WHOSE VALUES COUNT?

CLASS, PLACE AND HERITAGE DURING WATERFRONT DEVELOPMENT

PORT ADELAIDE, SOUTH AUSTRALIA

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Abstract

In Australia there has been little critical reflection on the role that class plays during negotiations over cultural heritage. This stands in contrast to the United Kingdom and the United States, where research aiming to develop a better understanding of how class shapes cultural heritage practice is more common. Key research themes in these countries include identifying how working-class people participate in cultural heritage activities; determining what barriers exist to their participation and what social purpose cultural heritage has within post-industrial communities; and understanding how cultural heritage is used in negotiations over the classed meanings of place during gentrification.

This thesis explores the relationships between class, place and heritage in Port Adelaide, South Australia. Once a prosperous industrial and commercial port, since the 1980s Port Adelaide has undergone slow social and economic change. In 2002, the State Government announced plans for major re-development of surplus waterfront land in order to generate profit and economic stimulation for the Port through extensive and rapid development, radically transforming Port Adelaide physically and socially.

Drawing on a theoretical framework that identifies value and power as central to determining the outcomes of heritage practice, with an emphasis on Foucault's theory of governmentality, the thesis asks: What values do different stakeholders associate with heritage in Port Adelaide? Are these values easily incorporated into heritage frameworks, especially the *Burra Charter*? And, are the values of heritage experts privileged over those of non-experts? The data analysed in the thesis were gathered during an ethnographic study (2009–2011) and include field notes, in-depth key informant interviews, 105 structured interviews (combining open and closed questioning), newspaper articles, flyers, permits, newsletters, emails and Heritage Council minutes. Discourse analysis was

applied to text-rich sources, and statistical analysis to closed questions from the structured interviews.

A wide range of values were identified, most of which are incorporated into the *Burra Charter* or other, similar frameworks. Financial value, however, which featured repeatedly in the discourses of all stakeholders, was not articulated or quantified clearly by any group, including heritage professionals. Given the centrality of financial value to debates about heritage value in Port Adelaide, as elsewhere, it is argued that further consideration of the use of economic methods in cultural heritage management should be considered, especially where changes to place are driven by development interests. The thesis also presents a revised argument regarding the nature of social significance and the scale at which it is understood to exist, suggesting in this case that it exists within social networks articulated as 'community'.

External discourses have stigmatised Port Adelaide since its establishment in 1836, and many residents of metropolitan Adelaide identified the Port's reputation as detracting from its status as a desirable place to visit or live. Wary of negative associations, the 2002 development was discursively distanced from the Port's working-class identity. In contrast to the similar process of 'heritageisation'—the process of making something 'heritage'—the value of Port Adelaide to the development was not expressed in the middle-class appeal of a formerly working-class neighbourhood, rather, in the rationalised construction of modern high-rise buildings. Although class featured in negative discourses about Port Adelaide, there was some evidence that place familiarity had more of an effect on people's attitudes toward the Port than their own socio-economic background.

Finally, the analysis found that heritage professionals' values were not privileged over those of non-professionals. It is argued that, through a complex process involving the

use of property law and control over material resources, the State Government marginalised heritage knowledge to achieve the outcomes desired by its commercial partners. The outcome is an alternative understanding of power relations during cultural heritage management that questions the primacy of expert knowledge within spaces where governmentality operates.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed:

Date:

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[1] The Department of Environment, Water and Natural Resources is the government department responsible for non-Indigenous cultural heritage in South Australia. Prior to 2012 this department was called the Department of Environment and Heritage. Both terms are used in the thesis.

words the generosity of your supervision; your deep and critical thinking challenged me, repeatedly, to 'cut through' and develop my own critical research.

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1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines cultural heritage management (CHM) during the 2002–2011 waterfront development of Port Adelaide, South Australia. The need to examine CHM and its outcomes is widely recognised within the heritage profession, and is used as the basis for informing and improving practice. Heritage professionals throughout the world have engaged in dialogue with various stakeholders, reporting the outcomes in heritage literature. At times stakeholders have taken it upon themselves to engage directly with the profession, through conferences and publication, contributing to professionals' awareness of alternative points of view (Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990; Hemming and Rigney 2010; Hemming and Trevorrow 2005; Langford 1983). Reflecting on and debating practice has been most extensive in Indigenous heritage (see for examples Greer 2010; Lilley and Williams 2005; Pragnell *et al.* 2010; Silliman 2008; Smith and Wobst 2005b; Sullivan 2008; Thompson 2011), but debates surrounding authenticity and intangible heritage have also been informed by Asian perspectives (Byrne 1991; Pollock-Ellwand *et al.* 2009; Taylor 2004).

Arising from this process of reflection and debate has been a move toward working in partnership with stakeholders to address common interests and concerns through heritage practice. In archaeology a range of terms has been used to describe methodologies of this nature, including public archaeology, critical archaeology, community archaeology, community-based archaeology, engaged archaeology, and applied archaeology (Little and Shackel 2007:16; Merriman 2004; Potter Jr 1994; Shackel and Chambers 2004; Stottman 2010). The term used in this thesis, is community archaeology, which is a collaborative methodology that aims to incorporate the interests

and values of communities (i.e. Indigenous, local, descendant) into archaeological research (Marshall 2002; Moshenska and Dhanjal 2012).

There is considerable literature internationally regarding the benefits of community archaeology, however, there are few examples discussing its use where investigations are driven by a desire to salvage sites ahead of property development (but see Grenville and Ritchie 2005). An initial aim of this thesis was therefore to examine the ability of community archaeology to provide better CHM outcomes ahead of property development. In addition, Australian community archaeology research has focussed on areas where the greatest historical power imbalances and injustices lie, and therefore exclusively considered Indigenous heritage outcomes. Another, more particular aim of the thesis was to provide an example of non-Indigenous community archaeology in the Australian context.

Additional drivers for orienting the research around community archaeology and its potential to improve non-Indigenous CHM outcomes in South Australia included first, the largely undocumented, although generally accepted, failures of South Australian non-Indigenous cultural heritage and planning legislation to provide opportunities to manage development-related impacts to cultural significance, especially scientific value, and second the absence of outreach of any sort, let alone actual collaboration, during the few examples of non-Indigenous development-driven archaeology in South Australia. Early in the research process Port Adelaide was identified as having potential to address these aims.

Port Adelaide

For thousands of years prior to British colonisation the area now known as Port Adelaide was occupied by the Kaurna people. The Kaurna knew the area as *Yertabulti*, meaning "a salt swamp where nothing grows" or "a place of sleep or death" (Couper-Smartt

2003:32). The first of these meanings relates to the environment, which was low lying, swampy and dominated by mangrove plants of no nutritional value (Couper-Smartt 2003:22). It was, however, rich in another food resource: marine life. The second meaning may relate to the *Kaurna* use of the sandy dunes of Lefevre Peninsula for burial or, as Veronica Brodie (Brodie 2002:1) a *Kaurna* elder suggested, deaths from small pox, which arrived prior to establishment of the British township.

Surveyor General Colonel William Light selected the original site for the port, on a sand hill on the eastern bank of the Port River 15 kilometres from the South Australian capital of Adelaide, in December 1836 (Couper-Smartt 2003:44). Light's choice of port and capital (often referred to by Portonians and Adelaideans as 'the Port' and 'the City') was not popular because there were problems bringing ships through shallow water to the landing place (Couper-Smartt 2003:52–3). In 1840, after agitation from commercial interests, and Governor Hindmarsh and his political supporters, the port was moved further down river to deeper water and established on the southern banks of the Gawler Reach (Couper-Smartt 2003:54–7). The new location, while providing deeper berths, was low-lying and prone to inundation (Couper-Smartt 2003:59).

Nevertheless, the town of Port Adelaide developed quickly at the new location. The 1860s landscape was one of labour and commerce, with warehouses, mills, smelters and timber yards interspersed with smaller scale buildings used as forges, sail makers' lofts, and ships' chandlers (Couper-Smartt 2003:88–102). A railway linking the Port to the City was opened in 1856, (Figure 1) greatly easing travel between the two centres. Much of South Australia's primary exports of wheat, flour, copper and wool passed through the Port, as did many of its imports, all loaded by hand. Establishment of Fletcher's Slip on the northern side of the Gawler Reach at Birkenhead in 1851 was the beginning of a local ship building industry, which, by the 1860s, included at least a further five small yards

(Mulloway Studio *et al.* 2008:9). In 1915 eight boatyards and slipways occupied most of the river bank between Fletcher's Slip and Cruickshank's Corner, interspersed by a naval reserve depot, a small salt works, the Port Adelaide Sailing Club and the Rowing Club (Figure 2). Although some of the businesses later changed hands, this pattern of small family-owned boatyards continued for almost 150 years (Mulloway Studio *et al.* 2008:9–24, 2012: 57–86).

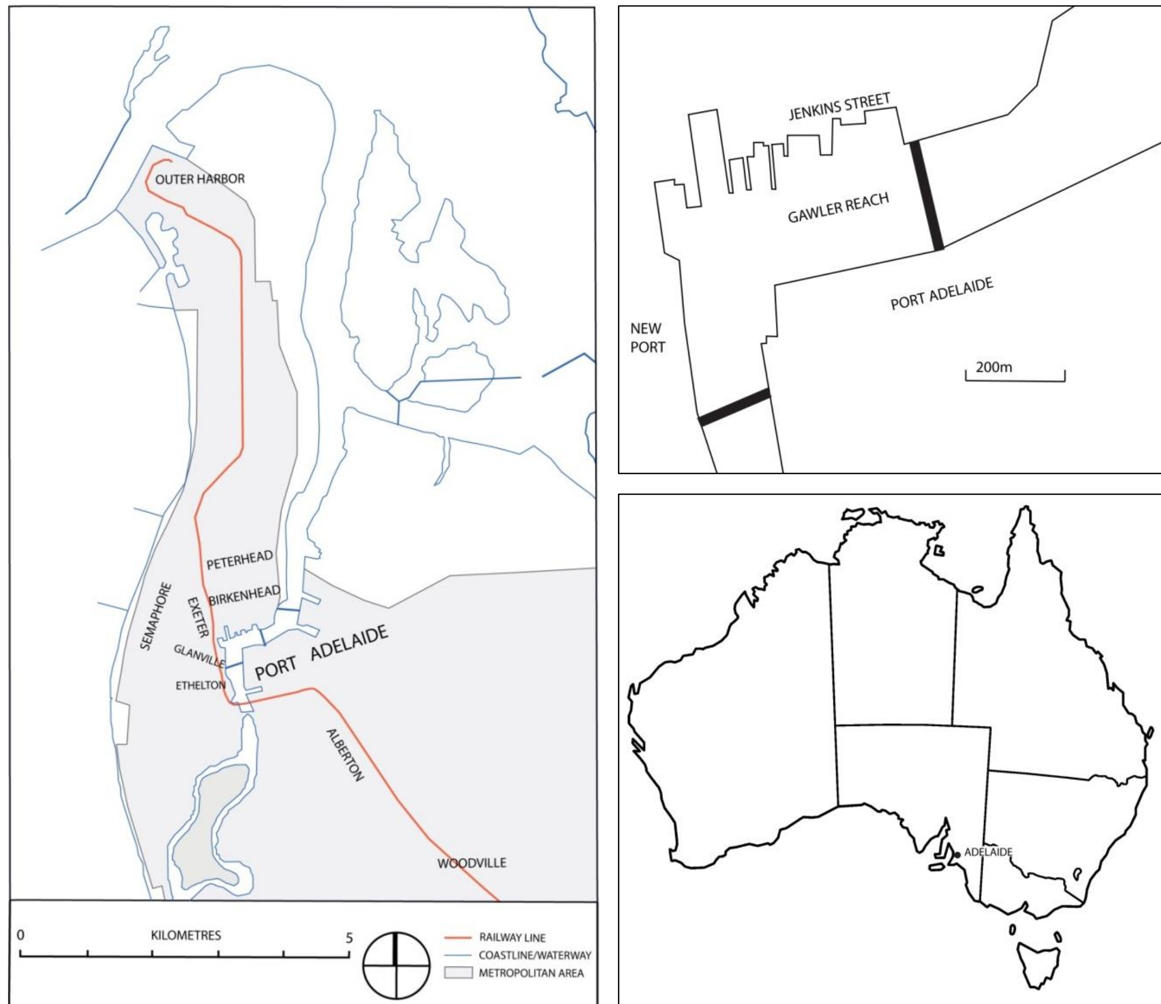

Figure 1: Port Adelaide and surrounding suburbs.

Figure 2: Looking north-east across the Gawler Reach, Inner Harbor, Port Adelaide c1909. Image source South Australian Maritime Museum.

Houses were initially situated within the township of Port Adelaide and, as the population grew and land in the town became more expensive, many house lots were taken up by businesses, and suburbs developed. The more affluent suburbs were Semaphore, situated on the coast and linked to the Port by an 1878 extension of the railway, together with Alberton, and Woodville, located adjacent to the original 1856 railway between the Port and the City (Couper-Smartt 2003:163, 171–3). Portland Estate, Glanville, Exeter, Ethelton and Birkenhead, on the other hand, tended to be less affluent, housing the large industrial and maritime workforce (Couper-Smartt 2003:163–4, 167–8, 172–4).

The relationship between workers and their employers was often tense in Port Adelaide. In 1867 mill owner John Dunn reduced wages at his steam flour mill and convinced

other mill owners to do the same. Soon after, word spread that an effigy of Dunn was to be displayed on the Port Bridge and burnt, although the police intervened before the protest could occur. The workers moved on, staging their rally in the street outside Dunn's residence. A month later, on 23 November 1867, Dunn's Mill burnt down in mysterious circumstances. An official ran from the mill to seek assistance, meeting with workers in the street, but they refused to help, one of them saying, "No, let the bloody mill burn; he knocked down the wages" (Couper-Smartt 2003:266). Others sarcastically asked what they would be paid for fire-fighting work.

Establishment of a new port facility at Outer Harbor in 1908, closer to the estuary entrance, drew some activity away from the inner harbour, although initially it was only the largest vessels that docked there (Couper-Smartt 2003:74–75). Up until the 1970s the inner harbour was home to a considerable amount of shipping; close to 100 ketches serviced a booming coastal trade and a large commercial fishing fleet moored in the Port Reach. The boatyards were kept busy, Adelaide Ship Construction Ltd, operating from Fletcher's Slip, employed approximately 1000 workers (Mulloway Studio *et al.* 2012:67) and the smaller family-owned boatyards, operating from Jenkins Street, each employed upwards of 30 shipwrights and other trades. Meanwhile, between the outer and inner harbour approximately 2500 waterside workers (or 'wharfies') were employed loading cargo.

The workforce in Port Adelaide in the 1960s was increasingly multicultural. Thousands of European migrants fleeing Europe in the aftermath of the Second World War arrived in the 1950s, some of whom chose to stay, finding work in the fishing fleet, boatyards and other industries. In the 1960s Aboriginal people, some from families who had been removed from the Port and others with ties to different regions, travelled from

government missions to the Port. Many found work, lumping on the wharves or working on coastal trade ketches (Sanderson and Giles 2005:40–68).

The boom times of the 1960s eventually came to an end. A need for increasingly deep berths to accommodate larger ships, coupled with the introduction of bulk handling and containerisation in the 1970s, drastically reduced the need for waterside labour (Murphy 1991:72–79). Containerisation also affected the business of the shipwrights in the Jenkins Street yards who, among other things, had been responsible for securing cargoes within ships. The ketch trade was superseded by road trains and air freight, further reducing the need for wharfies, shipwrights and boat builders. The small yards at Jenkins Street continued operating at a reduced scale, mainly carrying out repairs and survey, with some boat building; but in 1973 Adelaide Ship Construction closed its doors (Mulloway Studio *et al.* 2012:67–68). In addition to maritime restructuring and closures, the 1970s and 80s was a period of general decline in raw material processing and manufacturing in the Port, with many mills, foundries and factories closing or relocating.

By the 1980s Port Adelaide was among the most disadvantaged areas in Australia, with high unemployment and associated social problems (Rofe 2010:28). Tourism, centred on the many historic buildings in the Port, was identified as a potential source of revitalisation for the local economy and culture (Davies 1982; Kelly and McConville 1991:103–108). In 1982 the commercial district, identified as "South Australia's most substantial and continuous group of colonial buildings" (Department of the Environment 2013), was registered as SA's first heritage precinct. Two of the oldest warehouses within this new state heritage area were renovated and converted to house the South Australian Maritime Museum (SAMM), which opened in 1986 for South Australia's silver jubilee. The museum continues to operate from these premises and is

among South Australia's most successful cultural institutions, with over 80,000 visitors annually.

Despite these early successes, the 1990s was a period of economic stagnation for the Port, with minor inroads into the cultural tourism markets and in 2001 the State Government's Land Management Corporation (LMC) announced its intention to redevelop 50 hectares of waterfront land (Wilson and Davidson 2011:108). In 2001 much of the waterfront land in the inner harbour consisted of poorly maintained industrial and commercial buildings and vacant land. Among the LMC's diverse responsibilities was the sale of surplus government land for development. The new development was expected to assist in the revitalisation of the Port by creating an influx of new residents and improving the condition of much of the vacant waterfront, thus encouraging more tourism (Wilson and Davidson 2011:108).

Details of the socio-cultural background of residents of the Port Adelaide area in 2001 are available through census data, although data sets either include Enfield, previously its own council and not usually considered part of 'the Port', or are provided through groupings of three suburbs (i.e. "Rosewater-Alberton-Queenstown", "North Haven-Osborne-Taperoo" - "Largs Bay- Largs North and District" and "Ethelton-Port Adelaide and District". Using these suburb groupings it is possible to develop an understanding of the broad socio-economic patterns for the Port Adelaide area.

Compared to Greater Adelaide, Port Adelaide residents tended to be older. There was also a slightly higher proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, with the highest being the suburbs of North Haven-Osborne-Taperoo with 2.8% compared to 1.3% for Greater Adelaide. Rosewater-Alberton-Queenstown had a higher proportion of residents from non-English speaking backgrounds especially Vietnamese. In all suburbs the proportion of residents with Greek ancestry was also higher than Greater Adelaide,

and the majority of residents in all of the suburbs were from English speaking backgrounds with European ancestry, especially the United Kingdom and Ireland.

Levels of high school education across all of the suburbs in the Port Adelaide area were lower than the average for Greater Adelaide, as were the proportion of residents with university qualifications or diplomas. The proportion of Port Adelaide residents with trade certificates was higher than Greater Adelaide. Unemployment rates varied but were higher than the 7.6% average for Greater Adelaide; Rosewater-Alberton-Queenstown was the highest at 12.6%. The proportion of residents working in professional, scientific and technical services and financial insurance services was lower in the Port Adelaide area and employment in manufacturing and transport industries was higher. Median incomes were lower and lastly, the proportion of owner occupiers was lower and renters higher, as was the proportion of residents living in government housing trust.

A community consultation commissioned by the LMC in September 2002 identified a general level of support for development, especially the expected economic benefits (Wilson and Davidson 2011:108). Concerns were raised regarding the social mix and integration of the proposed high-rise with surrounding areas (Wilson and Davidson 2011:108). Importance was also placed on retaining the sailing club, Jenkins Street boatyards and the tug fleet in the inner harbour (Wilson and Davidson 2011:108). In 2004 the State Government announced that the development had been awarded to the Newport Quays (NPQ) consortium, made up of Brookfield-Multiplex and Urban Construct (Wilson and Davidson 2011:108). In addition to the NPQ development a rail and road upgrade, including a new river crossing that would divert heavy traffic from the centre of Port Adelaide, was announced.

As NPQ and the traffic upgrade progressed, residents' groups became increasingly dissatisfied, arguing that the Port's working-class and maritime heritage were not being

taken into account. The proposed eviction of boat-building businesses and the demolition of the Jenkins Street boatyards were among the many areas of concern to residents, who identified that the yards were of historical significance as the continuous home of ship and boat building and repairs for 140 years. Residents valued the skills of the shipwrights, material culture within the sheds and the aesthetic of boats and ships on the slips (Figure 3).

Figure 3 Ships on the slips, Searle's Boatyard Jenkins Street. Image source Port Adelaide National Trust.

The LMC responded to residents' concerns, commissioning a cultural mapping report to document the history of the working port prior to site clearance. These reports included archival recordings of the Jenkins Street boatyards and also identified that some of the yards had archaeological potential (Mulloway Studio *et al.* 2008:8). The interest of the boatyards to both residents and archaeologists, together with the apparent failure of development and heritage frameworks to adequately identify their cultural significance, meant that the Jenkins Street boatyards were ideally suited to addressing the initial research aims.

Unfortunately, from 2009–2011 four proposals were made to the LMC to undertake community archaeology at Jenkins Street, each of which also requested some form of co-contribution from the LMC; none were successful. While funding was an obvious

constraint, LMC funding for archaeological work without community involvement elsewhere in Port Adelaide and the advertised availability of LMC funds for community and arts projects suggest that a refusal to allow community archaeology was probably driven by political pressures. This derived first from the South Australian development process, where, of the two Acts that apply, the most relevant—the *Development Act 1993*—has no process to deal with significance and no archaeological referrals. Second, it arose from the mutual distrust between the LMC, residents and heritage groups, which was most intense in relation to the Jenkins Street boatyards. It was therefore necessary, because of the difficulty accessing suitable sites, to modify the direction of the research.

Defining the research problem

Following the approach of other community archaeology projects (Agbe-Davies 2011; Bartu 2000; Clarke 2002; Hamilton 2000; Pyburn 2009; Reeves 2004), ethnographic methods were initially planned for investigations of the Jenkins Street sites. The aim of the ethnographic work was to identify and record the priorities of the different stakeholder groups. In particular, the considerable disagreement over the future of the inner harbour, and especially the Jenkins Street boatyards, raised questions about control over CHM in Port Adelaide.

Australian research considering issues of control over cultural heritage has, for reasons similar to those justifying community archaeology (i.e. historical injustices arising from colonisation), overwhelmingly focussed on Indigenous heritage. Debate initially centred on broadening the values recognised in cultural heritage assessment to include those held by Indigenous people (see Sullivan 2008 for a discussion), which in Australia was instrumental to the introduction of spiritual value to the *Burra Charter* in 1999. Another area of considerable debate arose from professional control over material remains, together with professional dominance of the discursive production of identities through

heritage practice (Bowdler 1988; Creamer 1990; Hemming and Rigney 2010; McNiven and Russell 2005; Smith and Wobst 2005a; Smith 2004; Watkins 2009), where discourse is defined loosely as any meaningful statement or text.

The absence of research addressing issues of control over non-Indigenous heritage meant that the ethnographic approach established in the early phase of the research could be adapted and built upon. The project turned from considering how community archaeology could empower communities and improve CHM outcomes to exploring the broader context of CHM, with an emphasis on identifying where control of the processes lay. The result is an ethnographic account of non-Indigenous CHM in Port Adelaide during the 2002–2011 waterfront development.

Many studies examining control over cultural heritage base their analyses on the assumption that heritage outcomes reflect the values of the individuals or groups with the greatest level of control (see, for example, Smith 2004; 2006). In the context of Indigenous archaeology the arguments suggest that while the values important to professionals (e.g. scientific value) were usually recognised, values important to Indigenous people (e.g. spiritual value) often were not (Bowdler 1988; McNiven and Russell 2005; Smith 2004). This pattern also existed in debates over tangible and intangible heritage (Ahmad 2006; Byrne 1991) and the response in both cases has been to modify frameworks and methodologies. Drawing on this background the first question asked by the research was:

- What values did different stakeholders associate with cultural heritage places in Port Adelaide and were these values easily incorporated into heritage frameworks?

Port Adelaide has been a predominantly working-class area for much of its history, and class became an important issue within debates over the Port's future during the 2002–

2011 development. Where class features in Australian heritage research it is intangible heritage that has received the greatest interest (Attfield 2011; Bowan and Pickering 2011; Strangleman 2011), with very little attention paid to the relationship between class, place and cultural significance (but see Pragnell and Mate 2011). Class, however, is very important to the formation of identities, which occurs around shared values and tastes (Bourdieu 2011 [1986]) and often is tied to place (Gadsby and Chidester 2011; Gibson 2013; Morell 2011; Paton 2010). The research therefore also asked:

- How does class feature in discourses about Port Adelaide and how is class implicated in the identification of heritage value in Port Adelaide?

Finally, the issue of control over cultural heritage has been addressed extensively in the context of Indigenous heritage, where a long history of scholarship has identified that the expertise of heritage professionals is privileged in colonial society, while Indigenous knowledges have been marginalised (Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990; Lilley 2000; Lilley and Williams 2005; McNiven and Russell 2005; Prangnell *et al.* 2010; Smith and Wobst 2005b). The relationship between knowledge and power in archaeological practice has been most extensively studied by Laurajane Smith (2004), whose analyses trace the intersections of expert values and those held by Indigenous groups in negotiations and contestations over access to, and rights over, material culture. Drawing on Smith's work, but investigating non-Indigenous heritage within a development driven context, the final research question was:

- Were the values of professional heritage experts privileged within processes of CHM or not?

Structure of the thesis

The thesis approaches these questions first by outlining in detail the theoretical framework guiding the investigation. The framework, presented in Chapter two, is centred on the concepts of value, identity and power, but also incorporates an understanding of class and place.

Chapter three outlines the method used in the research—critical ethnography. A wide range of data were collected, including key-informants' accounts, recorded as in-depth interviews, structured interviews (incorporating open and closed questioning) and a range of relevant documents (newspapers, emails, flyers, and Heritage Council minutes). These data were analysed using thematic analysis for text-rich data and statistical analysis for closed questions from structured interviews.

An analysis examining the relationship between identity, class and heritage in Port Adelaide is presented in Chapter four. The analysis unpacks how the Port's identity was derived from its working-class past and post-industrial 'present' and pays particular attention to the articulation of aesthetic and social values held by residents, workers and business owners.

Chapter five presents an examination of how residents and visitors to the Port view changes to the Port Adelaide landscape. It finds that place familiarity rather than class underlies people's attitudes toward Port Adelaide. In addition, the analysis identifies that place familiarity is important to people's understanding of where heritage value lies.

Chapter six presents an analysis of the operation of power in CHM during the waterfront development. The analysis identifies that expert knowledge was not empowered during debates over Port Adelaide's heritage. Instead, other expert knowledge, together with the material reality of funding, led heritage experts to modify their practice in ways that suited government and their commercial partners.

Chapter seven responds to the theoretical framework, identifying how the findings support, contradict or build on existing knowledge regarding value, identity, class, place and power. Limitations and future directions arising from this research are also discussed.

2

VALUE, IDENTITY AND POWER

This chapter sets out a framework for examining CHM in the context of the Port Adelaide waterfront development. It draws on recent research in heritage studies and public archaeology, in particular research that examines the interaction of heritage professionals with communities and other stakeholders. Research in this area is generally described as critical heritage studies, which aims to uncover the hidden social 'work' that heritage does and, in doing so, to achieve change in heritage practice (Carman 2000; Carman and Sorensen 2009; Winter 2013). Often such approaches have an emphasis on recognising non-professional understandings of heritage value, which are sometimes overlooked or sidelined within discursively constructed disciplinary attitudes.

The centrality of value to heritage thinking is demonstrated by its prominence in heritage literature, charters, legislation and guidelines, where it is variously described as cultural significance, heritage significance, heritage value, or cultural heritage value. This thesis aims to examine the effect of CHM on values that various stakeholders associate with cultural heritage, therefore it is necessary to define these disciplinary perspectives so that they can be compared to, and evaluated against, non-professional understandings of why cultural heritage is valuable. The first section of this framework therefore outlines approaches to cultural heritage value defined in international charters, legislation and heritage literature.

While 'identity' is generally not described as a cultural heritage value, it is widely acknowledged that cultural heritage is important for the production of identities (Diaz-Andreu 1996; Friedman 1992; Graham and Howard 2008a; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Lowenthal 1985; Lowenthal and Binney 1981). This is because the values that people

associate with cultural heritage are often shared, and therefore contribute to the formation of group identities. These can range from national identities based on values shared by many, to local identities, which, although less widely shared, often have strong meanings for individuals and communities. The relationship between the protection and interpretation of cultural heritage significance and the formation of group identities is centrally important to understanding the effects of CHM. The framework presented here therefore incorporates a discussion of the discursive formation of group identities with a particular emphasis on understanding the contribution that the practices of CHM can make.

Central to debates about identity in CHM are questions of who has control over how cultural heritage is protected, interpreted and presented to others. Embedded in this is an understanding of power, the importance of which is recognised, but remains largely implicit in the heritage studies literature (but see Smith 2004). While power and control are to some extent synonymous, the discussion below outlines a perspective in which control is one of many potential outcomes arising from the operation of power, rather than constituting power itself. The aim of the discussion is not only to provide a framework for identifying where control might lie, but also to identify what other effects arise from the operation of power in CHM.

Value and power are therefore especially important and useful concepts for analysing CHM. They bring competing interests, and the ways in which different values come to be privileged or marginalised, into focus. Despite being absolutely critical to answering substantive questions about CHM and its effects, the intersection of value and power remains largely implicit within the heritage studies literature. This chapter provides an account of the ways in which value and power can be seen to operate in CHM.

What is value?

Broadly speaking, value "is the importance we attribute to oneself, another person, thing, or idea" (Saldana 2009:89). A distinction exists between the overarching philosophy (values) and the actual worth given to a place (value)—two people may approach a place or object with broadly similar philosophical approaches or 'values', but are unlikely to associate exactly the same 'value' with it. They are, however, likely to reach a broad consensus on the most salient characteristics that give something its value compared to two people with very different values. Values are important to understanding behaviours because they have an effect on the way in which people perceive situations or outcomes and also influence the choices we make (Torelli and Kaikati 2009:231–2).

Theories of value and values often also include the related concepts of beliefs and attitudes, where "a belief is a person's judgement about what they consider to be true or false" and "the aggregation of several basic beliefs regarding a specific topic forms a value orientation towards that topic" (Clement and Cheng 2011:395). Beliefs also form the basis for attitudes, which are a "learned predisposition to respond in a consistently favourable or unfavourable manner to a given object" (Fishbein and Ajzen 1975:6).

Separating values, beliefs and attitudes in this way is useful, because the direction of a person's attitude can be identified (i.e. their response will be either positive or negative). At times the term 'value' is also used to describe the way in which people perceive and respond to objects, usually where a person's positive attitude toward something is evidence of them valuing it. This is the basis of the concept of cultural significance as applied in CHM, where an object or place embodies cultural information that people wish to preserve. Of course this does not mean that all past events that are remembered and preserved as cultural heritage are positive, but rather, that their remembrance is seen to do important cultural and social work in the present (see Meskell 2002 for discussion).

Cultural significance

Cultural significance is a concept that is widely recognised by heritage professionals, and all western countries have some form of heritage system that recognises cultural significance and values (Schofield 2008:27). While the details of the frameworks used to determine cultural significance differ from one country to the next, they are based within a long, albeit western (Byrne 1991), tradition of describing the importance of cultural heritage and justifying approaches to its conservation (Carman and Sorensen 2009:13–17; Otero-Pailos *et al.* 2010; Smith 2006). Because of this there is a great deal of similarity between heritage frameworks in western nations (compare, for example, Hardesty and Little 2000 and Marquis-Kyle and Walker 2004; but see also Morgan *et al.* 2010; Samuels 2008). Rather than detail the similarities and differences between the frameworks of different countries, the *Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter, 2013* (*Burra Charter*) approach and definitions have been used as the basis for the analysis in this thesis. The case study discussed is Australian, and the *Burra Charter* is the most important and common document used to guide heritage practice in Australia.

The *Burra Charter* defines cultural significance as “aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations” (Marquis-Kyle and Walker 2004:103). The *Burra Charter* further elaborates: “Cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects” (Marquis-Kyle and Walker 2004:103). Furthermore: “Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups” (Marquis-Kyle and Walker 2004:103). The *Burra Charter* defines place simply as a geographical location of any scale; however, place is a concept that requires further consideration and is discussed in more detail below. Two other qualities that are not defined in the *Burra Charter,* but are often considered when applying it, are rarity and representativeness. Rarity describes a place

with unusual or rare qualities, while representativeness describes places that are particularly excellent examples of a type of place that may be relatively common.

Although the definition of cultural significance provided in the *Burra Charter* is useful to heritage professionals, there is a great deal of assumed or unarticulated knowledge behind its meaning. At face value, then, it is not a particularly strong term for analytical purposes. This is because the definition provided is in a sense circular: a place is significant because it is valued, and the values people associate with a place make it significant. This highlights the need to unpack the meanings of the different cultural values that the *Burra Charter* identifies as constituting cultural significance.

Aesthetic value

Aesthetic value as defined by the *Burra Charter* is related to the way a place looks, feels or smells, the way in which people interact with it through their senses and the feedback this gives them, as well as the feelings it invokes (Marquis-Kyle and Walker 2004:27; Taylor 1999). The term aesthetic as applied in the *Burra Charter* should not be confused with 'aesthetics', which is a philosophical approach to studying value and its relationship to beauty (Gardiner 2003; Taylor 1999:52). While aesthetics was one of the guiding principles incorporated into 18th and 19th century arguments for heritage preservation (Choay 2001; Morris 1877), the *Burra Charter* definition of aesthetic value has more in common with existential phenomenology, which emphasises the bodily, subjective experience of objects and their meanings (Merleau-Ponty 1962; and for archaeological examples Thomas 2006; Tilley 1994). This does not exclude places that have aesthetic value because they are exceptional works of art, architecture, or design, but it allows for the inclusion of places that are not traditionally considered beautiful or aesthetically pleasing, but nonetheless invoke a particular emotive response, such as industrial landscapes.

Historical value

Historical value is the importance people attach to past events, individuals or groups of people associated with a place or an object (Pearson and Sullivan 2006:139–147). It is often relatively straightforward for experts to identify historical value, because in many cases it is derived from a place's association with 'important' people or events that are usually well documented. This is not always the case—places may have cultural significance because of their association with the lives and activities of groups of people whose individual contributions may be less obvious in historic documents, but who, as a group, are nonetheless historically important.

In Australia convicts are an especially well-known and easily identifiable group that, as the main source of labour in NSW prior to 1850, made important contributions to the development of the nation. As a result of very low social status and widespread illiteracy, there are relatively few positive contemporary accounts of convicts and their contributions to the colony (Karskens 1999). Despite this, many places, including remains of early infrastructure and sites of labour, have historical value because of their association with convicts and the convict system. Many places associated with other groups (i.e. the working class, Indigenous people and Chinese migrants) may also have historical value, despite an absence or bias in the historical documentation of their lives (Lydon 1999; 2005; Murray 2005).

Scientific value

Scientific value refers to the potential for the investigation of fabric to contribute knowledge about the past use of a place that cannot be more easily gained from other sources, such as documents or oral history (Bickford and Sullivan 1984:24). Scientific value is therefore closely related to historical value, because the information that a place yields through archaeological investigation can contribute to understanding past lives and

activities associated with a place, especially where little documentation exists. Of all the values defined in the *Burra Charter* it is the one that is most often linked to archaeological knowledge, and the link is relatively straightforward given that a key tenet of archaeological research is that its principal (and at times only) data source is the physical remains of past human activity. While an archaeological investigation of any place is likely to provide some information about human activity, the value of this information is dependent on its quality, rarity or representativeness (Bickford and Sullivan 1984). Quality is often linked to the level of intactness of a site (i.e. the less disturbed the physical remains are, the better the knowledge that is likely to be gained through their investigation).

Social value

Social value is the *Burra Charter* value which is most difficult to define. Chris Johnston (1992) has provided the most targeted and useful explanation of what social value is, suggesting that it is based within attachments formed through experience and that, while some experiences are individual, "many experiences are common to us all" and "collectively shape many of our public places and their social meanings" (Johnston 1992:12). While groups of people who share attachments to place might do so on the basis of shared aesthetic, historic, scientific or spiritual values, the social value of a place does not necessarily have to be based in these values. Johnston (1992:9) suggests, for example, that social value may derive from shared activities or traditions associated with places that are not old enough to be considered historical, but may nonetheless be the focus of shared meaning and attachment (e.g. a drive-in theatre, or a public park).

Social value as defined by Johnston is closely linked to the concept of intangible heritage, with slight differences. Both describe practices and traditions that are important to groups of people because of their cultural significance; however, social value describes

the relationship between meaning, associations and place (i.e. a location), whereas intangible heritage describes largely intangible practices that may be related to place, but do not have to be.

Johnston's work in defining social value was aimed at improving its incorporation into heritage practice; but many years after she published her discussion paper, the same issues were still being raised. According to Denis Byrne, Helen Brayshaw and Tracy Ireland (2003:7), this was because certain professions dominated the assessment of cultural heritage significance. Architects assessed aesthetic significance, historians assessed historical value and archaeologists assessed scientific value (Byrne *et al.* 2003:7). While anthropologists could potentially have assumed responsibility for the assessment of social value this does not seem to have occurred, perhaps because the *Burra Charter's* European precedents emphasised the conservation of fabric (Smith 2006:16–24).

Byrne *et al.* (2003:7) conceived a different response: they reemphasised the extent to which cultural heritage and CHM existed within society, and highlighted how cultural heritage and CHM shape, and are shaped by, society. Following from this they proposed a model for understanding social value where, instead of being one of four values "in a line", social value (i.e. society) was conceptualised as encompassing all of the others. The most important aspect of their model was: "Archaeology, architecture and history should be recognised as fields of expertise rather than as categories of significance", and: "Professionals in these fields should not be seen as having a monopoly on this expertise" (Byrne *et al.* 2003:9).

Spiritual value

Prior to 1999 the *Burra Charter* definition of cultural significance only included four cultural values: aesthetic, historical, scientific and social. Largely because of political agitation by Indigenous groups, who argued for recognition of Aboriginal ties to land

and country, especially those related to song lines, or 'creation myths', the Charter was broadened to include spiritual value (Logan 2004; Sullivan 2008). Song lines often provide accounts of activities of ancestral beings that incorporate cultural knowledge and are linked to landscape features, which, although seemingly unchanged by human action, constitute deeply spiritual places. While they were undoubtedly of high cultural significance to Aboriginal people, the values associated with these places were not readily incorporated into the other four *Burra Charter* values. Spiritual value, of course, can also be linked to places that non-Indigenous people care about—religious buildings being one obvious example—and Peter Read (2003) has also considered the way in which non-Indigenous Australians form spiritual attachments to 'everyday' places.

Value regimes

The *Burra Charter* and other frameworks for assessing cultural significance are only one approach to considering the values that may be associated with a place. John Carman (2009) and Timothy Darvill (2005) have developed similar arguments about the approaches to value which underlie heritage practice. Carman (Carman 2009:51–59) suggests that different 'values' are often associated with different 'value regimes', or ways of understanding how or what people value and why. Value regimes are essentially value orientations codified through professional training and disciplinary knowledge. These can be associated with different disciplines interested in defining and sometimes measuring certain types of value, including philosophy, accounting, archaeology, anthropology, sociology and economics. The *Burra Charter* is an example of a framework document developed within a particular kind of CHM value regime which guides the definition and comparison of cultural significance.

Similarly, Timothy Darvill suggests that there is a difference between 'value systems' and 'importance systems' in archaeology. Darvill defines value systems sociologically, that is

they are "a set of standards against which things are compared and held to be … desirable or undesirable, appropriate or inappropriate, worthwhile or pointless" (Darvill 2005:28). Furthermore, he suggests that "it is important to recognise that they are commonly, but not universally held, that they are constantly being renegotiated and changed and that their formulation and acceptance is a consensual matter" (Darvill 2005:28). According to Darvill, value systems are broad scale and operate as a guiding philosophy about what constitutes the 'object' of interest in the material remains of the past (e.g. academic knowledge, financial gain, meaning, identity etc.).

An important aspect of Darvill's value systems is that archaeologists are not the only group of people who contribute to the negotiations of what or how things (in this case archaeology and heritage) are valued. To Darvill, value systems are much broader than the specific frameworks developed by heritage professionals (e.g. the *Burra Charter*) and represent to some extent an interaction between groups with different approaches to value. In Darvill's value systems 'cultural heritage' is thought of as something that is recognised as having value by many people and requiring some sort of mechanism for its protection and conservation.

Whereas value systems are generalising, Darvill argues that importance systems are specific and 'atomistic'. Importance systems are largely ways in which archaeologists categorise places in order to make decisions based within a usually 'rational', expert-driven conceptual framework (Darvill 2005:37–8). Importance systems are the processes by which experts identify and classify heritage places and make conservation decisions drawing on a framework of pre-existing knowledge. Not all experts will agree on the exact nature of the cultural significance of a place, or the most appropriate conservation actions, but they will probably form broadly similar positions and be able to argue for or against each position by drawing on similar mental schemes.

Both Carman's and Darvill's arguments recognise the broad social dimensions of value and suggest that archaeologists and heritage professionals use specific frameworks for identifying particular kinds of value. The *Burra Charter* is a good example of this phenomenon. There is no mention in the charter of financial value and its primary concern is with the identification, description and conservation of 'cultural significance'. It is no accident that the *Burra Charter* and similar heritage documents remain silent on this subject. Because financial value is a dominant part of value orientations in capitalist societies, and is easily measured compared to cultural significance, when cultural significance and financial value are in opposition to one another, it is more likely that financial values will win out. CHM was therefore purposefully organised so that the cultural significance of heritage places could be considered outside of other, more dominant approaches to value that exist in capitalist societies, especially financial value. It is because of this background that arguments for expanding heritage assessment to include economic methods, which attempt to convert all values to a common unit of financial measurement (Clark 2010; Mason 1999; 2008; Moshenska 2009; Moshenska and Burtenshaw 2009; 2011; Mourato and Mazzanti 2002; Provins *et al.* 2008; Throsby 2002) have been met with resistance from cultural heritage professionals (Carman 2009:56; Gestrich 2011).

The implied threat of economic approaches is that cultural significance will be sidelined in favour of financial values during conservation planning. Despite this apparent resistance there has been some success in the use of economic methods in heritage planning (Maddison and Mourato 2001; Provins *et al.* 2008; Throsby 2007), but there remains a tension underlying the economic analysis of cultural heritage. This tension is driven by the paradox that "economic motives were of secondary importance in the creation of heritage and of primary importance for its maintenance" (Graham *et al.* 2002:131).

South Australian heritage frameworks

This separation of cultural significance and economic considerations is evident in South Australian non-Indigenous heritage frameworks, which include two pieces of legislation, the *Heritage Places Act (SA) 1993* and the *Development Act (SA) 1993*. The *Heritage Places Act* includes provisions for the listing and conservation of SA heritage places, while the *Development Act* provides for the listing and conservation of local heritage places. Each piece of legislation includes criteria, based loosely on the values outlined in the *Burra Charter*, that are used for the assessment of places to determine if they warrant inclusion on a state or local heritage register.

Anyone is able to nominate a place for SA heritage listing, and local councils usually undertake some form of community consultation when producing lists of places for scheduling. In both instances, heritage professionals undertake the assessment of the nominated places and make recommendations to either the State Heritage Council (a group of six to eight people with experience in history, archaeology, architecture, town planning, property development, or similar) or local councils about whether the item meets the required thresholds for state or local listing.

While the Heritage Council has the power to list places at the state level, the Minister has the power to reject nominated items if he or she deems it to be in the 'public interest' to do so. This arrangement means that, while the Heritage Council considers only 'heritage values' defined by the criteria listed in the act, the Minister for Sustainability, Environment and Conservation is expected to consider other values that may not be compatible with heritage values (i.e. financial values). Local councils submit a list of nominated local heritage places for scheduling under a Development Plan or a Development Plan Amendment to the State Minister for Planning. Similarly, this process allows for consideration of values that are wider than cultural significance.

Lesley Petrie examined the extent to which South Australian heritage legislation allows for the identification and conservation of intangible heritage and social value (Petrie 2005a; 2005b). Through an analysis of several cases Petrie identified that, compared to built heritage and associated, well-established, processes of expert-derived authenticity and value, intangible heritage and social value were more difficult to identify and protect (Petrie 2005b). This was partly because intangible heritage and social value were not easily incorporated into fabric-based methodologies of heritage assessment, but also because, even though criteria were inclusive of social value, state thresholds and administrative processes at a local level, such as Development Plan Amendments, restricted their inclusion (Petrie 2005a).

Identity and cultural heritage

Social value therefore goes some way toward incorporating aspects of cultural heritage that are intangible; it does not, however, explicitly link cultural heritage to social processes of identity formation. The relationship between identity and cultural heritage is widely recognised and, although it is not explicitly incorporated in the *Burra Charter* framework, it forms much of the underlying desire to preserve heritage and is closely linked to social value. Unlike social value, the relationship between heritage and identity is one which is recognised throughout the world. Before considering how cultural heritage and identities are related, the discussion first turns to considering the sociological nature of identity. This provides a basis for understanding how identities are formed through CHM.

Identity is not something that exists independently, rather it is created socially through interactions and negotiations between people (Lawler 2010; Olick and Robbins 1998:122). This occurs as a result of the structuring effects of interactions, where a person's 'place' in society is learned through ongoing interactions, beginning primarily

with family and close friends, but also subsequently including vast numbers of social others (Olick and Robbins 1998:123). A common misconception about identity is that it is fixed; instead it should be viewed as being in a state of flux, a social negotiation (Lawler 2010:1–8). We might view this with a 'long view,' where we can see that, as a person ages, they learn from experience and incorporate or cultivate particular traits into their identity (McLean and Pasupathi 2010). A person's sense of their own identity is very different when they are 18 compared to 30 or 80, as are other people's understandings of that same person's identity (Lawler 2010:11–12). Identity is also malleable in more immediate ways during social interactions, where a person may choose to promote or downplay certain traits associated with particular categories around which identities are formed, such as gender or ethnicity (Lawler 2010:2–3, 101–21).

Identity, is not simply about what people choose to portray though, it is discursive and requires that some 'other' actively interprets an individual's behaviours, appearance, language or cultural 'signs' and arrives at some sort of understanding of 'who' that person is. One way in which this can be done is through narrative. People create identities by "assembling various stories, experiences, episodes etc. within narrative" (Lawler 2010:11) and communicate them to others. Narrative here is not a fictional story; rather it is the creative act of weaving together life events that contribute to, or demonstrate, important characteristics that represent a person's identity (Lawler 1010:10–22).

This understanding of identity formation resonates well with heritage practice, where group identities past and present are formed through narrative processes very similar to those discussed by Lawler (Olick and Robbins 1998:124). One difference may be that the emphasis in heritage practice is on 'shared pasts', but narrative is also important to group identity formation (Olick and Robbins 1998:122–3). The formation of group identity involves the creation of in-groups and others, where the members of the in-group are

defined because they share certain characteristics that are held to be important (Graham and Howard 2008b:5). Group identity serves a social purpose: it can bind people together, creating bonds and solidarity between members of a group (Hall *et al.* 2003:31). Having a strong group identity might reasonably be seen to be a positive force because it allows people to form supportive networks. It may also disadvantage these same people, if their identity is viewed negatively by others (Hall *et al.* 2003:32; Lawler 2010:145–6).

Identity, power and cultural heritage

Identity therefore has effects on the way in which people view themselves and others and is fundamental to social differentiation, which is necessary for the formation of hierarchies. Hierarchies are inherently unequal, and implicit in their formation is a process of gaining ascendancy over others by engaging in various strategies. In this thesis hierarchies are used in a very general sense to describe the relative positioning of people in terms of social status, where status is gained and displayed through material, social or cultural means. At times the term 'organisational hierarchy' is also used to describe the structural characteristics of government departments. In that case the meaning is quite different and refers to the basis on which authority is conferred on people occupying different roles within an organisation. In each case, the people occupying a higher position in the hierarchy are usually seen as having more power than those who occupy lower positions. But what is power and where can it be found?

Following Daniel Miller and Christopher Tilley (Miller and Tilley 1984:5), power is usually described in archaeological literature as 'power to' or 'power over', where power to refers to "the capacity to bring about effects" (Hayward and Lukes 2008:6), while power over describes the ability of an individual or group to influence, direct or control the actions of others to bring about effects. The effects may not always be entirely predictable, but often when considering power there is an acknowledgment that power is

related to the ability of an individual, group or institution to influence or control circumstances in a way that fulfils or maintains their interests (Rorty 1992:2).

Interests, defined loosely as things that are of value, are crucial to understanding the way in which power operates, especially power over. This is because one of the simplest ways in which power over is exercised is by possessing something of value to another, for which they are willing to undertake some sort of action. A person's willingness to undertake the action is based within an evaluative process, using a socially derived values framework against which they can weigh up the benefits and disadvantages of acting in a particular way. Financial value is one type of value that an individual might take into consideration when choosing to act; they may also consider the moral or ethical consequences of their actions. Social justice is a particular ethical position that underlies many examinations of power and refers to the ability of individuals to realise their potential (Swift 2014–20). Identifying where power lies is important when social justice is threatened because it has implications for who is responsible for limiting others and who should be held to account for its effects (Hayward and Lukes 2008).

Structure and agency are two particularly important concepts when trying to identify where power lies (Hayward and Lukes 2008). Social structure is a term that is usually used to explain behaviours or conditions shared by groups of people from similar cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. Structures influence behaviour because they "are relatively durable meanings and expectations, sustained by systems of reward and sanction, which make some forms of action, if not impossible, then highly improbable, and others, if not inevitable, then exceedingly likely" (Hayward and Lukes 2008:15). Agency, on the other hand, describes the ability of individuals to make choices and to act. The concepts of social structure and agency have at times been seen as conflicting in terms of their ability to explain human behaviour and society, because if society has

structuring effects on behaviour then the ability of individuals to make choices is limited. Furthermore, if social structure shapes actions then how does social and cultural change come about? Several scholars have developed similar arguments that go some way to resolving this tension. While the terminology varies between authors (contrast Bourdieu 1977 and Giddens 1984, for example), their explanations for how society can be simultaneously structured but also subject to change are broadly similar.

Essentially, the argument is that people have a 'bank' of background knowledge which they draw upon to negotiate social interactions. This knowledge is structured or shaped by past experience arising from interactions with other people and is influenced by a range of cross-cutting social relations (e.g. nationality, class, type and level of education, the geographical locations in which people live, ethnicity or race). It is argued, however, that, although this knowledge is structured, shaped or in some way dependent on past experience, people use it creatively during social interactions, and therefore are not entirely constrained by it. The structures are therefore maintained, but are also modified through a web of ongoing social interactions.

Power over is therefore derived largely from social structure because the actions of individuals are shaped by socially determined systems of sanction and reward, whereas power to is more closely linked to agency because both terms (power to and agency) describe the capacity for individuals to act in ways that facilitate the pursuit of their interests and incorporate some degree of intent. Power is therefore neither structural nor entirely attributable to individuals; instead power exists in the tension between structure and agency.

While less concerned with reconciling the relationship between structure and agency, Michel Foucault developed a similar argument, rejecting entirely structural or agentive accounts of power. Foucault argues that power is constituted by a "multiplicity of force

relations" (Foucault 1990[1978]:92), where force is constituted by the different strategies employed by individuals, groups or institutions, rather than something embodied within any particular social entity. There is no central point from which power originates, instead "it is the moving base of relations of force that incessantly induce, by their inequality, states of power, but [the states] are always local and unstable" (Foucault 1990[1978]:93).

Foucault (1979:198) used 'capillary' as a metaphor to describe the way that he conceptualised power, acknowledging that at any point of time and in any given context there are social entities that can be identified as having more or less power, but that power shifts and is never truly possessed by any individual or group. This shifting nature of power has clear parallels to the dialectic interaction between structure and agency, where structure and agency are simultaneously and continuously shaping one another. Given the web-like and context-dependent nature of power, Foucault argued that any analysis of power should examine how power works through strategies, rather than analysing the specific qualities or internal structures of individuals, groups or institutions (Foucault 1982–11). He also argued that it is not the explicit intentions and aims of the 'powerful' that we should concern ourselves with, but how power is actually created, used and experienced and what the outcomes of its use are.

Foucault was concerned with discourses and the way in which they worked to define human subjects, particularly with tracing the emergence of modern medical and psychiatric knowledge, and identifying how these disciplines and their discourses came to define what is thought of as normal and abnormal behaviour (Foucault 1965; 1990[1978]). While he emphasised specific expert discourses, Foucault himself claimed to adopt a particularly broad understanding of discourse, "treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable groups of statements,

and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements" (Foucault [1969] 1972:80). While Foucault was aware of the range of possible discourses, he was also especially cognisant of the authority that medical psychiatric discourses were afforded due to the ontological shift after the Enlightenment that privileged rational scientific knowledge, dependent on the ability to reason or argue what constitutes the true nature of any given subject or phenomenon.

In this thesis discourse is seen to be any set of symbolically meaningful communicative actions (Bloor and Bloor 2007:6–7; Mills 2004:11). They can be speech- or text-based and can also incorporate non language-based media, including images and film. A key aspect of discourse which sets it apart from other classifications of texts is that it incorporates a group of expressions with similar meanings (Mills 2004:9–11). Discourses are structured and simultaneously add to structure because it is impossible to conceive of any discourse without it first being structured in some way by previous discourses (Mills 2004:9–11). Discourses arise from structure and agency and are intimately linked to power, especially when they work to define subjects in particular ways. It is here that Foucault's work on discourse, knowledge and power is most clearly defined and has been most enthusiastically taken up by other scholars.

The relationship between discourse, power and knowledge in archaeological practice has been most extensively studied using the concept of governmentality. 'Governmentality', a concept described by Michel Foucault (1991), but elaborated by others (Rose and Miller 1992) is, at its essence, a theory of rational government that identifies the strategic deployment of expert knowledges that are reliant on measurement and objectivity to make populations governable. 'Governmentality' has been applied to several studies of archaeological practice (Palus *et al.* 2006; Smith 2004), the most extensive being Laurajane

Smith's (2004) examination of the power relations between archaeologists and Indigenous people.

Smith's (2004) analysis traces the intersections of expert values and those held by Indigenous groups in negotiations and contestations over access to, and rights over, material culture. In this context processual archaeology is especially useful to governments because it professes rational claims to universal 'truths' and so is easily positioned as an impartial 'arbiter' in disputes over meaning and access to cultural heritage. According to Smith (2004), CHM, as an example of governmentality, produces discourses that define cultural heritage in ways that have the potential to exclude the points of view of 'non-experts' and are often supported by legislation or other legal discourses.

More recently, Smith (2006) has forcefully argued that expert knowledge is mobilised in the formation of an official government-sanctioned 'heritage', which she terms the authorised heritage discourse (AHD). According to Smith (2006) the AHD is based within, and reproduces, broader social relations, privileges expert knowledge and excludes other ways of understanding heritage. When defining the AHD Smith incorporated non-expert perspectives of heritage through analysis of expressions of working-class heritage in de-industrialised areas and responses of visitors to experiences provided at country manor houses. Smith compared these non-expert heritage discourses with official expert-derived discourses to identify where the differences lay and how these may or may not reflect the operation of power in the production of heritage. Power relations between other stakeholders, however, such as politicians, public servants, developers and local business owners who routinely interact during the process of CHM, were not evident in either of Smith's analyses (2004; 2006). The outcome is that Smith

has only defined archaeological 'authority' in regard to very particular 'non-expert' interest groups (in her case, communities and tourists).

Smith (2006:299) recognises that some of her arguments tend to gloss over the diversity of power relations in CHM and downplay the efforts of archaeologists and heritage managers to engage in theoretically informed practices that incorporate non-expert understandings of heritage value. Smith has also identified a need to examine the limits of archaeological authority in CHM, particularly "in negotiations with those economic interests who often subvert and overrule archaeological values and aspirations" (Smith 2004:198). Smith does not elaborate on the exact nature of the economic interests; however, the absence of research examining the role of experts during development-driven CHM—and the centrality of expert discourse to the consent processes within development—suggests that they may include property development companies.

While the place of discourse within studies of power is undeniably important, approaches which emphasise discourse have been criticised for not addressing the material reality of inequalities (Smith 2006). Critical discourse analysis, the approach favoured by Smith, reconciles this by adopting the philosophical approach of critical realism (Smith 2006:15). Critical realism holds that, although things exist independently of discourse, this material reality is only knowable through description. As Smith asserts, "critical realism recognises the power of discourses, but stresses the concrete social relations that underlie and generate discourses" (Smith 2006:15). In this thesis, the link between discourse and material reality is made more explicit by drawing on a loosely Marxist understanding of materiality and its link to social structure and power.

Briefly, Marx's theory of the structuring logic of capitalist economies rests on the understanding that the market is the structural whole of the economy (Chaffee 2010:74). Capital (labour or money) is used to create commodities that are exchanged in the market

(Marx 2003[1898]:108–116). The value of a commodity is labelled exchange-value, which ideally is greater than the cost of production. In capitalist systems workers are 'exploited' to provide labour for a wage that is less than the value of their total production. It is the difference between the cost of production and exchange-value that creates more capital, which, rather than being re-distributed, is retained by the capitalist (Marx 2003[1898]:117–119). In capitalist societies, therefore, workers are alienated from the means of production or 'the ability to do work', which resides with a small number of capitalists. The capitalist mode of production therefore creates an inversion of power as the worker is alienated from the one thing that gives them power to, and so therefore loses it entirely.

Following Foucault, others have suggested, that capitalism is part of the conditions in which power exists (Miller and Tilley 1984), and is better thought of as both an outcome of power and its source. Capitalism viewed in this way constitutes a set of social practices used to produce resources (i.e. money) and to maintain power over others. Power, however, is not a resource, "but it draws upon and creates resources and is present through its effects; on this basis it may be attributed to individuals, groups, institutions etc., who benefit from it" (Miller and Tilley 1984:7). The structuring effects of capitalism and its unequal distribution of resources are therefore a strategy of power. These same structuring effects also shape the discursive construction of class identity.

Class, identity and power

There is a complex relationship between class, identity and power, because class identification does not simply occur through discursive practices, but is also linked to the structural conditions of capitalism. Class can be thought of essentially in two broad ways: the first is that defined by Karl Marx in his writing about the capitalist mode of

production; the second is an understanding of class that emphasises its role in the production of social hierarchies through social and cultural distinction.

According to Marx and Engels (2003[1845]), under capitalism there are essentially three groups or classes of people: capitalists, the middle class and the working class (Marx and Engels use the terms bourgeoisie, petite bourgeoisie and proletarians respectively). A person's membership of one of these groups is defined by their relationship to the means of production: capitalists control the means of production through ownership, but do not labour in their own businesses, instead they use capital to purchase the labour of the working classes; the middle class includes those who work in their own businesses while sometimes employing small numbers of workers; and the working class are defined as the group of people who sell their labour for a wage.

Since its publication in 1845, this structural understanding of class has been critiqued and adapted to address the complexity of class and the changing nature of the capitalist system of production (Antonio 2003). While the structural conditions of class formation provide a basis for understanding class difference and inequality, class is also constructed through discursive and symbolic practices (Bourdieu 1984). Since the 19th century middle-class discourses about class have emphasised moral worth and refinement. Through these discourses the middle class have defined themselves as morally and socially refined. These same discourses, essentially middle-class ideals, were used to judge the working class. The extent to which the working class could actually attain the material hallmarks of respectability, and whether or not they bought into 'middle-class ideals', were unclear and have been of great interest to archaeologists, especially within colonial settings (e.g. Beaudry 2002; Karskens 1999; Lampard and Staniforth 2011; Murray and Mayne 2001; Quirk 2008; Van Bueren 2002; Yamin 2001).

While cultural expectations have undergone many changes since the 19th century, recent work regarding class has identified some of the ways in which it continues to be defined in terms of taste and moral worth (Sayer 2005b). Conspicuous consumption, for example, has been examined by sociologists (Bourdieu 1984; Eagleton 1989; Lawler 2010; Pini *et al.* 2012; Pini and Previte 2013; Skeggs 2012; Skeggs and Wood 2012) who wish to understand the way in which consumption and display of goods is linked to the formation of class identities. In Australia the phenomenon of the cashed up bogan (CUB) is one area that has received recent attention (Pini *et al.* 2012; Pini and Previte 2013). 'Bogan' is an Australian term describing cultural traits that are often associated with people from lower socio-economic areas, loosely the Australian working class (although the term bogan is a complicated one which is not easily 'classed' see for example Rossiter 2012).

The differences that middle-class and working-class people exhibit in their culture (Lawler 2010:129) are constructed through discursive and material practices, which themselves arise from class structure and hierarchy. The abbreviation CUB is used to describe predominantly those people who experienced increased purchasing power gained from high wages during the Australian mining boom of the first decade of the 21st century. Underwriting the term is a criticism of the CUB's lack of taste and refinement, which largely middle-class observers claim is demonstrated by the CUB's conspicuous consumption (Pini *et al.* 2012; Pini and Previte 2013). CUB discourses have been interpreted as a response to the increasing financial affluence of workers and are an attempt to neutralise the threat that the CUB's monetary gains represent to middle-class hierarchical ascendancy (Pini *et al.* 2012; Pini and Previte 2013). CUB discourses, together with other middle-class moralising of working-class cultural preferences, are constructed to ensure that working-class culture has a lower status than middle-class culture regardless of financial wealth.

The process of differentiating positions within hierarchies through material and discursive practices that define what is and what is not an appropriate display of taste was described by Pierre Bourdieu as 'distinction' (Bourdieu 1984). Bourdieu (1984, 2011 [1986]) argued that people draw on three interrelated forms of capital in their negotiations of social hierarchy: economic, social and cultural capital. Economic capital is essentially material wealth which can be exchanged for the other two forms of capital. Social capital refers to the social connections that exist between people and is closely related to status because it requires that people are accepted as belonging to the same status group. Bourdieu largely uses social capital to describe the benefits that people gain from associating with one another, but membership of a particular social group cannot simply be bought. It is also necessary to display certain cultural traits which Bourdieu refers to as cultural capital; essentially referring to knowledge of how to behave in certain social situations, such as polite manners, or knowledge of, and appreciation for, certain cultural forms, such as motor sport, as compared to art and architecture. It is essentially about being able to display, partly through the purchase of material goods, a certain type of taste; which is used, although not always consciously, to reinforce social capital.

It is important to recognise that CUB discourses and other moralising views of working-class culture are external criticisms and do not necessarily represent the views that working-class people have of themselves. Nor is it necessarily the case that the culture of elites will have more value than working-class culture in every social setting (Carter 2003–138). It is true, however, that class has very real social consequences and, as Sayer (2005b:1) suggests, "it affects how others value us and respond to us, which in turn affects our sense of self-worth".

Some researchers have suggested that, in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, people have tended to try and dis-identify with being working class (e.g. Paton (2010). To some extent

this has been linked to an apparent removal of class from public discourse and consciousness as part of neoliberal political rhetoric (Bailey and Popple 2011:21; Lawler 2010:126). Paula Surridge (2007) found that class-based identities may be important to certain groups but not others. In particular, she established that men were more likely to identify as working class and that people employed in unskilled or trades-based employment were more likely to have a class-based identity than salaried workers. Levels of education were also important. Even more telling was Surridge's conclusion that those traditionally associated with the working class were more likely to identify as having a class-based identity, while those associated with the middle class were less likely to think of themselves as belonging to any class. Surridge (2007:213) suggests that this may reflect the normative nature of the 'middle class': it is not necessary to identify as being middle class because it is normal to be so. Furthermore, Surridge (2007:210) found that there may be a rejection of working-class identity in public, especially by women, for whom working-class identity carries with it particular "implications of a lack of respectability" (Surridge 2007:14). But she also notes that there may be political and practical reasons for its acceptance in particular circumstances, such as the workplace.

Others who have focussed on the subjective experience of class and its effect on whether someone identifies as being working class have suggested that the absence of class from expressions of identity may not constitute a conscious rejection of class (Bottero 2004). Instead, Boterro (2004) suggests that being working class is not relevant in terms of the way that people actually experience class and therefore does not become part of their understanding of their own identity. This is because there is a tendency for individuals to associate with other people from similar social and cultural backgrounds and to see themselves as 'middling'. This tendency to associate with similar people arises from processes of distinction where social capital is created through interactions amongst people from similar status groups.

There is a difference between individualised expressions of 'classed' experience and group identification based on economic and political differentiation. The relationship between the two is not clear cut, but arises from three different, co-existing understandings of class: 'us and them', hierarchy and structural (Boterro 2004:996). The question that arises from Botterro's, and also to some extent Surridge's, analysis then is: "not why the working-class have relinquished class identifications, but rather why, and under what circumstances, hierarchically differentiated groups adopt explicit class discourses …" (Bottero 2004:997).

Class, identity and heritage

Explicit class discourse arises from heritage practices in two ways: first, communities and heritage professionals engage in practices of remembrance and meaning making which emphasise or promote class-based identities. At times these groups work together collaboratively and other times independently. The production of class-based discourses through heritage practice can serve a variety of purposes, which will be explored more fully below. Second, heritage professionals undertake research examining how power and class affects heritage practices, reporting their findings in academic discourse. For heritage professionals the aim of engaging in research of this nature is to produce accounts of class that improve understanding of the barriers to working-class participation in, and creation of, heritage. The hope is that this will lead to directions for more inclusive, meaningful and therefore better heritage practice.

Working-class participation in heritage

Early studies of working-class culture and its relationship to heritage tended to focus on the enjoyment of museums and other official heritage experiences. This focus, derived from a particular ethical position, holds that museums are public institutions set up for

the enjoyment of all; however, if only certain sections of society visit and benefit from them, then their justification as a public good is limited. In a seminal study Merriman (1991) found that working-class people generally did not attend museums in the same numbers as middle-class people. This lack of working-class participation in mainstream heritage has been interpreted as reflecting a rejection of middle-class cultural expressions and forms by working-class people because of a lack of cultural familiarity and relevance (Merriman 1991; Bourdieu and Darbel 1997 cited in Watson 2011: 374).

Participation of working-class people in heritage continues to be of interest, and it has been suggested that barriers to working-class participation, other than social and cultural alienation and exclusion, still exist. Sheila Watson (2011:376), for example, argues that there are a range of practical barriers to working-class participation in heritage, such as a lack of time and money resulting from irregular work and lower pay. Their lack of involvement, therefore, may not be due to a lack of interest in authorised heritage, but simply because circumstances limit their ability to become involved.

During a community archaeology project organised by the Great Yarmouth Museum in Norfolk, Watson found that dissonance in the project came from middle-class participants who had grievances about past exclusion from professional salvage archaeology projects. The working-class participants who had not been involved in past politics of access to archaeology had an entirely positive view towards the project. Watson put the success and support of the project partly down to the working-class community actually requesting it, asking, "Why can't we dig like they do on *Time Team*?" (Watson 2011:369). The other reason was that, unlike stately homes and museums, with a deeply ingrained history of class differentiation, attitudes of working-class people to archaeology have been shaped by television, which tends to flatten cultural distinctions,

thereby making archaeology a more accessible cultural form than a museum or stately home (Watson 2011:374).

There is also evidence that working-class people have strong interests in certain types of heritage. For example, Emma Waterton (2011:350) found that 32.5% of visitors to an industrial museum in Stoke on Trent were from "routine or manual occupations"—much higher than the 14% from this group who were recorded during a Museums, Libraries and Archives Council UK survey. Waterton's findings support those of Carnegie (2006:79), who suggests that most visitors to working-class heritage sites were also middle class. The higher levels of participation of working-class people in particular types of heritage activities led Waterton (2011) to suggest that questions about why the working class do not participate in heritage are misguided, and that the heritage of elites may simply be of little interest to them. Insights such as this have precipitated a broadening of research, from questioning why working-class people are not participating in mainstream forms of heritage, to trying to understand the forms that working-class heritage takes and the limitations to incorporating these within current frameworks.

Post-industrial communities and working-class heritage

Much heritage studies literature examines class and heritage within western countries, where deindustrialisation, brought about by redistribution of manufacturing, has created similar social and economic conditions. In many post-industrial settings where unemployment is high, unions, working men's clubs and women's federations have less relevance (Wray 2011:106–110). An absence of 'traditional' working-class jobs has also been linked with the rejection of working-class identity because class and work within the capitalist system are so closely related (Paton 2010–151). The net result of post-industrialisation has therefore been a general breaking down of the economic conditions

and social organisations that reinforced working-class ties and identity (Chidester and Gadsby 2009:130–132; Smith and Campbell 2011:89–91; Wedgwood 2011:119–124).

There is some evidence, however, that during times of industrial change, residents from working-class areas develop a strong sense of cultural heritage, drawing on symbols of past unity and identity during the creation of social capital (Smith and Campbell 2011; Wedgwood 2009; 2011; Wray 2011). In post-industrial contexts heritage becomes something around which communities can organise, reconnecting old networks and developing new ones. Of central importance to this mobilisation and consolidation is that heritage becomes a source of pride (Smith and Campbell 2011:97; Wedgwood 2009:287–295; Wray 2011:117). While pride occurs at least partly because working-class heritage receives external recognition, potentially providing a source of economic revitalisation, it also arises from recognition within the community itself that working-class culture has value and importance (Wedgwood 2009:290). Positive class identity is important for the working class, especially in de-industrialising contexts where economic restructuring disempowers the working class by rendering strategies such as collective action less effective.

One area in which working-class heritage has been identified as being different from other more traditional forms of heritage is that it often incorporates important intangible practices, such as marches and performance. The extent to which interest in the intangible represents a lack of interest in tangible aspects of heritage is not addressed much in the literature. Exceptions to this do exist, such as Paul Maunder's (2011) examination of class and heritage in New Zealand, where he suggests that "as an inheritance" working-class heritage "is not object based" (Maunder 2011:139–40). Maunder's argument is based mainly on the observation that, aside from banners and other small portable items, the material legacy of labour is largely outside the ownership

and control of the working class. A similar argument has been made by John Hartigan (2000), who notes a tendency for the white US working class to view heritage as intangible—as history—whereas the middle-class view it in terms of tangible property, especially houses. Although neither Maunder nor Hartigan acknowledge it, the tendency for working-class heritage to privilege intangible forms is most likely related to the inability of working-class people to participate in the preservation of tangible heritage (Smith 2006). It does not mean, however, that they do not form attachments to tangible things or places (see Wedgewood 2009:280 for a discussion and Prangnell and Mate 2011 for an example related to place).

De-politicisation of working-class heritage for consumption

While the emphasis of much heritage research regarding class has sought to examine processes around the formation of classed identities and how this may lead to unequal access to, or enjoyment of, cultural heritage, Magnus Nilsson (2011) has moved beyond this to question what purpose an identity politics of class serves. Nilsson suggests that the goal of identity politics of class is to develop respect for working-class culture to foster a recognition that it is valued and worthy of heritage preservation. This contrasts with the politics of class, which aims to radically alter the system based on the exploitation of the working class by capitalists. Drawing on Marx, Nilsson suggests that the politics of working-class identity may actually be counterproductive to the politics of class exploitation because the existence of a working-class identity requires the existence of an exploitative class system. He does, however, acknowledge that working-class identity politics may have some benefit to the working classes, particularly given the existence of discrimination based on social hierarchies, which can undermine social justice. He also suggests that, "as long as the fundamental distinction between class politics and the politics of recognition or identity is upheld, the latter kind of politics

need not obscure or displace the struggle against the class injustice of exploitation" (Nilsson 2011:188).

Nilsson's cautioning seems to be well placed because a tendency for class politics to be rendered implicit within heritage discourses has been noted by several authors. Paul Shackel's (2011) examination of memorialisation of the Mayday riots in Chicago identified that Police and Labour organisations excluded the perspectives of anarchists from the negotiation of a new meaning for the Mayday memorial. Together, Police and Labour shifted the emphasis from class politics to one that championed another highly political position, that of free speech. This new political position was rejected by the anarchists, who claimed that it did not represent the true spirit of the riots; however, its adoption by labour and the police reflected a common purpose and shared goals. This apparent solidarity was demonstrated in part by the police commissioner's acknowledgement of the establishment of the labour movement within the police force.

In her analysis of class at a Welsh coal mining museum Bella Dicks (2008) identified a similar obscuring of class politics within heritage practices. During guided tours provided by former miners, Dicks observed that within the tours the guides switched between several 'voices': an official voice and one which was hidden, surfacing only in unscripted tours. The official 'voice' repeated the written museum narrative, emphasising "miner's resilience, autonomy, solidarity and dignity" (Dicks 2008:448). Occasionally the hidden voice broke through and the guides provided personal stories that were not sanitised, as well as acknowledging the injustices experienced by mine workers as a result of their class position (Dicks 2008:448). Obscuring of class politics at the Welsh colliery appears to have occurred largely for the benefit of middle-class heritage consumers, although this was not explored explicitly by Dicks, who was more interested in the implications of employment within the heritage industry for former mine workers.

Similarly, in Broken Hill, Reeves *et al.* (2009) noted that the causes of impoverishment in the early 20th century were omitted from a memorial to working-class women who, despite hardships, were able to survive and care for their families:

> … those who close the pits, or pin the wages at subsistence levels, are nowhere evident in the memorial. Hunger and hardship is simply something that happens to mining communities. The class dynamic that generates poverty is somehow left out. (Reeves *et al.* 2009:311).

Rather than acknowledging the effect of the capitalist system and the role of capitalists in the creation of poverty, heritage memorialisation in Broken Hill presents poverty as a natural fact of life, simply the way things were. Reeves *et al.* (2009:311) argue that obscuring the injustices of the class system in this way serves the interests of those who wish to promote a positive working-class identity and those who are interested in economic development. Described as "working both ways", this emphasis on dual purpose and benefit results in heritage interpretation that, on the one hand, engages in a politics of identity and recognition while, on the other, sidelines class politics. In a similar way to Dicks' Welsh Colliery, obscuring class politics in Broken Hill is driven by a desire to commodify heritage for middle-class consumers.

The accounts provided by Shackel (2011), Reeves *et al.* (2009) and Dicks (2008) are extremely important because they raise questions about why certain aspects of class are obscured within heritage interpretation and not others. As a study of class dynamics in the present, heritage studies research therefore augments the question posed by Bottero (2004) by also asking: why, and under what circumstances, is class politics rendered implicit?

Gentrification and working-class heritage

One area of particular interest within this thesis is the relationship between heritage and gentrification. Broadly, gentrification describes a social and economic process by which middle-class people move into inner city and post-industrial areas as working-class people move out, changing the status and property values of the affected neighbourhoods in the process. Like heritage, gentrification is premised on cultural consumption by the middle class (Hannigan 1995; Zukin 1987). In Australia two broad phases occur during gentrification (Rofe 2004:193–194, 196). The first is a slow gentrification whereby middle-class people begin purchasing property in de-industrialised working-class areas. These new residents support the establishment of small scale cultural businesses catering to middle-class desires. Cultural and economic change occur slowly until they reach a point where capitalists, eager to benefit from the new-found popularity invest in the gentrifying area, begin producing speculative developments.

This second phase of capitalist investment is characterised by rapid physical changes to the environment, such as large scale multi-storey buildings and an influx of new residents who do not necessarily share the cultural values of either the remaining working class or the initial waves of middle-class residents (Rofe 2004:200–202). Eventually the increasing popularity of gentrifying areas to middle-class consumers increases property values and forces working-class people out because they cannot afford increases in rent (Zukin 1987:135–136). Many authors studying gentrification as a specific set of class-based social relations and processes have indicated its connections to heritage, especially the relationship between the built environment and middle-class consumption and tastes (Jager 1986; Shaw 2005; Zukin 1987), but also preservation of social authenticity (Brown-Saracino 2009).

One of the most straightforward ways in which the relationship between heritage and gentrification has been considered is through the establishment of conservation areas. Here 'heritageisation', or the process of making something 'heritage', is stimulated and confirmed through listing, which increases the value of a place because it makes it desirable to cultural consumers, but also contributes to the exclusion of working-class people from the area because they struggle to participate in the new real estate market (Herzfeld 2010; Morell 2011; Zukin 1987). As working-class people leave, the resulting materiality—once working class—now lacks the social milieu of a working-class area and so becomes something else altogether.

This process was evident in the neighbourhood of Es Barri, Ciutat, Mallorca, where, during the 1990s, manufacturing businesses were phased out in favour of 'traditional' crafts and artisanship (Morell 2011:293). Only certain businesses were supported in establishing the 'traditional' culture of the area, those that could be marketed for tourism. At the same time an interpretation centre which glossed over the classed nature of the past was established, where actors representing the working class were described as the 'humble class'. The end result was that "artisanship, let alone manual work, was to be purged and elevated to heritage without a single reference to the hardships and struggles of the working class (a concept never mentioned)" (Morell 2011:295).

In Es Barri the ability to produce their own identity in a public realm was taken away from working-class people by the capitalist desire to produce place in such a way that it encouraged creation of surplus—i.e. middle class—value. For Marc Morell (2011:296–298) the alienation of the working class from this process represents a form of exploitation, because, even though it is the working-class identity which gives the place its heritage appeal, they are alienated from the processes of preservation and public

interpretation. Furthermore, they are also excluded from accessing the surplus value created through heritageisation and gentrification.

Gadsby and Chidester's (Gadsby and Chidester 2011) account of archaeology and heritage in Hampden, a gentrifying working-class area in Baltimore, raises similar issues to Morell's. In this case they point out that discourses about the past in Hampden are drawn on in the present to justify approaches to urban renewal. Discourses about working-class residents in Hampden tend to be negative, suggesting that they do not have a history worth caring about. Working class is 'othered' in everyday discourses, but also through marketing and advertising campaigns (Gadsby and Chidester 2011:101–2). This process seeks to place the working class into the past and justify the influx of middle-class residents and the cultural forms that they prefer such as renovated industrial buildings and workers cottages, together with shops catering to middle-class tastes.

Working-class identity is not absent from Hampden's present; rather it is appropriated and reworked by those who wish to capitalise on Hampden's gentrification. In Hampden, a working-class kitsch developed, represented by events such as Hon Fest, where residents dress up as caricatures of working-class people. Gadsby and Chidester suggest that the " … new Hampden's thriving retail and real estate economy is dependent on this use of quasi working-class images even as it strives to force the community's actual working-class residents off the streets and into the no-man's-land of [the] working past" (Gadsby and Chidester 2011:102). Gadsby and Chidester are not as overt as Morell in their discussion of whether the adoption of working-class identity by the middle class and capitalists represents exploitation. It is clear that they see it as an unjust appropriation of working-class identity and culture by other social groups in order to justify the production of surplus value within a neighbourhood real estate market.

Identity, place and sense of place

Discussions of gentrification invariably revolve around locations, neighbourhoods or places. While at some level each of these terms has some application within studies of gentrification, place is a term particularly favoured within heritage practice in Australia. The purpose of the *Burra Charter,* for example, is to provide a framework for identifying what makes places important and for considering how changes to place may affect the values which different groups associate with them. Place, however, is a complex concept and it requires unpacking before considering the likely effects that changes to place may actually have.

Place is generally accepted to have a spatial dimension in the sense that it relates to a real geographical location (Cresswell 2004; Marquis-Kyle and Walker 2004; Vanclay 2008). Its scale can vary, ranging from a room to a neighbourhood or a planet. For many, place is more than just a location. One of the earliest theorists to consider place was the geographer Yi Fu Tuan, who defined it by comparing it to space. For Tuan, space is empty, expansive and more abstract: "What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value" (Tuan 1977:6). According to Tuan, the value that people associate with places stems from the meanings and attachments that they develop through experience, using the senses of sight, hearing, touch and smell. The "… most straightforward and common definition of place" is "a meaningful location*"* (Cresswell 2004:7; see also Vanclay 2008: 3). This definition incorporates two parts, location and meaning and, although the *Burra Charter* definition of place only incorporates location, it allows for meanings and attachments to be articulated through the concept of cultural significance.

Definitions of place, are far from settled and, perhaps because of the emphasis on meaning, some authors have questioned whether places have boundaries at all. Massey

states that "… places do not have boundaries in the sense of divisions which frame simple enclosures. 'Boundaries' may of course be necessary, for the purposes of certain kinds of studies for instance, but they are not necessary for the conceptualization of the place itself." (Massey 1997:322). In a similar way Malpas (Malpas 2008:200) uses the term 'bounded openness' to describe the relationship between meaning and the spatial dimensions of place. It is therefore possible, and perhaps even necessary, in an analysis of place to move between scales when considering the meanings and attachments that constitute it.

A similar concept to place is 'sense of place', which Vanclay (2008:5) suggests refers to individual experience and the meanings and attachments individuals form with place. Because of this, each person's sense of place is considered to be unique. Sense of place is difficult to measure because of this individuality, but it is possible to arrive at an understanding of 'place' by identifying the common features that people use when forming it. Massey has suggested that what is important is not an internal and individual 'sense of place', but the "fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus" (Massey 1997:322). Similarities in the experiences of place are therefore a shared foundation that people can draw on in the creation of group identity.

The linking of group identity to place is a discursive one; it is through discourse that individuals confirm and re-confirm their idea of what a place is, their sense of it and their connection to it "and also their connection to others who share a similar sense of place" (Vanclay 2008:8). It is through the telling of stories that a "place becomes 'our place' or 'our patch', where we assert some authority, or ownership, or at least some connection to place" (Vanclay 2008:5) and one another. Place therefore features in the creation of group identity in terms of who belongs to *our group* and *this place* and who does not.

Local/non-local

Localness, or being a local, is perhaps the most obviously definable identity which can be attached to place. In some ways localness is easy to define: viewed simplistically it relates to someone who lives within a geographically defined area—the locality—or perhaps to descendants of people who lived in the area. It might also be extended to people who spent their childhood within a location, because childhood and adolescence are seen to be formative years within western ontologies (Jenks 2005). Such definitions rely on notions of geographical proximity, but the key to being a local is actually that a person has an intimate knowledge and connection with place.

Unpacking this further, Vanclay (2008:8) suggests that there are seven discrete aspects to sense of place: place attachment, place identity, place dependence, place familiarity, place commitment and place satisfaction. The two of most use for defining what *is* or *is not* local are place familiarity and place attachment. Place familiarity describes the extent to which people have knowledge of an area and place attachment describes the extent to which they feel connected to a place and are affected by changes to it. The key therefore to being local is not necessarily living close to a place; instead it requires knowledge of place and connections to the physical environment and other people. While place familiarity takes time to develop, this does not necessarily mean that new arrivals to a place do not develop their own sense of localness, and it certainly does not exclude them from forming attachments to a place (Schofield and Szymanski 2011b:2–4).

While heritage work by its very nature is to some extent tied to locations, examining what localness means in terms of heritage management has been relatively neglected. The majority of the literature surrounding local interests in CHM examines the effects of world heritage listing on communities who live near or within world heritage places (for example see contributions to Labadi and Long 2010). This is not the aim of this thesis.

Port Adelaide is not on the World Heritage list, but it does have a particularly strong local identity. This study therefore has more in common with recent explorations of local heritage, its connection to place and approaches for incorporating localness into CHM methodologies (Schofield and Szymanski 2011a). In the context of gentrification, a concept also poorly represented in the heritage literature, identification of an area as working class or middle class is vitally important because it also works to define which groups have a claim to place and who has the right to control the physical and discursive construction of its class identity, as well as the direction of physical and symbolic changes.

Changes to place

In considering the effects of change, Malpas (2008) draws on an understanding that sense of place is relational. He begins by explaining that place is actually central to the experience of reality, or as Larsen and Johnson (2012:632) summarise it, "existence is placed: Anything that 'is' first requires a situation to provide both context and horizon for its availability as an object. Place is how the world presents itself; that is to say, being inevitably requires a place, a situation, for its disclosure." Malpas (2008:205) suggests that "place can thus be understood … as a structure of interconnection – things only appear inasmuch as they stand in relation to other things", whereas relations are not just physical dispositions but also include the meanings and attachments that different people associate with place.

Understanding place as a point within physical and discursive relations means that "to have this sense of place is to have a sense of the uniqueness of this place – of its difference from other places" (Malpas 2008:205). For Malpas this has two consequences: the first is that, while the physical character of a place and aspects of its 'relatedness' may change, physical changes do not necessarily negatively affect the meanings and

attachments that people associate with it. The second is that it is never possible to recreate a place because the recreation will always have a different set of relations to "other places and things" (Malpas 2008:206).

It is the first of these points which is most surprising within the context of cultural heritage, especially since frameworks such as the *Burra Charter* emphasise very strongly that it is best to alter the physical fabric of places as little as possible. Malpas's point is supported to some extent by one empirical case study. In the case of the Chuuk Islands (Federated States of Micronesia), Rosita Henry and William Jeffery (2008) found that physical changes arising from climate change enhanced social values associated with places. Drawing on an understanding of heritage as something that usually comes to be defined in the face of imminent loss and representing a desire to keep things as they are or were, Henry and Jeffery noted that, in the Chuuk Islands, the physical loss of place associated with rising sea levels and the submerging of islands was not met with a similar loss of meaning or attachment (i.e. cultural significance or 'place'). Henry and Jeffery (2008) found that inhabitants of Chuuk responded to the physical changes in ways that actually renewed kinship strategies, despite sites no longer being visible or accessible, and the physical changes were therefore generative of new heritage values and social capital.

Conclusion

Central to this thesis are questions of value, power and control over heritage practice and the implications for the meanings attached to places that exist at various scales in Port Adelaide. Simplistically, the framework guiding this analysis is one that recognises that discourse is central to the creation of identities and cultural heritage and that both identity and heritage are closely linked to places. Discourse, is also a tool through which power operates by defining the true nature of a given subject. Although the discourse of heritage professionals, as experts, is easily identified as having the ability to shape CHM

outcomes, in the context of Port Adelaide there is potential for class-based discourses also to impact on cultural heritage practices. Importantly, it is not just discourse that shapes class identity, nor is discourse the only strategy of power that has the potential to affect heritage practice. Money or other resources are also central to questions of power in capitalist societies. Resources, like discourse, have the ability to be used to influence people's actions and therefore are also linked to outcomes.

3

METHOD

This study used ethnography, a qualitative approach previously used in community archaeology (Agbe-Davies 2011; Bartu 2000; Clarke 2002; Hamilton 2000; Pyburn 2009; Reeves 2004) and heritage studies (Orange 2011). Ethnography is an inductive and iterative methodology that evolves through the course of a study and aims to provide a rich and detailed account of a social group or culture (Fetterman 2010:1–14; O'Reilly 2009:3). From a conventional point of view the principal method of ethnographic research is observation (see Gobo 2008:5 and 24–5); however, interviews, questionnaires or documentary analysis have also been incorporated into ethnographic methodologies (see Fetterman 2010:33–67 for discussion of the range of methods used in ethnography; but alsoThomas 1993).

The use of ethnographic methodology has served many purposes within heritage research: to inform archaeological interpretation of material culture using ethnographic accounts of living cultures (Kramer 1979; Meehan and Jones 1988; Watson 1979); to generate reflexivity in archaeological methodology and reveal hidden assumptions, particularly in field work (Bateman 2006; Hamilton 2000); to examine the role that fieldwork plays in the creation of archaeologists (Holtorf 2006; Reybrouck and Jacobs 2006); to identify contemporary attachments and values associated with archaeological and heritage places (Byrne and Nugent 2004; Harrison 2004); to provide the cultural awareness necessary for collaborative projects (Bartu 2000; McClanahan 2006); to investigate what archaeology means within society at large (Holtorf 2005); to examine what it is that community and public archaeology projects actually do (Potter Jr 1994;

Simpson 2010), and to examine the relationship between place and identity (Orange 2011).

Critical ethnography

Traditional ethnographic accounts, usually informed by an interpretive standpoint or paradigm (for an explanation of paradigms see Kuhn 1977; Neuman 2011:90–122; Walter 2010:20–3), create ideographic explanations of culture that accept cultural meanings at face value, assuming the status quo (Thomas 2003:47). Critical ethnography situates description within a broader social and institutional context, to examine, uncover and question societal structures and discourses and the role they play in empowering or disenfranchising groups of people (but also see Brown and Dobrin 2004:3–5; O'Reilly 2009:51–6; see especially Thomas 1993). Aside from the ontologically driven differences in analytical focus, critical ethnography draws from the same methods of data collection and analysis as interpretive ethnographies (Thomas 1993:10–12).

Critical ethnography was an appropriate methodology for this thesis because it was suited to researching the cultural context of CHM in Port Adelaide, and was especially well suited to uncovering the ways in which different stakeholders were able to influence outcomes. After an initial period of familiarisation with the setting it also became apparent that there had been extensive media and other discourse produced about cultural heritage and its management in Port Adelaide. A further consideration in the selection of critical ethnography was that analysis of the discourses within these documents could be easily incorporated into the methodology.

Researcher standpoint

Rather than try and downplay the role of the researcher in shaping ethnographic accounts, critical ethnography requires that the researcher's social and political standpoint

be incorporated into hermeneutic interpretation (see Thomas 1993:5 for a discussion). Addressing questions of social and political conflict and inequality is often also a crucial aspect of community archaeology and heritage studies research, particularly in those projects that foreground links to applied anthropology or activist research (Little 2007; Shackel and Chambers 2004; Stottman 2010). Making explicit the injustices, power imbalances or other social problems that the research aims to address, and the attitude of the researcher towards these, is therefore a necessary part of this thesis.

Here the researcher's standpoint is defined as a commitment to working with individuals and organisations with an interest in preserving, investigating and communicating aspects of Port Adelaide's cultural heritage, particularly those under threat from development. In addition, this is underlined by a commitment to using and developing community archaeology methodologies to achieve this aim and to further the development of community archaeology and heritage studies research. The most obvious heritage organisations within this setting were Port Adelaide National Trust (PoANT) and SAMM, and the development most likely to have the greatest impact on cultural heritage was the 50 hectare LMC and NPQ waterfront development.

Another important aspect of the researcher's standpoint is the theoretical position established for this thesis. This position was developed partly through a close reading of social theorists, particularly those who highlight the structuring role of capitalism (Marx 2003[1898]; Marx and Engels 2003[1845]) and discourse (Foucault 1982; Foucault 1991; Foucault 1972[1969]; Marx 2003[1898]; Marx and Engels 2003[1845]), as well as those that provide concepts useful for bridging the gap between structure and agency (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984). The researcher's standpoint was also reinforced through preliminary analysis of documents, observations and interviews that indicated clearly that the content centred on class and the privileging of capital.

Field settings and researcher participation

An important aspect of ethnographic research (critical or otherwise) is accessing field settings (Fetterman 2010:35–7; O'Reilly 2009:5–13), which are locations where the researcher interacts with people from the cultural group being studied, observing them and asking questions. Over the course of this research (March 2009-November 2011) it was possible to gain access to a range of different field settings where people expressed attitudes, values and beliefs towards cultural heritage, its management and archaeology. Settings accessed during the research included 'day-to-day' interactions with members of the public; a heritage information meeting hosted by the Port Adelaide Regional Environment Protection Group (PAREPG); social events hosted by PoANT for members, PoANT general meetings and monthly PoANT committee meetings; the SAMM administration office and exhibition building, where numerous informal conversations were held; a stall presenting the results of archaeological fieldwork at the 2011 Port Festival; sites of archaeological field work; and exhibitions and public talks presenting the results of archaeological investigations. Some of these settings were freely available to the researcher, including day-to-day interactions with members of the public, together with public heritage meetings and the 2011 Port Festival. Others required that connections were made with other archaeologists, members of PoANT, SAMM and the LMC. Initial contact with these organisations and individuals was provided through introductions by a senior archaeologist who had been researching in Port Adelaide since 1998.

Researcher participation in these settings oscillated between one of two modes: archaeologist or ethnographer. At the sites of archaeological field work the researcher was employed as an archaeologist, and therefore had responsibilities to undertake and supervise archaeological excavation and recording. Similarly, at the public talks and the

archaeological stall the researcher gave presentations and was responsible for the overall organisation of the events. In these settings it was therefore necessary to take a step back from the archaeological activities to ensure that an ethnographic approach could also be adopted. In other settings, such as day-to-day interactions, public heritage meetings or PoANT committee meetings, it was possible for the researcher to adopt an ethnographic mode.

All research for this thesis was developed according to the guidelines for ethical conduct of research set out by the Australian Government (2007) *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research*. The Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (approval number 4740) reviewed the research design for this thesis, and the specific steps taken to ensure harm minimisation and informed consent were approved. Throughout this thesis names of individuals have either been replaced with descriptive titles in the case of heritage professionals (i.e. senior archaeologist, museum employee 1, museum employee 2 etc.), or made pseudonymous (i.e. for community members). The only exception to this are public documents where names were already published and easily accessible and one community archaeology participant, Malcolm Bartsch, who requested that his true name be used.

The methods used in this research included participant observation and recording of ethnographic field notes, thematic analysis of in-depth interviews, thematic analysis and statistical analysis of structured interviews, and discourse analysis of various documents (newspapers, newsletters, flyers, letters, emails, and minutes).

Field Notes

Observations made while in these settings were recorded as field notes, either written in a notebook or dictated using a digital voice recorder, and subsequently transcribed using a word processor. The main purpose of writing field notes was to record details of

conversations that the researcher observed or participated in that provided evidence of the beliefs, values and attitudes of people toward CHM and archaeology. It was rare that notes were made as the social interactions were actually happening because this was usually only possible during meetings in which the researcher was primarily an observer. More often than not observations were recorded immediately following a particular social event or interaction, reflecting the reality of participant observation which requires a weighing up of observation and participation (Emerson *et al.* 1995:39–42).

Where possible, verbatim quotes were recorded and indicated with quotation marks; however, often only the general narrative of the conversation could be recalled and recorded in the field notes. Evidence of the emotional state of the people being observed was also included, but only when particularly pronounced (e.g. crying from sadness or raising voices in anger). When participating in field settings the researcher asked questions to establish the social background of people being observed. Questioning for this purpose took the form of 'small talk,' and was based around indicators such as place of residence, type of employment, and familial background. But, because conversations are fluid negotiations between people, it was not always possible to gather this information during interactions. It was even more problematic to gather this type of information when the researcher was observing but not participating in interactions. Where direct questioning could not be used, inferences about a person's social background were made based on observed associations with an organisation, employer, place or event. While it was recognised that this was not a perfect process, it was not always possible or appropriate to ask people unequivocal questions about their social background.

Most of the field notes written for this research remain as what Emerson *et al.* (1995:17–35) characterise as 'jottings'—notes that are made to aid recollection when writing more

structured and carefully written descriptive field notes. Although this is not the most desirable way in which to record and present field notes, the richness of other data meant that participant observation remained a subsidiary form of data collection for this research. Some observations regarding the attitudes of people toward archaeology, CHM and development have been incorporated into the analysis. More often, the information included in the field notes was used to provide the contextual information necessary to plan for in-depth interviews and structured interviews.

In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews were used to gather detailed and rich qualitative data regarding the beliefs and attitudes of people toward CHM and archaeology. The method was selected because the dynamic and iterative nature of the interviewing process (Rubin and Rubin 2005:14) made it possible for the priorities of the interviewees to be explored within broadly framed guidelines. In addition, it allowed the researcher to explore the attitudes of participants in depth (Rubin and Rubin 2005:1–4, 35), paying particular attention to the social and cultural context of their lives. The interviews were undertaken following a loosely defined structure provided by 'main questions' and 'follow up questions' which were drafted prior to the interviews (See Rubin and Rubin 2005:152–172 for discussion of question design). These questions provided some guidance for the progression of the interviews, but enough flexibility to explore the specific interests and concerns of the participants. The interviews therefore progressed as structured conversations, with the researcher asking questions and responsively probing to seek clarification or to gather more detailed information.

Interviews were conducted at the SAMM offices, Wemans Sail Loft Port Adelaide, and Flinders University, with the selection of the location based on its convenience to the interview participants. Each interview was conducted between the researcher and a single

participant and recorded using a digital voice recorder. In order to ease any discomfort brought about by the interview setting, the process was clearly explained to each participant (see Rubin and Rubin 2005:79–93 for a discussion of building relationships and establishing trust in qualitative interviewing). Participants were also encouraged to speak freely and were assured that their opinions and ideas were valued and important. Usually after each interview finished there was further discussion relevant to the research which was not recorded on the digital voice recorder. Notes were therefore made following each interview as a record of these conversations and of any initial observations or thoughts about the participant's attitudes as revealed in the interview.

Interviews were undertaken with 12 people who volunteered to participate in archaeological field work at the SAMM 'Bond Store'. The interviews were conducted between June and September 2010 to examine people's understanding of, and attitudes toward, archaeology and CHM and to identify the outcomes which they associated with their involvement in the excavation. Each interview began with several pre-scripted questions, including, "Would you mind telling me your age?" and, "What is your nationality and where did you grow up?" The purpose of these questions was to gain an understanding of the participants' demographic, in order to place their responses to subsequent questions into some sort of cultural and social context.

The remainder of the questions were based around six themes: volunteer understandings of cultural heritage; volunteer motivations for taking part in an archaeological excavation; volunteer expectations about volunteering; volunteer outcomes from the program; volunteer ideas for improvements to the program; and future directions for community archaeology research. The specific questions used as prompts to discussion around these themes were:

- Could you please explain to me in your own words what cultural heritage means to you?
- Could you please explain why you decided to take part in the digs?
- What was it about the digs that appealed to you?
- Did you have any expectations of what you would be doing or what working on an archaeological site is like?
- What do you feel was the most important part of the work? Was it just the process of excavation? The discovery of artefacts? Or are you more interested in the overall outcomes of the work?
- Was heritage or archaeology something that you were aware of or interested in prior to volunteering on the archaeological dig?
- Has taking part given you more of an interest in these things?
- Would you like to participate in more excavations?
- If we did excavations in other locations would you be interested in participating? Or is your interest specifically tied to Port Adelaide and its archaeology?
- Would you like to have some input into the kinds of sites that are investigated? Or the way in which they are investigated?
- Were there any issues that you can think of?
- How could we have made it better?

While one community archaeology excavation was conducted within the Bond Store, this place had little connection to the waterfront development. The Bond Store project had its own goals, but in terms of this research it was identified as a useful pilot phase in the development of a community-driven project at boat-building sites.

Despite several written requests, approval to conduct community archaeology within the development area was not given and the emphasis of the research therefore shifted. Rather than examining the cultural heritage outcomes arising from community archaeology projects specifically, the research turned to consider the cultural heritage outcomes arising from the development more broadly. This change meant that some of the questioning in the interviews was redundant. Importantly, the freedom provided by the semi-structured approach meant that many of the Bond Store interview participants chose to discuss the context of CHM in Port Adelaide more broadly. In particular participants discussed the heritage of the Port in varying levels of detail and their impressions of the identity of the place, its connection to heritage and the role of experts, government and developers in processes of heritage preservation and development.

In-depth interviews were also undertaken with key staff from the SAMM, who collaborated with the researcher during the planning of the Bond Store excavation. These interviews were undertaken to gain a better understanding of the motivation of museum staff for promoting archaeology, and the outcomes which they associated with a public archaeology program. The interviews also included questions related to the broader context of the museum in Port Adelaide and the ways in which the museum was integrated with the local community. Knowledge of previous collaborations between the museum and PoANT (gained through participant observation) was followed up in the interviews to gain an understanding of the constraints placed on these collaborations by the funding and administrative structures of the museum. Specific questions used as prompts to discussion were:

- Could you explain to me your professional role at the museum?
- Could you talk about the relationship between the museum and the local community?

- You have volunteers working on vessels in the collection?
- What community activities do you do in your role at the museum?
- The John Giles exhibition involved community collaboration, could you explain the museum's involvement in that? Were there any conflicts or difficulties in negotiating different agendas and priorities during that project?
- The museum has been a partner in previous archaeology projects and a former PhD student did some excavation, could you please talk about that?
- Who was the curator then? Were they as interested in archaeology as you?
- Did the museum do an education program with that excavation?
- I remember your architect was concerned about timing and us getting in the way and it being an extra cost for his contractor. Did you have any concerns about us working in the Bond Store leading up to the field work?
- How about disruption to the museum?
- We've spoken previously about archaeology and its interest level. Were you hoping to raise the profile of the museum?
- Did you think that 'archaeology' would generate interest?
- What was your main focus and interest in doing the archaeology from the museum's point of view?
- Was the research outcome of the work, or what we found out about the buildings and the site, an important motivator?
- Was it important that there was actually an archaeological aim for the work?

Structured interviews

Unlike the in-depth interviews, which captured detailed and richly contextualised information, the structured interviews were designed to gather less detailed information from a large number of people (see Fetterman 2010:56–58 for discussion of using quantifiable responses in ethnography and Orange 2011 for a heritage studies example). The structured interviews used closed questions to gather quantifiable data, but also provided space for qualitative responses to be recorded by the interviewer and aimed to answer the question: How extensive was dissatisfaction with CHM and development in Port Adelaide?

Instrument design

The instrument used to gather data about people's satisfaction with CHM and development in Port Adelaide was a descriptive survey, meaning that it describes a population and is not designed to establish correlations or to measure effects. The aim was to describe the extent to which people felt that CHM in Port Adelaide had been handled well and the extent to which they felt development was important to the Port. The questions asked during the interviews aimed to gather data about whether people perceived changes to the Port as being good or bad, and if there had been a balance between development and preserving Port Adelaide's cultural heritage. Demographic information was also sought from respondents to test the hypothesis that people living in the local area or who had familial ties to the area would respond differently to people who were not socially connected in this way. Information was also gathered regarding respondents' membership of heritage or development organisations, because members of these groups were considered likely to have more extreme responses to the questions than people who were not members of these groups.

Each of the instruments were provided to people external to the study for feedback, which was then used to identify any errors or inconsistencies in structure, concepts or phrasing that would be likely to result in participant confusion or problematic data. Although, this practice does not meet the requirements of quantitative research, which requires a process of pilot studies and testing of the measures, the use of *ad hoc* instruments designed to provide quantitative data does have a place in qualitative inquiry (Punch 2005:94).

Implementation of the instruments

The structured interviews were conducted during the 2011 Port Festival by the researcher, together with four masters and three honours student volunteers from the Department of Archaeology, Flinders University. Qualitative responses were recorded verbatim, or as closely as possible; however, given the setting in which the interviews took place, this was not always possible. Interviewers were briefed prior to the festival and told that recording keywords was better than recording nothing at all. Periodic checks of interviewing method and success were made by the researcher during the festival by asking the interviewers questions about their approach and checking completed interview proformas. This revealed one inconsistency common to several volunteers, which was recording responses from more than one individual on a single proforma. This error was corrected by rewriting proformas with multiple respondents so that each form recorded the answers of a single respondent. Where interviewers could not confidently separate responses gathered from multiple respondents the proformas were excluded from the study. A total of 117 proformas were used during the festival, with 105 structured interviews included in the analysis following the rewriting process.

Follow-up meetings were held with all interviewers in the subsequent week to clarify any unclear data entry not identified during periodic progress checks at the festival. These

consisted of establishing whether qualitative responses such as, "The Port has changed, it's a lot cleaner" represented a positive or negative attitude. In most cases interviewers remembered the interviewee and the intended meaning of their response clearly. In these cases notes clarifying the unclear data were written on the hard copy proformas. Where unclear or inconsistent data entry could not be resolved, individual questions were excluded from the analysis. Of the 105 proformas included in the study, 13.33% (n = 14) were incomplete because of a single omitted or incorrectly entered answer, all others, 86.67% were complete (n = 91).

Sampling

At one level sampling in qualitative research begins with the selection of cases for study. Port Adelaide was selected because it had characteristics which gave it high potential for an examination of people's attitudes toward archaeology and CHM, including archaeological research potential, high development pressure, and high interest amongst the local community in CHM. Within this broadly defined 'case' it was also necessary to make decisions about the settings which were accessed for data collection, as well as the basis of recruitment for participants via each of the specific methods of data collection.

Participant observation

Sampling for participant observation was opportunistic—the most unstructured type of sampling used in qualitative research. In the context of this thesis it means that when behaviours or attitudes toward heritage or archaeology were observed by the researcher they were recorded in field notes. It has been argued that representativeness needs to be built into sampling for participant observation (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011:130–1). Efforts were made to ensure that attitudes toward cultural heritage, development and archaeology expressed by people from a range of backgrounds were recorded through

participant observation. This was done by accessing a range of settings, including the unplanned day-to-day interactions between the researcher, business owners, residents or employees of local businesses. The backgrounds of people accessed in these settings varied, but importantly, as a group, they were different to people who interacted with the researcher at heritage meetings or archaeological sites. This was because people who met through unplanned interactions did not necessarily have a pre-existing affinity or interest in history, heritage or archaeology, unlike most of the people at heritage meetings.

In-depth interviews

Purposive sampling was used to identify in-depth interview participants from the volunteers at the Bond Store excavation and SAMM staff. Deliberate or 'purposive sampling' can create a rich and detailed account of the points of view of social actors and the settings in which they interact. It involves making selections based on a deliberate sampling strategy that can be logically justified (Fetterman 2010:35–6; Flick 2009: 122–3; Neuman 2010; Punch 2005: 187–9).

The selection of interviewees from amongst the volunteers at the archaeological site was largely based on consideration of information gathered during the on-site portion of the project. This information was recorded in field notes following 'normal' unstructured interactions on site, during lunch breaks or daily, post-work social interactions. Usually the information recorded related in some way to people's social or cultural background, where they lived, whether they were active in heritage circles, had special previous associations with the site(s), or had a family history in the area.

The purpose of the sampling strategy was to ensure that there was as much variety as possible in the social and cultural backgrounds of the people being interviewed. This was done so that the range of variation in the perspectives and attitudes of the participants toward archaeology and CHM could be recorded. It was therefore a version of maximum

variation sampling (see Flick 2009:122 and Punch 2005:187–189), which aims to reveal the range of variation and differentiation within a setting or population. Prior to the excavation the plan was to interview five people from the group; however, because of the diversity of participant backgrounds, 12 participants were interviewed. Table 1 presents a summary of the participants selected for interviews and the reasons for their selection. Ten of these 12 participants contributed information relevant to examining Port Adelaide's identity and heritage within the context of the waterfront development.

Table 1: Interview participants and the aspects of their background considered during selection

Name or pseudonym	*Background*[2]
Malcolm	Past experience of the Bond Store. Heritage employment. Not local. Long-term volunteer.
Christine	Past experience of archaeology. Family connection to site. SAMM volunteer. Not local. Long-term volunteer.
Deb	Visitor centre employee. Gaining skills. Local. Long-term volunteer.
John	Family history in the Port. Social interaction. Local. Long-term volunteer.
Julie	Antique dealer. Not local.
Mary	Interest in studying archaeology. Not local.
Mellissa	Volunteer history walk guide. Local.
Nigel	Local. Very little information gained on site, followed up in interview.
Noni	Local. Very little additional information gained on site, followed up in interview.
Stacey	Only participant younger than 40-years-old. Interest in studying archaeology. Not local.
Tom	SAMM volunteer. Antique collector. Not local.
Tory	Present at Jenkins Street boatyard excavation. Local.

Selection of interview participants from staff at SAMM followed key-informant sampling (Fetterman 2010–53; Punch 2005–189), where participants are selected based on their potential ability to provide the most relevant and richest data. Museum staff were

[2] Participants identified themselves as locals or non-locals

selected based on their assessed level of connectedness to, and understanding of, the operations of the museum. Staff were also selected based on their involvement with a previous collaborative exhibition developed with PoANT, which was of interest because it had potential to illustrate the ways in which experts at SAMM interacted with PoANT.

Structured interviews

Sampling in quantitative research tends to focus on probability sampling, where the emphasis is on defining a sample that is representative of a larger group or 'population' so that the findings of the study can be related back to that group (Punch 2005:101; Sheskin 2007:98–100). Punch (2005:101) notes that, although probabilistic sampling remains a key concept in quantitative studies, it is becoming more common for researchers to undertake quantitative research using whatever sample is available—usually described as convenience sampling. He notes three reasons for a trend away from probabilistic sampling: the first is the growth of interest in qualitative approaches, the second is a move toward smaller sample sizes in quantitative analysis and the third is a proliferation of social research, which is making it more difficult to access "large neatly configured populations" (Punch 2005:101). A convenience sample was selected for the structured interviews so that the highest number of responses could be gathered, helping to increase the descriptive value of the data and improving the chances of gaining a large enough sample to allow for non-parametric statistical analysis, such as chi-squared contingency table analysis and rank correlations.

The 105 structured interviews completed during the festival represent roughly 1.05% of the total attendance. It is not possible to determine whether the interview respondents were representative of the overall festival population; it is possible, however, to make some comparisons between the sample and the South Australian population using census data.

The basic demographic information recovered from the questionnaires indicates that, in terms of gender, the sample, consisting of 51 females (48.6%) and 53 males (49.5%), had a slightly higher proportion of males to females (104 males for every 100 females) than the South Australian sex ratio of 97.9 males for every 100 females (Australian Buraeu of Statistics 2012). Chi-square analysis indicates that the male to female ratios are not significantly different (X (1) = 0.169, p = 0.681.

When compared to the South Australian population the sample also differed in terms of age, with the 18–24 year-old and 25–34 year-old cohorts under-represented in the sample and the 35–44, 45–54, and 65–74 cohorts over-represented (refer Figure 4 and Figure 5) Note that these data exclude children from the sample, as the questionnaire was only given to adult festival attendees). Chi-square analysis indicates that differences in the distribution of the age profiles of the Port Adelaide and South Australian samples are statistically different (X (6) = 15.968, p = 0.014), but the effect was very small (V = 0.004). When calculated for each gender separately, however, Chi-square indicates that there is no statistically significant difference for males (X(6) = 8.110, p = 0.230, V.004) or females (X(6) = 12.090, p = 0.060, V = 0.004).

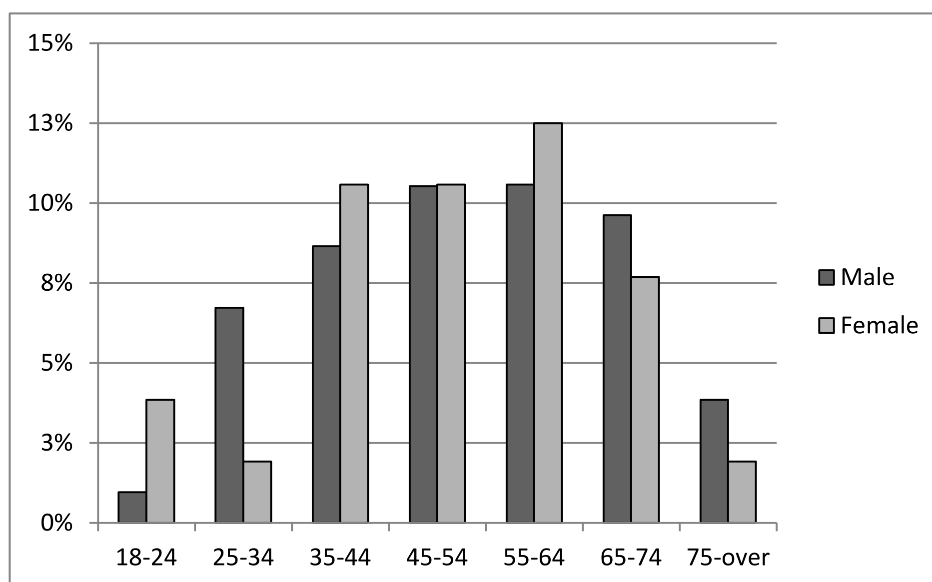

Figure 4: Port Festival sample – age/sex profile.

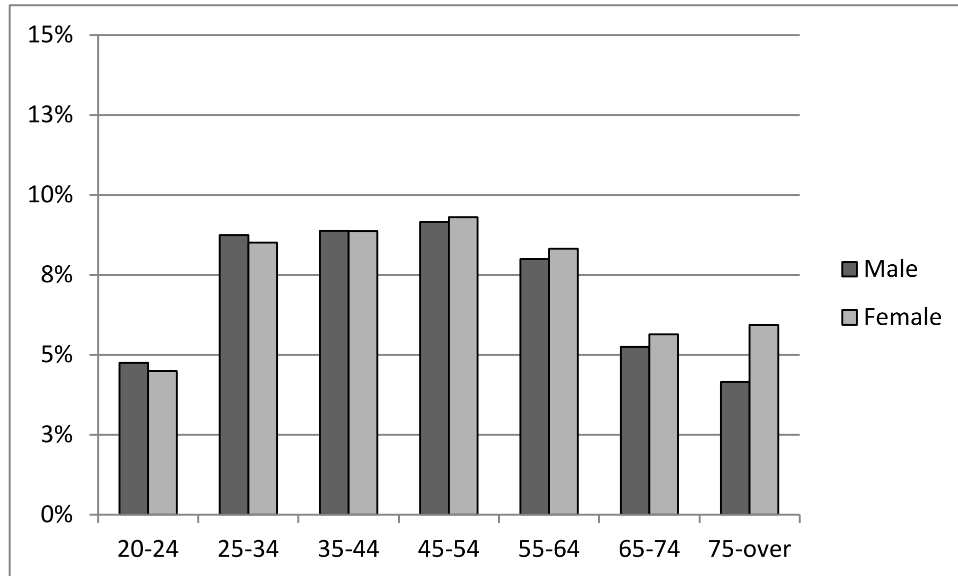

Figure 5: South Australian adult population age/sex profile adapted from South Australia 2011 (Australian Bureau of Statistics) ABS 3235.0 – Population by Age and Sex, Regions of Australia.

Several measures were used to gain an understanding of the sample in terms of place of residence, socio-economic profile and degree of place attachment. Participants were asked to identify whether they lived in the Port Adelaide area and to identify which suburbs they came from. This was thought to be a better reflection of their own understanding of how their identity and place of residence was or was not connected to the Port than using arbitrary geographical locations. Using this approach, 42 of the sample were identified as residents and 64 were non-residents, or visitors. No respondents identified as living in the NPQ development, but one respondent identified as living in another, smaller modern waterfront development.

A limitation of this method is that it is not easily comparable to other widely used data sets (e.g. the Australian Bureau of Statistics); however, postcode data was also collected and assigned as either local (postcodes 5015, 5016, 5017, 5018 and 5019) or non-local (all other postcodes). By this measure 35% of the sample was from Port Adelaide or a nearby suburb (locals).

Additional questions examined other, contributing factors in the responses people gave and their relationship to sense of place and identity. These questions included asking the length of time that people had lived in Port Adelaide, whether other members of their family had lived in Port Adelaide, and the number of generations that their family had lived in the area. These variables were identified as potentially being important to an analysis of the differences in attitudes between people with greater or lesser degree of place knowledge. Unsurprisingly the number of generations that participants' families had lived in the Port was somewhat dependent on whether they were a resident or not, with all residents having at least one generation living in the Port (refer Table 2).

Table 2: Cross tab number of generations * reside in Port Adelaide

Generations	*Non-resident*		*Resident*	
	Count	*%*	*Count*	*%*
0	39	37.9	0	0
1	16	15.5	21	20.4
2	3	2.9	10	9.7
3	3	2.9	5	4.9
4	2	3.2	1	1
5	0	0	3	2.9

Postcode data was used to link participants with broad socio-economic indicators published by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013a). In particular, mean income by postcode area was used to analyse responses, serving as a broad means to approach class, although wealth is but one of several factors deployed in the formation of class hierarchies. This approach had the benefit of speed and was therefore not as onerous as asking detailed questions about type of work (e.g. manual, routine, professional), actual income, or whether respondents identify as being working class or middle class (see Bottero 2004 and Waterton 2011 for examples); however, it lacks the fine-grained analysis that detailed responses allow. Furthermore, mean income by postcode area does not represent the actual incomes of respondents. Nevertheless, and bearing these limitations in mind, median income has been used by others

(Deonandan *et al.* 2000; Gilbert 1997; Western 1991; Zweig 2004) to approach questions of class and was selected for use in this research because of the ease of recording the postcode data. Using postcode data it was found that 52.9% (n = 45) came from areas with below median income and 47.1% (n = 40) from areas with above median income.

Although questions relating to gender were not driving this research, the class experiences of men and women are known to be different (Baxter 1991; Skeggs 2005), therefore at times it was useful to compare responses based on gender. The distribution of males/females was different between residents and non-residents (refer Table 3). Just over half of the non-residents were male (54% n = 34) and just under half were female (46% n = 29). In contrast, amongst residents male accounted for less than half (45.2% n = 19) and females a little over half (54.8%, n = 23). Given that the Port suffers from a negative stereotype, it is tempting to interpret this result as reflecting a tendency for non-resident females to be more hesitant when directly approached to participate in a questionnaire; however, there was no statistically significant relationship between gender and response rate (X^2 (1) = 0.768, p = 0.381).

Table 3: Cross tab gender (male/female) * resident (yes/no)

Gender	*Reside in Port Adelaide*			
	No		*Yes*	
	Count	*%*	*Count*	*%*
Male	34	32.4	19	18.1
Female	29	27.6	23	21.9

A final variable identified as having potential to be related to people's perceptions of the efficacy of CHM within a property development context was membership of heritage-related organisations (i.e. the National Trust, historical societies, archaeological societies) or development organisations (i.e. the Property Council of Australia). In 2011 National Trust of South Australia (NTSA) membership was 3195, or 0.19% of SA's population. Membership figures from the Friends of the South Australian Maritime Museum and

Port Adelaide Historical Society were requested, but were not provided. The sample included four NTSA members (3.7%), one member of the Port Adelaide Historical Society (0.9%) and one member of the Friends of the South Australian Maritime Museum (0.9%). The sample included no members of development-related organisations.

In summary, the festival sample was very similar to the South Australian population in terms of the proportion of males to females, had little difference in mean age, but was under-represented in the 18–24, 25–34 and 75 and over age groups. Compared to the South Australian population the sample had a much higher proportion of Port Adelaide residents, members of heritage groups were slightly over-represented and members of the South Australian Property Council were under-represented.

Newspapers

Within the first year of the study it became apparent that there had been a history of cultural heritage lobbying around the waterfront redevelopment that predated the start of the research. It was also evident that much of this activity had been documented in local and metropolitan newspapers. It was therefore decided to undertake archival research to locate articles which were relevant to identifying the attitudes and priorities of different stakeholders in Port Adelaide. January 1st 2002 was selected as the start date for archival research because it was the year that the waterfront development was announced, and a convenient end date for collection was provided by the State Government's termination of the NPQ development contract on October 3, 2011 (Williams 2011b).

The 2002 to 2011 *Portside Messenger* and the Adelaide daily newspaper, *The Advertiser,* were reviewed for articles relating to Port Adelaide, The NTSA, archaeology and heritage. Keyword searches were first undertaken using ProQuest, an online database of newspaper articles. The advanced search facility was used because it allows searches using

multiple keywords. All of the searches undertaken included either 'Port Adelaide' or 'National Trust' and one or two other keywords such as 'heritage' 'archaeology', 'waterfront development' or 'Newport Quays'. *The Advertiser* articles from 2002 to 2011 were available as text and downloaded directly from Pro Quest. The *Portside Messenger* from 2007 to 2011 was also available as text on Pro Quest, and downloaded in this format. Because they were not archived on Pro Quest, *Portside Messenger* articles from 2002 to 2007 were searched at the State Library of South Australia. Articles were located in the microfilm collection and read in entirety so that their relevance to the research question could be assessed. Because the aim of the analysis was to gain an understanding of the issues and attitudes of stakeholders toward cultural heritage, it was decided to incorporate all article types, including authored articles, editorials and community opinion pieces, which were usually in the form of letters to the editor. In total, 47 articles from the *The Advertiser* and 278 from the *Portside Messenger* were collected using this method.

Newsletters, flyers, letters, emails and minutes

It was also decided to incorporate issues of the PoANT newsletter, *Portal*, into the analysis because they formed part of the initial data used to develop an understanding of community cultural heritage concerns and priorities during the waterfront redevelopment. These documents are unique because they represent the perspectives of the branch without the editorial lens to affect the content of media articles. As such, they are considered a very good reflection of the priorities of the organisation and particularly its committee. The branch formed in 2006 and produced three newsletters between 2007 and 2009, all of which were data for this thesis.

Flyers produced by Vital Statistix, a boutique theatre and interdisciplinary arts production company, and the Harts Mill Project (HMP), an activist group with an arts and creative

culture focus, were also included in the analysis of community attitudes toward cultural heritage and the waterfront redevelopment. Documents produced by these groups were incorporated in the analysis because the flyers and activities they promote represent a heritage-oriented response to the redevelopment led by community activists and artists, some of whom were also members of PoANT. Vital Statistix have also undertaken other arts based explorations of Port Adelaide's cultural heritage unrelated to the redevelopment. Vital Statistix and the HMP are of particular interest to this research compared to the activities of other artists because they have collaborated with PoANT.

Flyers produced by the LMC and NPQ were also collected because they included information relevant to developing an understanding of the role of heritage in the discourses produced by these organisations. Letters indicating the position of the LMC toward proposals for community archaeology research in the development area have also been included, as have permits and emails relating to archaeologists accessing the Jenkins Street site for archaeological investigation.

A copy of the minutes from the SA Heritage Council meeting 19 June 2008, at which the proposed heritage listing of Jenkins Street boatyards was considered, were also collected for the research. South Australian heritage legislation requires that the minutes of Heritage Council deliberations are publicly accessible and the copy was made from documentation found in the public file available for viewing at the office of the Department of Environment, Water and Natural Resources.

Thematic analysis

Data analysis was undertaken using two broad approaches; thematic analysis of text-rich data (field notes, interview transcripts, structured interview open question responses and documents) and statistical analysis of structured interview closed question responses (discussed below). Although each of the text-rich data categories were analysed using

some form of thematic analysis, each data type was approached slightly differently. The main reason for the different approaches was the volume of text—text-rich documents were approached using thematic coding, while those with less text (i.e. structured interview responses) were coded using open coding followed by axial coding. Where possible data were entered into an NVivo database and codes applied using NVivo qualitative analysis software. The only exception to this were *Portside Messenger* articles prior to January 2008 that were retrieved as prints from microfilm and which could not therefore be easily converted to digitally recognisable text. A manual coding method was developed for these newspaper articles (discussed below).

Field notes

Field notes were transcribed and imported into the Nvivo database. Thematic analysis of field notes was limited, as the field notes recorded in this research were mainly used as a method of identifying priorities for other methods of data collection. At times observations recorded as field notes were incorporated into the narrative of the thesis; however, field note text was not coded.

In-depth interviews

Interviews were transcribed using Audacity, a public access audio player with a tempo function. Initially a coding method similar to that defined by Strauss as open coding was attempted (1987 cited in Flick 2009:319), where codes are assigned to individual words as freely as possible (i.e. with few preconceptions). It was found that the number of codes generated meant that Strauss' second stage, axial coding, where open codes are grouped together, was unwieldy (see also Saldana 2009:81–85). The results from this first method were therefore set aside and a new method was developed for the interview text. The method was similar to that defined by Saldana as theoretical coding, where broad

categories relating to aspects of the research question are developed out of comparison between the framework and data guiding the investigation. Following this method, sections of interview text ranging from a sentence to a paragraph were coded using the following categories:

- Community
- Port Misery
- Wasn't always appreciated
- Significant starting point
- The state is connected to the Port
- Personal connection to the Port
- Busier times—vibrant
- Class
- Changing significance.

This was the final method used to code the interview text. It was not necessary to develop attribute codes for comparison of responses according to demographic background because the small number of interview participants meant that relevant background information was easily incorporated into the analysis. Furthermore, structured interviews were included specifically for the purpose of comparing groups based on demographic attributes.

Structured interviews

Responses to structured interview open-ended questions were transcribed using a word processor and imported into the NVivo database. Demographic information collected during the interviews was entered for each questionnaire and all responses to question 1 were coded as PAFQ1 and so on. Open coding was then applied to sections of text,

ranging in length from individual words to short sentences. This was followed by axial coding, where open codes were grouped into themes based on similarities in content or subject matter, creating a coding hierarchy. After axial coding was complete the matrix function of NVivo was used to generate tables comparing axial codes across groups based on demographic characteristics. Comparisons included male/female, resident/non-resident and above median income/below median income.

Newspapers

Theoretical coding was used for thematic analysis of newspaper articles. During an initial read through a list was made of themes relevant to the research:

- Commodification
- Identity/attachment
- Process/transparency/consultation
- Glenelg-isation/generic
- Class/gentrification
- Experts.

The difficulty in incorporating the earlier *Port Messenger* newspapers into the NVivo database meant that paper copies had to be coded using a manual method where sections of text were marked with highlighter pen and sticky tags with corresponding colours used to mark pages so that they could be easily searched. Newspapers for which high quality digital copies were freely available were imported directly to NVivo and coded using the same theme list.

Newsletters, flyers, letters, emails and minutes

Other documents used in the analysis (newsletters, flyers, letters, emails and minutes) were relatively small in number and were not approached using a formal system of

thematic coding. Text from these documents was reviewed and incorporated into the developing narrative of the thesis where relevant. Although the text was not coded, this process followed a thematic approach, for example, the minutes of Heritage Council meetings were incorporated into discussions of the role of heritage experts during Port Adelaide's development.

Statistical analysis

Unlike the thematic analysis, which incorporated data from a range of sources, the statistical analysis only used interview data gathered using closed questioning during the Port Festival. Results of statistical analysis are usually reported using a 95% probability (denoted by p) that the test describes a real effect. Usually this value is reported as a percentage in decimals, (i.e. $p \leq 0.05$) and when it is equal to, or less than, 5% the result is often described as being 'significant' or having significance. In this thesis the term 'statistical significance' has been used to avoid confusion with 'cultural significance'. Statistical significance is reported throughout this thesis at the $p \leq 0.05$ threshold with the caveat that, although it is widely used, it should not necessarily be seen as a hard and fast rule (Fisher 1956 cited in Field 2009:51; Field 2009:56–7). The value of the test statistic is also reported and, where appropriate, the effect size, which describes the size of the difference between samples (Kalinowski and Fidler 2010). In this thesis three effect sizes have been calculated and reported, these are 'the odds ratio' for Chi-square tests with 2 x 2 contingency tables, Cramer's 'V' for Chi-square with larger tables, and for all other tests the Pearson correlation coefficient 'r'.

A Kolmogorov-Smirnov test indicated that the distribution of the sample age/sex data was significantly non-normal for the whole sample, as well as when the data were split by gender. Chi-square was therefore used to examine if the differences in the distributions of the populations were statistically significant. Male to female ratios were also calculated

and Chi-square analysis was used to determine if the differences between the sample ratio and the South Australian population ratio were statistically significant. The proportion of the sample that was resident/not-resident in the Port Adelaide area was compared using Chi-square with the same demographic categories from the South Australian population. This process was also followed for the categories of heritage membership/development membership (e.g. NTSA, Australian Property Council etc).

Levels of interest in Port Adelaide's history were recorded on a 10-point scale. Again, a Kolmogorov-Smirnov test indicated that the distribution of the data was significantly non-normal for the whole sample ($D(102) = 0.131$, $p = 0.000$) as well as when applied to groups (i.e. residents/non-residents and male/female), therefore non-parametric tests were used. Mann-Whitney tests were used to test if there was a relationship between interest in Port Adelaide's history and place of residence, gender, and/or membership of heritage/development groups. The relationship between interest in Port Adelaide's history and attitudes toward changes in the Port's character and development was also examined. Spearman Rho correlation analysis was used to determine if there was a correlation between the level of interest in Port Adelaide's history, and the age of respondents, the number of years they had lived in Port Adelaide or the number of generations that their family had lived in the Port.

The difference between the distributions of the number of generations of residents compared to non-residents was identified as having the potential to confound results, because there was such a high number of zero generations for non-residents compared to residents. Analysis of the relationship between the number of generations and variables relating to attitudes toward, history, heritage and development were therefore initially undertaken using the whole dataset and then with the data split by resident/non-resident. Any significant results arising from the analysis of the split data could then

confidently be attributed to differences in the number of generations rather than the variable resident/non-resident.

The relationship between attitudes to character change in Port Adelaide and place of residence was examined using Chi-square analysis. Chi-squared tests were also used to determine if there was an association between gender and attitudes to character change in the Port. Kruskall-Wallis tests were used to examine if there was a relationship between participants' attitudes to character change and the number of years they had lived in the Port, or the number of generations that their family had lived in the Port. Where appropriate these were followed by Mann Whitney Post Hoc tests with a Bonferroni correction so that all effects were reported at a .017 level of significance (see Field 2009:372–3, 565–8). A Johnckheere-Terpstra test was also used to test the hypothesis that the greater the number of generations that someone's family had lived in the Port the greater the chance that they would think that the change in character of the Port was bad.

Chi-squared tests were used to determine if there was any association between place of residence or gender, and the importance placed on property development (measured on a 10-point scale). Spearman Rho correlation analysis was used to test the hypothesis that there was a relationship between the age of participants and the importance they attached to property development. The hypothesis that the importance that people placed on property development was associated with the number of generations that members of their family had lived in Port Adelaide was also tested using Spearman Rho correlation analysis.

Chi-squared tests were used to identify if there were associations between place of residence or gender, and participant's beliefs about whether, over the past 10 years, there had been a balance between preservation of Port Adelaide's cultural heritage and

property development. Kruskall Wallis tests were also used to identify if there was an association between these beliefs and the number of years that residents had lived in the Port and/or the number of generations that family members had lived in the Port (recorded for residents and non-residents), and/or the age of participants.

Descriptive statistics were used to examine if the distribution of responses to the questions, "Is the character change good or bad?" and, "Has there been a balance between preservation of heritage and development?" were the same across groups. Chi-square analysis could not be applied to this data because respondents contributed to two cells in the contingency table and therefore it did not meet the assumptions of the Chi-squared test (see Field 2005:691–692). McNemar's test statistic, was used because it can be applied to related samples (i.e. each respondent contributes to two cells in a 2x2 cross tab: see Elliot and Woodward 2007:131–135).

McNemar's test specifically examines the marginal frequencies of two binary categories. In this case the binary categories were good/bad and yes/no responses to the questions. Undecided responses were excluded from the calculations because of the 2 x 2 requirement of the test. For each question one of the responses is positive (i.e. good/yes) and the other is negative (bad/no). The null hypothesis, therefore, was that the movement from positive to negative or the other way around should occur at the same rate.

Synthesis

The range of sources used for this research provided rich and contrasting data to address the research questions, an approach described as triangulation (Fetterman 2010:94–97). An initial phase of the synthesis was the identification of linkages between different datasets where they supported or contradicted one another, and to record these in analytical notes. As the analysis deepened these notes were built upon to develop more

extensive narratives (i.e. Chapters 4, 5 and 6). Each chapter incorporates data from a range of sources addressing an overarching theme. The narrative of Chapter four incorporates thematic analysis of in-depth interviews, structured interviews and newspapers, Chapter five includes thematic analysis of newspapers and structured interviews, as well as statistical analysis, while Chapter six is based mostly on participant observation, correspondence, permits, newsletters, and minutes of meetings. The final phase of the synthesis, presented in Chapter 7 'the discussion', relates the findings of the research to the theoretical framework, identifying where the research supports existing knowledge and where it contributes new perspectives and understandings of class, place and CHM.

4

NOT SO HICK

Identity, heritage and place in Port Adelaide

This chapter examines the relationship between identity, heritage and place in the context of the predominantly working class, but gentrifying, neighbourhood of Port Adelaide. It does this by bringing together diverse discourses, including semi-structured interview transcripts, newspaper articles and responses to open questions from structured interviews, together with newsletters and flyers. In particular, the classed nature of external, largely middle-class and capitalist discourses about Port Adelaide and its residents, together with the discursive responses of residents and non-residents, are presented. The long history of discursive identity formation which has led to Port Adelaide's longstanding and deeply engrained working-class identity is acknowledged. Much of the discussion, however, draws on recent discourses that developed in response to proposed and actual changes to the local environment and economy arising from recent (2002–2011) waterfront development.

For most inhabitants of Port Adelaide 'class' must intersect with other aspects of identity, such as gender, ethnicity, 'maritimity' (i.e. the symbolic meaning of maritime culture) and Indigeneity. At times, class is expressed quite explicitly in public discourses and interviews, with little indication of how other aspects of identity affect this expression. In these instances class features as the central and defining theme, while in others Indigeneity, gender and maritimity are foregrounded (for example Quast 2003e:1). Bearing the complex, situated nature of identity in mind, subsequent sections of this chapter take class as their starting point in the analysis of heritage and place in Port Adelaide.

A place in history: Self-respect, class and identity

Working-class residents and the places in which they live are often stigmatised within middle-class and capitalist discourses. Throughout the west, industrial landscapes are characterised by the spatial separation of the middle class and elite from centres of industry and their corrupting influence. In the past, the exact nature of this physical separation differed based on the type of capitalist production being practiced, for example paternalist forms, where surveillance was a feature, required some proximity of overseers or capitalists to the homes of workers (Shackel 1996). Later forms of industrial capitalism, while still requiring observation in the workplace, were characterised by spatial separation on a much larger scale (Karskens 1999; Murray and Mayne 2001; Yamin 2001). Typically the working class lived in the inner city within walking distance from their places of employment, the middle class, who could afford transportation to and from work, resided in the growing suburbs, and capitalists and the elite lived on large estates.

Inner city living was seen to be a negative influence on working-class people arising, on the one hand, from proximity to industrial production and its effect on the environment, together with pollution and sanitation from overcrowding and, on the other, the moral corruption associated with unrefined and public consumption of alcohol and tobacco and the presence of boarding houses. Extensive middle-class discourses defining respectable behaviour developed in the 19th century and the relationship of these to working-class identity has been well documented in historical and archaeological research (Briggs 2006; Karskens 1999; Lampard 2009; Lampard and Staniforth 2011; Murray 2005; Murray and Mayne 2001; Yamin 2001). Although certainly not uniform in their response to respectability, many working-class people were actively engaged in its pursuit (Briggs 2006; Lampard 2009; Lampard and Staniforth 2011).

In Port Adelaide the pursuit of respectability was achieved on a neighbourhood scale through improvement of infrastructure, such as the raising of roadways, drainage and substantial private and public buildings, the establishment and patronage of venues for learning, such as the Port Adelaide Institute, and restrictions to the number of licensed premises in the Port (Potter 1999). At a household level it was achieved through the adoption of some aspects of respectable behaviour (especially minimising the consumption of alcohol and tobacco), but a rejection of others (notably the separation of domestic and working spaces) (Briggs 2006:186–222; Lampard and Staniforth 2011). Unlike their middle-class and capitalist contemporaries, however, living far away from their place of employment was rarely an option for working-class people.

In the case of the Port the middle-class and colonial elite consisted of craft-based artisans, ship owners, merchants and industrialists. The suburbs of Queenstown, Alberton and Woodville, all located on the Port Adelaide railway of 1856, became suburbs where wealthy shipping agents and merchants lived away from the boarding houses, industry and flood-prone streets of the Port (see, for example, Tregenza 1991:23–5). Of course there were exceptions to this, such as Joseph Haines, who lived locally within the Port as a neighbour to the working-class tenants of his rental housing, owned a hotel and auctioneer's business and was instrumental in the establishment of the first labour movement in Port Adelaide (Couper-Smartt 2003:267).

Port Misery: external discourse and perceptions of the Port

The social meaning encoded in the physical differentiation between Adelaide, the Port and the intervening suburbs was reflected in public discourses, which began soon after colonisation. The first of these discourses circulated around Port Misery, the name given to the original, unpopular location for the Port (Rofe and Oakley 2006:276–278). Objections from Governor Hindmarsh and his supporters, including George

Stephenson, editor of the colony's first newspaper, the *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register,* arose from the shallowness of the landing place, which required passengers and cargo to be unloaded into lighters (small boats) and increased the time and costs associated with shipping. Stephenson and others engaged in a vitriolic campaign to have the location of the Port moved several miles upstream to deeper water. The fact that the original location was also adjacent to the only high point on the city side of the estuary that was naturally safe from flooding was downplayed in their accounts.

Eventually Governor Gawler, Hindmarsh's successor, unable to pay for the infrastructure required to shift the Port to low lying ground up river, made a deal with the South Australian Company, who agreed to pay for the construction of a causeway and road in exchange for prime waterfront land (Couper-Smartt 2003:55). While the relocation of the Port allowed for faster loading and unloading of cargo, it was also subject to flooding (Briggs 2006:62–4). Conditions at the Port were more conducive to trade and commerce, but they were less than sanitary for the working-class inhabitants (Briggs 2006: 66–8, 85–6).

These early Port Misery discourses, produced by capitalists for their own purposes, painted the Port in a negative light to convince others that their point of view represented the correct course of action for the Port (Rofe and Oakley 2006). Throughout the 19th century this pattern was repeated, with external middle-class and capitalist observers characterising the Port as undesirable, basic and rough, contrasting it with Adelaide, which was viewed as being more refined and respectable (see Rofe and Oakley 2006 for discussion). An example of this attitude is expressed in the following statement describing the separation of financial and manual aspects of commerce between Adelaide and the Port:

> Adelaide has drawn away from the Port a great deal too much of the business which legitimately belongs to the waterside establishments. 'We keep our brains in the city and our hands at the Port' is too commonplace a thought, and a disparagement of our interests which circumstances do not warrant (Anon 1904).

Going more middle class: Discourses of exodus from the Port

The negative associations which had developed around Port Adelaide, its industry and the largely working-class residents continued into the 20th century (Rofe and Oakley 2006). The continual exodus of middle-class occupants of the Port was recounted by Christine, one of the interviewees for this project:

> [Christine] Yeah, my dad was born at Birkenhead and my mother was born at Glanville Blocks. That's just over there on the other side of the Jervois Bridge near Ethelton.
>
> [Interviewer] Ok. Glanville Blocks, what's the significance of blocks?
>
> [Christine] I'm not sure; it was a bit sort of on the other side of the track I think, Glanville Blocks, yeah. There used to be a lot more suburbs around the Port and they were a lot smaller. I'm trying to think of the names of some of them … Glanville is still there. It's just on the other side of Bower Road from Glanville, is where Glanville Blocks was.
>
> [Interviewer] Alright and where did you grow up? Did you grow up in this area?
>
> [Christine] Um … yes … from when I was about seven-years-old when my mother and father bought the Newmarket Hotel on the

> corner of Dale Street and Commercial Road and I spent several years of my childhood there and then we moved away closer to town. We went more middle class.

Although Christine's family moved when she was quite young, she had very fond memories of Port Adelaide and was also very proud of coming from the Port. She suggested, that this might not have been shared by everyone, especially other families who had moved away from the Port.

> [Christine] There would be very few, a lot of the wealth was created by the Port, there were a lot of businesses here. There would be very few families that go back a bit that do not have a connection. And do you know, very rarely and when I say to people that I come from Port Adelaide, very rarely does anyone say to me, oh … you know … my family's from the Port too. Very rarely, or you know my great grandmother grew up in the Port or my great grandmother's mother had a haberdashery shop in the Port, you know, no one ever says anything like that to me. Very rarely and I know from the history that I read that there are many families here in South Australia that go back a little bit, … and they never mention it.

These stories of exodus have become part of the Port's cultural heritage, recounted in walking tours, as well as local histories (Couper-Smartt 2003:60–1). While the reasons for leaving are rarely articulated, these stories serve as implicit reminders to local and non-local audiences that many people who could afford to live outside of Port Adelaide chose to do so. The implication is that those who left did not want to be associated with its industrial landscape and working-class inhabitants.

The desire of former residents of the Port to maintain a physical and social distance is an important part of the discursive construction of the identity of the place and its residents. Christine's assertions about the silence of the people whose families left are a feature of the negative external discourse that has developed about Port Adelaide. The silence is representative of an absence of pride in Port Adelaide and its past amongst those who have left. Some of those who remained expressed a similar desire to distance themselves from the area: Kirsty, a member of PoANT, admitted that, at some stages of her life, she was embarrassed about coming from the Port. She also indicated that she was now proud of that history and association and had begun to give history walks and actively campaign on heritage issues with a particular interest in preserving working-class heritage.

Working-class pride: elitism and snobbery resisted to the highest level

Although the stigmatising of the Port and its inhabitants clearly had an effect on Kirsty, in Port Adelaide there has been a long history of working-class protest, activism and discursive construction of working-class identity as something to be proud of (Murchie 2012). During the NPQ waterfront development similar discourses emerged, indicating a continuing association, attachment and pride in the Port's working-class heritage and identity. The furore over the renaming of suburbs by NPQ and the State Government is one example:

> The name of Port Adelaide has been the correct term for generations … as have the names of Birkenhead, Glanville and Ethelton, given to areas on the opposite bank of the river and held just as important. These names … 'have a place in history' and should be respected and maintained by any developer (Shields 2007:14).
>
> Your insistence on differentiating the New Port development from the established and, dare I say it, working-class suburbs of Peterhead,

> Ethelton and Glanville smacks of elitism and snobbery, and should be resisted to the highest level (Holden 2007:14).

The strong response to the name changes from the local community was based on a fear of enclave development, pride in working-class history, and a tradition of waterfront protest. It is not possible to determine from an analysis of public discourse how widely these positive beliefs and attitudes toward working-class cultural heritage were held in Port Adelaide; however, the council, due to what they described as a huge response from the community (Westthorp 2007b:1), resisted changes to the name. Ultimately the decision rested with the State Government, who chose to rename the area New Port as a compromise (e.g. Newport Quays or Avicennia Waters).

Several specific locations were also identified by early consultations as being particularly important to the local community, principal among these was the Jenkins Street boatyards. The boatyards consisted of timber-framed corrugated-iron sheds, with associated slipways, winches and hoists, all scheduled for demolition as part of the NPQ development. Occupying the sheds were several family-owned businesses which had operated from Jenkins Street and adjacent precincts for several generations. There were also two individuals who leased shed space for hobby production of boats.

Rather than being something that people in Port Adelaide were ashamed of because of the proximity of light industry to their homes, the boatyards were highly valued by many residents. Not entirely 'working class', since the owners of these businesses laboured alongside other tradesmen, the value that people associated with the Jenkins Street sheds was linked to their role as a site of labour and their part in the 'working history' of the Port. As Leon Sims, a former employee of Searle's Boatyard, explained: "We get people coming past here all the time wanting to have a look around because we are part of the working heritage of the Port" (Leon Sims cited in Kennett 2009:1).

A similar perspective is provided by Tory, a self-employed professional who lived in Port Adelaide and was a regular visitor to the Jenkins Street yards. She described some of her experiences there and explained that part of what was important to her was the working, 'everyday' nature of the landscape and activities:

> … it is sort of just a bit of working man's history that was just being annihilated there and I mean even though they were tin sheds I just thought they were fantastic. Just the work, the stuff that was in there and on the walls, painted, scrawled, I mean for me it was fantastic and I just used to love going down there and having a nose around and spend time.

Another point which becomes evident in accounts was the way in which labour itself was part of the experience of place underlying the attachment that workers felt to the Port Adelaide waterfront. Bill Porter recounted the establishment of the family business after his father emigrated from Cornwall where the family had been boat builders:

> Then there was a bit of land in the area and we took it. We dug the slipway out together. We built the One and All, that was the 50th ship we built (Bill Porter cited in Noonan 2003:12).

In Bill's account it is apparent that the labour of building both the slip and ships such as the *One and All* were sources of pride and attachment. Similarly, Leon described the basis of his attachment to the yards partly in terms of the labour he undertook at Searle's Boatyard:

> For many years I, like many others worked from these slipways, trying to keep the ageing ketch fleet afloat, repairing countless fishing craft and spending countless hours fitting the steamers out to carry bulk grain and many other cargoes (Sims 2003:2).

Far from being ashamed, Bill, Leon and the other shipwrights and tradesmen were proud of the work they did and recognised the contribution they made through their labour to the prosperity of SA. Their attachment to the boatyards was embodied through action and experience of these places, and the work carried out there became entwined with the identities of business owners and employees alike. Others not employed in the yards, like Tory, also developed attachments to place based on their experiences of the yards which, although occurring as recreation, were still linked to the working history of the Port.

Port Adelaide's working-class identity was also celebrated in discourses not directly related to the waterfront development, including performances and parades commemorating the 75th anniversary of the 1928 waterfront strike in 2003, one of the most important and wide reaching waterfront strikes in Australian history. The Port Adelaide strike was particularly bitter, with strikers assaulting volunteer labour 'scabs', additional police engaging in stand offs and running battles, all reinforced by citizens' brigades consisting of university students and professionals (Couper-Smartt 2003:273). Among the activities at the commemoration were re-enactments of the bull system pick up, where work was assigned to men acting as individuals (i.e. not part of gangs) on a daily basis. The irregular nature of work and the system were unpopular because it favoured the strongest (the bulls), or most compliant workers and was also prone to corruption through payments to foremen (Murphy 1991:76). The re-enactment was delivered by Rex Munn, a former waterside worker:

> Righto, you useless lot, get around here if you want to get a job. How many of you here today? Four Hundred! Bloody lot of you goin' home without a job, then. Righto, we've got the Adelaide Steamship Company — SS Mandala, eight o'clock start, number five berth,

unloadin' railway sleepers in heavy redwood, kauri and jarrah from Western Australia. Don't turn up without ya bloody timber hooks.

Here's the labour for today. I want four gangs and extras. I want to see four good bull gangs — I don't want bludgers. Bull hatchmen — Smith, Walters, Hendry, Murphy, take ya damned gangs down to number five berth and make sure ya move a bit of cargo, not sit on ya arse all day!

Some of you blokes wouldn't move enough timber to make a box of matches. Now we've got the gangs, we need someone to get down there to get the gear ready. I want two winch drivers. Jones and Brown, you'll do. Jackson, don't waste ya time delayin', you're not g'ttin' the job, you're frightened to turn on the bloody steam, you're tryin' to hang the bloody job out. I'm not interested in you, get a job somewhere else.

Righto, I want four strong holdies and I mean strong, not frightened of a bit of bloody work. Diva, Kellerman, Redder, Virgilio — you'll do. And have a look at these. These boots are nearly worn out. If I don't get new boots soon they'll be new bloody holdies.

I wouldn't waste me time on some of you blokes, you wouldn't sweat in a bloody fit. I don't want you Wilson, you're a trouble makin' bastard. You're always whingeing about safety on the job.

I've got an easy job here for a horse dragger. Selwyn, you'll do and don't forget to pay me tab up at the Railway Hotel or you won't get a bloody job next week.

> Now the rest of these jobs are shore jobs. I want ten strong men to work. Not skinny, under-nourished bloody weaklings. Let's have a look, who do I want? Not much good tryin' to pick out any amongst ya. There's only one thing to do. I'll throw the bloody lot at ya and ya have to fight for 'em. Strongest wins. Here! It's the best way I know to get strong men.
>
> Righto, there'll be another pick up at one o'clock. Don't bank on g'ttin' a job, shippin's scarce. That's the end of the pick up. (Anon 2003b).

Rex's speech took place at the corner of Lipson and Divett Streets, known to some as Poverty Corner because of its history in the bull system. This re-enactment was followed by a march behind a Maritime Union of Australia banner and other 'lively activities'. Although the re-enactment was a commemoration of the 1928 strike, against the backdrop of the waterfront development it was easily interpreted and put to use in related and complementary discourses. Deane Wittenberg, resident of North Haven, a suburb near Port Adelaide, linked the difficult past of class relations to the ongoing disturbances of the NPQ waterfront development:

> I was also impressed with the on the Waterfront 1928 re-enactment. It was evident during this presentation that a lot of the trouble was caused by the exploitation of the Port Adelaide workers by their eastern suburb bosses.
>
> The eastern suburbs/Port Adelaide syndrome existed during the late 1800s and early 1900s, in that Port Adelaide citizens were treated like second class people and the eastern suburbs knew what was best for them.

> One would think in this day of enlightenment this type of syndrome would be long gone. However here we are in a new century, at 2003, and the syndrome is alive and still operating. An example of this is the inner harbour development of Port Adelaide. The eastern suburbs don't care about the Port's Heritage or the history of a working port and the tourist potential of a port with ships at the docks.
>
> If the eastern suburbs can exploit the Port Adelaide area and make money out of it, the syndrome will continue. It is up to us citizens of Port Adelaide to unite and make a stand, like our forefathers did in 1928 (Wittenberg 2003:17).

It is unknown exactly where senior politicians and construction/development staff lived; however, capital for the development was multinational. The factual accuracy of Deane's claims of eastern suburbs exploitation in the 2000s therefore cannot be verified, although this is unimportant when developing an understanding of the use of heritage discourse in Port Adelaide. Instead, what is important is the linking together of discourses of past and present injustices to undermine the moral validity of the exploitation of the working class in Port Adelaide.

While the "eastern suburbs syndrome" is part of the discursive construction of the Port's negative identity, in this instance Deane 'flipped' the discourse, downplaying the stigma associated with working-class culture and foregrounding the often exploitative nature of the relationship between the Port and capital. His account serves to simultaneously contribute to, but also question, the effects of the meta-narrative and the legitimacy of the different forms of exploitation which have occurred, past and present.

In Port Adelaide working-class identity is also remembered in ways that at first glance seem to play into moralising discourses of the middle class; however, as the following accounts from interviewees Christine and Nigel demonstrate, it is not so simple:

> [Nigel] They had secret meetings of the communist party, that were raided by … there's blood on the walls of some of those pubs. There were absolutely huge brawls and riots between dockers and the bosses and all that sort of stuff. The social history of this … place is incredible, you know.
>
> [Christine] … the Port has got a really strong cultural heritage I think, even though bits of it have been badly let go. Wasn't always appreciated, you know I remember when the wharfs were very active like that's when I was growing up here. My father's pub used to open at 6am and if he wasn't down there at 6am so that the shift coming off could get their beer after their shift and the shift going could get their beer before their shift then [laughter] then the wharfie's would be on the door bell ringing the bell …

Nigel's account raises the reality of drunkenness and violence, but importantly it implicates both the working class and the 'bosses', while Christine's firsthand account recalls the less respectable nature of Port Adelaide's past with fondness. These recollections symbolise a thumbing of the nose at the respectability practiced by the broader Adelaide community. While the destructiveness of the behaviours themselves is not denied, it seems to be the contempt that these behaviours demonstrate toward authority and respectability which is important.

Not driven solely by self-interest and greed: remembering capitalists

It is not just the working class who are remembered in Port Adelaide—the activities of some middles class and colonial elites are also recounted in heritage discourses. The activities of industrialists and merchants, such as Charles Haines, David Bower and Captain John Hart, are recalled with fondness in tours, local histories and museum displays, Noni's description of the Bower Buildings is an example:

> [Noni] So there's all these people that lived in … [the Bower Buildings] … it was public housing and that was the deal … if you were a deserted wife or, you know they didn't sort of have pensions or things like that. If you had no income and you had kids they had these. And they were just rooms there was nothing in them, no facilities, nothing. Dirt floor, and a room. But they had somewhere to live.

While accounts such as this could be read as emphasising the powerlessness inherent in the acceptance of, and reliance on, welfare, during the 21st century remaking of Port Adelaide accounts such as Noni's took on an altogether different meaning. In this setting they became mobilised in critiques of the waterfront development, a process especially evident in a letter written by Marie Boland, a Semaphore resident:

> Those who know the history of the Hart family understand just how appropriate it is to preserve this mill as a symbol of all that is vibrant and honest about the culture of the Port. The Harts were a business family but weren't driven solely by self-interest and greed. They knew about reciprocity and put their money back into the Port, funding, for example, St Margarets [hospital] so women who couldn't afford a break could have one after periods of illness. Developers think they can tick the culture box by placing some public art in a park. While this

> is important, culture is much more than that. It's also about honouring, respecting and preserving our environmental heritage, both natural and built (Boland 2009:18).

"Bikerish" and dirty

It was not just residents and workers who produced new discourses along old lines during Port Adelaide's waterfront development. The decline of the Port as an industrial centre was mobilised in discourses surrounding the announcement of the NPQ waterfront development. The first article published in *The Advertiser* metropolitan newspaper announcing the development was titled "Grime out, people in for Port's grand plan" (Craig 2002:3). The article discussed the rise in the number of residents and conflicting industrial uses. Subsequent discourse in newspapers, and NPQ and LMC marketing stigmatised the post-industrial landscape of the Port, situating it discursively as environmentally degraded, abandoned and requiring change (Rofe and Oakley 2006:281–282).

Associated with the physical signs of industrial decline were a set of social problems arising from high unemployment, the result of business closures and mechanisation of remaining industries. McClelland and McDonald (1998:1) note that unemployment leads to increasing "poverty, debt, homelessness and housing stress, family tensions and breakdown, boredom, alienation, shame and stigma, increased social isolation, crime, erosion of confidence and self-esteem, the atrophying of work skills and ill-health". In Port Adelaide these social changes were incorporated into the well-rehearsed negative discourses about the Port's working-class inhabitants and, although they present an extreme point of view that is likely to cause offence, the following jokes (Hammy 2007) represent a broader discourse present in metropolitan Adelaide:

> Q. Two Port Adelaide guys jump off a cliff. Who wins?

A. Society

Q. What does a Port Adelaide girl use as protection during sex?

A. A Bus shelter.

Q. What do you call a Port Adelaide Boy in a suit?

A. The defendant.

Q. Why did the Port Adelaide guy cross the road?

A. To start a fight, with a complete stranger, for no reason whatsoever.

Q. What do you call a Port Adelaide girl in a white tracksuit?

A. The bride.

Q. If you are driving and you see a bloke from Port Adelaide on a bike, why should you try not to hit him?

A. It might be your bike.

Q. What's the first question during a Port Adelaide quiz night?

A. What you looking at?

Q. Two Port Adelaide blokes in a car without any music - who is driving?

A. The policeman!

Q. What do you say to a Port Adelaide person with a job?

A. A Big Mac please.

Clearly, negative perceptions of Port Adelaide have been articulated in, and reinforced through, external discourses for a long time. While these discourses to some extent

represent reality and certainly are deployed in ways that aim to shape perceptions and actions, for the most part they represent individual voices and the extent to which the attitudes or beliefs they express are shared by a broader population are unclear. Structured interviews were therefore used during the 2011 Port Festival to collect evidence of attitudes toward the Port from a larger sample. The bulk of the questionnaire results are discussed in Chapter five, with aspects which illuminate the way in which Port Adelaide's identity is constructed and received by residents and visitors (non-residents) are presented here.

Descriptive responses to the question, "What do you dislike about the old Port?" were themed and then sorted according to different demographic attributes. Comparison of the responses between residents and non-residents revealed noticeable patterning, with the majority of both groups indicating that urban decay was the main problem (see Table 4).

Table 4: Themes identified in response to question 9.2: What do you dislike about the old Port?

	Not resident	*Resident*
Development	3	3
Recreation - tourism	2	1
Reputation	11	1
Rundown	12	10

Urban decay was expressed in a variety of ways, all grouped under the theme, 'rundown':

> A bit dead, derelict look (PFQ12 Female 65–74 Non-Resident).
>
> Death of it all, no life (PFQ120 Male 55–64 Non-Resident).
>
> Rundown and neglected, deserted (PFQ62 Female 55–64 Resident).
>
> Needed more energy, i.e. people (PFQ82 Female 35–44 Resident).
>
> Used to be a fairly dirty place (PFQ39 Male 65–74 Non-Resident).

There are several dimensions to this theme; however, considered together, the responses draw on the related ideas of death, decay and dirtiness. Paul Shackel (2009:80) suggests that there is a link between the cult of the ruin that developed in the romantic era and post-industrial views of decay: "Ruins came to be viewed as part of a cycle of life and death, and they represented the idea that all humans and the built environment would return to this inevitable state of ruin and/or decay." According to Shackel (2009:81) industrial ruins have a similar, although not entirely congruent, meaning and are symbolic of "imminent degeneration and collapse" (see also Cooper:163-7; Lowenthal 1985:127; O'Hara 2011).

It is worth pointing out that the physical decline of the Port was not viewed negatively by everyone; some locals indicated that they actually liked the signs of industrial decline by referring to it as 'grit' instead of dirty or derelict. In doing so these people were able to refer to the same physical and social realities and to recognise them as such, but also to remove the pejorative connotations. Instead, the term grit draws on alternative meanings, among which are strength of character, an altogether different quality to 'dirty':

> Nothing too much, I don't care about its grittiness (PFQ109 Resident Female 45–54).
>
> I liked the character, its grit, its scale (PFQ121 Resident Male 45–54).

After speaking with both of these people it was evident that they were both professionals employed in design businesses who are also artists and curate exhibitions. The attitudes they expressed were reflective of a design aesthetic and a belief held by other artists that the physical and cultural grit or 'texture' of the Port is not necessarily something that needs to be 'gotten rid of'. A similar idea was expressed by an employee of SAMM during an in-depth interview in which he discussed the approach of a photographer who collaborated on an exhibition with the museum and PoANT:

> [SAMM employee] … we commissioned [Neil] to select photographs he had already taken—because he has taken more than 1000 images of the Port as it is now—that would show the same sites that were painted by John Giles typically in the 1930s … Some of those were the boatbuilding sheds, some which had been demolished and some which were painted with grey love and affection in the 1930s. So it was before and after shots and it sort of showed the charm that the Port once had and it also showed what was being lost. And the other thing which wasn't what we expected but it was really evident once it was up. It also reflected on John Giles artwork, because in the 1930s this was a working port. There was a lot about it that was very, very ugly, it was a very polluted water, there was ugly, big, bad industry. And John Giles found very charming vignettes in there and painted them with the most beautiful colours, pink and blue pastels. And in fact [Neil], because he loves, it is really evident, he loves industrial decay and he produced really warm, affectionate photographs of industrial decay and he found vignettes in the same way John Giles did.

While artists may find cultural meaning in urban decay, inspired by textures not found in other environments, their appreciation was not shared by most residents. In many ways the attitudes expressed by residents and non-residents toward physical decline were similar, however their attitudes toward the social character of the residents of Port Adelaide were vastly different. This is demonstrated by the disparity in the number of respondents who identified reputation as something they disliked (Table 4).

A single resident disliked the reputation of the Port, referring to it as being "bikerish" (PFQ42 Resident Female 35–44), there were, however, 11 non-residents who thought

that the Port was in some way socially undesirable, indicating that it had a "reputation for being rough and seedy" (PFQ72 Non-Resident Male 45–54). One aspect raised in several statements was the concept of culture. According to a male respondent, the Port had "a bad name in its culture" (PFQ90 Non-Resident Male 35–44). Another suggested that the inhabitants of the area had a "distinct lack of historical culture" (PFQ91 Non-Resident Female 35–44), referring either to a long history of social problems or alternatively a lack of time depth. In either case it is the Port's culture (i.e. the residents) that is the problem.

For several women their negative beliefs about the reputation of the area were so strong that it would have inhibited their behaviour. One respondent indicated that she "wouldn't go there" (PFQ48 Non-Resident Female 55–64) and another that "20 years ago wouldn't walk streets" (PFQ91 Non-Resident Female 35–44). While potentially just turns of phrase to emphasise the point, there is no reason to suspect that the statements do not represent their actual feelings. It may have been that these women would not have felt comfortable alone in the Port, possibly because of its reputation for violence and crime. The relationship between gender and feeling unsafe in the Port is discussed further in Chapter 5.

Further comparison of 'rundown' and 'reputation' responses according to median income revealed that most of the respondents who described urban decay in terms of being 'rundown' came from postcode areas with median incomes higher than Greater Adelaide and South Australia generally (refer Table 5). Bearing in mind that median income is at best a coarse indicator of class, these results suggest that people with greater than average levels of wealth are more likely to judge a location based on its appearance. This contrasts with the results for 'reputation', with equal numbers of respondents from postcode areas with above and below median incomes indicating that the Port's culture was something that they disliked about the old Port.

Table 5: Comparison of 'urban decay' themes identified in response to question 9.2 according to median income

	Above median income	*Below median income*
Reputation	5	5
Rundown	8	3

Combined with comparisons between residents and non-residents, these results indicate that, while the physical signs of urban decay that are characteristic of an absence of wealth may be more important to the wealthy, the importance of physical signs of wealth are widely held, and place familiarity appears to have little influence on its importance. In contrast, responses to the reputation of Port Adelaide's residents appear to be much more closely linked to place familiarity than wealth. This may be because the physical signs of urban decay, while not desirable, are more familiar to people from areas with below average incomes, whereas the negative discourses about the Port's residents influence the attitudes of people from other places regardless of class.

Two minor themes were also identified in questionnaire responses (Table 4). The first is the 'development' theme, which included any mention of physical changes to the Port. Non-residents indicated that there were "too many factories" (PFQ106 Non-Resident Male 18–24), and that heritage preservation was "limiting what could be done" (PFQ49 Non-resident Female 55–64). In contrast, the responses of the residents were distinctly different, indicating that modern development of the Port was negatively affecting the aesthetic of the place:

> Could have used a face lift, but not in the way it was carried out (PFQ31 Resident Male 75-0ver).

> Atmosphere is slowly dying off and becoming modern (PFQ51 Resident Male 25–34).

> The fact that people didn't recognise its potential and the potential of the gritty bits (PFQ121Resident Male 45–54).

There were also some slight differences between residents and non-residents in relation to notions about tourism. The single resident whose response was coded under this theme felt that there was "no promotion about the old Port" (PFQ26 Resident Male 55–64), but they did not feel the need to mention the Port's reputation as a factor inhibiting promotion. This contrasted with both of the non-locals, who indicated that the reputation of the Port was somehow linked to the lack of tourism development.

> Was rough, wharf was not recreational (PFQ15 Non-resident Male 65–74).

> Wasn't being promoted as SA tourist spot, 'It was rough' (PFQ19 Non-resident Female 55–64).

What makes the Port special is its people

Residents and non-residents referred to the physical decline of the Port in much the same way, but with different views of its social and cultural reality. While non-residents tended to accept that the physical decline was coupled with undesirable social character, residents did not accept the negative identity constructed in, and perpetuated by, discourses stigmatising the Port and its inhabitants. The following section explores discourses originating from people who lived and worked in the Port. Many of these emphasise connections between people which have developed over time through shared experiences of place and promote a very different understanding of the Port's residents.

Boat makers were trained here: labour, place and shared identity

Bill Porter described his relationship to other shipwrights formed during interactions in and around the former shipyards:

> A lot of the Port's boat makers were trained here. Most of my opposition are my old apprentices. It makes me happy, I can always ring them up (Bill Porter cited in Noonan 2003:12).

In describing his boatyard, Bill indicated that one of the important things about it was its function as a focal point for connections to other shipwrights. The workplace at W.G. Porter and Son's (Porter's) was important as a location around which connections between men involved in labour to produce boats developed. The emotions that Bill associated with the boatyards were positive. Rather than being an area of corruption and industrial malaise, Bill described the joy that he felt coming to work in Port Adelaide:

> Coming down here for 53 years I never ever felt I wasn't happy to be coming here in the morning. I will miss Port Adelaide, it is a happy area (Bill Porter cited in Westthorp 2006:6).

Of course, similar feelings extended beyond Bill Porter and his business; as his own accounts suggest, there were bonds and solidarity between many of the boat builders in Port Adelaide and the feelings of attachment to the area, and the camaraderie of Jenkins Street, extended to the friends and family of former shipwrights. The boat builders were seen to be Port Adelaide people, as Greg Tapp from Semaphore South stated:

> On a related note, Kingsley Haskett from Searle's Boatyard points to the further loss of Port Adelaide people due to the demise of the Port's few remaining boat yards. My grandfather, Frederick 'Mick' Braddock, was a shipwright at McFarlanes, and it would be a great shame to see the Port left devoid of these historic boat yards. A Port with no boat yards is like a pub with no beer … what makes the Port special and gives it its unique character is its people (Tapp 2003:13).

The loss of the yards was as much about losing some of those people from the community as it was about losing the businesses and activities; the importance of the boatyards extended beyond the workers and their immediate families to the broader community. As a long-time visitor to the boatyards and Jenkins Street area, Tory suggests that part of the attraction of the area was social interaction and connections to people who worked in the area:

> [Tory] I suppose that was [part of] my attraction, the grunge and I suppose the old guys. I suppose it's the living history, there used to be a little guy called George who used to help in the Porter's yard and he was great. He was an old fireman and yeah he was great to talk to, I don't know if he is still around. I haven't seen him for a long time.

While the boatyards, their owner and employees represented the last of the working inner harbour, many shipwrights had already lost their jobs due to restructuring or had retired. One way in which unemployed and retired workers have found a renewed sense of connection and identity is through shared work as part of volunteer organisations working on maritime vessels. These groups consist of mainly retirees, shipwrights, mechanics and sailors. The following quote from Keith Ridgeway, a former merchant marine and spokesperson for one of the volunteer groups, indicates that these men gain satisfaction from their involvement with these vessels:

> We're very pleased about this opportunity to work on the Falie and everyone is very excited about the long-term future of the maritime fleet (Anon 2009b).

The reasons for these positive feelings are probably many, and may stem from being retired labourers who find meaning and self-worth in their skills and knowledge, as well as by being able to demonstrate them. Another aspect of the value in these projects was

expressed by Matt Gurn (former maintenance manager at SAMM), who described the effects of maintaining the vessels:

> It's important for the vessel to keep operational.
>
> The Falie and the MV Nelcebee weren't kept in operation, they had to come out of the water and that was the end of their working life.
>
> They lose their smell, their noises and then you've lost that experience for future generations.
>
> [Yelta's] major refit would not have been possible, on the vessel's budget, without the invaluable help and experience of the volunteers who worked on it while on the slipway (Anon 2009c).

It is evident from Matt's statement that part of what these men are working for is to maintain the experience of place that they associate with Port Adelaide. That experience is linked to community and social bonds, but also to activity on the water and to having working historic vessels. Matt's commentary draws on, and acknowledges, the role of the senses in the experience of place that these groups value. This understanding of heritage value is closely related to concepts of phenomenology, where embodiment of experience makes the experiences part of the fabric of life. It is this weaving together of place, objects and activities, especially labour, that gives Port Adelaide its identity. The importance of work to Port Adelaide's identity is demonstrated by the way in which Keith reminisced about the number of wharfies employed in the 1950s and 60s:

> The wharves used to be completely occupied by ships – we used to have about 3000 wharfies working in this area and we'd have 10 ships out at anchor waiting to come in (Keith Ridgeway cited in Phillips 2004b:4).

Keith's emphasis on commerce and employment in the past and future highlights the importance of work to working-class identity (see also Paton 2011 for a discussion of work and working-class identity).

Recreation and identity in the Port

Identity in the Port is defined at least partly by shared work experiences, work places and work itself, and are therefore important sources of shared identity. The link between shared identity, the working class and labour extends into recreation. Wharfies held annual family picnics and many of the gangs organised smaller gatherings throughout the year (Murphy 1991:75–76). The waterside workers' hall was also an important meeting place for Port Adelaide residents. Keith Ridgeway described how the waterside workers' hall was the centre of socialising in the 1960s:

> We used to go down to the Port Workers Hall every Friday night to dance and drink (Keith Ridgeway cited in Phillips 2004b:4).

The American singer Paul Robeson visited Port Adelaide and sang at the waterside workers' hall in 1960, an event that was especially important to Rex Munn, a former wharfie who eventually became vigilance officer in Port Adelaide. The events demonstrate the way in which the wharfies saw themselves as part of a larger struggle for rights and social justice, something they took great pride in:

> [Rex] Oh yes we imposed black bans, we imposed black bans on American shipping until they returned Paul Robeson's passport to him. That happened more so in the eastern states than here, because they'd stopped bringing ships here. And also there were demonstrations outside of consulates, to force the Americans to return Paul Robeson's passport to him. And then in 1960, Paul Robeson came to Australia,

> sang on the steps of a half-finished Opera House and came to every capital city and sang in our union rooms …
>
> [Interviewer] That was to thank Australian Ports for their action?
>
> [Rex] Wharfies and seamen for the action they'd taken yes (Hastings 2009a:10).

Sporting clubs were, and continue to be, very important to Port Adelaide's identity. The Port Adelaide Sailing Club had a 150-year history in the inner harbour and its origins were as a 'working man's' club. The land that the club rooms occupied was included in the NPQ development and the LMC requested that the club leave their Birkenhead premises. The importance of the club to connections amongst people in Port Adelaide and their ties to place were articulated by John Johnstone who said:

> We are and have always thought of ourselves as part of Port Adelaide. If we've got to relocate we don't want to go out of the Port Adelaide precinct (Johnstone cited in Quast 2003b:3).

The Port Adelaide Sailing Club ultimately agreed to leave the inner harbour—with some reluctance. Amongst the reasons for leaving was an absence of 'walk on/walk off' facilities necessary to continue their 'sail ability' program, which provides sailing opportunities for disabled people. The State Government offered to construct new facilities at Snowden's Beach, a disused piece of land outside of the inner harbour development, but would not update the existing facilities. It is unclear if there was any justification for constraining the provision of new facilities other than to make the waterfront land available to NPQ, especially given that NPQ marinas built after the sailing club's relocation included 'walk on/walk off' facilities.

While removal of swimming from the inner harbour because of growing evidence of the harmful effects of pollution occurred in the 1960s, well in advance of the waterfront

development, it was a feature of discourses among the older generations of residents. Swimming in the Port was club-based, with each suburb having their own swimming club, several of which met to train in the docks as easily accessible, conveniently shaped bodies of water. Competitions were held between the swimming clubs, but there was also an intrastate race, Swim through the Port. No doubt these races were important to athletes and a source of entertainment for spectators, but for many residents it was childhood swimming lessons that were the most memorable swimming events. As Christine explained:

> [Christine] I remember … when they filled in the canal. There was a canal over the back and you know they'd run swimming lessons in that canal, there was this fellow called Jack Henry who, I think he was blind, look I might be getting this a bit mixed up, who had a pole and they'd put a harness around a child and suspend the child off the edge of the wharf [laughter] to try and teach them to swim. That happened to my brother; luckily I had already taught myself to swim so I could see what was in front of me if I didn't learn.

This is a common story, probably remembered more for the novelty of the method of instruction. Discursively the stories of swimming lessons have the ability to locate people in a particular way, they indicate a familiarity and experience of place that is no longer achievable, nor is this experience readily apparent, given the stigma associated with the Port River since swimming ceased. Such stories also place the tellers within the older generations of people living in the Port, who experienced the Port at its peak in the 1960s and at its most recent low in the 1980s. In the post-industrial 2010s stories of swimming in the river are one strand of evidence for the richness of the Port's culture.

All wired up: access, experience and identity

The repurposing of land and the enforcement of exclusive rights of access was another aspect of the changes to the physical landscape that was raised in several interviews and has implications for the way in which people experience place. There is considerable time depth to this process and some of the 50 and 60-year-old interviewees for the project recounted childhood experiences, while others described the effects of more recent enclosure resulting from the NPQ development.

> [Christine] My brother was really devastated about the power station on Torrens Island because we used to every weekend, we'd either be, summer and winter we'd either be sailing on the river or motoring because we had a motor boat too out on the river we'd go. And it used to be beautiful, I guess that's sort of cultural heritage isn't it, the way you remember how beautiful things were before they became polluted.

Even though she lived in the Port during its industrial and commercial 'heyday', there were aspects of its environment which were valued by Christine and her brother because of the experiences they had there and the sense of shared identity which they generated when visiting those places. These experiences were related to a sense of freedom and access to undeveloped parts of the river bank between the inner and outer harbour which, because of the migration of industry out of the Port, have now become more industrialised. As a result, parts of the landscape that Christine and her brother visited are now enclosed and not publicly accessible. John provided a similar account of childhood explorations in an area that was developed into housing in the 1970s:

> [John] I remember stories about Port Misery, before the port was actually established. Port Misery is that very end of the river where the causeway is between West Lakes and Ethelton and just the ships

> pulling in there and mooring and people having to trudge through that thick port river mud to get to something closer to solid ground. I used to love going down around West Lakes and North Haven as a kid before they were all developed and my brother and I and friends would ride our bikes and spend hours with bows and arrows trying to shoot rabbits and hares and catching lizards and so forth and tadpoles that sort of thing it was a real sort of adventure playground for kids.

John's account required access to unclosed spaces where ownership rights and exclusivity of use were not enforced. Like Christine's account, John shared the experiences with his brother and friends, and the narrative of those experiences served to bond John's identity to those with whom he shared the experience. The development of the area described by John not only changed the environment physically, but the access and freedom experienced within those essentially public spaces were diminished. These discourses are similar to those of swimming because they position people, experiences and identity in time, they are stories of a past freedom which has diminished in the Port. For John and Christine, they may also be coloured by the freedom of childhood. What is slightly more telling in regard to impacts of more recent development is Tory's description of a similar loss of freedom following the demolition of the Jenkins Street boatyards, which she visited as an adult:

> [Tory] The water just used to bubble up out of the pavement and it was wild and you had to really run when it started to come up.
>
> … it used to flood out at the GMH site … we got stuck at the sailing club one day because water had gone right up to the wooden floor boards, yeah used to come up on the king tide, the big one. Yeah I

> mean all those kind of things, those exciting bits of being over there … it was good fun.
>
> … there is still some kind of attachment even for me I sort of strangely long to go over there but now it's all sort of wired up and you can't get on site and even just sort of wandering around there it just looks so bleak and awful … and the fact that the, I mean people can't get over there now it's all blocked off. I suppose it's that sort of denial to the water if you know what I mean. There's a real sort of like Port thing about going down to the water at the Port and especially over that side. I don't know, don't know what it is.
>
> [Interviewer] So it was always something you could access?
>
> [Tory] Yeah or just to go down and sit on the beaches on rickety old pontoons it was great risking life and limb on these amazing pontoons that they had built. I mean they were just incredible. Bits of old steam ship. God knows what half the things were floating on the Port River down there, but yeah dangerous as hell. But yeah even the stuff that sunk down in the water. There was lots of little bits of boats and things down there.

By bringing the boatyards and their environment under the control and surveillance of government, waterside development restricted the way in which Tory could access place. The types of risky, yet fun, experiences she had there could not be had anywhere else in the Port and with the removal of the boatyards and enclosure of space the memories which she associated with that area were no longer grounded in place. She could not revisit and renew them.

Semaphore is not ready for you: identity, place and gentrification

At the same time that the touchstones and activities that people associate with community and their sense of place in Port Adelaide were being lost, the demographic of the area also changed. Census data indicated that levels of education increased between 2001 and 2011 (The Population Experts 2013:2-28), unemployment decreased, and the percentage of residents from “professional, scientific and technical services” increased, while manufacturing and wholesale trade—areas of traditional working-class employment—diminished (The Population Experts 2013:32–7). This story of social and cultural change was elaborated by Mary, an interviewee who explained the difficulty she had defining what ‘community’ meant in Port Adelaide in 2010:

> I think more like community would be interested. In the meantime, what is local community; so many people have moved to Port Adelaide, now. Like you’ve got, like arty types, and you’ve got people who have apparently bought those little dog box thingies, shoes boxes whatever. And so like lots of people have moved there. So, I don’t live there because I can’t afford to live there (laughs). So community is like, yeah.

Discursively Mary hinted at how community, defined largely as a shared identity and connection to place, had become unsettled in Port Adelaide, but also provided sign posts for where alignments may lie between diverse groups of people. Mary distanced herself from new buildings, referring to them as dog boxes, which also symbolically distanced her from residents of these buildings, whose choice of home was contributing to the cultural forms she did not approve of. Mary is a photographer who presents work in exhibitions, and therefore probably aligns herself more with artists, boatyard operators and trades people, with whom she had formed friendships while photographing the Port.

The unsettled nature of community in Port Adelaide was articulated further in a spoken word performance presented in *Rocking the Boat*, a theatre production by local arts company Vital Statistix, which was "partly a response to the multi-million dollar Port Waterfront Redevelopment" (Vital Statistix 2010):

> Maybe you are a country town Semaphore, lost on the outskirts of a city, but Semaphore don't be embarrassed you are the only suburb in this city where people can still shop in their pyjamas without being jigged, Semaphore you are so unpretentious, so upfront honest, that at times you delight me, Semaphore, you're all larrikins and character, if you're not a manic depressive or a schizophrenic, if you're not a liberal a labour, a pinko, or a greeny, if you're not a separatist feminist lesbian, a lipstick lesbian, or a builders labourer, if you're not a Rolls Royce driver, or a Kingswood owner, if you're not a Catholic, an Anglican, a Pentecostal, or an agnostic, if you're not a renter nor an owner, if you're not a yuppie, a trendoid, a straight, a gay, a trannie, a drunk, an addict or a deadbeat, if ya don't have a ring on ya finger or through your nose, your eyebrow, your nipple or your foreskin, if you don't dig hip hop, bebop, blues, acid jazz, funk, rockabilly, rap, techno, jungle, ska, reggae, pop, house or classical, chances are Semaphore is not ready for you (Port Festival 2010).

Clearly in this text there is an agenda to define the character of Semaphore, a nearby suburb of Port Adelaide, as being diverse and welcoming of the less desirable aspects of the social milieu. It is set up in opposition to the social effects of large scale and rapid gentrification, which residents of Port Adelaide tend to view as homogenising and sanitising and which has led to this seemingly diverse population (see Chapter 5). There

is also a sense of collective ‘character’ which, although difficult to define, is at the very least not generic, not mainstream. The following quote from Noni seems to support the idea that the population in Port Adelaide is in some way different or unique when compared to other parts of metropolitan Adelaide:

> I have always been fascinated, I mean I just love the buildings around here; I just love the whole area and its people. It attracts unusual people and I think it always has because of the way it is. It's a bit different.

In addition to the discursive construction of identity, groups such as Vital Statistix and the HMP, an amalgamation of members of PoANT and the Port Adelaide Community Artists Forum, engaged in practices which sought to reclaim spaces identified as part of the NPQ development. An example of such an activity was the Guerrilla Dinner held on unfenced vacant land adjacent to Harts Mill. The juxtaposition of the event directly across the river from the first and second stages of the NPQ development added to the event's symbolic irreverence for the development. Attracting about 170 people, Channel 7 TV news and reporters from *The Advertiser* and *Portside Messenger* newspapers, the event succeeded in creating publicity for the HMP vision of the mill as a community cultural and arts space. While the public discourse it generated was important, the activity also worked to bring members of the different groups together and to create a shared experience of place, adding to the ‘community’ identity.

Rethinking Port Misery: overcoming adversity and development of trade

A final link between place and identity which was discussed in several of the interviews is the importance of the Port in the early years of the colony, especially as a focal point for the arrival of migrants, as well as for its continued importance to commerce and travel over almost 180 years. The discourse of ‘Port Misery’ has been identified as the

beginnings of the stigmatising external meta-narrative about the Port. Here it is suggested that Port Misery also features in positive narratives expressed in terms of South Australia's non-Indigenous cultural heritage, which is largely told as a story of overcoming adversity. This tendency to valorise adversity is not confined to Port Adelaide, and has actually been identified as a key component of Australian heritage processes and collective remembering (Ireland 2005:34). Three interview participants identified that this was a feature of why they felt that Port Adelaide was important to them. At the time of the interview Nigel and Noni had lived in the Port for just "a few years" and Malcolm lived in the eastern suburbs; however, they both had developed longstanding connections to the area, either by visiting as children or through their working life:

> [Nigel] Adelaide was a bit of dirt. The famous from Scotland and England turned up, the well healed the free settlers, they had more struggle getting in and out of their boat rather than settling and whatever else they had done. That was the big task. That's why this become, the first part where history started. You're in the right spot, because with this river. This is where, this is where Adelaide started. Not the big gum tree [the site of proclamation of South Australia] or Glenelg or the other bullshit like that, you know.
>
> [Noni] I guess because I just love this part of the world, I mean this was really where people started, the whole of Adelaide, you know, despite what everyone says. This is where they came ashore, this is where they set up their tents to kind of move out from here and decide what they were going to do and it is just so much a part of the start of the whole state here.

The fact that many inhabitants of SA travelled through Port Adelaide is also mobilised as part of its heritage and identity, in a positive way. This is mentioned by Malcolm, for whom the Port created special feelings, even though he had not lived there for long, and neither had his family. Instead, it was the idea or the sense that his family had moved through the Port that was important:

> [Malcolm] … it goes then back to my childhood and the fact that I'm fifth generation from the founding migrant, German migrant population that evolved here I think that behind, one of the other things behind it all is that I'm very conscious of that aspect of my heritage my personal heritage and that its always there, in my sub conscious its always there, and working down here and being down here just, keeps reminding me of how my forbears came through this place how they then went into the country beyond and contributed to the history of South Australia, that it all started here in the Port.
>
> Well I think Port Adelaide is a significant starting point for a lot of people, it's a place that a lot of people initially touch, it's the first place that they were introduced to in their life and journey in South Australia.

An argument similar to Malcolm's suggestion that Port Adelaide was a significant starting point for a lot of people was used to justify the acquisition of the ship, the *City of Adelaide,* the largest and oldest clipper in the world. When the vessel, which consists only of a hull and interior decks, was scheduled for demolition, the City of Adelaide Trust was formed to raise money and equipment for its return to Port Adelaide. Arguments for its significance to the Port and South Australians were based on the ship's history of transporting migrants to the colony:

> Many people would question why this ship is worth saving. The answer is quite simple. The City of Adelaide ferried many of our ancestors to this brave new world so they could play their part in forming a new nation (Anon 2010:66).

The importance of Port Adelaide as a point of arrival for migrants should not be downplayed. The Port, like many colonial ports, represented a new start in a new country; however, as point of contact and transition, these stories of arrival tend to add to an external narrative of identity, rather than one which is linked to the identity of long-term residents based around choosing to stay in the Port.

It is not just the movement of people but also the movement of goods that contributed to the formation of the Port's identity as an important transport node. The following accounts indicate that, along with migration, the memorialisation of the Port's commercial history forms an important part of Port Adelaide's heritage:

> [Malcolm] It's the fact that if you're looking at the history of South Australia and talking to people who are interested in that subject, even though the actual initial starting [of the conversation] might have been something not at all connected to Port Adelaide, when you start looking at the wider connections to another area in South Australia it's often that you connect back to Port Adelaide as a starting point for something or as a place that is connected to something that is happening elsewhere in the state.
>
> [Mary] And like the Port River, Adelaide Brighton Cement, they were called differently back then. They got established there in 1913. Penrice Soda has been there since the 20s or something. The Adelaide Brighton Cement is very linked to the shipping. They used to have

> limestone kilns on the Yorke Peninsula and then they would ship the limestone across. So it's very linked to the maritime heritage as well.
>
> [Mellissa] Yes, mainly, I'm diverse really, because I'm interested in Glenelg, all that area always comes back to Port Adelaide, a lot of the history, it went over to Moonta, Kadina Maitland, all over Yorke Peninsula that all comes, stems back to Port Adelaide, it always stems back here because a lot of those people over there, 80% of them have businesses here in Port Adelaide or Adelaide.
>
> Everything from all of the country zones ended up at the Port or vice versa, whatever came in at the Port so it all connects, all the names or the businesses … it all comes back to around this area, yeah so it was the life of Adelaide I suppose, it really was.

While stories of SA's prosperity and the Port's involvement are undoubtedly important, the contribution that ordinary working-class people made to the development of the Port, the state and the economy are lost in discussion of connections, trade and commerce. With further questioning, each of the interviewees indicated that they believed the working classes contributed to prosperity and trade. This omission is not necessarily a deliberate strategy, then, but serves to situate the story of the Port's pride as something that arises from commerce, transport and trade, and not necessarily one where the working classes have to feature. Above all others these discourses seek to position the Port within the wider context of South Australia as an important place. What is especially illuminating about discourses of prosperity, trade, and infrastructure is that, unlike other aspects of the Port's identity (i.e. culture of residents), it is not contested and, as a result, is naturally assumed to be a source of pride for the area.

What do you like about the old Port?

Analysis of the text-rich discourses demonstrated that there were many discourses within the local community of workers and residents which constructed Port Adelaide's identity in positive ways. The documents and texts, however, represent the attitudes of a small number of people and it was unclear whether similar attitudes and beliefs were shared across larger groups. The question, "What did you like about the 'old Port'?" was therefore asked in structured interviews during the festival to gain a better understanding of how widely these attitudes were held and how they differed between groups. Responses were analysed using a thematic approach and then sorted according to demographic characteristics, such as place of residence and median income.

Table 6: Categories developed for responses to question 9.2: What do you like about the old Port?

	Not Resident	*Resident*
Activity	8	4
Character/Everything	8	7
Community	3	12
Heritage/History	5	1
Integrity	2	0
Old buildings	8	9
River	0	3

Some of the categories identified were too general to be of much analytical use. These included character/everything, history/heritage and old buildings. As a group, these categories represent an awareness of the presence of historic architecture in the Port, either through personal experience or extrapolating from the 2011 landscape; this was an understanding shared by residents and non-residents.

The most striking difference between residents and non-residents was the number of respondents from each group who indicated that community or connections to others were an important part of the old Port (refer Table 6). Far from being uniform, the statements coded under this theme included a majority that were very explicit and

included the word community in some way (e.g. "Comfy, community feel" - PFQ9 Resident Female 45–54). Others were coded according to the researcher's understanding of what was important to the sense of community in Port Adelaide, informed by thematic analysis of text-rich data. Underlying this sense of community were shared experiences of place oriented around themes of labour, recreation, freedom, a uniquely diverse population and prosperity. One respondent, for example, drew positive connections between the old Port, and "working class, lots of people" (PFQ80 Resident Male 35–44), perhaps suggesting that past prosperity and sense of community were linked, while another drew on the emerging idea of the Port's identity as one which was diverse, containing "some interesting characters" (PFQ13 Resident Female 45–54).

Statements coded within the theme activity were broad, some referring to past industry, some to recreational activities and others simply to 'activity' or 'vibrancy'. As a group, however, these statements were associated with the concept of the Port before its industrial decline—they are the opposite of the rundown theme and represent the greater life and energy that many people remembered.

Although only two responses were included under the theme of 'integrity', they represent an important idea that only non-residents expressed, linking the old Port with the present and suggesting that it "hasn't been spoilt yet, it is changing, but still has so much character." (PFQ102 Non-Resident Male 65–74). Contrasting with 'integrity', the 'river' was only mentioned by residents, some of whom suggested that "proximity to water" (PFQ13 Resident Female 45–54) was important and others that it was "the activity on the river" (PFQ121 Resident Male 45–54), including shipping and sailing, that was important.

Broadly, the thematic analysis of the structured interview data suggests that there were important similarities and differences in the way that residents and non-residents

perceived the old Port. Both groups identified the importance of the historic environment to their understanding of the old Port and what was valuable or good about it. In terms of deepening the understanding Port Adelaide's identity, the theme of 'community' seems to have been something of importance to residents, while 'activity', that is prosperity, was important to both groups. This seems to confirm that residents had an awareness of what community meant, and that belonging to Port Adelaide was a positive thing for them, while non-residents were unaware of this and perhaps saw the positives of the past arising from prosperity and trade only.

Proper boat building: Intangible heritage, tradition and authenticity

Until this point the analysis has emphasised developing an understanding of the discursive construction of Port Adelaide's identity without unpacking how these relate to claims for heritage preservation. In many discussions of heritage and identity issues of tradition and authenticity have been identified as a central concern (e.g. Banks 2013; Fienup-Riordan 1988; Linnekin 1983; Mason 2004), because these concepts are mobilised by different groups to validate a point of view, or a way of valuing an object, place or practice. The end result of discourses of authenticity is confirmation that the object, place or cultural practice is worth valuing as heritage and therefore worth preserving.

In Port Adelaide the local community made claims to tradition and authenticity as ways to confirm the heritage status of the boatyards, sailing club and associated maritime activities. This is especially true of the boatyards, and the following quotes from newspaper articles demonstrate the way in which wooden boat building was viewed by those who were employed in the industry:

> It was a place where proper boat building was still done, which is a dying breed of ship building . . . it's an opportunity lost (Chris Went cited in Anon 2009a:6).

> These might be old sheds, but when you've lived here all your life in the Port, you remember when this area was so much alive, but now all those things have disappeared (Peter Paszkiewicz cited in Anon 2009a:6).

For Bill Porter, wooden boats held a special place.

> The last few years we've built with aluminium. The 50 odd fibreglass boats we don't count because we don't think they're real boats. You can't beat a wooden boat for shape. When you've got a wooden boat with fair lines, it's superb. It gives you a great feeling of success fitting the timber (Noonan 2003:12).

Tied up with Bill's attachment to wooden boat building is a satisfaction that was gained through the craft of boat building, a satisfaction shared by many of Port Adelaide's boat builders. Wooden boat-building skills were valued by the shipwrights because they produced a better boat, but also because there was a different type of skill applied to the process. Wooden boat building was craft based and each boat was an individual piece, even though they were constructed, sometimes, from the same or similar plans. There was not a comparable sense of craftsmanship tied up with aluminium or plywood boats, which were more impersonal and had a degree of mass production to them. It is clear from the following quote that Leon Sims, one of the Jenkins Street shipwrights, also felt that, rather than deterring people, the authenticity of the boatyards as places of labour attracted them:

> This was the real Port Adelaide, not a fancy copy of Fremantle, Darling Harbour or any other port (Sims 2003:2).

At the same time, the values which these groups were claiming existed in the boatyards, especially those relating to authenticity and tradition, were being downplayed by the LMC and at least one MP, Pat Conlon, the Transport Minister, suggested that the claims to heritage value were not valid: "I don't believe that the historical value that they pretend exists in the boatyards is actually there" (Pat Conlon cited in Todd 2008:5). A statement made by the LMC, chief executive Wayne Gibbings provides more context to these beliefs: "It must be remembered that the Port's boat yards are ageing industrial premises no longer focused simply on wooden boat building. The work today involves spray-painting, working with plastics and metals and generating fine dust from anti-fouling paint and fibreglass" (Gibbings 2007:17).

The question that must be asked, though, is at what point does use of new technologies represent a move away from traditional boat building? To an extent at Jenkins Street the tradition was one where skilled tradesmen owned businesses, many of which were family owned and employed other tradespeople. The work ranged from boat building to refitting and was done on a variety of vessels requiring diverse skills, many of which were largely unchanged from the 19th century. Although the work had diversified, the boat builders continued working on wooden vessels throughout their tenancies. Ultimately, the argument against retaining the boatyards was made on environmental grounds:

> Industrial activities of this kind are incompatible alongside cafes as well as posing risks for the ongoing pollution of the Port River and the dolphin sanctuary, and need to be located in an environment where appropriate environmental safeguards and standards can be achieved (Gibbings 2007:17).

> On environmental reasons alone, the boatyards should not be there
>
> (Pat Conlon cited in Todd 2008:5)

This did not go unchallenged, with some residents arguing that the boatyards actually had environmental approvals until 2012, well after their scheduled demolition (Hastings 2009b:18). Not only was the tradition of the yards challenged by the LMC and State Government, but their role within the Port as a place of continuous and traditional employment was also denied: "The Port Adelaide redevelopment will bring people, activity and life back to an area that has not been a working port since the 1960s" (Gibbings 2007:17). The logic of the LMC and government justification for removal of the boatyards was flawed; on the one hand, it was based on the argument that the boatyards were industrial premises where work unsuitable to residential development was still being carried out; on the other, the LMC argued that the inner harbour had not been a working Port since the 1960s and therefore required development to bring it back to life.

Slipping away

In Port Adelaide the loss of the Jenkins Street boatyards caused considerable hardship and anguish for many members of the community. The first PoANT meeting attended by the researcher was held after the demolition of the last of the sheds. At that time there was a real sense of loss, the meeting was punctuated with strongly felt emotions of anger and sadness. These feelings continued, as one resident affirmed in an interview conducted seven months after the PoANT meeting:

> [Noni] Absolutely, that is a very galvanising point, that part of the world there, because that was the original working area of the Port and I don't think LMC have any concept of the damage they have done by pushing those boat sheds down. That area there is just like a red rag to

> a bull, everybody drives past it every day and everyone goes LMC ughh! Because it has just destroyed part of the history. Sadly that's where you come into this development versus history which is an ongoing battle. [Yeah] But it is not going to be any use to anyone else and it is such an important part of the history. So anything they do there they are going to be up for all sorts of strife. Because the local community will not forgive or forget what happened there. It's really that simple, and I don't think they realise that.

The social significance—the shared sense of attachment that many people felt for those areas—transformed from a positive, but largely unarticulated, sense of community to one where community became defined in opposition to the actions of NPQ, LMC and the State Government. There were many issues which led to these feelings, including inconsistencies in the arguments used to justify the removal of places identified as heritage by the community, but, as Tory's account illustrates, ultimately they arose from the intensity of the attachment which these people felt toward places which were being completely reconfigured:

> [Tory] I mean for me, I think with my involvement with the boatyards I just found it quite hart wrenching … I quite miss just going there and a lot of other people do too and just to see the other side of the river just decimated, annihilated. I mean I don't know, it's the Port but it's not any more. It's like the heart has gone out of it. I think a lot of people do feel sad about that.
>
> Just talking to the old guys down there it was good. I suppose they are living history aren't they?

> [Interviewer] Yeah I guess they are. And so now that the sheds aren't there do you still see those fellas?
>
> [Tory] Yeah some of them I do. Yeah I still see, what's his name? At Searle's, yeah I often see at the boatyard Kingsley.
>
> [Interviewer] So he's moved hasn't he? Do you go and visit where they are now?
>
> [Tory] No I haven't been there yet. I usually bump into him in the Port or where ever he's lurking around. He's always after me for some calendars or something. He's always about. Yeah, I mean they are still around, don't see Andrew McFarlane because he's from the other side of the river and it's a bit hard to get into their place. But the others yeah I see. Which is good. At least they are still doing what they did but they really miss the water and just the fact that they had work in the sheds.

It is evident from Tory's account that the issue was not just about attachment to the physical fabric, but also to the social interactions that occurred around those spaces. The new shed that Searle's was using was located at the southern end of Lipson Street adjacent to the railway, in a quiet backstreet away from the waterfront. Porter's had closed and A. McFarlane and Sons was located in a fenced compound at Dock Two, further away from the inner harbour and with no slip. Removal of these activities from the shared waterfront spaces disrupted or removed the social bonds felt by Tory with the workers from the boatyards. In this way the reconfiguration of the landscape extended into the social, reconfiguring and reconstituting connections and relationships that had developed over time.

Problems arising from loss of place have previously been recognised (Read 1996:196–7), but, in cases where communities are disrupted, disbanded and ultimately changed as a result of capital investment, the psychological effects on former residents are rarely considered in significance assessments (Read 1996:198). Further recognition of the effects of destruction of place and social value may assist in developing arguments for more detailed assessment prior to development. It is worth noting, however, that, in the case of the NPQ development, it was the interests of those with the greatest capacity to remake places that were served by ignoring the role that social significance plays in bonding communities together and the harm that breaking these webs of meaning can cause.

Conclusion

This chapter explored how identity was linked to place and class in Port Adelaide. It identified that class was a feature of past discourses about the Port, especially discourses that sought to moralise the culture of the working-class inhabitants. Echoed by the structuring of the physical landscape of the Port, these discourses worked to define Port Adelaide as rough and unrefined, contrasting it with the relative sophistication of the surrounding garden suburbs and the distant capital.

In the context of post-industrial decay, external discourses continued to highlight the moribund culture of residents, and visitors from other areas of Adelaide appear to have accepted the truth behind these discourses, regardless of their own class background. For residents of the Port, however, these discourses did not reflect the cultural reality. While residents agreed with the need to economically revitalise Port Adelaide, its importance was informed by a knowledge of strong working-class pride and community that existed in the Port during times of prosperity.

The identity of the Port and its inhabitants was undeniably classed, but class did not feature in the discourses emphasising the importance of the Jenkins Street boatyards to many people. Instead, the discourses examined in this chapter point to a shared experience of place through labour and recreation, and an eventual eviction and alienation from cultural space. These shared experiences, loosely identified as aesthetic values, are intertwined with a social value, articulated as community by those who had developed attachments to the Jenkins Street boatyards.

While the impact of changes to place on individual and shared identities has only been touched on briefly in this chapter, it is clear that social value did not simply disappear as a result to the physical changes to place. Certainly the frequency and nature of social interactions changed and became centred on new locations; however, the boatyard location itself was still valued. A transformation from largely positive associations to a value that defined community in opposition to the NPQ development and the government occurred.

In Port Adelaide cultural significance, identity and place were intimately connected. Changes to place affected the cultural values associated with locations and influenced the way in which community, a shared identity, was constructed. Although this chapter has emphasised the relationship between identity and the values associated with cultural significance, it is worth remembering that an expectation existed among residents that development would bring about economic change, while maintaining longstanding cultural values. Most residents, therefore, did not express opposition to all development; instead they rejected forms that conflicted with their perspectives on the value of Port Adelaide: "It's not that people are anti-development, it's just that we are not so hick that we haven't actually seen what can be done mixing heritage and development and look for a similar sensitivity here in [South Australia]" (Young 2007:14).

5

OUR HARBOUR THEIR DREAM

Heritage and the commodification of Port Adelaide

This chapter explores the different ways that stakeholders viewed the relationship between Port Adelaide's cultural heritage and the 2002–2011 waterfront development. In particular it unpacks how different stakeholders responded to Port Adelaide's working class and post-industrial identity, as well as NPQ's and the State Government's attempts at social and economic revitalisation. While much of the analysis focuses on comparisons between residents and visitors, it also considers whether class is related to attitudes toward the Port's heritage and development. Although this chapter emphasises the 2002–2011 waterfront development and the debates surrounding the role of heritage in the Port's revitalisation, debate regarding the role of heritage in Port Adelaide began several decades earlier.

In the 1980s cultural heritage became one of the strategies used by government and business to improve the Port, emerging as a central theme in the expected revitalisation of Port Adelaide as a tourist destination (Kelly and McConville 1991). A state heritage area was created in 1982 to protect the built heritage of the Port during the planned development of the post-industrial landscape. The Statement of Significance for the precinct described it as the "most substantial and continuous grouping of colonial commercial and administrative buildings in South Australia" (Department of the Environment 2013). Industrial and trades based heritage buildings are represented by two commercial sail maker's lofts. Several other large industrial structures outside of the state heritage area have since been given state heritage protection through listing as individual items.

Establishment of SAMM in 1986 contributed to the development of the Lipson Street precinct as the geographical focus for heritage visitation in Port Adelaide. The museum was renovated and conserved by the State Government as part of SA's silver jubilee celebrations and has since provided an important attraction, drawing visitors to the area. Malcolm, one of the interviewees, described his feelings about being involved with the 1986 renovation project:

> I think … the thing about the Maritime Museum that was exciting for me, was the fact that there was government support and backing and financial, and finances put in place for it to happen. When I say to people … because prior to that I had been very involved with the National Trust and all that they stood for, and I just felt that finally I was involved with something that made a really strong statement about the value of heritage and its connection to the community. I was very proud of the opportunity to be able to be part of it and the actual physical aspect of being involved was really, really, very, very important to me. And I think people at the time saw it as being a real achievement for Adelaide and for the government to manage things in the way that they had, and that they finally made a commitment to doing it.

Heritage continues to feature in the marketing of Port Adelaide as a tourist destination. It forms one part of a triad of themes—history, culture, nature—that the local council uses to promote the area, where history is linked to heritage and culture is linked to the arts (Anon 2002; but also Kellogg *et al.* Pty Ltd 2006). The prominence of heritage as part of the marketing of the Port is evident in the choice of the former colonial Police Station, constructed in 1860 as the location for the Visitor Information Centre. The council also

provides heritage experiences, such as history walks provided by costumed volunteer guides, and supports private businesses that use heritage as part of their marketing strategies. Examples include kayak tours to state heritage listed ships' graveyards, heritage pub trails and ghost tours (City of Port Adelaide Enfield 2013). Council has also supported the Port Festival, which has had numerous heritage- and history-themed exhibitions and events that collectively contribute to 'place making' in the Port. Other forms of commodified heritage in the Port include numerous museums, most of which charge some form of admission, and occasional public archaeology events.

Each of these activities or businesses contributes to the creation of a place-based brand for the Port, but they also each represent a use of that brand for promotion (see Brown 2011 and Hopley and Mahony 2011 for other examples of the relationship between heritage and place branding). Sceptical researchers, generally, would identify many of these activities in Port Adelaide as a 'Disneyfication' of heritage, where the historical truth is overlooked or embellished in some way to make the visitor experience more interesting, appealing, or safe (Hewison 1987:83–105). It is not just the experiences available at heritage sites or places that have been critiqued in this way. Peter Hall (2002:386) used similar terms to describe the physical and social character of former industrial areas that had been subject to urban renewal in the United States. There has been considerable debate about whose interpretations of the past are valid—experts or laypeople (see Wright 2009:ix-xxv for a summary)—and the rich cultural and heritage industry in Port Adelaide could be investigated along lines similar to those established in the Disneyfication debates. The emphasis of this chapter, is slightly different.

Here, the effect of commodification of the Port Adelaide waterfront on cultural heritage values held by experts, residents and visitors is examined. The analysis is situated within a framework of social relations constituted by government, developers, heritage experts,

community groups, locals and the largely external consumers of the Port. It is grounded in Port Adelaide, but interrogates the spaces between the local, metropolitan and global. While there has been considerable research examining heritage discourse and practice within the context of globalisation, overwhelmingly this research has focussed on understanding the interaction of western heritage expertise with that of other cultures (Byrne 1991; Elliott and Schmutz 2012; Jimura 2011; contributions to Labadi and Long 2010). In contrast, this chapter considers the impact of rationalised construction methods, as a globalised form of capitalism, on largely local and regional heritage values. These heritage values are discussed in terms of various intersecting senses of place which are impacted by the discursive and physical changes wrought by waterfront development. The analysis presented in this chapter therefore has more in common with recent research examining sense of place and the identification and management of local heritage values (Al Rabady 2012; Blokland 2009), but also draws on concepts central to debates regarding the globalisation of culture more generally; specifically 'McDonaldisation' and hybridisation theories (Nederveen Pieterse 2009; Ritzer 1993).

Everyone would agree that Port Adelaide needs rejuvenating

From the 1980s onwards the need to change the economic and physical decline of the Port was widely acknowledged by residents, NPQ and the LMC. There was a common belief that the revitalisation of the Port required increasing the number of residents, workers and tourists, which in turn would stimulate economic development (Quast 2003d). All of the stakeholders shared a belief that the waterfront development was the most pressing material transformation and that it had the potential to 'make or break' the long-term success of any social and economic revitalisation. While the form of the development was hotly contested in public discourses and interviews (discussed further below), most commentators appeared to accept that property development would assist

the Port's economic recovery (see, for example, Harper 2003; Hastings 2003; Quast 2003d; Westthorp 2007c). In newspaper reports the LMC indicated that 93% of residents and 94% of local business owners supported development (Harper 2003). While these figures form a useful starting point for consideration of the support for development in Port Adelaide, it was not made clear if this support varied between groups defined by demographic characteristics.

Investigation along similar lines was therefore incorporated into structured interviews undertaken during the Port Festival, which collected data from residents and visitors. The interview data allowed for comparison of responses between groups according to a wide range of characteristics, including place of residence, age, gender and income. Festival attendees were asked: "Is property development important to Port Adelaide?" They were also asked to indicate on a scale of 1–10 how important they thought it was.

An overwhelming majority of respondents believed that property development was important to Port Adelaide (Table 7). There was very little difference in the proportions of males/females, residents/non-residents, or above/below median income, with the most notable difference being between residents/non-residents (see Figure 6). Chi-square tests found no statistically significant associations between residents/non-residents (X^2 (2) = 2.002, p = 0.379, Cramer's V = 0.139), male/female (X^2 (2) = 0.669, p = 0.780, Cramer's V = 0.081) or above/below median income (X^2(2) = 0.571 p = 0.751, Cramers V = 0.076).

Table 7: Is property development important for Port Adelaide?

Response	*Frequency*	*%*
Yes	88	84.6
No	10	9.6
Undecided	6	5.8
Total	104	100.0

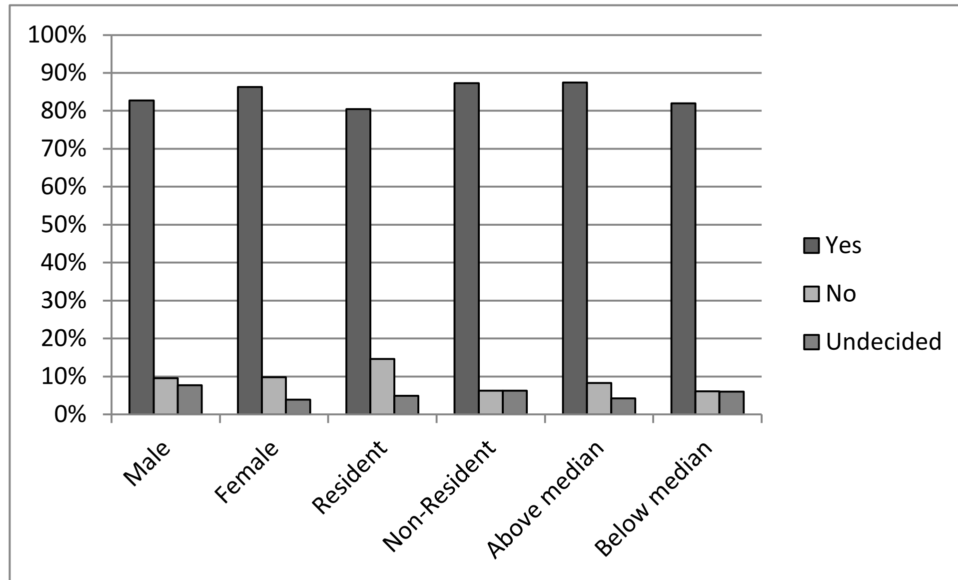

Figure 6: Comparison of the proportion of males/females, residents/non-residents above/below median income respondents who believed that property development was important for Port Adelaide.

Comparisons between the festival data and the data reported by the LMC (Harper 2003) need to be made cautiously, because the questions asked were similar but slightly different. It is worth noting that the positive response rate for residents was only 81%, much lower than the 93% reported by the LMC. These differences perhaps suggest that, while generally supportive of development, not all of those residents believed that it was actually important for Port Adelaide.

Kruskall-Wallis tests were used to determine if people were more likely to respond yes or no depending on the number of years they had lived, or previously lived, in the Port or the number of generations that their family had lived in the Port. These tests indicated that there was no significant association between responses and the length of residency ($K(2) = 2.753$, $p = 0.265$) or familial connections ($K(2) = 2.050$, $p = 0.374$). Spearman Rho correlation analysis was used to test if there was a correlation between the number of generations a respondent's family had lived in the Port and how important they thought property development was on a scale of 1–10. This test also found no significant

correlation (r_s = –0.054, p = 0.617). Similarly, Spearman Rho correlation analysis found no significant correlation between the number of years a resident had lived in the area and the importance they placed on property development (r_s = –0.089, p = 0.651).

Spearman Rho correlation analysis was also used to test if there was a relationship between age and the importance a person placed on property development, finding that there was a significant correlation (r_s = 0.242, p = 0.023). The effect size, however, was small to moderate (r = 0.242), suggesting that, while older people tended to view property development as being more important for Port Adelaide, the relationship between their age and this point of view was not particularly strong (see Figure 7 and Figure 8). The weakness of this association arises from the fact that the mean score was 7.326 and the mode was 7. The tendency for older people to view property development as being more important may be related to their experience of the economic decline that began in the 1960s and the associated stagnation and reduction in construction, coupled with the deterioration of existing building stock. From this point of view, construction and economic prosperity may be seen to go hand in hand.

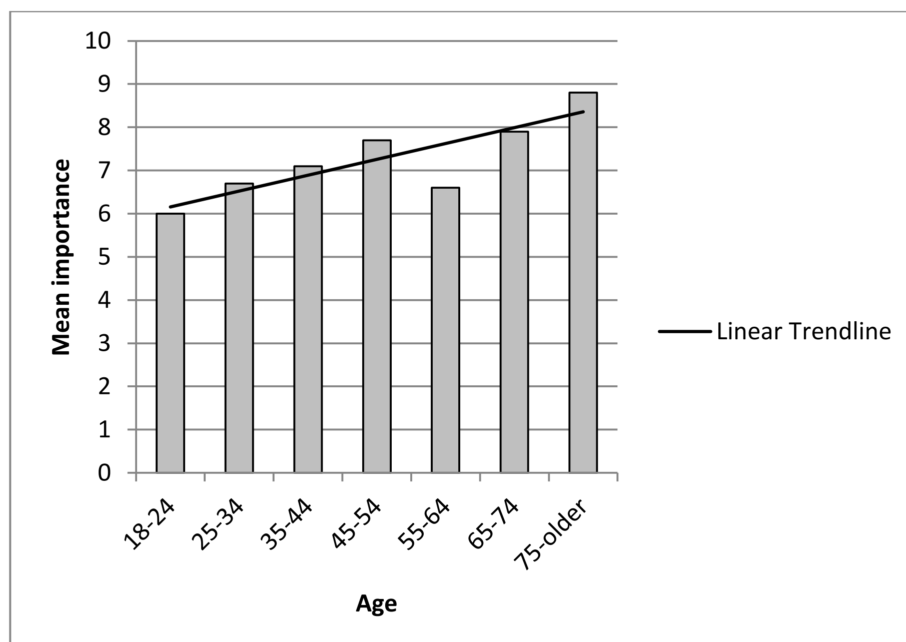

Figure 7: Mean importance placed on property development by age group

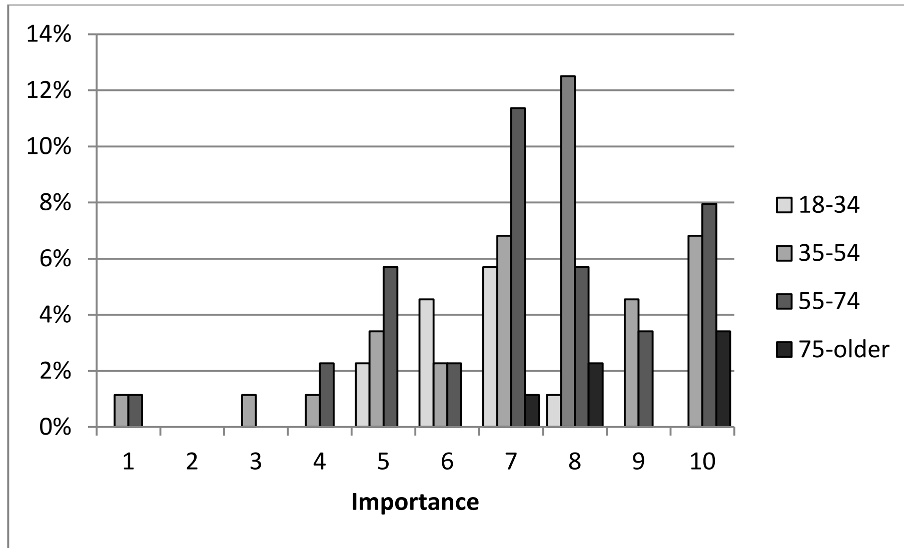

Figure 8: Distribution of importance of development by age group

While these results confirm that there was broad-scale agreement that property development was important to Port Adelaide, they also suggest that there was some variation between groups. The following section develops a deeper examination of the extent to which different groups shared the same vision for how development should proceed. The discussion draws on two key changes to the waterfront: first the construction of new road and rail bridges over the Port River; and second the NPQ waterfront development. The construction of the bridges preceded the NPQ construction; however, the public discourses are interrelated and their combined analysis provides complementary perspectives on stakeholder values and their relationship to place.

Transforming the Port: Sanitation, modernity, consumption

Following the logic of the cult of the ruin (Shackel 2009:81; Lowenthal 1985:127), it was necessary for the vestiges of industry to be removed and for the dilapidated buildings to be renovated before Port Adelaide could become a place of leisured consumption. One

of the first steps toward achieving the necessary environmental improvement was the diversion of trucks from the CBD and heavy freight trains from the rail line adjacent to the NPQ development site. Two new bridges were proposed to divert road and rail transport.

Initially the plans were for fixed bridges, the design of which was unlikely to affect motor cruisers or yachts with foldable masts, but would impact on activities of other vessels, such as tugs, visiting tall ships, and navy vessels, as well as some smaller fixed mast craft from the Port Adelaide Sailing Club. The idea of diverting trucks from the inner harbour was not resisted, but the expected effects of bridge design on river traffic were questioned by residents and business owners. Geoff Haygreen, acting president of the Port Adelaide Enfield Chamber of Commerce, commented:

> Either make it an opening bridge or find another solution. Right from the very beginning our impression was that tall ships and navy vessels would still have access. We were talking about a functional port to allow the tourist part of Port Adelaide to continue (Haygreen cited in Quast 2003g:3).

Similarly, café owner Julie Sellick questioned the expected effects of the designs: "Why would you come to Port Adelaide if there were no boats?" (Sellick cited in Quast 2003g:3).

Several residents expressed concerns about the effect of the proposed bridges on river traffic in terms of the potential for visitation for maritime activities and heritage. Ashley Turner, for example, stated, "All we need is a bit of real vision and we can have a great destination for lovers of maritime history" (Turner cited in Quast 2003f 1). Lyn Thompson, another resident, suggested: "The reason lots of people have moved into the Port area is it's a working port" (Thompson cited in Quast 2003f:1). Her complaint,

shared by others (Quast 2003f), was related to residents' ability to participate in, and enjoy, the aesthetic of maritime activity in the inner harbour, which was part of the value they associated with living in the area. Finally, a slightly different sense of the importance of maintaining activity in the inner harbour was expressed by Janine Peacock: "My grandfather was a tally clerk and my father was a Cape Horner who later worked for the Adelaide Steamship Company as a tally clerk" (Quast 2003f :1). Janine linked shipping activity and its aesthetic to memories of her father and grandfather (see also Quast 2003h).

The critiques revolved around the Port's obvious and explicit maritime identity; however, few critiques included gestures to class differences or linked the critique to working-class identity. While Lyn Thompson's statement included a reference to the working Port, her point seemed to be less about the working-class nature of the place and more about the aesthetic provided by activity on the harbour. Similarly, Janine Peacock's memories of her father and grandfather were not explicitly expressed in terms of class; instead they reflected attachment and maritime aesthetic. Class was raised by Ashley Turner, who suggested: "If you go ahead with the State Government's plan in its current state then you end up with a pond for the well-heeled" (Turner cited in Quast 2003f:1), but his comment was made in the context of the waterfront development and its effect on the ability of existing residents, as opposed to those buying NPQ marina berths, to participate in the maritime traditions of the inner harbour.

The reaction of the members of the local business community was based on fears that one of the major drawcards of the Port would be removed if a fixed bridge was constructed—they saw the river traffic and visiting vessels as part of what appealed to tourists, and therefore part of the value of the Port as a 'place' for marketing purposes. Residents' sense of place underlaid the place's marketing values, which the business

owners cared about. These shared concerns formed the focus of a community campaign calling for construction of opening bridges (refer Figure 9).

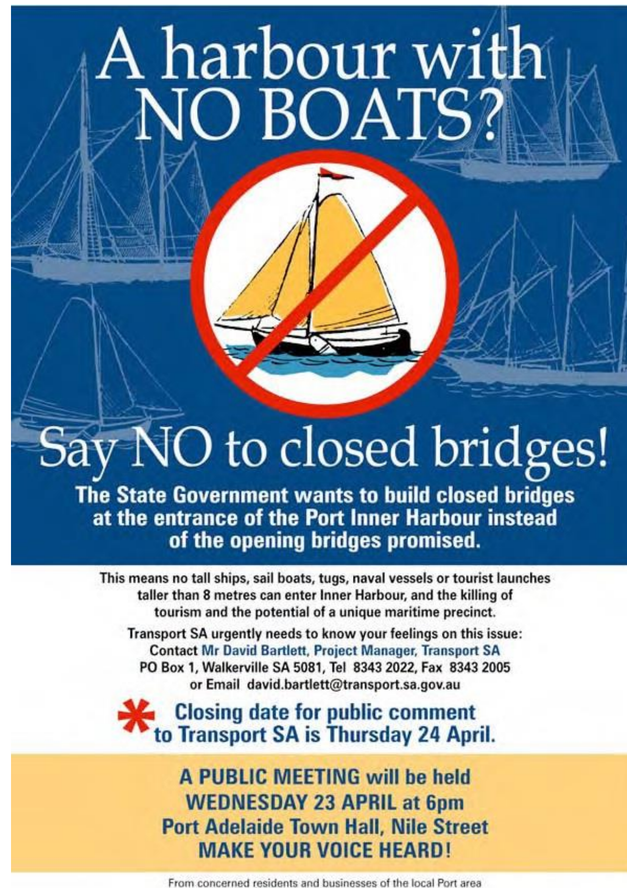

Figure 9: Flyer distributed by residents and local business owners prior to determination of bridge designs by the State Government

Few criticisms of the community-driven proposal for the establishment of an opening bridge were reported in the media; however, the Freight Council and the South Australian Farmers Federation (SAFF), two business organisations largely external to Port Adelaide, but whose economic interests potentially would be affected by the bridge design, opposed the idea. Neil Murphy, Freight Council Executive Officer, stated:

> A project like the channel deepening – which will allow larger ships into the state's main port to take more of our products to the world …

> is more important than building bridges … that have the ability to open and shut (Murphy cited in Anon 2004).

Greg Schulz, SAFF Grains Council Chairman, stated:

> At a time when the state has requirements for improvements in numerous infrastructure projects, the millions of extra dollars to build opening bridges is a very poor investment. With the very restricted opening regime that we have been assured would apply, any benefit to river traffic would be extremely low and movement through the bridges would be unviable before it started (Schulz cited in Anon 2003a).

The arguments posed by each of these organisations relied on setting up a choice between ensuring the prosperity of the state and its place in global markets (through channel deepening and appropriate road and rail infrastructure) or the economic and cultural interests of the local community. The arguments drew on concepts of rational government, where the issue at stake was identifying the greater good, which is often reduced to monetary terms. The value or benefit of the opening bridges to the local community was not articulated explicitly in monetary terms by either group, nor were the costs to external businesses, but the inference of the corporate criticisms was that the benefits expected to arise from opening bridges were not sufficient to warrant the expense.

Opening bridges were eventually constructed and the activities which residents and business owners lobbied to save continued. There have been two visits from tall ships since the construction of the bridges, with estimates of 20,000 people visiting the inner harbour in a single day (Tall Ship Festival 2013). Locally based tall ships, the *Falie* and *One and All,* have also remained in the inner harbour. While this aspect of the bridge

design appears to have been successful, in 2011 it was not entirely clear whether the modifications to the transport routes had the desired effect of removing trucks from the CBD (Wheatley 2009), although rail freight was successfully diverted away from apartments at NPQ.

The 'battle of the bridges' was an important beginning to the reconfiguration of the Port; but the NPQ development was by far the largest and most obvious change to the Port's physical and discursive landscape. The remainder of this section analyses the approach of NPQ to marketing and design from the point of view of a cultural 'values' framework. The analysis emphasises the discursive and material symbolism evident in the marketing materials and building design, but also acknowledges the role of rationalisation and economic value in shaping the scale and form of development.

It has been argued that, in order to overcome a general reluctance for investment in the Port, NPQ actively tried to distance itself from the negative post-industrial identity (Rofe and Oakley 2006:282). In particular, Szili and Rofe (2007) identified the mobilisation of a 'green washing' discourse to promote environmental credentials and encourage investment in new development. Green washing is term used to describe a strategy that promotes businesses environmental credentials helping them to appear more environmentally conscientious than they actually are and thereby improving their market identity. The actual environmental benefits achieved by the first two stages of the development were in fact relatively minor. Remaking of the physical and discursive post-industrial landscape was further analysed by Rofe (2010) using gender as an analytical framework. Rofe examined workers' memorials and NPQ's marketing material, arriving at the conclusion that they both framed public space as masculine and domestic space as feminine. While class was largely absent from these analyses, Rofe (2010:27, 32) suggested that there was potential for the discursive reconstruction of the Port to be

analysed along class lines. Given that the relationship between working-class identity and value in heritage management is a key area of this thesis, the NPQ marketing material is examined here using class as the analytical lens.

Compass, the NPQ newsletter, is an important document for this analysis because it provides insights into NPQ's strategies for appealing to buyers and provides evidence of their attempts to discursively shape Port Adelaide's identity:

> Welcome to the inaugural issue of 'Compass' – a publication designed to keep you up-to-date with the exciting transformation of Port Adelaide into a unique, 21st century waterfront address known as Newport Quays.
>
> The colourful history of Port Adelaide will be enhanced by the development, with a complementary mix of old and new, delivering a vibrancy and lifestyle that will help unlock the full potential of the area.
>
> Newport Quays aims to create exclusive living opportunities for the discerning buyer, while offering living options to meet the diverse needs of the community, focusing on sustainable, secure living, in a comfortable, convenient and attractive environment (Newport Quays n.d.-b:1).

Cultural expressions of class are implicit in this first edition of *Compass*, via claims that development aims to create "exclusive living opportunities for the discerning buyer" and to provide "secure living". While at a surface level these statements are fairly innocuous, when considered against the narrative of Port Adelaide as a place of physical decline and social stigma, it suggests a desire to objectify the development as separate, better and safer than existing suburbs. In the second edition, working-class Port Adelaide was actively downplayed and consigned to the past: "Over the past decade a combination of

development with strong demand has seen the area undergo a transformation from a working class suburb to something trendier" (Newport Quays n.d.-a:3).

Discursively this draws on the social reality of demographic and cultural change brought about by slow gentrification to create a Port Adelaide that is no longer working class and that, by extension, is now desirable to middle-class consumers. A point of view that was repeated in the *Lonely Planet Australia* (Innes 2011:13), which described Port Adelaide as being "bogged in boganity for decades, Port Adelaide … is in the midst of gentrification, morphing its warehouses into art spaces and museums, and its brawl-house pubs into boutique beer emporia. Things are on the up".

The deliberate association of the development with a particular middle-class ideal, which eschews any sign of the old, degenerate Port, is also evident in the images used in the newsletter and sales brochures (Figure 10). The style of dress in the images (collared pressed shirts), the beverages consumed (bottled wine, lattes) and the types of vessels portrayed (motor cruisers) are not those commonly associated with portrayals of the Australian working class (see Pini *et al.* 2012:146, 150–1; Pini and Previte 2013 260 for a discussion of taste, consumption and class in Australia). Heritage buildings or fabric are also conspicuously absent from these images.

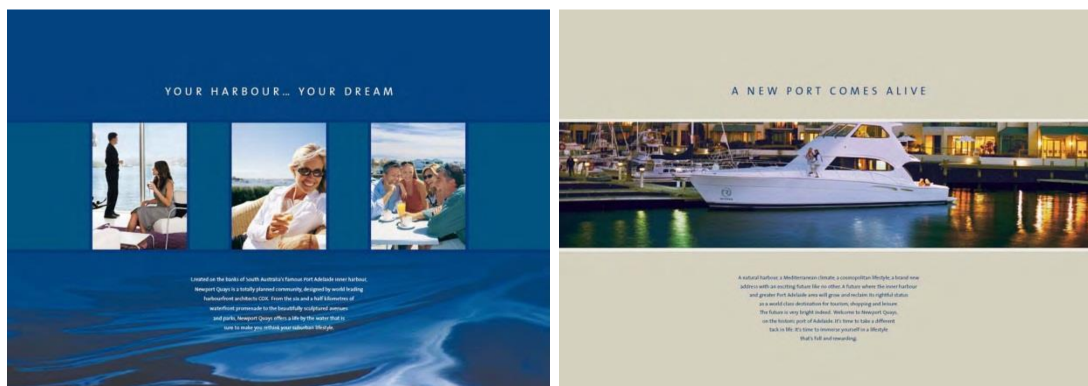

Figure 10: Newport Quays sales brochures depicting a particular upper middle-class ideal.

The desire of NPQ to distance itself from the old working-class Port can be understood on a number of levels. One is that the working class Port was feared by some members of the broader Adelaide population, largely because it was thought to be unsafe. Furthermore, 'working class' as a cultural identifier has negative connotations, and is often not an aspect of status that people, working class or otherwise, wish to associate with (Bottero 2004; Paton 2010; Sayer 2005a).

In addition to marketing material, NPQ aimed to change the Port discursively through the renaming of large areas of the waterfront, although NPQ and the State Government provided conflicting accounts as to why the suburb names needed to change. The official State Government position, evident in the public discourse (Westthorp 2007b:8–9), argued that the name change was necessary because the development area straddled three old suburbs and retaining the old boundaries and names would be confusing for emergency services. The renaming, however, had other motives and intended effects. Todd Brown, the spokesperson for the NPQ consortium, stated that, "like other major developments in Adelaide, such as West Lakes, Mawson Lakes and Golden Grove, the name Newport Quays is designed to provide a new identity for this exciting new development" (Brown 2007:13). Similarly, a spokeswoman for the Surveyor-General's geographical names unit suggested that the name New Port " … reflects the area's maritime history and recognises the significant change the development will bring to Port Adelaide and the surrounding suburbs" (Westthorp 2007a:5).

While it is problematic to argue against the importance of ease of access for emergency services, the conflicting accounts from NPQ and the government created uncertainty around the justifications provided by these groups. Certainly the culturally motivated undertones of rebranding the location for the purposes of improving its status were not lost on the residents, many of whom argued that the name changes were based on a

desire to distance the development from the Port's past (Westthorp 2007b:8–9). While discourses are important in the symbolic construction of an identity, the symbolism of the new development was also evident in its material transformation of a section of the Port Adelaide waterfront.

When considering the meaning of the buildings, and by extension their cultural value, it is necessary to acknowledge that, at some level, the design of any building is influenced by its cost, and it is no secret that the straight lines and large flat surfaces of modern design allow for prefabrication, rationalisation and more effective measurement of profit (Cooke 1991:80; Habermas 1985). It is also important to recognise that the modern design of the NPQ development was also laden with cultural meaning. Against the richly textured backdrop of the 'old Port' it is possible to see that the oversized, 'clean', white buildings are part of the symbolism that NPQ evokes (Figure 11). The sharp, straight white lines of the high-rise development contrast starkly with the surrounding suburbs, whose patina represents the obsolescence, decline and dirtiness of the Port. The new buildings embody the rejection of the material manifestation of 175 years of Port Adelaide's culture, replacing them statements of progress, 'cleanliness', order and consumption. The modern, rationalised design of the buildings contributes to the discursive and symbolic shaping of identity in the Port.

Figure 11: View of seven storey Stage 2A buildings, illustrating the sharp contrast between Newport Quays and the surrounding suburbs (photograph T. Kearney).

Glenelgising Port Adelaide: Landscape, identity and authenticity

Of course, the manner in which NPQ and the LMC attempted to achieve a desirable and status-driven product was not without its critiques. Comparisons were made between the Port waterfront development and Fremantle, an historic Port associated with the Western Australian capital city, Perth. Fremantle has arguably developed into a popular tourist destination, utilising its historic built form and waterfront location (Shaw 2004:7–8); however, Port residents questioned the similarities:

> Frequently this development has been discussed as being on a parallel to that of Fremantle, WA, also historically a working port area. Fremantle, however, has been lovingly restored and developed in keeping with its heritage. Yet at every turn there seems to be a desire to obliterate the Port's history totally negating the supposed similarities with Fremantle (Young 2007:14).

Instead of accepting positive associations with Fremantle, residents and expert observers linked the Port Adelaide development to Glenelg, a seaside suburb of metropolitan Adelaide with a history extending to the first year of European colonisation. The scale and style of recent developments at Glenelg (Holdfast Shores) were seen to be closer to NPQ than Fremantle. The distaste with which the changes in Glenelg were viewed by some long-time residents of the Adelaide area is evident in accounts from interview participants:

> [Malcolm] I can speak about that from a personal point of view because of my own personal interest in development, say in an area like Glenelg where I have, my wife and I have a unit and … excessive commercial development has spoilt it.
>
> [Deb] It's on a par with Glenelg but thank goodness the council here and the government haven't sold their soul, like what's happened at Glenelg.
>
> [Interviewer] What's happened down there?
>
> [Deb] Well you've just got to walk down there now but they've never seemed to have been very interested in their history down there at Glenelg, and then they've built all of those high-rise buildings which is our mini Gold Coast, and I don't go back to Glenelg unless I actually have to, never take visitors down there, I never send anybody down there.
>
> [Interviewer] Because they demolished a few of the heritage buildings around Mosley Square didn't they? the Police Station …
>
> [Deb] Yes and I've got a wonderful old picture of that somewhere, but just the whole character of the place, but it's an attitude more than

> anything else … it just doesn't have a soul anymore, which, Port Adelaide actually does.

Similar attitudes about Glenelg were expressed by experts in the field of heritage and social planning, who were concerned that the new development would affect the Port negatively. Rainer Jozeps, President of the NTSA, noted that "the heritage of Glenelg [was] very heavily compromised" and in this respect he agreed with the accounts of Deb and Malcolm; however, his appraisal of Port Adelaide differed slightly, commenting that "Port Adelaide appears to be going down the same track"(Jozeps cited in Quast 2003d:3). These concerns were also shared by local residents' groups. In discussing the revitalisation of the Port, Stephen Darley, spokesman for PAREPG, suggested: "There are ways to do it [revitalise the Port] that are not Glenelg-ising Port Adelaide" (Darley cited in Quast 2003d:3).

Particular concerns were expressed over the scale and style of the development, as the following statement from a Semaphore Resident and PoANT member illustrates: "Visually they will be too dominating. The development places too much emphasis on the medium to high residential densities and not enough on other forms of development, such as tourism or recreation" (Hastings cited in Graham 2004:1). Ian Radbone, President, Planning Institute of Australia, SA Division, suggested that "it would be unfortunate indeed if it [NPQ] had the same wall-like effect as Holdfast Shores, cutting people off from the waterfront" (Radbone 2004:12). Another resident, Jenny Allen, suggested that the new apartments were "'little boxes' devoid of character resembling every other 'boutique' suburb that has sprung up over the past few years" (Allen 2007:14). Campaigns led by members of PoANT and PAREPG depicted proposed NPQ buildings alongside existing historic building stock (refer Figure 12). Hart's Mill was built in 1855 and is the tallest heritage building in Port Adelaide, occupying a prominent

waterfront site with unobstructed views. The potential obstruction of views and dwarfing of this building by proposed apartments was a significant concern for members of PoANT and PAREPG.

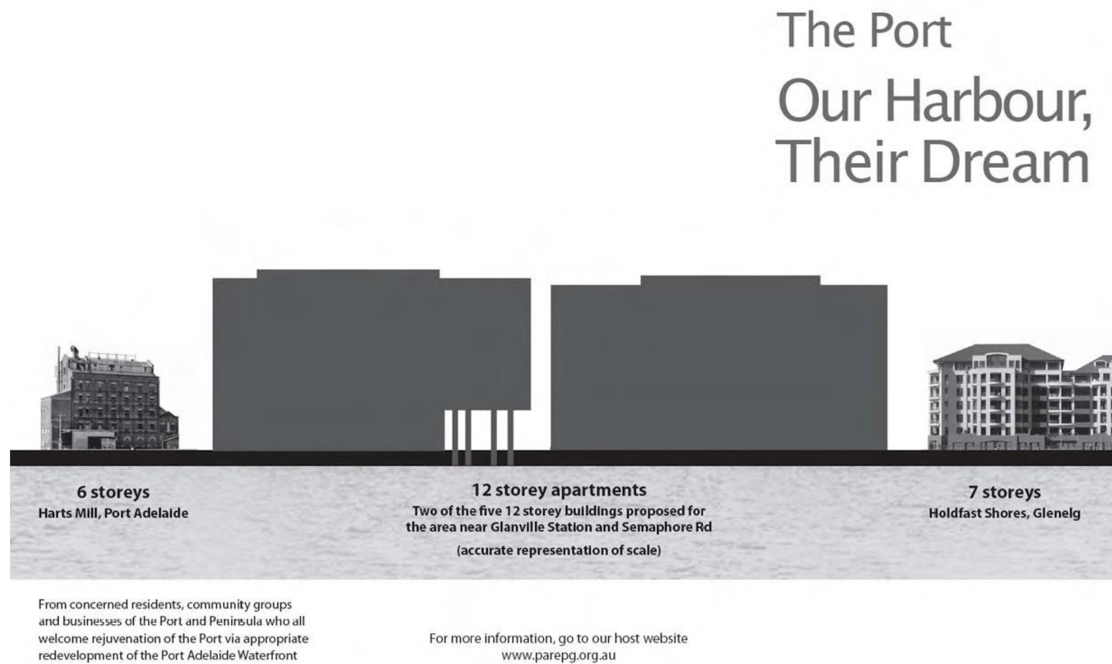

Figure 12: Cover of a community flyer pointing out issues and complaints with Stage 2B.

It was not just the style and scale of the buildings that were questioned by residents and experts, but also the effect of the development on the local 'community'. Concerns about changes to the social mix were supported by experts in the field of urban and social planning, such as Gary Wilson, Shelter SA Executive Director: "Part of what makes a community dynamic is a good social mix but this plan excludes people on a low income" (Wilson cited in Phillips 2004a:3).

Other commentators, such as Bryan Moulds, Property Council Executive Director, played down these concerns, suggesting that existing residents would not be pushed out. Moulds, though, appears to have simplified the argument to "existing housing stock

wouldn't be developed" (Phillips 2004a:3), whereas others had argued that, without a requirement for public housing as part of the new development, the increased property values would push low income earners out of the property market and Port Adelaide.

Rick Atkinson, University of SA planning and urban design lecturer, commented on the design and style of the buildings, as well as the likely effect of the development on the demographic of the Port:

> What we're seeing with these developments in Adelaide is something that all looks the same, which doesn't encourage a colourful social and cultural mix. I suspect the end result will be something you could find anywhere, something that is not uniquely Port Adelaide (Atkinson cited in Phillips 2004a:3).

The cultural and social identity of the Port was also raised by residents in their critiques of the development, as the following quote from Jenny Allen indicates:

> What makes the Port so special is its 'working class' history, both maritime and industrial … This community is multifaceted and we must cater for everyone, not just the 'new money' that has recently moved into town (Allen 2007:14).

Residents and experts sympathetic to this point of view engaged in discourses that worked to position the NPQ development as socially irresponsible, but also lacking in authenticity by linking physical and social changes with the 'real' Port Adelaide. Critical to these understandings of the Port was that slowly developing gentrification has an authenticity which rapid speculative development does not. The authenticity of slow gentrification seems to derive in part from the length of time and emotional investment in an area that people make, but also from its apparently non-rationalised nature.

Critiques of the physical and social remaking of Port Adelaide also included questioning of motives for changing the names of the suburbs affected by NPQ:

> I would suggest most Port and LeFevre Peninsula residents are not so naïve as to believe the pressure being exerted for a name change has any motive other than the ability to market an 'exclusive address' to potential buyers (Holden 2007:14).

These sentiments were no doubt fuelled by the contradictions in the reasons provided by the State Government and NPQ for the name change and led to open questioning of the Emergency Services justification, as councillor Johanna McLuskey stated: "It recommended New Port, because it said emergency services wouldn't be able to cope, well excuse me but what a load of bullshit" (Westthorp 2007b:8).

A final critique of the NPQ development was the explicit questioning of who would benefit economically from the physical and discursive transformation of the Port. The local community saw long-term value in maintaining a 'heritage' place identity and place-based brand, a point exemplified by the following statement by Tony Kearney, Chairperson, PoANT:

> Newport Quays and the government should embrace the social and historical reality of life in the Port and capitalise on the real and enduring values and long term economic potential of this special and unique place (Kearney 2007:14).

This statement draws on ideas of authenticity and sustainability through the real and enduring values of the place. From this point of view the economic gains to be realised by the developer were seen as a "mass bum-on-seat and dollar approach", which was "short sighted" (Haskett 2004:10). The NTSA's position was supported by other commentators, including a resident of West Lakes, a nearby suburb (Butler 2006) and a

former cultural development officer employed by Port Adelaide Enfield (PAE) council (Boland 2009):

> Not only will tourism suffer, people wanting to invest in new housing would do far better buying something in an area of unique character rather than in just another amorphous housing development which is what the Newport Quays development will be (Butler 2006:78).
>
> People who move into the new development will be thankful for the authenticity of the area as opposed to a theme park (Boland 2009:18).

Adrian Fechner, a shop owner in Port Adelaide's historic St Vincent Street, also held similar views, suggesting that: "[NPQ] could have kept two or three boatyards, remodelled them and then built over the top of them with restaurants and cafes, but developers have no imagination - it is about maximising profit" (Fechner cited in Emerson 2009:19).

The importance of the authenticity and uniqueness of the Port's culture was therefore also linked closely to the economic potential associated with these aspects of the Port's heritage. Residents and local business owners questioned the style, form and uses proposed for the new buildings on the grounds that they were designed primarily to maximise short-term profit and paid little attention to long-term sustainability of businesses and economic development in the area.

'Glenelgising' therefore is a values-based critique of the development linked to aesthetics and sense of place. Demolition and removal of historic fabric and the construction of high-rise development were seen by these commentators as negatively affecting the cultural values associated with the Port. Its replacement with a new aesthetic was resisted by residents, business owners and some experts because they saw it as boring and banal, with little connection to the Port. They also believed that it compromised their potential

to realise economic return from sweat capital (i.e. improvement of homes—usually historic—through the labour of the owners) and small business which had invested in a maritime heritage brand connected to the sense of place.

Modern building design allows for greater rationalisation and measurability of the construction process, which undoubtedly has some benefits, such as increased scale and profit. In terms of the cultural consequences, however, critiques in Port Adelaide point to a resulting uniformity in outputs, which undermines the cultural identity and place-based heritage marketing of the locality. This phenomenon fits well with the McDonaldisation of society theory proposed by Ritzer (1993). McDonaldisation is a theory of the globalisation of culture resulting from the proliferation of a business model made famous by McDonalds. The features of the model as defined by Ritzer (1993:9–11) are efficiency, financial returns that are easily quantified or calculated, an emphasis on quantity over quality, predictability, and control over people and the way in which they behave.

McDonaldisation as a theory of globalisation has been criticised because it overemphasises cultural homogeneity, ignores cultural hybridisation, and fails to understand fully the practical benefits and cultural associations which McDonaldised phenomena provide (Nederveen Pieterse 2009:43–63). Many of these critiques stem from the examination of McDonaldised products in non-western contexts, where the cultural meanings of McDonaldised phenomena are different. At times, rather than diminish cultural value through uniformity or lack of 'cultural distinction', they actually have the opposite effect and have positive associations and can serve to distinguish consumers in a way that increases status (Nederveen Pieterse 2009:52–3). While McDonaldisation does not serve as a universal theory of globalisation, it does provide a useful framework for understanding the relationship between culture, rationalisation and globalisation.

While this process of speculative building was set to bring benefits to the developers and, to a lesser extent, residents of Port Adelaide, the form and scale of the development threatened the sense of place important to many residents and business owners. This sense of place contributed to personal and place-based identity, but it was also linked to the future economic prosperity of residents of Port Adelaide and surrounding suburbs. Given that “the purpose of urban regulation … in the current context [i.e. neoliberal government in South Australia] is the overt prioritisation of capital accumulation” and that the “role of the regulator … moves from a moderator of diverse community interests to a facilitator of private profit” (Wilson and Davidson 2011:114), there can be little doubt that the bulk of the financial benefits to be gained from the development would be realised by the NPQ consortium and the State Government.

It was therefore possible through discourse analysis to develop an understanding of what it was that Port Adelaide residents were trying to hold on to. Part of this was a sense of place and cultural heritage values that included community attachment, pride in a strong and relatively prosperous working-class history and the maritime activity on and around the harbour. The activity was part of an aesthetic that had drawn people to the Port, or provided reminders and connections to their relatives who had lived and worked either in the Port or on the vessels that visited there. It was this maritime activity in particular that seemed to be articulated in terms of the place brand. Residents and businesses alike indicated that it was the maritime character that was the tourist attraction, not high-rise buildings. Class was raised in this context, but was rarely linked directly to tourism potential; it featured more in terms of who would benefit from the redevelopment of the inner harbour and who would have access to the water. It was also raised as an issue with the name changes but these changes were not identified in terms of locals threatening tourism and the place ‘brand’, but as a threat to the sense of place that many residents held. Businesses did not weigh into this debate in the same way residents did. The

analysis has also been able to demonstrate that the NPQ development's marketing strategy aimed discursively to reconstitute the identity associated with Port Adelaide. It was especially aimed at distancing itself from the negative working-class identity which had been developed by largely external observers. Not only was the discursive strategy of NPQ downplaying these working-class roots, but it also affected the material reality of residents through changing suburb names and the construction of large, modernist apartment buildings adjacent to small workers' cottages.

The analysis of public discourses, however, relied on the points of view of relatively few individuals and organisations and was unable to demonstrate how widely held the views of residents were, or to assess whether the development was appealing to visitors to the Port. The following section therefore analyses the Port Festival questionnaire data to arrive at an understanding of how a broader selection of residents, non-resident visitors and tourists viewed the material changes to the Port. It begins with analysis of the questions: "Has the character of the Port changed over the past 10 years? Is this good or bad?"

Has the character of the Port changed over the past 10 years? Is this good or bad?

Of the 105 people who responded, 87.6% (n = 92) responded yes, indicating that they thought the Port had changed over the past decade, 5.7% (n = 6) responded no, indicating they perceived no changes, and 6.6% (n = 7) were undecided. Referring to perceived changes in character (or lack thereof), participants were also asked: "Is this good or bad?" Of the 92 who indicated that the character had changed only 87 indicated that they believed the change was either good or bad, or were undecided (i.e. five people did not indicate a preference). Of these, 40.2% (n = 35) were residents and 59.8% (n = 52) were not.

The majority of residents (42.9 %; n = 15) indicated that the change in character was bad, while a slightly smaller proportion (37.1%; n = 11) indicated that they thought it was good, with the smallest group being undecided (20.0%; n = 5). The opposite appears to be the case with non-residents, where the majority of people who indicated a change in character also indicated that this was a good thing (61.5%; n = 32), while only 23.1% (n = 12) indicated that it was bad. Again, the smallest group (15.4%; n = 8) was undecided.

Chi-square analysis was used to calculate the probability of the different distributions occurring by chance. Initially, Chi-square analysis was undertaken with all of the data (i.e. responses = 'good', 'bad' or 'undecided'). The results indicated that there was no significant association between place of residence and whether people felt that the Port's changes in character were good or bad (X^2 *(2)* = 5.303, p = 0.071). The p value, however, was only fractionally larger (2%) than the widely accepted significant p value of 0.05 and, based on the distribution of responses, was probably influenced upwards by the small difference between the proportions of undecided people who were residents of the Port Adelaide area compared to those who were not (see Table 8).

Table 8: Cross tab – resident * character change

Resident	*Character change*					
	Good		*Bad*		*Undecided*	
	Count	*%*	*Count*	*%*	*Count*	*%*
Yes	13	14.9	15	17.2	7	8.0
No	32	36.8	12	13.8	8	9.2

Chi-square analysis was therefore undertaken again, but with the 'undecided' responses excluded. The result of this test indicated that there was a significant association between place of residence and whether people felt the change was good or bad (X^2 *(1)* = 5.049, p = 0.025). This seems to represent that, based on the odds ratio (see Field 2009:699–700 for an explanation of how to calculate the odds ratio), residents of the Port Adelaide area

were 3.07 times more likely than non-residents to indicate that they thought the change in character was bad.

Comparison between groups according to whether they came from postcode areas with above or below median incomes revealed that 34% (n = 19) of people from areas with below median incomes thought that the changes were bad, 50% (n = 28) thought it was good and 16% (n = 9) were undecided. In contrast, 24% (n = 7) of people from areas with above median incomes thought the changes were bad and 55% (n = 16) thought that they were good and 21% (n = 6) were undecided. Although these results suggest that there may be a link between median income and attitudes to change in the Port, Chi-square analysis indicated that the relationship was not statistically significant ($X^2(2) = 1.767$, $p = 0.413$). It is also likely that the number of people from areas with below median incomes who felt the character change was bad may have been inflated due to the high proportion of residents from the Port Adelaide area in the sample.

What do you like about the new Port?

The statistical analysis therefore indicates differences in attitudes toward change, but it does not provide an understanding of exactly what it was that most non-residents liked and most residents disliked. Participants were therefore also asked: "What do you like about the new Port?" Responses to this question were coded and themed, with similar responses grouped under each theme. The themed data were then sorted according to place of residence, revealing that there were differences in the way that residents and non-residents viewed the changes (refer Table 9).

Table 9: Categories developed for the question: What do you like about the new Port?

	Not Resident	*Resident*
Culture/Recreation	3	3
Development	6	4
Fresher/Life/People	7	5
Importance of history	2	1
Reputation	3	0
Restoring buildings	2	1
Retaining old buildings	5	0

Given that the ratio of residents to non-residents in the sample was roughly 2:3, the distributions of themed text should be similar or close to that ratio. Although Orange (2011) applied Chi-square analysis to themed text in her research examining place and the heritage of the Cornish Mining World Heritage site, in that case sample sizes were larger (the total sample was 283 and the smallest sample for an individual themed category was 25) and the themes were more cohesive. In this thesis, Chi-square has not been applied to themed text because the sample size was small and some of the themes include similar, but slightly different, beliefs. For example, the culture/recreation theme includes references to activities or types of experiences available in the Port, but there was a qualitative difference between responses of non-residents and residents. Non-residents focussed on bigger picture things, such as: "Good tourist attractions with river and boating, pubs" (PFQ53 Male Non-Resident 65–74), and: "Like the atmosphere. Like its fishing facilities" (PFQ79 Male Non-Resident 25–34), while residents were more specific and expressed the things they liked in additive terms: "More shops", (PFQ115 Female Resident 65–74); "more galleries, artists" (PFQ 118 Female Resident 35–44); and a "new creativity" (PFQ83 Male Resident 35–44). In addition to the culture/recreation theme there were two other themes that were socially based—fresher/life/people, and reputation.

Fresher/life/people included responses in which people identified change to the character of the Port in terms of it receiving a "breath of fresh air" (PFQ23 Non-Resident Male 55–64). Associated with the fresher theme were responses that identified "life" as being important; one non-resident said she preferred it "with a bit of life" (PFQ12 Non-Resident Female 65–74) and another liked the "better quality of life", which they associated with an influx of "new people" (PFQ49 Female Non-Resident 55–64). In fact, the influx of people was identified as being important in six responses grouped under this category, two of which were from locals. Only non-residents indicated they thought that positive changes extended to the 'reputation' of the area, with one suggesting that the Port was "more family orientated [and had a] safer feel" (PFQ72 Female Non-Resident 45–54), while another suggested that it was more "family friendly now" (PFQ91 Non-Resident).

One of the areas where class may be evident was revealed by comparing the responses of women with those of men. Female visitors to the Port had indicated that Port Adelaide's reputation would have inhibited their behaviour in the past and the industrial landscape of Port Adelaide was one which was masculinised (Rofe 2010). Comparison of responses to the question: "Has the character of the Port changed over the past 10 years? Is this good or bad?" according to gender also revealed differences in the responses of men and women. Of the 87 respondents, 49.4% (n = 43) were female and 50.6% (n = 44) male. The majority of females (55.8 %; n = 24) indicated that the change in character was good, while a much smaller proportion (25.6%; n = 11) indicated it was bad, with the smallest group being undecided (18.6%; n = 8). In comparison, a greater proportion of men also thought the changes were good (47.7%; n = 21) compared to bad (36.4%; n = 16), and the proportion of males who were undecided was slightly smaller, accounting for 15.9% (n = 7). Chi-square analysis, however, indicated that, despite these variations in

distributions, there was no statistically significant relationship between gender and attitudes (X^2 (2) = 1.181, p = 0.571).

The data were then also split by resident/non-resident to establish whether there were differences in the beliefs of males and females who lived in the Port area compared to those who did not. Just under one third of female residents thought that the change in character was bad (31.6%; n = 6), over one third thought that the changes were good (36.8%; n = 7) and a little under one third (31.6%; n = 6) were undecided. The distribution of attitudes amongst male residents was very different, with over half (56.3% n = 9) indicating that the change in character was bad, 37.5 % (n = 6) that it was good and only 6.3% (n = 1) undecided.

The gendered picture for non-residents contrasts strongly with the distributions for residents (refer Figure 13 and Figure 14): almost three quarters (70.8%, n = 17) of non-resident females indicated that the change in character was good and only 20.8% (n = 5) that it was bad, while 8.3% (n = 2) were undecided. The distributions were slightly different for non-resident males, 53.6% (n = 15) of whom felt that the change in character was good, 25.0% (n = 7) that it was bad and 21.4% (n = 6) were undecided. Although the differences between males and females were more pronounced when residents and non-residents were separated, there was still no statistically significant relationship between gender and attitudes to change for non-residents (*X2* (2) = 2.163, p = 0.379) or residents (X2 (2) = 4.021, p = 0.167).

The apparent tendency for male residents to see the changes as bad compared to other groups may be related to the threat that waterfront development poses to traditional, masculine, working-class identity in Port Adelaide. Female residents, perhaps, were more likely to be undecided because they may have liked some, but not all changes. It is possible that some residents also may have felt they were not informed enough to decide

(refer Figure 13). Overall, non-residents seemed to view the changes to the Port's character in a much more positive way. The differences between male and female non-residents may be linked to the strength of feeling that some female non-residents expressed in regard to a lack of safety and the Port's bad reputation. On the other hand, while a dislike of the Port's bad reputation was something shared by some male non-residents, it did not appear to extend to a concern for their personal safety.

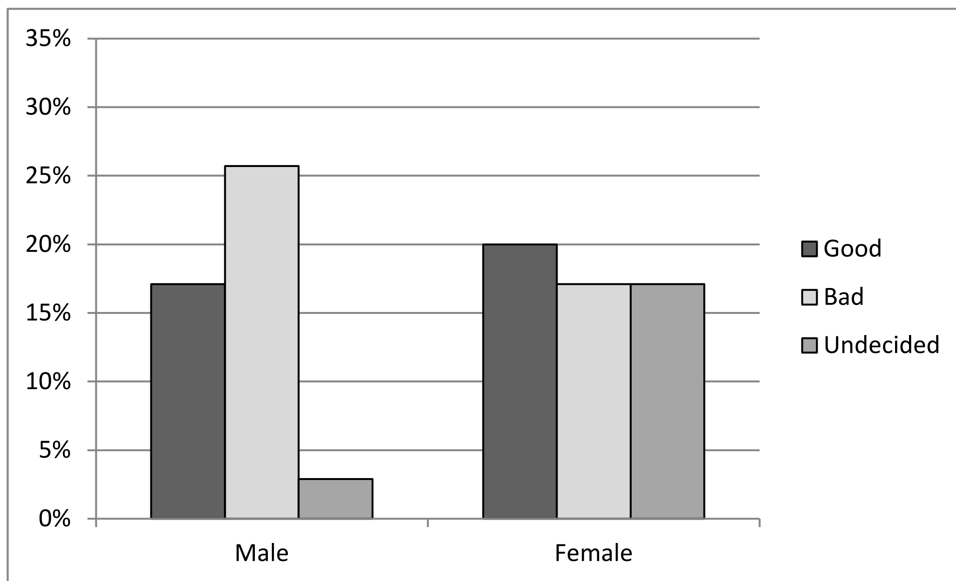

Figure 13: Comparison of male and female resident's responses to character change.

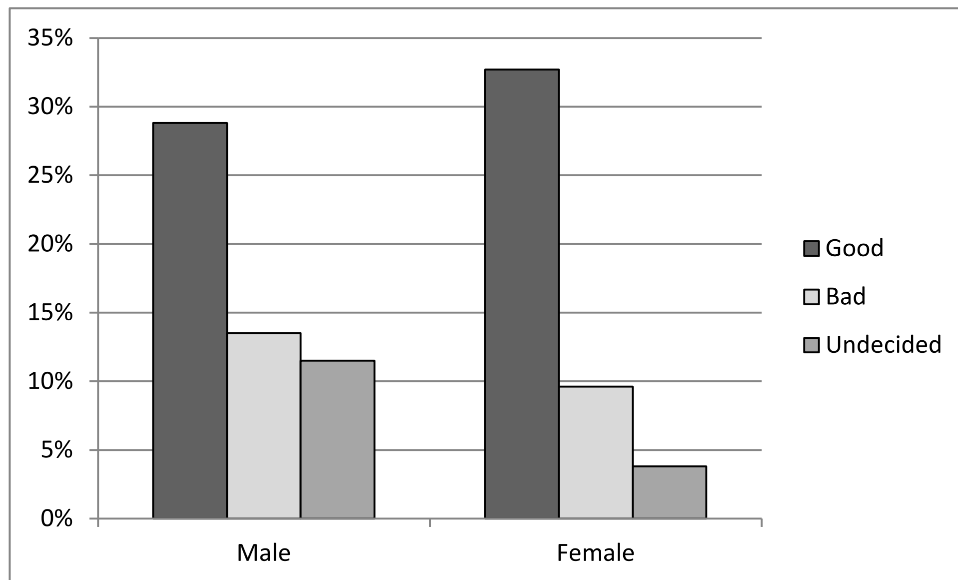

Figure 14: Comparison of male and female non-resident's responses to character change.

This interpretation is further supported by statistical analysis of the proportions of male and female residents and non-residents who selected undecided, which was undertaken using Fisher's exact test because the sample being analysed was small. The test revealed that there was a statistically significant association between these categories X^2 (1) = 5.529, p = 0.032. This result arises from the almost mirror image (refer Figure 15) of the responses, with female residents accounting for 40.0% (n = 6) of the undecided and male residents accounting for 6.7% (n = 1) (in contrast female non-residents accounted for 13.3% [n = 2] and male non-residents for 40.0% [n = 6]). The odds ratio calculated for the association between gender and place of residence indicates that female residents were 18 times more likely to select undecided than female non-residents and that male residents were half as likely (odds ratio = 0.056) to select undecided than male non-residents. These results suggest that, while gender probably interacted with place of residence in the formation of participants' attitudes toward changes in the Port's character; this was not especially important.

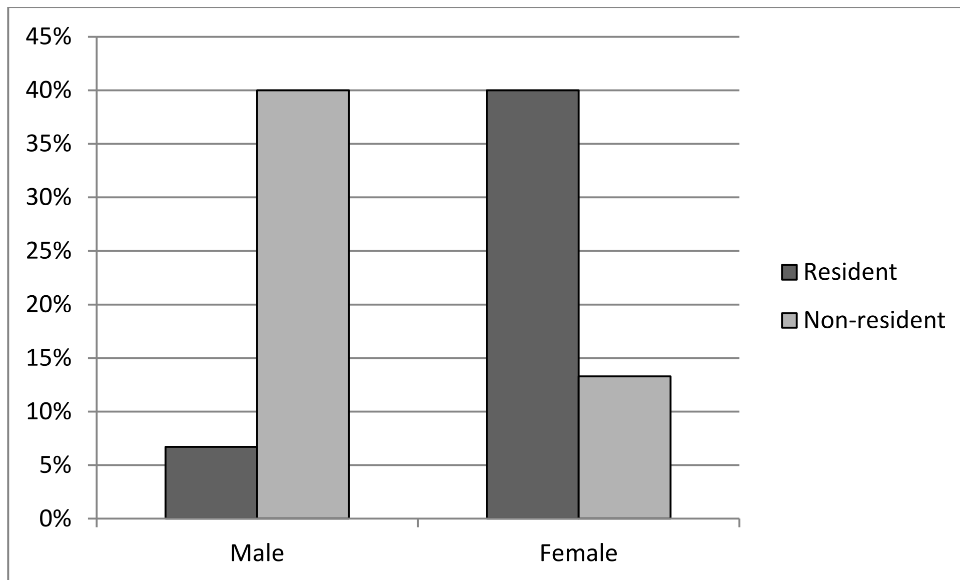

Figure 15: Comparison between male and female resident's and non-resident's undecided responses.

Further analysis comparing themed textual data according to place of residence revealed that residents and visitors both indicated that there were aspects of the physical changes that they liked. These were coded under the category 'development'. Generally the statements did not provide much detail about the reasons respondents liked the development—one non-resident liked "that they are trying to revitalise the Port" (PFQ24 Non-Resident), another, "development, modernisation [and] retaining old buildings" (PFQ119 Non-Resident), and a third both the "new developments" and the "infrastructure" (PFQ14 Non-Resident).

The responses for residents were similar, with one indicating that they thought it provided a "mix of contemporary [and] historic in a good way" (PFQ107 Resident). Another simply liked "the changes" and "development" (PFQ66 Resident), while one respondent suggested that "wharf development" was "OK" (PFQ6 Resident). The fourth respondent expressed their reasons for liking the developments in a slightly different way, stating that the "Port is still gorgeous and nobody knows about some secret places … developments [were small] didn't change everything" (PFQ42 Resident).

For this respondent then it was not really the developments that they liked, rather it was the limiting of the developments' negative effect.

Only non-residents indicated that old buildings were something they liked about the new Port. Several described restoration (coded under the restoring buildings category), however the majority described "retaining old buildings" (PFQ 119 Non-Resident) or something similar, such as "some heritage has been retained" (PFQ33 Non-Resident). One respondent described how they liked the "modernisation process" because it was "keeping [the] old style of buildings" (PFQ95 Non-Resident). The absence of residents from this category may be related to the sense of loss that members of the local community felt as a result of the demolition of wharf sheds, especially the Jenkins Street boatyards. It may also be a result of differences in expectations, where residents may be more inclined to view retention of buildings as something that is expected and therefore not something that is worthy of special note in the context of development-led revitalisation.

A minor theme which was difficult to place in terms of social or physical change was the 'importance of history'; this included responses from three participants who expressed a sense that historical values or information were an important aspect of the changes to the Port. The single response from a resident coded into this theme indicated that they liked "living in the historic precinct" (PFQ22 Female Resident 55–64), which is suggestive of an aesthetic response to the physical environment. Similarly, the responses of a non-resident man who thought that "development [was] good if it keeps historical values" (PFQ4 Male Non-Resident 35–44) is suggestive of a linking of historical values with the built environment. The response of a female non-resident who felt that it was important that the Port was "more friendly" but was also "promoting the history" (PFQ76 Female Non-Resident 35–44) was more ambiguous, and may have been referring to the built

environment or activities and heritage experiences, such as the SAMM and heritage walks.

Overall, the picture from the qualitative responses is that residents and non-residents saw positive changes in similar ways, which were largely antonyms for the problems that they had associated with the old Port. The new Port is characterised as being fresher or having some life, whereas the old Port was derelict and had none. Belief in the transformation of the Port may partly be due to rapid remaking of the urban environment, but it is probably also related to the slow gentrification of the area, characterised by warehouse conversions, sweat capital and an increase in creative cultural activities. Although there was a degree of similarity between responses from residents and non-residents, there were some points of difference. The change in reputation was only mentioned by non-residents and there also appears to have been a difference in the way that the two groups viewed changes to the historical building stock.

What do you dislike about the new Port?

Analysis of the question: "What do you dislike about the new Port" followed the same methodology: responses were coded, themed and then sorted according to place of residence. The analysis identified five major themes (see Table 10). The first category discussed here is 'new buildings', which includes statements where new buildings are described as something that people disliked. Some emphasised the failure of the new buildings to integrate with the heritage buildings, suggesting that the "buildings stick out, they don't really fit in with the Port" (PFQ34 Resident Male 35–44). Others were more specific, suggesting that it was the "architecture of [the] new development" (PFQ22 Resident Female 55–64) that they did not like, particularly the "ugly box buildings" (PFQ1 Non-Resident Female 55–64). Links between this contemporary architecture and generic mass-produced housing were also made by several respondents. One non-

resident drew on the regionally specific concept of Glenelgisation, stating that the "high-rises, change[d] the face" of the Port to make it "just … another Glenelg" (PFQ54 Non-Resident Male 45–54). Similarly, a resident stated: "It's removed all the bits I did like and replaced it with banality, it hasn't added anything to the Port, it has in fact sanitised and sterilised what drew people to the Port" (PFQ121 Resident Male 45–54). Both residents and visitors appear to have disliked much of the development because it changed the aesthetic of the place, impacting negatively by removing the uniqueness of the Port. This result suggests that McDonaldisation was a widely held problem shared by residents and visitors to the Port during the festival. One point of difference between residents and non-residents may be that, in addition to criticising the aesthetic, two residents also criticised the buildings based on ideas of sustainability, suggesting that the new buildings were "rumoured to be badly built" (PFQ117 Resident Female 45–54) and were "not going to last" (PFQ11Resident Male 45–54). This criticism was not raised by non-residents.

Table 10: Categories developed for responses to question 9.3: What do you dislike about the new Port?

	Not resident	Resident
New buildings	12	12
Not enough done	8	2
People	4	3
Process	1	3
Things lost	4	6

Residents and non-residents alike were concerned that there had not been enough promotion of the heritage values of the area or maintenance of heritage buildings, although this concern appears to have been greater amongst non-residents. As one visitor suggested, there "should be more publicity on the heritage" (PFQ25 Non-Resident Female 55–64) and another that "more attention needs to be paid to refurbishing old buildings than building new ones". Some residents agreed that they "just

want to restore buildings" (PFQ101 Resident Female 35–44) and that more needed to be done about "vacant buildings", such as the "Customs House" (PFQ96 Resident Female 55–64). Out of the eight non-residents whose responses were coded under this theme a single respondent believed that NPQ and the government were "trying to go more modern and not achieving it", that the revitalisation was "not done well enough", and that the Port "need[ed] more development" (PFQ108 Non-Resident Male 75-over). It therefore appears that concerns of residents and visitors were broadly similar, with most feeling that preservation of the existing buildings needed more attention.

Most of the responses included under the theme 'people' refer to the failure to increase the number of people in the Port. One resident linked this directly with consuming cultural products, suggesting that the Port needed "more festivals and entertainment to attract people. To draw people back" (PFQ51 Resident Male 25–34). This sentiment was shared by several of the non-residents, who believed that there "should be more activity" (PFQ19 Non-Resident Female 55–64), "that we need to get people here" (PFQ29 Non-Resident Male 65–74), and that the Port had "not developed in terms of people" (PFQ49 Non-Resident Female 55–64). These responses encapsulate the idea that the Port requires an increase in the number of people to act as a catalyst for cultural development, which in turn is expected to promote an economic recovery. It also indicates that the respondents did not believe the waterfront development had contributed to improving this aspect of the Port in a meaningful way.

An area where residents appear to have felt more strongly than non-residents was around the processes of the development (see Table 10). One non-resident indicated they believed that problems with the revitalisation of the Port were due to "too much financial interest [and] no direction" (PFQ116 Non-Resident Male 65–74). The influence of developers over the process of revitalisation was expressed very strongly by a resident

who stated: "My main concern with the development of Port Adelaide being the drivers being developer centric. Things don't develop because they are needed it's because developers want it" (PFQ122 Resident Male 35–44). This respondent then went on to suggest that the PAE Council and State Government-led Development Plan Amendment process was "FAUX consultation" with a "lack of regard for real community input" and the "level of engagement with community for DP's [development plans] etc. [represented] tokenistic efforts" (PFQ122 Resident Male 35–44). This concern was echoed by several other residents, who suggested that the "development's not sensitive to community needs" (PFQ10 Resident Female 45–54) and that it "hasn't been developed right—needs more consultation" (Q114 Resident Male 65–74). A concern that the State Government and NPQ had failed to listen to community concerns was also raised in public discourses (Quast 2003c; 2003d) and has been noted as a feature of neoliberal approaches to property development in Port Adelaide (Wilson and Davidson 2011). These concerns seem to have been well-founded given LMC chief executive Bruce Harper's response to the PAE Council's support for inclusion of the Jenkins Street boatyards in the development: "They can say whatever they like. Our position is that we have always indicated (the boatyards) are on a limited tenure there … the commercial arrangement is a decision for the LMC" (Harper cited in Quast 2003a:1).

The final theme, 'things lost', includes responses of residents and non-residents who described negative changes as a result of the development. Responses from residents and visitors included some that were quite general, for example, "losing history" (PFQ84 Non-Resident Female 35–44), and "don't like anything about it, they destroyed what was good there already" (PFQ117 Resident Female 45–54). Others were more specific, believing that they "should have never got rid of Jenkins Boatyards" (PFQ45 Resident Female 55–64), and that it "would have been good to keep the old slips" (PFQ98 Non-Resident Female 55–64). Loss "of access" was a concern for one resident, seeming to

support and verify the concerns of Tory, who described a process of alienation from public land at length in her interview. One visitor indicated they thought that the development and associated "gentrification" was "pushing out old people" (PFQ75 Non-Resident Male 55–64). Finally, a visitor stated that the development "didn't retain the core of the Port, [which was its] maritime culture" (PFQ103 Non-Resident Male 55–64).

The thematic analysis demonstrated that both residents and non-residents were unhappy with the aesthetic changes to the Port brought about by property development. Overall, while non-residents indicated that many of the changes to the Port were good, especially those aspects that allowed them to feel safe and provided them with experiences to consume, most visitors did not view the style and aesthetic of the development positively. It is important to remember, however, that, as visitors to an historic precinct, non-residents may not have been the 'discerning investors' NPQ were seeking. Non-residents were especially concerned with the apparent failure to maintain heritage buildings, although two residents also shared this concern. Finally, members of both groups expressed some concern about the loss of heritage buildings, which in some instances were very specific, describing the Jenkins Street boatyards.

While thematic analysis has gone some way to identifying what residents and non-residents liked or disliked about the development, it does not link this directly to cultural heritage in Port Adelaide. The following section addresses this by analysing responses to the question: "Over the past 10 years, do you think that there has been a balance between property development and the preservation of Port Adelaide's cultural heritage?"

Over the past 10 years, do you think that there has been a balance between property development and the preservation of Port Adelaide's cultural heritage?

Out of the 104 people who responded to this question, 44.2% (n = 46) responded no, 36.5% (n = 38) responded yes and 19.2% (n = 20) were undecided. Since the 'no' responses could have been referring to a lack of balance in favour of either property development or heritage preservation, written responses accompanying the yes/no response were examined to identify directionality, with responses grouped into too much or too little development. The analysis revealed that 42 of 46 respondents who selected no believed that the imbalance had been in favour of property development, three were unclear and could not be assigned, and one indicated that the balance had favoured heritage preservation. The following subsections examine how attitudes toward whether there had been a balance between heritage preservation and development varied between groups of people defined by place of residence, length of residency, length of familial association with the area, age, gender and median income.

Place of residence

As expected, there was an association between people living locally and their feelings about whether there had been a balance between development and preservation of Port Adelaide's cultural heritage. The majority of residents (61.9%; n = 26) believed there was no balance between property development and the preservation of heritage, 28.6% (n = 12) felt there was a balance, and 19.5% (n = 4) were undecided. The opposite appears to be the case with non-residents, where the majority (41.9%; n = 26) believed there was a balance, while only 32.3% (n = 20) indicated that there was not. Again, the smallest group (25.8% [n = 16]) was undecided

Chi-square analysis revealed that the association between place of residence and beliefs in a balance between property development and heritage preservation was statistically significant (X^2 (2) = 9.652, p = 0.008, Cramer's V = 0.305). No odds ratio is reported because the contingency table is 2 x 3, so Cramer's V is reported instead (see Field 2009:697–8); the value 0.305 indicates a moderate association.

Chi-square analysis was undertaken again with only the yes/no answers included, also resulting in a statistically significant result (X^2 (1) = 5.226, p = 0.022, Cramer's V = 0.249), but the probability that the differences in distribution had occurred by chance was greater and the strength of association weaker. The odds ratio indicates that residents were almost three times more likely than non-residents to select no rather than yes. Chi-square analysis of yes and undecided responses revealed that there was no statistically significant difference between residents and non-residents and their choice of yes or undecided (X^2 (1) = 879, p = 348). The strongest (and statistically significant) association was between place of residence and no and undecided (X^2 (1) = 7.499, p = 0.006), with the odds ratio indicating that residents were five times more likely than non-residents to select no when compared to undecided. Residents were therefore much more likely than non-residents to select no and to feel that there had not been a balance. Residents were also very unlikely to select undecided compared to non-residents. This result indicates that the majority of residents were unhappy with the management of heritage, whereas the majority of non-residents were either happy with it or were unsure. This difference in levels of indecision may relate to feelings amongst non-residents that they did not have enough information to make an informed decision, something that was expressed in one of the questionnaires [PFQ79 Non-Resident Male 25–34].

Length of residency

The relationship between people's length of residence in Port Adelaide and their beliefs in a balance between property development and heritage preservation were compared using five-year groupings. For the groups 0–5 years, 6–10 years and 11–15 years the number of 'no' responses increased, while there is a suggestion of a corresponding decrease in the number of 'yes' responses (Figure 16). For the groups with residency longer than 20 years the response rate was intermittent, with three answering yes compared to five responding no, and one undecided.

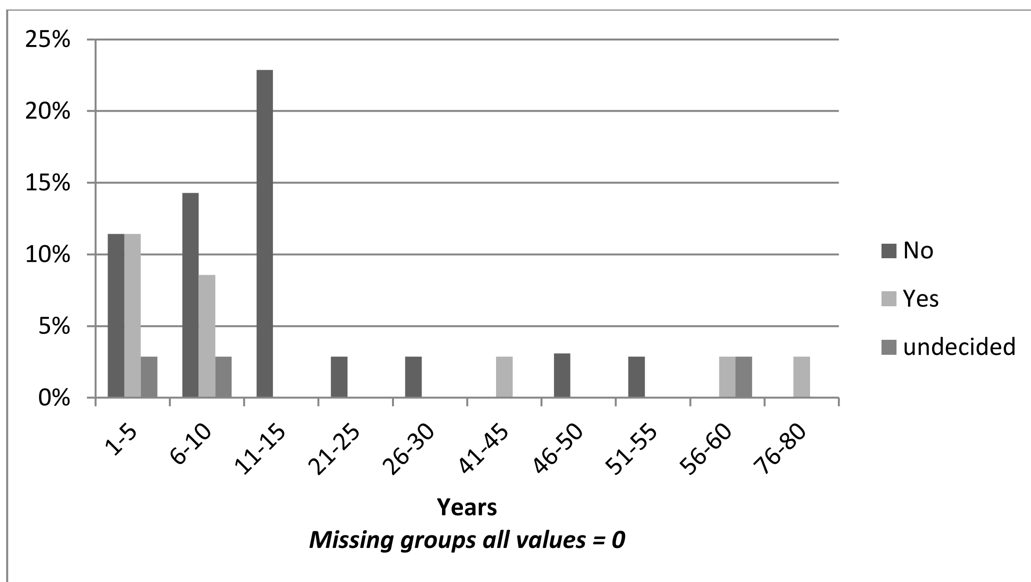

Figure 16: Distribution of beliefs in heritage/development balance according to the number of years living in Port Adelaide.

A Kruskall-Wallis test was used to identify whether the distributions across the three groups (yes, no, undecided) were statistically significant. This indicated there was no statistically significant difference in the views expressed by participants based on their length of residence in Port Adelaide ($K(2) = 0.587$, $p = 0.746$). The distributions that most closely resembled a trend, however, occurred between the categories 'yes' and 'no', especially between 1 and 15 years (refer Figure 16). A Mann Whitney test was therefore

undertaken to examine the likelihood that this difference in distribution had occurred by chance. The result (U = 91.5, p = 0.441, r = 0.14) indicates that the differences were not statistically significant.

Length of familial association

It was also thought that there might be a relationship between the number of generations a respondent's family had lived in the Port and their response to heritage/development balance. Comparison of the distributions of responses indicated that roughly equal numbers of respondents with zero to three generations selected either yes or no (Figure 17), while no respondents with four or five generations responded "yes, there had been a balance". People who were undecided were mostly distributed between zero and one generations, with a single respondent at four generations; perhaps indicating that time was an important factor in developing place awareness and a clearly defined stance toward the role of heritage preservation in Port Adelaide.

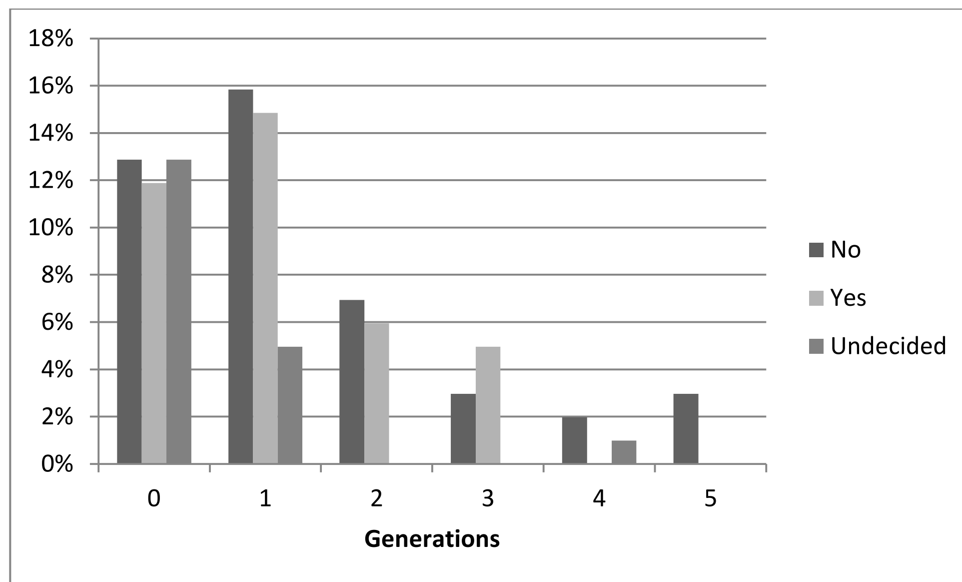

Figure 17: Distribution of responses to heritage/development balance across generations.

A Kruskal Wallis test on the whole sample found that the number of generations a respondent's family had lived in the Port was significantly related to whether they thought there had been a balance between property development and heritage ($H(2) = 9.784$, $p = 0.008$). Mann-Whitney tests were used to follow up this finding and a Bonferroni correction was applied so all effects are reported at a 0.017 level of significance. Via this analysis, however, the difference between the distributions of 'yes' and 'no' was not found to be statistically significant ($U = 775.5$, $p = 0.556$, $r = 0.065$). The difference between yes and undecided was statistically significant ($U = 213.5$, $p = 0.007$, $r = 0.35$), as were differences in the distribution of undecided and no ($U = 229.5$, $p = 0.003$, $r = 0.38$). These results reflect an absence of indecision amongst people whose families had lived in the Port for two or more generations (discussed further below) compared to people with zero or one generation of family connection.

The distribution of responses was also compared between groups of residents and non-residents. The most obvious difference between the two groups was the absence of respondents from the zero generation category; there were, however, some other noticeable differences in the proportions (refer Figure 18 and Figure 19). More than half (60%, n = 12) of the first-generation residents thought there was an imbalance, compared to only 20% (n = 3) of non-residents. Similarly, only a quarter (25%, n = 5) of first-generation residents thought there had been a balance, compared to two thirds (66.7%; n = 10) of non-residents.

Respondents whose families had lived in the Port for four or five generations all indicated an imbalance between heritage preservation and development. For the non-residents, with zero generations of their family living in the Port, the number of yes, no and undecided responses were relatively similar (no, 30.6%; n = 11: yes 33.3%; n = 12: undecided, 36.1%; n = 13) and there was no clear pattern in responses from non-

residents with three or more generations. The differences in distributions between the zero and one generation groups of non-residents, may be related to negative attitudes sometimes associated with Port Adelaide by people who have chosen to move away from the area. Alternatively, it may represent a stronger desire to improve the area amongst those with familial connections and, presumably, cultural familiarity.

A Kruskil Wallis test applied to non-resident data revealed no statistically significant relationship between the number of generations that a non-resident's family had lived in Port Adelaide and whether they believed that there was a balance between property development and heritage ($H(2) = 4.278$, $p = 0.118$). The same test used on residents also returned a non-significant result ($H(2) = 2.551$, $p = 0.279$). These results indicate that the statistically significant results for the whole sample were most probably derived from differences between attitudes of residents and non-residents.

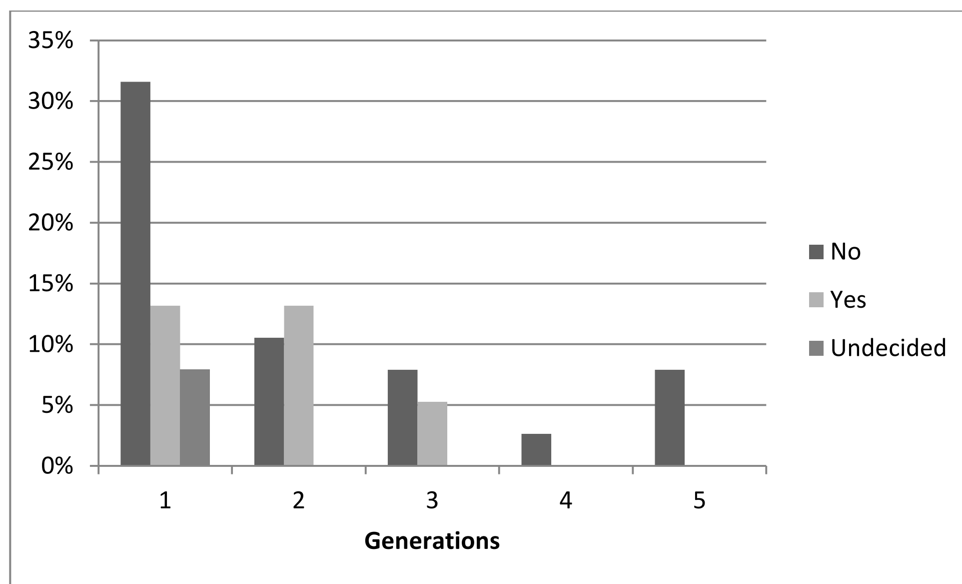

Figure 18: Residents responses to heritage/development balance across generations.

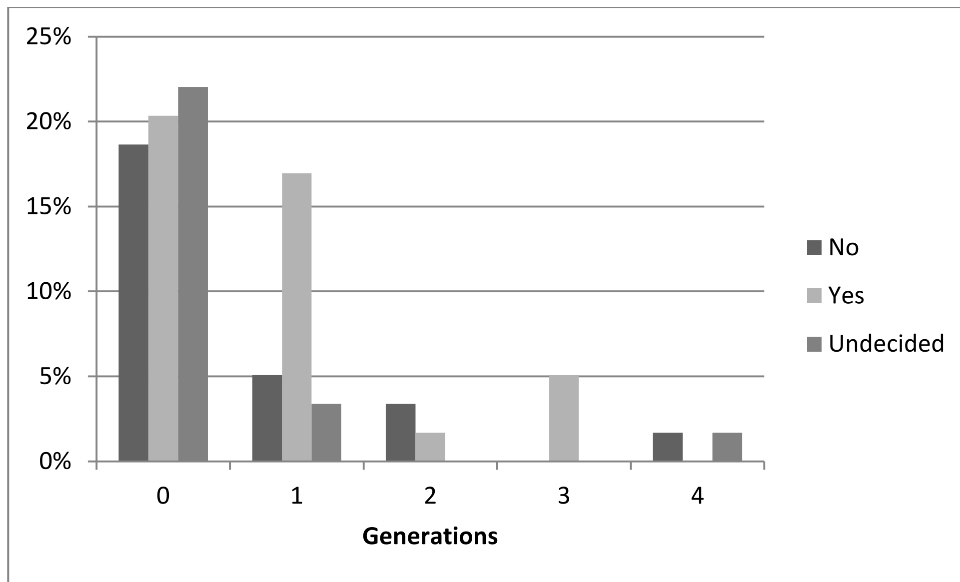

Figure 19: Non-residents responses to heritage/development balance across generations.

Age and gender

Analysis of the relationship between the age of respondents and their attitudes toward whether there had been a balance between property development and preservation of heritage was also undertaken using Kruskall-Wallis tests with age groups as the ordinal variable and responses good, bad, undecided as the grouping variable (see Figure 20). This analysis indicated that there was no statistically significant difference in the distribution of ages between variable groups ($H(2) = 0.682$, p = 0.711). The distribution of responses between the categories male/female were also compared, revealing that the responses were essentially the same, with 44.9% (n = 22) of women believing that there had not been a balance, 34.7% (n = 17) thinking there had been a balance and 20.4% (10) undecided. For men, 40.0% (n = 20) thought that there had been a balance, 40.0% (n = 20) thought that there had not and 20% (n = 10) were undecided. Chi-square analysis of this distribution indicated that it was not significant (X^2 *(2)* = 0.328, p = 0.849).

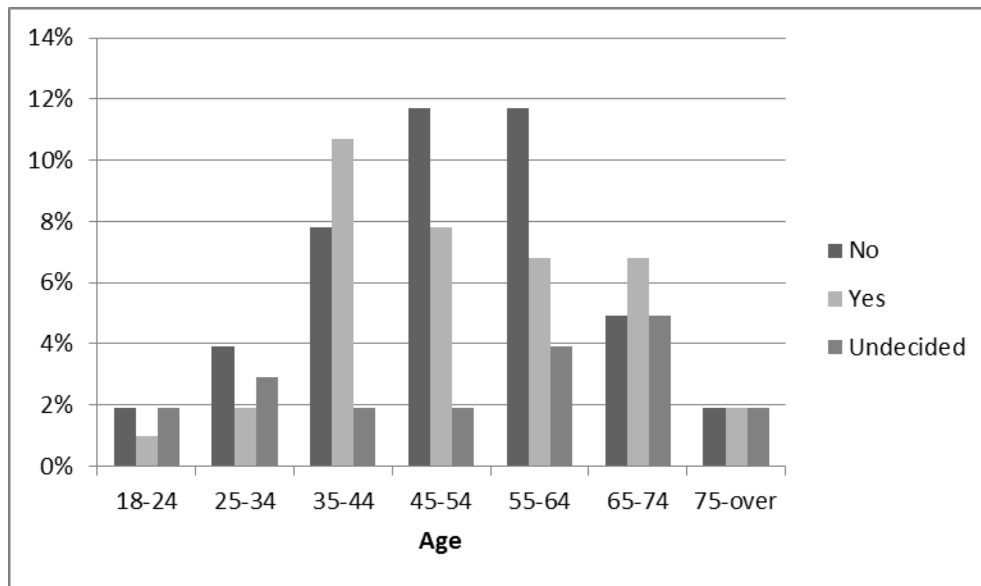

Figure 20: Distribution of responses to heritage/development balance across age groups.

While this statistical analysis provides some indication of different or similar attitudes toward property development and heritage preservation, it does not provide much context as to why people held their beliefs. Respondents were therefore also asked to explain why they believed that there had or had not been a balance. Thematic analysis of these responses identified 12 categories (refer Table 11), with the most common being 'general statements'. This included statements that provided little information beyond the yes/no responses for example, "not as much balance as there could be" (PFQ53 Non-Resident Male 65–74), and "good balance" (PFQ72 Non-Resident Male 45–54), or alternatively "development has upper hand" (PFQ26 Resident Male 55–64). Since the contextual information provided by comments such as these was minimal this category was assigned a low analytical value and is not discussed further.

The remaining 11 categories fell broadly into two groups. The categories included in the first group incorporate references to changes in the physical landscape as evidence for how the development has or has not been balanced. Categories included in this group are, 'a mix between old and new', 'aesthetic – atmosphere', 'buildings not maintained',

'kept old style', 'old buildings not retained', 'old buildings retained', and 'only because it has halted'. The second group includes statements that refer to the social processes surrounding the development, together with those that seem to rely on an understanding of the attitudes of the developers and government toward heritage as evidence for an 'absence of balance'. This second group includes the categories 'activity', 'more people', 'community', 'process', and 'money and greed'.

Table 11: Themed responses to Q11: 'Has there been a balance between property development and the preservation of Port Adelaide's cultural heritage?'

	Not resident	Resident
General statement	13	7
Comments that draw from the physical landscape		
A mix of old and new	5	0
Aesthetic – retaining historic environment	6	2
Buildings not maintained	3	3
Old buildings not retained	1	4
Old buildings retained	4	2
Only because it was constrained	2	1
Comments that draw on social processes		
Lots of activities	0	1
Money and greed	0	3
More people	0	2
Process	5	12
Community	0	2

Comments that draw mainly from the physical landscape

Five residents indicated that 'a mix of old and new buildings' reflected a balance between heritage preservation and development. Two of the respondents indicated this by quite simply stating, "blend of old and new" (PFQ48 Non-Resident Female 55–64) and "so far I enjoy the mix" (PFQ87 Non-Resident Female 55–64]. A third provided more detail: "There is a good mix between the old and the new buildings to help stop the Port getting stale" (PFQ23 Non-Resident Male 55–64). Not all of the responses were complimentary, with one stating: "There's lots of new development and some quite revolting—but if

that's what it takes. Blend the old and new, could work well" (PFQ91 Non-Resident Female 35–44). Another referred to the mixing as "a mish/mash" but thought that the area was "still retaining [its] heritage" (PFQ86 Non-Resident Female 65–74). So, while the mixing of old and new represented some form of 'balance' to all of these people, the aesthetic created by new development seems to have been questioned by two of the respondents.

The aesthetic of the historic environment was raised explicitly by three non-residents as evidence of a balance; but here the aesthetic was viewed positively for its lack of modernisation. One suggested that "not pulling old buildings down [was] retaining the look" (PFQ119 Non-Resident Male 35–44), another stated that the area still "looked historical" (PFQ76 Non-Resident Female 35–44) and a third that they had "kept the old style" (PFQ14 Non-Resident Female 18–24). The questionnaire was administered in the heritage area because it was the focus of the 2011 Port Festival activities. It is therefore possible that these respondents were mainly thinking of the heritage area, where modern development has been minimal, when responding to the question. Certainly the responses grouped under the theme 'only because it was constrained' suggest that, for some respondents, the geographical extent of development and its location outside of the historic precinct was important. The non-residents indicated "so far there hasn't been very much really" (PFQ102 Non-Resident Male 65–74) and that what there had been was kept, "out of PA, only along outside" and that this was evidence of "respecting heritage" (PFQ15 Non-Resident Male 65–74). One resident stated that the balance occurred "only because it has halted. Further [development] would have taken away the character" (PFQ42 Resident Female 35–44).

In contrast, several residents and non-residents indicated quite explicitly that they thought development and heritage preservation had not been balanced because the

aesthetic had been affected negatively. One visitor described this as a "lost atmosphere" (PFQ41 Non-Resident Male 45–54), while another stated that they had "seen changes and [were] not sure if they were for the best" and felt that the Port "needs keeping with the old character" (PFQ49 Non-Resident Female 55–64). The third suggested that the new development was "not consistent with the existing buildings" (PFQ89 Non-Resident Male 75-over), a view shared by two residents who also focussed on the style of the new buildings, suggesting that the "buildings don't fit in" (PFQ92 Resident Male 45–54) and that "Newport Quays is ugly" (PFQ51 Resident Male 25–34).

Some respondents focussed more on whether buildings had been retained specifically, rather than expressing this broadly in terms of a neighbourhood aesthetic. There were four responses from non-residents and two from residents included in the category 'old buildings were retained', all with broadly similar characteristics in that they were simple statements, for example, "many old historical buildings" (PFQ19 Non-Resident Female 55–64)] or "[you can] still see the old buildings" (PFQ82 Resident Female 35–44). A contrasting opinion was expressed by four residents and one visitor, who believed that there had not been a balance because "old buildings had not been retained". Responses coded in this category included one that was quite general, suggesting that there were "too many old buildings being ripped down" (PFQ99 Resident Female 55–64). The non-resident noted that, while "you can't save everything", development had "demolished a lot of buildings" and "development has an advantage" (PFQ116 Non-Resident Male 65–74). The other three responses, all from residents, referred to the demolition of the Jenkins Street boatyards specifically; one simply felt that the "boat shed demolishment was not good" (PFQ93 Resident Female 45–54) and another described the "boatyard destruction" as "heritage forgotten" (PFQ3 Resident Male 55–64). The third did not explicitly describe the destruction of the yards, but did provide the following response as to why they felt there had not been a balance: "Places like the boatyards contain cultural

heritage which tells you about the past and history, but it's still relevant today" (PFQ109 Resident Female 45–54). Here the loss of the yards was not articulated explicitly, but underlaid the description of values the respondent associated with a place and was used to illustrate their belief that there had not been a balance.

For some, the retention of heritage buildings was not in question, but the failure to maintain the buildings was evidence of an overemphasis toward property development. Non-residents described this simply in terms of the "old historic buildings just left" [PFQ17 Non-Resident Female 18–24] and "buildings aren't being preserved properly" [PFQ58 Non-Resident Male 35–44], whereas residents pointed to funding deficiencies as an underlying cause, for example, "no money to preserv[e] it" [PFQ101 Resident Female 35–44], "budget affecting preservation" [PFQ118 Resident Female 35–44] and "there's not enough funding for heritage preservation" [PFQ22 Resident Female 55–64].

Comments that draw on social processes

Heritage in Port Adelaide is much more than just the buildings; it extends to activities such as trade skills, recreational and commercial river traffic, and fishing. Relatively few respondents, however, described 'activity' as being important to their belief in the presence or absence of a balance. This may have been because the question positioned heritage preservation in opposition to the very materially focussed endeavour of property development, precluding in some subtle way an emphasis on the tangible. Alternatively, for most respondents physical heritage may have been the most pressing issue, or perhaps these responses reflect the way in which respondents thought about heritage (i.e. a tendency to privilege the tangible). Given the emphasis on boat building and community in other discourses (i.e. not structured interviews) it is unlikely that many residents would have viewed the Port's heritage as simply tangible. Regardless, only one resident indicated they believed there had been a balance because it was possible to "still

do lots of activities, fish etc." (PFQ107 Resident Male 45–54) and two other residents explicitly linked the retention of heritage with tourist activity, one suggesting that "preserving will bring more people here" (PFQ28 Resident Female 75-over) and the other that development would bring "more people [to] admire the history" (PFQ78 Resident Female 45–54).

Community was expressed by two residents as an indication of balance. One felt that there had been a balance stating that "the Port community is strong" (PFQ83 Resident Male 35–44), possibly suggesting that the community had provided enough resistance to prevent the development from overwhelming the social and/or physical character of the Port. The other resident felt that there had not been a balance, suggesting that the "character and community is changing as people with more money move in" (PFQ61 Resident Male 35–44). Another resident suggested that "initially cultural heritage was ignored, [it was] only recently taken into account because of local concern" (PFQ93 Resident Female 45–54). This respondent may have been referring to the cultural mapping study (Mulloway Studio *et al.* 2008; Mulloway Studio *et al.* 2012) conducted on behalf of the LMC.

The 'process' category was quite broad and incorporated statements that referred to specific aspects of the development process, such as consultation, but mostly included beliefs about the attitudes of different stakeholders. Several of the responses referred to a 'they', presumably meaning those 'in power'—people who are able to make decisions that affect the course of development and heritage preservation in Port Adelaide. In the context of this research 'they' might reasonably be assumed to mean principally the developers, government and local council; in a few instances one of these groups is mentioned specifically.

Two non-residents and one resident indicated they thought that "they are respecting heritage as they develop. Careful with type of development" (PFQ6 Resident Male 65–74); that "they realise they have a lot of heritage and are trying to hang on to it." (PFQ70 Non-Resident Male 55–64) and that the Port "… is still retaining heritage … but vigilance needs to be maintained" (PFQ86 Non-Resident 65–74). One resident and one visitor questioned the process, indicating that in some respects heritage preservation and property development were contradictory. The resident was concerned that "sometimes there is no regard for the cultural heritage values and at other times there [are] too many restrictions on development to heritage [buildings], resulting in buildings getting run-down" (PFQ117 Resident Female 45–54). The visitor simply stated, "I wouldn't put these two in competition together, they're two different things." (PFQ21 Non-Resident Male 65–74).

There were some responses that indicated the participants had an expectation of what 'correct' property development would do and that what had occurred in Port Adelaide over the past 10 years did not match their expectations. For example, "correct property development would preserve heritage, it isn't happening" (PFQ56 Resident 35–44)] and, "when you have an area like this with heritage like this, you need to enhance the heritage. They did not do that" (PFQ103 Non-Resident Male 55–64). Others indicated that the "developers' attitude to demolishing the Port's heritage and buildings" (PFQ93 Resident Female 45–54) was the reason that "new development doesn't take heritage into consideration" (PFQ7 Resident 35–44).

Some respondents emphasised the values they believed were underlying the attitudes which drove the behaviours of the developers, government and council. Among these, money appears to have been the primary reason, with residents suggesting that the "development was for money only" (PFQ10 Resident Female 45–54) or "for money and

greed" (PFQ9 Resident Female 45–54) and that "money takes priority" (PFQ13 Resident Female 45–54) over heritage preservation. Consultation, or a lack of it, was raised by one resident, who suggested that the balance had been "too strong towards property development; property development has more stakeholders, no consultation." (PFQ114 Resident Male 65–74). In contrast to this, it was noted by several people at public meetings, as well as by commentators in the metropolitan press, that there had been a lot of consultation and many planning and scoping reports; the issue for other locals seems to have been that they were not listened to. One respondent questioned the actions of the government in regard to shifting heritage boundaries in 2004: "Shifting of heritage boundary around [the wharf] shed, excision of the shed [from the state heritage area], moving of that line is pretty bloody cynical and it questions why that is done. What forces were at play?" (PFQ122 Resident Male 35–44).

Rather than drawing on physical evidence within the Port, or their personal experiences of the new aesthetic of the place, the responses coded under 'process' and 'money' drew on socially constructed understandings of the motivations underlying development. This is an understanding that was developed by, and communicated amongst, residents of the area, but points to a very real contradiction that existed between the values frameworks applied by the State Government and NPQ to revitalisation of the Port and those of residents.

Conclusion

NPQ and the State Government's approach to development in Port Adelaide was driven by a desire to maximise profit. The approach was characterised by construction of large scale, modernist buildings using rationalised construction processes, combined with a discursive strategy that aimed to promote the Port as a place of leisured consumption. While the style of development and discourses may have appealed to some investors,

most long-term residents rejected NPQ attempts to modify the aesthetic of the landscape and the Port's identity. This rejection was based partly in the pride that some residents felt for working-class history and the sense of community that existed in Port Adelaide, but also because of the threat that the new identity and style of the NPQ development posed to any smaller scale heritage—or cultural tourism—based economic revival.

The concerns of the local community were well-founded, with many visitors to the Port identifying that the design of NPQ and its scale was not appealing and did not fit with the existing heritage aesthetic. Critiques of the development by residents and visitors were underlined by a rejection of mass produced goods, where the perceived uniqueness of heritage and the historic built environment was a factor in people's desire to consume heritage places. While the aesthetic was important to visitors and residents, there were noticeable differences in the levels of place familiarity between these groups; visitors generally identified aspects of the built environment that they approved of or disliked in general terms, while residents identified much more specific changes, such as the demolition of specific places. Visitors also appeared to have been influenced by long-standing discourses about Port Adelaide and the undesirable nature of its culture, which they required to change before being comfortable consuming the Port's heritage, but nevertheless did not desire the product offered by NPQ's modification of the waterfront.

Both visitors and residents of the Port also believed that there had not been a balance between property development and CHM in Port Adelaide. Residents identified the effect of development on the identity, community, aesthetic and traditional work practices of the Port as evidence of the lack of balance, while visitors tended to focus on the aesthetic of the built environment as their evidence for the lack of balance. In addition to citing loss of heritage, residents also questioned the balance between development and preservation of heritage on the grounds that the motivations of

developers and government could be characterised as short-term profit maximisation and therefore did not support long-term, culturally-based economic development, which many local businesses and residents aspired to and visitors hoped to consume.

6

A Tight Rein

Knowledge, power and cultural heritage management in Port Adelaide

Control over the production of knowledge and meaning in heritage practice is one of the most pressing concerns facing heritage professionals and the various stakeholders they interact with. Much of the research and debate in this area has centred on the relationships between heritage disciplines and other groups who have cultural and political interests in defining and protecting cultural heritage. For the most part the heritage profession has responded by developing methodologies that aim to modify the power relations between heritage professionals and 'communities of interest'. Often these power relationships are identified based on an understanding that archaeologists and associated professions occupy a privileged position relative to other interest groups. This position has been variously defined in regard to class, race, institutional power, global/local relationships and expert knowledge.

This chapter examines the discursive relationships between heritage professionals, communities and the LMC, focussing on identifying power and its effects. Building on the work of Smith (2004), the concept of governmentality is applied to the analysis, unpacking the ways that expert knowledge was deployed and shaped by government to mediate disputes over cultural heritage in Port Adelaide, producing an AHD. The analysis is presented in three sections: the first examines the attempted heritage listing of the Jenkins Street boatyards precinct; the second discusses the collaborative production of an exhibition about the boatyards; and the third considers the interaction of archaeologists with the LMC and the local community during an archaeological investigation at Jenkins Street. Throughout the analysis close attention is given to the use

of discourses in objectifying archaeology and heritage in particular ways, with the interaction between discourses and the material realities of legislation and funding are also discussed.

Community, expert knowledge, and legislative regimes

In 2008 PoANT, concerned about the imminent closure of the yards, submitted a nomination for state heritage listing of the Jenkins Street precinct. During initial meetings the Manager of the Heritage Branch was not supportive of interviewing Heritage Branch staff. Heritage Officers and members of the Heritage Council, therefore, were not approached for interviews. Minutes of the Heritage Council's deliberations regarding PoANT's submission for listing of the Jenkins Street boatyards were publicly available, however, and were an important source of data used in this analysis. The minutes begin by describing a presentation made by Mr Tony Kearney (PoANT Chairperson) to the Heritage Council:

> Mr Kearney spoke of the Port Adelaide Boatyards' contribution to the sense of place and their importance to the community, with activity over the last 170 years, noting that generations of South Australians have a connection with the area. He referred to the skills, tools and culture of the last 170 years and how the boatyards' removal from the inner harbour would lose that activity. The Trust was concerned about items inside the buildings; the slips, hoists, a crane from a tall ship and bandsaws from 1900. He suggested that the equipment could stay in the area even if the occupants moved out, and that there was a fantastic opportunity to incorporate them into the new development. Mr Kearney stated that he believed that the LMC was keen to have the area stripped of every asset of private development.

> Mr Kearney stated that the Council should not consider what was planned for the area, but the value of the boatyards precinct as they are. He spoke of the continuity of the function and fabric of the boatyards and the character deriving from the maritime functions of the Port and in particular Fletcher's Slip, which had local heritage protection. He referred to the Government Dockyard, the naval area, Searle's Boatyard and the tugs. The Trust could not see any valid reason for the rush to remove the boatyards, as there was a good case for interpreting what was there and folding it back into the redevelopment to enrich it.
>
> He referred to Section 16(1) of the Heritage Places Act and stated that it was his view that the boatyards met several of the criteria for listing. He believed that the future uses of the precinct should not be considered by the SAHC [South Australian Heritage Council] and noted that [the] Minister had the power to remove provisional entries in the 'public interest' if there were issues that outweighed the heritage value (Department of Environment and Heritage 2008:2).

In these passages the reasons that PoANT requested the retention of the boatyards are made explicit, and include their contribution to the aesthetic of the Port, the skills and knowledge of the shipwrights and apprentices, tangible aspects of the trade, especially tools and plant within the sheds, and the importance of each of these things to the sense of place of the community. The nomination therefore required that social significance and intangible heritage were considered together with material culture. It is also evident that PoANT were concerned that the Heritage Council would feel political pressure to dismiss their claims or that, if they did recognise them, the Minister would overrule their

determination. It is not clear if Mr Kearney mentioned what interests the Minister might take into account, but financial gains and employment of construction workers had been identified by other commentators as positive outcomes of the NPQ development (Phillips 2005a:10).

The minutes included responses and comments from members of the Heritage Council, including Ms Marsland (Chairperson) who "assured Mr Kearney that in assessing items the Council could only have regard to heritage significance and in that regard the development would not be considered in coming to a decision" (Department of Environment and Heritage 2008:3). The Heritage Council therefore wanted to make it clear that they would perform their role as set out by the *Heritage Places Act* and consider only the heritage values of the nominated place. By doing so the Heritage Council was discursively positioning itself as an impartial arbiter in the process, an aspect identified as being crucial to the position of expert knowledge in mediation over disputes (see Smith 2004 for similar and more extensive arguments about the relationship between rational expert knowledge and arbitration in heritage disputes).

The Heritage Council considered the application while Mr Kearny was present and received a briefing from Ms Wigg (Chair, Register Committee), who reported that:

> … the Register Committee had met on 11 June and considered the nomination and the assessment by DEH [Department of Environment and Heritage] against the listing criteria. The Register Committee was of the opinion that the Boatyards precinct did not meet the criteria under Section 16 of the Heritage Places Act 1993. The Register Committee supported DEH's assessment that the area did not meet criteria (c), (e), (f) and (g). Members had also discussed criteria (a) and (b) more fully. One member of the Register Committee had

> questioned the extent of assessment of the boatyards against the criteria (Department of Environment and Heritage 2008:3).

It is evident in this section of the minutes that the Register Committee was not unanimous in its agreement with DEH's assessment. Minutes of the Register Committee were not accessed for the analysis because they were not included in the publicly accessible file. The dissenting voice and the basis of their concerns were not included in the Heritage Council minutes, but the minutes do demonstrate that in these deliberations there are multiple expert perspectives that arrive at an outcome through a process. It is therefore misleading to think about this purely in terms of 'expert knowledge' versus 'community attachment', because expert knowledge is not a static, uncontested or generic entity. Furthermore, the type of expert knowledge on heritage committees is diverse, with experts from a range of backgrounds, each potentially with their own disciplinary perspectives on heritage value.

Other Heritage Council members were seemingly worried about the "… lateness of the nomination, given that an initial survey had been conducted some time ago and contractual arrangements were now in place. The initial survey had resulted in Fletcher's Slip being identified as a Local Heritage Place" (Department of Environment and Heritage 2008:3). Research for the initial survey included consultation with the local historical society (McDougall and Vines 1989; 1994), but occurred prior to wide acceptance of social or intangible heritage, let alone development of principles and methodologies for their identification and management.

Clearly the Register Committee was aware of the broader political and economic agendas surrounding the case, and the fact that the lateness was a concern is illuminating. Their concern could be interpreted as a reaction against an emotional application for heritage listing. Emotions are subjective and difficult to measure and therefore have no place in a

rationalised system, such as that of modern government. As experts, members of the Heritage Council are expected to provide impartial judgement on nominations, and identifying emotions and politics as a problem or concern is yet another discursive device to position the Heritage Council as objective. Similar concerns were raised by Mary Casey in regard to the Conservatorium of Music site in Sydney (Casey 2005), and questioning of the political motivations of nominations made at a late stage in the process is perhaps a feature of an expert discourse founded on rationality. Certainly the impartial and objective nature of expert knowledge has been identified as a defining factor of the AHD (Smith 2006).

If, however, the nomination of the Jenkins Street boatyards is considered from the point of view of social significance as outlined by Chris Johnston (1992), the lateness of the nomination is understandable, because, without the aid of innovative methodologies such as those developed by Byrne and Nugent (2004), Harrison (2004; 2011) or Common Ground (Clifford 2011), communities are often unable to articulate what is important about a place until it is under threat. The question that must be asked then is, if social significance and intangible heritage were poorly understood, were not widely accepted, and certainly were not incorporated into South Australian legislative frameworks, then how could the Jenkins Street boatyards and the activities that occurred there possibly have been identified as having cultural value in the initial surveys? Furthermore, if social significance, like all forms of cultural significance, is not a fixed entity, then surely in the 15 years between the completion of the heritage survey and the PoANT nomination there may have been some potential for community views to have changed.

While it is not possible to determine from the minutes alone what the concerns of the members of the Heritage Council really were, the working of intersecting technologies of government to constrain the terms of the assessment is clearly evident in the following:

> Ms Wigg indicated that the Register Committee had … a long discussion on whether the structures within the nominated precinct met the criteria identified by DEH [Department of Environment and Heritage] at the threshold required for a State Heritage Place and came to the conclusion they did not (Department of Environment and Heritage 2008:3).

A close reading of this text indicates that only the "structures within the nominated precinct" were considered and not the moveable objects, skills, traditions and community sentiment associated with ship building. The Chair did not provide an indication as to why this was the case; however, this is made more explicit in the explanation for the Heritage Branch assessment made by Brian Samuels, Principal Heritage Officer:

> The Chair requested that … Mr Samuels outline the arguments as to why DEH considered that the criteria were not met. He indicated that a key distinction was between the historical significance of the ship building/repair activities and the heritage significance of the surviving structures. Mr Samuels stated that the boatyards precinct was of historical significance as the long term home of shipbuilding and repair in the inner harbour. He stated that the focus of the DEH report was on the heritage significance of the surviving structures. Mr Samuels noted that the LMC was requiring the businesses to vacate the site by 30 June. Without the businesses' activity he questioned whether some sheds and railways [slips] leading into the river had sufficient heritage significance to warrant their entry in the Register (Department of Environment and Heritage 2008:3).

It is therefore clear that the heritage experts involved in the process of researching and assessing the nomination for listing made by PoANT identified that the skills and activities associated with the place were of historical significance. It is also evident that, despite the assurances of the Chair of the Heritage Council, the DEH assessment and the Heritage Council's deliberations *were* influenced by the plans for the new development. Specifically, the LMC 'indicated' that the boatyard owners would be forced to leave, therefore the DEH assessment only considered the 'structures' because that was all that would be left after the eviction. In contrast to some of the assumptions implicit in critiques of the heritage industry, heritage professionals in Port Adelaide were not actively excluding or questioning community values because they competed with their own disciplinary values, nor were community values excluded because experts were ignorant of the existence of these values, or because they were insensitive to claims of a working-class heritage. Instead, the LMC exercised power from a distance using the interconnected technologies of property and heritage law to control the application of expert knowledge and modern heritage philosophy to the assessment of the Jenkins Street boatyards.

Captured on canvas: Governmentality and collaborative heritage practice

It was not just the processes of nomination and Heritage Council deliberations that were governmentalised in Port Adelaide. The production of heritage and expert knowledge were also constrained during the collaborative development of the exhibition *Captured on Canvas* by PoANT and SAMM. The process of developing the exhibition was discussed by a SAMM employee in an interview for this project:

> Museum Employee 1: Tony Kearney who was the chairperson of the National Trust, I think, and a couple of others came to see us. They

> had been approached by John Giles' family. John Giles was an artist that lived here [Port Adelaide] from the 1920s to the 1950s approximately and the family had said they had this wonderful collection of artwork which documented the Port in that period and could the National Trust use that in some way to help them with their campaign to change the shape of the development so it was more respectful of heritage. And they came to us and asked if we wanted to be part of it. We looked at the photographs they had and thought it was pretty exciting stuff and we said yes. And we agreed to a partnership and we met weekly or more than once a week and we developed the exhibition together. So we borrowed the artwork, and [Museum Employee 2] went to Yass and saw the other family members, because some of them were there, and saw members of the family that were in Adelaide. We had formal owner agreements with them, we selected artwork together. We laid out photographs of the artwork on the floor. And three or four people from the National Trust and [Museum Employee 2] and I chose the artwork for the exhibition. Then we brainstormed the content of text, of labels for artwork. Things that we could think of. And then [Museum Employee 2] drafted those, so that is broadly how the exhibition came together and it was very successful. It was really popular; it was a real gem. It struck the right chord, it showed something that people were interested in and it did very well.

Clearly the two organisations worked collaboratively on the exhibition. But its development was not entirely straightforward, and interviews with senior museum staff

provide some evidence of competing values and the exercise of power through the social relations within the collaborative team and beyond it:

> Museum Employee 1: Oh yeah that was the other half. That was really interesting actually. The National Trust were very keen that it not just be a celebration of what the Port used to be, that was very important. And the love of the artwork, which was great, they are both great things. They wanted to take it a step further so it would say something about the development and what the development should be and we thought that was a good thing. And we wanted to do that in a way that was positive and we also wanted to do it in a way that was diplomatic so doing it through images was what, I mean museum exhibitions are basically visual medium, so doing it through images is the most powerful way of doing it. But it is also the most diplomatic way to do it because it is very hard for someone to quote an image the way they can quote some text. So it is not didactic in that way, in the way that the text might be so it was not saying what the development should be.
>
> Interviewer: Were there any conflicts or difficulties in that process? The National Trust obviously had an agenda.
>
> Museum Employee 1: The National Trust, were they to do it by themselves, it would have been much more didactic than we would have been. And so we had a disagreement about some text, which we worked through … But there is a whole big question there; there was a Museums Australia Conference about six weeks ago and there was a paper from a chap who put forward the view that museums should do big loud exhibitions that were confronting that pushed through social

> change. And this is a big question, this is difficult because when I was a curator, one of the areas I used to look after was the working waterfront and we had this exhibition in Sydney which contained art produced within the Waterside Workers Federation and I would take people throughout that exhibition, which is called 'commerce', and we would come to this bit, and I would say this is art from the Waterside Workers Federation and many, many people out of the audience, you had a group of 10 people, typically four would just turn off. You could see their faces would just close. They didn't want to know about it. These [are] big bad communists and they are not interested, this is politics and they don't want to hear about politics. So as a question as how you present it, I personally believe that it is, look there is no one answer but there is great merit to make a message palatable. There is a lovely expression that museums are a safe place to deal with dangerous ideas. So if you like it loud, and bombastic and didactic it will be a rallying call for those who believe in it and it will change the opinions of some others, it will also, in my opinion close off. There are many people whose eyes will just close off, if they think they are looking at something political. So there are different ways to do stuff and this exhibition, I think it was a good thing to win people's support, to show how beautiful, how beautiful the Port was, to show how beautiful it could be.

Museum employee 2 provided a slightly different explanation for the reasons behind the modification of the exhibition content:

> Interviewer: You just mentioned that there were some pros and cons working with the community group with the Giles' exhibition …
>
> Museum Employee 2: Yeah, well, what was a real advantage was it's a mixed multi-talented group of people with the National Trust here and they have a lot of knowledge, a lot of historical knowledge and they also have a lot of talent in the way of graphic design and aesthetics and an appreciation of art as well. So they brought a lot of skills to the exhibition, but they had an agenda that they wanted to push which was all this heritage is being ripped down and we want to draw attention to it which I was personally in complete agreement with. But because of our relationship with the LMC and our hope at that time to get money from them to build an exhibition we didn't want to get their nose out of joint. [History SA Employee 1] kept a really tight rein on the text and what could be said in that exhibition and media releases and that really riled the National Trust and they were about to pull out and the [Giles] family were actually about to pull out as well. Because they said this is not what the paintings are for. In the end we managed to strike a balance and it was a really successful exhibition, but it was difficult. You felt like you were fighting on a lot of fronts.

PoANT's position was made clear in one of their newsletters, which provided an overwhelmingly positive account of the collaboration, but also stated that:

> The only sour note of this endeavour was the disappointing last minute stance of ...History [SA] (that oversees SAMM) when it insisted that no mention be made in our brochure of the contents of the Open Letter to the Premier, who the signatories were and to whom the letter

> was addressed. This was a sad and unfortunate case of political sensitivities overriding (some would say censoring) the acknowledgement of an event that was in the public realm. This was particularly galling, for both ourselves and the Giles family, as it went against the History Trust's stated aims to 'Enhance our community's sense of identity by presenting a diversity of perspectives on the past' and to 'Nurture community historical endeavour'. An unnecessary rewriting of history? (Kearney and Jenkins 2009:3)

The flyer for the exhibition still contained a very strong message about the aspirations of PoANT, but it did not include any direct criticism of the LMC, NPQ or the State Government. Clearly, the museum employees were sympathetic to the cause of PoANT and the Giles' family, but their explanations for how and why the text was modified to remove direct criticism of Government differed. Museum Employee 2 expressed more strongly a belief that the exhibition had been censored by upper management of History SA because it was too controversial, and there were too many vested interests. In contrast, Museum Employee 1 suggested that the text might be explained as an example of self-censorship, a kind of 'disciplining' where he avoided critiquing the government agency to which he was responsible. He did this by drawing on aspects of expert knowledge regarding political messages in museum exhibitions. There is probably also a certain amount of truth to his suggestion that some people do not respond well to, or at least their attitudes are not changed through, exposure to what they see as overtly political messages in heritage interpretation. In Annapolis, for example, Potter found that the attitudes of tour participants toward capitalism were not significantly influenced by the critical archaeology which communicated explicit political messages (Potter Jr 1994).

Governmentality, therefore, is also visible in this account of the Giles' exhibition. Even though the LMC were not directly involved in the negotiations over the content of the exhibition, the exhibition was shaped by their agendas, or other people's interpretations of their agendas. Resources (or the promise of them) interacted with expert knowledges and constrained the ways in which experts interacted with one another and with PoANT, as well as influencing the production of 'heritage' in the John Giles exhibition. Within this example it is also possible to see the effect of hierarchy, with the most senior heritage expert, History SA Employee 1, directly controlling the discourses produced by the other heritage experts employed within the organisation. This action is not normally taken by History SA Employee 1 during production of exhibitions at the SAMM. Using the authority provided by the organisational hierarchy, the manager exercised power over the actions of the other heritage experts within the History Trust.

Governmentality shaped the discourse, but PoANT did not withdraw the exhibition, which suggests that they saw some value in maintaining the relationship with SAMM and generating as much publicity for the boatyards as possible. While power worked through governmentality to constrain PoANT's message, it appears that, as a community organisation, they were still empowered to some extent through the collaborative exhibition. It is actually the power of the experts directly involved in the collaborative process that was most constrained by this process. Museum Employee 1 and 2 usually maintain creative control over exhibitions; however, in this instance their power to determine content was significantly constrained. Here hierarchical power within the History Trust intersected with the potential promise of government funding, operating on expert knowledge from a distance, with the result that the content of the collaborative exhibition was modified to suit the agendas of the LMC and government. The resulting discourse therefore undoubtedly represents an AHD. It is important to note, however, that it was an individual expert within a hierarchical government organisation who

constrained the actions of other experts who produced the final authorised exhibition text.

This will have to go through channels: Governmentality and archaeology at the Jenkins Street boatyards

Governmentality also operated during negotiations between archaeologists and LMC staff around a community archaeology investigation of the Jenkins Street boatyards site. Negotiations between archaeologists and the LMC began in February 2009. Several sites were considered during the negotiations, with a former caretaker's cottage associated with the Jenkins Street boatyards identified as having the best potential for excavation that could include community or public access. The choice of this site was based on a combination of research potential (Mulloway Studio *et al.* 2008:8) and the suitability of the site for vehicle and pedestrian access for proposed public open days.

The negotiations were shaped in part by the desire of a senior archaeologist to provide opportunities to students to excavate as part of a field methods' class, which would provide the necessary labour, but only if it occurred within a May-June timeframe. The senior archaeologist and the researcher were also committed to involving members of the public, and especially the local community, in the research, and this was also a feature of the discussions with the LMC. Other community and cultural activities had been supported by the LMC as part of the waterfront renewal and ostensibly LMC staff entered into discussions with the archaeologists on the basis that a public excavation would provide positive outcomes for the local community and the LMC.

The proposal presented to the LMC was to investigate the site archaeologically, provide opportunities for people to participate in the investigation as volunteers and to provide public open days, where people who were less interested in becoming involved but still

interested in the history of the site, or in archaeology as a discipline, could visit and learn about the investigation. This approach built on common methods for interacting with stakeholders during archaeological investigations in Australia (see Mackay 2006 for an example). Although community groups were not involved formally in this stage of the planning, the archaeologists anticipated that the excavation would allow them to build upon a dialogue that had developed during previous projects.

During discussion with LMC representatives it became apparent to the archaeologists that it would be easier and faster to gain approval for an excavation that only included university staff and students. Issues likely to cause delays to the program were gaining LMC approval for community participation and co-funding. Concerned that the predicted delays would limit the involvement of university students, the archaeologists and LMC negotiated an agreement for an initial test-excavation. The investigation would provide teaching opportunities to the university and enable archaeologists to assess the integrity and research potential of the site better. While the community was not directly involved at this stage it was envisaged that potential issues related to site access and safety could also be considered for future planning of a community excavation.

To an extent, then, the outcomes of the negotiations to excavate at the site represent a pragmatic acknowledgement by both parties of the constraints placed on the proposal by the LMC and the university bureaucracy. At another level, it points to the way in which governmentality operates, with the intersection of the material reality of government control of land and legislation and the permit process shaping the archaeologists' behaviour in particular ways, namely temporarily setting aside their knowledge of the benefits of community inclusion so that the initial investigation could begin.

The way in which this occurred becomes clearer if the underlying political and social background to the negotiations is introduced, particularly the strong community activism

calling for protection of the Jenkins Street boatyards. Media and the attempted heritage listing of the boatyards constitute discourses that defined the boatyards as an object of dispute centring around the recognition of cultural heritage significance (see Duineveld and Van Assche 2011 for a discussion of the role of discourse in 'objectification' of heritage). The LMC's concerns about the disputed significance and the archaeologist's awareness of their concerns were not explicitly revealed during the negotiations prior to the excavation. It was, however, an issue of which all participants were aware through their work in Port Adelaide.

Politicisation of heritage in Port Adelaide at this time was palpable, permeating most discussions of cultural heritage related matters. This was especially true of negotiations between the archaeologists and the LMC. The research significance of the former caretaker's cottage was raised within these meetings, but only insofar as the archaeologists explained to LMC staff what they were hoping to learn (i.e. the term significance was not used). Similarly, community attachment was raised by the archaeologists, but was described as an interest in the history of the site and the probable local support for the project, but not in terms of the cultural significance of the yards.

While the jargon associated with the official listing of heritage places was absent (i.e. significance), land use permits, funding approvals, safe work method statements and certificates of insurance were ubiquitous. Discursively, the archaeological investigation was constituted between the LMC and archaeologists not as an act associated with exploring and communicating cultural heritage significance, but instead as an act of compliance with a range of other expert knowledges. Of course archaeologists often engage with site safety and insurance, but they are not areas where 'disciplinary' knowledge constitutes them as 'expert'. By objectifying archaeology in this way it was rendered somewhat safer to the LMC than it may have been if heritage significance was

the focus of discussions. Significance, therefore, was not raised as a specific issue by either the LMC or archaeologists until the formal process of applying for a permit from the Heritage Branch had begun.

Archaeological permitting processes administered by the South Australian Department of Environment, Water and Natural Resources are ostensibly set up to protect places with archaeological significance from activities that will diminish or destroy these heritage values. Because significance, based on the concept of 'potential to yield', is the main reason archaeologists investigate sites, any disturbance or removal of objects undertaken by an archaeologist for research requires a permit. Some activities by non-archaeologists also require permits, but usually only when the archaeological significance of a place has been identified, either through government agency research (associated with heritage listing) or less often through developer-funded consultancy research and reporting.

A detailed significance assessment and research design for the caretaker's cottage excavation were prepared (Paterson 2009), which identified archaeological remains with high research potential and also flagged potential social values associated with the site. At the request of Heritage Branch staff the report was summarised into a one page statement of method, with the full report sent to the LMC as a courtesy. Soon after, the LMC requested an urgent meeting with the senior archaeologist to discuss the report and specifically the significance assessment. When discussing the LMC request with the researcher, the senior archaeologist suggested that LMC staff had concerns regarding the way in which the significance assessment would be interpreted by the community. The researcher was not privy to the meeting or its outcomes; however, it is clear in numerous other correspondences and interactions that the LMC had a strong desire to control public information about the archaeology.

The archaeologists produced some text about the investigation which they intended to use for public dissemination. They sent the text to the LMC, DEH and SAMM, receiving no comment from either DEH or the museum. The LMC responded with the following email:

> Hi [senior archaeologist],
>
> Any release will have to be approved by LMC and this will have to go through channels. I thought in our earlier discussions we had agreed that LMC would manage the media information. Please advise where this is proposed to be released (general media or just Uni?) and when?
>
> Rgds, [LMC Official]
>
> (Email LMC official to senior archaeologist Thursday, 23 April 2009).

Following this email the archaeologists agreed to allow the LMC to handle press releases[3]. The text that the archaeologists had prepared did not mention significance, but it also did not mention the LMC in any detail other than as the administrators of the land on which the site was located. The press release eventually provided by the LMC indicated that the LMC was facilitating the dig, and included personal comments from the LMC CEO, Wayne Gibbings: "We are pleased to be able to assist the Flinders University project as their work will further inform our Cultural Mapping project of the area and contribute to the recording of the history of the inner harbour" (LMC 2009). Modifying the discourse in this way objectified the archaeology at the former caretaker's cottage as something provided by the LMC and also linked it to their 'positive' cultural mapping project, which had arisen largely from PoANT activism.

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[3] Social media was not being actively used to promote the excavation and therefore was not a feature of these discourses.

The LMC further controlled the production of archaeological discourse by issuing a land use permit, which contained standard clauses about indemnity and 'make good', but also included a clause which appears to have been specifically added for the investigation:

> 12. Photography:
>
> All photographs and images taken or captured within the Permit Area are to be used for research purposes only. The Permitor requires the Permitee to seek written permission from the Permitor where use of these images is for any other purpose (Land Management Corporation 2009:2).

It seems that the clause was written to ensure that images—a 'text' capable of contributing to discursive construction of the site, the excavation, or the LMC—were not used in a way that was detrimental to the LMC's interests. Regardless of what the LMC's intentions were this clause had very real effects on the way that archaeologists interacted with members of the local community visiting the site; effects which were likely unforseen by LMC staff and certainly by the archaeologists.

During the investigation there were several instances when casual visitors were given access to the site by the archaeologists. While on site they interacted with students and the archaeologists and when the visitors asked if it was possible to take photographs of the excavations the archaeologists directed them to the LMC, because the archaeologists could not guarantee what would be done with images taken by other people. One of these people, a member of the Port Adelaide Historical Society, was happy to contact the LMC and did so. The LMC contacted the archaeologists and included the following statement, which provides some evidence of the mechanisms used to constrain and shape access to the site and behaviour of archaeologists and visitors.

> We've received a request from a member of the public who wants to take photos of your dig for records of the Port Adelaide Historical Society. [Susie] spoke to you at the site yesterday, and we are guessing that you referred her to [LMC Staff], under our 'media' agreement (Email LMC official to senior archaeologist 8 May 2009).

In effect the 'media agreement' consisted of the condition on the land use permit, together with the earlier email correspondence between the archaeologists and LMC whereby it was agreed that all media would be handled by the LMC. Essentially the media agreement allowed the LMC to identify the reasons for photography to occur and to decide what purposes were acceptable to them. Taking photographs of the site for historical records was obviously considered appropriate by LMC staff.

Not all of the visitors reacted calmly when they were asked to contact the LMC to take photographs. Tory, who later agreed to be interviewed for the project, left the excavation in tears when she was informed that she was not allowed to take photographs without LMC approval. Tory's reaction is understandable given her long association with the boatyards, the strong attachment she felt for them and her personal project documenting the yards photographically. Her sadness was punctuated by the anger of a male friend of hers and an employee of one of the boatyards who approached the site asking for an explanation as to why she was not allowed to take photographs. When the requirement to contact the LMC was explained to him he replied in a raised voice, "LMC! Why would we want to talk to them?" Both of these individuals were amongst a group of people who were present at Searle's Boatyard to witness and document the lifting of *Rambler*, a fishing vessel constructed in Port Adelaide in 1875, from the yard several weeks prior to demolition of the shed (Figure 21). Although there was considerable distrust of the LMC the archaeologists were not considered to be complicit, or a part of governmentality,

possibly because they made their hopes for community collaboration clear during these interactions.

Figure 21 Rambler being lifted by crane from Searle's Boatyard. Image the author.

Tory's and her friends' reactions were at least partially about the imminent demolition of the sheds and the erasure of their tangible heritage, but they were also a response to the way in which the LMC had gone about managing the processes. They were reactions

against control through governmentality. The actions of archaeologists and the community while on site were shaped from a distance by the media agreement, which consisted of multiple discourses, including permits, emails, and conversations. The discourses relied on linkages to material realities for their effect, such as LMC control over the site, which archaeologists hoped to revisit with the community, and potential LMC funding of future projects.

What was intended to be the first stage in a collaborative project that would contribute positively to a sense of place and to interactions between archaeologists, the LMC and the local community, therefore, potentially did more damage to relationships between these groups. A continuing presence in the Port over the following years, however, has led to an ongoing dialogue between the researcher and PoANT about the potential for archaeology at the Jenkins Street site. The following email from a member of the PoANT committee provides some context for the expectation and hope for an archaeological investigation of this site:

> Thanks so much for getting in touch and for suggestions on how best to frame questions about an archaeology project tomorrow night. No problem if you can't get to the meeting, plenty of us to report back next meeting. It should be pretty interesting though!
>
> Great that you've already approached [Name Provided]. I agree there is lots of scope to link it up with all the other community engagement activities, oral histories, cultural mapping and to involve local people, schools etc.
>
> What I'm most excited about is the chance to see what's been hidden away for so long, not just because it's been buried but also because it's been locked away from the community by the powers that be and

> finally it seems there's to be much more public access granted in these areas.
>
> Great that you're still thinking about such projects and haven't been put off completely by LMC's efforts to deny access and exclude the community.
>
> You've already put in lots of work so it would be wonderful to make it happen.
>
> Will stay in touch (Email PoANT committee member to A. Paterson 8 May 2012).

Conclusion

The analysis presented in this chapter responds to, builds on and offers a different perspective on the relationships between archaeologists, other heritage professionals and the communities with whom they work. The analysis does not question Smith's interpretation of the cases which she used in her analysis of governmentality and development of the AHD thesis, but it brings into question some of her stronger assertions, namely that heritage professionals exclude the perspectives of others and therefore are not aware of, or do not care about, their concerns.

In Port Adelaide, expert knowledges were deployed by government working to minimise and delegitimise various claims to cultural heritage significance during the Port Adelaide Waterfront Development. This occurred in a variety of settings, including the Heritage Branch determination of significance, the collaborative museum exhibition and archaeological practice. Importantly, in Port Adelaide professional heritage knowledge was, for the most part, congruent with the beliefs of the local community and therefore provide a counterpoint to arguments framed within the professional/community

paradigm that tend to essentialise the relationship into one where professionals are powerful and communities are not.

Discourses and legislation based within expert knowledge of property law and community relations or marketing were used by the LMC and the State Government; however, the analysis also identified that the material realities of cultural heritage practice must be considered when analysing power and its effects. While the discourses of experts were still important to the operation of power in the Port, resources or the promise of them still had an important effect on behaviours. Recognition of the importance of resources to heritage practice, especially within development contexts, is crucial to developing responses to power discussed further in Chapter 7.

7

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this thesis was to examine CHM in the context of the Port Adelaide Waterfront Development. Port Adelaide has been a working-class area for the majority of its colonial history; however, in the past two decades the demographic has begun to shift slowly toward one which is more middle class. Recent examinations of the intersection of place, class and identity are uncommon, especially in Australia (but see Prangnell and Mate 2011). Even less common are examinations of heritage and place during gentrification, where economic and physical development pose particular threats to working-class culture and heritage. The recognition that working-class identity is relegated to the past to make way for middle-class consumption of gentrifying places, a common feature of these studies, to some extent represents an awareness of the effects of power. What has been lacking is a detailed examination of the role of heritage professionals and other stakeholders during CHM within gentrifying contexts—a lacuna made all the more apparent because of the intense interest in the power relations between heritage professionals and communities within other contexts (i.e. Indigenous or diasporic communities). The examination of CHM presented in this thesis has therefore considered how class was implicated in the identification of cultural significance and other values associated with the Port Adelaide waterfront. In particular it considers the role of heritage professionals and other stakeholders in shaping cultural heritage outcomes.

The research questions which guided the study were:

- What values did different stakeholders associate with cultural heritage places in Port Adelaide and were these values easily incorporated into heritage frameworks?
- How does class feature in discourses about Port Adelaide and how is class implicated in the identification of heritage value in Port Adelaide?
- Were the values of professional heritage experts privileged within processes of CHM or not?

This chapter is organised around these three questions. The first section compares the values articulated in discourses about Port Adelaide and its heritage, with values detailed in the *Burra Charter*, identifying where there are synergies and where there are not. It also moves more broadly to consider the implications of change to the values associated with place. The second section considers how class is implicated in the way that heritage and place are understood in Port Adelaide and how heritage value is articulated and negotiated. The operation of power during negotiations over cultural heritage underlies much of the discussion, but is dealt with most explicitly in the third section. The chapter concludes by identifying the implications of the findings and directions for future research.

The *Burra Charter* and heritage frameworks

The *Burra Charter* was established to provide guidance for the management of places valued by experts and non-experts alike; however, its application in Australian heritage practice has not been without critique. Ongoing dialogues between heritage professions and the communities with whom they engage, combined with critical reflection from within the heritage profession itself, have changed the charter (i.e. by introducing spiritual significance) and to some extent Australian heritage practice, with a renewed

emphasis on consultation and engagement with 'communities'. The following examination of the efficacy of the *Burra Charter* for identifying all values associated with cultural heritage in Port Adelaide takes these debates as a starting point, questioning the effectiveness of heritage practice guided by the *Burra Charter*.

Aesthetic Value

The *Burra Charter* outlines a broad sense of aesthetic value. Recognising that aesthetic value is more than 'beautiful places', it relates to the way in which people experience places and the feelings that this invokes (Marquis-Kyle and Walker 2004:27; Taylor 1999). In Port Adelaide the landscape in many ways is characteristic of industrial decline, and analysis of the structured interviews revealed that, for many people, the derelict environment elicited negative feelings about the aesthetics of the Port. These feelings were grounded differently for residents, who tended to focus only on physical signs of decline which they did not like, compared to non-residents, many of whom also identified that the culture of the area was undesirable. Furthermore, if income is accepted as a proxy for class, then comparison of responses based on median income suggests there was little relationship between class and attitudes toward the culture of the Port, and that place familiarity was more important than class in shaping people's beliefs.

Analysis of interview transcripts and other text-rich data, including newspaper articles, revealed a deeper level of attachment to specific places than was available through the questionnaire. These discourses about specific places were primarily, but not exclusively, produced by residents, and a particular focus was the Jenkins Street boatyards. Many workers and the people who visited Jenkins Street as customers or acquaintances expressed a strong feeling of attachment formed through experiences of labour and recreation. The aesthetic value associated with the yards was not derived from

experiencing the physical environment of the boatyards as a static place; it was intimately tied to the activity of boat building.

For workers the boatyards were the focal point for practices which gave them validation as people, because many of the boat builders' identities were tied up with their work. Being able to revisit the boatyards was very important, because it allowed boat builders to remember narratives which they used in the production and renewal of their identities. For the regular visitors, the boatyards represented a source of experiences, especially of freedom and riskiness, but also of workplaces which had an important historical dimension to them. While the history of the yards was important to the values that people expressed, it was less important in the discourses of boat builders and visitors than their experiences. The history certainly contributed to the importance of the yards, but it was not what people felt was being lost. Instead, it was the experience of the history, embodied in the place and the associated boat-building activities, that was threatened by the development. Historical value, therefore, has not been discussed separately, but is folded into a general discussion of aesthetic value.

The issue for many people who cared about the boatyards was the relationship between the practice of ship building, the waterfront and the inner harbour. The heritage value that existed in the practices of ship building was connected to the contribution that such activities made to the aesthetic and tangible history of the inner harbour. Morell (2011) noted a similar link between intangible heritage in the form of labour in Es Barri and changes to place, where a place formerly characterised by labour and manufacturing became one dominated by middle-class consumption of a heritage experience, reconfigured to the point where it no longer represented the historical reality of the place.

The aesthetic of the inner harbour was not only altered by changes to the Jenkins Street boatyards; it was also modified by the construction of high-rise apartment buildings. Characteristic of a particular modern design and constructed within a speculative development paradigm, many of the new developments in Port Adelaide, including NPQ, are a cheap and easily measurable form of construction. It is these characteristics that make these building forms appealing to developers; however, analysis revealed that the straight lines, expanses of glass and large white surfaces of these developments also represented a rejection of post-industrial grime in favour of cleanliness. While there were some people who appreciated these buildings as investments or homes (Phillips 2005b), the responses to the festival interviews indicated that the reactions of residents and many visitors were largely negative. Rejecting them as generic and mass produced, they were seen as being at odds with the existing aesthetic which, although run down, provided an authenticity grounded in the age and uniqueness of the historic fabric of the Port. The absence of positive views of the newer buildings in the structured interviews may be related to the cultural preferences of the structured interview sample, which did not include residents of NPQ, although one person identified as living in a smaller building with a similar modern design.

At this broad level the analysis found that there were similarities between residents and visitors and how they interacted with changes to the Port's environment; however there were also some important differences associated with place familiarity. For example, residents were more aware of the loss of particular buildings and activities, especially boat building, and provided specific examples, whereas visitors rarely identified loss of specific places, instead identifying broad scale patterns, (i.e. the continued presence of historic buildings and the addition of new modern high-rise). Overall, the response of visitors to the Port seems to validate the belief of residents' groups that NPQ and other similar, but

smaller scale, developments were negatively affecting the heritage experience of visitors to the Port, while also limiting residents' more intimate engagement with place.

Understanding social value

Discourse analysis identified that a special sense of belonging was formed through shared experiences of Port Adelaide and especially the Jenkins Street boatyards. For some researchers, and according to the *Burra Charter*, this special sense of belonging and connectedness with others represents social value, which is unique from other types of heritage value. While historical value, for example, can exist, be identified and be held to be important by many people, it does not necessarily contribute to a special sense of social 'belonging'. One of the questions raised about social value is whether it constitutes something separate from, or different to, other values (Johnston 1992) or whether it should be seen to incorporate them (Byrne *et al.* 2003).

It is tempting to reject social value as a separate or special heritage value because heritage exists in the social realm; however, the analysis presented in this thesis indicates that the aesthetic experienced by someone familiar with a place is different to the aesthetic experienced by someone who is unfamiliar with it. They may both be positive, it may be possible to articulate them as both aesthetic and historical values, but socially they are experienced very differently, at either a specific (residents) or general (visitors) scale. Furthermore, although aesthetic and historical values were central to the way in which both groups engaged with place and were evident in discourses from both groups, it was only residents—those with an intimate knowledge and shared repeated experience of place—who articulated the values as 'community'. While community is a difficult term to pin down, in Port Adelaide it arose from the sharing of discourses about belonging to place that underpinned a shared identity. In this sense the social value associated with the Jenkins Street boatyards and Port Adelaide more broadly should be understood as a

special and close relationship to place from which people gain a sense of shared identity. In this sense it is more in line with Johnston's (1992) articulation of social value than that suggested by Byrne *et al.* (2003).

Place, identity and loss

Acknowledging that a connection exists between place, social value and community raises questions about the impacts of changes to place. Changes to the boatyards affected sense of place negatively for many residents of Port Adelaide; however, in some ways this location remained a symbol of connectedness and actually bolstered people's desire to distance NPQ and the LMC from the community identity. In the case of the boatyards, attachment to place was not 'lost' following the removal of fabric and denial of access, rather the positive identity and meaning was replaced with a sense of loss, sadness and longing; the attachment became articulated through loss.

Analysis of the experiences at the Jenkins Street boatyards suggests that Malpas' (2008) argument that the physical aspects of place can change without changing the aspects of a place's relatedness to people or other places that contribute to its meaning (i.e. cultural significance) must be viewed with caution. At Jenkins Street, changes to the 'relatedness' of the physical environment in the form of demolition and removal of sheds and the associated activity of boat building, combined with exclusion of people from these spaces, drastically changed the meanings that many residents and some visitors associated with them. In a similar way to the stories recounted by Peter Read in *Returning to Nothing* (1996), attachment remained despite changes to physical aspects of place, but the meanings associated with place changed. Although all places will change over time it was the rapidity of change and the lack of agency amongst those who had developed attachments to place that were central to disputes at Jenkins Street.

Generation of heritage value from loss of place

Changes to the physical environment stimulated the discursive construction of community in Port Adelaide. This is not to say that a sense of community did not exist previously, but that the threat NPQ presented to a shared sense of place led members of the community to mobilise. These discourses about community strongly referenced the Port's working-class past, but were neither wholly working class, nor middle class. This is true in terms of their content, where they emphasised the inclusiveness of the Port Adelaide community, defining it in opposition to the generic and mainstream, embodied by NPQ and their vision for Port Adelaide. It was also evident in the make-up of organisations such as PoANT, where the membership consisted of a mixture of working-class and middle-class residents, as well as some non-residents. Changes to the physical environment of the Port led to a discursive consolidation of the identity of the Port Adelaide community, and also stimulated some social reorganisation evidenced by PoANT. The implications of this process for class and heritage are discussed further below; however, for now it is the link between loss or change to place and the generation of social ties which is of interest.

To some extent, the renewed emphasis on community in Port Adelaide appears similar to the social changes in Chuuk State (Henry and Jeffrey 2008), where loss of coastal and arable land promoted a renewal of existing kinship ties, highlighting the durability of Chuukese social networks (Henry and Jeffrey 2008). While Henry and Jeffrey see outcomes in Chuuk State as being generative of heritage value, the context in which the values were renewed were very different to Port Adelaide. In Chuuk State the renewal of long standing traditions of social reciprocity occurred in response to rising sea levels attributed to global climate change, the scale and responsibility for which is difficult to attribute and is not closely linked to a social 'other'. In Port Adelaide the renewal of

community occurred in relation to social changes and changes to the physical environment that were easily attributable to NPQ, LMC and the government. The difference between Chuuk State and Port Adelaide to some extent seems to lie in the ability to identify an antagonist responsible for the physical changes that drive social adaptation, and therefore the way in which the community responds.

In Port Adelaide the 'new sense of community' was not in itself negative. For many it was a positive social movement through which they found support during difficult times, and which demonstrated their shared opposition to particular aspects of the changes to the Port. Bearing in mind the sense of helplessness and social dislocation experienced by those associated with the Jenkins Street yards, it is difficult to see this renewal of community as evidence of new heritage value. Furthermore, of the two, the social value associated with the operational boatyards was more desirable to members of PoANT and boatyard owners than the renewal of community formed in response to changes to place. It may be that any change to place will be generative of changing social identities and networks, and the difference in interpretation between Chuuk State and Port Adelaide raises questions about how we might measure and compare values associated with a new sense of community compared to the values that have been lost. This is a question of particular importance given that, while loss is rarely acknowledged as a mechanism through which value is constructed, most valuing in CHM occurs in the context of imminent loss.

Financial value, heritage and place

For many residents' groups and local businesses the importance of the aesthetic and historical values of the boat-building yards and sailing club were as future sources of financial value for residents and business owners. This belief was based on the fact that high-rise development and vacant land was not what tourists came to Port Adelaide to

see. The local community had attachment to the landscape, but they also believed that the places they cared for were the places that others would care for too, and therefore enjoy visiting. The reason that the development was seen to be a threat to the long-term economic development of the Port was because it was unsympathetic to heritage character and would damage the place-based brand of the Port, which was constructed around maritime heritage. Residents and business owners therefore linked both aesthetic and historical value to long-term financial value gained from tourism, contrasting this with short-term profit and taxes to be gained by NPQ and the government.

Although financial value was a very real consideration for many groups in Port Adelaide, it is unable to be incorporated into assessments guided by the *Burra Charter* or other similar frameworks. Arguments in favour of maintaining a separation of cultural significance and financial value rest on the reality that financial value dominates decision making within western capitalist societies (Carman 2009:56; Gestrich 2011). They also rely on an assertion that privileging financial value represents a threat to the preservation of cultural heritage and that removing it from assessments means that cultural significance can be properly assessed independently of financial motivations.

In Port Adelaide the insistence of many stakeholders on identifying financial value as the justification for pursuing a particular vision for Port Adelaide's future, with flow on effects for heritage preservation, suggests that exclusion of financial value from heritage frameworks may have little influence on decision making. Explicitly identifying that heritage has a financial component, and incorporating economic approaches into CHM during development planning, is therefore unlikely to undermine further the arguments for heritage preservation and may actually bolster them. Similar arguments have been made elsewhere in the literature (see also Mason 1999, 2008; Moshenska and Burtenshaw 2009, 2011 for similar arguments); however, they have been made primarily by heritage

professionals responding to changes in government approaches to funding the cultural sector. In Port Adelaide the insistence of the local community that the financial value of heritage needs to be considered presents a slightly different basis for incorporation of economic approaches in CHM.

Class, identity and heritage

The *Burra Charter* is one lens through which this thesis analyses debates about cultural heritage in Port Adelaide; class provides an alternative and complimentary perspective from which to examine these heritage discourses and practices. This section therefore considers the effect of class on CHM, engaging with current debates about the participation of working-class people in cultural heritage activities, the impact of middle-class consumption on working-class heritage, the role of moralising discourses in debates over cultural heritage and the effects of working-class heritage on cultural hierarchies.

Class and heritage participation

The participation of working-class people in cultural heritage has been an area of considerable interest in heritage studies research, partly because an apparent lack of working-class participation reflects negatively on heritage practices that are supposed to provide a public good (Merriman 1991). Most often the studies that have actively tried to measure or provide evidence of working-class participation in heritage do so within the context of discrete heritage projects or environments (e.g. Merriman 1991; Waterton 2011; Watson 2011). Less common is the recognition that heritage exists in more diverse cultural expressions and performances, which are not associated with heritage institutions such as museums, national trusts, government or international heritage agencies (but see Smith 2006; Smith and Campbell 2011). The analysis also identified that in Port Adelaide

working-class people were participating in heritage activities that fell within each of these broad categories.

Although it was not measured quantitatively in this study, working-class participation in explicitly defined activities, especially the PoANT committee that worked collaboratively with middle-class people from the same locality, was evident. Events supported by PoANT also attracted audiences with mixed-class backgrounds. In the context of the Port Adelaide waterfront development there was enough common ground between middle-class and working-class people to collaborate in ways that contested the NPQ's and government's visions of the Port's future, setting aside their differences. This setting, however, is quite different to registered or officially supported heritage, where a common enemy in the form of capitalist developers rarely exists and more nuanced differences between working-class and middle-class expectations may be more likely to become points of friction. At sites of official heritage, where class-based hierarchies favour middle-class control over the production and consumption of heritage, working-class participation and control may be more of an issue.

One of the most obvious examples of heritage as performance in Port Adelaide was the re-enactment of the bull pick up and Maritime Union of Australia march through the streets of Port Adelaide, which was an explicitly working-class performance by working-class people for a largely working-class, union audience. Working-class participation in everyday heritage activities also occurred in more subtle ways at Jenkins Street, where shipwrights and other tradespeople expressed the importance of activities and their connection to place and community. The dynamics of Jenkins Street are perhaps best viewed as a combination of working-class and middle-class people interacting around sites of labour. Similarly, the importance of place names was based in their history and connection to a working-class past, even though expressed by a mixture of people, some

of whom represented the historical society, while others were making statements as individuals. Specifically, it was the continuation and renewal of that working-class past in the present through the (re)naming of place that was under threat. The suburb names of Glanville, Birkenhead, Exeter and Peterhead were a simple, everyday expression of class that usually occurred implicitly, but, when under threat from the middle-class 'Newport', their working-class associations and their importance to residents were made explicit.

Post-industrial communities and working-class heritage

In Port Adelaide 'community' was visible in heritage activities undertaken in response to the development. Here, long-term residents, both working and middle class, together with residents who had moved to the Port more recently because of its 'character' and 'potential', joined to create a celebration of the Port's culture. By protesting against the development these residents were in a way perpetuating a tradition of collective action and the symbolism of these events, which was made all the more potent by the location of performances at places which had long standing connections to working-class identity and culture, such as the Waterside Workers Hall and Poverty Corner.

To some extent, community in Port Adelaide had probably already come to be defined by a plurality of working-class and middle-class culture brought together through slow gentrification. In the face of accelerated development, however, residents in the Port gained a heightened sense of community, often expressed as attachment to place, and initiated new modes of social organisation manifesting in PoANT and other residents' groups. This process was similar to that described by Smith and Campbell (2011) in Castleford, where heritage had become an organising principle for residents, whose social bonds were radically altered in the wake of post-industrialisation. In Port Adelaide, heritage provided a setting for working-class people to renew social bonds and values,

but it also provided a platform through which people of different class backgrounds, but with a similar commitment to the Port's cultural heritage, came together.

Gentrification, heritage and class

Gentrification is about the creation of surplus value through increasing property values driven by social and cultural change, often of former industrial or commercial districts that have been in decline. One of the features of gentrifying areas is a tendency for heritage character to feature in the production of a new place-based identity (Gadsby and Chidester 2011; Morell 2011). In Hampden and Es Barri, for example, working-class culture was deliberately rendered 'past' within heritage discourses in order to make the neighbourhoods more appealing to middle-class consumers (Gadsby and Chidester 2011; Morell 2011). Importantly, heritage was still present for the middle class to consume in the form of old houses, but was rendered 'classless'—without specific connotations to particular groups, movements or ideals from the past.

In Port Adelaide, however, NPQ represented an altogether different approach to gentrification, where the aim was not to capitalise on Port Adelaide's heritage, or the contemporary version of it, but instead to capitalise on the Port becoming something altogether trendier, more modern and 'slick'. Both the slow and fast forms of gentrification aimed to alter the Port and develop a new identity for it. The slow gentrification aimed to create a cultural renaissance which celebrated the maritime craft-based past in the present. The rapid gentrification aimed to capitalise on emerging arts and crafts culture through speculative development, but in so doing threatened radically to reconfigure the area, both physically and socially. The NPQ development appeared to have little room for working-class culture, actively distancing itself from both the working-class community and its history, whereas proponents of slow gentrification became allied to the working-class community in response to the NPQ development.

This was possible because slow gentrification occurs through a gradual changing of culture and demographics rather than rapid overwhelming transformation, and therefore allows working-class culture to continue in visible ways in the gaps between new middle-class spaces. But, because slow gentrification also changes place in a way that eventually marginalises working-class culture, it is unclear if the long-term outcome is a better one for working-class residents or not (see for example contributions to Bridge *et al.* 2012). It may mean that they can participate in the new cultural economy but may also mean that they are still marginalised.

Moralising of working-class culture and authenticity

NPQ attempted discursively to render the Port's working-class identity as 'past', but did not moralise working-class culture in order to undermine claims for its heritage value. Other related discourses, however, were moralised. An especially clear example of this was the Transport Minister's response to the community's claims about the heritage value of the Jenkins Street yards, in which he intimated that they had invented the values for the purpose of saving the yards. While the Minister could have chosen to say that the boatyards did not meet a threshold for the government's criteria, his choice of phrasing indicates dismissal based on an accusation of false claims without proper evidence. Accusing the community of making false claims is a discursive attempt to undermine both their moral worth and the credibility of their claims. The authenticity of the skills of the boat builders were also questioned by the LMC CEO, who less directly questioned the claims of the residents to the heritage values, suggesting instead that they did not fit within the tradition of wooden boat building and therefore the values were constructed from imagination rather than historical traditions.

This form of moralising is slightly different to that identified around class in the past, where working-class cultural forms, particularly conspicuous consumption, have been

moralised to maintain middle-class hierarchical ascendancy (Pini *et al.* 2012; Pini and Previte 2013). While moralising of heritage arguments in Port Adelaide still revolved around the expression of working-class culture, and may have had flow on effects for the production of hierarchies by promoting working-class culture as valuable and unique through heritage protection, the moral basis for the questioning is different. Rather than tastes and patterns of consumption, assertions to heritage value are questioned on the basis that there is some essential, authentic cultural heritage that is derived from a true past. It is the claim to represent this 'truth' that lends statements of cultural significance their authenticity. Intangible heritage claims and counter claims are especially problematic to the well-rehearsed method for assigning authenticity within heritage practice because culture is far from static. Nevertheless, despite inevitable cultural change, the concept of authenticity requires that a point in time is selected as representing the true and authentic intangible cultural heritage.

Similar questioning occurs in relation to Indigenous heritage, where authenticity and tradition can be questioned and, because western society is based on an understanding that fabrication is wrong, the ethical and moral basis of the claims (and therefore the claimants) are brought into question. This discursive strategy also relies on the understanding that there is a 'true' authenticity to heritage that can be identified by, among others, experts. Much of the debate in Indigenous heritage has centred on who has the right or authority to determine what is true or authentic Indigenous culture. As will be discussed further below, the views of the Transport Minister and the LMC CEO were not supported by heritage experts; however, through the use of concepts like authenticity and tradition, the discourse produced by the Minister and CEO appear to align with a long tradition of heritage expertise.

Moralising discourses were also produced by locals who sought to situate the behaviour of the government and developer as unethical for not following proper heritage procedures (i.e. *Burra Charter* assessments). The government was seen to be changing the rules of how CHM worked in order to prioritise the pursuit of short-term profit at the expense of existing and future cultural industries on which local businesses relied. Furthermore, arguments were made that the government aimed to ensure the broader population of South Australia would not realise the value of the cultural heritage of the Jenkins Street boatyards prior to its removal. By questioning the government's processes and motivations, residents and local businesses alike suggested that the government was engaging in unethical practices. These discourses aimed to undermine the government's authority to make decisions about the Port's future.

A slightly different moralising discourse was produced by transport and farming peak bodies, which did not seek to moralise working-class claims to heritage, but campaigned for a particular bridge design for financial reasons. Although not part of NPQ, the bridges were constructed at the same time, and residents argued that the first bridge designs, which were closed or fixed bridges, would restrict river traffic and impact negatively on the maritime aesthetic of the inner harbour. Meanwhile, the peak bodies argued against opening bridges, the residents' preferred option, on the basis of cost. The arguments posed by the peak bodies were based within the concept of utilitarianism, an ethical position requiring decisions to be made for the greater good (Mill 1871), as applied within neoliberal economics. Little evidence was provided by transport and farming groups to back up their claims that it was in the interests of the majority of South Australians to build the cheapest bridge possible. The position articulated by these peak bodies did not question heritage status on the grounds of authenticity, tradition or truth—instead it was one based more fully on financial value.

Each of these discursive positions sought to use ethics to delegitimise the claims of other stakeholders and, although they differ from discourses based on taste, to a certain extent they are produced within classed positions. This is most evident if their relationship to the production of surplus value is considered, where working-class and middle-class residents argued for the protection of aspects of the Port's tangible and intangible heritage so that it could form the basis for continued growth in tourist visitation and small business trade. In contrast, the transport and farming peak bodies argued for a different vision based on their financial priorities, while NPQ and the government in turn also had their own priorities. Underlying these various perspectives on authenticity and heritage value was a dispute about how surplus value through gentrification of the Port's development should be created and distributed.

Distinction and taste as a criticism of modern development

One of the key discourses that arose in opposition to the fast gentrification project of NPQ, and that was promoted by heritage groups and residents' organisations alike, questioned the NPQ development on the basis of taste. These discourses were middle and working class in origin and vilified a capitalist project that aimed to appeal to outside, middle-class people. The reasons underlying these criticisms were based within two broad 'tastes'. One was derived from attachment, shared by working-class and middle-class residents, to places and social networks within the Port that would be disrupted by rapid gentrification. The other was a desire among residents and local businesses to maintain or modify culture for consumption as heritage in a way that did not undermine its perceived uniqueness and authenticity—two things that they believed were important for heritage places and the Port more broadly in order to appeal to tourists and investors.

Residents' groups were correct in their assertion that visitors, mainly tourists, would view development negatively. The majority of people interviewed during the Port Festival

expressed a dislike for the form of the buildings and their effect on the aesthetic of the inner harbour. For many, the development represented the excesses of capitalism that resulted in mass-produced goods of low quality and little distinction—this can be contrasted with heritage, which was viewed as unique and authentic and therefore desirable to consume (see also Ireland and Lydon 2005 for a similar, although not entirely congruant argument about the 'singularity' of heritage).

The fact that the appeal of the NPQ development, which was marketed at a middle-class audience, was questioned by so many people also raises questions about the extent to which speculative developments are actually what middle-class people want to consume or whether they are instead a result of power shaping culture (see Hall *et al.* 2003:167–189 for a discussion of power and cultural production). The apparent dislike of a range of stakeholders for the NPQ development suggests that capitalism was shaping the culture on offer rather than consumers' tastes, although the two are to some extent linked. Rejection of the cultural forms on offer (i.e. monolithic modern high-rise) represented a rejection of the operation of power and particularly the production of hierarchies which rely on certain groups controlling, among other things, surplus value, and the ability to make statements about the relative value of different cultural forms.

Cultural heritage as a threat to hierarchical ascendancy

In Port Adelaide, working-class and middle-class claims to heritage status therefore constituted a threat to the operation of capitalist hierarchy. By asserting the heritage status of the Jenkins Street boatyards and inner harbour, the middle-class and working-class residents sought to set these places and activities aside as something valuable, but most importantly, by making them 'heritage', these places were positioned outside of an unrestricted property market and thereby constituted a threat to the ability of government and developers to generate capital. Working-class heritage in this context

therefore disrupts the operation of the hierarchy which is structured to allow capitalists to generate large amounts of profit from middle-class consumption of waterfront property.

Keeping working-class culture as heritage enables members of the working and middle classes to achieve cultural and financial outcomes that they might not otherwise be able to. And although the consumption of heritage is dominated by the middle class, by making working-class culture 'heritage' and restricting the ability of developers to create a product in an easily measurable and rationalised manner, the power of developers (i.e. capitalists), is restricted. Given the tendency to 'sanitise' representations of the working class (Dicks 2008; Gadsby and Chidester 2011; Morell 2011), however, the resulting heritage may represent the values and beliefs of the middle class rather than the working class. Experiences in Port Adelaide therefore to some extent contradict Nilson's (2011) argument that the identity politics of class, aimed at recognising working-class culture, is counterproductive to the politics of class, which has as its aim the overthrow of class relations, or at least modification of the ability of capitalists to exploit the working class. Instead this research suggests that working class identity politics, expressed as place based cultural heritage, is actually part of the politics of class, but it is not a particularly radical part.

Governmentality and the authorised heritage discourse

An examination of power along purely class lines does not allow for detailed consideration of the power relations that exist within CHM, and particularly the role of expert knowledge within these processes. A concern with the role of experts in CHM is widespread and has been approached by several scholars using Foucault's (1991) theory of governmentality, which describes a process whereby expert knowledge is used by governments to make populations governable. This section applies governmentality to an

examination of CHM in Port Adelaide, but does so with an awareness of the importance of the material reality of heritage practice (i.e. the need for resources). The discussion considers what beliefs and attitudes stakeholders expressed in regard to Port Adelaide's cultural heritage, what role legislation played in shaping the actions of stakeholders, how control of resources influenced heritage outcomes and how professional and non-professional heritage experts responded to the operation of governmentality.

Heritage professional and community beliefs about the Port's heritage

The attitudes and beliefs of individuals and groups toward Port Adelaide's redevelopment were evident in the multiple discourses analysed in this thesis. The identified groups consisted of residents, business owners, visitors (i.e. tourists), NPQ, heritage professionals and the State Government. Broadly, the analysis found that NPQ and the State Government believed that the financial value to be gained from rapid development was more important than the heritage values that residents and local business people believed existed in Port Adelaide. There were some variations to the way in which this was expressed in discourse, from explicitly questioning the validity of the residents' claims to heritage value, to more subtle discourses that promoted the importance and value of the changes being wrought by NPQ. A question of central importance to heritage research, is to what extent heritage professionals disagreed with, or disputed, the community's claims to heritage value.

In regard to the Jenkins Street boatyards the minutes of the Heritage Council meeting suggested that there was some disagreement amongst council members, as well as members of the Heritage Register Committee, about the possible or likely value of the Jenkins Street boatyards. This disagreement may derive from the range of professions represented on the Heritage Council, or alternatively it may have been caused by confusion arising from the limits placed on the terms of the assessment, discussed

further below. It was clear that the DEH heritage officers responsible for the assessment of the boatyards identified that, if the businesses and the activities that they carried out were allowed to remain at Jenkins Street, then the sheds and slipways would have heritage significance as defined by the South Australian *Heritage Act*. In this example it was quite clear that at least some of the heritage professionals agreed with the community's assertions that the yards had heritage value.

Similarly, in regard to the Captured on Canvas exhibition, both of the SAMM staff interviewed were sympathetic to the beliefs of the local community in the value of the boatyards. It is unclear from the analysis what the History SA employees views were, and they may also have felt that the yards had some heritage value. The museum staff certainly agreed with the purpose of the exhibition, which was to highlight the value of the boatyards and their plight, although they disagreed on what was the best exhibition content for doing this.

Lastly, the practices of the archaeologists involved with the Jenkins Street boatyards were also shaped by an awareness of the cultural significance associated with the Jenkins Street area, and especially the social significance and its change from attachment to loss. The archaeologists were willing to forgo excavation of a site that was potentially threatened by development if it was not possible to include the community. This decision was based on an understanding of the desire amongst members of the community to revisit the Jenkins Street area following demolition of the sheds.

In each of these examples of CHM practice in Port Adelaide it appears that there may have been some disagreement between heritage professionals about the value of the Jenkins Street boatyards. Broadly, however, it appears that heritage professionals were aware of community beliefs, to a large extent shared them, and actively worked to promote them and support community initiatives.

Legislative regimes, permitting and control of experts

Smith (2004) found that expert knowledge was deployed to settle disputes over cultural heritage and, where expert views differed from those of communities, it was the experts who were supported by legislation. Analysis of heritage processes associated with the nomination of the Jenkins Street boatyards revealed a different picture regarding the position of heritage knowledge and the role of legislation in settling disputes over cultural heritage. In the Jenkins Street case, the assessment of heritage value by heritage officers from DEH and the Heritage Council was limited by the government's use of intersecting 'technologies' or expert knowledges, consisting of heritage law and property law.

The analysis revealed that property law was used to marginalise expert heritage knowledge by constraining the terms of the heritage assessment to consider only the shed structures remaining *after* eviction and not the activities or portable material culture present at Jenkins Street when the assessment was undertaken. Property law, which sits outside of the sphere of heritage expertise, was therefore used to shape heritage practice. Its position outside of the expert knowledge of heritage officers contributed to its effectiveness, because the heritage officers had no expertise in property law and therefore no authority to question the grounds of the eviction. The Heritage Branch assessment of the Jenkins Street boatyards, therefore, was not a question of heritage expertise and legislation being deployed to limit the control of non-professionals to cultural heritage, rather the practice of heritage professionals was constrained by the strategic use of the expertise of another discipline to shape the actions of heritage experts from a distance (i.e. implicitly).

In the case of the archaeology project the interaction of archaeologists with members of the community was shaped by a combination of awareness about community interests in the site, as well as a group of discourses that arose from interactions between the

archaeologists and LMC staff. These discourses were diverse and included speech during meetings, together with emails and permits. In a similar way to the assessment of heritage value, the LMC did not explicitly instruct the archaeologists to behave in particular ways, but the archaeologists were aware that there was potential for access to the site to cease and were wary of breaking the terms of the land-use permits and jeopardising any future community archaeology project. Although the nature of the expertise used to draft the land-use permit was unclear, it certainly was not that of heritage experts. A lack of disciplinary knowledge regarding the rights of land owners to constrain the use of photographs, together with a broad appreciation of the politicisation of the demolition of buildings at Jenkins Street, led the archaeologists to behave in ways that alienated some members of the community, despite the archaeologists' awareness of, sympathy for, and broad agreement with, the views expressed by residents and local business owners.

Power, resources and the materiality of professional heritage practice

In addition to the effect of permits and other discourse, the actions of the archaeologists were also shaped by their desire to secure not only approval for community access, but also LMC funding of future projects. This contributed to their overall cautiousness during their interactions with LMC staff. It is important to note, that other funding opportunities were available and the archaeologists' decision repeatedly to request funding for community excavations was based on their expectation that community archaeology would benefit the LMC. The archaeologists therefore believed that the LMC should make a contribution to any community archaeology that occurred at Jenkins Street.

The practices of the SAMM staff were similarly constrained by their access to resources and their desire to gain funding for museum projects from the LMC. Museum Employee 2 explicitly described the intention of the museum to secure funding and how this

underlaid the desire of the History SA Employee to edit the exhibition text to remove its more explicit criticisms of the NPQ development. The museum engaged in self-censorship so that it would not appear critical of the LMC, and by extension the government, thereby alienating itself to the point where funding was withheld. It is important to note that there was a level of dissention within the museum, and that the attitudes of heritage professionals were not uniform; the internal hierarchy of the museum also meant that some of those in lower positions felt disenfranchised and unable to question the censorship.

Foucault's theory of governmentailty, and Laurajane Smith's application of it to archaeology and heritage, emphasise the role of expert knowledges in shaping behaviours from afar. In Port Adelaide the control of funding for cultural activities by the LMC also played a role. Here, materiality and the dependence on resources controlled by others (in this case LMC) add another element to Smith's arguments. LMC control over resources is linked to self-censorship by heritage professionals eager to secure funding, a situation politically beneficial to the LMC, which occurred without direct and explicit instructions. Although control over resources and its implied links to capitalism and its role in structuring society and behaviours is often absent from studies of governmentality, the example of Port Adelaide suggests that capitalism shapes heritage practice both structurally (implicitly) and explicitly. But it does so in a way that retains the fundamental characteristics of governmentality, facilitating government from afar and shaping people's actions through implicit means.

Responses to governmentality

Despite PoANT members' and museum heritage professionals' awareness of the censorship of exhibition content, they both continued with the collaborative process. PoANT's reaction was still largely positive, although they did resent the intervention of

the History SA Employee. This commitment to the exhibition hints that PoANT believed there was some benefit in persisting, most likely relating to the better levels of resourcing SAMM possessed, together with its ability to reach a broader audience. The persistence of PoANT, and the benefits it gained despite governmentality, seem at odds with the suggestion of Palus *et al.* (2006), that removing heritage practice from governmentalised spaces is the best way to ensure that heritage practice uncovers social injustices. Perhaps when critical research is being driven by broader social issues relating to race or class, as was the case with Palus *et al.'s* (2006) research, it may be possible to relocate practices to places where governmentality has less of a hold. Where, however, the focus of critical practice is intimately related to expressions of attachment to place, relocating is less likely to be possible.

For PoANT, engaging in the governmentalised process through the SAMM exhibition still allowed it to access a space that is a successful tourist destination and gave it contact with a different audience. The message communicated through the exhibition was softened, but still provided an important opportunity to communicate about the heritage value of the boatyards. Collaborative practice was empowering in this instance, despite control, but the limiting of agency also led to feelings of anger and resentment. What it also highlights for heritage professionals engaging with communities is the potential for on-the-ground close consultation—the recommended approach in much of the literature (Little and Shackel 2007; Pyburn 2009; Shackel and Chambers 2004; Stottman 2010)—to fail because of the operation of institutional hierarchies shaping behaviours and outcomes from outside the collaborative sphere. Community-based approaches therefore need to be aware of, and bolster themselves against, this type of external control.

In the case of the archaeological excavation it is less clear if it was better to engage in the process of the excavation without the community or not. The intended purpose of the

archaeology was to enable people to reconnect in a positive way with the Jenkins Street boatyards. It may have been possible for the archaeologists to revisit the Jenkins Street site without the community, as they did elsewhere in the development area; however, this would have limited community involvement to off-site activities, such as find processing or public talks. This may have resulted in some positive heritage outcomes, but not the one that was fundamental for many residents—being able to revisit the sites of the former sheds.

To Palus *et al.* (2006) the critical work of their archaeology was around race and unpacking the injustices of the past to shed light on the existence of the legacy of these injustices in the present. In Port Adelaide, it was attachment to place which drove heritage practice. For PoANT and those concerned with protecting the boatyards, it was not possible to shift to a new site outside of governmentality, the contrast between Annapolis and Port Adelaide points to the way that power shapes the spaces where critical voices are allowed to exist. CHM by its very nature is a governmentalised space, but the differences in the issues faced by Palus *et al.* (2006) and the archaeologists in Port Adelaide arose from the threat that place-based heritage practice poses to capital accumulation. Governmentality goes some way to explaining power; however, it is not possible to arrive at an understanding of power in CHM that ignores the role that capitalism plays in shaping practices.

Limitations and future directions

This research has identified the complex ways that heritage practice was shaped in Port Adelaide during the waterfront development. Recognising that Heritage Branch assessments of cultural heritage significance are susceptible to influence from other branches of government is an important observation, and the means by which it did this—drawing on non-heritage expert knowledge—is particularly important. The

influence of 'other' expert knowledges on heritage assessment has not been identified elsewhere and highlights the need for more critical evaluation of when and how heritage values are compared to, and contrasted with, other competing values. While the principle that cultural heritage assessments should occur prior to making decisions about the future of places is not a new one, clearly there is potential within the current South Australian system for development decisions to be made prior to heritage assessments, potentially affecting their outcomes. Given that the South Australian legislative framework is not especially unique, it is highly likely that the broader social, financial and political context influences the deployment of expert knowledge within similar frameworks elsewhere.

Comparison of CHM processes between different states or countries may provide greater insights into when and how governments and developers are able to circumvent heritage frameworks and knowledges. Further examination of the operation of hierarchies within government heritage agencies is also likely to provide additional insights into the way in which heritage knowledge is shaped by political and economic pressures. The linking of the financial necessities of professional heritage practice and government control of those practices to the detriment of cultural significance assessment and community engagement is particularly concerning. Where place is the central issue of heritage practice, existing solutions to governmentality, such as relocating practice, is unlikely to be possible.

Importantly, while heritage practice was constrained, arts performance in Port Adelaide was not constrained in the same way, successfully engaging in practice that questioned the basis for changes to the Port, although it did not alter the final outcome. While it may be possible to argue that heritage practice, and by extension the funding for it, must be free from political control in a similar way to arts funding, this is likely to be met with

strong resistance because place-based CHM limits the accumulation of resources by capitalists and the reproduction of cultural hierarchies; therefore, governments and capitalists—those with the greatest power over resources—will resist critique from heritage practices if they threaten their ability to accumulate capital.

In addition to the threat of place-based heritage to the production of cultural hierarchies, this thesis has also identified that people from both working-class and middle-class backgrounds engaged with Port Adelaide's heritage through a combination of clearly demarcated heritage organisations and activities (e.g. PoANT), as well as more everyday interactions with place (i.e. the assignation of place names and the maintenance of social significance). While this finding does bring into question assertions that middle-class values and attitudes shape changes to post-industrial places, this study's use of participant observation, combined with 'mean income by postcode area' to assign a proxy for class, limits the comparability of these findings to other research using more fine-grained measures of class (e.g. personal income, level of education, type of work).

If median income is accepted as the proxy for class, then the analysis presented here suggests that agreement with negative discourses about Port Adelaide's working-class culture, and the tendency of people to repeat, and contribute to the continuation of, these discourses may not necessarily be related to their own class position, but to levels of place familiarity. If, as this research suggests, class is less important to people's attitudes toward place than place familiarity, then place-making strategies, of which CHM is just one, may benefit from approaches that encourage familiarisation with place, rather than approaches that seek to reconfigure place radically based on longstanding discourses of 'otherness'. Further research addressing whether class or place familiarity is the key to determining people's attitudes toward change is therefore likely to be beneficial for

heritage practice and strengthen arguments for the preservation of working-class cultural heritage.

Identifying the relative importance of place familiarity compared to class when forming attitudes toward places and the residents and workers who frequent them, also raises important questions for archaeologies of class. In the past these studies have emphasised 19th century middle-class ideas of gentility and respectability, applying household-level analysis to explore whether working-class people chose to live according to these dominant ideas. There is little doubt that gentility and respectability were important aspects of moralising about working-class culture and promoted various forms of conspicuous consumption (as their 21st century equivalents also do); however, the importance of place familiarity and community, as opposed to class, in the formation of identities suggests that shifting the theoretical frame from class to community (see for example Canuto and Yaeger 2000; Cusick 1995; Gerritsen 2006; Knapp 2003; Kolb and Snead 1997; Murphy 2010) may provide useful insights into the role of material culture in the formation of 19th century identities.

Lastly, this thesis found that, generally, heritage frameworks should allow for effective identification of most values associated with heritage. Financial value, however, while a focus of much of the discourse about Port Adelaide, was unable to be considered. A strong case is made for the incorporation of economic methods into cultural heritage frameworks. This is not a rehashing of the old argument within heritage literature that economic methods are useful in decision making around registered places (Bedate *et al.* 2004; Cuccia and Cellini 2007; Kinghorn and Willis 2008; Maddison and Mourato 2001; Ruijgrok 2006; Salazar and Marques 2005), especially in regard to understanding the value of tourism. Instead, this research argues that the use of economic methods within contexts that have so far received limited consideration—CHM and development

planning within urban environments—is crucial. This research therefore raises questions about which of the existing approaches to cultural economics (see for examples Bedate *et al.* 2004; Cuccia and Cellini 2007; Kinghorn and Willis 2008; Maddison and Mourato 2001; Ruijgrok 2006; Salazar and Marques 2005) has the most potential within these contexts and how might we evaluate their performance in concrete examples.

Conclusion

This research has identified numerous constraints to the practice of non-Indigenous CHM in South Australia. Ultimately these constraints led to incomplete and erroneous assessments of cultural heritage significance and the undermining of community engagement through heritage practice. In contrast to previous research, the application of professional heritage expertise did not feature as a significant constraint. Instead, the failure of CHM in Port Adelaide was brought about through the use of alternative expert knowledges that constrained heritage expertise. These privileged capitalist accumulation of surplus value over the values of residents of, and visitors to, Port Adelaide.

Postscript

Between 2002 and 2011 the South Australian Government and NPQ wrought significant changes to the tangible and intangible culture of Port Adelaide. Ultimately, however, the development failed after two of an anticipated eight stages had been completed. This occurred because of numerous factors, including:

- The rejection of several development applications on the grounds that proposed building heights, view corridors, and public amenities did not meet the requirements of the Port Adelaide Development Plan (Andruchowycz 2008:1, 8)
- The global financial crisis (Williams 2011a:5) limiting consumer confidence and delaying sales of apartments

- The identification by the EPA of unacceptable levels of pollution from existing industries within one of the proposed development areas.

Needless to say, the presence of registered heritage places, of which there were two in the development area, did not have an appreciable impact on the development. In 2014 the Jenkins Street boatyard area is vacant and fenced by chain link fence (Figure 22); the archaeological deposits are intact and the community desire to return to the Jenkins Street site remains.

Figure 22 The location of the former Jenkins Street boatyards, 2014. Image the author.

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