while alternative representations and proponents of the university argue NDA has brought life and colour to the area.

In this chapter I seek to investigate the various constructions of NDA's presence in the West End. The *Fremantle Herald* has been a central actor in the conceptualisation of this particular contest. The newspaper began around the same time that NDA began acquiring properties in Fremantle (Davidson and Davidson 2010). The significance of the *Fremantle Herald* is that, not only is it located in the old commercial 'heart' of the West End, on Cliff Street, but that it has covered the

whole duration of this controversy and continued to conceptualise the battles throughout the decade 2000 and 2010.

The contestations occurring in the West End can be read as symptomatic of broader urban processes of change, such as de-industrialisation and gentrification. But, it is an idiosyncratic case. The classic gentrification narrative (as discussed in chapter six) has to do with developers buying up large amounts of property in 'run down' and largely 'vacant' (or 'illegitimately occupied') areas before attempting to monetise their cultural capital. However, NDA is not seeking to benefit overtly from the consumption of 'inner-city' lifestyles (other than by attracting students). What is clear is that the establishment of the university is impacting on the narratives informing the social identity of the area. Progressing and obstructing these land use and identity changes are complex coalitions and opposition groups. On the one hand, NDA's refurbishment of many historic buildings has earned the institution praise from those 'heritage buffs' who prioritise architecture and aesthetics, whilst a partially intersecting collection of individuals and heritage groups have been the most vocal opponents of what they view as the creation of a 'sanitised' and 'exclusive' monoculture in the West End.

What is at issue is in the battle to define the meaning of Fremantle's West End is the ability of these groups and individuals to influence the outcome of how the West End is used and who has access to it. This chapter tracks the conceptualisations of the West End as, simultaneously, a working class paradise and a dead end where these alternative points of view sought legitimation through different interpretations of time and space. Firstly, I look at the background to the establishment of NDA, and the construction, within the broader community of counter discourses of secrecy, distrust and the defence of culture. Secondly, I will seek to document the alternative arguments, on the one hand, that the West End was a dead end before NDA moved in and enlivened it and, alternatively, that NDA has created a monoculture in what was a vibrant if proletarian space. Finally I will critically examine the story, as told by the *Fremantle Herald*, on the buy-up of several local pubs over the decade and on the non-rateable status of the university buildings to draw conclusions on the local implications of a relational space and the politics of place.

4.4 Background to NDA

Dr Peter Tannock (2008) notes that NDA was the brain child of Catholic Education authorities in Western Australia who wanted to establish a university to train teachers for the state's Catholic education system. Western Australia was the only state that did not have a Catholic teacher's college. It was also noted that a tertiary institution could also train nurses for the numerous Catholic hospitals in Western Australia. The ideas phase of the project developed in the second half of the 1980s, after Peter Tannock was appointed Director of Catholic Education in Western Australia.

From a local Fremantle perspective, however, the initiative was more synonymous with land acquisition and specifically with the name of Denis Horgan. Davidson and Davidson (2010, 87) wrote:

The publicity attracted by the America's Cup brought to wider public notice Fremantle's stock of handsome and cheap buildings in the West End. The eighties mining entrepreneur and winemaker Denis Horgan and his public relations man Chris Codrington had plenty of money to buy buildings for a projected Catholic private university.

Tannock (2008) described his interpretation of the landscape as 'based in the West End of Fremantle mainly in unused and derelict former warehouse buildings which were to be acquired for this purpose'.^{xii} However, as the 'walk against secrecy' (second rumination) suggested, the 'buy-up' caused considerable concern to members of the local community who were unsure of how many buildings the university already had and/or were planning to purchase (*Fremantle Gazette*, "Walk against 'buy-up'", March 14, 1989; Davidson and Davidson 2010).

The Fremantle Society and its offshoot CARD (Community Action for Rational Development) petitioned the local community and organised a special electors meeting on 15th November 1988 on the issue. The following day, Denis Horgan asked to see CARD members Ron Davidson and Jack Kent. According to Davidson and Davidson (2010, 92), Horgan issued the threat:

You boys could be putting Fremantle at considerable loss...Fremantle stood to lose economically if the university did not go ahead, and that parents of would be students were already apprehensive about Fremantle and its reputation for sexual permissiveness. He went on to say his university would add vibrancy to the West End with pubs, restaurants and bars thriving.

This comment called the social identity of the West End into question, and did not sit well with a number of locals who fired their own shots back in letters to the *Fremantle Herald*.

The issue of a potential monoculture was also apparent in the early plans and proposals. In July 1989 the *Notre Dame Australia University Draft Development Plan* was released for public comment. Davidson and Davidson (2010) again took issue with the obtrusiveness and domination of space by the university in the West End where High Street was planned to be pedestrianised and a proposed entry statement for NDA was seen as part of the colonisation of the area. Davidson and Davidson argued that hitherto public spaces appeared as university spaces in the plan.

Local distrust of the institution increased in 1990 when the Barrack House Group backing Denis Horgan became insolvent. Consequently, the buildings already purchased were to be sold on by the creditors (Tannock 2008). However, the steering committee was determined that a catholic university be established in the state and they began engaging the state government in talks over land set aside for a university development in the northern suburbs of Perth, at Alkimos. However, *Fremantle Herald* editor, Andrew Smith then broke the story of a land deal that had been agreed between NDA and the state government and called for the matter to come before the WA Inc. Royal Commission (Davidson and Davidson 2010) which, at the time, was investigating a large number of irregularities in the state government's financial affairs. This issue made the state media but, notwithstanding this controversy, Tannock and his backers refocussed their attention on Fremantle. With funding now coming from the Archdiocese of Perth and the Catholic Education Commission of WA, the buildings were purchased from the creditors (Tannock 2008).

The university eventually opened on 23 February 1992 ‘with a parade of representatives from seventy Catholic schools carrying flags in a street procession from the Esplanade to a newly restored former warehouse on Mouat Street’ (Davidson and Davidson 2010, 97). Davidson and Davidson (2010, 97) argued that ‘the slower start was to the advantage of Fremantle, which would have been destroyed by the excesses of the original Draft Development Plan.

Concern about NDA’s presence in the West End continued to grow throughout the 1990s and, by the turn of the new millennium and with the election of a new mayor, the issue of vibrancy of the West End was put back on the local political agenda.

4.5 West End/Dead End?

In an attempt to ‘breathe life back into the historic part of the city’, mayor Peter Tagliaferri set up a West End Think Tank as one of his first initiatives after being elected in 2001 (*Fremantle Herald*, ‘Think tank in west end’ June 30, 2001, page 1). The West End Think Tank was made up predominantly of the heads of the Chamber of Commerce, the Port Authority, NDA, Fremantle councillors and other local businesses. Notable absentees were the Fremantle Society, whose president at the time, John Dowson, complained to the *Fremantle Herald* that they had been locked out of the meetings (Kwintowski 2001c). A report was published (West End Think Tank 2001) with a number of urban design commendations which sought to encourage more locals and tourists into the area. It was agreed that Fremantle was the top state tourist attraction, yet the West End was underperforming. The recommendation for NDA was ‘to have an aspect to its High Street buildings as open and transparent as possible without compromising the operation of its business’ (West End Think Tank 2001, 21).

The claim that the West End was a dead end was however contested. The competing groups made the same argument but for very different reasons. As mentioned in the first rumination, NDA is considered by some to have brought the West End out of its dire state as a dead end whilst others, most notably local photographer and letter writer, Roel Loopers, attributed the dead end status of the West End to NDA. In

response to the news that the new mayor was setting up a think tank for the precinct, Loopers (2001, 5) wrote:

I am quite bemused to read there is a think tank about the development of the West End of Fremantle. What for? Since Notre Dame university has taken over that part of the city it has become the Dead End of town. The university is destroying part of the city with their insensitive purchase of historic buildings.

The most prominent critique in the media was from John Dowson, who was of the opinion that NDA were creating a 'monoculture' in the West End (D'Anger 2003e, 1; Davidson and Davidson 2010).

However, not everyone in the community was against NDA. In response to John Dowson's claim of a 'monoculture' and broader claims that the university had created a 'dead end', mayor Peter Tagliaferri (2003, 6) wrote to the *Fremantle Herald* with his personal reflections on what the West End had been like before NDA moved in:

"You would see whorehouses, gambling dens, nightclubs, strip joints, clubs and cheap booze, along with rows of empty derelict warehouses. It was too dangerous to go to the west end of Fremantle after dark! Oh, I forgot there was also a police station on the wharf to deal with all the problems, muggings, rapes, stealing, drunkenness, stabbings and other crimes that took place in this once seedy area...Fremantle is past being known as a seedy port city where booze barns are the major attraction.

There were other local proponents of the university. Libby Hocking (2004, 5) wrote to the *Fremantle Herald* with her personal account.

I remember how lifeless and deserted the West End was in the days before the America's Cup. It is rewarding to see people from so many different cultures living and studying in the area and bringing real life and vibrancy to the West End.

The letters to the *Fremantle Herald* demonstrate a polarisation of the community on the issue of the university.

4.5.1 The Grzyb Report

In an attempt to quantify the growing division and tension in the community, the City of Fremantle commissioned a report ‘to keep a closer eye on what Notre Dame is doing in the west end’ (Kwintowski 2001b, 3). This independent report was designed to investigate the social and economic impact that NDA was having on the area but also, and with seemingly contradictory intent, to assess which buildings that were owned by the city could be sold to the university (Kwintowski 2001e). Funding for the project eventually came from the City of Fremantle, with NDA and Phoenix Academy, a language school affiliated with NDA, topping it up. The contract was awarded to consultancy firm Helen Grzyb and Associates which spent around 9 months distributing questionnaires to students and staff at NDA and conducting interviews with stakeholders. The findings of the study were reported in the *Fremantle Herald* on 2nd June 2002, with a front-page grab stating ‘Notre Dame is having a positive impact on the West End...[and] there’s no evidence the uni has affected property values or that it contributed to a monocultural environment in the west end’ (Kwintowski 2002b, 1).

Accompanying these findings were harsh criticisms of the report from John Dowson (President of the Fremantle Society at the time) dismissing the report as propaganda as had been spread by the university in the past. ‘They still aren’t opening themselves up to the public’, said Dowson (Kwintowski 2002b, 2). Local historian Ron Davidson also criticised the report arguing, ‘the report was weak on social research and avoided difficult questions such as the non-rateable status of the university’s buildings’ (Kwintowski 2002b, 2). Although the report concluded that NDA was having a positive economic and, from what it could deduce, social impact on the West End, it did raise some issues. Of the small number of students and staff who returned the questionnaires it was found that only a small percentage of them lived in or spent any considerable amount of time in Fremantle (Grzyb 2002). Accommodation for study abroad students was limited and, consequently, the hoped

for economic windfall for the community was experiencing significant problems with 'leakage'. Despite these issues, the report was still able to identify a 'positive' quantifiable economic contribution that NDA was having on the West End. This chapter argues that the economic impact of NDA is incidental to community concerns about its social impact. In many ways the more economically (and materially) successful the university has become, the greater has been the resentment from those opposing the university.

However, what was intriguing about the report was how it sought to deal with the question of monoculture. The report found that NDA buildings made up about 10-15% of the buildings in the West End and that over 325 other businesses, covering 30 different business types were evident in the West End (Grzyb 2002, 29). Despite the report saying that there were no grounds to conclude that the West End had become a monoculture, it conceded that any perception of monoculture within the community was unlikely to diminish.

According to the report the bases for the claims about a monoculture were largely intangible. The intangible characteristics identified by the report included a lack of social integration between the university and the local community, the level of exclusivity, public awareness about what was being planned and confidence in good neighbourhood practices. The report (Grzyb 2002, 28) states:

It was apparent during stakeholder discussion that the intangible characteristics identified above more strongly determine a perception of monoculture and moreover, that monoculture was seen in the negative sense.

However the report (Grzyb 2002, 29) also argued:

No definitive qualitative figure of building concentration can identify the presence of a monoculture. However qualitative stakeholder and community views will strongly describe perceptions of a monoculture, and cause concern far earlier than the emergence of any significant quantitative figure. This appears to be the situation relating to UNDA in the West End.

The concluding remarks of the report can be read as de-legitimising local concerns as qualitative whereas a quantifiable figure is considered to be ‘true’ and ‘accurate’. However, this is an extremely limited approach to dismissing community concerns over monoculture (my investigation of the *Fremantle Herald’s* tracking of the buy up of pubs later in this chapter provides another way of framing this issue). However, the report does make a provocative statement to do with monoculture, and whether this is necessarily bad. The report (Grzyb 2002, 28) argued:

In the life of the West End up to the 1980s the maritime industry was the dominant industry – and based on the number of buildings utilised in this industry as well as the number of workers associated with the industry – could clearly be termed a “monoculture”. There is however no negative perception about the maritime industry of that time.

This provocative statement challenges the neutrality of the arguments of NDA’s opponents and their claims towards an ‘authentic’ social identity of the area. The report (Grzyb 2002, 27) described this community antagonism as follows:

A common view was that the ‘pubs’ were/are a source of character and part of the essence of the West End, and that the pubs represented ‘genuine Freo people’.

However, while this discussion is informative in that it interrogates the contestation of identity in the West End, it does not de-legitimise all concerns over the social transformations taking place there. The issue of contradictory sympathies, in this case towards the different ‘monocultures’, relates to a factor that Massey and Jess (1995) see as central in such controversies, namely power. One of the battlegrounds of this contestation has surrounded NDA’s buy up and conversion of pubs, into classrooms, offices and study abroad student accommodation. In the next section I will detail the *Fremantle Herald’s* conceptualisation of this contestation wherein an alternative argument for the existence of a monoculture can be established.

4.6 Buying Up Pubs – The *Fremantle Herald* Story

Having spent a few years in the South West I excitedly took a friend to the West End. I sadly found it's lost its soul. A port city West End without its old pubs and tourists bustling around. There was a life there which was an integral part of our lives and it's gone forever. I am so very sad (Meyer 2005, 5).

The long-established fear in the broader Fremantle community that NDA was planning to take over the West End is no more evident than in its buy up of the area's 'historic' pubs. Over the period 2000 to 2010, a number of pubs were purchased by the university and converted into office space, classrooms and accommodation for study abroad students, the latter being part of a programme which brings in a significant amount of funding for the university. The social impact of these transformations has perpetuated the already long-standing distrust of a number of locals and has been conceptualised as such in the *Fremantle Herald's* reporting.

The ways in which the *Fremantle Herald* has highlighted the loss of the 'working class' identity further positions NDA as a powerful institution 'colonising' the precinct at the cost of the former community and its more 'authentic' past. Throughout the decade, the *Fremantle Herald* proved to be one step ahead of the university public relations machine further characterising NDA as a secretive and non-transparent organisation. From the 'raid' on the P&O Hotel in June 2000 to the predicted 'fall' of the Fremantle Hotel in 2004, a critique of the *Fremantle Herald's* coverage of NDA hotel buy-ups shows how the argument of monoculture has been framed and legitimised by opponents of the university, but it also reveals how the *Fremantle Herald*, far from being the objective observer, also benefits from secrecies and strong connections with particular local actors in order to conceptualise change and conflict in the West End.

4.6.1 The Battle Begins: An early morning raid at the P&O



Figure 4.11 The P&O Hotel on the corner of High Street and Mouat Street.

On Saturday 22nd July 2000 the *Fremantle Herald* ran a front page new story on a ‘raid’ on the P&O Hotel (Wenden 2000a) (see Appendix 1). The following is a recount of the newspapers dramatisation of these events. At 8 am, a small number of long-term residents living at the P&O Hotel on High Street were awoken by security guards acting on behalf of the owners, ‘Quinlan Estates’, and ordered out of the building. One of the patrons, Frank, who was in his 80s, and had lived at the hotel for the past 20 years, was among the patrons who were given no opportunity to pack their belongings. Another patron, Lesley Wright, informed the *Fremantle Herald* (located around the corner) that she was told by the guards she could come back at midday to collect her belongings. The front-page article (Wenden 2000, 1) set the scene of a ‘coup’ explaining:

The guards told the residents and shell-shocked staff they were there to empty the place because the owners had cancelled the lease of long-time lessee Laurie Sullivan... When (Lesley) returned – with journalists from the Herald in tow – Terry Craig from Notre Dame University was handing out his card saying he was the building’s new

manager. By now a small, swarming crowd of half a dozen former residents, staff and punters, including ex-wharfies, had gathered outside the P&O's locked doors, and some with a few choice words to say...Another regular, denied access to his watering hole of many years yelled, "do you know you're working for a bunch of f...ing catholic Nazis!" to the impassive guards.

According to the report, NDA students had been living in the Hotel throughout the year and the university had been keen to get the lease for the property since April (of 2000). Distancing themselves from the 'coup', campus services manager Terry Craig argued: 'The eviction had nothing to do with us...In fact it was quite a surprise...It was not the way we would have handled it' (Wenden 2000a, 1). As the journalist pressed Mr Craig for his version of the story, he told the journalist that NDA had been offered the opportunity to lease the hotel a 'couple of days before-hand' to which the journalist (Wenden 2000, 1) expanded:

He (Craig) later told the Herald that Notre Dame had been informed a week before the eviction that it was going to take place; the same courtesy was not afforded Mr Sullivan, nor his staff who have all lost their jobs as a result of the pub coup.

The method employed by the newspaper to account for this event is informative. The use of terms such as 'pub-coup' and 'war-like' raid on the P&O is symbolic of the broader complaint that NDA is taking over the West End. The description of events and quotes from the 'small crowd' are all in their own way expressive of historical meaning. One regular is quoted in the article referring to the guards as 'trained by the one's who trained that Patrick's mob!', a connection with recent industrial disputes and lock outs both on Victoria Quay and nationally (Jones 2012 in press) while the reference to 'f...ing catholic Nazis!' also has historical implications to do with the internment of Italian-Australians during WWII. Another patron 'dismayed' at and 'disappointed' with the scene was introduced as 'Sardine king Jim Mendolia...a Friday lunch club regular, who used to sell papers out the front when he was six years old'. With six years to run on the lease, the reason given by the owners for terminating it was that the lessee had failed to respond to 'numerous default notices...in relation to painting the hotel, fire safety obligations, payments of

rates and takes, and sub-leasing parts of the premises without permission' (Wenden 2000a, 1).

While the newspaper depicted a lively street scene at the time of the eviction what is also apparent is the extent to which this is being played up by the journalist. The paper's setting of the scene as a 'small, swarming crowd of half a dozen former residents, staff and punters, including ex-wharfies' suggests the P&O was not at the height of its trade, but what is at issue in the motivations for the newspaper to run this as the front-page story is the symbolism this 'take-over' alludes to in the broader context of the changing social and economic landscape of the West End. The role of the university is implicated as one of the driving forces which is not only displacing older residents but transforming the identity of the area. The use of nostalgia by the newspaper is important in framing NDA as the outsiders who are displacing a more authentic group of individuals.

The story did not stop nor begin at the P&O. The next pub up for sale was His Majesty's Hotel. The connections that the newspaper was drawing between hotels closing down and the growth of the university is no more obvious than in the juxtaposition of two stories in the paper in July 2001 (see Figure 4.11). The claim in the article 'Hotel Sale' by His Majesty's hotel spokesperson, Pam Mitchell, is that '(t)he new owners might make it a small hotel, have live bands, a restaurant or keep it exactly as it is' (Chambers 2001, 7). But the 'real' threat is mentioned in reference to the fate of the P&O and the adjacent article (*Fremantle Herald*, 'Muscling in the West End', July 22, 2001, page 7).



Figure 4.12 Juxtaposition of headlines

4.6.2 The controversy continues



Figure 4.13 Hotel Cleopatra (Coakley's) on High Street. (The top floor is used for student accommodation for study abroad students and the bottom floor was the Edmund Rice Centre, which had operated there up until late 2011 when the centre closed down.)

The *Fremantle Herald* maintained the controversy surrounding NDA as, one by one, the local Hotels came up for sale. In 2001, Coakley's (also known as the Cleopatra Hotel) was reported to be up for sale. The choice of headline again makes reference to the university, 'uni denies interest in pub' (Grljusich 2001). Furthermore the paper (Grljusich 2001 , 12) draws on nostalgia and the 'working-class' identity of the West End describing the pub as:

The last workers' pub in Freo's west end – Coakley's (the old Cleopatra Hotel) – is set to be snapped up by a new owner sometime in the week...The old High Street pub, famous for its skimpy barmaids and "rough" patronage.

The building was claimed to be worth around \$1.7 million and had two 'very' interested parties, according to property agent, Mark Peters. The newspaper pointed out that the building is next door to the former Challenge Bank building which had been purchased by Notre Dame University a few months earlier. However, Peter Tannock went on record to defend the university's position saying: 'We're not in the market for buildings in the west end at the moment...I haven't even inspected the building let alone put in an offer' (Grljusich 2001 , 12). Nevertheless, the article concludes with a source involved in the sale saying that NDA had in fact inspected the building and had made inquiries.

On 4th August 2001 the *Fremantle Herald* reported that the auction of the Cleopatra Hotel had fallen short of the reserve price, with the top bid reaching just over \$1 million (Kwintowski 2001a). Again, NDA was implicated in the article with campus service manager Terry Craig described as having 'watched the proceedings (while) the cheque book stayed in his pocket as did the bidding hand' (Kwintowski 2001a, 11). In November 2001 it was reported on the front page of the *Fremantle Herald* that an affiliate of NDA, the Edmund Rice Centre, had bought the building (*Fremantle Herald* 'NDA affiliate buys Cleopatra Hotel' November 10, 2001, page 1). This connection with Notre Dame was too much for John Dowson (President of the Fremantle Society) who was quoted as saying that the sale represented 'a further drift towards mono-culture, another building taken away from public use' (*Fremantle Herald* 'NDA affiliate buys Cleopatra Hotel' November 10, 2001, page 1). While the university did not specifically purchase the building, the upper level

has been used as student accommodation for study abroad students during semesters. In framing the reader's reference on where Coakley's/Cleopatra is located, the *Fremantle Herald* refers to it as 'next to the former Westpac building and across the road from the P&O and Orient hotels, all of which are owned by Notre Dame' (*Fremantle Herald* 'NDA affiliate buys Cleopatra Hotel' November 10, 2001, page 1).

4.6.3 The Phillimore Hotel

On 17th May 2003, the *Fremantle Herald* reported that the university had purchased another 'historic' West End pub, the Phillimore building, for over \$2 million (Kwintowski 2003e). The paper describes the pub as: 'the swanky restaurant and bar which all too briefly brought a bit of class to what was once a haunt for liquored up lumpers and skimpy bar dancers' (Kwintowski 2003e, 3). Again NDA was represented as a 'greedy monster' dictating terms in the West End. 'Many around Freo knew Notre Dame was in the hunt for Phillimore's, on the corner of Mouat and Phillimore Streets, and that it was merely waiting for the right price' (Kwintowski 2003e, 3) The article also mentioned that 'well-sourced rumours' around town had suggested that the university was interested in the Fremantle Hotel, another iconic pub on the corner of High and Cliff Street. When the journalist put this to NDA campus services manager Terry Craig and also questioned him about the university's intentions towards the recently refurbished Fremantle Chamber of Commerce building, he replied: 'I can give you a categorical denial on either of those...I think (the Fremantle Hotel is) doing pretty well. I mean there's no competition left' (Kwintowski 2003e, 3).

The response from Terry Craig prompted one local, Stan Fenwick, to write: 'For goodness sake get behind the Fremantle Hotel, another beautiful building, and stop that being sold too. High Street without its historic pubs will end up as just another rundown road' (Fenwick 2003, 23).

The Fremantle Hotel was favoured by a group of academics from Murdoch University who started up 'Pubtalk', 'a weekly night at the Fremantle Hotel where

budding intellectuals and the rest of us can get on a soapbox for 20-45 minutes before giving the floor over for discussion' (Chambers 2002, 3). This was a resuscitation of a similar event that had traditionally been held weekly at the Fremantle Hotel in the early 1990s.

Another way of reading the seemingly insensitive 'no competition left' comment by Terry Craig might have been that this was part of the banter that appeared to be taking place between the *Fremantle Herald* and Mr Craig, for example in the article 'Freo council to sell more property' (D'Anger 2003c, 2) which read:

Fremantle council is looking to offload two more of its west end properties...(w)hen the Herald saw the item Notre Dame sprung to mind, but property manager Terry Craig was surprised to hear of the potential sale. 'We heard a rumour the Herald was buying', he joked.

The *Fremantle Herald's* willingness to report some of the events with 'tongue in cheek' suggests that Terry Craig's comments about the Fremantle Hotel may also have been in a similar vein. However, before the issue of the Fremantle Hotel came up again, another scandal broke involving NDA and West End property.

Three months after the sale of Phillimore's to NDA, it was reported in the *Fremantle Herald* that the university had bought another historic building on Phillimore Street, the P&O (not to be confused with the P&O Hotel on High Street). The issue was that the P&O building had been purchased at the same time as the Phillimore Hotel, leading the newspaper to wonder 'why Notre Dame didn't reveal its purchase of the P&O when the media was talking to it about the Phillimore's purchase' (*Fremantle Herald* 'P&O in uni stable', August 23, 2003, page 7). Again, the building was to be used for classrooms.

President of the Fremantle Society, John Dowson, raised the issue of NDA's dominance in the West End in a letter to the *Fremantle Herald* (Dowson 2003). Dowson was concerned that the prices that NDA was paying for these West End buildings were 'insultingly low' (Dowson 2002) and were facilitating a loss of public access. Dowson was also critical of what he argued to be 'special treatment' towards the university where the 'change of use' for the Phillimore Hotel 'went through without a murmur (*sic*) at Fremantle Council's Development Assessment

Committee’ meeting in contrast to the last major development application for the building in 1996, when ‘councillors poured (*sic*) over the site and over the plans, and negotiations actually took place’ (Dowson 2003, 8). The price that the university paid for the Cleopatra Hotel is described by Dowson as, ‘the price of a large west end unit’ (Dowson 2003, 8). He contended that the university was awarded a grant from Jim McGinty (WA Attorney General and Fremantle MP) for \$450,000 to change the place from a ‘Victorian boom time hotel to a student room time hostel’ (Dowson 2003, 8). According to Dowson, not only was there a significant social cost involved, but that it conveyed a financial advantage to the university.

4.6.4 The Fremantle Hotel



Figure 4.14 The Fremantle Hotel on the corner of Cliff Street and High Street.

When the Fremantle Hotel came up for sale in August 2004 the *Fremantle Herald* and NDA’s Terry Craig were at it again. The page two story on this historic 1903 ‘landmark’ led with the opening grab: ‘The Fremantle Hotel is for sale and Notre Dame University says it’s not interested in buying it’ (Hately 2004, 2). Terry Craig is quoted as saying: ‘We’ve told them we’re not interested... (confirming the uni had once made an offer) but they were asking a very high price for it’. (Hately 2004, 2).

While the asking price was reported to be over \$2million dollars there was no plan to safeguard the liquor license for the building, suggesting it was open for a change of use. The comments from the owner's son, Brett Boys, are informative of the changes occurring in the area over the past two decades:

Really it's up to the buyer at the end of the day...it's been a hotel for a very long time. We've been at the hotel 13 years...it's a family business and my father's getting ready to retire and I've got other interests. The whole environment of the town has changed in the time we've been here. The value of the property is now more than the business. (Hately 2004, 2)

However, the main focus of the story was on NDA's movements and what the *Fremantle Herald* described as classic case of 'doggo' since the university had said it wasn't interested in other buildings before 'snapping them up when the price was right' (Hately 2004, 2). Dowson was again quoted as saying; 'I don't think they're (NDA) done... I'm very, very upset...They should be able to sell for well over two million, and if it went under two million it would be a bargain' (Hately 2004, 2). Brett Boys was also quizzed on NDA's status saying; 'Obviously Notre Dame have been knocking around the place for a long time' (Hately 2004, 2).

Two months later it was revealed in the *Fremantle Herald* that NDA had indeed bought the iconic Fremantle Hotel (*Fremantle Herald* 'The Freo's for the faithful', October 16, 2004, page 7). When quizzed on their earlier disinterest, Terry Craig (whose title in the *Fremantle Herald* had been 'upgraded' from Campus Service manager to land acquisition manager) said; 'the guy came back to us so we negotiated a deal. So yes, we have bought it' (*Fremantle Herald* 'The Freo's for the faithful', October 16, 2004, page 7). There was no report of the sale price but the fact that the owner came back to Terry Craig with another offer suggests it went for less than the asking price. The Hotel has since become offices for the School of Arts and Sciences. NDA's purchase of the Fremantle Hotel meant that all the major 'historic' Hotels in the West End were now owned by the university or an affiliate and all but the Orient Hotel had been transformed into private uses for the university. The P&O Hotel on High Street has since opened for lunches but without the liquor license.

4.6.5 Monoculture

The way in which the *Fremantle Herald* conceptualised the buy up of pubs and hotels supports the claim which John Dowson had been making about the West End becoming a monoculture (D'Anger 2003e). The Grzyb report (2002) sought to define and quantify the notion of a monoculture but could not say for sure what that might involve. The campus map of NDA (see Figure 4.12) ten years on suggests a much larger concentration than the estimated 10% quantified in Grzyb (2002). However, thinking about space as relational and consequently ownership, a monoculture can be viewed not purely by the terms of its quantity. What the *Fremantle Herald* has sought to demonstrate is a changing socio-economic landscape of the West End, driven primarily by the colonising forces of the university.

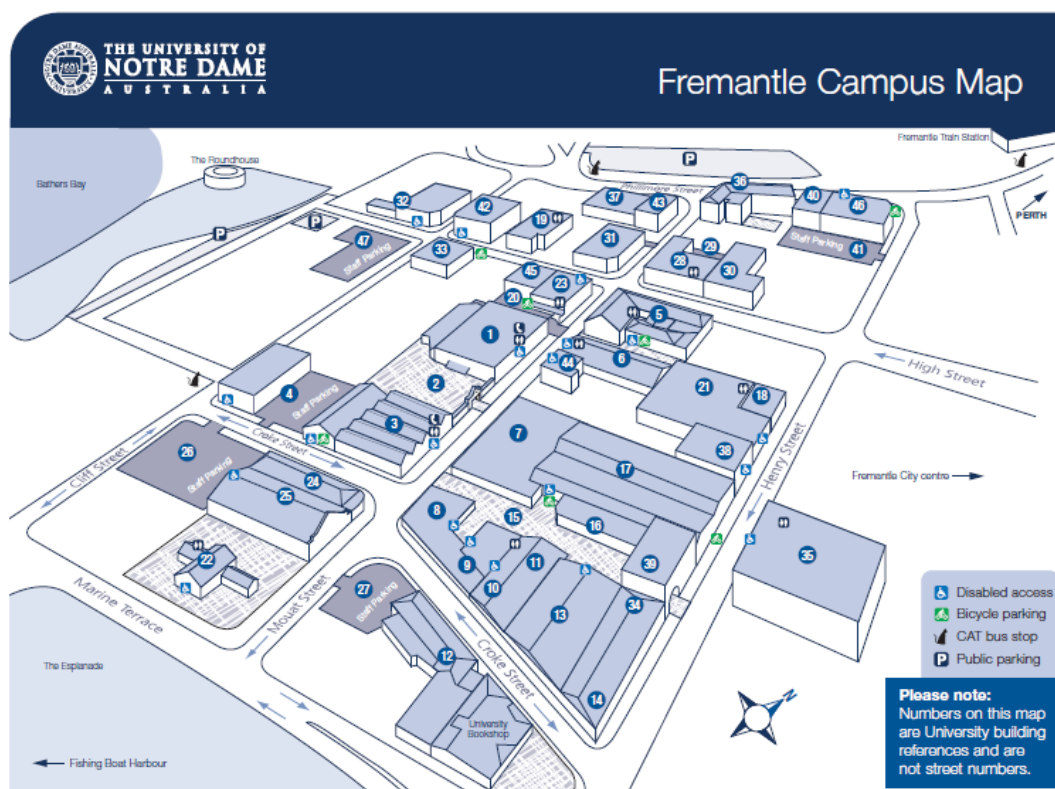


Figure 4.15 A map of Fremantle's NDA campus at February 24, 2012
http://www.nd.edu.au/downloads/map/fremantle_campus_map_2012.pdf (Date accessed: March 9, 2012)

4.7 NDA's non-rateable status

The battle over the pub buy-ups dominated the news scene over the first five years of the new millennium, but it also paved the way for a re-emergence of the Fremantle Society on local council. Both John Dowson and Les Lauder (founder of the Fremantle Society) based their election campaigns in 2005 partly around their concern over the status of Notre Dame in the West End. For Dowson, it was clear that the institution was creating a monoculture which was in part supported by a special privilege (Dowson 2005a; 2005b), while for Lauder his campaign was based on putting the issue of 'rates' back on the agenda (Hately 2005).

4.7.1 Rates

NDA's status as a 'non-rate paying' institution has been a source of conflict within the community since the late 1980s (Davidson and Davidson 2010). In 2002 Patrick Bullen wrote to the *Fremantle Herald* complaining that 'Fremantle ratepayers are effectively subsidising the education of foreigners, namely American children' (Bullen 2002, 5). A Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) 2003 between the local council and the university, which came out after the Grzyb report, was designed to appease community tensions and show, through financial contributions, that NDA was a valuable member of the Fremantle community. However, in the context of the West End's social transformation exemplified by NDA's buy up and conversion of 'historic' pubs, the issue of the MoU 2003 and NDA's status in the broader Fremantle community sparked again in 2005.

On the 4th June 2005 the *Fremantle Herald* ran a front page report detailing new City Ward councillor, Les Lauder's call for the MoU to be put up for review (Hately 2005). The arguments were that NDA was contributing to the problems and perceptions that the West End had become a 'dead end' (Meyer 2005) and 'ghost town' (Hefferon 2005). Lauder explained in the article that 'the closure of pubs and shops was a major contributor to the area's decline' (Hately 2005, 1). As a consequence of NDA (as a religious institution) not paying rates, the arguments were

that the university had acquired a privileged status and therefore, Lauder, believed they had a 'responsibility to retain the livelihood of the city' (Hately 2005, 1).

It is interesting to detail the way in which Lauder (2005, 6) described NDA:

Notre Dame is a successful, wealthy corporation with an income that I am told approaches that of the City of Fremantle and yet we ratepayers are expected to subsidise it heavily... (t)hey continue to silently acquire more properties and displace Fremantle businesses. They have built up a massive and valuable property portfolio greatly helped by the subsidy given by Fremantle ratepayers. As the largest property owner in Fremantle they can't hide behind their privileged status any more.

Lauder's letter was followed by two letters of support, one from local Gerald Hitchcock who wrote; '(more) power to Les Lauder... (w)alking around there is like walking through Coolgardie – it's a ghost town' (Hitchcock 2005, 4) and the other by local Robert Vallis who called for the university to be more 'open' and 'transparent' and for a breakdown 'showing a detailed statement of monies generated, garnered and those given to Fremantle council by this privileged organisation' (Vallis 2005, 4). The claim by Lauder in the earlier news article, that 'little old ladies in Beaconsfield' and 'ordinary working people in Hilton' (two old inner suburbs within the City of Fremantle's boundary), were subsidising the 'private university', further positioned NDA as being at odds with the identity of Fremantle as a 'working-class' community, to which Lauder alludes (Lauder 2005, 6).

Despite the impassioned debate, the issue simmered, perhaps with attention turning to the Fremantle Port Authority and ING planning controversy on Victoria Quay (detailed in chapter five). However, in 2009, two 'budding' councillors, Sam Wainwright and Lloyd Hammond, put the issue back into the spotlight in the context of an 8% hike in rates (Foster 2009). Their argument was supported the following week in a letter by Angela Luvera (Luvera 2009, 6), which read:

When a business, including an education business, is run for profit it should contribute to the community. This means paying rates to help

run the facilities and amenities of the area it is in. Murdoch University doesn't pay rates either but it has its own roads and parks to maintain on the University grounds. Notre Dame University on the other hand buys existing heritage buildings often preserved through the hard work of the council, and the neighbourhood facilities are maintained by the ratepayers of Fremantle. Why this special treatment for a corporate university? It should pay its way.

Lauder, in his campaign for re-election in 2009, alluded to a continuation of 'secrecy' in a full-page advertisement which he took out in the *Fremantle Herald*. He wrote that the council and NDA were reviewing the MoU but, when another councillor proposed that it should be put out for public comment, the university's Vice Chancellor, Celia Hammond, and Councillor Pettitt (who went on to claim the mayoral position) strongly opposed opening it up to the public (Lauder 2009, 7). Because it does not pay rates NDA has continued to be constructed by sections of the community and the council, as an 'outsider' and a 'free rider' which has essentially 'colonised' the West End, privatising an area at rate payers' expense. The sentiment that NDA does not belong in Fremantle, is perhaps best summed up by comments made at a council planning committee meeting in 2001, when NDA unveiled its strategic plan for the decade, pointing out it would require more property. A local was quoted in the *Fremantle Herald*, as interrupting proceedings to shout at the Vice Chancellor of the time, Peter Tannock, saying, 'How much of my city do you wish to take over?' (Kwintowski 2001e, 8).

4.7.2 Did NDA save the West End?

While the *Fremantle Herald* has effectively publicised the claims of NDA opponents, there have been moments when alternative voices, beyond the relative silence of the institution itself, have broken through. The debate concerning NDA's acceptance into the Fremantle community is often framed in terms of the question, what might have been? Grzyb (2002) addresses this question as have numerous other proponents of the university.

The Grzyb report (Grzyb 2002, 27) proposed:

Should UNDA not located to the West End, the buildings currently utilised by UNDA may have been converted to apartments as have other warehouses and like buildings. In that event there would have been no access to those buildings by the general community, no public access to private communal space, and the proportion of buildings devoted to private residential purposes could have dominated the area.

For Grzyb and Associates, their report takes aim at the detractors who have argued that NDA has created a monopoly/monoculture within the area. As part of the MoU 2003, NDA are required to contribute annually to the City of Fremantle by a cash payment of ~\$50,000 and a further \$50,000 in kind through community events, functions, public meetings and conferences (to a certain economic value) and to increase the public use of their buildings (*Fremantle Herald* November 16, 2002, page 3). There is certainly evidence of this. The letters to the *Fremantle Herald* by John Longley (2007) and Hocking (2004), mentioned in the first rumination, also support the argument that the development of NDA has been positive for the West End.

Lauder (2005, 6) on the other hand has argued:

Their claim about saving the West End from ruin is a complete furphy. Any Fremantle real estate agent will tell you how desirable West End property is. Notre Dame simply skewed a revival which was already well underway.

Allen D Graham, a former local city councillor who was on council when, he claimed, NDA 'came selling snake oil' (Graham 2003, 5) also made an interesting comment about what could have been.

Certainly the university benefited by good timing and good patrons in being able to buy into the west end when they did. But just imagine how vibrant that part of town would be now if those properties were used for warehouse-type residential accommodation, rather than

student accommodation and class rooms which deliver no significant income to the city.

By Graham's rationale it seems that the appropriation of old industrial buildings into residential apartments would have been the lesser of two evils when compared to a catholic university. However, it is difficult to see how the redevelopment of the West End by private developers seeking to convert the heritage buildings into luxury apartments would have prevented a similar discursive battle over the identity of the West End (see chapter seven, for the issue of gentrification in Fremantle's East End).

Two separate incidents at the Moore's building in the West End in 2005 and 2009 provide an argument for standard gentrification as potentially being more problematic than the presence of NDA, as far as 'traditional' rowdy activities are concerned. In 2005 a major live music event was shut down at 11pm when a nearby local resident complained the 'noise was bothering her' (D'Anger 2005b, 3). The premature end to what was local radio RTR FM's Fremantle Winter Musical Festival^{xiii} drew a backlash from the local paper (D'Anger 2005). When a similar event occurred in 2009 (D'Anger 2009a), this time a Red Cross fundraising event which was shut down at 9:30 the *Fremantle Herald* published a letter from Steve Glackin (2009), which put forward the standard gentrification argument that newer residents moving into a traditionally lively area such as the West End then seek to sanitise it. The editorial note (see Glackin 2009, 8) backing this letter up argued:

I'm with you Steve. There are grey areas of course – where the CBD borders traditionally residential streets, for instance, but one would think the Moores, deep in the West End, would be an appropriate inner-city party venue. If the poor dears living in swanky terraces nearby want a quiet Saturday night perhaps they should consider moving to a nice dormitory suburb like Winthrop.

It can be argued that in some ways NDA's monoculture has allowed for a more consistent and uniform refurbishment and revitalisation of the area that suits the protection of this heritage precinct. While this chapter has documented the criticism lodged at NDA for destroying the social and economic landscape of the West End by some heritage groups and local actors, NDA has, conversely, been praised for

employing the work of architect Marcus Collins who has helped, through his building restorations, to preserve a uniform streetscape (Davidson and Davidson 2010, 137).

4.8 Conclusion



Figure 4.16: A cartoon in the Fremantle Herald. (December 16, 2006 page 5 (Ange 2006, 5).)

There is a very interesting point being made in this cartoon which can be applied to the controversy in the West End (see Figure 4.13). My interpretation of the cartoon is that the wharfie, in the work singlet represents a symbol of Fremantle's working-class identity sitting next to what could be described as a 'yuppie', a newer resident in Fremantle. They are being asked by either a reporter or a businessman about the 'Port', another iconic piece of Fremantle. Amusingly, when quizzed, 'would it be Fremantle without the port' the wharfie is only concerned about a 'beer' and not the bigger planning controversy that will ultimately determine his employment opportunities in the area. The response of the wharfie resonates with those of the characters of the West End in the 1950s and 60s idealised in the short stories written

by Roberts (1995). My point on the West End is that the groups and individuals opposing the 'buy up', the closure of the pubs and the bigger battle over NDA's impact on the social identity of the precinct are not the subjects who created that social history. They are borrowing on a selective social narrative of the West End. Les Lauder and John Dowson are both presented from the perspective of Fremantle post 1970. This doesn't de-legitimise their claims, but it does show how selective narratives are appropriated to defend the identity of areas within the city.

Massey (2005, 49) argues for a conceptualisation of 'space as interval, and as holding open the possibility of an open future'. Her point is that there is no claim to place that is self-evident. In the context of the West End, rather than arguing which side has the more 'authentic' claim to place, when clearly those of both sides are partial, it is more beneficial to examine the terms by which the identity of place is and has been constructed, contested and defended. I have traced a number of significant narratives which inform the changes and conflicts in Fremantle's West End. They include the claims that the process of de-industrialisation created a dead end in the West End which NDA has helped to overcome. Alternatively, opponents of this view have sought to argue from nostalgia and from when the West End was once a 'worker's paradise' which NDA has since destroyed. In addressing the question 'whose city?' no group completely owns the West End. However, in drawing some conclusions from this case study, it is clear that the *Fremantle Herald*, along with local opponents, have been instrumental in constructing the university as an 'outsider' while, at the same time, the institutional power and privileges of the university have allowed it to increasingly dominate the area.

However compromises have been made. One has been the preservation of the physical landscape by the university, which has enabled the broader Fremantle community to promote its 'heritage' tourism to a greater degree than might have been the case had the West End been sold off to individual, residential developers. Another counter claim could be made that NDA's dominance of the West End is a more appropriate representation of the earlier construction phase of the area, in the mid to late 1800s, when Fremantle's merchant princes dominated the area in an oligarchic manner (Brown 1996). Nevertheless, there is a significant social and economic transformation occurring in Fremantle's West End. Economically, the shift towards education as one of Fremantle's major economic bases is indicative of its re-

emergence from a phase of de-industrialisation, while socially the addition of university students has brought young people into the area, albeit at highly selective times, whilst turning hotels and other buildings into private uses, a process which Jane Jacobs (1961) would argue, has diminished the reasons for other people to visit and to interact at the street level in the West End.

In the next chapter, I will cross the railway line into Victoria Quay, the site where the majority of the port's operations took place throughout the 1900s and one which therefore, shares a previous identity with the West End. Victoria Quay is a space also experiencing the impacts of de-industrialisation but it is also a site where large amounts of open space offer the potential for a 'flagship' commercial development which could also have a radical impact on the identity and the sense of place of Fremantle.

5.0 Chapter Five: Who decides? The battle for Victoria Quay

5.1 Introduction

David Harvey's (1989b) seminal paper *From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism* identified an important shift relating to the inter-urban competition resulting from the shift from Fordism to flexible accumulation. These broader forces of change have meant that formerly industrial areas are being re-imagined in order to attract inward investment. Integral to such redevelopment is the reimagining and rebranding of the city. Consequently, contributions to this shift towards urban entrepreneurialism have focussed on 'flagship' developments and hallmark events (MacLeod 2002; Oakley 2005; Rofe and Oakley 2006; Owen 2002). In relation to these changes, Oakley (2009) identifies four significant implications for: urban governance; the politics of scale; reimagined places; and the sustainability of containment. Oakley argues that the results of the waterfront redevelopment of Port Adelaide have included a retreating role of the state, the creation of sanitised and exclusive redevelopments that are unsustainable and a lack of any meaningful public participation in the planning processes whereby 'outside' actors often decide on the urban form.

However, since Harvey's paper in 1989 there has been a significant challenge to the hegemony of political economy approaches to urban entrepreneurialism, namely their neglect of a cultural politics (Hubbard 1996; Ley 2004; Wood 1998). This challenge also has implications for the political economy approach employed by Oakley (2009). Hubbard is particularly forthright in his treatment of the issue that 'although the new urban politics is often depicted as a politics of exclusion which marginalises 'other' voices...this cannot be an excuse for geographers to do likewise' (Hubbard 1996, 1448). Wood (1998, 121) echoes Hubbard's concern pointing out that the 'literature on the entrepreneurial city, although sizeable, rests on theoretical and empirically impoverished grounds'. Hubbard also, quotes his work with Hall (Hall and Hubbard 1996) arguing that 'such a perspective which investigates the way that culture is negotiated and contested between different social groups, and displays a sensitivity to 'everyday' lifestyles, is, however, still conspicuously absent from many accounts of urban entrepreneurialism' (Hall and

Hubbard 1996, quoted in Hubbard 1996, 1448). These challenges resonate with Massey's (2005) reconceptualisation of space as open, contingent and contested.

In Australia, there is a depth of scholarly work exploring the refashioning and re-imagining of postindustrial waterfronts along entrepreneurial lines including; Newcastle (Rofe 2000, 2004; Winchester, McGuirk and Dunn 1996) The Rocks in Sydney (Waitt 2000) and Port Adelaide (Oakley 2005, 2009; Rofe and Oakley 2006). In the case of Victoria Quay there are a number of similarities with the situation in Port Adelaide as described by Oakley (2009) but there are also some marked differences. Fremantle has a remarkably active local political landscape, predominantly reflected in the local *Fremantle Herald* press and driven by the Fremantle Society, whose vision for Fremantle is highly localised and is generally constructed in relation to asserting difference from its surrounds and from 'Big Brother' Perth. In the context of Fremantle Ports and ING's plans for a commercial development on Victoria Quay, the four key indicators as set out by Oakley (above) on urban entrepreneurialism, were questioned and challenged by local opponents at every turn. Local activists were extremely active in constructing Fremantle Ports, ING and the state planning minister as 'outsiders' seeking to impose their vision on 'public owned land'. What makes this controversy all the more challenging is that the land is publically owned at the state, rather than the local, level and therefore local Fremantle opponents were required to negotiate jurisdictional challenges over an area which occupies an integral part in the symbolic and material identity of Fremantle.

While the political economy approaches to urban entrepreneurialism have been insightful in pointing out the unequal power relations created by recent economic and political shifts, there is no guarantee that any 'flagship' proposal, promotion or attempt at reimagining the city will be successful, as is shown in this case study. The power of local actors to disrupt the process is crucial even if the reasons for the eventual collapse of the project had nothing to do with the local opposition. It is hypothesised here that the eventual failure of the Fremantle Ports/ING proposal created a perfect scenario for the opponents who continue to construct their identity as 'Fighting for Fremantle' (Davidson and Davidson 2010). While the opponents of the commercial development lost the battle on Victoria Quay this setback helped to consolidate the development as a 'threat' in the minds of their supporters. The

eventual lapse of the proposal's approval was due to delays and to the global financial crisis.

This chapter seeks to explore and extend on four critical aspects of the urban entrepreneurial process, as set out by Oakley (2009), for redeveloping former industrial waterfront sites of production into post-industrial landscapes of consumption. Firstly, the formation of quasi 'public' redevelopment groups creates an interesting tension within the charters of state institutions. Secondly, the construction of a problem, or in other cases a 'threat' (Kerr 2009), as a means of proposing a solution has been documented as a powerful method employed by hegemonic groups to legitimise the social and economic transformation occurring as something which is 'self-evident'. Thirdly, the competition within the conceptual hierarchy of cities has resulted in a battle to reimage and reposition Fremantle, to make it nationally and internationally competitive further legitimising the proposed solution to the constructed problem. Finally, the use of the concept of 'sustainable development' (Adams 2002) and other urban planning models to convince the public of the need for this redevelopment enlists broader urban planning issues such as 'suburban sprawl' and population growth.

However, the appropriation is not all one way and where I seek to push this urban entrepreneurial framework further is in developing the cultural politics and the contingencies which surround the controversy. If space is to be thought of as relational, an open process (Massey 2005) then the hegemonic forces of a multinational corporation and a state body imposing their will on the local people must be problematised. In the battle on Victoria Quay, the attempts by Fremantle Ports and ING to construct the Quay as a problem in an attempt to legitimise the project have been met by protests from active and articulate local actors in Fremantle who alternatively emphasise their 'local' position by constructing Fremantle Ports and ING as 'outsiders' in order to champion their own right to decide the Quay's future. Significantly, the competing groups all appeal to a broader narrative of a Fremantle as 'sailing away'. For Fremantle Ports and ING this is evident in their complaints that the lack of any new 'flagship' development in Fremantle has resulted in an alarming trend of economic and social decline since the America's Cup of 1986-87, while local opponents argue that the design and motivation for this development has the potential to damage the identity and diversity of Fremantle

destroying the City and creating nothing more than a 'suburban shopping centre and marina' (Alexander 2008, 5).

This particular case study provides fertile ground for an interrogation into the way different groups attempt to legitimise their particular claims to space. The local specificities make this case different from other examples of waterfront redevelopments around Australia because it does not include residential land use. Furthermore, the complexity and discrepancies resulting from the state ownership of this land creates a vexed situation where locals wanting to have their say are not really 'locals' in a legal sense. Consequently this case study pits rival groups across different scales, predominantly from the point of view of state versus local, Port versus City and development versus heritage. The theoretical issue of the rise of urban entrepreneurialism provides a good framework within which to approach the battle for Victoria Quay.

5.1.2 Setting the Scene

There is oddness about the current landscape of Victoria Quay. It is difficult to imagine that this stagnant scene has been at the centre of such a fierce development controversy spanning the decade. While the physical landscape has remained largely obsolete the local political debate has been fertile and dynamic.

Not much happens these days on Victoria Quay. The Maritime Museum opened in 2001 and was highly celebrated throughout the state but remains somewhat cut off from Fremantle CBD. A Motor Museum (see Figure 5.1) occupied the B-Shed for a short period, entertaining the community with displays of rare vintage cars, but battled continual short-term leases and uncertainty over its tenure from Fremantle Ports, who control the land, and it was eventually moved on in 2008, despite a state-wide community petition of 7000 signatures to save it (Fremantle Herald, November 17, 2007, page 2). The E-shed markets have been the Quay's tourist and retail mainstay over the past decade but have struggled for exposure with a number of marketing initiatives proving ineffective. For the most part the old working sheds on the western end of Victoria Quay have been left to deteriorate. The A-Shed, which

falls under the control of Museums WA, acts as a storage area for old wooden boats awaiting restoration for future museum displays (see Figure 5.1). Between the B and C sheds, the Rottneest Ferry services and Captain Cook Cruises operate out of a seemingly makeshift depot whilst C-Shed is fenced off and visibly, 'out of order' (see Figure 5.2). The D-Shed (see Figure 5.3), Immigration Centre and C.Y. O'Connor building all appear to be abandoned and the historic legacy's of the area are strangled by the dominant land use on the Quay, car parks. The recreational fishers who lined the wharf for decades are gone, warned off by fences and barricades that suggest restoration works are due to begin...soon (although the B-Shed is currently being renovated).

In stark contrast to the deteriorating landscape, rising high above the sheds in a symbol of control is the office block that is the Fremantle Ports (FP) headquarters (see Figure 5.4). Despite the western end of Victoria Quay resembling a post-industrial 'wasteland', this imposing building stands as a reminder that the area remains firmly under the control of this Western Australian statutory government authority. Late in 2007, not looking to make friends, and in spite of the recent growth in the cruise industry, the FP closed the heritage listed Passenger Terminal on the Eastern End of the Quay (see Figure 5.5), turning it into a space for car detailing and storage of imported cars (see Figure 5.6). Over the past decade, Victoria Quay has become increasingly cut off functionally from the city of Fremantle. Symbolically however, Victoria Quay is central to the social, cultural and industrial stories of Fremantle and continues to influence the battles over the identity and character of Fremantle today and ultimately over the question of 'whose city'. There remains a strong sense in the local community that Victoria Quay and the port in general is every bit a part of Fremantle.



Figure 5.1 Maritime museum. (Opened Sunday December 1, 2002 housing the America's Cup winning yacht Australia II (1983) which brought the race to Fremantle in 1986-87.)



Figure 5.2 E Shed market.



Figure 5.3 A Shed. (Used for storage by Museums WA.)



Figure 5.4 B-Shed. (In the process of being adaptively recreated as a café.)



Figure 5.5 C Shed and Rottneest ferry terminal.



Figure 5.6 D-Shed.



Figure 5.7 The Fremantle Ports offices.



Figure 5.8 The Fremantle Passenger Terminal.



Figure 5.9 The dominant land use for the eastern end of Victoria Quay. (The Wool Stores in Fremantle's East End provide an impressive backdrop to this photograph (see chapter 6).)

5.2 Introducing the Fremantle Ports/ING controversy

In November 2003, a \$100 million commercial development proposal was unveiled for Victoria Quay, occupying the area between the new maritime museum and the railway station. The developer, who sought to develop and operate over a 99-year lease period, was the Dutch multi-national, ING Real Estate. The three-hectare site was scheduled to include '25,000 square metres of office space and 12, 000 square metres of commercial space including shops, restaurants and cafes and parking for 800 cars' (D'Anger 2003a, 1). ING development director, Greg Boyd, claimed that the project would generate '150 jobs during construction, about 400 full-time jobs in retail, and "1200-plus people working in the corporate office accommodation"' (D' Anger 2003a, 1). In keeping with Fremantle Ports' guidelines on buffer zones for the working port, there was to be, strictly, no housing development. In addition to this 'cutting-edge' initiative, the heritage-listed immigration building, the adjacent amenities block and the C-Shed were to be restored and refurbished at the cost of the developer (D' Anger 2003a, 1). While redevelopment of a predominantly redundant space on Victoria Quay was seemingly a positive initiative, the build-up to this

announcement and the subsequent development proposal and application process resulted in one of the most fiercely contested controversies to impact on Fremantle across the decade.

Local opposition to the project was focussed specifically on who had the right to decide what development should go on Victoria Quay. Since the ownership of the land falls under the jurisdiction of Fremantle Ports, a state instrumentality (see Figure 5.7), this particular case provides a good opportunity to interrogate the extent of the participation and influence of 'local' participants over development in an area that is outside the local constituents' control. Despite the clear designation of ownership between the city and the port/the state, as the opening to this chapter contends, Victoria Quay is considered to be intrinsic to the identity of Fremantle. Consequently, local opposition to the bulk, height and scale was concerned with the importance and value of sightlines which maintain visual linkages between the City and the Port/the Inner Harbour. The scale and height of the commercial development was also seen as a threat to the identity of Fremantle and its ethos as a 'colonial' shopping precinct rather than a 'big box' environment. However, the most striking claim from local opponents was the accusation (demand) that Fremantle Ports was in breach of its charter as a port operator by leasing out redundant land for a commercial development venture and that, therefore, this space should be handed over to the City of Fremantle.



Figure 5.10 The jurisdictional control of the City of Fremantle and Fremantle Ports. (The grey zones are state control led land as well as some sections of yellow on the western extremity of north Quay. The jurisdictional boundaries further emphasise the disconnection between Victoria Quay and Fremantle's central business district.)

5.2.1 The ambiguous role of the state

The retreating role of the state and the formation of growth coalitions have recently become the subject of inquiry for many human geographers and critical planners. Oakley (2009) identifies the formation of 'quasi-government' coalitions as symptomatic of a further protrusion of 'market-logic' which has led to 'flagship' redevelopments on post-industrial waterfronts. In the case of Port Adelaide's waterfront redevelopment, Oakley makes the point that redevelopment authorities have often been afforded land at low prices, including zero-cost, as a means of government 'out-sourcing' of the potential costs of remediation, particularly of potentially contaminated land, in an attempt to protect the state from this burden by turning them over to a developer who has the potential to recover the costs through its profit margins. In the case of Victoria Quay, Fremantle Ports have found

themselves in the unique position of retaining control over 'state-owned' land which can then be leased to a developer who can fund the project. Oakley (2009, 305) explains:

This marks another shift in institutional practice, one that results in the state retreating from the responsibility of being planning driven to that of enabling a developer to undertake the planning, delivery and ultimately to profit from the end product.

This shift is reflected in the WA state planning minister at the time, Alannah MacTiernan's argument that: '(i)f you limit it (commercial development) to three-storey I have doubts you would be able to provide the sort of infrastructure the space needed' (D'Anger 2006e, 1). These comments reflect the acceptance by the state for the logic of the 'market' to dictate the nature of the project. Selling this ideological shift to the broader community however, involves more complicated battles.

The shelving of a city and community approved Waterfront Masterplan, the creation of a closed steering committee and the subsequent search to secure the tenders of major international development syndicates reflects the diversifying of the charters of statutory government bodies, such as Fremantle Ports, towards urban entrepreneurial logic.

5.2.2 Waterfront Masterplan

The power of the state to override local democratic processes evident following the initial drafting of a Waterfront Masterplan (Cox Howlett & Bailey Woodland 2000) (see Figure 5.8) in the late 1990s. What initially seemed to be a highly democratic process has since become a point of contention for local opponents of the ING development who have argued that the commercial development on Victoria Quay is in breach of the document to which the community had contributed. In the late 1990s, given the sensitivities that any proposed development for the western end of Victoria Quay would spark within the local community, the Liberal state government, in collaboration with Fremantle Ports and the City of Fremantle,

engaged in community consultation exercise with the intent of drawing up a Victoria Quay Waterfront Masterplan to guide future development on Victoria Quay. According to the *Fremantle Herald* ('No need for more talk', August 19, 2006, page 1) the consultation was exhaustive and included; 30 public meetings; public displays in libraries and shopping centres; a website; distribution of 10,000 brochures; independent market research and 450 public submissions (Cox Howlett & Bailey Woodland 2000, vi). The overwhelming response from the community, which was subsequently written into the final document, was for appropriate development that would not overshadow the 2-3 storey industrial character of the Quay and, indeed of most of central Fremantle. The exception to this guideline was a designated landmark high-rise development at the western extremity of Victoria Quay (*Fremantle Herald* 'No need for more talk', August 19, 2006: 1). The Maritime Museum was also considered to be a landmark site. The final document also contained a commercial precinct however, Dowson (2006, 4) argued in a *Herald* – *thinking allowed* double-page spread:

When the draft masterplan was shown to the public in 1998 there was no commercial precinct in the plan...The commercial precinct... only appeared in the final plan, but was shown as being similar in height to the existing sheds, or two to three stories.

The location of the ING commercial development created significant controversies with numerous claims that it contravened the Waterfront Masterplan on a number of levels (see Figure 5.8). Firstly, the height, bulk and scale significantly exceeded the 2-3 storey height guideline, secondly the designated area extended beyond any landmark zones and thirdly the proposed buildings would cut sightlines of the port off from the city (see Figure 5.9). Alternatively, the new Fremantle Ports/ING coalition and the proponents of the commercial development argued that there was scope in the document's guidelines for this development. The Waterfront Masterplan was published in April 2000 (Cox Howlett & Bailey Woodland 2000) and signed off on by the premier of the day, Richard Court, three cabinet ministers, Fremantle Ports CEO, Kerry Sanderson and the Fremantle Mayor at the time, Richard Utting (D'Anger 2006b).



Figure 5.11 The area map of Victoria Quay and Fremantle city centre. (The area, shaded blue, denotes the commercial precinct, which featured in the final version of the waterfront Masterplan (2000). It is the site of the Fremantle Ports/ING proposal.)

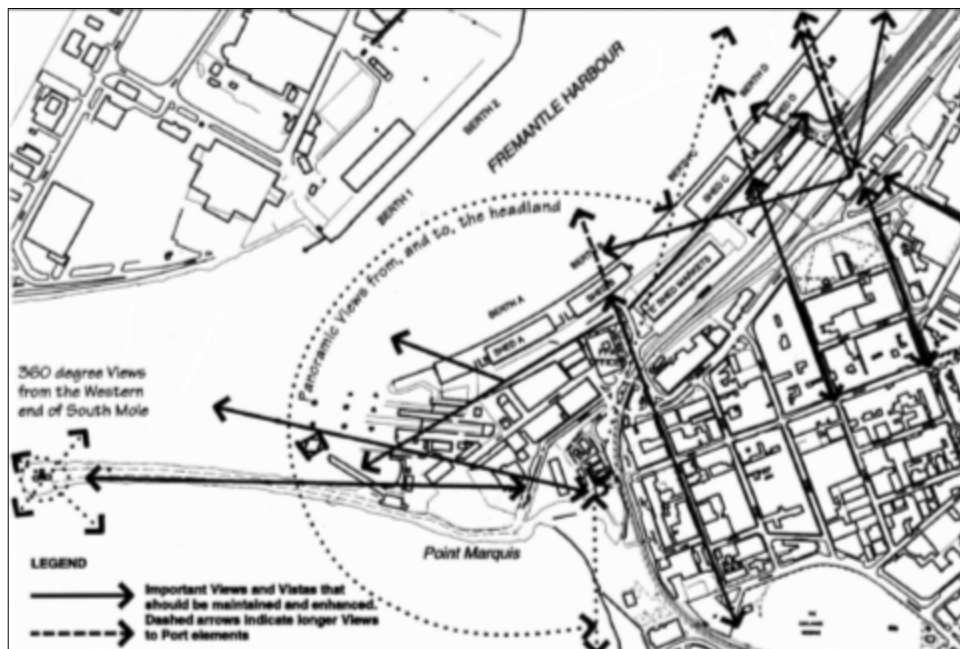


Figure 5.12 Sightlines from the Waterfront Masterplan (2000). (Highlights the important sightlines connecting the city and the port. The height, bulk and scale of the proposed Fremantle Ports/ING commercial development were argued, by opponents, to significantly interrupt these.)

5.2.3 Formation of a Steering Committee

In preparation for the launch of a commercial development for Victoria Quay an evaluation panel consisting of key personnel from Fremantle Ports, the Heritage Council of WA CEO, Ian Baxter, Fremantle Chamber of Commerce CEO, John Longley and the Fremantle City Council CEO, Ray Glickman was established (presumably by the state planning minister) to steer the concept plans and search for a private investor. Preliminary proposals were sent back to the drawing board early in 2003 by the incumbent state Labor planning minister, Alannah MacTiernan, who claimed that local Fremantle people would not like the plans because they were too retail focused and there was potential for this development to impact negatively on existing retailers in the city (Kwintowski 2003b). MacTiernan was also quick to emphasise that any commercial development on Victoria Quay would be a 'state asset' and that, while Fremantle people would be consulted, they were not the only voices she was interested in hearing (Kwintowski 2003b, 1).

An interesting issue canvassed in the *Fremantle Herald* during this period illustrates the power relationships between the Port and City. Fremantle mayor, Peter Tagliaferri, was reported as claiming that there were murmurs of disquiet about the evaluation process and the composition of the panel, with the newspaper positioning Peter Tagliaferri as being against Fremantle Ports and its rumoured proposal (Kwintowski 2002a). The successive headlines read, *Mayor blasts port over quay plans* (Kwintowski 2002a) and *Council and port are best mates* (Tagliaferri 2002). Tagliaferri was quick to retreat from this hypothesised Port/City clash the following week, criticising the newspaper for fabricating a conflict and stating that he was supportive of the project provided that there was a 4-storey limit for any proposed development (Tagliaferri 2002). Tagliaferri's rush to defuse any potential conflict between the City and the Port can be contrasted with the absence of any public comment from Fremantle Ports. As was the case for Notre Dame Australia, much of the power of Fremantle Ports in the promotion of the commercial development can be inferred from the organisation's silence.

5.2.4 Rolling out ING

After nearly five years of speculation, in November 2003, a \$100 million commercial development for Victoria Quay was finally unveiled to the public (D'Anger 2003a). The Dutch multi-national corporation, ING Real Estate, was reported to have won a (99 year) tender to operate and develop the precinct. The front page report in the *Fremantle Herald* (D'Anger 2003a) was accompanied with a sketch drawing supplied by Fremantle Ports of an artist's impression of what the project might look like (see Figure 5.10). The railway station is included in the foreground (to the right of the picture) with part of the development rising slightly above it in the background and further development on the left side of the picture. The sketch drawing is an extremely soft representation of the development, blending the contrasted height and scale of the single-storey railway station with the proposed commercial development, which was claimed in the newspaper article to be six-storeys high.



Figure 5.13 Sketch drawing supplied by Fremantle Ports/ING. (It shows an unobtrusive development set behind Fremantle railway station, identified in the Figure 5.9 as an important sightline.)

5.2.5 ING mark II

When the proposed development was again put forward for public comment in March 2006, the project had grown in value to \$200 million (D'Anger and Hately 2006), but besides the image in the article (see Figure 5.11) still no plans or scaled models were made available publically. The specific details of the building were said to be still in the preliminary stages and Fremantle Ports and ING claimed that they

wanted to put the proposal out for public comment before an application was submitted to the Western Australian Planning Commission (WAPC). While the strategy of Fremantle Ports and ING may have been to show that they were engaging seriously with the public, the reaction from the local community was explosive.



Figure 5.14 Computer generated model of the proposed commercial development. (A lack of any clear model continued to be a point of community contention.)

5.2.6 Charter of Fremantle Ports

With promotion of a commercial development for Victoria Quay, the dominant claims of many Fremantle ratepayers were that the land was clearly surplus to the requirements of the Port and should therefore be transferred to the City of Fremantle (D'Anger and Mitchell 2006), where any commercial development could be assessed through the city planning scheme guidelines. Once again, no opposition or engagement in debate was forthcoming from Fremantle Ports and there has been no change to the ownership and control of the land. The relations between Fremantle Ports and the community drew significant criticism and this was most articulately expressed by Les Lauder, founder of the Fremantle Society, and, at that point, a local councilor. Lauder (2006, 5) argued:

Fremantle Ports sits like a principality inside the city boundaries. It is remote and exclusive and does not engage meaningfully in the affairs of the city. It uses the city's infrastructure, yet doesn't pay rates. It is the tenant of public-owned land on Victoria Quay which it no longer needs. The ethical thing surely is to give the land back to the

community or at least to work with the council to find the best use for it. Instead they go to foreign developers and work out a gross proposal to get a huge profit on land they don't own.

Local historian, Bob Reece also reacted angrily to Fremantle Ports perceived arrogance on the issue, after a presentation by a Fremantle Ports representative to the Fremantle council at a crucial point, when council was deciding on what recommendation it would send to the WAPC. Reece (2007, 6) explained:

The actions of the FPA (Fremantle Ports) provide an all too obvious example of what happens when a statutory government authority, either of its own volition or at the behest of a minister, gets into bed with a developer. It very quickly picks up some of the developer's tricks of the trade...and ultimately thumbs its nose at any critical response by people who disapprove of the relationship and whose city will be radically altered by the plan it has spawned.

The statements from Lauder and Reece reflect the angst felt by sections of the community at having a significant development (one which was often described as being at the scale of one in a hundred years) forced upon it. Furthermore, both comments take issue with the role and charter of Fremantle Ports and its right to manage what is essentially 'public-owned' land as a property developer. Lauder goes further and challenges the clear cut line between the Port and the City, to represent the issues as significantly local.

5.3 Politics of Scale: socio-economic change

The coalition between Fremantle Ports and ING reflects the WA state government's desire to represent the commercial development as a 'state asset'. Part of the representation of such projects having significance beyond the local is to help justify the formation of these 'public-private' partnerships (Oakley 2009). A powerful strategy involved in wresting control away from locals, is therefore to construct the concerns of the locals as an 'urban problem' requiring a 'solution'. In the case of

Newcastle and Port Adelaide, Rofe and Oakley (2006) argue how constructions of meta-narratives, 'Problem City' and 'Port Misery' (respectively), work to justify redevelopments which threaten to disrupt existing diverse communities and to bring about socio-economic change. In the case of Fremantle, a meta-narrative informed by the phrase 'Fremantle – sailing away' was created by the Ports/ING development coalition to identify a period of economic decline which, they claimed, had gone on since the America's Cup defence in 1986-87. The accompanying sociopolitical strategy was to describe the social landscape of Fremantle as being controlled by an 'Old Guard' and thereby to de-legitimise local protest and further justify the project of the state to push through the commercial development by appealing to broader (including non-local) community support. One means by which this meta-narrative was pursued was through an advertising campaign in the local *Fremantle Herald*.

5.3.1. Advertising Campaign

Fremantle Ports and ING began their advertising campaign in the *Fremantle Herald* in 2007 after an official development application had been submitted to the WAPC. The purpose of the advertising campaign was in part to emphasise ING's commitment to the Fremantle community, but more importantly the advertisements were designed to convey their construction of an 'urban problem' of economic and social decline in Fremantle, with the ING development as the solution. The advertisements claimed that the development was 'visionary' and 'world-class' and that it would 'revitalise the Fremantle waterfront by creating a new public space for Fremantle and injecting new life into the City's retail and commercial sectors' (See Appendix 2).

A community activist coalition, made up of the Fremantle Society, the Fremantle Historical Society and other residential action groups, responded angrily to these advertisements. The first of a number of advertisements taken out by this coalition group, in 2007, argued that 'this development sounds a death knell for Fremantle' (*Fremantle Herald*, July 28, 2007, page 13) (see Appendix 2.7). While ING emphasised 'colour and life' and a 'cosmopolitan atmosphere' (see Appendix 2.4, 2.6, 2.8 and 2.11) the opponents portrayed the development as 'dark' and 'menacing'

(see Appendix 2.7 2.10 and 2.13), emphasising the need for suspicion and distrust of the developer, particularly with regard to the proposed height of the development.

As the community opposition towards the project was ramped up, two special electors' meetings were held at the Fremantle Town Hall. In the lead up to the first special electors' meeting on June 10, 2006, the front page of the *Fremantle Herald* (Mitchell 2006) published a scaled image of what the proposed development might look like according to 'local experts'. The scare campaign exploited Fremantle Ports and ING's unwillingness to provide a scale model and led to a 600 strong meeting where the proposal was unanimously denounced.



Figure 5.15 Front page of the *Fremantle Herald* (in the lead up to the first special electors' meeting in June 2006).

With a second special electors' meeting at the Fremantle Town Hall taking place on the 11th of August, 2007, ING responded with a more pointed message claiming 'Fremantle has been in decline since the America's Cup' and that the 'Commercial Precinct on Victoria Quay will reverse' this decline (*Fremantle Herald* August 4, 2007, page 10-11) (see Appendix 2.9). The double-page advertisement in the

Fremantle Herald three days prior to the special electors' meeting, included a collage of newspaper clippings from the state and local media emphasising Fremantle's lack of any new development and a full page spread with comments from the community, including key public figures, Peter Newman and Richard Poulson, under the heading 'The time has come to move forward' (*Fremantle Herald* August 4, 2007, page 10-11) (See Appendix 2.9).

This construction of Fremantle as 'Sailing Away' is particularly selective in the double-page advertisement. On page 10, a collage of letters is set on a background of the dilapidated Wool Stores, as a symbol of Fremantle's economic decay and heritage protectionism. A more critical interrogation of the Wool Stores will be discussed in chapter six. These newspaper clippings are accompanied by a set of dot points identifying an 'anti-development' lobby group in Fremantle and by statistics detailing Fremantle's economic decline since the 1990s. What is of interest is the way in which the developers worked to emphasise the construction of an economic problem (epidemic) in Fremantle for which the ING development could then be framed as the solution.

The quote in the advertisement by Richard Poulson, President of the Fremantle Chamber of Commerce, makes this point explicit. Poulson (*Fremantle Herald* August 4, 2007, page 10-11) argued:

If we don't accept this proposal, there will be no proposal, no revamp of the wharf, no boost to Fremantle businesses, no increase in tourist numbers and no FREE upgrade of existing heritage buildings.

The only obstacle standing in the way of ING and its proposed panacea for Fremantle and its constituents is identified by the ING protagonists as the 'Old Guard' (*Fremantle Herald* August 4, 2007, page 10-11).

5.3.2 Fremantle's 'Old Guard'

The representation of an 'Old Guard' in Fremantle, as dominating, controlling and essentially defending their ownership of the city, can be seen as a strategy used by

ING, Fremantle ports and the state planning minister to de-legitimise local opposition to the project (Smith and D'Anger 2006). This was implied in the ING advertisements during August 2007 in which ING claimed to give a voice to a hypothesised 'silent majority' who supported the proposal (see Appendix 2.14) (*Fremantle Herald* August 4, 2007, page 11). The advertisement explained: 'we asked our business and academic leaders, and young people on the streets of Fremantle, their views on the City's current state and the new commercial development' (See Appendix 2.14). The absence of the 'aged' and the emphasis on 'giving voice' further positions the local opposition as 'old' and essentially as those who were 'killing' Fremantle.

The state planning minister, Alannah MacTiernan, made this clear when she was quoted by the *Fremantle Herald*. MacTiernan (2007, 4) explained:

There is in Fremantle a group of people who believe they are the custodians of the town and they represent its true spirit... I recognise they have made a tremendous contribution in protecting Fremantle's heritage – but they don't have a monopoly on input...It was evident what the usual suspects wanted – they are on the front page of the Herald every week...The very beautiful historic fabric of Fremantle has a brilliant past, we also want it to have a future. It can't be just museum but must continue to evolve.

5.3.3 Community Consultation and Creating Consensus?

In the face of mounting opposition, highlighted by the unanimous opposition voiced at the first special electors' meeting on the 10th June 2006, Alannah MacTiernan and Fremantle Ports engaged the community in a deliberative consultation day held in January 2007. Five thousand people were to be randomly invited from Fremantle and the surrounding suburbs, with a limit of around 200 for the consultation itself. However, the organisers ran into problems when not enough people responded to the invitations. A last minute phone around in search of participants under 39 contacted, among others, the families of Fremantle residents identified earlier as the 'Old

Guard'. One respondent, Ron Davidson, went straight to the *Fremantle Herald* complaining that the workshop was being stacked with younger people (D'Anger 2006f). The resulting article drew a response from Fremantle Ports spokesperson, Ms De Vos, who described Mr Davidson's comments as ridiculous, arguing that they had an ample number of people over 50 returning the invitation and were looking for younger people. While this was a reasonable response, this exchange exacerbated the divide between local opponents of the development and the state government.

The fallout from the deliberative consultation day led to the whole consultation exercise being labelled a 'sham' by the then federal MP for Fremantle, Carmen Lawrence (D'Anger 2007c, 3). The consultation involved 194 participants who were given two development options to choose from, with an added alternative of whether the development should have a modern or heritage 'flavour'. The result was 88% support for modern two to six storey buildings with improved view corridors, as opposed to a three to five storey development with a heritage flavour. Davidson, again complained to the *Fremantle Herald* claiming that the whole consultation methodology was flawed (Davidson 2007) which, in turn, drew an impassioned defence of the process from academic Dr Janette Hartz-Karp, who was involved in designing the consultation day for the minister (Hartz-Karp 2007). Despite the community concern surrounding the consultation day, the results were used by ING/Fremantle Ports to proceed with their official planning application, which was submitted a few weeks later (*Fremantle Herald* 'Vic Quay six storeys get the nod', January 25, 2007, page 1).

However, in an attempt to silence the critics of the deliberative consultation day ING commissioned an independent 'global' market research firm to take to the streets of Fremantle and conduct a short survey. The results were again supportive of the development, 'The silent majority has spoken out'... 'Survey finds three-quarters of people who live, work and play in Fremantle think the Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct development will be good for the Port city' (*Fremantle Herald*, September 8, 2007, page 7) (see Appendix 2.14). The findings made the claim that it was not only young people who supported the development, but a majority of over 55s were also in favour. Again the substance of the survey was called into question by local opponents of ING, this time by John Dowson (Deputy Mayor) who rejected the

findings saying ‘even he would have answered yes to most of the questions’ (D’Anger 2007b, 3):

All they are really doing is saying ‘do you support something fresh and new’ and just about everybody would say yes.

The survey sampled 150 people, which ING claimed was reliable to within +/-8% at the 95% confidence level (*Fremantle Herald*, September 8, 2007, page 7).

Dowson also found substance in the 679 submissions which were received by the City of Fremantle on the ING/Fremantle Ports development application. In a *Thinking Allowed* article a few days before the meeting at which the city council would vote on what recommendation it would put to the WAPC on the final decision, John Dowson (2007, 5) presented his summation of these submissions.

With the recent 679 submissions, 22 per cent supported ING and 76 per cent of respondents objected to the development. Objections included bulk and scale, commercial impact, parking and traffic, integration, heritage, adherence to Masterplan, and form. Supporters cited revitalisation and improving a degraded city and Victoria Quay. Interestingly, many objecting submissions were well argued and lengthy while most supporting submissions were very brief.

The article published a sample of the submissions to back up Dowson’s claim.

In an attempt to extend the consultation process, the City of Fremantle commissioned its own independent survey. The survey was sent to 4000 homes in the local area with 742 (18.6 per cent) responding (D’Anger 2007d). The survey results reported 49 per cent of people supported the development with 47 per cent opposed. However, Mayor Peter Tagliaferri commented that, despite the mixed results, the survey also noted that opinion was strongly against the six-storey proposal. The City of Fremantle survey offered an alternative result to the 75 per cent approval rate from the ING commissioned survey.

The battles over consultation and consensus show the determination of ING, the Fremantle Ports and the state planning minister, to counter the viewpoints of what they considered to be the ‘Old Guard’ and vice versa. The attempts to de-legitimise

the Old Guard were however, largely unsuccessful and inconclusive. Nevertheless, when the WAPC voted to approve the application, it noted 'The WAPC shares the expressed desire of many in the community to see projects on Victoria Quay, and in Fremantle generally, to be innovative, exceptionally well designed and visionary' (Thomson 2008, 1).

Despite strong local participation in the planning process, the construction of a meta-narrative for Fremantle as a place in serious 'economic decline' where an 'Old Guard' was impeding change and essentially, killing the city, worked to legitimise the power of the state and the quasi 'public-private' redevelopment coalition and to secure planning approval for their desired plans for Victoria Quay.

5.4 The tension between heritage and development: The politics of Re-imaging Victoria Quay

A significant reason why waterfront redevelopments have become a desired space for redevelopment is the belief they can be made into 'more efficient and productive landscapes of local, national and global relevance' (Oakley 2009, 307). The contemporary system of cities competes globally for relevance and profile (Sassen 2001) and capital investment is built into a global city meta-theory whereby cities must compete economically to 'survive'. As the section above claims, redevelopment is therefore deemed not to be an option, but rather a necessity. Part of the strategy in constructing the problem of Fremantle 'sailing away' (or, paradoxically, being held back by an 'old guard'), is to present a solution - the magic bullet of the ING development. By playing on images which attempt to simultaneously represent the development as 'world-class', cosmopolitan and heritage friendly, this 'win-win-win' scenario (Adams 2002) was constructed by ING in their advertisements as the best way forward.

Local advocate, Richard Poulson (*Fremantle Herald*, August 11, 2007, page 12) explains:

The Victoria Quay proposal could be and should be the start of a new vibrant era for Fremantle. The reinvention and transformation of this

history-rich port town is long overdue. What ING proposes, is a combining of the old with the new so Fremantle continues to grow in the future rather than being left behind.

The blending of the 'old' with the 'new' can be seen in the computer generated model of the proclaimed 'world-class' image (see Appendix 2.11) with the 'old', portrayed in an artists' sketch drawing appealing to the re-imagining of a 'cosmopolitan-oriented' lifestyle (see Appendix 2.11). The uncritical treatment of a bohemian Fremantle represented in the advertisement through a guitarist playing freely on a bench, in what appears to be an adaptively renovated C-Shed, connects with Fremantle's identity as a busker friendly city. However, there is no mention in the advertisement of whether people spending their day playing music will be welcomed or, more specifically, permitted. The image could be read in this way through the relaxed pose of the guitarist, sitting with his legs crossed and no apparent collection case, suggesting an impromptu performance rather than one sanctioned by ING. The literature on the politics of space in shopping malls and even public squares (see chapter seven) has identified a trend towards 'top-down' control and a reader could encounter dissonance with the ambitious aims stated in the advertisement and the relaxed freedom in the accompanying image. Waitt (2000, 836) has written, in relation to the refashioning of The Rocks in Sydney, that the construction of a relaxed, entertaining setting is a 'carefully planned' process rather than one that is 'left to chance'.

5.4.1 Local Response

The ING redevelopment was essentially pitched to the people of Fremantle as the re-invention of an 'urban wasteland' as a 'designer harbour-side development' (Oakley 2009). By contrast, local opposition to the developer's proposed 'future-oriented' landscape drew on critical responses to this post-productivist redevelopment, characterising the development and developer as part of a globalised trend towards 'sameness' rather than 'uniqueness' (Rofe 2000; Winchester, McGuirk, and Dunn

1996). In an attempt to legitimise the local critique, ING (like NDA) was constructed as an ‘outsider’ in this case severing the City from the Port which was described by ING’s opponents as integral to Fremantle’s identity.

5.4.2 ‘Bon Viewage’?

The reluctance on behalf of Fremantle Ports and ING to provide a scaled model of the development resulted in local suspicion towards the proposal. Consequently, the *Fremantle Herald* published a campaign by local North Fremantle activist and former local councilor, Gerard MacGill, who extrapolated his own superimposed image of what he considered the initial proposal for the commercial development would look like, contextualised by the railway station in the foreground (see Figure 5.13). This featureless representation of the commercial development went to the other extreme, implying that it would completely cut off the city from the port.

HERALD
 Volume 15 No 20
 Saturday May 15, 2004
 Fremantle's own **INDEPENDENT** newspaper
 Letterboxed to Fremantle, Beauséjour, East Fremantle, Hilton, North Fremantle,
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 Email: news@fremantleherald.com

Former city councillor says these 'before and after' views of the port are a wake-up call

What's your port view?

by JENNY D'ANGER

GERRY MacGILL says the "port" city will find itself cut off from the port if the Victoria Quay commercial precinct goes ahead in its current form.

The former Fremantle councillor – a veteran of its planning committee – took this series of pictures and superimposed the dimensions of the proposal onto them to show just how big it will be.

He described the effect as a wake-up call to Fremantle.

"The question is, have we really had it get this far when it is so far out of line?" he asked.

Plans for the six-storey office and retail precinct haven't been released for public comment yet but the plan and concept drawings have been pitched to the council, business and key interest groups.

Mr MacGill says the project contravenes a number of Fremantle council and WA heritage council policies, including maintenance of harbour views.

Fremantle Ports CEO Kerry Sanderson told the Herald the commercial precinct was still in the development stage and speculation on how it would look was premature.

"View corridors are one of a number of issues that will be considered as part of the design development and in the public consultation that will be undertaken when approvals are sought," she said.

Project supporters say it will give Fremantle much-needed office space.

But Mr MacGill says Queensgate, next to Myer, is practically empty.

"Will we end up with another Queensgate on the quay?" he asked.

Architect Simon Bain, the convenor of the Fremantle Urban Design Forum, said it was "particularly" important the quay development connect appropriately to the city.

"It must give] clues the harbour is there, otherwise it's just another commercial development," he said.

Equally important was considering what impact it might have on existing city businesses.

Sealanes 6 storeys not a done deal: FCC
 FREMANTLE city council has moved to hose down fears the Sealanes six-storey plan is a done deal.

"As the plan is currently out for public comment, the elected members have not yet considered the matter, let alone made up their minds," CEO Ray Clickman said in a press release.

The structure plan flags multi-storey apartments in the centre of the site and talk of the beach-front land being specially zoned inner-urban has raised the ire of some locals.

Submissions on the structure plan close May 30.

Join the Herald gang
 We've got vacancies for reliable people of all ages to deliver the Herald to local letterboxes throughout the East Freo and surrounds. Please phone Marie 9430 7726 or write to: Herald, King or Murdoch on 9430 7727.

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 Please see the competition page

Figure 5.16: Gerard MacGill's view (of what the proposed commercial development might look like from Market Street overlooking the Fremantle railway station).

The local community's battle to preserve sightlines and view corridors to the Port and the Inner Harbour from the City was not only reflected in superimposed submissions to the local newspaper (see Figure 5.12 and 5.13) but also raged in the *Herald's* letters pages. The extent to which the ING development proposal would change the identity of Fremantle for 'locals' was argued by Wendy Markmann (2004, 4) of East Fremantle:

Do the good people of Fremantle realise that if this scheme goes ahead, another part of our birthright will be lost forever? We won't be able to enjoy our harbour as a living, breathing part of our everyday

life anymore. Walking down High Street, glancing to the right down Market Street or Pakenham Street and pausing to watch a ship slowly make its way to its berth, a glorious part of living in Fremantle, will be a joy of the past.

The terms by which Markmann claims ownership of a particular identity and activity here in Fremantle, relies on the use of place – and time – bounded notions to argue for authenticity. Her letter seeks to invoke the community of Fremantle as a whole, and furthermore, provides a dominant narrative which attempts to silence other voices (see chapter 7 for an interrogation of the spaces of silence that obscure Indigenous senses of place). The historic linkage and rituals bound up in this sense of place of Fremantle, where ships entering the harbour can be viewed like a moving picture (see Figure 5.14), formed a powerful critique in the representation of ING as ‘outsiders’ threatening the current identity of Fremantle. Numerous references to the potential loss of this visual phenomenon were asserted throughout the debate. Rob Malabar (2006, 4) of Fremantle wrote:

Like many Fremantle residents, I found great pleasure seeing the Swedish sailing ship ‘Gotheborg’ berthed alongside Victoria Quay...The visible presence of ships in the harbour is the very essence of Fremantle’s character. Do people really want this unique feature destroyed by the completely out of scale and out of character Victoria Quay development?

Vehement attacks on ING and Fremantle Ports characterised a number of letters (and letter writers) to the *Fremantle Herald* – which was also reflected in the advertising campaign against ING as mentioned above. Roger Garwood (2006, 5) wrote:

We have not, when told to jump, said “How High” (in reference to the pushing through of a 6-storey structure). We said, “No f...ING way”. It is clear we will not tolerate high. Neither will we tolerate appalling “big bang for the Dutch developer’s dollar” styles of architecture. In those respects we need to send this company (ING), with their plans, into a bottom of the harbour scheme.

Similarly, the claim in the ING advertisements, that Fremantle was getting a 'FREE' upgrade of its heritage buildings was also taken as an offence.

Zita Pal (2007, 6) of Beaconsfield wrote:

In reality, ING like any developer is driven primarily by the profit motive and not for concerns about the community. Clearly it wants to maximize returns per square metre and has come up with a 'shopping complex' design that will do just that...International companies do not have 'benevolent gazes' but obligations to their investors and shareholders. Imagination, creativity and even democratic processes are not necessarily part of their brief.

Dowson made the comment that it was essentially the failure of Fremantle Ports to maintain the existing sheds, which had led to the deterioration of the Victoria Quay infrastructure in the first place (Dowson 2006).



Figure 5.17 Phenomenon of High Street sightlines. (This is a picture from Fremantle Ports photo gallery. Also note the uniform street-scape of Pakenham Street (Source: <http://www.fremantleports.com.au/About/PhotoGallery/Pages/Photo-Gallery.aspx> date accessed, March 9, 2012).)

5.5 Planning Perspectives

The accusation that a local development project or application has connections to a '1960s' or 'Big Box' approach to planning is generally made by someone who feels that the project's progenitor is attempting to destroy Fremantle. This is a planning precedent, which was set when, in the 1960s, the Fremantle Society was formed to prevent the demolition of Fremantle's Edwardian and Victorian townscape in the name of modernist planning. Claims in the anti-ING advertising campaigns that 'Fremantle is the Port City, Not Garden City' (a reference to a modernist major regional shopping complex in Booragoon, to the east of Fremantle) and that Fremantle people did not want 'Four Fremantle hospitals on Victoria Quay' (a reference to an 8-9 multi-storey block at the hospital which is out of scale with the surrounding townscape, see Appendix 2.1 and 2.2) (Mitchell 2006) are linking the project to this history. Concerns that a 'Big Box' solution to economic problems in Fremantle would destroy the city's character were a major component of the opposition's case. This was highlighted by the President of the Fremantle Society's claim that 'If the state has its way, Fremantle will soon be little more than another suburban shopping centre and marina' (Alexander 2008). In this instance, the meta-narrative of 'Fremantle - sailing away' is being refashioned by local opponents to construct the developers as seeking to destroy Fremantle. The power of these local narratives helped to mobilise the strong anti-ING group. However, to some extent these narratives were negated by the labeling of this group, particularly by the state planning minister, as the 'Old Guard' (Smith and D'Anger 2006) and the 'do-nothing brigade' (Sears 2007).

However another claim to do with sustainability also attempts to counter this local defence. In particular, local professor and long-time resident and planning activist in Fremantle, Peter Newman, weighed into the debate, emphasising the 'sustainability' of the ING development.

5.5.1 Sustainability

Increasingly, 'ecological threats' are being appropriated into the discourse of 'large-scale' development proposals. The North Port Quay proposal, for a Dubai style reclaimed island development off the coast of Fremantle in 2008 is an excellent case in point (Kerr 2009). Prior to Peter Newman officially endorsing the North Port Quay development, he commended the 'sustainability' of the proposal by ING saying that it could reduce car dependency (Newman 2004). He then provoked a flurry of return letters by Ian Alexander (2004) and John Dowson (2004a) when he wrote: '(s)ome of the most ecologically oriented architects and builders in Perth are now saying they won't come near Fremantle' (Newman, 2004, 6). As the controversy over the proposed commercial development intensified late in 2007, Newman again wrote to the *Fremantle Herald* to explain the reason why he supported the ING development. Newman (2007, 5) wrote:

Peak oil and climate change are challenging urban centres the world over and Fremantle cannot afford to stand by.

Newman explains that the high density ING development, centred on the Fremantle railway station, constitutes a Transport Oriented Development (TOD). Oakley (2009, 310) identifies a similar approach in the justification for the waterfront redevelopment of Port Adelaide where:

With growing concern over environmental sustainability and rising fuel and energy costs, the state government announced further measures to arrest the suburban sprawl of the city.

While the argument for more integrated planning for Perth is viable, the activation of 'grand' sustainability threats to justify the ING proposal can be seen as another narrative incorporated into the attempt to legitimise private developers' claims to decide on and control the redevelopment of 'brownfield' sites in post-industrial areas.

5.6 Bitter decision

After a decade of exhaustive campaigning between the rival groups the decision by the WAPC to approve the ING development application came as a cruel blow for its local opponents. The timing of the decision was also confronting. With expectations that a decision was imminent, a meeting of the WAPC on December 18, 2007 reported that a decision would be deferred until the new-year. The postponement was reported on page one of the *Fremantle Herald* December 22, 2007, only for a backflip to occur when a special meeting of the WAPC was called the next day which approved ING's application. The *Herald* reported the findings on January 5th, 2008 with the lead, 'ING's last minute Christmas gift' (Thomson 2008). The comments by John Dowson summed up the mood of opponents: '(y)ou can't expect at this time of year...when people are focusing on their families and preparing for Christmas, to make a decision of this magnitude' (Thomson 2008, 1). The WAPC praised the proposal. Chairman of the WAPC, Jeremy Dawkins wrote: 'the WAPC shares the expressed desire of many in the community to see projects on Victoria Quay, and in Fremantle generally, to be innovative, exceptionally well designed and visionary' (Thomson 2008, 1).

5.6.1 Local Justice?

ING began to experience delays in implementing its project when the state Labor government lost the 2008 election. According to the WAPC planning approval, construction on the commercial development could only start once a Phillimore Street upgrade was completed (D'Anger 2009c). The upgrade was designed to create better linkages between the City and Victoria Quay, which were essential to the development. However, the 4 million dollars committed to the project by the state Labor government was withdrawn by the incumbent Coalition state leader, and neighbouring Cottesloe MP, Colin Barnett. With the project in jeopardy and the City of Fremantle not looking to commit more than the \$1 million they had pledged, Fremantle Ports and ING were faced with the need to pick up this funding shortfall. Having already spent \$17 million, ING was then battered by the global financial

crisis. At this point, it was in the process of being bailed out by the Dutch government and was in no position to commit to the extra funding.

ING began preliminary drillings on the Quay in 2008 and turned up samples of contaminated material. Consequently, the matter was referred to the Environmental Protection Authority (EPA) and the preliminary works were halted. This matter was kept off the record. However, with the window of time closing fast on ING's planning approval, the developer went back to the WAPC and asked for an extension. When the news came through that the WAPC had rejected ING's proposal for an extension, the issue became front-page news again, with ING conceding that the current planning approval would almost certainly lapse in March 2011 if significant construction had not commenced (Wilson-Chapman 2010b).

On September 4, 2010 the *Fremantle Herald* declared the Victoria Quay development had officially 'hit the wall' after ING's application for extension was rejected by the State Administrations Tribunal (SAT) (D'Anger 2010, 1). The final 'death knell' was reported in the *Fremantle Herald* on March 5, 2011 (see Figure 5.15). The announcement was greeted with subdued celebrations by those locals who had fought against it throughout the decade. The fact that the decision for a major development had been approved in the first place had taken the 'wind out of their sails', and concerns remained that another development application would eventuate. The sustained claim of the opponents was for Fremantle Ports to hand back control of the western end of Victoria Quay to the City of Fremantle so that any future development proposal would go through the City planning process, essentially giving locals control over the decision. No release of the land has been forthcoming from Fremantle Port



Figure 5.18 Death is declared.

5.7 Conclusion

The battle for Victoria Quay highlights a number of significant complexities. Firstly, the ownership and control of land does not always match the imagined boundaries of place. The historical economic, experiential and visual links and connectivity between the City and the Port is clear in many local constructions of identity. While there was extensive participation by the local community, it can be argued that this had little meaningful influence at the level of decision-making. This case study on Victoria Quay and Fremantle Ports/ING commercial development supports Oakley's (2009, 312) conclusion that:

In this era of political governing, a redevelopment of this scale and nature seemingly provides little scope for local participation and influence in planning decisions.

The role of the state in an era of urban entrepreneurialism, in which ‘public-private’ development coalitions are being relied on to fund ‘flagship’ projects demonstrates a significant shift from an ideology of redistribution and equity, to one of wealth creation.

While the community put forward a strongly felt case, it was firmly stated from the outset, by the state-planning minister, that this was a ‘state asset’ and that, while the local community would have a say, they were not the only ones involved. This comment did not appease the community who argued that the development of a commercial precinct was a breach of Fremantle Ports’ charter in the first place. This question mark over Fremantle Ports’ charter and hence over the integrity of the ING proposal was expressed in the local demand for the redundant Fremantle Ports land to be handed over to the City. The silence (non-response) from Fremantle Ports demonstrates the retention of power and control on behalf of this state government institution.

Thinking about this in the context of the reconceptualisation of space, the terms on which the competing groups based their ownership of place are particularly insightful. The ING advertising campaign demonstrated how the transition of old industrial waterfront sites to ‘future-oriented’ landscapes relies on the construction of a problem, a construction which consequently works to legitimise a social and economic transformation. The attempts to disempower the local opposition’s voice representing them as the ‘Old Guard’, was part of this process. In changing the role of Victoria Quay from production to consumption, heritage has been rearticulated in order to market the proposal as a more internationally focussed ‘cosmopolitan landscape’.

In Alexander’s (2008) article, ‘pushing for a people’s city’ he remarked, ‘there was no use in crying over spilt planning milk’ when ING’s proposal was approved. Rather, he argued that the community had to be proactive and turn their attention to other areas in the city that were earmarked for redevelopment. The East End is an area possessing similar issues of a decaying industrial landscape and the interest of entrepreneurial developers. In the next chapter I will turn to the East End and focus on the Wool Stores building, where further urban entrepreneurial battles are occurring. However, in this case the diversity of interests and articulations of

ownership are found in more nuanced ways and encompass marginalised groups, notably from the skateboarding subculture.

6.0 Chapter Six: The Wool Stores Controversy



Figure 6.1: Wool Stores building. (Source: Honni Mansell)

6.1 Introduction:

In 2005 a report in *The West Australian* newspaper revealed that the Wool Stores on Cantonment Street in Fremantle's East End had been voted one of Perth's top twelve eyesores (Drummond and Riley 2007). Similarly, over the decade 2000 to 2010, the local *Fremantle Herald* published numerous letters to the editor complaining about the derelict state of the Wool Store buildings and their prominent position within the City. In February 2004, one local (Lund 2004, 4) wrote:

As you come into Fremantle city centre by bus or train, and as you leave, on the left are two of the ugliest buildings I have ever seen. I am talking about the two multi-storey Woolstores buildings. Every tourist goes away with this impression of Fremantle rather than many beautifully restored buildings in other areas of the city centre and market area... Why are they heritage listed? ... "They are not a thing of beauty or have any significant architectural features. When is someone going to be down to tidy up that corner of town? The graffiti and window smashing seems to go on!

In many ways, the East End of Fremantle serves as the antithesis of the 'historic' West End as outlined in chapter four. The deteriorating commercial landscape, the abandonment of the once popular 'Westgate' shopping mall (see Figure 6.2) and disdain for local high-rise flat developments (see Figure 6.3) also built in the 1960s makes the East End appear as a 'zone of discard' (Griffin and Preston 1966; Griffin

and Ford 1980; Murphy and Vance 1954). As the letter above suggests, the prominent size and position of the Wool Stores (which also feature in my opening rumination), have become a symbol for the characteristic economic, social and political ‘discourse of decline’ (Shaw 2007) in Fremantle since the America’s Cup (see chapter five). The negative representations of the East End are also historical. The architectural dominance of this area by buildings associated with wool and other forms of commerce was identified in the *Stephenson and Hepburn Metropolitan Plan for Perth and Fremantle* (1955) as a physical barrier contributing to a separation between the city and the harbour (see Figure 3.11, page 64), perhaps presaging the more recent controversy over the ING development which was considered in Chapter five.



Figure 6.2 Westgate Mall. (the epitome of the East End’s economic woes. In the foreground is a relocation sign for one of the last businesses to leave.)



Figure 6.3 Johnson Court flats (built in the 1960s and considered to be an example of ‘bad planning’ and ‘architectural vandalism’ (Dowson 2004b)).

However, the Wool Stores and the East End more generally, represent what Massey (1999a) highlights as the ‘other’ spaces in the city, where the dominant order can be contested and subverted in a vibrant alternative claim to belonging and ownership. It is in such spaces that the ‘dissidents’ and the ‘makers of mischief’ can stake their claims (Massey 1999a). While the process of discard leading to the abandonment of the Wool Stores has created a ‘haven’ for skateboarders and ‘artists’, there is also a powerful re-inventive process emerging in the East End. The exodus of the wool companies and other commercial firms in the 1980s resulted in the buildings being on-sold to developers interested in the potential for large-scale redevelopment. Concurrently, the community concern for preserving its built heritage, particularly that which links symbolically to previous port operations, has also been strengthening.

6.2 Conceptualising the Wool Stores

As with the ING development, the controversy at the Wool Stores results from the turn towards urban entrepreneurialism in post productivist city spaces (Harvey 1989b; Oakley 2009). However, it differs to the battle on Victoria Quay (see chapter five) because it involves a private developer, Ms Marilyn New, seeking to redevelop privately owned land as the controversy relates, nevertheless, to a proposed shift from a space of production to one of consumption (Rofe and Oakley 2006). The Wool Stores, in this context are considered, in light of Harvey's (1989b) argument, that there is 'little inherent difference between the built environment and other new commodities existing under a regime of flexible accumulation' (cited in Hubbard 1996, 1444). This chapter seeks to reconceptualise this redevelopment controversy and the alternative uses of the Wool Stores in relation to Massey's (2005) approach to space and Shaw's (2007) work on 'cosmopolitan metropolitanism' in inner city Sydney.

Massey's (2005) reconceptualisation of space takes issue with the contemporary globalisation thesis, wherein the collapse of space and the hegemony of capital is an inevitable consequence, arguing that space is relational and must remain open and contested, albeit within unequal relationships of power. Alternative uses of the Wool Stores by skateboarders and artists illustrate this attempt to reconceptualise the polarising treatment of the global and the local addressing the question 'whose city?' through enactment, daily routines, independent videos and symbolic graffiti all of which inscribe space with meaning (Lefebvre 1991).

In a special feature for the scholarly journal *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action*, Iveson (2010, 26) has written: 'Both graffiti writing and the efforts to eradicate it have plenty to teach us about contemporary processes of urbanization and struggles over the right to the city'. This chapter on the Wool Stores seeks to extend this exploration into graffiti and the city to interrogate processes of appropriation that also occur through urban governance. Rather than erasure, it is worthwhile considering why some pieces of graffiti survive longer than others. Lombard (2010, 475) has sought to explore, from a skateboarding perspective, how resistance can have 'a constitutive role in shaping incorporation' and the manner in

which appropriation, sanctioning and attempts to preserve the contribution and legacy of skateboarders and artists in Fremantle's East End extends the politics with which Lombard is seeking engage. Part of what this chapter seeks to achieve then is an engagement with Iveson's (2010, 28) work to develop 'a more nuanced set of criteria for discerning the aesthetic and political significance of different kinds of graffiti and street art', in this case skateboarders and artists in Fremantle's East End. There is a particular ethic in operation here – not to reduce graffiti or in this case skateboarding to the status of deviance and 'anti-social behaviour'. Iveson (2010, 28) claims that to fall into this trap relies on an 'analytical blindness to difference'. Opening up the stories of the East End connects with Massey's (2005) endeavour to reconceptualise space as a multiple entity.

The concept of difference connects the process of urban social politics with urban renewal. There are multiple urban processes occurring in the East End that attach and deflect in significant ways. Shaw's (2007) interrogation of the process of gentrification in Sydney helps to substantiate the processes occurring. Shaw has identified a 'Manhattanisation' of the property market, appropriated through globalised constructions of New York loft living which rely on an erosion of past 'illegitimate warehouse/loft occupation'. The issues for Shaw are culture, history and capital (Kearns and Philo 1993) where consuming cosmopolitanism is contributing towards 'urban escapism'. Similar phenomena can be identified in the case of the Wool Stores. Selling the Wool Stores involves a claim of 'global significance', borrowing from the global reach of the prior Wool industry, while seeking to preclude alternative uses of these spaces, either by commodifying their presence or by bulldozing the structures completely.

This controversy is set in the context of the 'third-wave' of gentrification impacting on Fremantle (Macbeth, Selwood, and Veitch 2011). The three key contestations addressed include the battle between the developer and the city council over redevelopment plans for the building, the issue of gentrification and the meaning of Fremantle and finally the claim to this space by generations of skateboarders. These issues are interwoven between the first stage of development, Victoria Quay Apartments 1 (VQA 1) and the current stalemate in the second phase of development, referred to in planning documents as VQA 2, yet remain derelict (see Figure 6.4).^{xiv}



Figure 6.4 Derelict Wool Stores juxtaposed with the VQA apartments.

Camellia Holdings purchased the Wool Stores. The owner, Marilyn New, is a prominent Fremantle businessperson who was formerly the Fremantle Chamber of Commerce President and whose development syndicate also owns the Fremantle Esplanade Hotel, which was also extensively redeveloped for the Americas Cup defence and again in the 1990s and early 2000s.^{xv} In 1998 Ms New gained planning approval from the City of Fremantle to redevelop her Cantonment Street Wool Stores site. The first stage of the VQA apartments was completed early in the 2000s. However delays in construction resulted in planning approval for the remainder of the proposed development lapsing. An idiosyncratic outcome of this stalemate is that an ‘edge’ on the Cantonment Street side of the abandoned building has become a skateboarding mecca on an international scale, a ‘globalised’ space publicised through social media and DVDs. Since 2004, the future of the site has remained uncertain and a highly publicised ‘row’ between Ms New and the council has ensued.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. Firstly, I will interrogate the transition of this ‘wasteland’ from an economically productive space of storage to a space of consumption (proposed with regard to luxury apartment development and actual with regard to the skateboarding subculture) where the redevelopment of the VQA apartments has ‘re-invented’ part of the site in a form that associates it with ‘global

identities' and 'cosmopolitan lifestyles'. The marketing of these luxury 'warehouse apartments' has parallels with Shaw's (2007) work on inner-city redevelopment in Sydney where she draws a link between the renewal process and a 're-imagining' based on the 'Manhattanisation' of the landscape. The social and cultural impacts of this style of marketing often neglect more informal uses of space through the commodification of and preservation of selective or monumental artefacts of previous times. As a consequence, this global re-positioning has the potential to create local indifference, further removing the 'local' away from the 'cosmopolitan' space, through which the new developments are marketed on thereby sanitising the local. The impact of VQA1 on the operation and running of Clancy's fish pub, opposite is a case in point and this will be discussed later in the chapter.

Secondly, the stalemate between the developer and the City of Fremantle, predominantly to do with heritage concerns, is a further example of how large scale redevelopment proposals (be they driven by the state government, the Catholic Church or a private developer) may not have it all their own way. The hegemony of capital can be disrupted and trapped in multiple ways (Harvey 2000b; Thrift 2002), in this case by a heritage debate. Fortuitously, these delays have contributed to a further consolidation and connection of the Wool Stores with subgroups, in this case with skateboarders and 'artists'. Partly this chapter seeks to provide a resistant reading to the meta-narrative of decay and discard, highlighting those sub-groups which have flourished in a peripheral space of the city during an intermission when it was not being heavily controlled from the 'top' down. However, it is also of note that the residents who bought into the VQA apartments were expecting the second stage of development to be completed two years later (*Fremantle Herald*, October 6, 2007, page 2) and, consequently, the perpetuation of this deteriorating landscape – and playscape – has led to investors and resident concern.

While the current situation continues as a stalemate between the developer and the council, as part of the consumption of inner-city lifestyles I will argue that there is increasing scope for the re-appropriation of the alternative uses of this space. To investigate the on-going appropriation of local lifestyles that do not necessarily fit in with the marketing of the 're-imagined' space I will also draw on Shaw's (2000) use of what she terms the 'Harlemisation' of Sydney's 'Manhattanisation' project. The dominant representations of the Wool Stores in Fremantle's East End as a 'zone of

discard’ in contrast to the artistic and ludic uses of the building by young people and skateboarders, provide an interesting case study by which to view the attempts by different groups to represent, appropriate and control this problematic space.

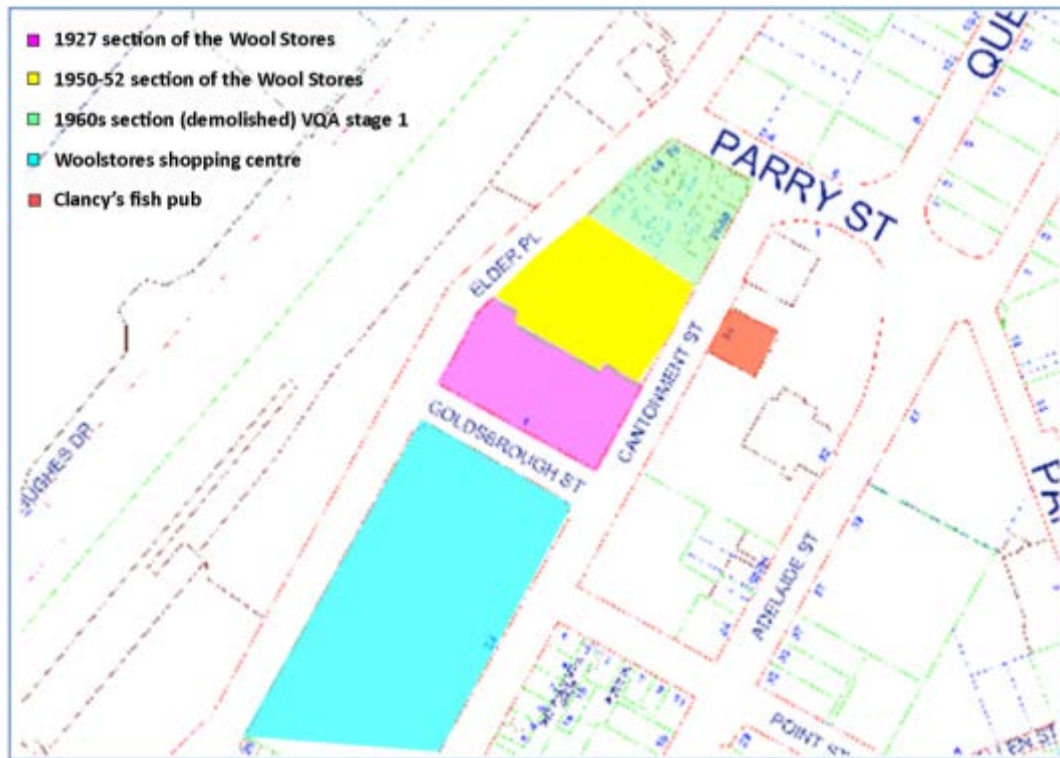


Figure 6.5 Map outlining the three separate stages of development. (The red coloured block is Clancy's fish pub and the aqua coloured block is where the Woolstores shopping centre and car park have been built since the demolition of another utilitarian Wool Stores (which can be viewed in Figure 3.11, page 64).)

6.3 Re-inventing the post-industrial wasteland

The redevelopment of a post-industrial wasteland was discussed through the lens of urban entrepreneurialism in the previous chapter on Victoria Quay. The difference between the Wool Stores and Victoria Quay is that the development of the Wool Stores is primarily focussed on a shift from warehousing to elite residential, whereas Victoria Quay represents a move from port uses to commercial. Another significant difference is the presence of 'subgroups'. The issue of subgroup displacement is a very real consequence of development at the Wool Stores in the East End.

The 'state' of the Wool Stores has polarised the Fremantle community over the past decade. For all its apparent 'ugliness' (Cordingley 2009) there are heritage groups in Fremantle who want to see the building restored and preserved. There are also many vocal opponents who want to see the council 'bite the bullet' and demolish it (Fremantle Heritage Q and A 2011). The issue has also divided heritage groups, as evidenced by a 'petition' that, in April 2010, was taped to the walls all around the Wool Stores. This 'petition' was interesting because it showed a community exchange taking place. The 'petition' (see Figure 6.6, original emphasis) read:

The old buildings in Fremantle possess a certain charm. The beautiful architecture of the buildings far outstrips any of the modern cement monstrosities that impose on our suburbs.

Don't you think it's pathetic how the historic buildings of our city can be **destroyed** without a second thought, just so someone can make a greedy buck?

What happens when the **ugly soulless**, cement buildings litter the streets?

Other countries preserve their heritage buildings. Instead of protecting ours, we locate one, see its potential to make money, and then line up a **demolition team**.

Do you think that when our city's history has been paved over we will finally realise **what we have lost?**

Scrawled in blue biro underneath, another member of the community responded:

Yes, we agree with you – but this particular building is an eyesore – an absolute disgrace!!

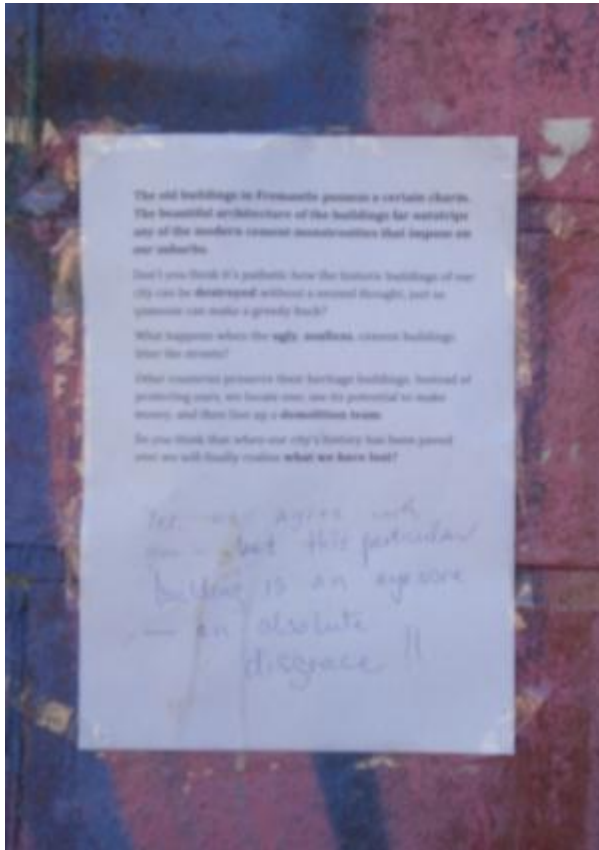


Figure 6.6 Petition taped to the Wool Stores (May 2010).

Indifferent to the ‘petition’, a small group of skateboarders continued practising their tricks on the ledge. There is an understanding, in the skateboarding community, that it is only a matter of time before the building is redeveloped, which therefore provides an excellent opportunity to view an example of the appropriation of space on a temporary basis. The shifting attitudes of the skateboarders to the proposed development are discussed later in this chapter.

While the preservation of the buildings of the West End (chapter four) has been described earlier as an attempt to re-invent the hyper reality of a ‘glorious past’, the East End presents a more complex picture. The marketing and re-orienting of the VQA draws on a blend of the past mixed with the novel contention that this space has global status. As Shaw (2007, 137) explains for Sydney, ‘the construction and promotion of fantasies of elsewhere, and the invocation of other times and places has produced new forms of urbanism’. However, as Shaw points out, a tension exists in the redevelopment of industrial landscapes into ‘warehouse apartments’ promoted largely on the capturing of global imaginings, linked to the townscapes of

Manhattan's SoHo district in New York City. Often this process involves an erasure or 'selective' preservation of the 'past', where the 'new', connects the consumers with global spaces. This involves the 'accrual' of cultural capital from images of New York City or other global imaginings. Shaw details this 'transportation' of the consumer away from the local as contributing to a sense of indifference towards the local undermining the significance of the former uses of the place. These changing demographics, Shaw argues, can be understood more as a form of 'urban escapism' where the marketing of 'diverse' and 'cosmopolitanism' life-styles contradicts their more monocultural and local realities.

Furthermore, Shaw points out that the accrual of cultural capital, to maximise profits, comes not from the local, but from the global. In the case of a developer's 're-orientation' of a marketing plan towards global imaginings of 'Manhattan' loft-style living, this relies on the erasure of history and contributes to indifference to the local. Shaw (2007, 146) attempts to 'explode' the 'myths' involved in the privileging of 'loft living' derived primarily from Manhattan's SoHo district by detailing and recognising the previous 'illegitimate warehouse/loft occupation' in Sydney's inner city suburbs, prior to their Manhattanisation. On a more 'legitimate' level, artists had colonised, and indeed purchased, warehouse space in Fremantle's West End well before the redevelopment of the Wool Stores commenced and even before the Americas Cup defence and the arrival of the University of Notre Dame Australia (NDA) began to push up local property prices.

This local indifference, described by Shaw as a form of 'urban escapism' also becomes interesting in the representation of 'other' spaces. In Sydney, the presence of 'The Block', an Aboriginal housing complex, has been appropriated and represented in a number of interesting ways. As a 'site of resistance' (Anderson 1998), 'The Block' poses a challenge to the seemingly unfettered process of gentrification and urban renewal going on around it. It is a space where the flow of capital is disrupted (Thrift 2002). Alternatively, Shaw (2007) identifies the powerful 'cultural' pressures to 'remove' The Block, highlighting a 'discourse of decline' which has pervaded the dominant media representations of the area, as it has of Fremantle. The potential exclusion of Aboriginal people from participating in the urban renewal process is further reinforced by the exclusion of indigenous people from multiculturalism (Hage 2000). As Shaw points out, indigenous people coming

to the city do not bring with them cultural artefacts and products to be consumed in the postmodern city. Nevertheless the power to extract a certain cultural capital from the presence of 'The Block' is outlined in Shaw's use of the process of 'Harlemisation'.

In her interviews with new 'loft' residents in close proximity to 'The Block', Shaw highlights responses where 'The Block' is referred to as adding to a sense of 'authenticity' to their inner-city loft apartments and lifestyles. Ironically, the connection with the 'local' was always mediated through a sense of trust in 'security'. In the New York City reference, Harlem can be compared to 'The Block', where buying into and consuming part of an inner-city 'loft-apartment' next to a 'racialised ghetto' is part of the 'evolution of Sydney into a big international city' (Shaw 2007, 138). Shaw touches on the irony that, as 'The Block' was being 'Harlemised', New York City mayor, Rudy Giuliani, was implementing 'zero tolerance' policies to 'clean up the streets' (MacLeod 2002; Reid and Smith 1993; Shaw 2007; Smith 1996).

It may seem a stretch to compare the Wool Stores with the 'The Block' in Sydney's Redfern, but a comparison of power and process is what is at issue here. There is evidence that this area of Fremantle has been constructed in the Western Australian media as a 'no-go zone' at night, where one wrong turn can land you in trouble. An anonymous letter to *The West Australian* (January 6, 2010, page 22) explained precisely this, claiming 'Aboriginal Gangs' were lurking in the dark street and that the area was notorious for assaults. There is a connection in media discourse about decayed landscapes and the 'ghetto' (Birdsall-Jones 2013 in press). I have been taking students on walking fieldtrips through Fremantle for a number of years now, and whenever we arrive at the Wool Stores, the reaction of students is interesting. There is often a 'gasp' and comments such as 'it looks like the ghetto' from those who have never seen the building before. Its bulk, height and scale, accompanied by the smashed windows and collage of graffiti and posters is not a regular sight for some Western Australian residents, particularly when the building is juxtaposed with the newly restored and luxury residential suites of VQA1 next door. There is a 'big city' feel about the space, indicating that maybe Perth (Fremantle) does have elements of American inner cities as they are frequently portrayed in movies. Interestingly, advertising 'The Bronx' in suburban Perth and Fremantle has been

ongoing with numerous billboards advertising the clothing brand Everlast and carrying the slogan, 'nothing soft comes out of the Bronx'. So, for some students to see a building like this, adds to what Shaw describes as the 'city's theatre of danger' where 'fear can become entertainment and, perhaps, an education' (Shaw 2007, 168). This can also be the case for those buying into the area - as long as this is mediated through adequate levels of security.

Skateboarding at the Wool Stores fits into a comparison with Shaw's work on the 'Harlemisation' of 'The Block', through the continual reappropriation process. While skateboarders have used the building through the numerous twists in its development saga, there is a mixed reaction to their presence at the Wool Stores from the wider community. Whereas indigenous groups do not fit into the 'cosmopolitan' vision of the developers (Shaw 2007), there are aspects of the global skateboarding culture, which have the potential to be commodified and appropriated into any further redevelopments.

In the rest of this chapter I will outline the Wool Stores development and the demolition that occurred in the first stage of the VQA apartment project. As the decade has progressed, the stalemate between the developer and the council has created a situation in which the community is polarised over their visions for the Wool Stores. The further entrenchment and identification of skateboarders with the Wool Stores means that any future development will impact significantly on what is being appropriated into the mainstream as a 'popular' space. However, disconnections remain between the marketing of the VQA as a 'global identity' and its connection with the local. As Shaw (2007, 169) points out:

Although the lives of others have been, on occasion, commodified as part of consumption choices, the economic and social reality is that as the experiences of the new apartment/loft-(d)wellers and the residents on The Block polarise, they will continue to abrade each other .

6.4 The reported heritage significance of the Wool Stores

In an assessment document for the Heritage Council of Western Australia, historian Prue Griffin and local Fremantle architect, Alan Kelsall, documented the historical development and physical changes of the Wool Stores building (Griffin and Kelsall 2004). Their report also provides a good overview of the changes and developments in the wool industry which led to its strong association with the East End of Fremantle. As mentioned in the introduction, the focus of this chapter is on a particular Wool Store which was built in three stages (see Figure 6.5); the 1927 section, which forms the southern portion of the site was built by the firm Goldsbrough Mort and Co.; the central section built 1950-1952 (with other additions dating to 1956) makes up the central body of the Wool Stores; and the 1967 section, the northernmost section, has since been largely demolished to make way for the two separate VQA buildings. In 1962, Goldsbrough Mort merged with Elder Smith to form Elders GM and this is why the current building is also commonly referred to as the Elders Wool Stores (Griffin and Kelsall 2004, 10). The 1967 additions are also worth noting because an extension to the older buildings is still part of the remnant building. Both the 1927 and 1950s sections had a level added to them in 1967. It took the work of 70 jacks to hydraulically lift the roof section so the additional floor could be built across the top of the older sections. As Griffin and Kelsall (2004, 10) note: ‘the result of this building was a uniform 4-storey structure with the same roof-line but with walls of a different age and design’.

In October 2000, the southern portion of the Wool Stores was adopted into the Municipal Inventory heritage listings and in July 2004, it was included as a permanent entry on the state Register of Heritage Places (Heritage Council of Western Australia 2004, 1). According to the heritage report, this southern section:

is a rare and good example of a massively scaled utilitarian warehouse building with the 1927 façade displaying a robust form of classicism through its trabeated construction and simplified classically derived rendered detailing.

To some extent the demolition of the older ca. 1917 Elder Shenton and Co. Wool Stores, further to the south to make way for the single storey Woolstores shopping centre (see Figure 6.5) has undermined the bulk, scale, size and context of the utilitarian styled Wool Stores (see Figure 3.11, page 64). Consequently, the preservation of the remaining Wool Stores can be considered in terms of its increasing scarcity value (Griffin and Kelsall 2004).

One of the most important features of the Wool Stores buildings was the showroom floor. This is where potential buyers would come to examine the bales of wool from the growers. The Wool Stores were thus designed in such a way as to make use of natural light on the top floor of each building where the wool could be sampled and exhibited. This practice required the use of significant manual labour and machines to haul bales of wool up and down the stairs for auctions. It also accounts for the complex and seemingly inefficient way of renovating the Wool Stores that took place in the 1960s. As Griffin and Kelsall (2004) point out, this practice was made technologically redundant when more time and labour efficient innovations were introduced. These changes link into the broader processes of de-industrialisation that were taking place at Fremantle Port and contributed to the relocation of the wool storage sheds to industrial complexes in more suburban locations. Griffin and Kelsall (2004) report that, by 1980, the Elder's Wool Stores were being used at around 50% capacity and that, not long after, the buildings were sold off to a new wave of corporations seeking the opportunity to invest in large-scale redevelopment projects.

Between 1988 and 1996 a number of planning applications were put forward to the Fremantle City Council. During this period, approval was given to demolish the ca. 1917 Wool Stores, to build the Woolstores shopping centre. The Elders Wool Stores site was eventually purchased by Camellia Holdings, a syndicate well known to Fremantle, with the owner, Marilyn New, having also acquired the Esplanade Hotel. Planning applications for this site were submitted in two stages and were to be named the Victoria Quay Apartments (VQA). The first stage involved the demolition of the northern 1967 portion to be developed into two separate office and residential buildings. The second stage envisaged an additional 94 apartments being located within the original facades and, according to the *Fremantle Herald*, 'the transformation (would) finish with a 193-room boutique style Goldsborough Hotel' (Kwintowski 2000, 12-13). According to Griffin and Kelsall (2004), the community

feedback during the consultation period took issue with approvals for the building's demolition and highlighted the important role that the Wool Stores played in signifying Fremantle's identity as a working port. However, in 1998, council approved the application and demolition of the 1967 section proceeded (D'Anger 2005a). The owner was attributed as saying that complying with stringent heritage requirements was a 'long and weary process' (Kwintowski 2000, 13).

This history demonstrates how architecture can be read as a script. The three separate building phases are still represented in the remaining portion of the Wool Stores and therefore the building visually represents a social history. With its redevelopment and burgeoning 'adaptive re-use', the postmodern turn in reading architecture becomes extremely informative. Hubbard (1996, 1446) draws on Bourdieu to argue: 'urban design is one of the means by which economic capital is transformed into symbolic capital, and hence is able to conceal the means by which the established order maintains its dominance... Architecture in this sense, is seen as a form of representation which naturalises certain meanings in the interest of certain groups'. It is to this reading of the Wool Stores that I now turn.

6.5 Victoria Quay Apartments: 'A dream come true'

In 2000, not long after planning approval had been given to redevelop the Wool Stores, the *Fremantle Herald* ran a story on Marilyn New. In the article (Kwintowski 2000, 12-13) Ms New describes the VQA redevelopment as her 'pet project' and a 'dream come true'.

I love Freo and I always wanted to live in a warehouse apartment...This is the biggest one I could find in Freo.

At this point the first stage of the development was under way and the 1967 section of the Wool store was to be demolished. It was expected that, by 2006, the whole block would have been redeveloped with the 1950s façade to be removed and rebuilt and the 1927 section turned into a 'boutique hotel'.

A few months earlier, the developer had a dispute with council over a proposed advertisement that was to be slung from the building (Figure 6.7). The *Fremantle Herald* (March 4, 2000, page 10) reported:

The enormous vinyl sign of a ship steaming out from the building would stand 14.5m high and 11.7m wide, almost eight times bigger than the City normally permits. Streamers would fly from the cruise liner as it loomed over the high profile corner of Parry and Cantonment Sts.

The council was concerned over the sign's excessive size and its potential for distracting motorists. A trimmed down version, without the 'real-life' streamers, was later slung from the Wool Stores building (see Figure 6.8) branding the new development, the VQA, in the style of a crown. It was displayed at the beginning of a property boom in Perth and it was expected that some of the 'warehouse apartments' would sell for record prices in Fremantle. Certainly the developer was planning big.



Figure 6.7 Banner on Wool Stores



Figure 6.8: Scaled down version of the banner.

(Shaw (2007) identifies this type of marketing as resembling Manhattan loft apartment sales.)

The advertising and marketing had similarities with what Shaw (2007) identifies as a notable change in ‘real-estate promotional technologies’ in Sydney. The banner on the Wool Stores bears comparison with promotions for the first ‘loft conversions’ in Sydney:

A huge banner was slung from the top of the existing building in Redfern, in which the development was to take place. The banner resembled one of the enormous advertisements on the sides of Manhattan buildings in Times Square or Houston Street (Shaw 2007, 160).

The banner exemplified the concerted effort on the developers’ part, to link in with the global ‘re-fashioning’ of industrial landscapes. As in the Manhattanisation of Sydney, the VQA development draws on the history of Fremantle as a port.

However, it is a selective history, free from the ‘gritty, dirty and industrial’ character, and rather acts as a symbol for the new colonisation of this end of town. The advertisement featuring in the *Fremantle Herald* makes the link between the local and the global explicit with the slogan ‘Here, the world *does* revolve around you’ (see Figure 6.9). The advertisement shows either the Queen Mary or the QEII steaming into Fremantle Harbour. The caption reads:

Enjoy a way of life many aspire to but few achieve. The vibrancy of the inner city, the hustle and bustle of a working port and the cosmopolitan excitement that only Fremantle offers. The Goldsbrough Mort Woolstores building, a longstanding landmark and for many years a hive of commercial activity, is being transformed into a superb residential development. To be finished in harmony with the heritage they share, the luxurious, harbourside, Victoria Quay Apartments represent a most desirable and unique lifestyle opportunity. Offering commanding views, security access and a level of appointment befitting such a prestigious address, these architecturally designed apartments are already keenly sought after.

The marketing of the VQA apartments drew on the image of a ‘vibrant’ working port and on Fremantle as a ‘cosmopolitan’ precinct. The images of Fremantle included in the advertisement are an eclectic mix of heritage, festivals and water and beach-fronts, certainly emphasising the cosmopolitan appeal. The promise was that the new residential apartments would be finished in harmony with the heritage they shared. This raises the questions, ‘whose heritage?’, and ‘on what heritages are the residential apartments based?’. How much of the history and heritage is being retained? Certainly the global focus of this ‘opportunity’ ties in with the global ‘re-fashionings’ of urban renewal processes in post-industrial cities. Also, as Shaw points out for Sydney, this global refocussing also relies on the eradication of previous ‘illegitimate loft-dwellers’.

VICTORIA QUAY APARTMENTS

Enjoy a way of life many aspire to but few achieve. The vibrancy of the inner city, the hustle and bustle of a working port and the cosmopolitan excitement that only Fremantle offers. The Goldsbrough Mott Woolstores building, a longstanding landmark and for many years a hive of commercial activity, is being transformed into a superb residential development. To be finished in harmony with the heritage they share, the luxurious, harbour-side Victoria Quay Apartments represent a most desirable and unique lifestyle opportunity. Offering commanding views, security access and a level of appointment befitting such a prestigious address, these architecturally designed apartments are already keenly sought after.

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Page 11 - Herald, Saturday February 17, 2001 - QEII Feature

Figure 6.9 VQA advertisement.

6.5.1 Building on the artistic contribution of skateboarders

Prior to the first stage of demolition, the *Fremantle Herald* (Wenden 2000b) ran an article with Brigitta Hupfel, a visual artist and the head of screening at Fremantle's Film and Television Institute, which is located opposite the Wool Stores in Princess May Park. Hupfel explained that what she found when she went fossicking around in the Wool Stores was an incredible display of graffiti on the top show room floor to rival (see Figure 6.10), what she had seen in PICA (Perth Institute for Contemporary Arts). The article (Wenden 2000b, 9) described the activity at the Wool Stores as:

Unbeknown to most, young people have continued a long association with the place, coming from all over Perth to meet, skate, paint and doss down in the historic old building...as you enter at ground level it feels like a dense forest. Massive jarrah pillars hold up the floors above, and the light barely penetrates. But as you move up through the building the structure becomes lighter. By the time you reach the top floor – the gallery – light floods in and the feeling is airy and spacious. Every surface is covered in a feast of colour and shapes.

The significance of the building's design and of the top-floor showroom, where once people would come from around the world to buy and sell wool, has been remarkably adapted as a 'hidden' space for young people to express themselves. As Hupfel described it: '(t)here's been a great sense of ownership of the building by young people. It's a very beautiful building but I discovered it's been used in a very beautiful way' (Wenden 2000, 9).

With major portions of the building to be demolished, Hupfel considered it important to document the artwork, some of which dated back to 1992. While this history does not appear in the marketing for the new VQA development, the owner is aware of it.

In the *Fremantle Herald's* (Kwintowski 2000) article on the VQA apartments, Ms New pointed out that she 'cringes at the thought' of graffiti being stripped off the walls. Part of this process is for Ms New to legitimise her redevelopment as 'sensitive' to the heritage. Ms New argues that one of the best things about the development has been that 'when we knocked the Parry Street buildings down there

were 150 semi-trailers full of waste materials but only five were rubbish’ (Kwintowski 2000, 13). Retaining artefacts is a powerful means by which developers appropriate the past in the attempt to sell places (Kearns and Philo 1993). It is interesting that, as the controversy deepens and Ms New has failed to get her own way, her view and sympathy towards the building has changed dramatically. However the first stage of the VQA apartments (see Figure 6.11) was completed and set the stage for an example of the ‘sanitising’ of Fremantle by the group that Macbeth, Selwood and Veitch (2011) describe as a third wave of gentrifiers.



Figure 6.10 Graffiti piece – Wool Stores.



Figure 6.11 VQA stage one apartments (opposite Clancy's fish pub).

6.5.2 Clancy's

The construction of residential apartments, in the first stage of the VQA (Figure 6.8), was across the road from another revered and more established East End landmark, Clancy's Fish Pub, and this soon became a source of contention. It did not take long for newly established VQA residents to voice their complaints about excessive noise that live bands and patrons were making across the road from their expensive new apartments. The issue was first brought to the attention of the *Fremantle Herald* in 2004 (D'Anger 2004a) when two local patrons complained to the paper about changes that had occurred at the pub as a result of noise complaints. Local Fremantle photographer and identity, Roel Loopers and his friend Paul Lorling, took aim at the VQA residents over their complaints about noise. According to the article, patrons had been asked to keep doors and windows shut, something Loopers argued destroyed the appreciation of the music for the patrons, especially those choosing to sit outside, and furthermore, turned the inside into a stifling sauna. The argument that, 'you knew what you were moving into when you bought into the area' is well known to Fremantle locals who subscribe to a particular version of Fremantle as a

vibrant inner-city area and it was used effectively here by Loopers (D'Anger 2004a, 7) who argued;

(T)he new kids on the block should let their hair down and join in the fun of Freo, rather than be 'spoilers'. People come to Fremantle because they like the lifestyle...and then want to change it!

Lorling took the argument further saying that the complaints of nearby residents and the restrictions that were being placed on the pub had the potential to destroy an important element of Fremantle's identity, its live music scene. Lorling is attributed with saying that Fremantle has already lost too much of its live music scene with the closure of pubs in the West End and now, 'it seems to be dying' (D'Anger 2004a, 7). Clancy's has a great open space and stage and has built a healthy reputation for live music. However, on the advice of the owner a number of restrictions have been put in place. Lorling asks 'is this what people who are moving into town want'?^{xvi}

The report in the *Herald* points out that no official complaint had been made to the local council but that the changes at the pub were a compromise struck between the owner and the VQA complainants. Ironically, the only formal complaint that was made to the local council was by regular patrons of Clancy's who cited the VQA complainants as destroying the 'traditional atmosphere' of the place (D'Anger 2004a, 7).

The issue flared again in 2006 when a letter to the editor of the *Fremantle Herald* (Aldrovandi 2006), entitled, 'stop your whining and have some fun', was published. The letter argued; 'It appears that some 'grumble bums' across the road from Clancy's are still whinging about their choice to live where they do' (Aldrovandi 2006, 2). The author of the letter, Ric Aldrovandi, emphasised that the pub had been his preferred choice for some time now and that he had first come to Fremantle in 1979 when it was considered by most people to be a no-go area. It is unclear when Clancy's moved into the East End (at least by the early 1980s) but the argument that 'we were here first' features prominently. For Aldrovandi, it is the quality and enjoyment of live music that drew him to the pub. The support that this letter drew from the editor of the *Fremantle Herald* is also worth noting. The letter was bumped

forward to page two and the editor was proud to alert readers to the fact that the *Herald* had rung the alarm bells on this issue back in 2004.

Editorial comments at the end of letters are a proud characteristic of the *Fremantle Herald*. In some ways this is a challenge to democracy, because the letter writer has no instantaneous right of reply to such comments, but on the other hand the editor is exposing the newspaper's editorial line to public criticism. Rather than attempting to hide behind the idea of objectivity in the news, the *Fremantle Herald* is up front about its partialities and, given its ongoing success, it seems to serve the local community and its healthy local political scene, well. In the case of the Clancy's situation, the *Herald's* editor was quick to congratulate Ric Aldrovandi on his letter backing it up with the critique; 'people move here to get the Freo ambience but then don't want to be disturbed. Well, folks, sell up and move to the dormitory suburbs' (Aldrovandi 2006, 2).

What is clearly at issue in this situation is who has the right to define the 'true' Fremantle. Certainly, the *Fremantle Herald* is sympathetic to the longer-term residents' point of view. However the complaints have resulted in restrictions being placed on live music and Clancy's is no longer the popular spot it was 5-6 years ago. The selectivity of these arguments are what, I argue, lend themselves to contradictory sympathies. However, what is at the core of these contests is the power of the arguments that each group is able to represent. For a newspaper to openly argue for a letter writer suggests that what the VQA – Clancy situation presents is not exclusive to the East End. It also raises the issue of who is a 'local'? Certainly longer-term residency and time spent in the town would seem to equate to a more legitimate defence in the editorial eyes of the *Herald*. But where does the real power lie? The forces of change that longer-term residents of Fremantle and those who seek to enjoy the fruits of this 'traditional atmosphere' are up against are global in scope. Nevertheless, the inner city residents who bought into VQA1 have not had it all their own way. While it can be argued that their influence has changed the atmosphere and character of Clancy's, their complaints about the dilapidated site outside their windows has had little impact on what has become a stalemate between the developer and the City of Fremantle.

6.6 Stalemate

For the developer, the period 2000-2010 has been characterised by planning applications, appeals and heritage and engineering reports. The lapse of the 1998/1999 approval has meant that Ms New has had to reapply for development approval. In 2005, the application to demolish the 1950s portion of the Wool Stores was refused by the City of Fremantle. The state heritage listed 1927 section was still planned to be adapted into a 193-room boutique hotel. At the time of applying for demolition, 24 out of 25 public submissions, many by VQA residents, supported the plans to demolish, noting that it was an 'eyesore' (City of Fremantle 2005). However, the heritage conscious council rejected the demolition proposal and approved a recommendation for the 1950-52 building to be restored rather than demolished. The restoration included the added incentive of an extra floor, which would also bring the second stage of development into an identical height-line with the first stage of VQA apartments (something which John Dowson claimed at a City of Fremantle meeting had sabotaged the uniformity of the townscape (Blagg 2011)). This planning approval was dated 4 January 2006. On the 8 June 2006, the State Administration Tribunal adjudicated on a number of appeals for partial demolition of both the Elder St and Cantonment St facades. These were addressed by the City of Fremantle on 3 October 2007 when approval was given for the reconstruction and adaptation of the Elder Street façade, but not to the extent that the applicant was hoping. The Cantonment Street façade was considered, by structural engineers, to be in better condition than the Elder St façade so its restoration was advised. An added difficulty for Ms New to negotiate was the approval of a new City Planning Scheme 4 during this time which altered the decision making principles from those in place when the original proposal was approved in 1998/1999 with the amendments coming into force in 2000.

A significant blow for the developer at the October 2007 meeting was the refusal of a two-year extension to the period given for commencement and completion of the development. The application for extension was also opposed by the VQA council of owners who argued that they were the ones bearing the brunt of this lengthy process and that they had bought into the first stage of development on the promise the

second stage would be completed within two years and wanted to see construction commence immediately.

The way that the *Fremantle Herald* reported these issues between 2004 and 2007 was interesting. There was little input from the developer who had previously featured in the paper in 2000, spruiking the VQA. Rather, the paper attempted to balance the complaints of the VQA residents about the ‘eyesore’ outside their windows, with reports from skateboarders detailing their use of the space. Marilyn New took her complaints to the state media. When it appeared that the 3 October 2007 council decision knocked the wind out of Ms New’s sails *The West Australian* (Drummond and Riley 2007) reported that Ms New was planning to put the remaining 1927 and 1950s sections of the building on the market for \$25 million, but would not be chasing a buyer. Later, in 2009 (Cordingley 2009, 22) the *Sunday Times* reported more explicitly that Ms New was ‘Sick of it’ (see Figure 6.12) and would be turning her attention to other projects. Marilyn New blamed the City of Fremantle for placing ‘unrealistic expectations’ on ten years of development applications which ultimately made the project economically unviable. As a consequence Ms New was calling a stalemate.

It is interesting to document the change in her attitude from 2000 (Kwintowski 2000), when Ms New’s enthusiasm for the project was epitomised in her comment that it ‘pained her to see the graffiti stripped off the walls’ to her comment in 2009 that the building was ‘ugly as hell’ (Cordingley 2009). Since then the Wool Stores has become a site of controversy in the wider community, with many residents expressing their desire for the council to ‘bite the bullet’, acquire the building by law and demolish it. Alternatively, there remains strong support for this building, with council heritage architect Agnieszka Kiera more recently describing it as an ‘anchor’ for stories and memories from the past, and a visual reminder of the post-war significance of the wool industry in Australia and Fremantle (Fremantle Heritage Q and A 2011).

As the property owner, Ms New has exercised her right to call a stalemate. This has also led to some concerned heritage interests to claim that the ‘mothballing’ of the site is a strategic move by the owner to allow the further degradation of the building to a point where demolition is required. This concern can be read into the council’s

ambition to set up a compounding tax on the owners of derelict buildings, if they fail to develop them (D'Anger 2009b). While, in 2012, this stalemate continues and the tax is still being negotiated, the stalemate has been a windfall for the skateboarders.

I'm sick of it

Owner calls stalemate over eyesore

UGLY: The rundown wool stores in Fremantle.



By GLENN CORDINGLEY

THE deteriorating state of one of WA's ugliest buildings has forced nearby residents to seek crisis talks with their council.

But the multi-millionaire owner of Fremantle's wool stores has forced a stalemate, making any short-term fix virtually impossible.

Marilyn New blamed the City of Fremantle for placing "unrealistic restrictions" on 10 years of development applications, which "did not make the project financially viable".

She admitted the eyesore red brick building was "as ugly as hell", but said it would have been too expensive to retain the facades — as required under planning conditions — and create a viable living space within them.

"I am not going to fight with the council any more," the owner of Fremantle's Esplanade Hotel said.

"I am sick of it. I am putting my energy into things that I can get a result.

"They (the council) just made it too hard. They have worn out my enthusiasm for the project.

"Quite frankly, I just ran out of gas. I put my energy where I can get a result and I really tried hard — it takes a lot to burn me off."

Ms New said she had made the premises between Cantonment St and Elder Place secure by "bricking them up" and the council "would not allow her to demolish".

Residents from the plush Victoria Quay Apartments say it is time to raze the graffiti-covered property or develop the site.

"One way or the other, we want to see something positive happen to the building, either build or demolish," Council of Owners representative Reece Cocks said.

"We are the ones who suffer the most out of it. We live right next door."

Residents will meet with two ward councillors, the council's planning department managers, and council chief executive Graeme Mackenzie on March 13 to see what can be done.

Ms New said the wool stores had been put on the market in the past for about \$25 million, but she was not chasing a buyer for the building in the present financial climate.

Fremantle Mayor Peter Tagliaferri refuted Ms New's claims that she had been hamstrung by planning conditions.

Figure 6.12 'Ugly as hell'. (Marilyn New took her complaint to the state media. This article in the Sunday Times in 2009 documents a significant attitude shift towards the building in comparison with her comments in the Fremantle Herald in 2000.)

6.7 Skateboarding at the Wool Stores

At any time of the day a cacophony of sounds and echoes can be heard along the pavements of Cantonment Street as skateboards slap and grind the ledge and spill out

onto the concrete. It is a familiar sound for locals and an enticing call to activity for people unfamiliar with the area. For decades, skateboarders have flocked to the Wool Stores and the space now has resonance for generations of skaters. The abandonment of the Wool Stores by the wool companies left a large landscape of decay to be explored by skateboarders and artists alike. In a marvellous act of fate, a unique metal-clad rail was inserted along the length of the ledge facing Cantonment St in the 1960s to prevent trucks from reversing into and chipping away at the concrete loading bays (Burnett 2004). The rail was left when the wool company moved out and what remains are the most perfectly square, solid steel ledges running along the extent of the Wool Stores (see Figure 6.13). It is the quality and durability of this rail that separates the Cantonment Street side of the Wool Stores from other sites of urban decay in Fremantle – for example the old sheds on Victoria Quay (see chapter 5) – and it is the rail that has been a magnet for skateboarders, not only from Fremantle and Perth, but from around the world.

The sense of ownership of this space by skateboarders has a lot to do with their use of the space as a creative site. The fact that the ledges at the Wool Stores in Fremantle were discovered by skateboarders and not put there as part of a planned skate park, adds to this story of a ‘bottom-up’ ‘adaptive re-use’ of space, which planners and architects continually try to defend as their prescriptive domain. In a documentary, *Drive Skateboarding*, made in New Orleans post Hurricane Katrina, interviews with skateboarders highlighted that their motivation and connection with the landscape was about finding something ‘positive’ out of something ‘negative’ (Vallely n.d.).

The popularity of the Wool Stores over council sanctioned skate parks is nowhere more obvious. A council skate park set up just over a block away from the Wool Stores is barely used and, when it has featured in the local media, the stories tend to focus on the negative aspects of skateboarding and youth culture. Reports on the Beach Street skate-park often focus on anti-social behaviour, crime or lack of adequate space (D'Anger 2003b; Wenden 2000c; also see *Fremantle Herald* 'More skate scrapes', February 17, 2001: 10). The media coverage of the Wool Stores is different. The protection from rain and sun that the Wool Stores provides (including a covered walkway) has allowed skateboarders to escape more dominant attempts to ‘plan-out’ skateboards in the City. The popularity of the Wool Stores has gone well

beyond the local and it is generally acknowledged as a world-class skating venue. The ledges have featured in magazines and videos internationally (Humphrey 2005).

The *Fremantle Herald's* reporting on the Wool Stores has attempted to balance the voices of the VQA residents and the skateboarders so, when the VQA residents spoke out at their frustration with the delays in development, the *Fremantle Herald*, as it claims, 'went across town' to see what all the fuss was about at the 'legendary' skate spot. Michael Kordas, the skateboarder interviewed in the resulting article, demonstrated a conscious understanding of the heritage arguments in Fremantle saying, 'It's a national lege[nd]...the Woolstores is Freo, it's a reflection of the ports, of the city, and it needs to be hung on to, not just from a skater's perspective' (Burnett 2004, 2). The *Fremantle Herald* also included comments from a university honours student from Murdoch, Norm Erikson proposing that the 'warehouse should be kept and turned into a hive of culture' (Burnett 2004, 2). With the Film and Television Institute and Clancy's across the road, Erikson claimed the area was already an 'arts precinct' (Burnett 2004, 2). In August 2005 the *Fremantle Herald* (Humphrey 2005) published comments from a thirteen-year-old skateboarder, Jackson Leahy, who had written to the mayor complaining that the Beach Street skate park was unsafe and intimidating for young skaters. Despite the mayor, Peter Tagliaferri's, suggestion that skateboarders should relocate to the skate park at Booyeembara Park, Jackson claimed '(his) real joy was skating the ledge along the derelict Woolstores' (Humphrey 2005, 1). On the issue of what should happen when the Wool Stores were eventually redeveloped, Jackson recommended the ledges should be dismantled and relocated, to which the mayor replied, 'that might be considered' if, at the time, it was considered to be a viable option (Humphrey 2005, 1).



Figure 6.13 World famous ledge.

The quote by Michael Kordas in the *Fremantle Herald* demonstrates that the skateboarding community is well aware of the broader issues relating to Fremantle and of the symbolism of the Wool Stores' relationship with the Port but, in my interviews with skateboarders, there was an identifiable sense that skating, making films and creating art was their means of political expression and that maintaining a disengagement with formal media was a part of this authenticity. In a number of personal conversations with skateboarders at the Wool Stores in 2007 and 2008, the respondents were quick to point out that the popularity and fame of these ledges reached far beyond the local. One skater remarked that the ledges were the 'best in the southern hemisphere' and that skaters came from all over the world to skate them. A stance that came across in my talks from one respondent was a desire not to engage in formal political debate over the 'future' of the Wool Stores. I had recently returned from two weeks of work experience with the (national) ABC Triple J radio programme HACK, a current affairs half-hour which focused on youth issues and so I had asked the skateboarders if they would be interested in talking on the programme. The respondent was not interested in engaging in that way. He expressed certain ambivalence about whether the building would be demolished. "They've been saying that for years" he said. What was readily apparent was that there was a very strong sense of belonging and ownership of the building and I received a recommendation that I should check out one of the latest videos that had been produced by skateboarders called the *Wool Store Liaf*. This could be bought around the corner at the Momentum skate shop.^{xvii}

There is a strong connection between the skateboarders and Momentum. It was a space where skateboarders would hang out and where local videos were sold. Far from the East End being a 'dead zone' I could see that some thriving interconnections existed here between business and culture. The tension between self-expression for skateboarders and appropriation of this flourishing space in the East End could be seen at the Fremantle Festival in November where, in 2006, the first of a number of 'Street Wakes' were sanctioned by the council to tie in with the festival. Cantonment Street was closed off to traffic and skateboarders drawn in by the festival could skate on the road and be involved in workshops. Local skateboarding videos were screened across the road at Princess May Park. In 2007, the *Fremantle Herald* ('Street Wake', November 17, 2007) included the promotion

in a front cover wrap of the weekly newspaper. Ironically, the ledges that make the space what it is were not skated on during this event. The very term 'Wake' is recognition that this landscape has an ephemeral nature.

While the skateboarders have enjoyed a relatively harmonious relationship with the community and government to date, they have also always sought to maintain their own independence. In response to the official street wake a second street wake was held, with local Wool Stores skateboarders taking more control over the planning of the event. Because the government sponsored event was large and attracted skateboarders from all around Fremantle and Perth, the skateboarders at the Wool Stores organising the second street wake were attempting to assert a sense of their more immediate legitimacy and ownership of the space. This battle between sub-groups and more powerful groups that seek to commercialise and appropriate different spaces, works to sanitise and numb the potential threat and other negative constructions associated with certain sub-groups. The appropriation of the life-styles and activities of sub-groups by more powerful groups, weakens their independence. This relates to Massey and Jess' (1995) contention that the battle for the future use and rights of a place, becomes a battle of representations whereby rival groups which see the same space differently attempt to emphasise different and even opposing characteristics of that space. With reference to the skateboarders at the Wool Stores and the developers who want to demolish the building, this battle can be perceived through their relative power to frame images of the Wool Stores and, particularly, by the appropriation of a piece of notable graffiti, *Wool Stories*, that has been used to symbolise and promote one construction of Fremantle and the Wool Stores on a broader scale. At some point in 2007 a piece of graffiti, 'Wool Stories' (see Figure 6.14) was painted in a prominent position on the wall along Cantonment St, in full view from Clancy's and Princess May Park. It is common knowledge on the street that skateboarders have claimed ownership of this piece of graffiti and that it reflects their association with the building. The 'Wool Stories' graffiti was not a random act or impulsive vandalism, as some government institutions might prefer to label it, but a well-articulated and clever play on words, symbolising the historical link between the skateboarding community and the Wool Stores. The Wool Stores are constantly covered with band posters, tags and other promotional graffiti but the 'Wool Stories' piece has been protected and preserved for over four years now and is fast becoming

an iconic piece of graffiti. I sensed a growing awareness of this in 2008 when I spoke to the same informant who had begun to speak in a more active resistance sense. With growing calls for the building to either be redeveloped or demolished, the skateboarding crew at the Wool Stores would lose out under both scenarios. The informant pointed out that they would run amok in the streets of Fremantle when that time came.



Figure 6.14 'Wool Stores' graffiti piece (which has remained (accompanied by slight modifications) at least since 2007).

6.8 Appropriating the Wool Stores

The ways in which photographs of the Wool Stores have been framed in the media, both local and state, by skateboarding groups, artists drawn to the site and VQA residents, demonstrate the numerous and often competing ways of representing this space. When the news media has captured the voice of concerned VQA residents, the photographs often show the derelict building (see Figure 6.12). Alternatively the

1927 and 1950s section of the Wool Stores still remaining have been captured in numerous artistic ways by the skateboarding community and other appreciative individuals and groups who argue for the building's aesthetic worth. This is evidenced in the videos that have been produced and other artistic shots that appear on the Internet and YouTube. The site also features strongly in the original music scene often featuring in music videos and in newspaper articles, as seen with the *Sneaky Weasel Gang* in their article in the *Fremantle Herald* (November 28, 2009, page 33). The symbolism of the Wool Stores appeals to a wider youth culture in Fremantle, spanning music and art. However, the strongest claim of ownership rests with the skateboarding crew. While it is not particularly the most valued or precious piece of artwork representing the skateboarders with the Wool Stores, the graffiti piece 'Wool Stories' (see Figure 6.14) and its preservation, proclaims their sense of ownership and appropriation of space. Its presence has been noted by politicians and heritage groups, as a healthy sign of life and belonging, which has helped draw skateboarding at the Wool Stores more into the mainstream story of Fremantle as a city of difference. However, this piece also demonstrates the power involved in appropriating culture and turning it into capital.

In the lead up to the mayoral elections in 2009, a young sustainability academic from Murdoch University and local councillor, Brad Pettitt was campaigning to become Fremantle mayor. In the Weekend *West Australian* (Longley 2009) Brad Pettitt was captured (in a staged photograph) cycling past the 'Wool Stories' graffiti piece, with the arrow of the graffiti pointing towards him (see Figure 6.15). Pettitt has campaigned strongly for alternative transport, even giving up his private mayoral parking bay. Not only was Brad Pettitt announcing his agenda for alternative forms of travel but the significance of the staged photo taken in front of the 'Wool Stories' graffiti piece suggests a sense of identification with the street level scene in Fremantle. Ironically, the caption underneath the photograph reads: 'Change needed: Brad Pettitt outside the Woolstores in Fremantle, unused except by graffiti artists and skateboarders' (Longley 2009, 32). The article itself in *The West Australian* by Griffin Longley is an opinion piece appealing to the vision of Fremantle as 'sailing away' with a leaning towards the argument that the lack of anything new is killing Fremantle. The appropriation of this piece of graffiti by the mayor and by the newspaper demonstrates a level of power but again it is attempting to use this work

for political gain while the voice of the creators, the skateboarders, remains marginalised.^{xviii}



Figure 6.15 Future Mayor – Brad Pettitt cycling past the Wool Stores.

6.9 Conclusion: Who owns the Wool Stores?

The Wool Stores controversy is an interesting context in which to view the competing ways that different groups attempt to define and appropriate space. The broader discourse of Fremantle's East End positions it as a space within Fremantle where development, in particular 'higher-rise', should be directed to appease the calls for development within the city while simultaneously preserving the identity and character epitomised by Fremantle's West End. However, this case study highlights that, far from being a 'zone of discard', the East End has its own unique life, which is, in many cases, more organic and less of a monoculture. The Wool Stores controversy therefore represents an important battle of ownership in the city encompassing developers, the council, heritage groups, investors and newer

residents, older established land uses and, significantly, skateboarders and young people.

The powerful processes of gentrification and commodification, explained in Shaw's (2007) Manhattanisation process are at the cutting edge of the Wool Stores development. The first stage of the VQA development shows how the marketing of this area attempts to promote the desirability of 'globalised' lifestyles. It is important to identify here that what is involved is the commodification of lifestyles.

However, as demographic shifts have occurred, the pressure on more established land uses, in particular those associated with inner city living, has become problematic. The controversy between the VQA and Clancy's regulars demonstrates the tensions that occur when people moving into the area, lured by the marketing of vibrant inner city living, seek to change and sanitise the area once they have moved in. The defence of this space is just as interesting. It shows again that 'longer-term' locals including the *Fremantle Herald* are well aware of this contradiction and use it to frame their argument that Fremantle is being destroyed by an invasion of 'yuppies'. Again it is an imaginary of Fremantle's social and economic identity that is perceived to be 'sailing away'.

This case study is also significant because it shows how the hegemonic forces of capital and the vision of developers (property owners) do not always have it all their own way. While a stalemate continues between the developer and the local council, the more alternative lifestyles, which some groups in Fremantle see as crucial to the identity of the town are flourishing, and this benefits the skateboarding community. In this context, the East End can be identified with what Massey (1999a) describes as the pull of the city, where dissidents and 'makers of mischief' find spaces where they are able to resist, challenge and subvert the dominant order. Certainly the story of the skateboarders adds to the 'colour and life' of Fremantle and, as the dispute over development continues, this is being more formally recognised within the Fremantle community (see chapter eight).

The contestation between the property owner and the council and heritage groups who view these buildings as an important historical link to be preserved also raises an interesting question of ownership. Ms New comes across in the state media as the victim, when she describes the challenges of developing in Fremantle as 'almost

mindless' and, while she claims strict conditions have rendered her ten years of development applications economically unviable, there also needs to be an understanding that the symbolic capital that Ms New has invested in, also draws from heritage and on commodified lifestyles. In this case the material outcome is similar to the result in the Victoria Quay controversy (see chapter five).

However, the longer the stalemate is drawn out, the stronger the connection and identity of the Wool Stores becomes associated with skateboarders and the more this sub-group is acknowledged in the community more broadly. Discussions about what should be done to preserve, memorialise and continue this association now tend to occur in more formalised circles. However, it can be argued that it is the skateboarders who understand, poignantly, that this is a temporary space with an unknown but inevitable time-limit and, while there have been attempts by the skateboarders to fix their identity to this space, it is the preservation of artefacts in the 'adaptive re-use' of these spaces where the real fixing and commodification occurs. The popularity and appropriation of the graffiti piece 'Wool Stories' is an artefact from the skateboarding groups, which could potentially be preserved and re-appropriated into any future development (particularly if Ms New re-ignites her interest in the stories that the walls tell). Ironically however, while the first stage of marketing of the VQA drew on images and notions of the global, the reality of a global linkage where people visit from all over the world to skate the ledge could be extinguished by a new group of investors. The changing linkages and local-global connections move, then, from a grounded reality to a symbolic one. This further supports Massey's (2005) argument that the concept of globalisation is highly selective. Therefore, the ways in which capital, whether social, cultural or economic, continually tries to re-invent itself form an important part of this story. Shaw's (2000) explanation of Sydney's Harlemissation is informative in that it demonstrates the complexity of the ways in which 'run-down' areas and perceived 'no-go zones' in the city are re-appropriated and used to fit in with broader narratives, when they are surrounded by the powerful processes of gentrification and landscape transformation for profit. To appropriate something is essentially to take control over its representation (Shaw 2007). The question, 'whose city?' in the case of the Wool Stores demonstrates pointedly that ownership is broader than specific property

rights. Space is not a surface and therefore it cannot be sanitised (Massey 2005). The ownership of the Wool Stores is relational.

If the East End is claimed to be the antithesis of the West End, then Fremantle's centre square, Kings Square can arguably function as the pivot (Brian Shaw 1979). The next chapter deals with imaginations of Fremantle in the urban entrepreneurial context of a need to reproduce and reimage a city centre. Up until this point the voices of Aboriginal people including the local Noongar people have been largely absent from the controversies in the West End, Victoria Quay and the Wool Stores but in Kings Square they offer provocative reminders of their existence.

7.0 Chapter Seven: Negotiating the ‘civic heart’ of Fremantle: the politics of space in Kings Square

7.1 Introduction

In 2010 Fremantle Mayor, Brad Pettitt, labelled Kings Square as one of the most dysfunctional spaces in Fremantle (Wilson-Chapman 2010a). Over the decade, if not for longer, this ‘dysfunctional’ tag has been applied in relation to the square’s peripheral and problematic social and economic situation. Alternatively, possibly nostalgic representations of Kings Square often posit it as the ‘civic heart’ of Fremantle (D’Anger 2004b). Located at the centre of John Septimus Roe’s 1833 plan for Fremantle, and named with reference to the King of Great Britain and Ireland, Kings Square epitomises, in broader historical and symbolic terms, the success of the British colonisation of Western Australia. However, recent urban transformations have seen Fremantle and Western Australia more generally experience a conceptual shift from a global identification with a now significantly diminished empire, to at least aspiration to a global city status based on inter-urban competition (Harvey 1989b; Jacobs 1996). Set within the broader global transformations of industrialised spaces, the hoped for rejuvenation of Fremantle’s Kings Square can be seen as a response to the processes of gentrification whereby inner city spaces are being redeveloped ‘to meet the residential and lifestyle needs of new social and class formations associated with restructuring’ (Jacobs 1996, 38-39). Furthermore, the idea of a central square symbolising a ‘civic centre’ or ‘symbolic heart’ has begun to occupy a crucial position in urban redevelopments seeking to re-image and market formerly industrial cities.

Jacobs’ (1996, 39) post-colonial critique of a drawn out redevelopment saga (between the 1960s and the 1990s) at Bank Junction, London, speaks of “a place in a struggle of ‘becoming’ and ‘remaining’”. It is possible to identify some parallels with Kings Square. Two narratives informing the plans to recapture Kings Square as the ‘central square’ of Fremantle include a conscious movement to solidify the meaning and position of Kings Square as the centre of an imperial city (as epitomised in its ongoing monumentalism) and, ‘place-making’ and creative city

marketing strategies for Kings Square designed to represent the space as ‘attractive, safe and innovative (and hence ripe for investment)’ (Hubbard 1996, 1444). Significantly, neither of these two narratives contests the centrality of Kings Square yet its current situation bears comparison with Jacobs’ (1996, 38) description of Bank Junction as an ‘imperial space in a post-imperial age’.^{xix}

Hay, Hughes and Tutton (2004) have identified how a lack of monuments representing the local Aboriginal group, the Kuarna people, in Prince Henry Gardens in Adelaide functions to exclude indigenous groups from the founding stories of the city an absence compounded by the list of monuments which are present in the Gardens which seemingly function to legitimise a dominant white, male European culture. The postcolonial critique of Prince Henry Gardens by Hay, Hughes and Tutton is instructive for this study on Kings Square, particularly the parallels with the iconographic representations of Kings Square discussed later in this chapter. However, a significant difference is that in Kings Square Aboriginal are visibly present. The lack of representation in the monument to Aboriginal people coupled with their physical presence creates a tension between the proposed preservation and enhancement of Kings Square juxtaposed with a purported ‘social problem’ emanating from Aboriginal groups and individuals creating an intimidatory atmosphere in the square. It is my argument in this chapter that, in the planned social transformation of Kings Square ‘the idea of empire’ lives on (Jacobs 1996; Kerr 2011) whereby the fear of the ‘other’ invading the ‘heartland’ informs both narratives of this place. In relation to the reconceptualisation of space and the question of ‘whose city?’, the everyday congregation of Indigenous people in the Square also represents resistance and a challenge to the hegemony of a singular narrative integral to the maintenance of both the imperial heritage and Fremantle’s recent gentrifying and globalising trajectory.

Firstly, I will explore the conflict and contestation surrounding space where claims positioning Kings Square as Fremantle’s ‘heart’ and ‘civic centre’ can be repositioned as partial and that current ‘place-making’, including the square’s iconography and the focus on this space by successive mayors, contribute to the perpetuation of selective discourses which have implications for who is to be included there and who is not. Secondly, I seek to detail how Aboriginal groups are implicitly and explicitly naturalised as the ‘problem’ in this place and how this not

only coincides with the reproduction of a 'colonial centre' but carries forward into the present underlying forces of exclusion and ultimately re-colonisation. The controversies and contestations relating to Kings Square then inform the broader question of 'whose city' in a multiplicity of ways but, significantly, address the issues of the rights and claims of Indigenous people to space in Fremantle.

7.2 Shifting Centres

Kings Square is a constructed centre. Dominant representations positioning Kings Square as the 'civic heart' of Fremantle are therefore informed by deeper, colonial, discourses of place. In 1833, the Surveyor General of the Swan River Colony, John Septimus Roe, was influential in altering the earlier 1830 plan for Fremantle, re-positioning and re-orienting Kings Square into the centred position where it remains today (see Figure 3.5, see page 56). A number of scholars, (Reece and Pascoe 1983; Seddon 1972; Shaw 1979), have commended Roe for his vision and planning of the site, at a time when the fate of the colony 'was by no means assured' (Shaw 1979, 333). With the addition of St John's Anglican Church (1843; 1882) and the construction of the Fremantle Town Hall (1887) in the Square, Kings Square was embedded at the centre of the colonial project in Fremantle with High Street, which bisected the square, as its spine (see Figure 7.1). According to town planner, former local business owner and local councilor Helen Hewitt, Kings Square was planned as the key point of intersection between the East and West Ends of Fremantle. Hewitt (2002, 4) argued, in a letter to the *Fremantle Herald*:

The Kings Square lay across the High Street diagonally and with wide streets on all sides, was clearly the civic heart of the city and the point where movement could be redirected in any one of five directions.

However, academic reconstructions of Fremantle rarely identify Kings Square as the functional centre of Fremantle (Shaw 1979). As detailed in chapter three, the primary functional centre of gravity in Fremantle was initially focused on Cliff Street, where the bulk of trade and transport occurred. With the shifting of the

railway station to Market Street in 1907, it has been argued that the town's centre of gravity shifted eastward pulling the commercial activity of the city along High Street (Shaw 1979; Stephenson and Hepburn 1955). This eastward growth did bring Kings Square more into focus when, in the 1960s and 70s, High Street east of Market Street, and including Kings Square, is remembered, affectionately by some, as the 'heart' of the city. In a separate letter to the *Fremantle Herald* (Kwintowski 2003f, 1), Hewitt recounts:

Thirty years ago it was truly the heart of the city with a brass band playing every Saturday and the area thronged with shoppers, or those just sitting and watching the world go by.

It is interesting that the Stephenson and Hepburn (1955, 198) metropolitan plan for Perth and Fremantle also considered this area to be the commercial hub of activity and subsequently proposed the demolition and relocation of Fremantle's Town Hall to enhance this space as a 'critical traffic junction'. During this period (1950-70) a number of modernist buildings were constructed in and around the square. An extension of the council's headquarters was tacked onto the historic town hall and a 5 storey concrete block department store building with no windows was built to front onto the Square. It is interesting that, at the point when Kings Square is remembered as being at the height of its functionality, reverence for its Victorian/Edwardian 'heritage' was at a low point. More recent moves to re-energise Kings Square as a functional centre however have tended to be focused more on restoring and reproducing the past. A detailed list of the monuments and statues added to the Square since the 1980s will be discussed shortly.



Figure 7.1 Aerial image of Kings Square 1957. (Source: Local History Collection, Fremantle library, Image Number: 543, Date July 9, 1957).

7.2.1 Re-reading Fremantle's Streetscape and Iconography in Kings Square

In a provocative re-reading of Fremantle's High Street, Kerr (2011) draws a comparison between downtown Fremantle and the Sukuh Temple in Central Java to infer a meaning written into the streetscape which extends beyond the preservation and heritage movements' efforts to restore the city since the 1970s. Kerr's article sets up a critical discursive framework for interrogating High Street (see Figure 7.2) as part of a powerful discourse of 'nation-building' and connection to empire that is often referred to but never (unambiguously articulated) when considering the juxtaposition between the Round House and St John's Church which existed between 1843 and 1882 until the church was shifted. With reference to Sukuh Temple and with increasing levels of sacredness, Kerr contends that the Round House and Whaler's Tunnel represent the temple's porch (see Figure 7.3), Kings Square the temple's house (see Figure 7.4), and Monument Hill (which contains Fremantle's war memorial) the 'Temple's Holy of Holies' (see Figure 7.5). In Kings

Square Kerr (2011, 7) also points to the coincidence whereby the area where a car park was situated in the 1970s today contains a spiral walk of fame with paving stones recording the names of Fremantle's sporting identities 'fanning out into the Australia nation-building project'. The nation-building project Kerr (2011, 6-7) is referring to includes a mosaic in the High Street Mall (an the 'undated, untitled and apparently un-authored' mosaic depicting a mythological narrative connecting Fremantle with empire), St John's Anglican Church, a significant focal point of the High Street axis where the line from the church runs unimpeded west along High Street through the Whalers' Tunnel (under the Round House) connecting the Port City and gateway to the colony, with its imperial past (similar to the Millennium Bridge in London which connects the city with the doors of St Paul's cathedral thus keeping the people on the 'straight and narrow') and other pieces of spatial iconography.



Figure 7.2 Map of Fremantle (Kerr 2011) (The red line points out the High Street axis starting at the Round House (the temple's porch), Kings Square (the temple's house) and Monument Hill (the 'Holy of holies').)



Figure 7.3 The Round House gaol and Whaler's tunnel



Figure 7.4 Kings Square on a market Thursday (2010).



Figure 7.5 Fremantle's war memorial – Monument Hill

<http://www.panoramio.com/photo/2200712> by Bakanne (date accessed, March 8, 2012)

In the 1980s the pedestrianisation of High Street Mall and Kings Square marked a radical turning point in the area's role and redirected the flow of traffic in Fremantle, but it also opened up a significant amount of space where the High Street had formerly crossed the centre of the square on a diagonal axis. This space provided further opportunities for the restoration, preservation and commemoration of the past in Kings Square, a movement which had begun in the 1970s. An interesting trend has occurred in the dedication of monuments in Kings Square. Since the retrieval from storage, in 1982 of a drinking fountain dedicated in honour of Tom Edwards, a 'working-class' martyr who was fatally wounded by police in an industrial dispute on Victoria Quay in 1919, each monument has continued to grow in actual (concrete) size. The hierarchy and positioning of monuments and statues in cities is the subject of much academic inquiry. Jones (2012 in press) describes the Tom Edwards fountain's journey, from a side street outside the Trades Hall on the Esplanade Reserve, to storage in 1968 before its 'restoration and relocation' to its current 'peripheral position on Kings Square facing a row of parking bays' (see Figure 7.6). The inference that Jones draws, in relation to the peripheral positioning of Tom Edwards and more broadly, of other monuments dedicated to industrial disputes and the 'working class' in Australia, is that, in the aftermath of the 1919 riots 'the port and state authorities feared that a memorial on the actual site of the incident would be a threat to public order'.

In 1993 another ‘non-mainstream’ dedication was made in Kings Square to the Italian sculptor ‘Pietro Porcelli’ (see Figure 7.7). The Southern European influence in Fremantle, as alluded to in chapter three is a significant ingredient in representations of Fremantle’s popular ‘Cosmopolitan’ identity. Porcelli is noted for his sculpture of C.Y. O’Connor, the state’s engineer-in-chief, who famously designed and oversaw the construction of Fremantle port and the Perth to Kalgoorlie pipeline and who tragically took his own life on South Beach in South Fremantle. The statue of Porcelli himself stands in the North Eastern corner of Kings Square and is slightly ‘smaller-than-life’ size; a quaint remembrance to the sculptor, commissioned by the Italian community of Fremantle and unveiled by mayor of Fremantle at the time John Cattalini, who is also a member of Fremantle’s Italian community.^{xx}

In 2002, a larger than life statue of WWII air force pilot and former governor of Western Australia, Sir Hughie Edwards was unveiled in Kings Square (see Figure 7.8). WA artist Andrew Kay, who sculpted the bronze statue, described his creative decision making in an article in the *Fremantle Herald* (Angus 2002, 11) saying:

From reading his life story and when he won his medals, I wanted to portray him at that time. He was a young ordinary Australian doing his duty and was fortunate enough to survive.

The statue stands at the Eastern End of Kings Square facing back along High Street towards the Round House, guarding the Square. WA governor General John Sanderson, who unveiled the statue, was also quoted in the article (Angus 2002, 1).

Heroes are essential to our idea of community...We worship them in times of stress and forget about them in security, replacing them with virtual heroes of little substance.

Most recently, in 2005, the largest and most imposing statue was unveiled in Kings Square. It stands beside the Town Hall and is dedicated to Wartime Prime Minister of Australia and member for the seat of Fremantle, John Curtin (see Figure 7.9). The design and position of the statue initially drew criticism from the Fremantle community, predominantly to do with its imposing expression and the raised platform on which it stood, with some locals arguing that it did not depict the

unassuming personality of the man himself (D'Anger 2006d; Loopers 2005; Mitchell and Hatley 2005). However, it is now naturalised into the growing iconographic landscape of Kings Square. The image of John Curtin captured in the statue, shows him leaning over and appearing to address a crowd of people, with a rolled up copy of the *Westralian Worker* (of which he was editor at the time of the 1919 industrial dispute (Jones 2012 in press)) in his hand. The statue underlines Nevill's (2007) claim that Kings Square was a space where orators would address the public particularly in the war years.

While each monument has its own historical trajectory and story, there is a clear hierarchy which supports the claim by Bulbeck (1991, 16) that it is the 'monarchs, rulers and explorers that look down on the passing crowds'. This holds for the dominance of John Curtin's statue but in the Australian context, as Jones (2012 in press) points out, the most impressive monuments are often reserved for 'the large numbers of predominantly ordinary people who died in Australia's wars'. As Kerr (2011) explains, further eastward along High Street, raised topographically on Monument Hill, is a war memorial set in the position of the 'Holiest of Holies'. While Hughie Edwards survived the war, he also fits into this context of monuments to the war effort in Australia and this, perhaps, justifies his 8-foot height. Porcelli and Tom Edwards while representing a strong part of Fremantle's identity as a 'cosmopolitan city' and a working port, respectively, memorialised at a smaller scale and occupy more peripheral and 'self-contained' spaces within the square.



Figure 7.6 Tom Edwards water fountain.



Figure 7.7 Pietro Porcelli sculpture (life-size).



Figure 7.8 Hughie Edwards statue (Larger-than-life).

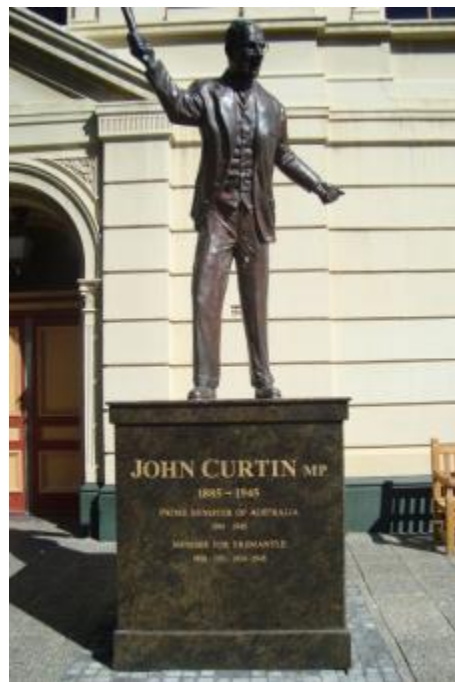


Figure 7.9 John Curtin raised above the masses.

On critical reflection, the attempts to define Kings Square are as much about what statues and monuments are present as what and who are absent. As Stuart Hall (2005, quoted in Waterton 2010, 155) explains heritage and its meaning ‘is constructed *within*, not above or outside representations...those who cannot see themselves reflected in its mirror cannot properly “belong”’. The lack of any monument dedicated to women or to Indigenous people in Fremantle and Kings Square (though several of both are named on the sporting heroes stones) specifically supports the narrative that is being produced in Kings Square, ironically at the same time as the square’s reported decline, is the ‘production and reproduction of a built environment for Anglican, Masonic, nation-building and empire regenerating narratives’ (Kerr 2011, 12).

At the same time as Kings Square ‘heritage’ iconography has been increasing, the square has become an important space for Aboriginal groups meeting in Fremantle. Century old Moreton Bay fig trees provide shade and shelter from Perth’s extreme heat in summer and thunderstorms in the winter and the community playground outside the library is a popular spot for families with children and also for its provision of shelter and facilities. In the next section of this chapter I will explore the dominant media representations and reports, which focus on the ‘failures’ of Kings Square wherein Aboriginal individuals and groups are identified as the ‘problem’. Significantly, what is often unidentified is the challenge that the presence of Aboriginal identity creates to the stabilisation and legitimisation of the discourses positing Kings Square as the (ex-imperial) ‘heart’ and ‘centre’ of Fremantle. To tease out these tensions I will now include a participant observation piece which I wrote while I was working in Fremantle.

7.3 Ruminations: The case of the ‘white’ pillar

One of the most enjoyable aspects of my fieldwork was reading through newspapers in the local history section of the Fremantle library which is located in Kings Square. It wasn’t so much trawling through ten years of local newspapers that sparked my

interest but more the time spent looking out of the window at the ‘happenings’ in the Square. As I read articles of the square’s ‘dysfunction’ (Wilson-Chapman 2010a) and on the mayor’s aim to ‘revitalise’ (*Fremantle Herald*, ‘Square Tactics’, April 5, 2003, page 7), I was able to interrogate these claims with my own observations of what was going on in this space. The overwhelming representation in the media was that ‘anti-social’ behavior had become a persistent problem and that it was outside the library window where, in the main, the unruly would ‘hang-out’.

The local history section is often a quiet space for researchers, partitioned off from the library more generally, so it tends not to attract the same amount of traffic. Yet this space is often perfectly contrasted with the eruption of activity and conversation taking place just outside the window nearest the childrens’ playground. The windows looking out onto the square from the library act like a surveillance mirror and the people in the square are often unaware that anybody is watching them. The following narrative is my re-telling of an event that I viewed from behind the ‘window’ (see Figure 7.10). It is included with the aim of opening up the debate on the complexities involved, in the attempts to define the meaning of, and achieve control over, the future use of Kings Square.

I arrived at the library early in the morning and already there were a group of people sitting outside the window. It is difficult to find any routine to when the space outside the library will be busy or quiet, such is the unpredictability and, to me, this is an enjoyable element of working in this section of the library. Over time, a number of the people outside the window had become familiar to me, emphasising the importance that repetition plays in the construction of place. In the newspapers, these people were the ones being referred to as the ‘parkies’, ‘itinerants’, ‘solvent abusers’ and even the ‘homeless’.

On this particular day a thick black texta pen was passed amongst the group. First, a name went up on the pillar outside the window, and then another, as the texta was passed on. Then a picture of a snake was drawn resembling a serpent from Aboriginal dreaming. After that an Aboriginal flag appeared followed by an Australian flag. Over the course of the next hour the side of the pillar, facing the window I was looking out of, became covered with names, drawings and scribbles, each in their own way encoding the space with meaning. It was not uncommon for

activities within this space to attract the attention of passersby and, as I continued to shuffle through newspapers, I expected the police or a council worker to show up. After all, 'that black texta wasn't going to come off easily'. The graffiti-art was such an obvious intrusion on the 'whiteness' of the pillar that I was sure someone would 'dob-in' the artists. However, the day passed without any notable intervention from authorities and my attention to the pillar soon began to fade into the background of the day.

The following morning, when I arrived at the library, I was stunned to find a perfectly white pillar instead of the patchwork of art. All the work from the day before had been erased. I thought the markings would have at least lasted a few days or even weeks. It set my mind racing, "who cleans the square and at what time of the day?" "Why the urgency?" "Would it be treated with the same efficiency in other spaces in Fremantle?" On deeper reflection, this 'white-washing' reconfirmed the very real presence and nature of power in and over the square and that, every day, different claims, stories, movements and rhythms are being inscribed in space, but some do not have the privilege of remaining as long as others.



Figure 7.10 White pillars outside the local history section of the Fremantle library.

7.4 Naturalising Aboriginal people with ‘anti-social’ behaviour in Kings Square

In 2003 the Kings Square story experienced a flashpoint when an anonymous letter signed *Fed Up* was published in the *Fremantle Herald* (FedUp 2003) (see Appendix 3), complaining that the behaviour of Aboriginal people was the biggest problem in Kings Square. The sensational letter set in train a particularly turbulent period for Kings Square, which prompted successive mayors to ‘fix’ the ‘problem’. The extent to which the issues in Kings Square have been made synonymous with Aboriginality was made explicit in *Fed Up*’s (2003, 5) letter:

When is something going to be done about the terrible behaviour of the Aborigines in Fremantle. I have just returned from Fremantle and witnessed a very upsetting bashing...Recently I observed a group fighting and bashing one woman (not young I might say) to the ground, kicking and punching her and then the group putting the boots in. Nobody does anything. The average person will not step in, for fear of being attacked themselves, the police drive past and just sit in their cars. Fremantle is a wonderful place for everybody and I wonder what the tourists in our fine port city must think when they witness this shocking behaviour. You walk between St John’s Square and the town hall in fear of being abused or attacked. You park your car outside St John’s in fear of something being smashed through the window. These people obviously do not have a home to go to as they just wander through Fremantle...I have had it, I am sick and tired of not being able to enjoy our city as it belongs to all, not just them. When are the police or the council going to do something?

The editor’s notes accompanying the letter are also informative.

This letter was submitted anonymously and for that reason would not normally be considered for publication. I’ve made an exception so this disturbing issue can, hopefully, be debated openly in this forum instead of being whispered about the place (as increasingly has been) by people fearful of being branded racist.

The fact that the editor broke with professional practice can be read as an attempt to make a statement that the opinion of this letter was not in the minority. *Fed Up's* claim appears to be that not only are Aboriginal people causing the general public to avoid the area, but they are also afforded 'special treatment' from police, council and pedestrians, allowing them to dominate the space.

The naturalisation of Aboriginal groups in Fremantle as synonymous with 'anti-social' behaviour, and whereby Kings Square is implicated as a 'no-go zone' and 'trouble spot', has a long history. Retail traders around Kings Square have previously voiced their concerns about 'loiterers', 'parkies' and 'street-drinkers' causing problems for businesses. A front-page article *Spotlight on Street Drinking* (Kwintowski 2001d, 1) articulated these claims. In the article, a number of Fremantle retailers argued that they wanted a solution and 'quickly' to the problem of 'anti-social' behaviour in Kings Square. The connection with Aboriginal people is implied from the outset with the lead paragraph heralding a proposal to introduce a Noongar Patrol as a means of responding to the complaints. The Noongar Patrol is an Aboriginal culturally sensitive community security/police service which has been employed in the night time entertainment district of Northbridge, located directly to the north of Perth CBD.

The letter by *Fed Up* (2003) sets up an interesting dialectic that appears to be occurring in relation to the community and Kings Square, in which the letter writer is arguing that Kings Square 'belongs to all, not just them'. Zizek (2010, 100), in his dialectic on universal love, contends that these sorts of universal claims only exist when statements such as 'Kings Square belongs to all', necessarily rely on 'just not for you'. There seems to be a tension that, until *Fed Up's* letter, could be argued to have been unspoken in public discourse whereby Indigenous groups spending their days in the square were perceived as not actually from 'here'. A powerful way in which dominant groups work to exclude others is to construct the individuals, groups and associated 'problem' as originating from outside.

7.5 Constructing Aboriginal People in Kings Square as ‘outsiders’

In 2002, a lunchtime brawl on Fremantle’s Cappuccino Strip (just around the corner from Kings Square) drew headlines in the local media. The *Fremantle Herald* (March 22, 2003, page 1) reported, “witnesses had told the paper, ‘a group of Aboriginal men who had spent the afternoon hanging around Kings Square, and who appeared to be intoxicated, were responsible for the violence’”. The initial controversy centred on the sluggish response of the police, which in turn drew an aggressive criticism from the South Metropolitan District Superintendent, Ray Pottinger who blamed the soup kitchen, run by St Patrick’s Care Centre close to Kings Square, as the ‘main reason’ for the crime problem in Fremantle. In an attempt to prevent ‘problem’ people converging on Fremantle, the soup kitchen was shut down (Kwintowski 2003a).

In a follow up report, the reasons for this ‘social problem’ in Kings Square were taken to be an ‘outside’ issue. It was argued that ‘Freo’s problems were shared with centres such as Midland, Armadale and Perth – major stops along metro railway lines’ (Kwintowski 2003a).



Figure 7.11 'Breaking the Kings Square cycle'. (The photograph includes Robbie Riley, Ken Posney and Barbara Powell.)

The article *Breaking the Kings Square cycle* (Kwintowski 2003a, 9) (see Figure 7.11) has a very contradictory rationale. It is worth critiquing the logic to identify the underlying forces of exclusion which are deterring Indigenous groups from socialising in Kings Square. The article begins with a familiar media narrative used by the *Fremantle Herald* to provoke conflict over the use of Kings Square.

Most Monday nights when Fremantle councillors meet at the town hall to deliberate over the future of the city, proceedings are interrupted, sometimes drowned out, by screams of abuse and fights breaking out below in Kings Square.

The individuals and groups implicated in creating disturbances in Kings Square are identified in the article (Kwintowski 2003a, 9) as predominately Indigenous.

The group, in the main Aboriginal, are often drunk, drugged and abusive towards each other and passers-by. They are a minority but they are highly visible, Mr Posney (Fremantle Council Community Service Chief) says.

The connection between disruption and Aboriginal people is also made explicit in the accompanying photograph (see Figure 7.11). The photograph can be read in a multitude of ways, I will return to it shortly. The two council community service managers quoted in the report are Posney and Barbara Powell. Powell argues in the article that the problem has to do with shrinking public housing in the suburbs surrounding Fremantle and a lack of facilities with only one sobering up centre in the metro area, a long way away from Fremantle. The article (Kwintowski 2003a, 9) continues to paint the scene arguing:

Whatever the cause, the end result is groups of up to 20 drunk and abusive individuals roving the inner city streets. But while the aggression and begging is having an impact, with nowhere for people to go, just moving them out is not on, says Mr Posney.

According to Powell the ‘problem’ had dragged on for 15 years but was growing more recently with Mr Posney arguing that nobody including the state government wanted to own ‘the problem’. While moving them out was not on, according to Mr Posney, there is a sense that the ‘problem’ groups hold power over the square. Quotes such as, ‘We can’t move them out’ and ‘That will never happen’ offer a similar rhetoric to that used by *Fed Up* (2003). However, the ‘problem’ groups are not reported to be Fremantle locals. Again the problem is constructed as originating ‘outside’ of Fremantle, where the culprits are ‘people jumping on trains for a free feed and a day camped out on the city’s streets’.

Mr Posney’s three point plan to introduce a ‘sobering up centre, outreach social workers to build relationships with street people and Noongar patrols to liaise with police and businesses’ (Kwintowski 2003a, 9) appears to be treating the ‘problem’ in place. However the description that the article gives as to who the council will be targeting is a little more problematic.

Council efforts will target three groups – itinerants (people living rough), people who hang out on the streets to socialize, and country people visiting the city for medical treatment or a funeral but who have nowhere to stay.

The biggest issue is that the ‘problem’ has been naturalised with Aboriginal groups and individuals, like Robbie Riley, who is photographed in the picture (see Figure 7.11). The photograph creates an interesting contradiction in itself. According to the report and *Fed Up* the issue is aggressive Aboriginal groups and individuals intimidating, accosting and abusing ‘others’ yet the photograph captures the issue as being a little more ‘light-hearted’ where Mr Riley ‘arrived to ask them for a dollar’. Again Mr Riley is reported as being from Hamilton Hill and consequently, not from Fremantle. Despite Mr Posney explaining that ‘If we don’t do something now we will have a serious problem in five years’ it appears that an underlying aim of the Council is to stop Aboriginal people socialising in Kings Square.

There have been moments where this has been observed as explicit. In July 2000 a local resident, MM Davis (2000, 5) wrote to the paper over two incidents that she had witnessed in Kings Square:

I saw two adult Aboriginal men sitting on a bench; two policemen were standing over them, one of whom appeared to be checking some kind of identification papers. The police then moved on to another bench, where another Aboriginal man was sleeping and roused him. I did not wait to see what happened next but when I came out of the toilet all three men had disappeared and the police were getting into a police car, in which they drove away.

The letter addresses an issue also raised by *Fed Up* (2003) but from an opposing perspective. The suggestion that people are treated differently because of their appearance is shown in this letter as being insulting towards Aboriginal people. Davis (2000, 5) continued:

If I were asked, even if politely, to show proof of identification in a public place or if I felt sleepy and dropped off into a snooze on a bench provided for my comfort, only to be disturbed for no apparent

reason – would I not be surprised and even indignant? I should mention that I am of European appearance and advanced year.

If the problem has been naturalised to Aboriginal people, who are seen as not actually ‘belonging’ in Kings Square, then the ‘place-making’ events and mayoral campaigns to re-claim the square, further reinforce the pressures of exclusion.

7.6 Thinking inside the Square

In response to the controversy stimulated by *Fed Up's* (2003) letter and the corresponding identification of the problem in *Breaking the Kings Square cycle* (Kwintowski 2003a), the mayor at the time, Peter Tagliaferri, set about re-inventing Kings Square. Headlines including, *Mayor's Square Vision* (Kwintowski 2003c) and *Square Tactics* (*Fremantle Herald*, April 5, 2003, page 1) reflected the attention being given to ‘breath(ing) life back into the heart of the city’ (Kwintowski 2003g, 1). Tagliaferri had previously resisted a strong campaign for the re-opening of High Street Mall to motor traffic, instead promoting initiatives such as ‘markets, regular Sunday choir performances, a dedicated police post and crowd pulling events’ as solutions to what was ultimately considered to be a ‘social problem’ (Kwintowski 2003c). A brainstorming workshop was held with the intention of canvassing community responses and ideas on how the space could be transformed. The ‘Turn the Square around Project’ (Kwintowski 2003d, 9), ran for a month and was designed to generate ideas on how Kings Square could be recaptured as the city’s ‘civic heart’. Tagliaferri explained: ‘We want to transform Kings Square into a lively draw card and for it to become an asset to the people of Fremantle’ (Kwintowski 2003d, 9).

A ‘giant chess-board’ that had previously been installed in the Square was re-instated and a local, Kylie Wheatley, who had impressed council by establishing a craft market and running without council permission in South Fremantle (*Fremantle Herald*, March 24, 2005, page 3), was given the job of overseeing the implementation of a ‘village art market’ in the square. The markets, held on Thursdays in the summer months, were successful in attracting people, as indicated

by criticism from nearby traders, who argued that it was hurting their businesses (D'Anger 2007a).

While the markets provided an inclusive space, a similar rhetoric to 'planning out' the problems was involved. '(T)he markets have been touted as a way of injecting life into Kings Square and helping it reclaim from the (Cappuccino) strip its status as the city's heart' (D'Anger 2003d, 8).

Tagliaferri also sought to establish a strong police presence in the square, saying he wanted a 'caravan decked out (permanently) in police colours' in Kings Square as a 'pseudo police presence' to deter 'anti-social' behaviour (*Fremantle Herald*, 'Thin Blue Line', May 24, 2003, page 2).

But, after several years of injecting life into Kings Square, the 'problem' remains.

7.6.1 Local Noongar Responses

Responses from the local Noongar elders, in particular Marie Thorne, have continually called on council for a Noongar Patrol and a 'sobering-up' or community centre to be implemented. Thorne (2002, 4) wrote that the 'street drinkers have always been a concern and heartache for the elders and the Noongah community... The people referred to as "street drinkers" are homeless people who are in great need of help'. In September 2003, after years of campaigning, the Walyalup Moort (Fremantle Family) patrol group was sworn in (*Fremantle Herald*, 'Burning desire to help', September 6, 2003, page 28).

7.6.2 Politics in positioning a sobering-up centre

The response to calls for a sobering-up centre, have generally recommended Booyembara Park as an appropriate locality. Boo Park (as it is affectionately known) was opened in April 2000 as part of a reconciliation project to convert a former limestone quarry 'into a place to contemplate black-white relations and

resolutions' (Bassett 2000, 11). In April 2003, S Davis wrote to the *Fremantle Herald* in response to the uproar created by *Fed Up's* (2003) letter, suggesting that any sobering up centre should be built at Boo Park because of its reconciliation focus. Davis (2003, 6) wrote:

The setting which is dominated by native plants and Aboriginal cultural symbols would help to make these people feel better about themselves and assist in the recovery process.

In 2006 (D'Anger 2006a, 1), Fremantle councilor Doug Thompson, also suggested that Booyeembara Park would be a logical spot for a sobering up centre citing 'its cultural links (to Aboriginal people) – and it's not an area that would adversely impact on other uses'. However, the park, located in White Gum Valley, is peripheral to Fremantle and Kings Square (see Figure 3.4, page 50). Consequently, any failure of a sobering-up centre located at Boo Park, has the potential to place blame back on Aboriginal groups, and the claim that this could be a solution also contradicts the intelligence suggesting that the problems in Kings Square are at least in part a result of its centrality (Kwintowski 2003a). The cultural connection suggested by Davis and Thompson, to locate the sobering-up centre at Boo Park, is based on a connection which positions Indigenous people in the square as belonging to and implicitly restricted to specifically designated locations such as the cultural site set up in Boo Park and therefore not to Kings Square.

7.7 'Place-making' in Kings Square

The election of Brad Pettitt, a young sustainability academic from Murdoch University to the mayoral role in early 2009 continued the continuation of the planned reclamation of the square. In 2010 the *Fremantle Gazette* published an article in which Pettitt is quoted as saying that Kings Square is one of the most 'dysfunctional' spaces in Fremantle (Wilson-Chapman 2010a) (see Figure 7.12). The article coincided with the recent visit to Fremantle of international expert and visiting planner, Charles Landry, and renowned 'place-maker' and 'traffic calmer' David Engwicht, both of whom claimed the square to be under-utilised. The 'place-

making' movement in Fremantle, which has grown with the election of Pettitt, fits neatly into what Barnes et al. (2006) critique as normative constructions of 'the creative city' whereby representations of particular spaces in the city are constructed as a 'threat' or in 'crisis' in order to propose a 'creative' solution. As Barnes et al. (2006) point out, such movements are prescriptive and, as a consequence, marginalisation and exclusion are often their by-products.



Figure 7.12 'Dysfunctional' – Kings Square.

The front-page treatment of Landry and Engwicht's visits in the *Fremantle Gazette* gave a significant connection and legitimacy to the 'place-making' project in Kings Square. The world-renowned scholars described the space as 'weak point' while its position as the 'centre of the city' was included as a given in Fremantle Director of

Community Development, Marisa Spaziani's quote in the article (Wilson-Chapman 2010a, 1). There was no detailing of the 'problem' just the label of 'dysfunction'. What makes a space dysfunctional was not elaborated on, other than it appeared from the accompanying picture ('lounging on High' see Figure 7.) that being 'spontaneous' and 'creative' was desired in the hope that this would bring people back. The question 'for whom?' is extremely relevant to the title, '(b)ecause *we* (my emphasis) can', which was given to the picture of three prominent Fremantle community people, including two members of Fremantle Network and one Notre Dame academic who are accompanying professional 'place-maker and traffic calmer' David Engwicht. Who can? With the article acknowledging that any revitalisation proposals were in draft form, Ms Spaziani said that 'the next stage would involve consultation with various stakeholders and "the key people who come to *work* (again my emphasis) every day around Kings Square"' (Wilson-Chapman 2010a, 1). The difference is clear. The Fremantle Community Services managers previously were targeting people who hang out on the streets to socialise (Kwintowski 2003a) and there is a clear hierarchy of who is able to contribute to the revitalisation process and who is targeted for removal.

The idea of a spontaneous playground implied in the representations of 'Lounging on High' (see Figure 7.12) and Pettitt's ideas for table tennis, free wi-fi in the Square and opening the library out onto the square 'allowing people to read and study outdoors' (Wilson-Chapman 2010a, 1) is more accurately a highly controlled process. The illusion of 'spontaneity' still depends on who you are and what is acceptable. While bringing your own couch into Kings Square is being encouraged in the report, annotating a 'boring' white pillar is evidently not. Robbie Riley (see Figure 7.11) disrupting a staged photo shoot was spontaneous but also, the media coverage implied, inappropriate.

My question is why, if Aboriginal groups and individuals are spending time in the square, (presumably that is what the aim of the 'place-makers' is to achieve), are these Aboriginal groups not consulted in the attempts to revitalise the 'centre' of the city? Is it, perhaps, because it is considered not to be their square?

As ping pong in the park and wi-fi were discretely introduced, it seems that, for the large part, the Indigenous people remain indifferent to them. The subtle place-

making events have created contestation in place but not conflict. Early in 2011, I was walking around Fremantle on my lunch break and cut through Kings Square. As I passed the space outside the library windows where my first rumination took place, I saw three young adults sitting on the pavement alongside the white pillars, working away on their laptops (see Figure 7.13). I had seen people doing the same before, but this time it occurred to me that they were tapping into the free wi-fi that Brad Pettitt had brought in as part of his project to revitalise Kings Square. I asked the people who were working, if they were getting free wi-fi and they said “yes”. What was also interesting, and slightly peculiar, about this scene was that all three were plugged into power points that had been made available outside the library in the very spot where my opening rumination took place. Peculiarly because, if you wanted to work on your laptop inside the library and connect to a power outlet, which had long been available, this privilege had since late 2010, been taken away, presumably to stop people hogging the limited desks and abusing the free-Internet. What made the scene all the more revealing for my argument about exclusion was that, as I continued on through the square, I saw two Walyalup Mort (Noongar Patrol) patrollers sitting quietly on the limestone wall opposite the council headquarters, seemingly with not much to do.



Figure 7.13 Free wi-fi in Kings Square.

7.8 Discussion: Whose Square is it?

The situation in Kings Square has intriguing parallels with Doreen Massey's (1999a) study of Mexico City. As indicated earlier, in a documentary Massey made for the Open University, she poses the question to the people of Mexico City, 'whose city is it'? Interestingly, Massey discovers that everybody seems to think it belongs to someone else. The poor say the city belongs to the 'rich', they have the jobs and the mansions. While the rich say it belongs to the 'poor', the people who cannot move. One of the business elites remarks, 'we are too afraid to go out of our homes.' It is interesting to see a similar rhetoric occurring within the debate on Kings Square where ownership is claimed and deflected by different groups in seemingly contradictory ways.

Fed Up's (2003) letter makes the claim that Kings Square is being dominated by the unruly behaviour of Aboriginal groups. According to the letter it is 'they' who are excluding others from enjoying the space, a space, which *Fed Up* (2003, 5) describes; 'belongs to all, not just them'. However, *Fed Up's* claim is based on what Mickler (1998) terms a *myth of privilege*. Mickler is particularly critical of the tension between two contradictory discourses of Aboriginality constructed in the Western Australian media whereby Aboriginal people are represented as being 'afforded special-treatment' whilst simultaneously being made synonymous with criminality. Mickler's argument is that it is problematic to represent Aboriginal people as privileged when the more powerful forces of marginalisation and racism remain hidden, or de-politicised (Mickler 1998). Significantly, the only special treatment that the reader of *Fed Up's* letter can confirm is the editor breaking with a quality control protocol not to publish anonymous letters.

In a clever response a fortnight later, another anonymous letter (I would argue signed anon to call the newspaper on its protocol breach with *Fed Up*) was submitted to the newspaper, calling the editor's 'bluff' and forcing the newspaper to break protocol for a second time. This time the letter sought to broaden the scope of the debate arguing; Fremantle had become a 'yuppy paradise and that indigenous people are made to feel alien to the environment that they have been dwelling in for thousands

of years' (*Fremantle Herald*, 'A space for all', March 15, 2003, page 5). The letter pointed out the lack of space for the vulnerable and claimed that the 'wasteful' spending of governments, meant that spaces like Kings Square were crucial. Anon's letter relates to Massey's (1999a) conclusion on Mexico City. While, it seems, everybody thinks the City belongs to someone else, it is clear that certain groups possess much greater power than others.

As Massey (1999a) points out, the question of 'whose city is it?' often yields contradictory responses. The continued use of Kings Square by Aboriginal people demonstrates a claim to space. However, the power to represent the Square and to control the construction of its 'problem' is also demonstrative of power. In the case of Kings Square, the naturalisation of Aboriginal people with the Square's problems and its 'dysfunctional' reputation is reflected in the dominant visions seeking to re-articulate Kings Square as a 'white' colonial space. That same power is embodied in the 'hidden hand' of the cleaner who washed the texta drawings off the pillar in the opening rumination.

The past decade of re-claiming and re-invention in Kings Square supports the thesis that heritage movements since the 1970s have privileged a preservation and restoration of the nation-building project naturalised in the European occupation of Fremantle and Western Australia (Kerr 2011). By naturalising the perceived economic and social problems of Kings Square's with Aboriginal 'failure' and linking this to a further construction of the 'trouble-makers' as 'outsiders' in the square, the dominant media representations, letters and mayoral projects, have demonstrated a continuation of the powerful processes, which were involved in legitimising the colonisation of this site in 1829. Despite the forces of exclusion facing Indigenous people in Kings Square, the resilience and continued use of the square as a meeting place for Noongar people and other Indigenous peoples from regional Australia continues to frustrate the dominant groups. This therefore supports Massey's (2005) contention that space is always open and in process.

The issues in Kings Square are instructive for the question "whose city?" The power to appropriate space is based very much on who wins out in the battle to represent and define what they perceive to be the 'true' meaning. The earlier rumination in this

chapter highlighted a 'hidden hand' of power, which helps to maintain and conserve the design of what is a predominantly male European dominated place. 'Place-making' events and attempts to inject life into the square are also legitimised on the claim to place whereby Kings Square is Fremantle's 'civic heart'. The indifference of Aboriginal people towards the iconography and the novelties pose a provocative challenge to this hegemony. Craig Silvey (2004, 56), in his book *Rhubarb* an historical-fiction piece set in Fremantle, where the main character is a young blind woman, captures this indifference beautifully:

In Kings Square, she'll walk briskly by without seeing a sprawled group of Aborigines under a thick Moreton Bay canopy. They sit and slump on a lifesize chessboard, made from Black and White pavement squares. Used commercially for lifesize people to play lifesize games of chess. They don't care for any square. They seem unaware of the board; the game and its rules. The White Queen is absent. The Black King lies curled. Beneath those squares is Dirt, or Nyungar land, and they sit with that board between it: lolling, yelling, sleeping. Waiting to be moved, again. Clutching paper bags in the shape of bottles. Sniped at by Moreton Bay firebombs. Wedged between a Church and a Town Hall.

In this piece, the chessboard represents European culture and law, which conceals any historical claim to place for the Indigenous people whose land has been covered over by concrete and divided up for commercial gain. The 'real' people in this construction are represented by the White Queen who is absent, perhaps signifying the temporary abandonment of this space to the Noongars by the dominant culture. However, the pressures of exclusion and alienation for Indigenous people are made explicit in the 'move on' notice but they are also subtle where even the Moreton Bay fig trees can be seen to be attacking the presence of Indigenous people in the Square. There is no comfort to be found in the public square for the Black King.

In the context of this study on Kings Square, it is clear that real power to define the 'true' representation and definition of this space lies in what is represented in Silvey's final images of the Church and the Town Hall (and the statues). The European nation-building project inherent in the restoration of Kings Square is

demonstrative of the battle that indigenous people face in Fremantle and Australia more broadly. They are clinging desperately but resiliently, to their claim on space. Ironically, it is quite possible that, once the square is 'purified' (as, I argue, is the underlying premise of attempts to enliven the square) of Indigenous people, only then could we see a monument constructed in their honour to address the lack of anywhere (else) for them in Fremantle. However, if space is reconceptualised as relational, then the ownership and identity of Kings Square can never completely be purified. Nevertheless, the type of social boundaries which Geraldine Pratt (1998) discusses (see chapter two), could become a physical reality.

7.9 Conclusion

Kings Square is a constructed centre, a contested and contradictory space. On the one hand, it is the symbolic 'heart' of a 'white-colonial' settlement while, alternatively it is an important space for Aboriginal groups meeting in Fremantle. Where this becomes contradictory is in the construction of a 'social problem', whereby indigenous people have been naturalised with, and are deemed to be complicit in, the perceived 'failures' of the Square. While the forces of exclusion are not as overt as the historical exclusion of Aboriginal people from Fremantle in previous centuries, the underlying forces of exclusion are essentially represented in the strategies to 'fix' the social problems in the Square.

8.0 Chapter Eight: Conclusion

8.1 Reflections on the Approach

What I set out to achieve in this thesis was to make a contribution to the body of scholarship on urban theory, which posits the City as diverse, multifaceted and positive. I was interested in Fremantle because it seemed to be both thriving and characterised by local political controversies. Fremantle also had a townscape with the potential to fulfil the four generators of diversity which Jane Jacobs (1961) described as essential ingredients for lively streets (more than one primary economic industry; small blocks; buildings of different ages; medium density). Furthermore, there was a contest under way in Fremantle, centred around preserving the built landscape and protecting a particular social identity against the excesses of capitalism.

My initial sympathies were with those local defences of place. However, I have since discovered a number of contradictions inherent in such sympathies. In particular it was Massey and Jess (1995) who drew me to the contradictions involved in a politics of scale. For example, the support of local defences of places such as Fremantle against international capital and new waves of gentrifiers which invite a comparison with broader challenges such as the recent national political issue of refugees arriving on the West Australian coastline where the local defences of place seem to me to be abhorrent. Such contradictions are evident in Silvey's quote, in the introduction of this thesis (see page 3), where he simultaneously described Fremantle as a place worth defending and as having 'A strong community of culture and care' (*Sunday Times* October 16, 2005 page 10-11). The critical question is, what differs in these contradictory exclusive and inclusive sympathies? In a similar example, Massey and Jess (1995) conclude that what differentiates is the power of particular groups to influence the outcome.^{xxi} Following the line of Massey's work I now see that a reconceptualisation of space offers a way out of this quagmire. Consequently, the most significant advance I have made during my research is not to do with Fremantle specifically nor with privileging diversity and the City for the sake of it,

but rather to make a contribution to the reconceptualisation of space as relational and to a politics of place which recognises the openness of the contest (Massey 2005).

A reconceptualisation of space as relational implies that place cannot be reduced to any one particular identity but rather it is only limited by the claimants who impose their own selective views on it. The consequences of this are a multiplicity of claims which borrow selective historical narratives or, in the case of urban entrepreneurialism, construct problems and threats (also through the use of history) in order to supply an apparent panacea. While selective identities have been asserted by the various urban actors in this story as the true essence of Fremantle this can be read as an illusion (Kerr 2011) but there are also material realities (Bridge and Watson 2000). Consequently, the struggle to define the meaning of place affects the competition for the control of and future use of place (Massey and Jess 1995). What a reconceptualisation of space provides in this context is a politics that works against reductionism whereby no one group can ever completely claim ownership of place, but rather one that opens such claims up to other voices which may otherwise be silenced in the process. The realities of time as temporal and space as contemporaneous mean that the question whose city/whose Fremantle can never truly be pinned down but what is hoped for in a reconceptualisation of space, is an 'openness of that process of becoming' (Massey 2005, 21). This has had significance for me not only in how I have approached my study on Fremantle, but beyond. In this conclusion I seek to pull together my research questions and draw conclusions from the four case studies on Fremantle to argue that, by unsettling structuralist conceptualisations of space and place-bound identities, an open and relational politics of place can be opened up.

Considering the Research Questions/Objectives:

I began this thesis with three specific objectives for my contribution to the reconceptualisation of space. Firstly, what are the processes driving and resisting changes in place-identity and competing claims of ownership in Fremantle? Secondly, what conceptualisations of space are being incorporated into these claims of ownership and attempts to define the identity of Fremantle? And finally, if space

is reimagined as relational and always in process, what implications does this have for the question 'whose city'/whose Fremantle? The following three sections deal with each research question/objective before returning to the central research question; whose city/whose Fremantle?

8.2 Forces of Change

As a human geographer, I am interested in how and why places change. Identifying the forces of change impacting on Fremantle has been important in providing the frameworks that I have used to contextualise the study area. The most prominent forces of change to impact on Fremantle, as identified in the literature on place, have to do with de-industrialisation, gentrification, urban entrepreneurialism and heritage construction. Each of these processes is further informed by the critical approach to globalisation, which has provided the frame for reconceptualising space (Massey 2005; Rofe 2003, 2009). These processes interplay with the four case studies in a multiplicity of ways.

The de-industrialisation of Fremantle is exemplified in the issues facing Victoria Quay, the West End and the Wool Stores. While North Quay remains a working container port, the economy on the City side of Fremantle Harbour lends itself to a critique on the rise of urban entrepreneurialism as set out by Harvey (1989b) and, in the Australian context, by Oakley (2005; 2009). The politics of the 'resource maintenance' phase of heritage creation identified by Jones (2007) pulls in a shifting demographic group in Fremantle whose vision of the area's heritage had the potential to provoke conflict. What I have sought to add is the contingency of a relational politics of space and place.

In Macbeth, Selwood and Veitch's (2011) study on Fremantle, three specific waves of gentrification were identified. Their identification of each wave is similarly attached to the ideals which each group espoused in relation to Fremantle's identity. The first wave (1960s-70s) were respectful of the 'true' Fremantle identity, a second wave (1980s-90s), brought to Fremantle with the America's Cup, had a more entrepreneurial vision yet were still respectful of aspects of Fremantle's identity while the third wave (2000s-present) of gentrifiers who have moved to Fremantle

were attracted by what it had to offer them as a place of difference but once there they sought to change it to their own advantage. This academic characterisation coincides with the editorial focus of the *Fremantle Herald* on the most recent wave of gentrifiers and was particularly evident in the Wool Stores controversy where residents moving into the first stage of the Victoria Quay Apartments sought to change the atmosphere and the decibel level of Clancy's Fish Pub across the road (see chapter six).

What I conclude here is that the contest to define the meaning of place in Fremantle is not based on when (time) a particular resident moved into Fremantle, but on what their ideal, or vision of Fremantle is. In a reconceptualisation of space, the prioritisation of time is challenged. This does not mean prioritising space over time but rather asserting a time-space where neither can be prioritised over the other (Massey 2005). Consequently, the three time-waves of gentrification asserted by Macbeth, Selwood and Veitch (2011) are important but they must also remain multiple, negotiated and open to the contemporaneity of space. What this means is that residents recently arrived in Fremantle may share the same vision and definition of place as the first wave of gentrifiers. This does not make them first wave gentrifiers (because time is also significant) but rather what is also at issue in the struggle surrounding the identity of Fremantle are city imaginaries and the identification with these (Bridge and Watson 2000). A reconceptualisation of space means time, and space, influence what happens in the city. Rethinking space as relational pries open time-specific identities reconceptualising them as always multiple, negotiated and contradictory (Barnes et al. 2006).

The complexities of this battle emerge in chapter four on the West End, where a group, including to some extent the editor and journalists of the *Fremantle Herald*, have sought to defend their vision and historical account of a seemingly authentic West End, while the less vocal university of Notre Dame Australia (NDA) employed their institutional power to significantly alter the social and economic landscape of this particular place. To some extent the power of NDA to alter the landscape reinforced the threat and therefore the identity of the group 'fighting for Fremantle' (Davidson and Davidson 2010) but it also shows that the entity with the most power in the West End (and elsewhere) is not always the group espousing the strongest identity.

The critical scholarship on urban entrepreneurialism provides an important frame for the studies of Victoria Quay (chapter five), the Wool Stores (chapter six) and Kings Square (chapter seven). The concept of 'globalisation as time-space compression' is crucial to much of this literature (Harvey 1989a, 1989b; Oakley 2009). This involves a politics of scale whereby the powerful global (and broader scale) actors enforce their vision of place onto local actors. This is certainly integral to these case studies, but part of a commitment to the reconceptualisation of space, where space matters and globalisation is seen as a project rather than a 'self-evident' process (Jackson 2004; Ley 2004; Massey 2005; Rofe 2009) demands a more critical look. The case study on Victoria Quay is an excellent example of how the question of whose city is contested and relational. Again the group who construct the city as being under threat appeal to a fixed place-bound identity of Fremantle in an attempt to silence other voices, while the state government, Fremantle Ports and the multinational developer ING invoke an urban threat of Fremantle in decline. Neither group appears open to the relationality of space and a politics of place, but see opening up the debate to other voices and to a scrutiny of their own partiality (Thrift 2002) as undermining the power of their essentialisms. The challenge of space therefore, is that any constructed identity which relies on the silencing of other voices is in need of reworking.

Finally heritage construction is an important ingredient in Fremantle's role as a 'tourist-historic' port city (Jones 2007). The burgeoning scholarship on heritage from below (Robertson 2012 in press; Waterton and Watson 2010) complements that on the reconceptualisation of space. The acknowledgment of the temporal dimension has been an important advance in post structuralist scholarship and more recently the conceptualisation of space as contemporaneous has added another aspect of 'openness'. The issue of heritage construction is particularly relevant to the chapter on Kings Square where attempts to define the meaning of this space through iconography work to reproduce narratives of empire which in turn continue to further naturalise the legitimacy of the Western Australian colony and the Australian nation. The work of Jacobs (1996) provides a framework for interrogating the construction of centrality within a city which appeals not only to its place within an empire but also as an ingredient in the reimagining of the city in the context of late capitalism. The contestation in Kings Square provides an illustration of the reconceptualisation

of space because while the square is being reimaged at the institutional level indigenous occupants in the square have continued to disrupt the process. Therefore, space is never fixed. There are groups who have the power to frame the debate but the contingencies of place require that any reading of a public space must consider the openness of the process involved in its on-going construction.

Identifying these processes of change, de-industrialisation, gentrification, urban entrepreneurialism and heritage construction in Fremantle, set within the context of globalisation, has been helpful (and challenging) as a means of setting up the second research objective which was to collate the terms on which competing and rival groups base their claims and definitions of Fremantle. In the next section I will step through the controversies from the West End, Victoria Quay, the Wool Stores and King's Square to draw out the specifics of these claims.

8.3 Appropriating space and claims to place

My reading of the local *Fremantle Herald* and participant observation have allowed me to interrogate the competing claims of ownership and the multiplicity of ways in which meaning is inscribed in space. The terms by which ownership is claimed become important in a theoretical position which argues space to be relational. What is important here is the ways in which space is appropriated by different organisations, groups and individuals.

8.3.1 West End

In chapter four I detailed the ongoing controversy between the establishment and growth of the University of Notre Dame Australia and local actors who perceived the 'buy up' and continued growth of NDA to be contributing to a neighbourhood monoculture. The West End is a particularly sensitive area of Fremantle for many locals who came to Fremantle in the 1960s and 1970s, the first-wave gentrifiers, seeking a different type of lifestyle and reacting negatively to the destruction of heritage buildings which was then occurring in Perth. However, it was not only the

first wave gentrifiers who held this view of the West End. When NDA began buying up West End buildings in the late 1980s, the Fremantle Society and other local complainants responded as a group whose city they perceived to be under threat. Complaining of a 'shroud of secrecy' (see chapter four) and expressing a concern that the City was in the midst of a coup, the Fremantle Society organised a walk against secrecy. Between 2000 and 2010 these issues have continued to resurface as NDA has continued to consolidate its operations in the West End. Drawing on traditional identities of Fremantle more broadly and on nostalgic references to a 'glorified past', local groups concerned at the potential loss of identity in the West End have constructed the university as 'outsiders' and 'free riders'. Thinking about this issue spatially does not mean attempting to quantify the degree to which NDA 'owns' and contributes to a monoculture in the West End but rather attempting to identify the terms on which these claims are based. The assertion here is that the shifting identities of the West End are influenced by the narratives which surround them (Dunn, McGuirk, and Winchester 1995). While NDA has maintained a relative silence in community debates to do with the identity of the West End, they have continued to expand their property portfolio. On the other hand local complainants, including the *Fremantle Herald* have played a pivotal role in conceptualising these issues in the public sphere and have put forward much stronger claims over belonging and assertions of a particular identity.

The ways in which the *Fremantle Herald* has highlighted the loss of the area's 'working class' identity further positions NDA as a powerful institution 'colonising' the precinct at the cost of the former community and a more 'authentic' past. Throughout the decade, the *Fremantle Herald* proved to be one step ahead of the university public relations spokesperson, further entrenching NDA as a secretive and non-transparent organisation. From the 'raid' on the P&O Hotel in June 2000 to the predicted 'fall' of the Fremantle Hotel in 2004, a critique of the *Fremantle Herald's* coverage of NDA hotel buy-ups shows how the argument of monoculture has been framed and legitimised by opponents of the university. But it also reveals how the *Fremantle Herald*, far from being an objective observer, has also benefited on secrecy and its strong connections with particular local actors in order to conceptualise change and conflict in the West End. The *Herald's* ability to influence how the threat is framed fits well with Gusfield's (1981) definition of ownership.

The material and institutional power in the West End is reflected best in NDA's property portfolio and its non-rate paying status as a religious organisation. The argument that NDA has got rich off the back of ratepayers and has privatised space in the West End fits well with political economy approaches and the arguments asserted by planning theorists such as Jane Jacobs (1961). Although there is scope for improving the social and economic atmosphere, as claimed in the Grzyb report (2002) and the Memorandum of Understanding (2003) between the university and the City of Fremantle, the question remains, improvements for whom? Certainly not for those who envisage a social and economic continuity from the past. Nevertheless there are interesting moments when the rival groups come together, for example the acknowledgment in Davidson and Davidson (2010) and Dowson (2002) of the commitment that NDA has made to restoring heritage buildings. The transformation/restoration of the physical landscape of the West End appears to be celebrated by all groups whereas its social and economic transformation remains divisive. In a reconceptualisation of space, space is not a fixed surface but rather relational. Therefore the claim of monoculture can never be complete but what is significant, are the terms by which such problems are framed.

8.3.2 Victoria Quay

In my account of the Victoria Quay controversy I have sought to frame the opponents of the Quay's redevelopment not as passive subjects in the contest but rather as active participants in the politics of re-imagining. What I wanted to find, in relation to the Victoria Quay controversy, was how this case study helps to answer the question 'whose city'. The urban entrepreneurial approach is illustrative of the fact that much of what happens in Fremantle is decided elsewhere. Oakley's (2009) description of similar disputes on the Port Adelaide waterfront resonates with the Fremantle Ports/ING coalition initiatives where she concludes that, the formation of growth coalitions and retreating role of the state reflect a broader shift in government from one of distribution to economic growth. The contingency on Victoria Quay was that the development was stymied. Therefore, what the Victoria Quay controversy demonstrates is that a reconceptualisation of space unsettles the terms by which globalisation is established. Rather than globalisation positioned as an inevitability,

where powerful external actors quash local articulations of place, the politics of scale can be viewed as socially constructed with a power geometry that is open to disruption.

The major stakeholders involved in the Victoria Quay controversy included the state government, Fremantle Ports, ING Real Estate and the Fremantle Chamber of Commerce. Their aim was to create a profitable waterfront development on de-industrialised land, a 'flagship' project which would reverse what they perceived as the social and economic decline of Fremantle. The Fremantle Society, the Fremantle Historical Society, resident action groups, state and local MPs and numerous other local actors sought to frame the dispute differently, contending that a development being shoved on the local community by external actors. Finally, the City of Fremantle played a diplomatic role, not wanting to upset Fremantle Ports but being seen to express the concerns of their local constituents through a household survey. The power to represent and frame the controversy was highly contested in this case study. Again the most vocal and public claims were asserted by local opponents and framed in the *Fremantle Herald* while the coalition proposing the commercial development remained relatively silent.

From the first launch of the commercial development in 2003, the contest to define the meaning and role of Victoria Quay was played out in the pages of the *Fremantle Herald*, also an active participant in conceptualising the debate. Fremantle Ports and ING remained relatively silent including withholding any detailed plans from public circulation. Accordingly, local opponents went on the offensive designing their own extrapolations of what they thought the commercial development would look like. Accompanying these images were letters to the paper and two special electors' meetings were held at which the proposed commercial development was argued to be an offence to Fremantle's identity. This claim was based on a number of apprehensions including; the development would block view corridors and visual linkages between the City and Port; the development would 'suck the life' out of the commercial and retail heart in the Fremantle CBD; and that it was a 'big box' solution to an economic problem which had the potential to destroy the unique character of Fremantle turning it into nothing more than a 'suburban shopping centre and marina' (Alexander 2008). What these claims relied on was the electors' perceptions of an identity of Fremantle as a unique place with a village lifestyle. For

the Fremantle Society it further confirmed their commitment to their campaign of 'fighting for Fremantle' (Davidson and Davidson 2010). Wendy Markmann's (2004) letter to the *Fremantle Herald* claimed that the people of Fremantle stood to lose a part of their birthright; the ritual of watching ships enter and exit the harbor through view corridors along High Street and down Market Street and the backdrop of containers and cranes which imbue Fremantle with a sense of place connecting it with its maritime past and present.

Alternatively, the development coalition including Fremantle Ports, ING real estate, the state government and to a certain extent the Fremantle Chamber of Commerce, were instrumental in legitimising the proposed commercial development as a panacea for the social and economic decline that had taken place in Fremantle since the America's Cup and justified the bulk, height and scale by the requirement that the development be economically viable. The development coalition set about an advertising campaign to construct Fremantle as a City in decline, not only economically and that the reason for this was that the City was being controlled by an 'Old Guard' with a mission to preserve the built environment in aspic. The America's Cup became a reference point for the decline and the Wool Stores a backdrop signifying the current state of stagnation (see Appendix 2.9). Certainly this approach fits the critique of a governmental turn from managerialism to urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey 1989b; Oakley 2009). The battle to obtain community consensus on one view or the other was also highly contested and, despite a community consultation day, an ING commissioned survey and a City of Fremantle commissioned survey, the community consensus and views on the proposed development, remain contested. It is clear that the framework of urban entrepreneurialism where cities are being re-imaged to compete in a global marketplace is having material impacts on local places however, as Hubbard (1996) has pointed out this framework is lacking in empirical evidence. The evidence here is that although external actors appear to exert greater institutional power, the outcome remains open to a multiplicity of forces, both local and global, which may disrupt hegemonic conceptualisations of urban entrepreneurialism and globalisation.

8.3.3 Wool Stores

The Wool Stores is perhaps my favourite place in Fremantle. I enjoy the artwork and the ways in which skateboarders have engaged with the buildings. In late 2011 I was fortunate enough to be allowed inside to have a look at the graffiti which has been compiled on the showroom walls, with some pieces dating back to the early 1990s. However, it is a building which has polarised the opinions of Fremantle locals. There are those who want to see the building preserved for its heritage value and others who think it is an eyesore and want to see it demolished (see Figure 6.6, page 173). It is the notion of difference which connects the Wool Stores with a broader sense of place in Fremantle, as a city of artists and bohemians and a broader recognition of this identity locally has seen the skateboarding community begin to engage in more formal events, such as the street wake held as part of the Fremantle Festival 2006 and 2007 and more recently the International Sailing Federation (ISAF) 2011 sailing world championships hosted in Fremantle. Conversely, the developer Ms New has also claimed to have the identity of the Wool Stores at heart, as mentioned in the news reports leading up to the opening of VQA stage one (Kwintowski 2000). However, it is interesting to track how her visions of the Wool Stores have changed since her earlier claim in November 2000 when, fed up with the City of Fremantle, she claimed in the state media in March 2009 that the building was ‘ugly as hell’ (Cordingley 2009).

The skateboarding community’s claim to the Wool Stores is global in scope given its international reputation as an exceptional ‘ledge’. The marketing of the VQA developments by the developers also draws on globalised images and lifestyles. What these claims reveal is the selective use of global spaces and images. The skateboarders’ claim is to a physical reality, with skateboarders and tourists travelling from abroad to see the Wool Stores. In contrast the developer’s marketing materials reflect the globalised identities and imaginations which Wendy Shaw (2007) traces in her study of Redfern and Sydney’s ‘Manhattanisation’ and ‘Soho syndrome’. For both sides, ‘space matters’ (Rofe 2009) but Fremantle’s global role in skateboarding seems threatened by the influx of a gentrified class of ‘transnational elites’ who have already set about altering perceived negative externalities. One of the critiques of gentrification and commodification, which is epitomised in the Wool

Stores case study, is that the groups and individuals who have made the place trendy are excluded from the future redevelopment (Shaw 2007), forced out by ‘cultural wannabes’ (Pratt 2009). Brad Pettitt’s staging of a photograph in the lead up to the 2009 mayoral elections, when he was successful in becoming Fremantle mayor, deliberately framed him cycling past the ‘Wool Stories’ graffiti piece (see Figure 6.14, page 198). There is a multiplicity of readings for this photograph however what I assert is that Pettitt is seeking to represent a connection with the subgroup of skateboarders and the growing recognition in the community of the Woolstores as a hub for artists. However, while Pettitt is seeking to frame this image, he has simultaneously been drafting and pushing for a tax on developers who allow properties to fall into disrepair. The appropriation and commodification built into the marketing and future use of redevelopments not only excludes but denies ‘others’ their history. Commodifying the past is another way in which powerful groups seek to appropriate and control spaces in contradictory ways.

8.3.4 Kings Square

Kings Square is also a place where I have enjoyed spending time. The case of the white pillar was perhaps one of the most insightful moments of action in space that I encountered during my research on Fremantle. I was aware that Kings Square was being labelled as a dysfunctional space and that it was Aboriginal groups who, in the *Fremantle Herald’s* framing of the problem, were implicated in this social problem. I found in my reading of Jacobs (1961, 97-98) what it was I initially wanted to say. Jacobs wrote:

...the belief that uses of low status drive out uses of high status. This is not how cities behave, and the belief that it is renders futile much energy aimed at attacking symptoms and ignoring causes. People or uses with more money at their command, or greater respectability can fairly easily supplant those less prosperous or of less status, and commonly do so in city neighbourhoods that achieve popularity.

With Fremantle becoming increasingly gentrified (Macbeth, Selwood, and Veitch 2011) and the desire for a lively centre square to match the perceptions of what a global city should provide for its citizens and visitors, there has been significant attention given by successive mayors and the *Fremantle Herald* to ‘enlivening’ and ‘reclaiming’ the square. However, the issue of indigenous people congregating in the square presents a visual and cultural challenge to the underlying forces at work in repositioning Kings Square as the town’s ‘true’ centre. The only way the colonial narrative could be legitimised in Kings Square was to construct the indigenous problem as an ‘outsider’ issue and to suggest solutions such as a sobering up centre in peripheral areas around Fremantle (which had nothing to do with the identified causes of the problem, notably that Fremantle is a public transport hub). A symbolic reading of the design of the square and of High Street (Kerr 2011) helps to point out regenerating narratives of colonialism. Chapter seven demonstrated that the campaign to enliven and re-privilege the square is a highly selective process and that spontaneity in the square is highly controlled. It depends very much on who decides what is acceptable. I gave the example of the picture in the article where Brad Pettitt claims Kings Square to be one of the most dysfunction spaces in Fremantle, where a group of professionals were ‘Lounging on High’ (Wilson-Chapman 2010a, 1). The ‘place-making’ event was framed as a positive response to the social problems identified, however the lounge was anything but spontaneous and reveals the politics of what is acceptable in constructing a creative space is highly selective when the most spontaneous creative artwork I witnessed was the collaborated effort by Aboriginal people, to annotate a white pillar which was painted over within 24 hours.

Again the *Fremantle Herald*’s ability to represent and frame the problem is instructive its power. This case study shows the secrecy also involved in letter writing when the anonymous letter signed *Fed Up* (2003) was published. It shows that the editor was prepared to break with the ethical guidelines of the newspaper to represent the problem in Kings Square as indigenous. Later in July 2011 the newspaper was again embroiled in controversy for its front-page publication of a photograph of deceased Aboriginal actor David Ngoombujarra, who passed away in Fremantle Park in July 2011. The cultural impropriety for Aboriginals of reproducing images and names of deceased Aboriginals, especially recently deceased

people, has resulted in media stations such as the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) designing cultural protocols to deal with culturally sensitive matters. Clearly the *Fremantle Herald* has no interest in such a protocol. Furthermore, the article claimed that the cause of death was a drug overdose, when the journalist had no confirmation of this. What these reports construct, is a picture of Aboriginal people as dysfunctional and out of place in Fremantle in general and Kings Square in particular which resonates with the colonial history and banishment of Noongar people from Fremantle in the formative years of this colonial outpost. Jacob's (1961) point is instructive. The power of the local media to construct the behaviour of Aboriginal people in Kings Square positions Aboriginal people in the Square as excluding and in the case of *Fed Up's* letter ruining it for others. There is a process of 'othering' occurring in Kings Square to legitimise the proposals and actions involved in re-instating the square as the civic-heart. However, despite the attempts by successive mayors to fix the social problems Aboriginal people continue to use this space as a meeting place adding a contingency to Jacob's formulation. The challenge of space is the openness of the outcome.

8.4 The challenge of space

Finally, the challenge remains if we re-imagine space as relational and always in process what implications does this have for the central research question 'whose city'/'whose Fremantle'? In this thesis I have sought to contribute to a reconceptualisation of space which is ongoing within the discipline of geography. The implications of this reconceptualisation, as Massey (2005) has argued, is that space is not a fixed surface, but rather deeply relational. If space was a fixed surface then it would be possible to purify it. However, the definition of space being asserted here, are 'spatial configurations of social relations' (Massey 1999b, 166). The consequences, then, for the question 'Whose city is it?' are that no one group or individual can ever completely own a city/this city. While it is clear that some groups exert much greater power than others and that, for some, this is material power and, for others, the power to represent a problem, it is the openness of the process of ownership which makes all claims contingent and socially constructed. I would argue that the significance of the question 'Whose city?', is not that a

definitive and quantifiable answer exists but that the question provokes openings and disrupts those claims which attempt to silence other voices.

Therefore, a reconceptualisation of space in this way presents a challenge, a challenge to the notions of place-bound identities and singular histories. The openness of this process has ramifications for individuals and for groups who attempt to sacralise and fix the identities of spaces and consequently of places. Since space is not a surface but is, rather, relational, what is at issue in the construction of boundaries and attempts to assert fixed place identities are the terms by which these identities are grounded. It is this objective whereby fixed place-bounded claims and identities can be opened up as partial. Organisations, groups and individuals in the city can contribute to the construction of threats and problems and can see the place from different points of view. Such groups often see the processes of globalisation and urban entrepreneurialism as inevitable forces which local communities must accept. Both place-bounded claims and global time-space compression theories are searches for some kind of fixity in a fluid world. By unsettling these structuralist and positivist conceptualisations of space and place-bound identities, an open and relational politics of place can be opened up. The challenge is that this kind of politics can be occurring intellectually but this does not mean that the stakeholders will acknowledge or even realise that this is happening.

In the four case study chapters it seems that, for the competing groups, their best approach might be a defence (or offence) of place which is fixed and can be pinned down such as the nostalgia for the West End as a working class paradise, or the destruction which the ING development would cause to local peoples' birthrights. These arguments appear as powerful imaginaries seeking to compete against the crushing forces of international capital. However what these imaginations encompass is an attempt to silence other voices and to invoke a preconceived identity of the city as a whole. Massey's (2005, 124) critique of Wendy Wheeler's (1994) 'Nostalgia isn't nasty' argued that a nostalgia which does not respect the fact that places change, is therefore denying other voices, and is always in need of re-working.

Thinking of space as relational and open also means that the question 'who decides' can never really be totally answered. The case studies of the Wool Stores and Victoria Quay have certainly helped me to see this. At the Wool Stores, the council

reserves the formal decision on what planning applications are approved and on what conditions, yet multiple advisors and professional reports feed into these decisions. Yet, even when planning applications were granted, developers such as Marilyn New have refused to commence work allowing the applications to lapse. Her argument in the state news media was that heritage restrictions not only wasted her time with the exhaustive efforts put into drafting the development applications, but that council conditions for approval have made the projects economically unviable (Cordingley 2009). As a result, Marilyn New responded by mothballing the buildings. This sent the council scrambling to introduce a property tax on property owners in Fremantle who do not develop sites within a particular timeframe. One of the pressures bringing on this action has been the claim by local ratepayers (as expressed in the letter at the start of chapter six (page 164) expressing a disdain for these buildings and arguing that the state of the buildings is a disservice to Fremantle's identity (and the cause of a potential loss of tourists). Meanwhile skateboarders and artists continue to appropriate this space in their own creative ways and, while they may not be considered to be stakeholders by some, they also have a say in the outcome. They may refuse to leave, disrupt the development or move on to find other spaces where they can express their art. The point here is that the answer to the question 'who decides' also remains contingent, open and relational.

Similarly on Victoria Quay the question 'who decides' remains contingent. The local actors did influence the shape of the end product and the state government reserved the right for the final say over the development. However it was the market crash of 2008 along with the expensive remediation costs which led ING to seek an extension on their development contract which the Western Australian Planning Commission (WAPC), under a new government, knocked back. Since then the project has lapsed and the future use of the land remains uncertain, but another proposal is rumoured to be in the pipeline. There remains a local call for the land to be ceded to the City of Fremantle with no response to this forthcoming from either Fremantle Ports or the state government. This issue has the potential to explode on a much bigger scale if North Quay is de-industrialised and the whole port operation is relocated to the outer harbour further to the south. Calls for this to happen have been made already, most notably by the state opposition minister for planning and infrastructure in February 2008, Simon O'Brien (2008, 5) who described it as a 'once-in-a-century opportunity

to reassert our (Fremantle) identity as a major centre of the Indian Ocean rim'. One of the issues is the claim that moving the containers off North Quay would open up a 'clear canvas' (O'Brien 2008, 5) on an unprecedented scale, for profitable and high status waterfront development projects. But, in any reconceptualisation of space there is no such thing as a blank canvas, let alone one on a portion of land which has functioned as an industrial port for over 100 years.

The historical constructions of the past also significantly influence present outcomes. The events occurring in Kings Square show how colonial imaginations of place continue to inform the constructed identities of a contemporary place. The attempt to enliven and re-instate Kings Square as the city's civic heart has very real exclusionary implications for indigenous people. Massey (2005) has quoted Lynne Segal (2001) who has written on 'the current spate of apologies for the past' noting that 'Rituals of remembrance designed to prevent the repetitions of past horrors are usually officially sanctioned only when the distance from immediate responsibility for the acts recalled renders them safe from direct demands for intervention, restitution or retribution' (Segal, 2001, quoted in Massey 2005, 194). This is also illustrated by Jones' (2012 in press) work on the 'time-specific' martyr currently memorialised in King's Square but from an industrial working-class context. It is my conclusion that any monument recognising indigenous history prior to European colonisation which might accompany the current memorials to white males could only occur when the Aboriginal groups currently congregating in the Square are moved on or forced out. The exclusion of Aboriginal people from Fremantle's Kings Square is not an isolated issue. According to Shaw (2007) spaces for indigenous people in the inner city area of Sydney are diminishing through processes of gentrification. As in the case of Kings Square, rather than a celebration of diversity and 'openness to unassimilated otherness' (Young 1990), a re-articulation of a highly conservative and colonial reconstruction is being defended albeit under the guise of normative constructions of the 'creative city' (Barnes et al. 2006).

8.5 Whose city/whose Fremantle?

So ‘whose city is it/ whose Fremantle?’ The conclusion offered here is that if space is reconceptualised as being relational, open and always in process then no one group or individual can every truly own the city. However, the question remains useful and significant. It is useful in framing essentialist claims to place as partial, drawing out the terms by which these claims are based. It is significant for Fremantle because the ‘defences of place’ do rely on invoking the city as a whole which necessarily rely on the silencing of other voices. Fremantle is no longer a worker’s paradise as articulated by the nostalgic references to place in the 1950s and 60s. It is undergoing significant social, economic and physical transformations. Perhaps the most intense controversies have surrounded the threat of change in the built environment and the extent to which these defences are articulated by an authentic claim to a particular social identity. However, in a reconceptualisation of space, the built environment is also considered to be fluid. This is not a call for buildings to be demolished but for recognition of the openness of the politics involved in how the built environment is represented and re-imagined in preservation and change. This study is not about prescribing what sort of city Fremantle should be; it is about how we can better understand each other and our ‘throwntogetherness’ (Massey 2005), by acknowledging the partiality of our claims to place through a critical reflection on what these claims are established on.

Theoretically this thesis has sought to explore and extend a more recent reconceptualisation of space through a fascinating, complex and idiosyncratic set of case studies. It is argued here that any attempt to understand the city through a reconceptualisation of space demands a ‘place-based’ (as opposed to ‘place-bounded’) analysis which acknowledges how the city is interpreted by people in their ‘everyday’ lives. The importance of the ways culture and capital are played out differently in different contexts is a crucial factor in the contemporaneity of space. The significance of Fremantle in this challenge is that it is; a multifaceted port city, undergoing complex social, cultural and economic transformations, with significant heritage stakes.

Appendices

Appendix 1

FREMANTLE HERALD
Fremantle's very own INDEPENDENT newspaper
Everybody reads the Herald

Volume 11 No 29
Saturday July 22, 2000

41 Cliff Street, Fremantle
Ph: 9430 7727 Fax: 9430 7726

Delivered every weekend to letterboxes throughout. Botolphclaydon, East Fremantle, Fremantle, Hillarys, North Fremantle, O'Connor, Rottnest Island, Sorrento, South Fremantle and White Gum Valley

Heave-ho from the P&O



• Lesley Wright - distraught at her eviction

By LENCE WENDEN

LESLEY WRIGHT had an awakening sadder than most last Friday when at 8am four burly men tapped her on the shoulder to wake her, and told her to get out, and now.

No, it wasn't a fire drill, no, she couldn't wash first, and no, she was not allowed to gather her belongings.

Lesley was one of three long-time residents thrown out of Fremantle's historic P&O Hotel when security guards - acting on orders from owners Quinlan Estates - stormed the building.

They refused residents' pleas for more time to get ready. When Lesley asked if she could wash first, she was told "no, we've been told to get everybody out". Frank, in his 80s, has lived at the hotel for the last 20 years but he too was bundled bleary-eyed out of his bed and hurried down the stairs and out onto the street.

The guards told the residents and shell-shocked staff they were there to empty the place because the owners had cancelled the lease of long-time lessee Laurie Sullivan. At the time of the raid, his wife Val was counting the previous night's takings and she was not even given time to put the cash away.

When Lesley demanded to be allowed to get her gear, guards conceded she could come back at midday. When she returned - with journalists from the Herald in tow - Terry Craig from Notre Dame University was handing out his card, saying he was the building's new manager.

By now a small, swarming crowd of half a dozen former residents, staff and punters, including ex-wharfies, had gathered outside the P&O's locked doors, and some had a few choice things to say.

Marcus Gage, a regular for some 20 years, loudly pondered whether the guards were "trained by the one's who trained that Patrick's mate".

Another regular, denied access to his watering hole of many years, yelled "do you know you're working for a bunch of f---ing catholic nazis" to the impassive guards.

Retired customs officer Frank Menner quietly lamented: "You know everybody here, it's like your own lounge room - it was friendly, not sleazy."

Sardine king Jim Mendola was there too; a Friday lunch club regular, who used to sell papers out the front when he was six years old, he was dismayed with the news, and disappointed with the way it had been handled.

Notre Dame's students have been living in the hotel this year, and it is understood the university has been keen to get the P&O lease since April.

Last Friday the keys were taken from a badly-shaken Mr Sullivan and handed straight to Notre Dame, who've been given a monthly tenancy.

"The eviction had nothing to do with us," Mr Craig later told the Herald. "In fact it was quite a surprise to us. It was not the way we would have handled it. We were offered the opportunity to lease the hotel a couple of days before-hand."

He later told the Herald that Notre Dame had been informed a week before the eviction that it was going to take place; the same courtesy was not afforded Mr Sullivan, nor his staff who have all lost their jobs as a result of the pub coup.

Laurie Sullivan had six years to run on his lease but the owners say it was terminated following his failure to respond to numerous default notices served on him in relation to painting the hotel, fire safety obligations, payments of rates and taxes, and sub-letting parts of the premises without permission.

Chris Lewis of public relations outfit Wind Hill issued a statement on behalf of the owners this week: "The owners believe they have been very patient in relation to late rent and accounts, unpaid taxes and fire brigade requirements.

"They believe the lessees have been casual in relation to meeting their obligations. Today (14 July 2000) after many months of trying to have the lessees bring the accounts up to date and to attend to the essential requirements, the owners terminated the lease."

Responding to accusations of heavy-handedness by security guards, Mr Lewis said: "The owners never intended to disturb or evict anyone. They were simply trying to take possession of the building.

"It was a purely commercial decision. If they (the residents) were distressed it was unfortunate and the situation was corrected within a few hours."

Mr Lewis said the P&O would be closed for three months for renovations but would continue to operate as a pub.

"The owners only have one desire, to see the P&O continue to operate as a pub/hotel and be both a prominent and quality part of Fremantle's best find," he said.

More needed

THE Herald distribution department requests the services of some willing and able bodies to deliver the check to the Westrup, Ardross, Applecross, Attfield, Paterson, Beaconsfield and Spearwood. Give you know who a call on 9430 7727 if you can help the old get out.

Find the fake ad and win a feast for two at The Dorchester Reception and Function Centre

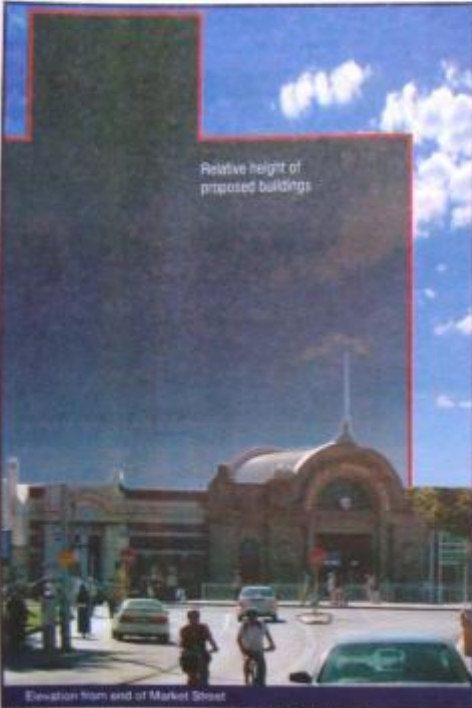
Start to page 12 for details.

Fremantle Herald July 22, 2000 page 1.

Appendix 2 Victoria Quay Proposed Commercial Development Advertising Campaign

Appendix 2.1

DO YOU WANT FOUR FREMANTLE HOSPITALS ON VICTORIA QUAY?



Relative height of
proposed buildings

Elevation from end of Market Street


* Diagram is an approximation based on information provided by the developer only.

HAVE YOUR SAY – COME TO THE CITY OF FREMANTLE PUBLIC MEETING

Chaired by Council CEO Graeme Mackenzie

Fremantle Town Hall,
Tuesday 6 June 7.30pm

**IT IS NOT A DONE DEAL -
YOU CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE!**



Aerial view - approximate bulk and height of proposal

It could suck the life blood out of Fremantle small business – no independent economic impact study has been done

- Its massive bulk and high rise will overwhelm the historic West End
- It will threaten lucrative tourism. Tourists do not come to Fremantle for giant chain stores – they come to enjoy its distinctive historic character
- It ignores the planning policies of the City of Fremantle

THIS IS PUBLIC LAND NOW SURPLUS TO PORT NEEDS


- Fremantle Ports has never paid rates on this land and it should now be returned to the City

ING is a foreign-based (Dutch) multi national with no interest in Fremantle – it would not be permitted to build such a development in a historic Dutch city.


Have Fremantle Ports done a secret financial deal with ING guaranteeing this massive bulk and scale?

We support appropriate development on Victoria Quay – if it conforms to City of Fremantle planning policies.


REJECT THE DEVELOPERS' SLICK PUBLIC RELATIONS CAMPAIGNS



South Fremantle Precinct



South City Precinct



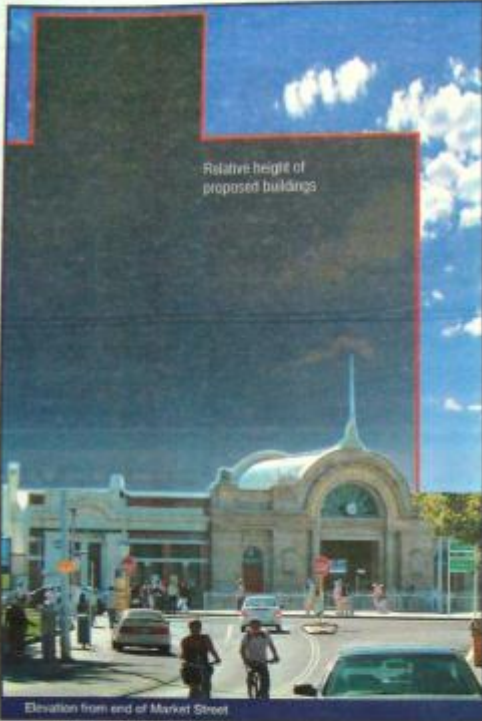
Conradia, North Fremantle Community Association Precinct 12

For information contact Cathy Hall 9335 4574, mob 0407 086 300 or Nic Garr 94308987, mob 0413804401. Authorised by Kris Kennedy

Fremantle Herald, Saturday May 27, 2006 - Page 15

Fremantle Herald Saturday May 27, 2006, page 15.

DO YOU WANT FOUR FREMANTLE HOSPITALS ON VICTORIA QUAY?



Relative height of
proposed buildings


Elevation from end of Market Street

HAVE YOUR SAY – COME TO THE CITY OF FREMANTLE PUBLIC MEETING

Chaired by Council CEO Graeme Mackenzie

Fremantle Town Hall,
Tuesday 6 June 7.30pm

**IT IS NOT A DONE DEAL -
YOU CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE!**



Aerial View – approximate bulk and height of project

* Diagram is an approximation based on information provided by the developer only

It could suck the life blood out of Fremantle small business – no independent economic impact study has been done

- Its massive bulk and high rise will overwhelm the historic West End
- It will threaten lucrative tourism. Tourists do not come to Fremantle for giant chain stores – they come to enjoy its distinctive historic character
- It ignores the planning policies of the City of Fremantle

THIS IS PUBLIC LAND NOW SURPLUS TO PORT NEEDS






- Fremantle Ports has never paid rates on this land and it should now be returned to the City

ING is a foreign-based (Dutch) multi national with no interest in Fremantle – it would not be permitted to build such a development in a historic Dutch city.

Have Fremantle Ports done a secret financial deal with ING guaranteeing this massive bulk and scale?

We support appropriate development on Victoria Quay – if it conforms to City of Fremantle planning policies

REJECT THE DEVELOPERS' SLICK PUBLIC RELATIONS CAMPAIGNS

For information contact 0407 086 300 or 0413 804 401 - Authorised by the Fremantle Society Inc.

Fremantle Herald, Saturday June 3, 2006 - Page 9



Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct Development - we've invited your feedback and we're listening

- Community feedback on the proposed commercial development on Victoria Quay is important to us in reviewing the concepts.
- The consultation undertaken to date has been preliminary to encourage wide-ranging input and is being conducted before a development application is prepared. No development application has yet been submitted.
- While strong views have been expressed by some about issues such as height, bulk and view corridors, there has also been significant support for the concept of a commercial development in this area of Victoria Quay.
- As evidenced by similar developments in other parts of the world, this is a project which has the potential to contribute significantly to the revitalisation of the Fremantle Waterfront area, with flow on benefits to the Fremantle CBD.
- The challenge now for Fremantle Ports and ING is to see how the relevant issues raised can be appropriately addressed and a workable scheme developed for the approvals process. We will continue to consult with the City of Fremantle as part of this.
- As with all other tenancies on Fremantle Ports' land, the commercial precinct development would pay rates directly to the City of Fremantle. This would be in addition to rates already contributed to the city by Fremantle Ports' existing lease holders, which currently amount to around \$900,000 annually.
- The revised plans, when submitted as a Development Application, will be accompanied by an Economic Impact Assessment and a scale model. The approvals process will involve the WA Planning Commission and the City of Fremantle, with further opportunity for public comment.
- For those who have contributed views at this preliminary stage, we thank you for your interest and input.

ING REAL ESTATE 

Fremantle Herald, Saturday June 3, 2006 - Page 7



An exciting vision for Victoria Quay's western end

An exciting, contemporary, world-class \$200 million waterfront development is proposed for the western end of Victoria Quay by Fremantle Ports and developer ING Real Estate.

Following extensive community and stakeholder consultation, a development application has now been lodged with the Western Australian Planning Commission via the City of Fremantle.

The Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct development features retail, offices, cafes, restaurants and public open space. It also provides much-improved linkages to the Fremantle CBD and the restoration of significant heritage buildings.

The new development in this waterfront setting, with outstanding views of shipping and harbour activities, will become a magnet for locals and visitors.

At the heart of the development, will be a large public open square with a sheltered, central space for entertainment, and events, as well as somewhere to sit and appreciate the rich and diverse character of the harbour.

The \$200 million waterfront development will deliver:

- a landmark entry statement
- a well-integrated work, tourism and leisure centre for Fremantle
- much-improved connectivity between the city and the port
- an estimated two million additional visitors to Fremantle each year
- outstanding opportunities for business, including 14,000m² of A grade office space
- new attractions for tourism and leisure, including 12,000m² of quality retail, restaurants and cafes
- an estimated \$12 million spent on restoration, reuse and interpretation of four heritage buildings (C, David, the former immigration building, the ameyries building and stoker block)
- new brand name, retailers and office tenants not currently in Fremantle
- an estimated net \$81 million increase in the city's annual road turnover
- new property rates income for the City of Fremantle
- up to 1000 permanent jobs
- new benchmarks for environmental sustainability in Fremantle
- transport-oriented development advantages with rapid, frequent, bus, the CAT bus and ferries immediately adjacent
- a new car park on the periphery of the city accessible through Gate 2 at the port's eastern end.

The development proposal has been shaped to a significant extent by extensive community consultation undertaken by ING and Fremantle Ports. Consultation in early 2006 on the initial development proposals highlighted concerns over the height, bulk and scale of the proposed development and the need to preserve important view corridors from the city to the port.

On the basis of the feedback, two revised design options were prepared which almost halved the amount of office accommodation, allowing for a reduction in the height and mass of the overall development and improving view corridors.

Participants at a community workshop in November 2006 clearly preferred a contemporary-style option with two, not three, office buildings. The participants showed a clear preference for Scheme C, contemporary-style, with this being preferred by 76% of the participants; 71% said that they would support it being built either "as is" or "quite a lot".

The development proposal is based on this preferred option, with one of the office buildings rotated so further open up view corridors from the city to the port.


A scale model of the proposal can be viewed at the City of Fremantle offices when the building is advertised for public comment. Information is also available on Fremantle Ports' website www.fremantleports.com.au






Fremantle Herald, Saturday June 16, 2007 - Page 13

Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct - Development Update



ING Real Estate has submitted its plans for the Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct – designed to revitalise the Fremantle waterfront by creating a new public space for Fremantle and injecting new life into the City's retail and commercial sectors.

What impact has community input made?

For more than five years, ING has had been working towards the creation of a new work, leisure and retail destination for Fremantle – the Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct.

Following extensive community consultation, significant changes have been made to the original plans and a Development Application has now been submitted. Changes made in response to community feedback include:

- A reduction in the development's maximum height from 8 levels to 6 levels.
- Removal of one office building to open up views to the Port from Market Street and Palstanian Street. Office space reduced from 23,000sqm to 14,000sqm.
- Changing the overall building form to allow approximately one third of the city side elevation to become single level.
- A change in architectural style from a Post-modern to Contemporary as preferred by 76% of survey respondents.




How we've worked with the community:

- We've held 12 individual presentations to key stakeholders and presented to 37 community groups and businesses.
- We've hosted a publicly advertised, professionally facilitated presentation and Community Forum.
- We've provided a 4 week public comment period (174 written submissions were received).
- We've conducted a statistically valid telephone survey of some 360 randomly selected interviewees by a professional community consultation company.
- We've held a professionally facilitated workshop for randomly selected individuals and for invited local precinct groups, Government and business groups.
- We have participated in an 60 day workshop (independently conducted by Murdoch University) and attended by nearly 200 randomly selected individuals.

How will the development impact Fremantle?

- Fremantle's Shop/Retail space and total floor space has decreased substantially since 1990 – while other competing centres have dramatically increased.
 - Fremantle Shop/Retail floor space has declined by 12% between 1990 and 2002, whereas on average other Strategic Regional Centres have grown by 70%.
 - Fremantle's Total Floor space has declined by 10%, whereas on average other Strategic Regional Centres have grown by 94%.
- It will contribute in excess of \$1 million per year to the City of Fremantle's revenue in additional rates. Fremantle Council could use this income to increase overall rates, and/or invest in additional public services and infrastructure.
- It will bring an estimated 2 million more visitations to Fremantle each year, spending an extra \$80 million per annum.
- The trend of Fremantle residents needing to work outside the city can be reversed. More than 1000 additional permanent jobs will be located within the development's office and retail spaces.
- Some \$12 million will be invested by the developer to restore and re-integrate significant heritage buildings, including the former, C Shell, the former Government Immigration and Information Bureau, waiting room building and toilet block. The heritage of these buildings will be recognised and enjoyed by future generations.

- The development will re-connect the Port with the railway station and the city centre with improved pedestrian and vehicle access, including a new vehicle and pedestrian rail crossing connecting Palstanian Street to the waterfront and a new pedestrian rail crossing, adjacent to the Fremantle Railway Station connecting to Market Street.
- The amount of parking required has been reduced by 25% in recognition of the development's close proximity to public transport corridors, following the Government's Transit Oriented Development principles. This does not take into account the removal of over 400 existing lots.
- We are committed to the principles of sustainable development and this development will set a new benchmark for Fremantle. We are committed to achieve a 4.5 star Australian Building Greenhouse Rating.




ING REAL ESTATE

If you would like to know more about the Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct Development, please visit the City of Fremantle Library to view the site model from Tuesday, 24 July, or visit the Fremantle Port's website at www.fremantleports.com.au/Commercial/Property/WhatIsNew/Commercial.asp

Fremantle Herald, Saturday July 21, 2007 - Page 14

Why are we getting 6 stories on Victoria Quay?

This development sounds a death knell for Fremantle.



The 1100 cars have great views. But the station is overwhelmed by the four-storey car park. And what about your views down Market Street? Don't be fooled by ING's trick photography in their promotional material. (Source: ING/Fremantle Ports 3-D Scale Model.)

WHAT DO YOU WANT ON VICTORIA QUAY?

**HAVE YOUR SAY AT THE SPECIAL ELECTORS' MEETING!
7PM TUESDAY AUGUST 7 FREMANTLE TOWN HALL**

Freeo doesn't need ING's proposed suburban shopping centre on Victoria Quay, with its threat to snuff out the retail life on High Street and the city's historic West End.

Freeo doesn't need 6 storeys of Orwellian high-rise offices or an ugly 4-storey 1,100 bay car park, buildings totally out of character with this precious Heritage Precinct.

Freeo DOES need Victoria Quay's heritage respected with low scale tourist-compatible marine and port related activities, and community oriented uses recommended in the Masterplan.

FREMANTLE PORTS HAVE CONSISTENTLY IGNORED PROPER PLANNING PROCESSES:

- ✗ WATERFRONT MASTERPLAN – SCORNEO
- ✗ HERITAGE PLAN – MISSING
- ✗ ECONOMIC IMPACT STUDY – MISSING
- ✗ COMMUNITY CONSULTATION – “A SHAM” (Dr Carmen Lawrence)

ING stated on 14 July at the Joint Precincts meeting that:
“We will be targeting small clothing and home provision retail businesses as tenants because retail giants are not interested in Victoria Quay.”
What will this do to our vibrant small shops and boutiques in High and Market Streets?






For further information contact Cathy Hall 0407 066 300
 Authorized by Dr Ian Alexander, President, Fremantle Society, 9336 3137.

Fremantle Herald, Saturday July 28, 2007 - Page 13

Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct



The new Victoria Quay proposal will revitalise the Fremantle waterfront

Lack of development in Fremantle is hurting its economy

Fremantle has experienced very little new development since the America's Cup. This stagnation has contributed to the drain of economic life from the City. The proposed new development can help turn this around, acting as a catalyst to alleviate Fremantle's economic decline.

The development will provide a boost for Fremantle's retail sector and attract new retailers to the area

- Since 1996, Fremantle's shop/retail floor space has decreased by 18%, while on average other Strategic Regional Centres have grown by 70%*
- Fremantle's total floor space has decreased by 16%, while on average other Strategic Regional Centres have grown by 94%*

(*Source: Department for Planning and Infrastructure)

It will contribute in excess of \$1 million in rates annually to the City of Fremantle for the benefit of rate-payers

The new development will bring some 2 million more visitations to Fremantle each year, and an extra \$80 million annually in expenditure

The development will enhance the lifestyle of Fremantle residents

- By increasing social and recreational amenities on the edge of Fremantle Harbour
- By creating more than 1000 new permanent job opportunities

Some \$72 million will be invested to restore and reinvigorate significant heritage buildings.

- This will include the historic C Shed, the former Government Immigration and Information Bureau, Waiting Rooms building and Toilet Block.

The development, with the implementation of the Integrated Phillimore Street Masterplan, will re-connect the Port with the railway station and city centre.


It will encourage greater use of public transport to and from Fremantle.

- The amount of parking required for the development has been reduced by 33% in recognition of the Government's Transit Oriented Development principles and the proximity to major public transport links.

It will set a new benchmark for Fremantle developments for environmental sustainability.

- We are committed to achieving a 4.5 star Australian Building Greenhouse Rating.

We've come a long way
Following extensive community input, significant changes have been made to accommodate public feedback.



The diagram shows the current proposal (as contained in the Development Application Scheme) compared with earlier community consultation schemes.

This is a subtle reduction in maximum height from 8 to 6 levels, removal of one office building to reduce bulk, and open up new corridors, and adopting a contemporary architectural style. These changes respect community concerns, while still ensuring the long-term social and economic sustainability of the project for Fremantle.





Photo: inspiration from Quay Japan looking toward Fremantle Harbour, including the historic C Shed

The development works within the Masterplan

The Fremantle Warehouse Masterplan states that prime historic landmark sites should be permitted to be developed to a greater height.

The Masterplan's authors have confirmed that the development conforms to the Warehouse Masterplan, a set of broad urban design guidelines with flexibility to respond to the waterfront's evolution, market demands and commercial development requirements.



ING REAL ESTATE

If you would like to know more about the Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct Development, please visit the City of Fremantle Library to view the scale model or visit Fremantle Port's website at www.fremantleports.com.au/commercial.asp

Fremantle Herald, Saturday July 28, 2007 Page 9



Fremantle Herald August 4, 2007 p10

The new Commercial Precinct on Victoria Quay will reposition the City as a place to visit, work, shop and play



The time has come to move forward

We asked our business and academic leaders, and young people on the streets of Fremantle, their views on the City's current state and the new commercial development.



"The Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct development will enable the Fremantle port area to have some vibrant activity which can be linked to the rest of the city. At the moment this particular area is mostly a wasteland. It will provide more opportunity for people to come to Fremantle by train or car and walk around the port area and city. It also provides the chance to protect the heritage of the wharf which is eroded and put it back to use."

Professor Peter Newman
Professor of Urban and Community Planning
Heritage Lecturer
City of Fremantle, Australia



"The Victoria Quay proposal could be and should be the start of a new and vibrant era for Fremantle. The restoration and transformation of this historic port port town is long overdue. What I do propose, is a mix of the old with the new in Fremantle, to give it the future rather than being left behind. If we don't accept this proposal, there will be no proposal, no recovery of the wharf, no boost to Fremantle's economy, no increase in tourist numbers and no FREE upgrade of existing heritage buildings."

Richard Puckin
President, Fremantle Chapter of Canberra



Chris Wylie (19)
Senior Design Undergraduate Student
Deakin University
"This is a great idea. It will help to help the city's economy and create jobs. It will also help to help the city's economy and create jobs. It will also help to help the city's economy and create jobs."



Rosalynne York (18)
Natalie Dore University Student
Fremantle, Western Australia
"Fremantle is a great place to live and it is a great place to work. It is a great place to live and it is a great place to work. It is a great place to live and it is a great place to work."







Brad Conway (24)
Fremantle
"It is a great idea. It will help to help the city's economy and create jobs. It will also help to help the city's economy and create jobs. It will also help to help the city's economy and create jobs."



Marko Rajic (22)
Fremantle
"This is a great idea. It will help to help the city's economy and create jobs. It will also help to help the city's economy and create jobs. It will also help to help the city's economy and create jobs."

The facts about the Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct development:

- 
The Fremantle Waterfront Masterplan
 - Since this prominent landmark was almost to be developed to a greater height, it has now been determined to 3 - 4 stories.
 - Greater development is required to the waterfront's evidence, market demands and commercial development requirements.
 - The new offering will provide better jobs, jobs, resources and a better living, with ample outdoor space to enjoy the waterfront setting.
 - Accommodation much needed nearby, quality new R3 star Australia Building Commission Rating office space which will set new standards for Fremantle.
- 
Community Consultation
 - Extensive community consultation and professionally facilitated public forums have been conducted by PWC and Fremantle Ports with feedback leading to essential changes.
 - Changes include a reduction in maximum height from 8 to 4 stories, health to 400sqm and changing the form to allow the story of the city side elements to be brought to the fore in the design.
 - A change in the design from past style to contemporary design is response to 75% of participants indicating a preference for this style.
- 
Economic Impact Study
 - A full Economic Impact Analysis has been included with the Development Application.
 - The Development will attract an additional 2 million shopping visitors to Fremantle each year spending an additional \$20million which will generate new jobs opportunities for Fremantle's existing retailers.
 - In 2006/07 Fremantle residents and businesses were charged more 20% more than the average of rates charged by other commercially competing Councils of Perth, Claremont, Midland, Cockburn and Bayswater.
 - The Commercial Precinct will pay rates to Fremantle Council resulting in savings of \$1 million annually which in turn can be put back into the community in the form of reduced fees for residents or additional services.
 - More than 1000 new permanent jobs will be created adding value to the city and new full employment time job opportunities for Fremantle residents.
- 
Heritage Plan
 - A comprehensive Heritage Impact Statement has been included with the Development Application.
 - Historic buildings currently on site on the site will be retained and retained and the history of the Port integrated within these buildings.
 - Historic Buildings such as the late Maritime Museum can happily coexist with heritage buildings as successfully demonstrated in many old cities throughout the world.

This development will give Fremantle a much-needed social, economic, and sustainability boost. A silent majority cannot be heard. We welcome and encourage you to seriously consider Fremantle's recent past and its future and to voice your support. Feedback welcomed at viktor@ports.com.au or write to the City of Fremantle at PO Box 807 Fremantle WA 6950.




The information contained in this document is for general information only and does not constitute an offer of any financial product. It is not intended to be relied upon as a basis for any investment decision. The information is not intended to be relied upon as a basis for any investment decision. The information is not intended to be relied upon as a basis for any investment decision.

If you would like to know more about the Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct Development, please visit the City of Fremantle Library to view the scale model or visit Fremantle Ports' website at www.fremantleports.com.au/commercial.asp

Fremantle Herald August 4, 2007 p11

8 Why are we getting ~~6~~ stories on Victoria Quay?

This development sounds a death knell for Fremantle.



The 1100 cars have great views. But the station is overwhelmed by the four-storey car park. And what about your views down Market Street? Don't be fooled by ING's trick photography in their promotional material. (Source: ING/Fremantle Ports 3-D Scale Model.)

WHAT DO YOU WANT ON VICTORIA QUAY?

**HAVE YOUR SAY AT THE SPECIAL ELECTORS' MEETING!
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Freeo doesn't need ING's proposed suburban shopping centre on Victoria Quay, with its threat to snuff out the retail life on High Street and the city's historic West End.

Freeo doesn't need 6 storeys of Orwellian high-rise offices or an ugly 4-storey 1,100 bay car park, buildings totally out of character with this precious heritage Precinct.

Freeo DOES need Victoria Quay's heritage respected with low scale tourist compatible marine and port related activities, and community oriented uses recommended in the Masterplan!

FREMANTLE PORTS HAVE CONSISTENTLY IGNORED PROPER PLANNING PROCESSES:

- ~~X~~ WATERFRONT MASTERPLAN - SCORNEO
- ~~X~~ HERITAGE PLAN - MISSING
- ~~X~~ ECONOMIC IMPACT STUDY - MISSING
- ~~X~~ COMMUNITY CONSULTATION - "A SHAM" (Dr Carmel Lawrence)

ING stated on 14 July at the Joint Precincts meeting that:
"We will be targeting small clothing and home provision retail businesses as tenants because retail giants are not interested in Victoria Quay."
What will this do to our vibrant small shops and boutiques in High and Market Streets?

For further information contact Cathy Hall 0407 086 300
 Addressed by Dr Ivo Alexander, Precincts, Fremantle Precincts, 9336 3137

Fremantle Herald, Saturday August 4, 2007 - Page 11

The new Commercial Precinct on Victoria Quay will rejuvenate the City as a place to visit, work, shop and play




The time has come to Move Forward

The Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct will:

- Attract new businesses and halt the decline which has seen total floor space in Fremantle shrink by 10% while, on average, other metro centres have grown by 94% and draws people away from Fremantle. *
- Generate an additional 2 million shopping visitations each year with \$80 million new spending in Fremantle.
- Spend \$12 million to restore precious heritage buildings on Victoria Quay like C Shed which are now unused and put them back to use for the benefit of the whole community.
- Pay in excess of \$1 million annual rates to the Fremantle Council.
- Create more than 1,000 new permanent jobs, plus new part-time job opportunities for people in Fremantle.
- Encourage greater use of public transport to and from Fremantle through connectivity with the railway station.

* Source: Department for Planning and Infrastructure



"The Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct development will enable the Fremantle port area to have some viable activity which can be linked to the rest of the city. At the moment this particular area is mostly a wasteland. It will provide more opportunities for people to come to Fremantle by train or car and walk around the port area and city. It also provides the chance to protect the heritage of the wharf which is unused and put it back to use."

Professor Peter Newman
Director Institute for Sustainability and Technology Policy
Murdoch University
(long-term Fremantle resident)



Proposed development site at Victoria Quay - currently under control Fremantle Council and adjacent rail station.



"The Victoria Quay proposal could be and should be the start of a new and vibrant era for Fremantle. The restoration and transformation of this history-rich port town is long overdue. What ING proposes, is a combining of the old with the new so Fremantle continues to grow in the future rather than being left behind. If we don't accept this proposal, there will be no proposal, no revival of the wharf, no boost to Fremantle businesses, no increase in tourist numbers and no FREE upgrade of existing heritage buildings."

Richard Phillips
President, Fremantle Chamber of Commerce

Elevation from North Quay



MAKE YOUR VOICE HEARD! If you want an exciting new development on Victoria Quay to reinvigorate Fremantle you are urged to send any comments and feedback about the \$330 million Commercial Precinct proposal in writing to the City of Fremantle at PO Box 867, Fremantle WA 6959, as part of the public comment period on the project. A public submission form can be downloaded by visiting www.fremantlechamber.com.au. Please note that comments to the City need to be lodged by Monday 27 August, 2007. Comments can also be sent by email to victoriaquay@ingrealstate.com or you could write a 'Letter to the Editor' of the Fremantle Herald or Fremantle Gazette newspapers. Further information can be gained by visiting the Fremantle Ports website at www.fremantleports.com.au/commercial.asp.

Page 12 - Fremantle Herald, Saturday August 11, 2007

Let the pictures speak for themselves - You decide the Truth

Misleading View by Fremantle Society



This misleading view from Market Street was used by the Fremantle Society in June 2006 to generate opposition to the Commercial Precinct proposal and caused needless concern in the community.

Correct View at that time



This was the real view at that time. It is an accurate representation as modelled electronically in true perspective by professional consultants from the same location.

Correct View as now submitted



This view is an accurate representation of the revised proposal as now submitted. The size and height of buildings have been reduced and profiles changed to further open up view corridors.

The facts about the Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct development:



FREMANTLE WATERFRONT MASTERPLAN – the authors of the Masterplan confirm the Development Application complies. The Masterplan does not restrict buildings to 2 - 3 storeys.



ECONOMIC IMPACT STUDY – a full Economic Impact Study has been included with the Development Application.



HERITAGE PLAN – a comprehensive Heritage Impact Statement has been included with the Development Application.



COMMUNITY CONSULTATION – extensive community consultation and professionally facilitated public forums have been undertaken by ING and Fremantle Ports.

Other Key Facts

- **BUILDING HEIGHT** – on the basis of community feedback, the proposal has been significantly changed including reducing the building height from 8 occupiable storeys to 6 occupiable storeys.
 - Highest point of buildings now 33.5 metres (reduced from 43.3 metres)
 - Maritime Museum is 35.3 metres high
 - Fremantle Ports administration building is 44.2 metres high
 - Crane on South Quay is 72 metres high
- **CAR PARKING** – 4 car parking levels (equivalent to 3 office storeys) total 1,077 bays. This is 28% less than the 1,425 bays which would normally be required under the City of Fremantle planning scheme.
- **TRAFFIC IMPACT STUDY** – a full Traffic Impact Study has been included in the Development Application. The Phillimore Street Integrated Masterplan was prepared co-operatively between the City of Fremantle, Fremantle Ports, Public Transport Authority and ING. It was adopted in 2006 following community consultation. The plan takes into account the Commercial Precinct proposal and will improve traffic flows in the Phillimore Street Precinct. New pedestrian and vehicular rail crossings will improve connectivity between the City and Victoria Quay.




If you would like to know more about the Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct Development, please visit the City of Fremantle Library to view the scale model or visit Fremantle Ports' website at www.fremantleports.com.au/commercial.asp

This advertisement is published by ING Real Estate. The information contained in this advertisement is a general guide only. ING Real Estate can not be held responsible for any loss or damage arising from reliance on the information contained in this advertisement. This advertisement is subject to the relevant legislative provisions.

Appendix 2.12

The Victoria Quay development will create a new attraction and reinvigorate Fremantle

The \$200 million Victoria Quay development will provide modern offices, ground level retail, cafes, parking, attractive public spaces and is a huge opportunity for Fremantle. It will:

- Breathe new life into an under-utilised area of Victoria Quay
- Create more than 1,000 permanent local job opportunities
- Help reverse the city's decline in retail and office space
- Spend \$12 million to restore and reuse 4 heritage buildings
- Generate an additional 1 million visitors and \$80 million new spending each year, also benefiting existing retail in Fremantle
- Stimulate further renewal and development in the CBD
- Provide in excess of \$1 million additional rates income each year to the City of Fremantle, for the benefit of existing ratepayers

With the implementation of the 2005 Integrated Masterplan for Millers Street 4 will achieve improved links between the Fremantle CBD and Victoria Quay, encouraging more people to experience work, leisure and tourism activities and the fascination of the working port.

The facts about the Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct development:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> FREMANTLE WATERFRONT MASTERPLAN - the authors of the Masterplan confirm the Development Application complies. The Masterplan does not restrict buildings to 2 - 3 stories. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> HERITAGE PLAN - a comprehensive Heritage Impact Statement has been included with the Development Application. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ECONOMIC IMPACT STUDY - a full Economic Impact Study has been included with the Development Application. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> COMMUNITY CONSULTATION - extensive community consultation and professionally facilitated public forums have been undertaken by PIG and Fremantle Ports.
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Other Key Facts

- **BUILDING HEIGHT** - on the basis of community feedback, the proposal has been significantly changed including reducing the building height from 8 occupiable stories to 5 occupiable stories
 - Highest point of buildings now 33.5 metres (reduced from 41.3 metres)
 - Maritime Museum is 35.3 metres high
 - Fremantle Ports administration building is 41.2 metres high
 - Cranes on North Quay is 72 metres high
- **CAR PARKING** - 4 car parking levels (equivalent to 3 office stories) total 1,877 bays. This is 23% less than the 1,425 bays which would normally be required under the City of Fremantle planning scheme.



IF YOU WANT THIS IMPORTANT PROJECT TO GO AHEAD
 Please send your comments about the Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct proposal in writing to the City of Fremantle at PO Box 867, Fremantle WA 6957, as part of the public comment period on the project. If required, a public submission form can be downloaded by visiting www.fremantleherald.com.au. Please note that comments to the City need to be received by Monday 27 August, 2007.


Fremantle Herald, Saturday August 18, 2007 - Page 7

Fremantle Herald August 18, 2007 p7

Appendix 2.14

The silent majority has spoken out in support of the Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct Development

Survey finds three-quarters of people who live, work and play in Fremantle think the Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct development will be good for the Port city. Nearly two-thirds of people surveyed support the proposal which will provide modern offices, ground level retail, cafes, parking, attractive public spaces and restore heritage buildings for public re-use.




A new survey conducted by independent global market research firm Synovate has revealed that three-quarters of people surveyed think the \$200 million Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct Development will be good for Fremantle. Support for the development is particularly strong among younger people. For example, 84% aged 18-34 agree it will bring a much needed boost to the City's economy by strengthening job, leisure and tourism opportunities.

Of people living in Fremantle, 87% of those surveyed think the development will be good for the City and 71% living outside Fremantle share the same belief.

Here is a summary of some of the key findings of the independent market research (to view the core questions asked during the survey visit www.ingrealestate.com.au/development).


	Total	18 - 34 years	35 - 54 years	55 and over
Percentage of people who agree the Victoria Quay Commercial Precinct Development will be good for Fremantle	75%	88%	72%	64%
People who support the development	63%	78%	56%	54%
People who agree the development is needed to boost Fremantle's economy	70%	84%	72%	54%
People who agree the development will have a positive impact on the future of Fremantle	71%	86%	66%	60%
People who agree the development is needed to transform the area and give Fremantle an overall facelift	62%	68%	58%	60%
People who agree the new development will attract more visitors to Fremantle and contribute to an overall safer environment in and around the Victoria Quay area	63%	68%	66%	56%
People who agree that Fremantle does not need a new development and should stay the way it is	15%	8%	20%	18%

New ING Real Estate commissioned Synovate to conduct independent face-to-face research on the streets of Fremantle 18-24 August. People interviewed were shown images of the proposed and were asked questions specifically regarding the Victoria Quay Precinct development to ensure the research findings reflected their opinion of the Development Application plans which have been submitted by ING Real Estate. The questions were not about general or non-specific development issues in Fremantle. A cross section of 130 people aged 18 and over were interviewed - this is a statistically representative sample of the broader Fremantle community. A sample of 130 interviews is reliable to within +/- 4% at the 95% confidence level. The face-to-face public opinion research methodology is known to provide better depth of information and more consistent and accurate responses than other survey methods.



"Our plans for Victoria Quay will see the Commercial Precinct transformed from an under-utilised area into a world-class waterfront development which will inject new life back into Fremantle and turn around the decline of recent years."

Greg Boyd, CEO ING Real Estate



"The results of this survey are a further indication that it is time to embrace the future. Young people are excited by the prospect of more options for leisure shopping and entertainment for Fremantle."

Richard Pridmore, President, Fremantle Chamber of Commerce

The Facts about the Victoria Quay Development

The authors of the Fremantle Waterfront Masterplan have confirmed the Development Application complies with the Masterplan - it does not restrict buildings to 2 - 3 storeys. The development will:

- Generate an additional 2 million visitors and \$80 million new spending in Fremantle each year also benefiting existing visitors.
- Create more than 1,000 permanent local job opportunities.
- Help reverse Fremantle's decline in retail and office space.
- Stimulate further investment, renewal and development in the CBD.
- Provide in excess of \$1 million additional rates income each year to the City of Fremantle for the benefit of existing ratepayers.
- Spend some \$12 million on heritage conservation and adaptive re-use.

ING REAL ESTATE The silent majority needs to be heard. Write to the City of Fremantle at PO Box 887, Fremantle WA 6955, or email us at victoriaquay@ingrealestate.com or visit www.fremantleports.com.au/commercial.asp for more details.

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Appendix 2.15

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE CITY OF FREMANTLE MAYOR AND THE NEW FREMANTLE COUNCIL

LISTEN TO THE PEOPLE OF FREMAN TLE!



Two crowded special ratepayers' meetings at the Town Hall and hundreds of submissions to Council send a clear message.

THEY SAY 'NO **ING WAY' TO THE PORTS' & ING'S PLANS FOR VICTORIA QUAY**

BUT...

if council says yes, chances are the state government will approve it too.

RESIDENTS, BE INVOLVED!

1. Put your comments on the Bulletin Board of the Fremantle Society website at www.fremantlesociety.org.au
2. Be at the meeting on **Thursday October 25th at 6pm** when the Council will make its decision. The more people who attend and voice their opposition, the better. Help Council reject this this development. **Let's demand something better.**

IMPORTANT MEETING

WHEN: Thurs 25 October
5.45pm to register questions. **6pm** start

WHERE: Council Chambers
Enter via white stairs at rear of Council Building, Kings Square, Fremantle.

DON'T LET FREMANTLE PORTS OR ING DESECRATE OUR HISTORIC QUAY AND ENDANGER THE FUTURE OF OUR CITY CENTRE!

Authorised by Dr Ian Alexander, President, Fremantle Society

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Appendix 3

Do something

WHEN is something going to be done about the terrible behaviour of the Aborigines in Fremantle. I have just returned from Fremantle and witnessed a very upsetting bashing.

I am sick of going to Fremantle during the week and weekends to find people being abused, attacked and harassed.

Recently I observed a group fighting and bashing one woman (not young I might say) to the ground, kicking and punching her and then the group putting the boots in.

Nobody does anything. The average person will not step in, for fear of being attacked themselves, the police drive past and just sit in their cars.

Fremantle is a wonderful place for everybody and I wonder what the tourists in our fine port city must think when they witness this shocking behaviour.

You walk between St John's Square and the town hall in fear of being abused or attacked. You park your car outside St John's in fear of something being smashed through the window.

These people obviously do not have a home to go to as they just wander through Fremantle then catch the cat bus to South Beach and sit there and do the same.

I have had it, I am sick and tired of not being able to enjoy our city as it belongs to all, not just them. When are the police or the council going to do something?

**Fed up
Fremantle**

Editor's note: This letter was submitted anonymously and for that reason would not normally be considered for publication. I've made an exception so this disturbing issue can, hopefully, be debated openly in this forum instead of being whispered about the place (as it increasingly has been) by people fearful of being branded racist.

**Hampton
better**

RE: "Noise is the same Road," (Herald Februa

I am not an expert in human response to sound. I taught physics to TEE 1 elementary study is un

There is a gross simplification in this article in relating human response to noise to the measured decibel level. It is not at all to the frequency and duration of sounds.

To quote from one T 100-Hz tone must have about 62dB to sound as loud to an average person) as a 1000-Hz tone only 40dB".

Thus higher frequencies of the same sound level, sound louder to the human ear, sound loudness is a function of many factors, not just frequency. The clanging of the metal trailer connections will produce a mixture of frequencies, so a relatively low frequency can sound very loud to the ear.

Sounds that occur irregularly, as well as at different frequency, as well as at a high level, are disturbing as they are not absorbed into the background. A way to make noise less disturbing is to reduce the variation in frequency. People do not have rattles and crashes, they reduce the overall average level.

I consider that the effect of noise on the human mind has been a great calming has been a great relief to the psychological impact

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Endnotes

ⁱ 'To keep the bastards honest' was a slogan made popular in Australian political discourse by the Democrats party who were successful in holding the balance of power in the senate for most of the 1990s before the party imploded in the 2000s.

ⁱⁱ The red dingo was painted over in WWII because it was feared that it might pose a target for enemy attack, but after the war it was restored

ⁱⁱⁱ Also see John Berger's (1979) introduction to *Pig Earth* for an emotive reconceptualisation of time.

^{iv} There are multiple spellings of the word Noongar currently in circulation so, for consistency in this thesis, I will use the spelling Noongar, which, in a personal communication, Tim McCabe (a Noongar linguist) described the word as being Noongar for 'people known' in contrast to Nyoongar, 'people unknown'. There is also a spelling of the personal pronoun 'you people' - Nyungah.

^v The TAB is Australian sports betting agency.

^{vi} A good example of this was a picture printed on the front page of the *Fremantle Gazette* (May 17, 2011) of a fitness trainer. In the background it is quite easy to recognise that he is in Perth training at Jacobs Ladder, a popular fitness spot in Kings Park. This kind of photograph would never deliberately appear on the front page of the *Fremantle Herald* because the *Herald* continually constructs Fremantle in relation to a rivalry with Perth. The editorial in that same edition of the *Gazette* discussed the proposal of 'small bars' as an alternative to the dominance of nightclubs and beer barns because of violence in entertainment precincts in the Perth metropolitan area. I found it very interesting that there was no reference in the article to the same proposal which had been going on for some time now in Fremantle. In fact, there was no mention of Fremantle at all in the editorial. This example is indicative of a distance at the *Fremantle Gazette* between its editorial team and Fremantle.

^{vii} An example of the newspapers cheekiness - Alannah MacTiernan, the state minister for planning and infrastructure – who had not returned numerous calls from the paper speculation there was a backroom deal between Fremantle Ports and ING over a minimum height for the proposed development, was criticised when the paper went to press that week. The headstrong politician fired back at the *Fremantle Herald* the following week. MacTiernan said she was too busy to be returning calls from local newspaper's all the time – so the *Fremantle Herald* chose to attribute her response in print by acknowledging her status as her former role as a local

newspaper owner rather than as her current position as a state planning minister (D'Anger 2006c).

viii Mickler (1992, 1998) and Trigger (1995) have detailed how the media function as arbiters of knowledge and opinion in a Western Australian context particularly surrounding the representation of Aboriginality. In chapter seven I consider the role of the media in constructing the problem of Aboriginal people in Fremantle's King Square and draw on the concepts developed, particularly those in Mickler's (1998) work *The Myth of Privilege*.

ix I would like to engage in more formal interviews in further projects to do with Fremantle beyond my PhD thesis.

x Phil Hubbard (2008) has identified a process of 'studentification' occurring in the British city of Loughborough. However, in relation to the arrival of Notre Dame Australia in the West End of Fremantle, the situation differs. As Hubbard (2008, 323) has identified in his introduction scholarly inquiry in relation to 'studentification' he has focussed on mainly private residential accommodation rather than on university owned buildings.

xi For newspaper articles with no author the full citation details are provided in-text and not included in the reference list as per the Chicago Author-Date (16th edition) Referencing style guide.

xii There are no page numbers for this web page.

xiii RTR is a popular independent radio station with a cult following and supportive of local original bands.

xiv In the heritage inventories this site is referred to as the Elders Wool Stores and this should not to be confused with the adjacent Woolstores shopping centre or with Fort Knox, the other remaining wool store building, referred to in the letter above and located further along Beach Street. I will detail the history of this site later in the chapter.

xv For more details on the redevelopments see the Esplanade website <http://www.esplanadehotelfremantle.com.au/index.history.4082.html> (date accessed September 13, 2011)

xvi Rumour has it, and I was unable to confirm this, that the Clancy's fish pub's owner, Joe Fisher, owns or owned an apartment in the VQA. This adds another interesting dynamic to the gentrification debate if it is indeed true.

^{xvii} In personal conversation with skateboarders conducted in 2007 – an informant from the Wool Stores skateboarding crew told me that skateboarders help to make the area safer. In reference to a number of anti-social activities and violence that they have witnessed occur at Princess May Park across the road, this skateboarder argued that it would be a no-go zone if skaters were not around. The suggestion is that the presence of skateboarders helps to spread people throughout different times and days.

^{xviii} A more ‘tongue in cheek’ but just as revealing framing of the ‘Wool Stories’ graffiti piece I found in the local *Fremantle Herald*, was an 80 year old local resident who was participating in the ‘walk against want’ – a fundraiser held annually for undeveloped regions that do not have satisfactory access to drinking water. The walk starts in Princess May Park opposite the Wool Stores. The photograph of the elderly lady posing in front of the ‘Wool Stories’ graffiti piece may demonstrate her sense of humour but also can be read as an attempt to bridge the ‘age-gap’ and show older people respect the skateboarders at the Wool Stores as well.

^{xix} Black (1999, 98) has warned of ‘presentist’ accounts of history (directed at Jacob’s reading of Bank Junction) as partial and obscuring ‘the specific and important ways in which individual elements *within* that townscape have stories to tell about the complex relations between City and empire’ (original emphasis).

^{xx} http://monumentaaustralia.org.au/monument_display.php?id=60505&image=0 (date accessed October 20, 2011)

^{xxi} The tendency then to side with an affirmative action approach on behalf of the powerless may have influenced my initial foray into Fremantle, but it doesn’t really solve the problem of the city’s contradictions. Harvey’s paper (1991) presents one of the most significant challenges to the privileging of diversity (see chapter 3).