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UNCANNY COMPOSURES IN THE CITY OF ADELAIDE

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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DECLARATION

This dissertation contains no material which has been submitted or accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in a university or other tertiary institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the dissertation contains no material previously published or written by any other person, except where due reference has been made in the text. I consent to this document being made available for loan and photocopying when deposited in the university library.

Michael J. Weir

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Abstract

This thesis examines the actions of ordinary people within a city landscape. Its major focus is on the politics of culture and meaning in cities. I argue that cities are 'cultural landscapes' constantly being constructed, disturbed and transformed by the everyday understandings, meanings and actions of people as much as by the visions, disciplines and products of planners and regulators. My focus on the politics of culture and meaning draws attention to the experiential and inculcated dimensions of action in cities that I characterise as manners and demeanours. My case studies are drawn from Adelaide, a city in South Australia planned and regulated since its inception in 1837.

My ethnography of power reveals how the complex of relations surrounding manners and demeanours is centred on bringing a concrete landscape into being. In this way the investigation demonstrates the 'unsettled' nature of an apparently 'settled' landscape and on-going transformations and contestations in it. I explore how manners and demeanours apply to ways of inscribing and imagining place. The manners and demeanours of people are shown to underpin an active and activated political process in which the growth of material representations naturalises particular "ways of seeing" (Berger 1972) and being. They shape the construction and placement of concrete forms within the city's landscape and the 'taken-for-grantedness' of that landscape. They obfuscate as well as clarify personal and collective psychic, social and cultural values and are accumulated with and without conscious thought.

I argue that struggles for power, authority and meaning in city landscapes such as Adelaide are never clarified or resolved. These struggles are often misrecognised, naturalised and concealed and remain in the shadows of consciousness. By contrast my analysis seeks to highlight the shadowy forms in which these struggles elude detection and the unsettled structures in which they are founded. In looking at the conjunction of demeanours of power and contestation such forms reveal the uncanny ways in which apparent contradictions can remain unresolved. The concept of 'the uncanny' is the gloss for the central dynamic of culture by which I account for the coexistence of orienting and disrupting dimensions of power made evident through the conflicting manners and demeanours of people in city space.

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Chapter One

Introduction

> Let us imagine that history is like a big city: immense, infinite. Different epochs pile up; various people live in it, cram into it; stones heap up, old streets and buildings persist through changes; some landmarks disappear, lost forever; new ones come up; the eternal and the ephemeral collapse one into the other, past and present are ineluctably intertwined. The great city can be grasped as the crow flies; we can see its monumental structure, large boulevards, big buildings. But one has to walk through the city, to concentrate on some areas, in order to grasp its most colourful details, its most lively aspects, its most secret corners which are nevertheless its distinctive traits (Lombardo 1994: 401).

Characteristics of an aesthetic terrain

This thesis examines the actions of ordinary people within a city 'landscape'[1]. Its major focus is on the politics of culture and meaning in cities. I argue that cities are 'cultural landscapes' constantly being constructed, disturbed and transformed by the everyday understandings, meanings and human actions of citizens as much as by the visions, disciplines and products of planners and regulators. My focus on the politics of culture and meaning draws attention to the experiential and inculcated dimensions of action in cities that I characterise as manners and demeanours. My case studies are drawn from Adelaide, a city in South Australia planned and regulated since its inception in 1837.

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[1] I examine the concept of 'landscape' in more detail in Chapter Two.

gloss for the central dynamic of culture by which I account for the coexistence of orienting and disrupting dimensions of power made evident through the conflicting manners and demeanours of people in city space.

I treat 'landscape' as one of a range of cultural practices that give meaning to everyday experience. My aim is to determine the way people reach understandings of their immediate vicinity; those with whom they share it; and how these understandings constitute the wider region they inhabit. For Gupta and Ferguson such a focus contrasts with natural tendencies to treat space, community and other concerns important to anthropological study in a taken for granted manner (1997a: 6; 1997b: 33). It also brings attention to "social and political processes of place-making conceived less as a matter of "ideas" than of embodied practices that shape identities and enable resistances" (Gupta & Ferguson 1997a: 6). Essentially I foreground movements through space/time as cultural practice and the political nature of everyday practices.

South Australia is the central southern mainland state of Australia. Its capital, Adelaide, is 729 kilometres by road from the next nearest Australian capital, Melbourne, and 3042 kilometres from the furthest, Darwin (Innes 1998: pamphlet). Sections of the southern half of the City of Adelaide[2], founding provincial capital of South Australia, feature in this thesis. The locus, South Adelaide, is at the heart of wider planning practices and is central to the enduring plan of South Australia (Figure 1).

The greater Adelaide region exhibits the subtle variations of local environmental and human factors that are drawn from physical conditions, such as topography, distance from the main centres of Australia's eastern sea-board, flora and fauna, climate, types of building material close at hand, and socio-economic factors, to name but a few. Its geographic isolation from other Australian capitals highlights an oasis-like character that is exacerbated by nearby desert regions to the north and an uninterrupted expanse of ocean that meets with the shores of Antarctica to the south. This isolation from those beyond Adelaide's boundaries strengthens the vestigial traces of its profound

[2] I use a capital 'C' for the City as an alternative to the full title 'City of Adelaide' throughout this thesis. A small 'c' is used when indicating the greater Adelaide region.

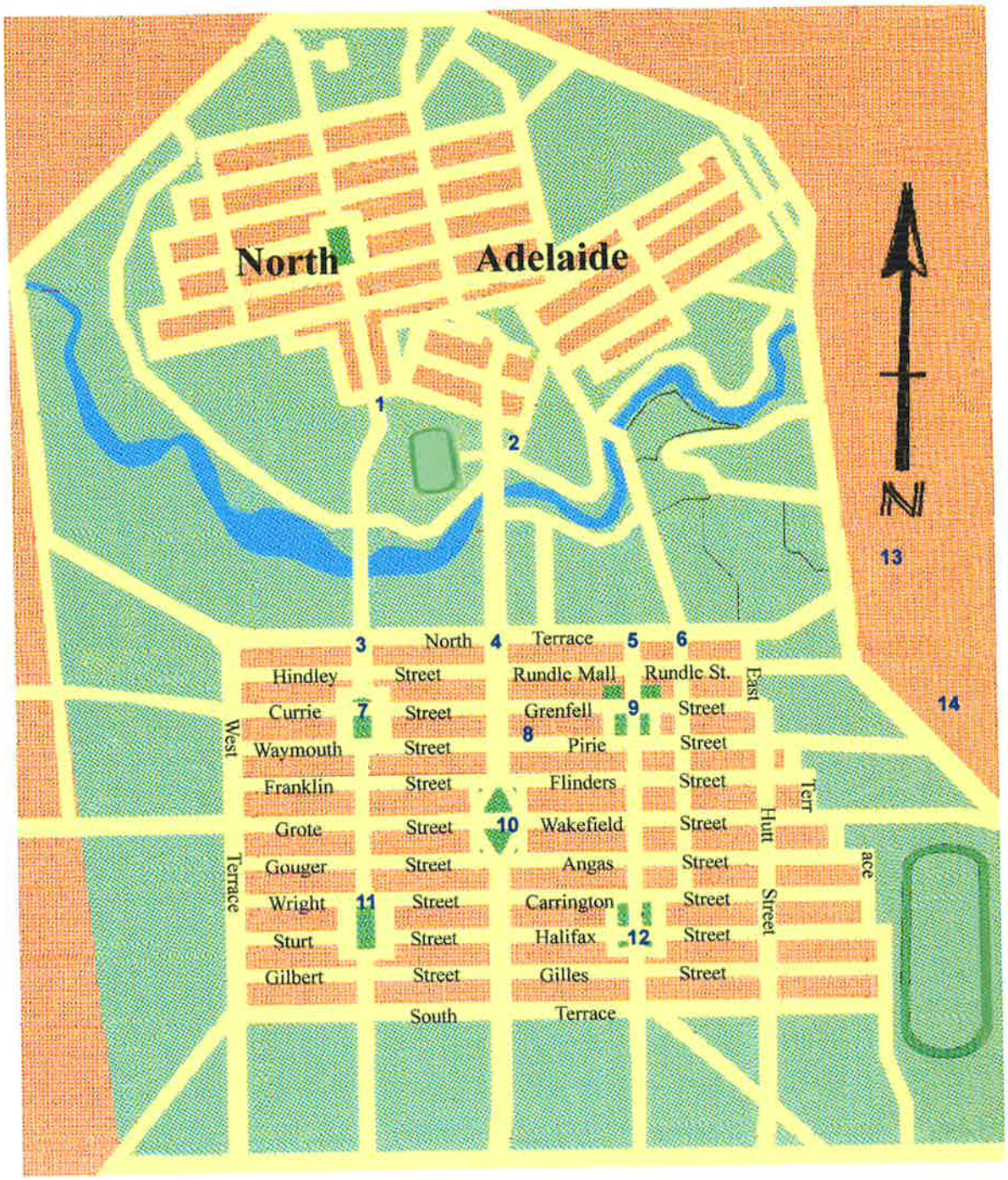


Figure 1: Contemporary map of the City of Adelaide (mainly South Adelaide), indicating:

(1) 'Light's Vision'
(2) Cross of Sacrifice
(3) Morphett Street
(4) King William Street
(5) Pulteney Street
(6) Frome Street
(7) Light Square
(8) Former Adelaide Exchange building
(9) Hindmarsh Square
(10) Victoria Square
(11) Whitmore Square
(12) Hurtle Square
(13) St Peter's College
(14) Prince Alfred College

Source: adapted from Gargett & Marsden (1996: 44).

imaginings. The fact that South Australia captures only a small percentage of tourists who visit Australia annually (Innes, *The Advertiser* 1993: 23) contributes, I argue, to the City's appearance as a cultural mirage on the horizons of national identity (see Appendix I).

The City of Adelaide is a 'planned city'. The differences between it and the suburbs of the greater Adelaide region rests on the City's fundamental relations with its original planner, Colonel William Light. The spatial outlines of European occupation introduced by Light's plan and survey for the capital in early 1837 have been maintained (Figure 2). Illumination of the City of Adelaide's contemporary features reveal that

> Adelaide is so much Colonel Light's creation that the labels which he gave, North Adelaide and South Adelaide, have been retained; they are still in use by the City Corporation - North Adelaide for that part of the city which lies north of the river Torrens, and South Adelaide for the other part which is usually called Adelaide (Morgan & Gilbert 1968: 2).

This thesis is mainly concerned with the more recent period in South Australia's history from the 1970s onwards but as I demonstrate the past is very much part of the present and future that is invested in Adelaide. Through a number of case studies I demonstrate that relations between demeanour and practice are fundamental to the people and the planning of the city landscape in question.

The City of Adelaide is divided by a man-made lake, 'The River Torrens', which forms a natural barrier between the City's north and south divisions (Plate 1). Wrapped around these divisions is a vast Parklands area around one kilometre deep which separates the City from the suburbs. Located in the southern section of the City is the Central Business District (CBD), governmental and cultural centres and major entertainment venues. This section, named 'South Adelaide' by Light, is in fact referred to by locals in everyday speech as 'Adelaide' (hereafter, Adelaide), or 'the City', when asked to demonstrate their understanding of Adelaide's spatial dimensions (see Figure 2). It is an alignment no doubt enhanced by the concentration of enterprise in the larger and more boisterous south section, when compared to the north, and its enclosure by mile-long, wide terraces that are oriented and named according to the cardinal points of the compass. Locals thus frequently refer to it as the 'square mile of Adelaide', or more

Appx N°

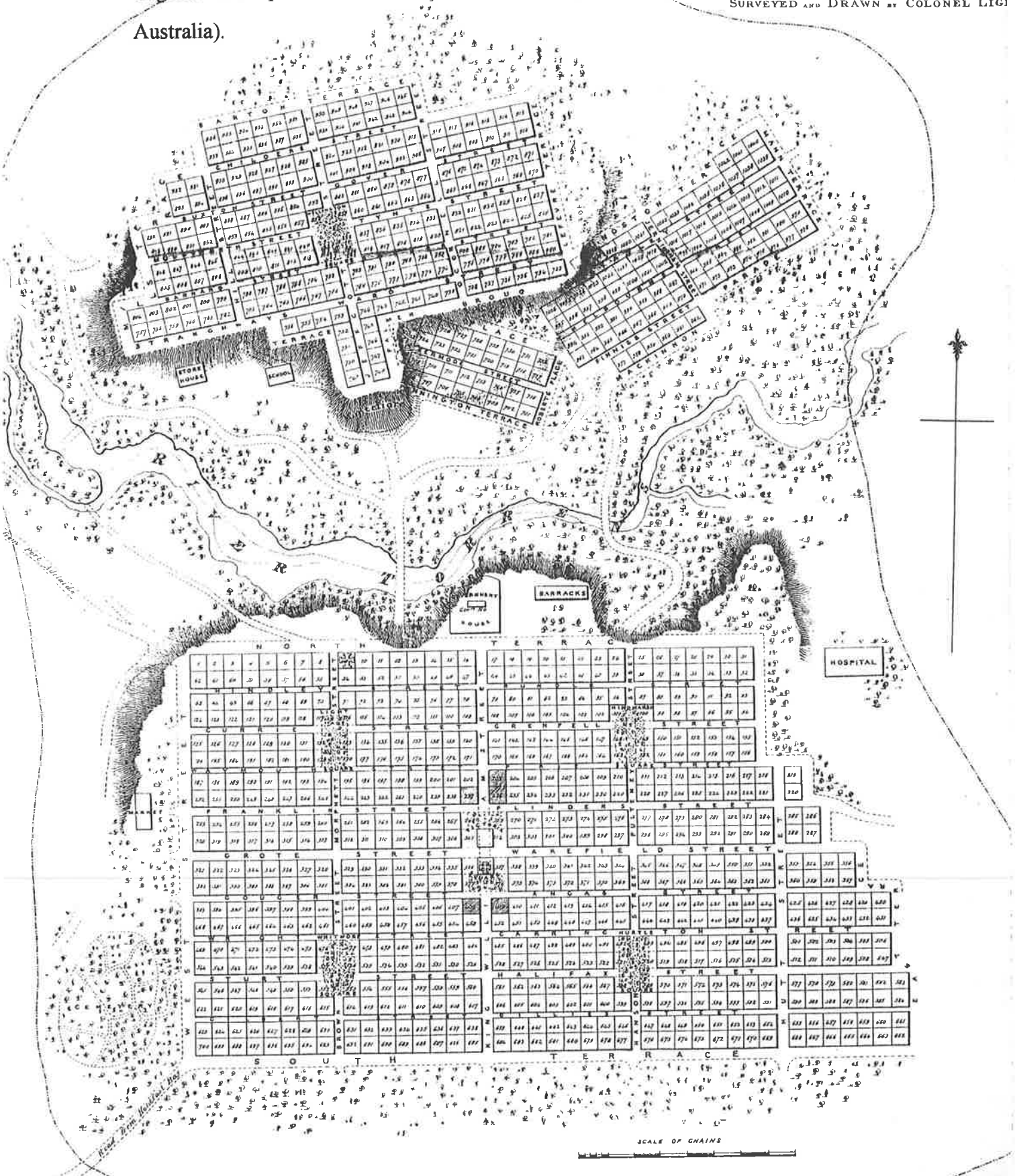
Plan of
THE CITY OF ADELAIDE,
IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

with the Acre Allotments numbered and a reference to the Names of the Original Purchasers
SEE THE ANNEXED LIST OF PURCHASERS

N.B. The 29 Town Acres selected at the Harbour are not given

SURVEYED AND DRAWN BY COLONEL LIGHT

Figure 2: Light's map of Adelaide (reproduced from the original with permission of the State Library of South Australia).



Ordered, by the House of Lords to be Printed

Plate 1: Section of the River Torrens in front of Elder Park and the Adelaide Festival Centre.

Photo: Helen Macilwain

simply 'the square mile', as a viable alternative for the name, South Adelaide. The northern section, always distinguished as 'North Adelaide', is more frequently thought of as something outside the City proper yet not in suburbia. North Adelaide is fundamentally residential and has been home to the wealthy and influential members of Adelaide's society from South Australia's earliest years. The residential base of South Adelaide, on the other hand, has been in decline for many years and a more mixed use has developed. North Adelaide has a slightly higher elevation that affords views over South Adelaide and towards the near-distant ranges (Plate 2).

I locate essential features of the City in areas referred to as 'Core' and 'Frame' in planning documents as these areas imperceptibly draw greatest public and private attention for various reasons. Within them exist relationships between surveillance, planning, built structures and human action that are constitutive of cities and city-life. These relationships are based on relations of power both evident and misrecognised by the populace. Yet relations of power are contested at all times. For example, differing modes of surveillance are employed to ensure an adherence to the precepts for which a particular building or space was constructed or appropriated. In this way human actions are subjected to close scrutiny within demarcated areas so that compliance with the requirements of property owners or other standards of 'propriety', usually pertaining to an affluent white society, are being met. Planning also helps preserve the protective gloss of propriety to which is attuned the ultimate realisations of 'development' and 'heritage'. However, compliance is, on many occasions, also deliberately or unconsciously subverted.

Whatever it is that captures citizens' imaginations, all are affected to some extent by the aesthetics of its buildings and open spaces and through them gain a sense of what the City means for them. But these mental states are only part of the social construction of identity which calls up "'urgent social contests involving ... concrete political issues' such as territory, violence, law and policy" (Said cited in Jacobs 1996: 13). For instance, blueprints and maps provide a concrete expression of relations of power in everyday practices. Both initiate and continue essential stages of planning process and

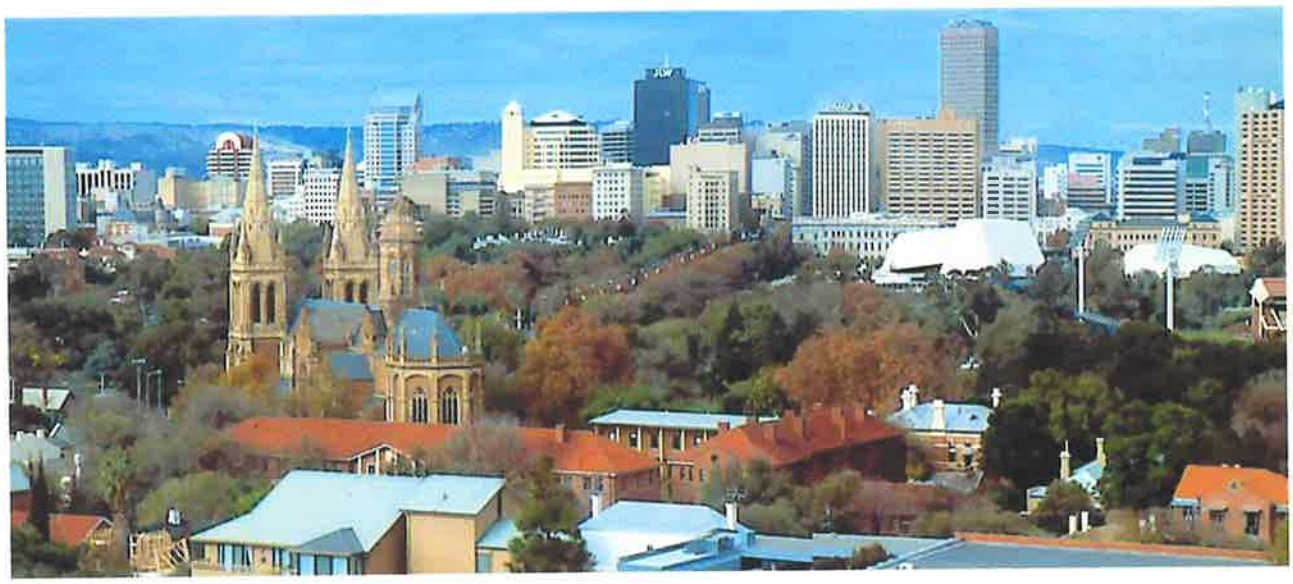


Plate 2: Panorama of the City of Adelaide looking south from North Adelaide. Significant features include St Peter's Cathedral in the middle foreground (left of picture), and the Adelaide Oval to the right of picture. A multi-storey building in the middle background (known as the 'black stump') is surrounded by buildings of the Central Business District (CBD), while the Adelaide Hills are in the distance.

Photo: Mark Bradley.

architectural construction. In this sense they are the products of a conceptual heterogeneity that in their final forms crystallise a playful set of imaginings and drawings. The solid forms that emerge from the void of the imagination are shaped by disciplinary processes and contested meanings.

Hannerz noted that the concept of culture is always contested (1996: 30). In similar vein Wagner asserted that culture is "but analogy based on (and subversive to) other analogies, not in a tension of rigid oppositions or categories, but a mobile range of transformations worked up a conventional core" (Wagner 1986: 7). Such definitions reflect an emphasis "on culture as meanings and meaningful forms which we shape and acquire in social life" (Hannerz 1996: 8). In assuming this emphasis I posit manners and demeanours as central to 'culture' and as furthering my focus on everyday practices. Manners and demeanours express particular instances of cultural acquisition and relations of power relevant to this study of Adelaide.

For Zukin "culture is ... a powerful means of controlling cities. As a source of images and memories, it symbolises 'who belongs' in specific places" (Zukin 1995: 1). 'Culture' constitutes a defining feature of urban redevelopment schemes that concentrate on 'heritage' and preservation and their role as business operants, tourism boosters and in other strategic ways. In countenancing this view, however, careful consideration is needed so as not to automatically situate strategists, that is developers, politicians and so on who promote a certain cultural stance, in opposition to local community resistance (Zukin 1995: 2). Importantly, social agents actively engage in the construction of 'culture' and do not simply enact it. People jockey for position and resist hegemonic impulses although they also act counter to these forces in ways that are not necessarily consciously formed. Although frequently overlooked, practices of contestation and difference are central to a notion of 'culture' (Gupta & Ferguson 1997a: 5).

Cultural practices are observable and masked. They are also "embodied" (1996: 34), notes Casey. The body

> incorporate(s) cultural patterns into its basic actions ... actions [that] depend on *habitus,* "history turned into nature", a second nature that brings culture to bear in its very movements. Moreover, just as the body is basic to enculturation, so the

> body is itself always already enculturated ... Such a body is at once encultured *and* enculturating and emplacing - while being massively sentient all the while (Casey 1996: 34).

In my argument, space/time is fundamental to the way we act in, perceive, and conceive of a given cultural practice. By examining critical elements of space/time I introduce its encompassing dimensions in which discrete entities such as aesthetics, historical discourses, politically discursive and non-discursive practices, ethnographic discourses and relations of power circulate. In this thesis I conceive of 'culture' as being made up of such discrete entities which constitute cultural practices. The aggregation of cultural practices that make up 'culture' are, as Bourdieu suggested, like offcuts or fragments of material used in dressmaking that are "constantly undergoing unconscious and intentional restructurings and reworkings tending to integrate them into a system" (Bourdieu 1990a: 218). 'Culture' is, then, the means by which individuals and collectivities manage to master the negotiations of landscapes and inculcate familiar routes that also become impregnated in the body.

In particular I seek to demonstrate how the cultural meanings of sites in a landscape can be embodied and constituted in the demeanours and composures of those who inhabit them. Demeanours apply to the behaviours people adopt in inscribing and imagining place. Consequently demeanours may appear orienting or disrupting of an underlying order. Yet they are part of everyday life and reflect the repetition of activities in an enduring setting (Hannerz 1996: 26). In addition, everyday life tends toward the practical in which actors aim at reaching a desired outcome with minimal effort and consequently make the 'everyday' often appear mundane. In short through necessity "(t)here develops a trained capacity for handling things in one way" (Hannerz 1996: 26).

The concept of 'the uncanny' has analytic utility in explaining everyday experiences in which the coexistence of apparent opposites and the instabilities of meaning is often demonstrated. In his semantic study of the German adjective *heimlich* - 'friendly', comfortable' - Freud detected the presence of its antonym, *unheimlich* - 'concealed', 'kept from sight', 'deceitful and malicious', 'behind someone's back'. Thus Freud found that "the familiar and intimate are reversed into their opposites [and]

brought together with the contrary meaning of "uncanny strangeness"" (Kristeva 1991: 182). As a consequence "everything is *unheimlich* that ought to have remained secret and hidden but has come to light" (Schelling cited in Kristeva 1991: 183). The triangulations of power I focus on in Chapter Four provide a particularly incisive example of this hidden process, although other examples appear throughout this thesis.

Freud associated 'the uncanny' with things that aroused fear. As such he incorporated it into the field of aesthetics which he viewed as not just about a theory of beauty but also about the qualities of feeling (1987 (1919): 339). By focussing on the negative aspect of fear Freud argued that "the uncanny is that class of the frightening which leads back to what is known of old and long familiar" (1987 (1919): 340). Thus 'the uncanny' is that which is neither new or alien but long established in the mind.

The fear or anguish that Freud associated with 'the uncanny' is brought to the surface under certain conditions. At such times "the repressed "that ought to have remained secret" shows up again and produces a feeling of uncanny strangeness" (Kristeva 1991: 184). The unconscious, for example, highlights this 'uncanny strangeness' in its refusal of "the fatality of death" (Kristeva 1991: 185) and in other instances of daily life. In order to maintain composure, to prevent being shocked by "the foreigner whom I reject and at the same time identify" (Kristeva 1991: 187), a "generalized artifice" (ibid) is adopted. Such artifice is frequently the result of an erasure of "the distinction between imagination and reality ... as when something that we have hitherto regarded as imaginary appears before us in reality, or when a symbol takes over the full functions of the thing it symbolises, and so on" (Freud 1987 (1919): 367). This 'generalized artifice' over-rides the uncanniness that confronts us by separating the sign, imagination and material reality.

Our encounter with that which is foreign generally brings anguish and induces a response in us that is only ever partially reconciled through the symptoms provoked (Kristeva 1991: 190). Some may be unfazed by such encounter and act in a way that ignores its strangeness, or convert that strangeness into irony. This latter reaction is poignantly revealed, for example, in Gelder and Jacobs' (1998) study in which they

demonstrated the contemporary power of Freud's notion by considering the uncanny way Aborigines were viewed in Australia. In their argument the possibility of reconciliation and the impossibility of reconciliation in Australian society coexist as two entities in an "unstable dynamic" (Gelder & Jacobs 1998: 24). They indicated that Aborigines were cast by some as having 'too much and too little' albeit simultaneously. That is, Aboriginal dispossession strangely placed them in an envious state in which loss can be tantamount to 'winning' at the same time as 'losing'. Ultimately, said Kristeva, our decision to smile or worry when confronted by the strange is based on "how familiar we are with our own ghosts" (1991: 191).

It is also possible that some are completely oblivious to strangeness. This applies particularly to a person with "acknowledged power and a resplendent image. Uncanniness for that person, is changed into management and authorized expenditure: strangeness is for the "subjects", the sovereign ignores it, knowing how to have it administered" (Kristeva 1991: 190).

This leads to my other major analytic point which centres on the examination of styles of embodied presentation that are enacted within structures of power. These include a range of demeanours displaying positive and negative attributes of human behaviour, such as repressions, suppressions, oppressions, depressions, impressions, processions (solemn or cheerful), resistance, persistence, disobedience, insistence, and so on. These differing forms of composure relate to the manners, customs, and conventions of society, that I associate with a concept of "civilisation" (Elias 1978: 3). I assert that from the concept of a 'civilisation' issues a fundamental means for ascribing and promoting visions of a 'settled' and unified conception of space/time. Space/time is attributed a self-evidence in everyday experiences, I argue, that belies the fact that the space/time relationship is dynamic. This, I will demonstrate, is clear in the City of Adelaide.

'Civilisation' is also "a process which must be taken further" (1978: 47), said Elias, a condition that promotes the belief of followers in its virtues. Its impetus in courtly times was most evident in a continuous "refinement of manners and the internal

pacification of the country by the kings" (Elias 1978: 48). The basic meaning of 'civilisation' has not altered all that much from this view and the ever-present need for higher morals and manners remains civilisation's defining feature. Manners and the implementation of laws direct life with others and promote "an orderly, well organised, just, predictable and calculable society" (Mennell 1992: 29). The principles underlying 'civilisation' are thus proponents and guides for social and political action.

The differing forms of composure expressed through demeanours and manners encapsulate an active and activated political process in which the growth of material representations naturalises particular "ways of seeing" (Berger 1972) and being. These composures shape the construction and placement of concrete forms within the City's landscape and the 'taken-for-grantedness' of that landscape. As Scruton (1979) made clear, of all art forms only architecture is encountered on a daily basis and to such a wide extent. For him the viewer must therefore partake of a building's political significance, whether in relation to historical duration, or in the ways it obviates new demands (Scruton 1979: 15).

Manners and demeanours also imply an appreciation of aesthetics understood as both 'visual', with an orientation towards 'beauty', and as 'practical', in the sense of being practice-based. These aspects of aesthetics align with an incisive point made by Bourassa, who maintained that "(a)n aesthetics of landscape, *must* address the practical values that necessarily colour the appreciation of the landscape" (1991: 15). Through examination of formulations of composure which here I gloss as manners and demeanours, I intend to explain the conditions that influence understandings of space/time and the contested nature of human relations in everyday experiences. In this sense the political effects produced by the directed character of aesthetics in time/space are also opened to examination.

The practices underlying different formulations of composure reflect dominating cultural notions of demeanours relating to order and disorder, 'correctness' or 'decorum' and 'incorrectness' or 'indecorum'. 'Decorum' also corresponds to 'aptitude' or 'fit', 'aptness' or 'rightness' in a similar sense to that conveyed by a site's

"decorum" which harbours the qualities of "(s)uitability or propriety" (Leatherbarrow 1993: 33). I hasten to add the caveat, however, that it is people who make places and not the other way around: "As collective systems of meaning, cultures belong primarily to social relationships, and to networks of such relationships. Only indirectly, and without logical necessity, do they belong to places" (Hannerz 1992: 39). Thus a site's 'decorum' is evident in opinions on, say, the selection of the site for Adelaide or in the quality of its built structures and not only on the site *per se*.

Principles of 'decorum' are acquired both consciously and unconsciously and are also often expressed in dress codes, manners of speaking, bearing and so on as well as in the design of streetscapes. Misdemeanours correspond to acts which do not conform to a social collective or personal embodied sense of propriety and in different contexts may appear as resistant manners, that is different manners and demeanours to a given dominant cultural 'norm'.

Arbitrary legal definitions have been applied to the term 'misdemeanour' in common law crimes throughout Australia. Penalties remain dependent on the circumstances and State or Territory in which they were deemed to have occurred. Ultimately, if police, public prosecutors and others involved believed a sufficient level of transgression has been reached it then becomes a judicial matter. An offence too serious to be considered a misdemeanour was deemed to be a 'felony'. The legal distinction between felonies and misdemeanours issues from understandings in which

> (f)elonies generally comprised the more serious offences and misdemeanours encompassed the other, lesser crimes. Felonies first evolved in the twelfth century while misdemeanours, initially known as 'transgressions' or 'trespasses' first appeared in the fourteenth century ... The principal felonies were homicide, rape, theft, robbery, burglary and arson. A misdemeanour was simply an offence which was not a felony (Murugason & McNamara 1997: 15).

A misdemeanour thus seems more likely to involve a property-related offence rather than a bodily assault. At least until 1997, the "power of arrest without warrant" (Murugason & McNamara 1997: 16) which was previously applied only to those accused of felonies, existed in a modified form in New South Wales and South Australia which "maintain a felony-misdemeanour classification" (Murugason & McNamara 1997: 16). As a result a

decision as to whether a crime was to be regarded as a felony or misdemeanour was usually made by the court system.

Bourdieu argued that the body's acquisition of conventions and ways of living, or "bodily *hexis* " (1990b: 69), are all the more effectively taken up through unconscious means and thus are mostly manifest through "feeling and thinking" (Bourdieu 1990a: 93-4). As such, practices of 'decorum' are frequently constituted by unstated rules and taken-for-granted cultural knowledge. In this guise aesthetics constitute, I argue, a powerful means through which struggles over domination are hidden from view.

The power of aesthetics is derived from principles that are fundamental to practice. In practice this takes the conceptual form of "bodily *hexis* ... [in which] political mythology [is] realised, *em-bodied,* turned into a permanent disposition, a durable manner of standing, speaking, and thereby of *feeling* and *thinking* " (Bourdieu 1990a: 93-4, his emphasis). Through the principles embodied in dress codes, bearing and manners, therefore, relations of power are most effectively rendered by being unconsciously enacted or proscribed. It is at the level of unconscious activity, argued Bourdieu, that

> nothing seems more ineffable, more incommensurable, more inimitable, and, therefore, more precious, than the values given body, *made* body by the transubstantiation achieved by the hidden persuasion of an implicit pedagogy, capable of instilling a whole cosmology, an ethic, a metaphysic, a political philosophy, through injunctions as insignificant as "stand up straight" or "don't hold your knife in your left hand" (Bourdieu 1990a: 94, his emphasis).

This presents a social philosophy that undermines but does not refute dualisms of body and mind, subject and object, and so on. It reveals a more fluid understanding of "the external and the internal, the conscious and the unconscious, the bodily and the discursive. It seeks to capture intentionality without intention ..." (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 19). Thus, in utilising this approach, my analysis moves from objective structures to the lived experience of agents where the non-discursive is found in the internalised concepts that structure their actions.

My exploration of manners and demeanours or formulations of composure is more than about embodiment, however, as I delve into personal embodied and social

collective states in their relations to power. As such formulations of composure provide a conceptual means for expressing resistance to or confirmation of the social and spatial environment. In this way I also direct attention to the aesthetics and the internal and external arrangement of buildings and the organisation of streetscapes in which the ground rules of behaviour and misbehaviour are located.

The implementation of notions of 'the uncanny' uncovered in relations of power and in the processes of 'civilisation' aid this analytic method. In such guise 'civilisation' is presented, on occasion, to justify acts that might otherwise be characterised as 'uncivilised'. Such tendencies have often stemmed from Western understandings of 'civilisation' which assume the West's superior status in matters of taste and manners. Thus non-Western peoples, with different customs and manners, are readily perceived as less evolved. The concept, 'civilisation', asserted Elias, "expresses the self-consciousness of the West" (1978: 3) and it is the means by which Western society measures its superiority. The standards now reached are extolled through "the level of *its* technology, the nature of *its* manners ... and much more" (Elias 1978: 4).

The interplay of objective and subjective practices constitute a view of aesthetics that are central to my exploration of this Adelaide landscape. Appreciation of the 'landscape' thus involves reception of the 'cultural' and the 'natural', not just of works of art but of nature and artefacts (Bourassa 1991: 9-10).

Envisaging the City of Adelaide

This thesis is intended as a significant contribution to: (i) a knowledge of Adelaide; (ii) an understanding of operations of power; (iii) the practices of ethnography; and, (iv) a discussion of the uncanniness of human action. The thesis explores social configurations in time/space such as those found in the construction of a new housing 'development' in the City, in the mobilisation of images and historical discourses, in daily encounters within the retail and entertainment heart of the City, in media representations and in a domain of institutional forms. I demonstrate that a potential

exists for masking political activities within these configurations and that this masking is often worked through dominant aesthetic projections. In this analysis, aesthetics cannot be divorced from political matters.

Cartesian dualisms work at a taken-for-granted level and encourage analytic separation of imaginative processes from physical forms. I identify such analyses as typical of acts of 'misrecognition' that set up breaks between and within discursive and non-discursive practices. These dualities represent a philosophy that "still carries much power in defining the world and grounding intentional activity" (Kirby 1996: 39). The dismantling of such dualities is important, I argue, for recognising that the embodiment of manners and demeanours both at a personal level and at the level of an "officialdom" (Fiske 1993: 59) are interrelated.

In the following chapters I explore some of the familiar landmarks by which Adelaideans orient themselves in the City. These orientations I relate to taken-for-granted assumptions and 'misrecognitions' that were made about Adelaide. A commonly held 'misrecognition' appears in the plan of the City itself and an illusion of simplicity about its shape whereby inherent complexities were overlooked. While 'the *square* mile' was an often-used idiom for the City, as Figure 1 clearly demonstrates only two sides of the City appear to be of equal length[3]. Hutt Street is thought of as one side of the square, I believe, and East Terrace as some kind of aberration. The reasons for adopting such a fallacy seem best explained by Carter's assertions about the staggered line at the eastern edge of the grid. This, he said, provided evidence of a civic order that may no longer be represented except as something in decay or as something continually evolving (Carter 1996: 247). Accordingly, Carter used this distortion of the grid to suggest that the civic order for Adelaide has a "rationalism [that] is baroque, recognising that a commanding visual impression is more telling in establishing social order than any appeal to a common tradition" (1996: 247). By overlooking the distortion it appeared

[3] The actual lengths of the Terraces are as follows: North Terrace: 2106 metres; East Terrace: 2100 metres; West Terrace: 1540 metres; South Terrace: 2703 metres (Anon., *The Advertiser* 2000a: 82).

that, in Carter's terms, Adelaideans complied to some extent with the terms of a civic order to which they also turned a blind eye.

The masking and evidential nature of political control is, I argue, typically worked through such 'misrecognition' or "meconnaissance" (Bourdieu 1990a: 6), a term used by Bourdieu to explain the fallacies presented by an objective analysis of gift exchange. Bourdieu indicated that an awareness of the reality behind gift exchanges is deliberately concealed and often fudged:

> If the system is to work, the agents must not be entirely unaware of the truth of their exchanges ... while at the same time they must refuse to know and above all to recognise it. In short, everything takes place as if agents' practice, and in particular their manipulation of *time*, were organised exclusively with a view to concealing from themselves and from others the truth of their practice, which the anthropologist and his (sic) models bring to light simply by substituting the timeless model for a scheme which works itself out only in and through time (Bourdieu 1990a: 6).

Bourdieu emphasised the critical role of 'time' for the playing out of strategies linked to individual intentions. The timing of the return gift, if it occurred at all, is thus perceived as constituting an uncertain future and part of a strategic determination. The 'misrecognition' of a number of issues about the City of Adelaide, made evident in this historically-grounded ethnographic account, suggests a degree of understanding that locals know of the fallacy in the issues at hand. Cairns and Richards' (1988: 13) interpretation of Althusser illustrates the spirit of this point where they stated that "there must be a reproduction of the subordinate class's submission to the rules of the established order. The 'misrecognition' which then occurs is consequent upon the subordinate class's (or people's) acceptance and adoption of the image proffered by the dominant group" (Cairns & Richards 1988: 13).

Frequent examples of images presented by the 'dominant group' constitute a 'misrecognition' as outlined in the following remarks of journalists, local and visiting writers and artists. Their images often gain a wider currency and acceptance from the general populace and those further afield. My purpose is different from this 'dominant group' in that I am concerned with relations of power and cultural constructions of space/time. Some present the City in idealistic terms in which life in Adelaide "has

everything - variety, security and convenience - and a sense of community second to none" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1996, brochure). The title 'City of Churches'[4] remains a common appellation for the City of Adelaide that stems from the early establishment of a relatively large number of churches within its boundaries (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1914: 28). The association of Adelaide with ecclesiastical structures is often presented in parallel with the grandeur of the City's appearance and the tolerance of its citizens (cf. Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1914: 28). Former City Councils have referred to them as the ornaments of the City and continued to set in stone the pontifical character of founding figures.

For local historian Derek Whitelock, governments over the years have "achieved a well planned city one which still has fully to realise the potential of its foundation plan, and the happy accident of Light's appointment made this perhaps their most signal success" (1985: 334). Photographer Steve Parish has commended the City's management with similar relish and described the "(t)he story of Adelaide ... [as] the story of sensible municipal government, which has allowed it to grow in a style suited to its climate and the needs of its population" (Parish 1992, end page). Their comments form an uncanny contrast with others who detect a more 'primitive' or 'savage' side to the City. Their views inform of an undercurrent, a 'misrecognition' concerned with violence. One of these wrote of Adelaide's lack of civility by comparing Adelaide's Parklands (the green belt which surrounds South Adelaide) to the ramparts

> of a walled medieval city with its gates the only ways in and out: the airport lies outside the city walls; the river is scarcely navigable, petering out into reclaimed swamp and concrete lined canals; no harbour thrusts its way into the city heart. Only road and rail pass through the green walls (Bishop 1995).

Bishop presented an image of a medieval city fortressed against the outside world and progress. The writer played upon the conservative image of the City, one that aligned with other commentators who sought out Adelaide's violent undercurrents. The medieval character was enhanced by advice given to tourists contemplating a visit to

[4] The term 'City of Churches' apparently arose in the eastern states where it has been used satirically to describe the conservative nature of the City of Adelaide. The term 'The City of Culture' was for a time also used synonymously to the above appellation (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1914: 28).

Adelaide in a London-based guide book, *Australia The Rough Guide* (1994) reviewed in Adelaide's daily newspaper *The Advertiser* (Atkey 1994: 9). Tourists were warned not to venture after dark into the enclosing and isolated spaces of the Parklands for fear of being assaulted (Atkey, *The Advertiser* 1994: 9). The advice was widely criticised by local politicians in the press (Atkey, *The Advertiser* 1994: 9). However, an article by Murphy in *The Bulletin* (3 May 1994) asserted that physical violence was equally probable in the heart of the City. Murphy also related such activity to Adelaide's inherent strangeness. He asked

> What is it about Adelaide that makes it such a boy's place? The only Australian capital still redolent of a country town, Adelaide is the closest capital to the outback and the desert, a place where Aborigines are a presence in daily life, a place shaped by drought and the class system. Like the great families, the right schools, the desert and the Aborigines, Hindley St has always been apart, the place of shame, of sin. So much so that when British author Fay Weldon visited in 1982 for a writers' festival, she took one look at the street and upset the locals by publicly stating her abhorrence at what she saw of the violence (Murphy, *The Bulletin* 1994: 27).

So there is a flip-side to the outwardly conservative appearance of Adelaide, as long term Adelaide resident Barbara Hanrahan noted:

> In Adelaide, anybody can jump out at you and cut you up and put you in a glad bag ... A kid goes to the loo and disappears - in such a quiet little place so many folk disappear ... They say there are more topless waitresses in Adelaide for its size than any other city in the world ... Adelaide is a lovely place to bring up a family ... If you're not one of the Old Adelaide Families you're not an OAF ... Adelaide is Asthma City - if anybody has a bright idea people clutch their throats and gasp in anguish ... Adelaide's going - they're knocking the guts out of the place and putting up a new city (Hanrahan 1988: 6).

These remarks preceded Hanrahan's assertion that "(e)veryone has their own feelings about Adelaide, and they tend to be extreme" (1988: 6). But further evidence is available for consideration, she asserted, in the slaughter and disembowelling of an array of young animals at the Adelaide Zoo by a gang of youths in 1984. This was

> a particularly Adelaide crime. The city is so clean, so pretty, and so much ... the big country town it takes pride in being, that it seems, paradoxically, to suit the more kinky varieties of evil. Even in the daytime the streets of classy North Adelaide ... can be tunnels, enclosed by green leaves. And so quiet, so secretive; all the people shut away behind their high walls (Hanrahan 1988: 7).

For Hanrahan, the City at night became the setting for movies of the 'film noir' genre,

> its empty side streets black and creepy, with a feel of the back lot at Paramount or Universal. The twin towers of the Town Hall and Post Office loom up; the old Queen and her stay-at-home explorers [statues] are out in Victoria Square. It's just

> the setting for midnight chimes heralding in some Dawn of the Living Dead (Hanrahan 1988: 7).

Writer, Salman Rushdie, on his first visit to the City in 1984, also thought it a particularly good setting for a horror movie. Rushdie was attending 'Writers' Week' which is an international event held in conjunction with the biennial Adelaide Festival of Arts. From reports about young people "disappearing into thin air" (1992: 230) and of arsonists in the Adelaide Hills and "weirdo murders" (1992: 231), Rushdie concluded that

> Adelaide ... is the ideal setting for a Stephen King novel, or horror film ... [a] sleepy conservative town ... where ... (e)xcorcisms, omens, shinings, [and] poltergeists [happen]. Adelaide is Amityville, or Salem, and things here go bump in the night (Rushdie 1992: 231).

However circumstantial his comments were, or even how circumstantial the Australian Bureau of Statistics' figures that surfaced in *The Advertiser* (Kerr & Johns 1994: 3) and, coincidentally, revealed South Australia as the worst state in Australia for crime, Rushdie's first impressions of Adelaide provided *inciteful* views. He described how

> (w)ithin hours of arriving ... [he] was offered a memorable summary of the city by one of [his] ... hosts. 'It's called the City of Churches, Adelaide', he said. 'But one of the churches is now a discotheque, and what's more it's the first disco in Australia to show porno films' (Rushdie 1992: 227).

He found this

> a useful clue, a hint that there was more to Adelaide than met the eye. What met the eye was conservative, spacious, pretty and a little bland... (F)or all its parkland and wide avenues it retains an air of being somehow unrooted, or unexplained ... The city's shape does not contain the history or unveil the nature of its people. It is a kind of disguise (Rushdie 1992: 227-8).

Moreover, the City, for Rushdie, was "a mirage, alien, a prevarication" (1992: 231) when juxtaposed to the desert that surrounded it.

Another short term visitor, Victor Burgin, four years after Rushdie's visit, was also taken by its juxtaposition to the desert: "Adelaide, built as an ideal city - a square, divided by a grid and bounded by a park. Metropolis in Arcadia, the inverted figure of Australia's bounding coastal conurbations and their other - the red centre" (Burgin cited in Walker 1988: 18). Walker's critical examination of Burgin's exhibition, 'Park Edge', for the 1988 Adelaide Festival, at which these statements appeared, shared a number of

the sentiments expressed by Rushdie. Her interpretation of Burgin's work asserted that it "comments cunningly on the state of the polite metropolis. That environment which prides itself on order and sanity; that suggests its inhabitants are united and civilised (or civilised therefore united)" (Walker 1988: 19). It might thus be inferred that his work is an ironic depiction of the mask behind which refinement is captured, the mask behind which polite society savages others and takes refuge.

At the time when Rushdie's comments were released to the media, the then Lord Mayor, Mrs Wendy Chapman, was aghast: "Oh, that someone could be so stupid. That such a person should have been in the depths of depression when visiting our beautiful city and write in such a vein is probably a reason why he should not come back" (Chapman cited in Morgan, *The Advertiser* 1984: 1). The State Premier at this time, John Bannon, also raced to Adelaide's defence and pointed out that its incidence of 'horrible crimes' was no higher than in any other Australian states. (Bannon cited in Morgan, *The Advertiser* 1984: 1). Adelaide's major daily newspaper treated all comments as front page news.

My characterisation of space entails an understanding that space is always collapsing in on itself and being continually redefined with use[5]. Thus meanings change on an everyday basis and the physical and social landscapes of the city undergo continual negotiation. I accord with Kirby's conception of space as a possible "site to bring together and understand the connections between the psychic and the social, the personal and the political" (1996: ix). Space conceived in this way facilitates an examination of how the 'personal' and the 'official' exist as competing and dynamic mutual dependencies. Such a conception also offers a particular vantage from which to

[5] The distinction between 'space' and 'place' that I adopt in this thesis is based on that outlined by de Certeau (1988a). For de Certeau 'place' conjures up a set of static relations borne by elements within it (1988b: 117). In the 'place' each element is assigned a "distinct location, a location it defines" (de Certeau 1988a: 117). 'Place' bears a notion that elements are in a stable relationship and will remain so. 'Space', on the other hand, is experienced in the here and now and retains a more fluid sense in which "vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables" (de Certeau 1988a: 117) collide. The temporal nature of 'space' conveys an ever changing appearance (de Certeau 1988a: 117). 'Place', on the other hand, appears as univocal and stable.

view the dialectical relations of power in everyday practices and in the social and historical construction of the body in space/time.

At ground level: exoticising the familiar

Anthropological inquiry is often concerned with enclosing the boundaries of a purported study and thus constituting a group of people for examination. Such a group is made to appear to share a different culture from that of the anthropologist conducting the examination. However, the disparate nature of the population I studied and the nature of the space they inhabited created its own unique problems in relation to the tenets of 'traditional' anthropology. These tenets maintained that a 'critical distance' from the society under study was necessary and that this was normally obtained by the anthropologist's physical removal from their own culture. In order to meet some of these requirements I had to first overcome my spatial connectedness and the absence from my study of a neatly circumscribed community with which I could interact on a daily basis. Since I was as 'local' as many of the people under examination, I faced the added complication that there was no immediately recognisable exotic 'other'. The extent to which I, as a white male travelling daily in and out of apparently familiar territory, would be able to achieve 'critical distance', required that I first deconstruct the notion of 'the field' as distinct and inevitable to anthropological practice and to question its taken-for-granted assumptions.

'Critical distance' proves something of an illusion in reality. As Clifford argued, "(l)iteral travel is not a prerequisite of irony, critique, or distance from one's home culture" (1997: 4). For Clifford, fieldwork is constituted as a "travel practice" (1997: 8) in which the constrictions of professional anthropology are elided. A border thus becomes "a borderland, a zone of contacts - blocked and permitted, policed and transgressive" (Clifford 1997: 8). The focus on travel in ethnographic encounters with 'informants' disrupts the idea of a delimited fieldsite and questions the relative positions of the ethnographer and those under study. Within the fieldsite, culture and identity are

performative acts through which a 'homelands' is circumscribed (Clifford 1997: 7). The field site is thus not a pure and uncontaminated domain but one in which "historical forces of movement and contamination" (Clifford 1997: 7) are located.

For Rapport, the tendency in anthropology to differentiate between the anthropologist as writer (guided by the rules of academia) and the field as the source of an actuality (practical experience) is also brought into question (1991: 12). What this tendency often misses are "local conventions of writing" (Rapport 1991: 12) found in other forms of inscription, most commonly newspapers, letters, diaries, committee correspondence and so on. Separating the anthropologist from the field of encounter overrides a reflexive stance practised not only in 'literate cultures' but equally in 'oral cultures'.

The nature of fieldwork enables the adoption of an ethnographic vantage that can be considered as opposed to most other vantages of 'being in the world'. The ethnographic view is, in essence, a juxtaposition of different worlds of vision and experience. In line with this view I have identified taken-for-granted issues that make apparent the difference in my view as compared to others. The contrasting of a broad range of narratives in and about Adelaide, such as official descriptions provided by the local council and various forms of government, the comments of historians, developers, architects, and others, and an array of photographs I took of particular sites around the City, proved vital to the understanding of everyday existence. These various sources when conjoined with observations revealed connections between the said and the unsaid.

What is naturalised in photographs, for instance, is different from that seen on the street without the frame of the camera lens or the presence of a camera. In some measure they help clarify the particularities of peoples' views through which to analyse their stances in relation to the world. Photos are particularly useful for unsettling a coherent view of the world and for emplacing the ethnographer in that world. As Clifford (1990) noted, photographs highlight ambiguities as to what the ethnographer is doing. Ambiguities arise from "(t)he photo's play of gazes [which] suggest: (1) that the

focussed ethnographic moment leaks beyond its frame into other "irrelevant" events; (2) that the ethnographic observer is always her or himself observed; and (3) that any representation of this messy event, as here the photograph, is itself part of the event" (Clifford 1990: 54). Within these ambiguities surface the act of writing, events occurring elsewhere, and the photographer. Further, the nature of fieldwork is revealed as confusing and inescapably reflexive. What is always evident is a "*struggle* to register data" (Clifford 1990: 54).

At the beginning of my fieldwork in November 1993 my focus was directed towards a general view of social practices and their concrete manifestation in the City landscape. I sought out contested meanings in and between various elements of Adelaide's social matrix that I had identified as key in the shaping of the built environment. My intention was to demonstrate the influences affecting the emerging shape of Adelaide's architecture and to examine how these architectural visions were created. However, this focus on architecture and the built form altered as my fieldwork progressed. Over time I became less interested in such forms, per se, and the natural coherency they gave to a spatial location, and more interested in the discursive and non-discursive practices related to the construction of cultural activities. Thus, the cultural construction of forms in the landscape of the City began to take precedence in my fieldwork and directed my attention to the practices of professions like planning, architecture, and to some extent tourism, and the relations of power that these practices invoked. I also began to note the aesthetic nature of social and cultural perceptions and conceptions and their positioning in structures of power.

My purpose for engaging with and in the City was different from other people in that I worked and loitered with an official sanction from the University of Adelaide and the power invested in its disciplines. This locus enabled me to infiltrate or to hang around in areas otherwise 'off-limits', such as the Hindley Street police station 'lock-up' meetings and to form attachments with certain committees. I found this 'licence' a necessity to avoid or deflect suspicion, that in some areas of the City otherwise seemed to be unavoidable. For example, on one occasion on the pavement in Hindley Street I

had set up a small movie camera on a tripod. Soon after setting up the camera the owner of a night club situated across the street approached me and seemed somewhat agitated about what I was doing. Not completely satisfied with my answer he then quizzed the owner of a cafe nearby, to whom I had previously explained my intentions. After some five or ten minutes peppered with interjections such as 'would I be much longer?' he went back to his night club, apparently satisfied to some extent. In this and other ways I became aware of differing manners and demeanours in areas around the City, whether on the street, in cafes, in meetings such as conducted in the City's Council Chambers or elsewhere. Even in comparable situations such as a cafe or a hotel the acceptability of certain behaviours and not others varied from location to location.

The spaces and people of the City which at first appeared as an abstraction gradually coalesced into familiar figures in those areas and pathways to which I gravitated over the course of my main fieldwork period from November 1993 to November 1994. I began to be recognised by 'regulars' who worked in these areas and would run into the same people at various functions or meetings or out in the street. I also began to differentiate groups who habituated these areas by characterising them according to broad definitions based on categories of ethnicity, age, gender, frequency of visits to an area, reasons for being there and so on. For my purposes such groups were indicative of the nature of urban populations whose movements mark "cities as centers of communication" (Hannerz 1992: 216).

As my experience of the City altered I became more conscious of its temporal character and the restrictive nature of timetables. I found that if I wanted to engage others, many of whom worked in the City, I needed to be conscious of their limited time frames. I was thus constrained as to when I could engage certain people and how frequently. This again appears to diverge from conventional ethnographic practices where it appears that the anthropologist has unlimited time within each 24 hours to engage and question subjects under study. The people I contacted were usually happy to talk, even during their working hours and generously gave much information in a short space of time. Sometimes other aspects of their experiences and opinions were

revealed in media reports. The willingness of the people I contacted to give their time was not easily understood. I wondered why developers and traders, specifically, told me things. What was in it for them? Why did only a few refuse?

Another important distinction in my method from that usually adopted by anthropologists is that I did not live with the larger community of people in my study, apart from a two week period. I lived outside of South Adelaide, in the City of Port Adelaide, for the duration of my fieldwork and thus my investigations in the City involved daily travel to my 'fieldsite'. Port Adelaide is about 15 kilometres north-west of the City.

However, the suburb in which I lived bore fundamental connections with my field site. A major river, the Port River, connects Port Adelaide to the sea and had guaranteed its early popularity as a harbour for shipping trade and immigrants. Since the arrival of the first fleet at Port Adelaide in 1836 and until the late 1960s 'the Port' remained the embarkation and disembarkation point for most of the immigrants and trade in and out of South Australia. Since the 1970s tourists and immigrants have arrived in wider Adelaide by more convenient means of travel such as by road, rail or air. Cargo ships now mostly ply the river. The Port Adelaide suburban region has become a centre for large manufacturing, power and petroleum industries which grew, conveniently for them, along the verges of the Port river.

Those of us who entered the City by train, from suburbs like Port Adelaide or the northern and southern suburbs, were leaving economically poorer areas of the greater Adelaide region[6]. However, on reaching our destination, the central terminus on North Terrace, those whose clothes and habits were suggestive of a lower socio-economic grouping were soon absorbed by a swirling mixture of people of diverse socio-economic origins. Many of my fellow passengers travelled into Adelaide as their destination for the day. Most went to work, to shop, to study or to meet others and 'hang around' and to be 'entertained'.

[6] Port Adelaide now has a youth unemployment rate cited as anything up to 50%, with adult unemployment running at more than 10%.

The Government controlled railway system, known as the 'Transit Authority', on which I mostly travelled to and from the City, restricted my hours of exploration to some extent. I was therefore, subject to a timetable from the outset, a controlling mechanism of the City. I could, of course, catch whatever train I liked. They arrived and departed every 30 minutes much of the day, but were less frequent at night and did not operate between 12:00 midnight and 6:00 in the morning. I occasionally caught taxis (an expensive option) or relied on other modes of transport. On other occasions, when in the City 'after hours', I discovered that those who did not have cars or driving licences (like myself) and/or who could not afford taxi fares, would often sit around in the all night bars of the one City street where such facilities existed, Hindley Street.

In paradox, my daily travel to the City each day made me part of the overwhelming majority of the daily population of the City of Adelaide[7]. Thus, most who entered the City were people on the move like myself, mainly from the suburbs to the City or from destinations such as the airport. In 1993 the estimated percentage of the City of Adelaide population residing in the City was only around 6% of the people who visited it daily. I could not locate a figure for the percentage of the City's population exiting the City daily although such movement seems highly probable. The mobile nature of the population emphasises Clifford's assertions that "(t)he people studied by anthropologists have seldom been homebodies" (1997: 19) and that the informant is "a complex, historical subject, neither a cultural *type,* nor a unique *individual"* (1997: 23, his emphasis).

Thus my references to a 'local' group of people in this thesis indicates those who live, go to school, are part of school excursions and/or work in the City or people who move through it from one destination to another and who thus experience it on a daily or near-daily basis. In this sense references to the 'non-local' indicates people who visit

[7] The City had a population of around 11,425 residents in 1993 (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1994a: 15). This daily increased with the influx of 92,870 workers (some of whom also lived in the City); about 3,500 overnight or short-term visitors (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1994a: 33); and about 100,000 visitors daily, many of whom were attracted to Rundle Mall (Mike Flehr, Senior Planner, Corporation of the City of Adelaide, pers. comm., 1999).

the City less frequently, whether because of distance/time (that is, they live in other parts of the state, nation or overseas) or whose infrequent visits are due to a lack of necessity or interest, and who live and work outside of the City of Adelaide area.

Though the City was familiar to me I gradually experienced a loss of familiarity as fieldwork proceeded. I initially assumed basic understandings of fundamental relations in common with others somewhat akin to Anderson's conception of an "imagined community" (Anderson 1991: 6-7). However, I was not aware of the existence or nature of some of these fundamental relations until I commenced writing up the field data. In particular I became concerned with why I, like others, acknowledged an unease with Adelaide's social and economic structure. Other naturalised aspects of the landscape were also brought into view. For example, the centrality in the lives of Adelaideans of a certain personage said to have conceived of the City's spatial form was remarkable. My interest in Colonel William Light was spurred during fieldwork when I discovered how 'he' was so fundamental to debates about space/time in Adelaide. Shifting notions of space/time were worked through the extraordinary presence of Light in which the time difference between his life and the present was eradicated in a process played out in space. Contemporary issues such as 'development' and 'heritage' dominated the concerns of planning and debates through which Light filtered. In such debates Light was attributed foresight and hindsight.

During the course of fieldwork I also discovered a parallel between an "officialdom" (using Fiske's (1993) term) that set up the simplicity of the City as a 'given' and actions as mundane as walking or speaking. In becoming materially defined in blueprints or on maps, walking, like speaking, suggests a form of rhetoric that articulates 'essential' features of any city landscape. Inscriptions in the form of maps and blueprints miss wider articulations formed in the everyday movements of people and their spatial acting out of 'the place' (de Certeau 1988a: 97).

In looking at the ways in which space was utilised a tropic city became evident in place of what I understood as the "planned and readable city" (de Certeau 1988a: 93), that is, the 'naturalised' city. This tropic appearance is part of what I now contend is a

'misrecognition'. Such 'misrecognition' points out possibilities for how a simple statement becomes sayable, and how it can be read as sensible[8]. For example, 'official' dictums related certain understandings of living in Adelaide and propagated a simplicity that was both seductive and, frequently, politically disabling. They perpetrated views, both consciously and non-consciously, that undermined attempts to pursue meanings outside the boundaries that they had set and activated beliefs that contained core values which appeared as 'normal'. Such was apparent in the more hidden mechanisms of planning that, for instance, divides space into precincts and zones that are given effect by forms of governance. The names of streets, or other constructs in the landscape, featured spaces 'already named' that also give the appearance of a 'norm' in their effect of naturalising the everyday world. However, disparities between hegemonic interpretations and non-hegemonic responses of space/time often arise. Thus it must be noted that dominant practices are also shaped by political discourses that form the site of a power struggle.

Ψ

My focus on aspects of City life often contrasted with those from whom I sought information who were involved in retailing or shopping. So where did I fit into the schema of the City? I assumed a position somewhere between the abstract crowd that invaded the City on a daily basis and the inhabitants and workers who had a more intimate relationship with the City's diurnal patterns and the space it offered for inter-personal relationships. But we were all engaged in the act of making sense of our surroundings from moment to moment and thereby formed a continuing comprehension of our social lives. The cardinal points of the compass which appeared in the City's surrounding terraces, and the division of the City into two halves around King William

[8] I assume that narratives of the City are conveyed through tropes such as synecdoche, metonymy and narrative recurrence (cf. Duncan 1990: 184) that are easily naturalised and frequently encountered. As such tropes are a powerful means of controlling space/time. For example, 'the City of Light' is a well-known synecdoche for the City of Adelaide(cf. Altmann, *The Advertiser* 1994a: 1-2). Other recurrent themes appear in various sources from historical accounts to planning documents and tourist brochures and are encountered in later chapters of this thesis.

Street, were marked contributions to this orientation. The difference in my experience lay in the writing of notes and in the expectation that analytic reflection and theoretical understanding were needed to convert my notes on practicalities into an ethnographic text.

People most keenly interested in an area's 'development' and/or past were of most interest to me. Often I was surprised by the passion that many felt for the areas they frequented. Those directly involved with the 'East End', for instance, were concerned with the impact of 'developments' happening around them over a number of years. Most had an extensive knowledge of on-going 'developments', as did a proportion of regular visitors to the area, and they held strong opinions about what was happening. Certain of its establishments, notably the cafes and hotels, provided the conditions for reflection on their daily lives in collective settings.

What was said about the 'East End' of the City, for example, usually made connections between a culinary world and an assumed communicative culture involving the 'arts'. In other words it was presented as an ideal location for gossiping and meeting people, overlaid with a 'cosmopolitan' imagery. Such associations between food and the passing of ideas also contains political undercurrents, as Parham has commented: "If the process of sharing food and drink excites the intellect, as well as satisfies the cravings of the body, it is little wonder that cafes have often been the sites of polemical debate and political agitation" (1992: 26). The importance of cafes and hotels as sites for the transferral of ideas and for the formation of a communal sense appears evident. Rapport, in a paraphrase of John Berger (Berger, 1979: 8-11), believed the utility of gossip in this process was vital:

> In gossip ... a community paints a living portrait of itself. Continuously worked on, every new episode of every story and every comment on it confirms the existence of the community and its members in a continuous cycle of self-reference; the portrayers are at the same time the portrayed. Moreover, this recounting and elaborating of verbal exchange is no triviality, for without it the very relations of community would cease to exist (Rapport 1991: 11).

As a relevant step in this 'continuous cycle of self-reference' the oral mode of gossip is reinforced by, and relies upon, textual and non-textual forms of information. In this

process it also appears widely accepted that Adelaideans have developed gossip to the level of "an art form" (Safe, *The Australian Magazine* 1996: 35). Forms of gossip, not unusually, appeared within smaller-scale groupings or in casual interactions between individuals. Although the elaboration of a single community may not have been apparent through gossip, much discussion centred on local matters as well as on personal or work relations[9].

From concerns expressed in conversation generally I identified individuals and groups with more than a passing interest in 'developments' in the City. Those interested included not only developers and their employees but others with long-term attachments to an area through work and/or current or previous habitation in it. Essentially the people I gravitated towards in my fieldwork were, in some way or other, involved in the changing form of an area and able to inform the directed understandings I sought. I was particularly interested whenever I detected strong reactions to either 'heritage' or 'development' matters (see below).

The various understandings that these people brought to an area were buffered by the presence of a larger, amorphous and continually changing movement of people that moved through its boundaries. In order to participate in or be accepted by the 'semi-closed' societies that formed around a community of interests to which I was, at least initially, exterior, I needed to conform and not appear as one moving through. I had to become part of a totality. It required, as Berger suggested, for one to become part of "a communal portrait, [where] ... everybody is portrayed and everybody portrays" (1979: 9). Therefore, the means and the extent to which I gained entry into various areas was based upon a perception that some sort of common interest existed in the first place. I

[9] The utility of gossip in encouraging conformity within a group and as a form of social control has been widely recognised by other sociologists and anthropologists (cf. Bott, 1957; Gluckman, 1963; Hannerz, 1967; Gilmore, 1986). But few anthropologists have been interested in charting the motivational aspects of gossip's operation in small communities (Gilmore 1986: 57). Rather, the focus has been on the extent to which group cohesion is maintained through gossip. More recent studies have focussed on the utility of gossip for individuals engaged in "information-exchange" (Gilmore 1986: 58). Gossip was not therefore considered as a "community phenomenon" (Gilmore 1986: 59) that varied with group context.

shared this perception of common interests with those who considered themselves part of a local community and a local area.

Many communal interests around the City were connected to a narrowly circumscribed, immediate locality. For many traders based in Rundle Street, for example, the rest of the City meant Rundle Mall (as traders in opposition, perhaps) or Hindley Street (characterised as the degenerate end of the City) and so on, associations that were especially relevant to the commercial activities most were engaged in (see Figure 1). Even a small street like Rundle Street could be easily divided into two parts, one east of Frome Street and one west of Frome Street. Like other cross streets of the City, such as Pulteney, King William and Morphett Streets, Frome Street formed a significant division in an area that might otherwise have been regarded as containing a single strand of meaning (see Figure 1). Such junctures as these were thus more than mere physical barriers to the continuity of the streetscape but points of actual transformation in meanings. The meanings formed by these crossroads and precinct divisions are explored in Chapter Six.

Another aspect of my study involved attendance at a range of meetings that included gatherings of the Adelaide City Council[10] and its committees. From observations of the activities of the City Council past and present I gained insights into the spatial formation of the City. The naming of Council Chambers and the spatial layout of the Town Hall (see Figure 5), as well as the content and form of Council meetings, proved instructive as to the nature of the wider City.

On leaving these various meetings I found that I entered and exited different realms of behaviour within a short interval of time. At one moment I was perhaps witness to the highly formalised proceedings of the Council, locked away inside the protective environment of the Adelaide Town Hall. Then I was out on the street walking through a part of Adelaide widely recognised as informal and sleazy, a condition that

[10] The Adelaide City Council is the local government authority for the area of North and South Adelaide. It represents a third tier of government in this state that falls under the wider umbrella of Commonwealth and State Government powers.

many regarded as synonymous with Hindley Street, before proceeding to the Railway Station nearby. The eclectic assemblage and location of signs and the makeshift appearance of many building facades in Hindley Street accentuated its degree of informality. The link between seemingly disparate areas of engagement, such as the street and Council chambers, and the disputations I discovered that arose within and outside of each concern's operations, were, in part, fuelled by concepts or 'visions' put forward by individuals in the context of group settings. Significant among these 'visions' was the rise of a 'heritage' lobby in local matters.

Frames of contestation

In this thesis relations of power are intrinsically linked with 'uncanniness' particularly as it is manifest in contemporary Adelaide in a debate based on differing positions taken on 'heritage' and 'development'. These positions are not antithetical as they both involve considerations of space/time in urban planning, but their relations are uncanny. Each side of the 'heritage' and 'development' debate treats space/time in a pivotal way. Those favouring 'heritage' focus on the City's enduring foundations while those arguing for 'development' look to a future by erasing some, but not all, foundations. Thus some foundations are privileged over others while each faction reconstitutes the past, present and future in different ways.

'Heritage' proponents are mostly concerned with fostering a form of 'development' that is determined selectively. Thus, they are not opposed to all 'development', *per se,* although their position is often characterised by the pro-development lobby as overly retentive of the past and insufficiently cast towards the future. 'Development' proponents, on the other hand, are portrayed as overly interested in the future and as paying scant regard to the past. The 'heritage' and 'development' debate in Adelaide devolves on such uncanny foundations in which both sides of the argument are ways of seeing time/space in the present which can be held at the same time.

The 'uncanniness' that I examine is the past, present and future in space, an example of which is reminiscent in the positioning of Light's statue on Montefiore Hill and not Victoria Square, discussed in Chapter Two. When Light died after spending less than three years in South Australia he left a legacy of a space oriented towards the future. By implication, a future now exists only by relation to demolition or 'development'. Other examples of 'uncanniness' abound in the City of Adelaide landscape, perhaps reaching a pinnacle in the practices of 'facadism' in which 'heritage' facades front futuristic designs. 'Facadism' thus uncannily portrays 'the front' as past and 'the back' as future.

The Heritage Act legislated in 1966-67 "preceded the upsurge of interest in environmental quality and the desire to preserve items of the built heritage from the past" (Forster & McCaskill 1986: 104). Early signs of a rise of public interest in 'heritage' and 'development' issues became evident in 1971 with attempts to save a building in King William Street (Best 1973: 4). Such opposition to urban demolition sites heightened public awareness of Adelaide's nineteenth century 'heritage'. The extent of struggle was apparent in the ferocity of debates over the 'development' and/or destruction of potential 'heritage' sites (Forster and McCaskill 1986: 104) from the 1970s onwards.

Interest in the 'heritage' and 'development' of the built environment in South Australia gathered momentum during the post Second World War period (Mosler 1997: 2). A relatively rapid increase in building demolitions during the 1960s inspired more and more people to protest (Marsden, Stark & Sumerling 1990: 40). Their protests formed part of a growing public interest in conservation matters throughout Australia in the 1970s. In 1974 the Commonwealth Government, the Australian Labor Party (ALP), noted that conservation was "becoming a flashpoint for conflict between concerned people and the agencies which threaten, or fail to protect, important areas" (Australia Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate 1974: 20)[11]. The growth of various

[11] The inquiry is also commonly referred to as the 'Hope Inquiry' after its chairman, Robert Hope. I adopt the shorter 'Hope Inquiry' in subsequent references in the text.

conservation groups and resident action groups drew support from the Trade Unions who applied 'green bans' to items regarded as requiring conservation (Australia Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate 1974: 20).

The term 'The National Estate' was first adopted as an objective of Australian Government policy in 1972 with an intent centred on conservation of land and historic sites (Australia Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate 1974: 34). Components of 'The National Estate' were outlined and included the natural environment, the cultural environment (buildings, structures and so on), archaeological or scientific areas and cultural property (museum collections, archives, Aboriginal artefacts and so on) (Australia Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate 1974: 35-6). Thus the 'Hope Inquiry' through which these objectives were aired in 1974 altered the way history became looked at and pointed the way towards a 'Hope-ful' or a 'Hope-less' 'heritage'.

In 1972 South Australia became the first state to introduce demolition controls. These controls were incorporated into South Australia's Planning and Development Act of 1966-1973 that arose from the 1962 *Report on the Metropolitan Area of Adelaide*. The Act's regulations were introduced "to prohibit the alteration or destruction of buildings or sites of architectural, historical or scientific interest or natural beauty except with the consent of the State Planning Authority" (Australia Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate 1974: 152).

Authors of the 1962 *Report* considered the Plan it outlined to be the "first of its kind ... since Colonel Light prepared his original plan when the colony was founded" (Town Planning Committee 1962: 8). However, within a decade the Adelaide City Council considered the 1962 Plan to be inappropriate for the City of Adelaide and, following consultation with the State Government in 1972, it undertook a new study (Urban Systems Corporation 1974: 15). One of the Council's principal aims was to "redefine in contemporary terms the urban design potential of Light's original plan, so as to conserve the best of the historic physical environment, and to enhance and further develop the physical city for new as well as old uses" (Urban Systems Corporation

1974: 16). The development control aspects of the 1974 City of Adelaide Plan were ratified by the City of Adelaide Development Control Act in 1976.

Prior to the first review of the 1974 Plan in 1981 the *State Heritage Act, 1978* was introduced and provided for a Register of State Heritage items and the protection of items of State significance. As Mosler has recorded, items entered the Register if they were deemed "'of aesthetic, architectural, historic, or social value for past, present or future generations'" (Mosler 1997: 4). Subsequent interpretations of the *Heritage Act* demonstrated its ambiguous character in practice particularly through those who wished to exploit its application for financial and political gain (Mosler 1997: 4).

'The National Estate' policy and other initiatives pursued in the 1970s made possible the existence of "a state-wide program to register heritage items and protect them by law" (Aurora Heritage Action 1983: 11). The Adelaide City Council was able to receive exemption from this programme under conditions that it compile a Heritage Register of its own. In the beginning, however, the City Council's Heritage Register was formulated to identify those buildings "which could be redeveloped ... and heritage items [only] by default" (Marsden, Stark & Sumerling 1990: 36) rather than with a concern for conserving 'heritage'.

Although debates over 'heritage' and 'development' became more focussed in the 1980s much of the groundwork had thus already been prepared in the 1970s. Despite the introduction of legislation, public protests focussing on 'development' practices continued. In the 1980s reaction to a proposed demolition of the Aurora Hotel became a defining moment in the 'heritage' and 'development' debate. However, prior to this event a City of Adelaide Residents Society working under a grant from the 'Commonwealth Committee of Enquiry into the National Estate' had, in 1978, listed "165 items of extraordinary environmental significance. The Aurora ... [Hotel was] number 88 on that list" (Aurora Heritage Action 1983: 10). The 1974 Plan had also "appeared to guarantee a brilliant new life for the Aurora" (Aurora Heritage Action 1983: 9).

The Aurora's inclusion on the resident's list and on the earlier lists of the National Trust and Urban Systems Corporation seemed to elude *The Advertiser* editor at the time, as well as the State Premier, John Bannon, and the Executive Director of the South Australian Division, Builders Owners and Managers Association (BOMA), who all favoured the hotel's demolition. Those opposed to the demolition organised a picket line at the hotel site in 1983 which was religiously maintained for 40 days and nights, 24 hours a day (Lloyd, *The City Messenger* 1995a: 15). Members of the organising body for the protest later formed a group, 'Aurora Heritage Action', or, more simply, 'Aurora'. Though 'Aurora' conservationists were unsuccessful on this occasion their efforts spawned subsequent campaigns that were named after the particular 'heritage' item under consideration. Many were central to heated Adelaide City Council debates and to arguments between City Councillors and 'heritage' groups and problems arising within the State Government in the early 1990s. For example, the demolition of 'The House of Chow' building[12], first mooted in 1988 (Light, *The City Messenger* 1988: 5), brought the debate over 'development' once again to the forefront and the 'Aurora' faction once again into the fray.

According to one City Council employee in the Environment and Planning Department, Mike Brown, the birth of 'Aurora' constituted a more vocal and politically motivated public voice on issues of 'heritage' than bodies like the State Government, the City Council, the National Trust, formed in 1955, or former 'heritage' groups at that time. During the 1970s and 1980s conservation issues were generally seen as benefiting the public (Brown, pers. comm., 1994)[13]. The formation of 'Aurora' in the early 1980s was significant in that it raised the political profile of debates over conservation in

[12] The 'House of Chow' building was a two-storey mansion located at a corner of Wakefield and Hutt Streets. The building had been a hot item for preservation in the heritage-conscious 1980s and helped redefine the battle lines between pro-heritage and pro-development factions of the City. The State Government's Environment and Planning Minister was placed under pressure to save the 'House of Chow' building (Pearce, *The City Messenger* 1991a: 1) by the City Council and the Minister responded by indicating that decision-making was the City Council's responsibility (Pearce, *The City Messenger* 1991b: 5). Although demolished in July 1991 the site remains vacant so that those that pass by and are aware of the history are reminded of the strength of feeling that this debate could arouse.

[13] Throughout this thesis I use the abbreviation, 'pers. comm.,' to indicate the personal comments of informants that I recorded during fieldwork and to distinguish these comments from published sources.

Adelaide and brought government members, City Councillors and City Council workers, academics, influential planners, media commentators and so on, into conflict. Significantly, 'heritage' conservationists included "members of ... State Parliament, historians, City Council members and staff, university professors, the unemployed, architects, planners, lawyers, artists, teachers and engineers" (Lloyd, *The City Messenger* 1995a: 15). For my argument, the Aurora Heritage debate also casts new light on Light. As I demonstrate in Chapter Two Light set up the conditions, and began a process of demolishing Aboriginal 'Heritage'. However, Light's actions have been rarely construed in this way.

The 'heritage/development debate' has ensured that factional divisions within the City Council based on preferences for 'heritage' and/or 'development' continue to be consolidated in the election of certain members to Council by City of Adelaide ratepayers. The somewhat incongruous nature of City Council elections is provided for in the statutes of the City Council. For the duration of my fieldwork these statutes provided that the more property owned by a ratepayer the more votes that ratepayer was entitled to cast in any Council election. The composition of the City Council was thus influenced by those seeking to have an integral role in debates over planning approvals, such as developers, and those with 'heritage' interests at heart. The City Council's composition of elected members was highlighted in Government efforts to sack the Council in 1996 and centred on contentious issues relating to City 'development'. Even as early as 1989 the Council, or a certain faction thereof, were being accused of taking an 'anti-development' stance (Anon., *The City Messenger* 1989a: 1) and diverging views of councillors over the 'development' of the City were often noted (Ninio, *The City Messenger* 1989: 5; Anon., *The City Messenger* 1989b: 3).

'Heritage' policies had been introduced in the 1981 review, among other changes to the 1974 Plan (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1997a: 4). A major review followed in 1986 that allowed the implementation of a Transferable Floor Area scheme to work in tandem with a City of Adelaide Heritage List (Corporation of the City of

Adelaide 1997a: 4)[14]. The subsequent 1991-93 review of the Plan "was dominated by the Local Heritage/Townscape debate" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1997a: 4). An expanded 'heritage' list and related controls for building and townscaping was a significant aspect of this review. The *Development Act 1993* repealed the *City of Adelaide Development Act* of 1976. As a result of this change "the Principles of Development Control ... [were] given statutory effect as the "Development Plan" for the City of Adelaide and the City ... [fell] within the State Planning system subject to the same procedures as any other Council" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1997a: 5).

In July 1996, a review of the City of Adelaide Plan undertaken by the Adelaide City Council, the State and Commonwealth Governments, was published. Their directives were presented as the 'Adelaide 21 City Centre Strategy'. The preface of this document, "view from the future" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1997a: 6), I believe contained an indispensable feature of many debates between 'heritage' and 'development' apparent throughout South Australia's European history. This feature centres on 'remembering' ('heritage') and 'forgetting' ('development'). As such debates are moulded by a selective use of 'history' and thus underpinned by 'misrecognition'. The 1996 preface of the review typically focused on a 'heritage' in which a past considered relevant to a future is brought to the fore, while a focus on 'development' demonstrates that the future is the key. The aspects of 'forgetting' and 'remembering' are vital issues in laying the foundations of 'misrecognised' features of Adelaide.

The role of personality and the exercise of power in determining each and every 'vision'[15] put forward remain important elements of contestations centred on 'heritage'

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[14] Transferable Floor Area (T.F.A.) permitted "owners of heritage items in the Core and Frame districts of the City to sell off lost development potential" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1993a: 37). The loss in 'development' potential is argued as being a result of conserving an item of heritage which, if demolished, would make available land for a building higher than already existed on the site. The extra floor(s) made available by this hypothetical construction can be transferred to one or more 'development' sites (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1993a: 37).

[15] A 'vision' is a determination about the future uses and physical characteristics of a particular landscape. The separate 'visions' of the State Government, the City Council and/or other interested parties could thus be seen as political determinations over the right to control City affairs. Whoever controls the 'vision' has control over space/time.

and 'development'. However, the implementation of 'visions' exists within a structured setting and included other interested groups drawn into the fray of a battle between the State Government and the City Council and/or other interested groups or individuals. Through differing forms of governance 'officialdom' is perpetrated in which the actions of bureaucrats frame the limits of contestation and where the loci of struggles for power and position are facilitated. What I investigate, therefore, is what these struggles mean in terms of the material realisation of 'a vision'.

The relevance of historical discourse in establishing these 'visions' lies in its presentation of a past in which certain things are remembered while other details are forgotten. Throughout, the figure of Colonel Light, the original planner of the City, is maintained as an essential symbol of 'heritage', preservation and the future. Historical discourse thus animates competing 'visions' of the City whose malleable structures belie a concrete existence in the landscape. Contemporary 'visions' emerge from certain political and social conditions, however, in which 'heritage' buildings are essential to the realities of a depressed economy of the late twentieth century in South Australia. Within them inhere issues that have become relevant to the construction of a 'vision' undergoing continual refinement.

Outline of the thesis

The contributions of two prominent figures in the City of Adelaide's foundation, Colonel William Light and Edward Gibbon Wakefield, are examined in the following chapter. These figures form the backdrop to an exploration of the selective nature of remembering and the envisioning of a city landscape. This selectivity is central to the way contemporaries create meanings that are fatuous in the City of Adelaide. It is rarely recalled for instance that the plan for a new social order for the Province of South Australia was formulated by Wakefield while serving time in an English gaol. This circumstance underscores the uncanny context for his plan's reception and its later translation into the survey and construction of the City of Adelaide.

Wakefield laid the foundations for a projection of a place unseen and conjured a rationality that entailed a failure to recognise and see Aboriginal people. This quintessential failure is realised in the person responsible for the Adelaide survey, Colonel William Light. Although Light did not live to see the City's construction the selective manipulation of Light's 'vision' in contemporary development debates continues unabated. In an uncanny oversight those who manipulate Light's 'vision' selectively overlook the brevity of his appearance here and the presence of Aborigines.

My review applies a different perception to the conventional tenets of historiography and ethnographic practice[16] as well as to 'the vision' of Light. A number of contradictions emerge in deconstructing the early history and Light's plan of the City. Adelaide's streets and buildings are obviously configured in a certain way and this ordering is directed and preserved from the earliest days of the colony and referenced with respect to its original planner, Colonel William Light. Further, through educative processes, an equivalence is set up between personal and official histories of which this educative process is an essential part. The centrality of the figure of Colonel William Light (1786-1839) for contemporary practices appears all the more remarkable as he died within three years of European settlement in South Australia. However, his thoughts and contribution to the shape of Adelaide are still conjured in debates over planning, tourism, education and other features of City image. Within these debates Light's dictum that 'the Parklands are never to be built upon' as well as his death-defying 'vision' of Adelaide, are held in reserve to mollify public concerns and called upon, in various guises, to preserve an order/envisioning.

By indicating how and why Light has an enduring presence in Adelaide I also reveal that Light embodies concerns fundamental to my thesis, namely, planning, surveillance, built structures and human action and their integral relations to a past, present and future.

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[16] Webster has highlighted their equivalence (1983: 189).

Street names and the names of buildings, examined in Chapter Three, constitute signposts and landmarks that form a broad connection with colonial history and which orient understanding. In Adelaide names are associated with a 'lineage' and a 'heritage' centred on the idea of a 'family'. The constructed nature of the permanence that surrounds these signposts is what I endeavour to locate in the discursive and non-discursive forms that uphold them. These signposts and the plan Light outlined for the City in 1837 bear a certain correspondence with the past and its sedimented forms in the landscape.

The realisation of the selective nature of the remembering and envisioning process is essential to on-going debates in contemporary Adelaide concerning Aborigines and 'heritage' and 'development'. Through this process the creation of divisions in the newly configured landscape has pushed the Kaurna people further from view and exacerbated a feature of European historical consciousness that has maintained the Aborigines as the never seen. In such divisions inhere significant aspects of Adelaide in which the 'past' appears in the 'present' of everyday meanings. In particular, I locate elements of a process involving the on-going construction of 'heritage' in which a certain historicity has been maintained and available for promoting the goals of conservationists, developers and governments.

In Chapters Four to Seven I concentrate on the formations of everyday social experience and address manners and demeanours and attendant 'civilising' principles in ethnographic detail. The movement from region to region that unfolds with each chapter renders the relations of power uncanny in each location of the City. My navigations in and around the City's centres of power are so as to disturb 'settled' notions about the relations of power at each and every location. In this way I demonstrate the uncanny coexistence of the 'light' and 'dark' sides of Adelaide and reveal a daily pull and push between 'savagery' and 'civilisation'.

On the 'light' side is revealed an underlying order of civility captured in spaces of the Parklands that have a quintessential allure, such as the cricket ground, various sporting venues and gardens. For many these epitomise the egalitarian virtues of the

Parklands and their association with non-profit related or communal activities. Such egalitarian principles have a commonplace acceptance that extends to peoples' relations with certain institutions and public spaces within the City grid, such as the University of Adelaide on North Terrace (see Chapter Four). Hence many people underplay the non-egalitarian nature of these institutions and spaces that are embedded with internal divisions, triangulations of power and the vicissitudes of commerce.

A focus on Adelaide's inequities brings to the fore a 'dark' side revealed most poignantly when people are found cut up and placed in glad bags or in the wanton slaughter of animals at the Zoo (Hanrahan 1988: 6) or in the seemingly innocuous contrast of attire of people in and around Victoria Square (see Chapter Eight) or demeanours within North Terrace (see Chapter Five). In contrast to Victoria Square, the North Terrace Precinct, examined in Chapter Four and Five, defines an area of decency and cultivated behaviour, an area where 'locals' learn to discern the difference between 'civilisation' and 'savagery'. In Chapter Five I explore concrete forms of power as naturalised in the City landscape of North Terrace and the importance of North Terrace for self-identification and understanding the City more generally. I also highlight the construction of space/time as a totalising concept and probe the use of conventions surrounding institutions and forms on North Terrace.

In Chapter Six I move to 'the Strand' which I present, initially, as a single 'strand' of space with shifting meaning. I thus reveal planned variegations of 'the Strand' and move from an area cast as obscene and indecent to another promoting the sophistication of a cafe society. This brings into focus the processes of production in the movement from an 'imagined' space to 'material reality' in everyday practices. City of Adelaide Plans are important in this regard as they provide the foundation from which a movement to material reality may occur. They predicate a future and their manipulation in the present, as in the past, is essentially about limits and enclosures, the essential properties of surveillance. These limits also constitute the base understandings through which other disciplinary practices contribute to a new social awareness and political order that incorporates surveillance and control of the populace. The

requirements of professional practices are thus met as they push a diagrammatic logic along an avenue strewn with stigmata.

The broad inclusion of distinctions encompassed by 'the Strand' is aimed at unsettling Precinct divisions and is thus at odds with planning distinctions. Within 'the Strand' are located major entertainment and shopping regions of the City and State that are attractive to many Adelaideans on a daily basis. The main corporate sectors of a retail industry along my 'strand' run parallel and behind an area of North Terrace in which is located the City's "greatest concentration of grand buildings" (South Australian Government Tourism Commission 1994a: 44).

The redevelopment of a fruit and produce market in the City provides a forum for examining relations between State and Local Government and private enterprise, and a number of interested individuals and groups. This is the subject of Chapter Seven where I pay particular attention to the actions of developers contracted by the State Government to deliver its primary objectives and the local conceptions pertaining to the immediate area surrounding the site. This chapter reveals a debate not centred on 'heritage' and 'development' issues but one that has moved to issues concerning residential and commercial 'development'. The site under study presents suburban ideals within the City centre and thus turns away from conceptions concerning Light.

My examination ends at Victoria Square, Light's designated heart of the City, at which a precinct of power is juxtaposed to Aboriginal concerns. The kind of relations of power on display here appear at mundane levels of activity. Relations of power are of a kind that daily confront propriety and which are represented as being at loggerheads with the practices of Aborigines in the Square.

It is North Terrace rather than Victoria Square that has become the core of administrative power. Victoria Square, often designated as the 'heart' of the City, is illustrative of the role of contemporary representations in fashioning images of the City. Victoria Square is the site of a fundamental nexus between Aboriginal and European culture where the failure of European 'civilising' processes in space/time are evident. These failures appear to counter any sense that Victoria Square, as representative of

Adelaide's 'heart' and constructed character, is in any way 'settled'. Manners and demeanours or formulations of composure not only appear as controlling mechanisms but also as vehicles for expressing forms of resistance and a range of other possible articulations.

Chapter Nine concludes with a discussion of the primary aims of the thesis. These have been directed toward demonstrating the uncanny relations of power at the heart of 'cultural landscapes' in cities. The contested nature of city life and its anthropological configurings are there inferred to have been brought to light by taking account of formulations of composure in everyday life. I also assert the way conventions have been employed in the technologies and disciplines of architecture and planning as an essential part of political process. The contradictory relations of human action and contestation of such process are demonstrated as intrinsic to the uncanny relations of framed experience in Adelaide.

Chapter Two

Obscured and illuminated figures in the landscape

> The city was laid out along the lines of a timetable. There were no hairpins or dog-legs, no French curves or crescents; diagonals were few and far between. Mondrian would have been pleased. It was a city based on the original grid pattern laid down by the first surveyor, a tall colonel who'd come all the way from England and knew where to place his knife and fork. Under the circumstances he was incongruously named Light - Colonel William Light. When the burghers muttered and sniffed in their balloons about the subversive elements of society's fabric, and other hot air; they should have looked at the directions of the streets and the presence of trams. Instead, out of gratitude they had Light cast in bronze, and there he stands on a piece of high ground, a dunghill, the favourite of pigeons, one arm and forefinger pointing down to his regimented folly, Adelaide (Bail 1987: 2).

> I own this town I spilt my wine
> At the bottom of the statue of Colonel Light
> (extract from the song 'Adelaide' by Paul Kelly 1985).

> Success is built on visions. Visions are good (former Lord Mayor of Adelaide, Henry Ninio, cited in Ward, *The Adelaide Review* 1993: 5).

Introduction

Adelaide is a city whose 'rationality' is founded in the disciplines of modernism. Two figures of South Australia's settlement period, Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Colonel William Light, were fundamental in the envisaging and transition of a blueprint for a model settlement into built structures. In both the blueprint and its concrete form certain 'lines of vision' were followed whose selective traces have continued into the present. In this chapter I argue that this selective vision underpins misrecognitions important in contemporary development and planning debates in South Australia.

A dynamic exists in Adelaide which is a constant referent to the present and future. The dynamic devolves on a selective remembering, highlighting and shadowing of the past. This is why I have chosen to highlight particular views of history and why I argue in this chapter uneasy temporal relations are selectively conjured about Wakefield and Light. A particular consequence of such selectivity is evident in the conjuring of a rationality that requires that Aborigines are not seen. Planning practices used from Light

onwards have produced an overburden of Eurocentric 'history' which has been built by obscuring, erasing and removing traces of the Aboriginal presence and, as a result, have overseen the excision of the Kaurna, the Aboriginal group of the Adelaide plains, from European historical consciousness.

Another focus of this chapter is on idealised conceptions of the City reproduced in textual accounts and their appeal to a visual aesthetics. This appeal, I argue, ultimately disguises the political strategies which brought them into view. Thus, it becomes less easily discerned that a landscape which underwent division and fencing is a practical outcome of scientific methods of surveying[1]. Colonel William Light, the City's founder and first surveyor, was used to implement this strategy[2]. The fact that Light died so soon after realising the Plan of Adelaide is of vital significance to its selective endurance as this meant that the living Light could not participate in decisions, or otherwise contribute to debates concerning his 'vision'. Light is a dead hero whose eyes are kept open in the sense that his 'vision' for Adelaideans is yet to be realised by those who follow him. In Adelaide City planning whoever controls the conjuring of Light's 'vision' has control over City space.

Light presents an essential figure for strategising and exacting desired outcomes. His statue at 'Light's Vision' on Montefiore Hill (see Plate 4) reveals a site for visualising, and gaining a perspective of, the City of Adelaide that is fundamentally oriented through didactic practices. 'Light's Vision' as I will show is an Adelaide icon that is used in a wide variety of contexts. Prominent among these are descriptive accounts that when purveyed over the years highlight the hyperbolic dimensions of the man's 'vision' and a range of social orientations based on principles that are located in forms of 'potentiality' (the idealised attributes of a landscape). Heritage walks and guide books contribute to this 'potentiality' through an emphasis on an experiencing of

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[1] Carter, for example, argued for the scientific rationalism of Light's plan and its appeal to a "commanding visual impression" (1996: 247).

[2] The application of the term 'strategy' is used to indicate how "political, economic and scientific rationality" (de Certeau 1988a: xix) may appear commonplace. In this sense, also, 'strategy' represents a "victory of space over time" - cf. 'tactics' which are time dependent (de Certeau 1988a: xix).

'heritage'. However, the movements along the pre-determined routes that these walks suggest are part of a range of competing 'visions' that are directed and intentional. In this sense the experience at the place and statue named 'Light's Vision' is linked to cartographic practices which have the appearance of being innocent of meaning and outside of social practice. Further, the image of Light has strategic uses for Adelaide City Council and State Government purposes. Their competing efforts for control over Light's 'vision' are revealed in actions that underlie grabs for power and control.

Envisioned fields

If Light is recognised as Adelaide's first planner, his plan was preceded by that of Wakefield who envisioned the settlement of the Province of South Australia. Wakefield's plan highlights a projection of a place unseen. Wakefield never saw the place he had plans for. His 'vision' for South Australia provided the imaginative context for establishing a colony without the aid of convict labour or financial assistance from the Crown of England. He conceived a means of self-funding the settlement of the territory. His plan was based on a class system of land ownership and its profitability to be founded in the work of a labouring class who were to be excluded from land ownership and social opportunity (Wakefield 1838: 124; see also Pike 1967: 78; Harrison 1978: 158). Wakefield envisioned a particular, regulated form of capitalism as the basis for the settlement of the 'new' territory.

Wakefield's plan was based on a principle of 'concentration' which, in effect, meant that land was to be sold in contiguous blocks (see Appendix II). The constraints imposed through 'concentration' were designed to curb the settlement's expansion and thereby maintain a centred populace. In contrast to a dispersed populace, which evaded governmental impositions, a 'concentrated' populace was considered easier to administer and control. 'Concentrated' settlement was the centrepiece of a theory that depended on the existence of land, labour and capital in the right proportions (Pike 1967: 77-8), concepts enshrined in the South Australian Foundation Act of 1834 (Pike

1967: 73). Although this principle soon proved impractical and was abandoned it has had enduring effects into the present, not least as a basis for land accumulation and the class divisions on which Adelaide was predicated.

These aspects of South Australia's past are proudly extolled and are a basis on which South Australians assert a clear distinction between their state from the 'convict' states of Australia. However, the prominence given such recollections foreground another fundamental misrecognition as Wakefield was himself not a freeman nor had he ever visited South Australia. He conceived of the plan in a gaol cell in England and was also ultimately constrained in the sense of being imprisoned from seeing the realisation of his dream. Wakefield's crime, termed "marital piracy" (Dutton 1971: 147), was a failure of good manners. Yet his plan was premised on the classed composures of 'English' capitalism (see Appendix II).

Manifestations of Wakefield's vision remain a fundamental referent in school curricula that impart the history of South Australia. These curricula, among most historical accounts on South Australia, overlook the fundamental misrecognition that Wakefield conjured a rationality that entailed a failure to recognise and see Aboriginal people and that this quintessential failure was realised in Light. Despite Wakefield's role in the establishment of South Australia it is Light rather than Wakefield who continues to be more readily recalled as key in the 'settlement' of South Australia. Light's vision sets Wakefield's into the background. This is, I argue, because Wakefield's plan of 'settlement capitalism' has not endured as the economy of the state. By contrast Light's plan became concrete enough to remain an orientation and source of debate.

Light is figured centrally in the history of this state and often conjured in contemporary debates on 'heritage' and 'development'. The selective remembering of Light's plan fundamental to these debates constitute a projection that outlives him. Such selective memory and highlighting emerges in development debates as well as in discussions about Aborigines. The prominence of contemporary debates on Adelaide are continuing evidence of practices based upon relations of power which seek to demolish and remove established meanings. On one side such debates stress continuity

and the rationality of planning directed towards the past, present and future. On the other, the more radical visions of 'development' seek to break with the past and point to a new future. These debates inform political contestations about city planning even as I write.

Through the discipline and practice of survey Light's plan facilitated the conversion of Wakefield's social program into an aesthetic physical form. The general focus of discussions about Light's plan illustrate the selective attention given the City's salient aesthetic qualities and the forming of the City's current spatial and social orientations, its manners and demeanours.

Staking the groundwork of amnesia

The first wave of South Australian settlers set out from England during 1836 in realisation of the Wakefield Plan[3]. Colonel Light's survey of the land on which the capital of South Australia was fixed commenced on January 11, 1837 (Elder 1984: 35).

The City was set on a plain with a low range of hills (the Mount Lofty Ranges) some six kilometres to the east, and about ten kilometres inland from the sea (the Gulf of St. Vincent) to the west. The selection of its siting and subsequent formation is accredited, in popular discourse, the sole responsibility of Colonel William Light who made of Adelaide "an early example of a planned city" (Morgan & Gilbert 1969: vii). Light's plan (Figure 2) conformed to a rectangular grid of streets (see also Bail (1987) at the head of this chapter), a configuration that was in line with practices of the day (Freeland 1988: 64). It resulted from a "revival of interest in antiquity in the eighteenth century and the faith it engendered in the rightness of all things Classic" (Freeland 1988: 64). The City's 'square mile' design has some broad streets running north to south, while the majority of streets running east to west were made variable in width, some

[3] The last ship of nine to arrive in South Australia in 1836 (Whitelock 1985: 4) was the 'Buffalo' on which travelled the Province's first Governor, John Hindmarsh. At a seaside ceremony within a day or two of arrival, Hindmarsh proclaimed the Province of South Australia on December, 28, 1836 in the area now known as Glenelg (Light 1963: 43).

wide, but most narrow (refer Figures 1 & 2). The eastern edge of the City was stepped and in all probability, said Morgan & Gilbert, this was as a result of the terrain, not for the sake of variety (1969: 3).

The description of Adelaide's town plan offered by contemporary architectural historian James Freeland offers a prosaic account that informs of the tone and content of a wide range of accounts in which the City has been presented:

> The site chosen by Light was centred on the Torrens River where it lay in a broad gently-sweeping valley between two flat-topped hills. For ten days early in 1837 Light walked about his choice studying it deeply, visualising, remembering and pondering ... The location was chosen with sensitivity, foresight and skill ... While Adelaide would still have been the best planned Australian town without Light's considered use of the river and the topography, it would not have been the unique one it is (Freeland 1988: 63).
>
> The final plan that Light decided on consisted of two sections of building blocks - one on the flat summit of the southern hill and the other on the broken rising slope of the northern hill. The gentle valley and the river banks between the two were left as open parkland. The southern building area was divided into a grid pattern with five widely spaced 132 feet wide streets running north and south, and eleven closer, narrower east-west streets. In the centre of South Adelaide Light provided a large rectangular public space which he intended should be formally landscaped and surrounded by public buildings. Four lesser but still extremely generous squares were provided mid-way between the centre and the corner extremities of the town. Each square was carefully centred on main streets with an eye to vistas.
>
> Across the valley, Light divided North Adelaide into three different sized rectangular sections, each disposed to take advantage of the rising site but thoughtfully related to each other. One medium sized public space was provided in the largest section. Within each section the street pattern was a grid. Together the three sections provided 342 allotments to augment the 700 allotments provided in South Adelaide. The smaller area, the breaking down into three sections and the natural, stepped topography resulted in a more human, less formal and more domestic character than the southern town.
>
> Finally, in a magnificent gesture of courage and enlightenment, Light wrapped his towns in a leaf-green cocoon by declaring the entire surrounding area - a band about a mile wide - a natural parkland (Freeland 1988: 63).

Freeland's description illustrates a degree of the widespread sentiment surrounding the figure of Light and the City landscape attributed to his inspiration. His comments also provide the basis for a comparison with early maps such as Freeling's 1849 map of Adelaide (Figure 3 and Appendix III) and current dimensions of the plan. The section of Freeling's map I use highlights the relegation of Aborigines to a designated area of the Parklands known as 'the Location' (Foster 1990: 11) and the juxtaposition of the Adelaide Gaol with their confined domain (Plate 3). A number of other structures appear in Figure 3 that reveal an uncanny proximity to the site of the survey camp

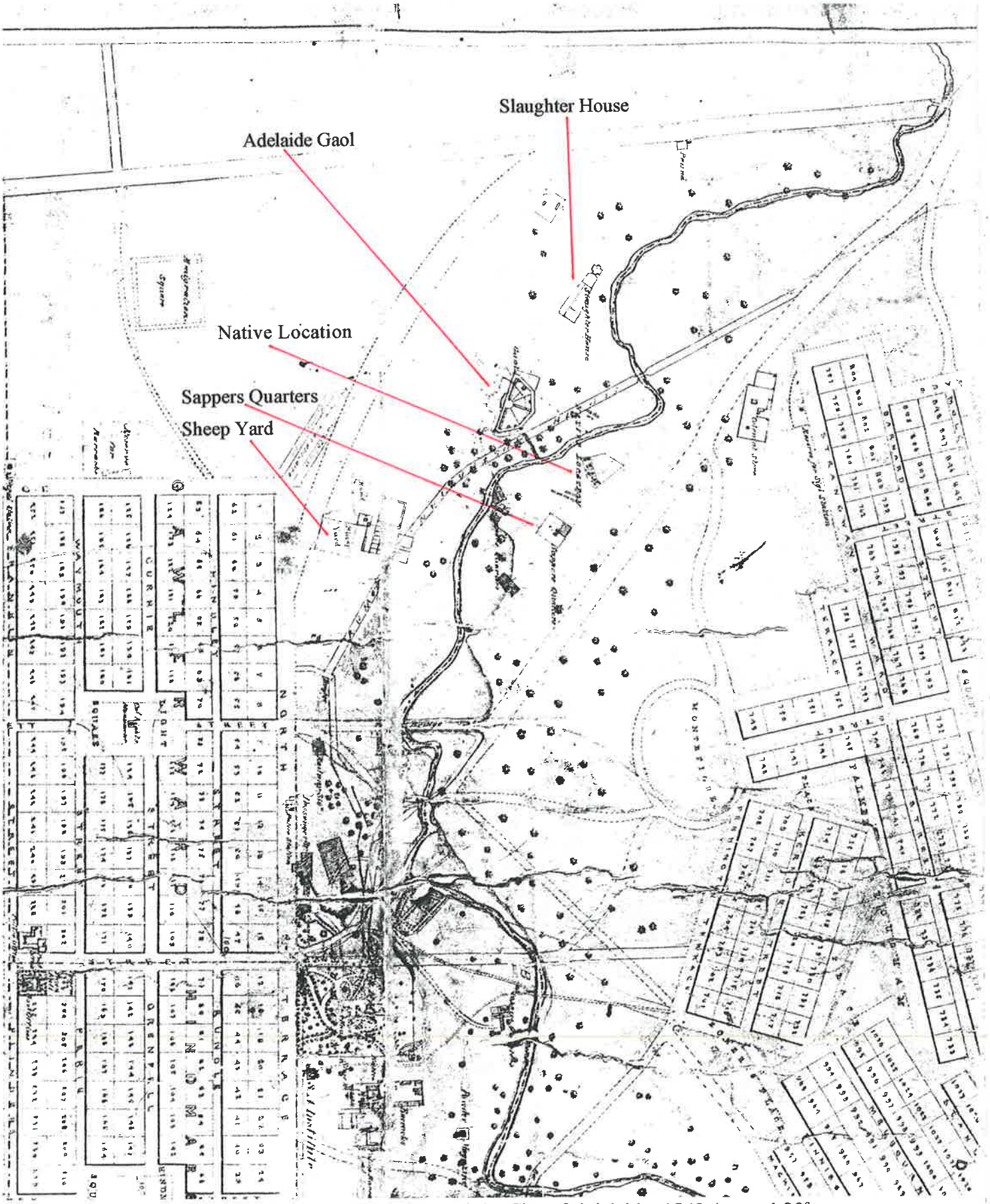

Figure 3: Section of Feeling's map of the City of Adelaide, 1849 (rotated 90° to the right hand side of page).

Plate 3: A participant at the 'Sorry Day March' in 1999 pointing in the direction of the former 'Native Location' (top) and participants at the conclusion of the march in Victoria Square (bottom).

Photos: Mark Bradley.

chosen by Light at the corner of North and West Terraces from which he commenced his survey of Adelaide (cf. Elder 1984: 35).

Two principal features of the plan Light laid out are frequently commented on with praise: (i) the ring of Parklands that encircled the grid forms in his blueprint and (ii) the essential use his plan made of the existing topography (cf. Freeland (1988); Morton (1996); Morgan & Gilbert (1969)). Other aspects which prompted widespread approval were the number and placement of 'squares' within the grid which were considered as purely "aesthetic" (Boyd 1987: 19) and as "picturesque" (Carter 1987: 203) additions that broke up the monotony of a grid plan. Over the years, asserted Carter, the Parklands have acted so as to "preserv(e) the integrity of the plan by buffering it against future development" (1987: 203).

Despite numerous re-adjustments to the original plan, Adelaide remains the only city or town in Australia to have a 'centre', that is, the City - South Adelaide. This is evident in the provision of various gathering places for people such as "public squares, ... central parks, ... [and] specific points at which the corporate energy of the town or city reaches a climax" (Freeland 1972: 112-13). As such the City offers the possibilities for large mass gatherings of people in protest or celebration at well defined and frequently used locations around and inside it. The Parklands (which include the City Squares) were favoured locations for such gatherings, while City streets continue to provide temporary routes for ceremonial and protest marches. In the Parklands public ownership is exhorted through such practices so that they appear resistant to the nineteenth century trend of "unfettered private enterprise [where] every possible square inch of land with economic potential was made available to private ownership" (Freeland 1972: 112). It was only elsewhere, said Freeland, that avarice took over.

Light's survey predicated ownership and a 'vision' he is said to have installed. Over time his survey has permitted many 'visions' to gather under the auspice of a singular 'vision' attached to him. Yet Light's 'vision' is an 'uncanny' projection of a place he 'sees' and has outlived. In accounts after his death selective understandings are

attributed to Light and often made to appear as intentional features of the plan he set down.

Strategies of domination

Dominant views of the Adelaide landscape that have remained popular over the years have fervently promoted its physical and aesthetic character. The hyperbolic nature of much of this promotion existed from the outset of the colony in 1836 and showed no signs of weakening by the latter part of the twentieth century. The underlying strength of these views has a number of possible explanations, which I pursue in an examination of the landscape of Adelaide.

I initially problematise the concept of landscape and note a tendency among anthropologists (and those in other fields) to treat aspects of the landscape which are beyond the everyday, as intrinsic to it (Hirsch 1995: 5). Many analytic views of the landscape stress its semiotic character[4] and consequently effect a construction of landscape as a form of representation that is outside everyday experience. Hirsch argued for an anthropological perspective, in which landscape is conceived as an interchange between two poles of experience, the ideal and the actual. He asserted that everyday aspects as well as representations through time may be sought through such a formulation (Hirsch 1995: 4). Rather than constructing landscape in a strictly bipolar way I adapt the analytic concept 'cultural landscape' to denote the uncanny coexistence of ideal and actual realms. In this sense landscapes are also understood as cultural visions - like culture they are always contested and their meanings never resolved.

In problematising landscape in an anthropological way, the everyday may be conceived as the 'foreground' to which the ideal is the 'background' to social life (Hirsch 1995: 3), an analogy inverted by the written or painted representation. I focus on the 'ideal' as a form of representation and the potential that this construct offers to

[4] For example, Duncan (1990: 17); Cosgrove (1984: 15).

imbue a timelessness to social activity and a hypostaticity to space. Everyday life does not share the timeless qualities of the painting, yet timelessness is sought out in certain contexts (Hirsch 1995: 2-3)[5]. In this way the landscape is posited as part of a "cultural process" (Hirsch 1995: 22), that is, as fundamentally related to social and cultural conditions through time. In essence, my use of the concept 'cultural process' aims to foreground a potential that for the most part remains as the background to social life (Hirsch 1995: 22-23)[6].

Cosgrove has been at the forefront of the widespread attention given to the concept of landscape in the geographical field (Hirsch (1995); Bourassa (1991)). Cosgrove argued that landscape was not merely the world we see but also a construct and therefore an "ideological concept" (1984: 15). For him, landscape was a representation of how a group of people "signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature, and through which they have underlined and communicated their own social role and that of others with respect to external nature" (Cosgrove 1984: 15). This understanding of the representational aspects of landscape is refined by Cosgrove and Daniels to portray a "cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings" (1988: 1). Hirsch challenged such definitions and contended that despite indicating a deference for subjective apprehension (Bourassa 1991: 3), they, in fact, remained objectivist (Hirsch 1995: 5).

Hirsch's view of 'landscape' as an interchange between subjective and objective experiences is essential to my understanding of 'landscape' as experiential. The objective and subjective states of experiencing 'landscape' may be termed, respectively,

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[5] Painting, particularly with a 'picturesque' form, developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries such that "the art of landscape was directly associated with the "picturesque" movement, since pictures ... were taken as a guide for how to see" (Crandell 1993: 111). Such forms of landscape painting presented an idealised version of the world which could be used as guides for improving the 'real' world. A correspondence, in which the 'ideal' is indicative of a possible existence to which everyday experience might aspire, signals the applicability of the concept of landscape to wider fields of engagement in social and cultural domains (Hirsch 1995: 2).

[6] The pursuit of a correspondence between a represented ideal and the actual landscape can be seen in other social and cultural endeavours. Hirsch (1995) cites Ebenezer Howard's wish to 'marry town and country' as exemplary and a dictum that later found expression in the city house with a garden etc. In suburban life, working in the city (a foregrounded 'actuality') brings a potential (an imaginary 'background') existence in the country into view.

the 'panoramic' and the 'participatory'. Such states are present in painting as well as in environmental design (Bourassa 1991: 39). In the latter, phenomenological sense, it is difficult to perceive the existence of an objective landscape outside of individual subjectivity (Bourassa 1991: 39) but, importantly, I argue, it casts attention on the intentionality of the subject which is missed by a concentration on objective relations. This combination of objective and subjective apprehension is in line with a conception of 'landscape' as uncanny wherein each experiential state simultaneously exists within the other, typified by dialectical and precessional relations inherent in manners and demeanour. Within this simultaneity the underlying basis of 'landscape' as a cultural mirage (Fergie, 1996) based on powerful and politically constructed images is raised. Demeanours and manners are constituted both by the orienting dimensions of power and the disrupting dimensions that make cities places that are never resolved.

The sense of 'landscape' as a 'possession' is underlined in the comments presented below, that stress the representational aspects of the City of Adelaide plan. Most references to Light's plan highlight its historically constituted aesthetic qualities that often appear as a given and consequently effect an over-determination of everyday existence. For instance, the subtle relationships between representations of Adelaide and the scientific manoeuvres that brought them into view in the first place tend to be ignored on an everyday basis. In the process, I assert, the inter-relatedness of two essential features of the landscape, its idealised and actualised dimensions, are misrecognised.

Actual and ideal panoramic views

In this section the focus is on a part of Adelaide known on City maps as 'Light's Vision' (see Figure 1) on Montefiore Hill. At this site is located a statue of the City's first Surveyor-General and planner, Colonel Light, arm extended, index finger pointing on a rise over the City (Plate 4). At first glance, the name, "Light's Vision", conjures up an apparition and an inference of a visitation from above that guided Light's choice

Plate 4: 'Light's Vision': Tourists at the base of the statue of Colonel Light on Montefiore Hill (1994) contemplate Light's epithet .

and plan for the City. Adelaideans and visitors alike are called to witness the solitary concrete figure of the Colonel at this site following his gaze and pointing for evermore over Adelaide. Thus the viewer is also called upon to witness his 'vision' as if it remains to behold before them and 'him' at one and the same time. At the base of the statue is a pedestal with an inscription which makes compulsive reading and leaves no doubt as to the authority of this figure over the City and its plan:

> The reasons that led me to fix Adelaide where it is I do not expect to be generally understood or calmly judged at present. My enemies, however, by disputing their validity in every particular, have done me the good service of fixing the whole of the responsibility upon me. I am perfectly willing to bear it; and I leave it to posterity, and not to them, to decide whether I am entitled to praise or to blame (Colonel William Light, base of his statue).

This inscription hints at the contestation of Light's plan by his contemporaries particularly his deputy George Kingston. At the same time it looks to a resolution - the idea that Light's view prevailed over the dissent. At the same time the statue and its inscription obscure that contestation has remained a consistent feature, and Light an enduring corner stone in planning and regulatory disputes long after his death.

Visits to the site and its promotion as a tourist destination intensify the mythical status of a person who is attributed the foresight to have conceived of such a City. His image is linked to his Plan of Adelaide and to the subsequent centrality of the plan through which the 'vision' is maintained, reproduced and transformed in everyday life. What has endured is not a single 'vision' of the City but one that is importuned over time and which therefore changes according to shifting power relations and cultural and historical conditions. I argue that while the 'vision' alters, peoples' persistent attempts to conjure up Light's mind's eye remain consistent. In this sense his 'vision' and the fundamental views of other South Australians are interchangeable.

The stance and placement of the statue persuades the viewer to take a panoramic view rather than confine their view to a specific focus. Paths radiate from the pedestal below the statue towards the arc of a low rail fence. From the fence in front of the statue the City's positioning on the plains and before the arc of the Adelaide hills beyond is clear. The hills cordon off an area for the view's articulation and delineate in a more

precise way the boundaries of control. The observer's gaze is directed by the pointing finger of the statue and by the direction-finder on the fence that isolates Mount Lofty, the Adelaide Cathedral, Parliament House, City Hall, the Festival Centre and Mount Bonython for contemplation. Together they reinforce an idea that Light had once stood at this particular site and decided 'This is the place' and that his plan was pre-disposed to demarcated uses.

But, of course, this effect is an illusion enhanced by the placement, inscription and pose of the statue. The statue is not Light himself, just a facsimile of him. Moreover, what many South Australians have overlooked or not known was that the statue had originally been placed in Victoria Square in 1906 before its later removal to Montefiore Hill[7] in 1938, 101 years after Colonel Light's 'vision' instigated his surveyed plan. This oversight compounds the understandings of knowledge gained at this point as a fiction linked to a spatial configuring (see Appendix IV).

Landscape as 'participatory'

On-going references to Adelaide often related Wakefield's plan for the optimising of economic opportunity at the expense of the social dimensions of space. Light is positioned behind this re-ordering of space and his figure at 'Light's Vision' was used to imbricate contemporary planning decisions and make changes appear as if in accordance with the established virtues of the Adelaide plan he instigated (the idealised dimensions that the image of Light supplies). The presence of Light in debates at the end of the twentieth century is recognition of this constant conjuring and insertion of his

[7] Montefiore Hill in the nineteenth century was host to numerous military parades (Nagel 1965: 103). This military association may have heralded various debates around 1936 over whether the site would be used as a military museum or for Colonel Light's statue. Perhaps reasons of an artistic nature won through as near the end of the nineteenth century a residence named 'Montefiore', which housed the most illustrious members of the Adelaide elite and was situated across from 'Light's Vision', became the "centre of the arts" (Nagel 1965: 81). The mixture of military and artistic interests thus continues well into the twentieth century with a concert hall proposed by the City Council in 1954 for Victoria Square being eventually located on Montefiore Hill in 1964 (Whitelock 1985: 206).

'vision' on a regular basis[8]. Hence, this 'vision', presented as an ideal, is given a concrete form and a presence in the everyday, that could also be attained by standing at the site and *seeing* that 'vision' realised for oneself.

For many South Australians 'Light's Vision' is simply a place where one might partake of an idyllic view or setting. However, activities at the site unveil experiential dimensions of life at the moment, when newly weds posed in front of a camera, or when young lovers sat dreamily eyeing the distance, and, more frequently, when new visitors, in the company of 'locals', are offered a display of the City and hills beyond. Events such as these mark life passages or routes through which 'Light's Vision' has held a sustaining role in Adelaide life experiences.

In countenancing an idyllic view, people during my fieldwork were often pre-disposed to a benign assertion of the past. Thus at 'Light's Vision' I frequently overheard such comments as *"The Colonel got it pretty right"* and *"It's a pity the Colonel isn't around to see this"*. Such comments indicate a strong sense of Adelaide as a personal possession and of the Colonel as a beneficent kinsman. The sense of pride and ownership it conjures was evident at least as early as 1907 when a "noted seaman, traveller and author" (Bullen cited by Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1974: 88) proclaimed that of all the cities he had visited "Adelaide comes easily first in the perfect beauty of its situation and arrangement" (Bullen cited by Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1974: 88). Bullen praised the "wise, far-seeing old Colonel Light" (cited by the Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1974: 88) and spoke of the essential experience of Adelaide gained, but only available when

> the visitor has been taken in hand by some hospitable citizen ... [and so] recognises what a wonderfully handsome and ideally situated city it is. ... They do not brag, bid you to burst into unstinted panegyric, but they wait confidently and quietly for the expression of honest opinion. And I do not think they are ever disappointed (Bullen cited by the Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1974: 89).

[8] For example, Adelaide's Lord Mayor (Dr. Jane Lomax-Smith) recently made known plans to organise 5 or 6 seminars as "part of the council's commemoration of the city's first town planner, Colonel William Light. ... [and] said it was important for the city to generate more work like Colonel Light's visionary work" (Titelius, *The Advertiser* 1997a: 7).

The triumph of citizens is expressed through Light as altitude increases. Thus, as one ascends to loftier sites in 'the Hills' nearby, 'Windy Point' and the summit of 'Mount Lofty' are also prime sites from which to obtain a view over the city: "there is a quiet exultation about those ... citizens, as mounting higher and higher they again and again invite you to survey the panorama beneath you" (Bullen cited by the Corporation of the City Of Adelaide 1974: 88). An informant whose experiences I regard as typical of many new to this City, described how within months of her arrival in Adelaide that she had been taken to 'Light's Vision' on five separate occasions by five different families (Simone, pers. comm., 1995). Another, whose experience is also typical, had been whisked away to 'Windy Point' in the Adelaide Hills just two hours after arrival at Adelaide Airport (Ferguson, pers. comm., 1995). Another visitor noted with mock alarm at how *'he was picked up from the airport and transported directly to this 'look-out' in the Hills. As he and his cohorts by-passed the City he wondered if he had fallen into the hands of a terrorist group'* (Goldsworthy, 'Adelaide Writers' Week' address 1998).

'Windy Point' affords a view of the City and its determined grid that is more encompassing but usually less convenient than the one on offer at 'Light's Vision'. However, the clamber for these views is demonstrated as having important meanings for 'locals' and of primary significance in their understandings of themselves and their relations to the City. Such a view has been shared by planners (Figure 4). The view from 'Windy Point' is most often experienced as a night-time activity of seeing 'Light's lights'. At such times the 'vision' of the lights of Light's Adelaide conveys an overwhelming sense of line and order: Light's grid apparently laid bare and the basis for its extension as far as the eye can see. During the day the extensive foliage growing on the Adelaide plain highlights in the contrast between avenues of bitumen and the fringing shadow of foliage this underlying order.

Light's plan, which initially encountered contestation and obstacles to its implementation, was later heralded under a motif that underscored its *brilliance* and

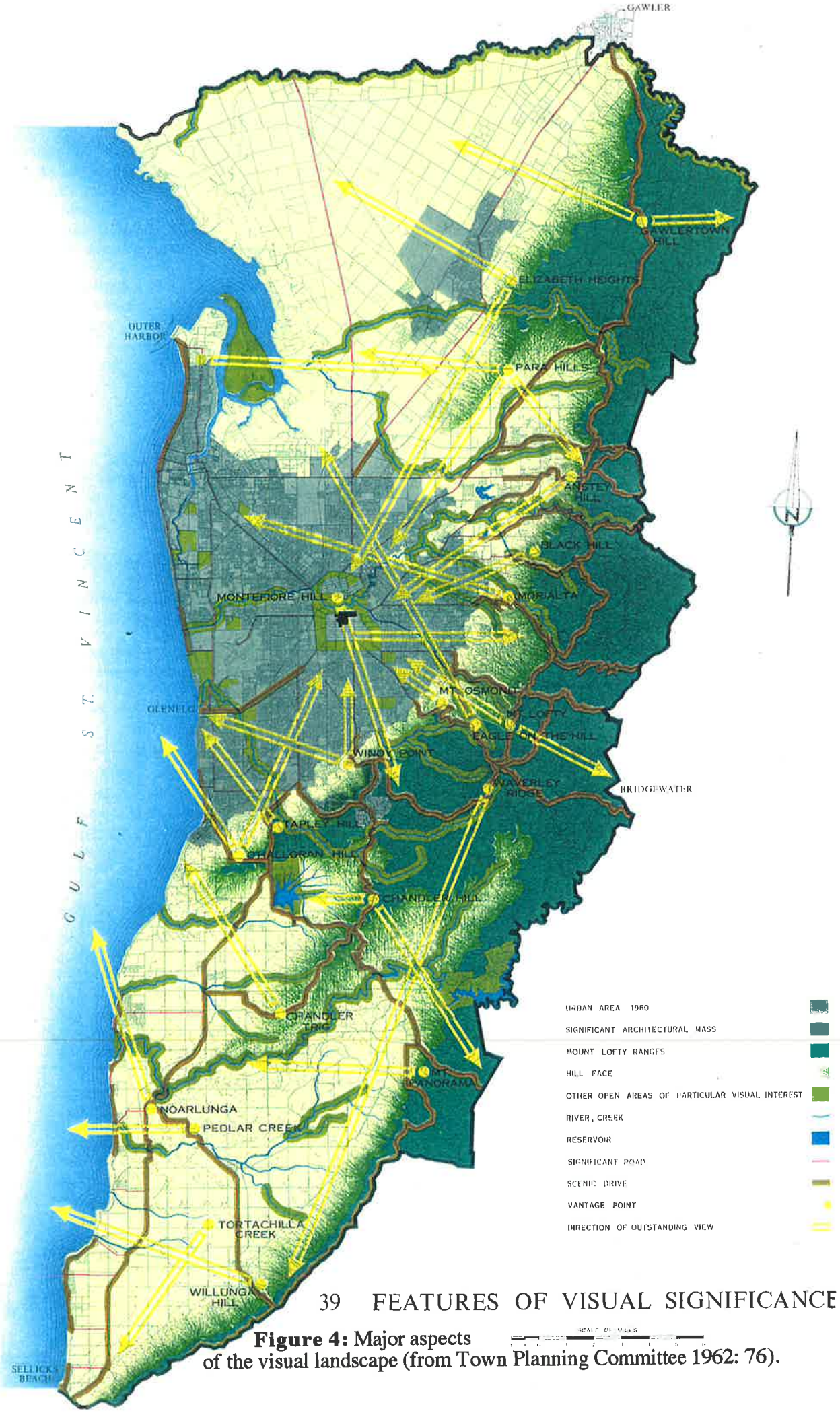


Figure 4: Major aspects of the visual landscape (from Town Planning Committee 1962: 76).

which related Light's 'vision' as an integral part of a shared economic success. Many accounts (cf. Allen (1847); Bennett (1843); Chancy (1849); Dutton & Elder (1991); Dutton (1971); Fenner (1936a & 1936b); Gouger (1838); Mayo (1937); Morphett (1838); Thiele (1982); Whitelock (1985); Wilkinson (1983)) have revealed his plan as a motif for action and of its provision for avenues of continued and renewed pride and security, two ingredients isolated as part of Adelaide's existing character by the South Australian Government Department of Environment and Planning (1991: 3). This governmental 'vision' was also reflected in historical conceptions of Light, such as depicted by Gargett and Marsden, who claimed that the City plan Light created brought him "lasting admiration for its conception and survival" (1996: 12). In even more glowing terms the architectural historian, Freeland, wrote "Adelaide's town plan is an extremely fine one. Light has been awarded by its admirers every complimentary appellation up to genius for his brilliance" (1988: 63).

The principle reason for this admiration is perhaps implied in Carter's assertion of the implementation of the "rational principle of the grid" (1987: 203). For Carter, the picturesque additions made by Light were welcome but the purchase of land is regarded as the uppermost consideration (and hence its division). The pecuniary aspects of the plan accorded most effectively with Wakefield's social program and the self-regulatory style of governance he advocated. Thus, argued Carter, "Light's grid plan met with approval because it was the physical embodiment of ... [a] map-like mentality. Oriented towards the physical points of the compass, its grid was a container for real estate; its streets were conduits for auctioneers" (1987: 204).

However, various promotions of the plan are masked, I argue, in the conjunction of idealised promotions of the City and of its founder, Colonel Light, who is, as a consequence, highlighted as a unifying principle. That is, an equivalence between Light the person and the 'orderly' aesthetic of Adelaide is set up. This unitary 'vision' is echoed in the logic of the grid and of the map to which I attach "the qualities of the explorer's track and the appeal of the picturesque view" (Carter 1987: 219). The grid thus brings the focus back to 'Light's Vision' as a idealised construct through which

'ways of seeing' in everyday experiences are brought forth. The foregrounded aesthetics are revealed in the appellations awarded to Light by posterity or in images of Light that are conjoined with planning, education, tourism or even through satire. The positioning of his image in these various domains makes it possible for citizens to possess the City and to 'see' Light. This possession was expressed most poignantly when the City plan and the statue of Light were exhibited with glowing pride to newcomers, as if in this conjunction, it became the property of Adelaide's citizens. From Windy Point or 'Light's Vision' on Montefiore Hill the vista is of a grid from which the lines and order of a city expanded beyond these foundations in the provincial city surveyed, planned and staked out by Light himself.

Inculcation: pathways to a 'vision'

During my field work 'Light's Vision' frequently appeared coincidental with references made to me about Adelaide. It was not only a fundamental point of call for tourists but a fundamental part of locals' understandings that were associated with their earliest education. Its ubiquity extended to advertising, postcards, textbooks, architectural conference tours[9], the cover of City Council Annual Reports, and other reports especially those associated with planning, television news introductions (for example Channel Seven, Channel Nine and elsewhere in news bulletins), current affairs (for example 'Stateline'), occasional use in *The City Messenger* and also on protest banners (Plate 5). Light is also the name of a room in the Adelaide City Council Chambers in which the Council's Development Committee Meetings are held (Figure 5) and is applied to a suburb of Adelaide, Colonel Light Gardens. These are a sample of the various ways by which Light's 'presence' has been continually measured. Hence the figure of Light represented on school texts and visited on school excursions or seen

[9] For example, delegates attending the Society of Architectural Historians of Australia and New Zealand (SAHANZ) conference in Adelaide (July 17, 1997) were taken to 'Light's Vision' as part of a day tour within the greater Adelaide region.

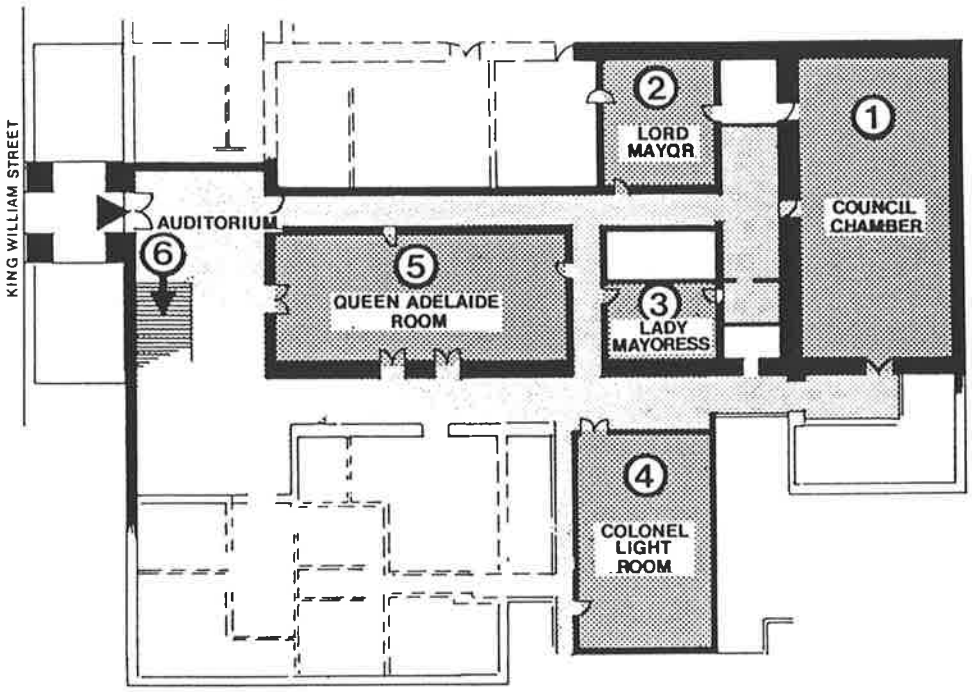


Figure 5: Plan of Adelaide City Council Chambers within the City of Adelaide Town Hall.

Plate 5: Photo-montage of images of Colonel William Light featuring advertising for a 'heritage' walk, advertising for a restaurant, a poster for a political rally and media representation of talks between the City Council and the State Government.

Montage: Mark Bradley.

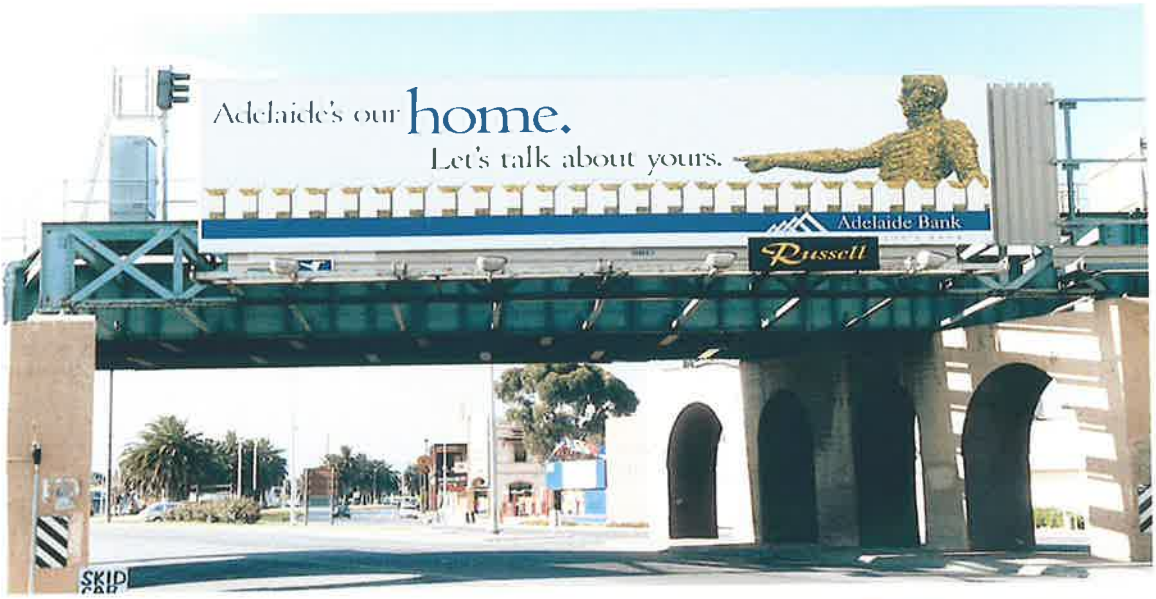
on billboards alongside roads leading out of the City or at a development site in North Adelaide or on a factory frontage (Plate 6) was indicative of an apparently shared 'vision'. In place we have a figure that provides an orientation to seeing, a shorthand about the authority, the right to determine, and the ultimate arbiter of change.

The ideal pre-figured in this way was significantly determined by early accounts of Adelaide. It is in these accounts that Adelaide's visual aesthetics were raised to hyperbolic proportions, mainly by those who stood to benefit from the sale of land here. Adelaide appeared to be above criticism, a belief that did not appear to have been diminished in the intervening years to the present. If anything it appeared to be gaining force as the following commentator's remarks in 1997 indicate:

> While a good case can be made for the power of positive thought, many of South Australia's woes stem from a blind pursuit of the positive at the expense of cautioning and reasonable questioning (Abraham, *The Australian* 1997: 13).

Such comments echo the sentiments expressed in 1839 of a newly arrived immigrant, who noticed that "everybody flattered everyone else that building, dining, dancing, drinking, writing, and speechifying 'was doing the heroic work of colonisation'" (Sidney 1853: 224-6). Evidence that this work has been carried out to satisfaction was made palpable by contemporary tourist brochures. One, for example, suggested that "Adelaide is one of the rare cities in the world to offer magnificent Victorian architecture, fine galleries, good theatre and excellent eating" (Pugsley & Forbes 1994: pamphlet).

The hyperbole, then as now, relates to essential elements of the ideal and the aesthetic qualities of a 'potentiality'. They frequently included references to elevation, prospect, view and provision, qualities that are also key elements in Eurocentric visions associated with 'success'. Such qualities are condensed in the image of the City and its founders. But it is the implementation of Light in planning that significantly contributes to the hypostatisation of space/time in Adelaide. An outcome of this effect is to deny those outside the corridors of power, the dispossessed and homeless for instance, their rights to the city while attracting the unwanted epigram for aesthetics, that as a paradigm for planning, constitutes a "rather neglected branch of criminology" (Deutsche 1990: 111). All citizens recognise their rights to the City through Light but when used in



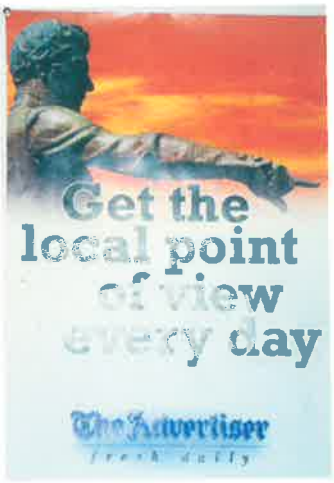


Plate 6: Further adaptations of Colonel Light's image around the suburbs and in the media: an advertising billboard in Port Adelaide (top); middle row from left: advertising for *The Age*, a Melbourne-based newspaper; billboard outside a new shopping development in North Adelaide; poster advertising a local newspaper, *The Advertiser;* bottom row two views of a 3-D sculpture, "Steel Life", located in front of a steel factory in the Adelaide suburb of Ottoway (Artist: Karen Harris, May 24 1998).

planning his image is differently experienced from the experience of standing at the Montefiore Hill site. The aesthetic is transformed by the application of his figure in planning, and this illusion is complemented by Light's status as upholding the rights of all citizens.

I noted in the introduction to this chapter that many definitions of landscape foreground representation rather than everyday practice and, as a consequence, ignore 'cultural process'. Similarly historical accounts, like a visual aesthetics gained through 'Light's Vision' on Montefiore Hill, present an assumption of an inherent stability which is rendered commonplace. This is unlike the ephemeral qualities of built forms, of which contemporaries associated with 'heritage' and 'development' in city planning debates are only too aware. Rather it relates to the seeming implacability of social structures and the endurance of social 'order'. In them may be found expressions that appear in similar guise to late twentieth century pronouncements of the City's tourist attractions (cf. Gouger (1838: 19); Bennett (1843: 122-23); Wilkinson (1983: 49); Anon. (1838: 182); Lewis (1865: 36); Corporation of the City of Adelaide (1914: 14); South Australian Government Tourism Commission (1994a: 44)). The communication of these visual aspects of the land discloses it as an "objectification and ...[displays a] need to spy out across its surface" (Mitchell cited in Bender 1993: 1). But they reveal little of the historical conditions and the context of its formation relating to the specificities of time and place (Bender 1993: 2). These are necessary adjuncts to understandings that

> (t)he landscape is never inert, people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate and contest it. It is part of the way in which identities are created and disputed, whether as individual, group or nation-state. [It] operat(es), therefore, at the juncture of history and politics, social relations and cultural perceptions (Bender 1993: 3).

Hence the landscape is an area of high volatility (Bender 1993: 3) and a state and locus of being in which 'cultural process' is most evident. It is also a locus in which uncanny relations of power through which it was founded are misrecognised, taken-for-granted and naturalised.

Co-opting the image

In dominant promotions an idealised City devoid of inhabitants or emphasising its utilitarian aspects are foregrounded. Mundane accounts, however, tend to be less engaging of Adelaide's charms. At this level we find people moving about and using Adelaide's spaces in a practical sense. The orientation that these perspectives provide for everyday understandings of Adelaide set up apparent contradictions that more sharply define movement around the social scale, in terms of gender, age, ethnicity, or in the economy.

Contemporary attitudes gleaned from a variety of sources such as the 'general' public, the media, and officials during locally staged events with a world focus, like the ephemeral 'annual' Grand Prix (held in Adelaide from 1985 to 1995), the World Music Festival (WOMAD, a biennial event that was inaugurated in 1991) or Adelaide's Festival of the Arts (held biennially since 1960), perhaps provide the most poignant instances for locals to express their conceptions of potentiality. These events provide occasions for a range of expressions concerning Adelaide's purported and new-fashioned global positioning (Peace cited by Safe, *The Australian Magazine* 1996: 35) and even the contemporary relevance of Light. A local historian, Derek Whitelock, was moved to remark in 1985 on the occasion of the inaugural Adelaide Grand Prix that "Formula One racing cars, their drivers no doubt blessing Colonel Light for his broad streets and park lands, ... hurtle round a special raceway in the eastern city area and Victoria Park racecourse" (1985: 317). In this account Light achieved the status of a global deity, purportedly known to peripatetic racing car drivers as well as everyone else in the world.

It is through various images of Light that City promotions continue to effect dominant and 'official' views. Official practices like naming contain inherent forms of power and potentiality and promote a history of Adelaide that is always about to happen. A 'present' is thereby stilled and awaits transformation to an ideal. In obviating such practices there are foregrounded proclivities to divide and possess the land, which are disguised by an aesthetic conceived of as a 'vision'. It is in the elevation of the

aesthetics of this 'vision' that spatial politics are masked. Thus the problems of homelessness, poverty, unemployment and so on, are neutralised by aesthetic orientations[10] more readily accepted when people are treated as 'novelties' and elements of a constructed reality. Poverty cannot be seen in the vista of high places like Montefiore Hill, Windy Point or Mount Lofty.

The practices of carving up the land and naming also highlighted a space for differentiation. Under this strategy the sale and possession of land became perceived as part of a natural order, and this order I equate with an implicit spatial fixity. Thus a firm delineation of the City's boundaries allowed easy manipulation of contemporary images of Adelaide. These images I argue, have been used in promoting the City, both to locals and outsiders, in terms of an extensive and encompassing 'heritage'. Further, naming practices and the dividing of land have set boundaries that form the terms of a future, as well as a present and past, 'heritage'. These boundaries surface imperceptibly in heritage walks, tourist advertisements[11], development models and advertising practices that highlight aspects of the City's overall shape and educative processes.

In all cases Light's 'presence' has remained central. For instance, on a typical contemporary 'walk', such as "Adelaide Heritage Walks", Adelaide may be seen in a state of evolution "from the vision of its first Surveyor-General, Colonel William Light, to the changing skyline of today" (Titus & Gill 1986: 7). On another tour, claiming to make "the first steps towards a wider walks programme" (a conjoint effort of the National Trust, the Adelaide City Council, and the South Australian Government Tourism Commission and released in 1996), unequivocally centres the Colonel in its title "*Light on Adelaide* " (South Australian Government Tourism Commission, brochure 1996, their emphasis). It included an audio-visual exploration of the City

[10] Typically aesthetic principles have made it possible, for instance, for developers in Rundle Street east, (see Chapter Seven), to include elements of space/time that have glossed over or excluded existing problems. The less fortunate were often confined to the City's western end, notably Hindley Street and around Whitmore Square, areas that for many in Rundle Street east were the antithesis of the way they wanted *their* street to develop (Pember, Nick, Young, and Roscoe to name a few). Curiously, Aborigines were rarely seen in Rundle Street east, despite their frequent appearance nearby at the Tandanya Aboriginal Cultural Institute that opened nearby in 1989 in Grenfell Street.

[11] Reflected in comments of such ilk as "Light's vision has been kept alive" (South Australian Government Tourism Commission 1997: 21).

beginning with a 12-minute film presented as 'South Australia's first audio walking tour'. The walk focussed on the 'East End' of Adelaide while the film recalled the City through Light's own story in which a "tale of determination, intrigue and passion unfolds, as Light leads you around Adelaide to discover the city's past and present delights" (South Australian Government Tourism Commission, brochure 1996). In the film Light appeared as the sole arbiter of the City and established avenues from its past to its present and future.

The spirit of such adages was further projected in a spate of books and pamphlets during the 1980s and 1990s, under the category of 'heritage walks'. Small booklets that explored Adelaide's statues and monuments (Cameron, 1997) or its statues and buildings (Axiom Publishers 1997) or its art and architecture (Queale & Di Lernia 1996), have been produced. These are not directed as sources for historical research (Queale & Di Lernia 1996: xi), yet all have adopted certain vantages that privilege particular objects and buildings deemed relevant to Adelaide's uncommon 'heritage'. Such subtle promotions have extended dominant views of the City, typically those of the State Government, the City Council, and the media to varying extents. Authors Queale and Di Lernia, for instance, commenced their guide-book with a walk along North Terrace and, therefore, reinforced its position as a prime orientation for understanding the City, while Axiom Publishers adopted the statue of Colonel Light as an initial point of call. Bonham and Ferretti asserted that this implementation of 'walks' has now been taken up by "planning as a marker of civilisation and sophistication" (1999: 126) and that pedestrians were often portrayed as doing things which enhanced "the city's vibrancy" (1999: 127).

In many circumstances promoters, writers and/or historians played upon the City's 'unique' characteristics, such as the 'encircling' Parklands and their apparent synonymous relation with Light's 'vision'. Thus guiding scribes often surreptitiously highlighted the securement of land through survey as a principle on which the state has

developed and by which it continues to develop. For many it has been 'misrecognised' that Light, the person in charge of the Adelaide survey, took possession of the land with triangulation, a scientific method that spearheaded occupation. Instead, through survey, Light's grid plan has been easily conjoined with notions of 'Progress' (cf. Carter 1987: 217ff). When Light is recalled as a "soldier, sailor, and artist of note" (Dunstan 1996: vi) the stakes Light and his survey team drove into the ground to mark out the spatial dimensions of possession vanish from view. The surveyors' measurement techniques using ball and chain and triangulation (Seymour 1980) are conceived as liberating processes rather than as being the instruments and practices of usurpers and oppressors. Further, surveying method is substantiated as a virtue of civilised behaviour related to discipline, exploration and innovation. In this sense 'development' implies a denial of history and an assertion of the future.

For the Kaurna[12] of Adelaide such denial remains a daily circumstance. Although the City of Adelaide was built on Kaurna land 'settlement' created an overburden which obscured Kaurna connections and the traces of memory which might require settlers to acknowledge it. Settlers in general, proceeded on the assumption that Australia "could be acquired by discovery and settlement, without conquest or cession, in the legal sense of the words" (Maddock 1983: 16). A widespread 'amnesia' continues into the present. Consequently, the Aboriginal connection to land is often 'suppressed' or unrecognised in the understanding of contemporary Adelaideans no less than other Australians. In this sense there is a continuation of the precept of *terra nullius* and commonplace assumptions about Australian land as owned by no-one prior to European occupation.

The arrival of European settlers in the Province of South Australia from 1836 instituted the social and spatial conditions that set in place the manners and demeanours of a past, present and future of European 'settlement'. For the Aborigines of the Adelaide plains, however, movements were restricted, their cultural practices devastated and their links with the land radically disrupted. Only forty years after settlement an

[12] The Kaurna are the Indigenous owners and custodians of the land in and around the City of Adelaide that was claimed for the English Crown.

alleged decline in the South Australian Aboriginal population to one third of the estimated pre-contact figure was recorded, with the Adelaide and Port Adelaide groups experiencing the most dramatic decreases, according to the survey of J.D. Woods in 1879 (Woods 1879: xxxviii) (see Appendix V). 'Settlement' was predicated on the power to define no less than the power to stake out and build upon.

Light's perspective

The perspective gained from 'Light's Vision' on Montefiore Hill complements the instrumental nature of the City. There the vision of a grid of squares receding from view encompasses the recognisable forms contained in all visual practices from architecture and painting to the production of maps and city plans. Through these practices the vanishing point has become synonymous with the instrumentality of military and mercantile expansion (Burgin 1993: 35).

'Light's Vision' is rendered symbolic of what might be termed the "disembodied metonymic representative, the eye" (Burgin 1993: 35). As such the statue of Colonel Light and its surrounds constitute a vast ocular form with Light's statue providing its point of departure. This construction supplies the historical perspective of the long term[13] to reveal a less idyllic and modernist perception of space. The statue and pointing finger of Light, the source of vision or the receptacle of the 'eye', points to a vanishing point on the horizon at which may be located "Western European global economic and political ambitions. This [is an] optical-geometric spatial regime - the panoptical-instrumental space of colonialist capitalist modernity" (Burgin 1993: 35-6). 'Light's Vision' is an uncanny icon. The past, present and future are conjoined as what you and the inert statue 'see' and held at the tip of an unwavering finger.

Perspective has been maintained as a dominant view of space, from its discovery during the Renaissance until the beginnings of the twentieth century. For Cosgrove, the

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[13] Cf. *"longue duree"* (Ostor 1993: 30ff).

idea of landscape and linear perspective as a means of controlling space are historically coterminous with the emergence of Capitalism while in both cases there exists an ideological relation to control "over both the natural environment and society" (Cosgrove 1984: 69). Also at the time of their emergence the representation of landscape in Italian literature and art formed the basis of European images of the landscape "both in image and reality" (Cosgrove 1984: 70).

With perspective "the identification of architectural space with corporeal space" (Burgin 1993: 35) was acknowledged but this association rapidly gave way to the 'eye', that is, to an abstract conception of space. Thus an association between the body and space remained taken for granted, until around 1910 (Lefebvre 1991: 25). Then the likes of the Cubists completely altered commonsensical conceptions of space as they "tried to account for how our bodies perceive space ... the space our bodies move through each moment" (Crandell 1993: 161). But as Lefebvre noted, earlier conceptions did not completely fade from Western notions of space (1991: 25). In fact they survived as

> (t)he phallocentric abstract space of capitalist modernity ... to inhabit the representational space of aesthetic modernism ... [and] survive into the present day. It is not that one spatial form was replaced by another. It is rather as if a 'superior' layer of spatial representations itself became permeable, 'porous', and allowed an inferior layer to show through (Burgin 1993: 38).

How may this rendering of space be associated with socio-economic groupings in the first instance? Through the notion of 'porosity', closure and transfer across boundaries, movement and equilibration is effected. Thus porosity obviates closure and makes the social order visible. What is made visible in the use of the image of 'Light's Vision' is a reiteration of the embodiment of Light and his plan. At the statue of 'Light's Vision' uncanny relations between the ideal (a 'vision' and a plan) and the practical (the built form of the City) are continually reinforced. Simultaneously, observers and participants are involved with inherent contradictions of 'process'.

These contradictions, I argue, are similar to a concept of capitalist economy which, as Mitchell stated, *appears* to divide the world between a practical sense and long term ideals (1990: 570). This includes Government programs used to control and police

the populace and infrastructural and disciplinary elements implemented for this purpose such as roads, electricity, sewage, schools, clinics and so on. Practices such as planning and cartography also stand outside of the natural landscape but through their concrete manifestation are made integral to processes in which the world is given order (Mitchell 1990: 570).

Mitchell assigned a process of "enframing" (1990: 569) to practices that contribute to a new social and political order. 'Enframing' involved the application of new techniques of surveillance and control which are regarded as permanent, non-local, of a nature that is hard to define, impersonal, apparently different, apart from the 'real' world, "outside events, outside time, outside community, outside personhood" (Mitchell 1990: 569). The appearance of these modes of power is "as something other, something non-particular and unchanging - as a framework that enframes actual occurrences" (Mitchell 1990: 569). 'Light's Vision' presents a particular vantage from which to view or 'enframe' contemporary Adelaide. The extent to which the image of the statue has been used as a site of social enactment proclaims its centrality in the lives of generations of Adelaideans. Further, the widespread knowledge about the statue and its ubiquity in representational form (for tourist promotion, in planning, in education and so on), and in memory (as a site at which to underscore significant moments in one's life such as marriage or as part of an education), indicates a conjoining of socio-economic forces in a process that is, at least, partly 'enframing'. Here locals are coerced and persuaded at the same time.

Such a framework might be discerned as metaphysical and yet, argued Mitchell, 'enframing' is firmly established in the social practices of the everyday world (1990: 569). Through social practices power seems to operate from without but is in fact most transformative when "most internal, most integral, and most continuously at work within social and economic practices" (Mitchell 1990: 571). It is the simultaneity of power's appearance as an external framework as in the 'law' or 'the state' and its presence in the interstices of socio-economic practices that is central to Mitchell's process of 'enframing' (Mitchell 1990: 572).

However, 'enframing' does not adequately explain relations of power. If we are coerced and persuaded at the same time as Mitchell suggested, then governing would appear to operate in a circular way. According to such reasoning all acts of the state would function to implement supreme authority. Instead, as Bennett has illustrated, governing is not uni-dimensional. Rather it takes the form of a diversity of measures that are pursued according to "their own authorisation and rationality rather than being derived from the interests of some unifying central principle of power such as ... the state" (Bennett 1995: 22). Governmental power thus directs and modifies behaviour through the use of strategies that are most effective when a close correspondence between the government of the state and the government of the self exists (Bennett 1995: 23). As Foucault has indicated the state "may be ... no more than a composite reality and a mythicised abstraction, whose importance is a lot more limited than we think" (1991a: 103). The 'governmentalization' of the state is a far more pressing issue, argued Foucault (1991a: 103).

In following this lead, Miller and Rose analysed modern forms of government and paid particular attention to the role of 'expertise' as a vital adjunct of "'indirect' mechanisms for aligning economic, social and personal conduct with socio-political objectives" (1990: 2). Those to whom 'expertise' is accorded, they argued, have a social authority to expound on matters of judgement "on the basis of their claims to possess specialised truths and rare powers" (Miller & Rose 1990: 2). Miller and Rose found that the "self-regulating capacities of subjects, shaped and normalised through the powers of expertise" (1990: 2), were essential to the processes of modern government and the conditions in which a liberal-democracy flourishes.

The invocation of Light's 'vision' on Montefiore Hill in a diverse range of contexts in and about Adelaide is consistent with the continuing role of 'expertise' which Light's 'vision' gives concrete form to. Most often the image is presented with Light's back to the viewer and overlooking a panorama of the City and hills beyond. Such images apply a "Romantic technique" (Ryan 1996: 91) as they allow the observed to

become an element of the landscape while collapsing the separation between the observed and the observer. What this depiction has references to is

> (t)he explorative gaze [that] is a microform of the divine gaze; the flow of the gaze cannot be reversed, however, and must always be directed from the 'higher' to the 'lower'. The higher surveillant is invisible to those below, or at least shrouded in an impenetrable mystery (Ryan 1996: 93).

It is this panoramic orientation of vista revealed, I argue, that invades planning and other domains of Adelaide life through an intrinsic relation to its focal point, the figure of Light.

The 'vision' from Montefiore Hill transforms the everyday and its meanings into the eternal. At the grave site, a theodolite balanced on top of an obelisk signifies the instruments of conquest and of past surveillance, but 'Light's Vision' on Montefiore Hill conjures perspective and prospective viewing and a more utopian view. It points to Light's 'vision' continuing to be realised.

The Montefiore Hill site of this 'vision' remains popular among artists and photographers. It has been used in representations of the City throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Plate 7a & 7b)[14]. There were also many local advertisements filmed at the site in contemporary times and even many aerial views of the City used an orientation aligned with Montefiore Hill. Early aerial drawings (prior to the means of being in the air to draw them) also took this perspective[15]. Their panoramic views of the City have something in common with the positioning of the explorer in early landscape drawings and illustrate links with possession.

'Light's Vision' from Montefiore Hill offers a panoramic view to those who witness it first-hand or in representations. The panorama it affords, I argue, indicates a

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[14] Captain Sweet's famous photographic record of nineteenth century Adelaide includes a photo very close to the present site of Light's statue and looking out across South Adelaide (Pike & Moore 1983: 75); the artist, James Shaw, produced a lithograph titled *Adelaide from Montefiore Hill*, 1865-7 (Thiele 1982: 21); aerial photos of Adelaide in the 1970s and 1980s (Whitelock 1985) and a photo of the state's most influential Premier, Don Dunstan, with Light, presumably, behind the camera are evident (Whitelock 1985); the site of 'Montefiore' also appears to have had great significance to C.H. Barton as it dominated his hand drawn map of the City c.1853 (extracted from his diary by Whitelock 1985: fig. 30).

[15] For instance, *The City of Adelaide Plan 1974* contained several aerial views of the City all more or less oriented from the perspective of Montefiore Hill. These were dated 1860, 1876, and 1972 (Urban Systems Corporation 1974).

Plate 7a: Early artistic impressions of Adelaide from a perspective from or above Montefiore Hill. At the top is a reproduction from a lithograph in the Sydney Herald Illustrated News, 1876. Below is a drawing by J.B. Shaw, 'Adelaide from Montefiore Hill' in 1845 (courtesy of South Australian Art Gallery).

Plate 7b: Various poses taken of key figures at Montefiore Hill including artistic directors at the launch of their new company in 1996 (Harris, Lloyd & Nunn, *The Advertiser* 1996: 19) (top); the Lord Mayor of Adelaide (left) and the Premier of South Australia (right) concluding an agreement to introduce changes to the governance of the City in 1998 (Kelton & Murphy, *The Advertiser* 1998: 2) (centre photo); and the Adelaide City Council's then new City Manager with sons and the City in the background in 1994 (Brinkworth, *The Advertiser* 1994: 3) (bottom photo).

Photos courtesy *The Advertiser.*

movement 'from' and 'into' in which the illusion of a past, present and future as coexistent is rendered plausible. This is produced by the erasure of the journey 'to' the present so that the vista obtained is dominated by its synchronic dimensions. A 'cultural mirage' emerges that 'unsettles' the illusions of a material/imagined time/space quivering on a distant horizon. As Ryan noted, panoramas often contain events that could not happen in simultaneity and thus betray pictorial claims to accuracy since "not only is its basic premise that of the illusionist reproduction of presence, but the picture itself includes temporally distinct events while ostensibly being a synchronic depiction" (1996: 95). I assert that the centrality of Light in the lives of Adelaideans and the central positioning effected upon the viewer of a panorama (Ryan 1996: 94) further elevates the temporality of the scene.

If anything the centralising status of Light has grown stronger over the years as his image has always been fundamentally linked with 'heritage' which, now more than ever before, has been given added significance owing to the State's relative impoverishment. The centrality of Light in the City of Adelaide is thus an important dimension of cultural tourism and the status of the City. His long standing relevance to the 'heritage' of this City is perhaps best reflected by the first recorded efforts of the Council "(i)n 1926 ... to preserve a physical structure [Light's cottage in Thebarton] because of its historic associations" (Morton 1996: ix).

The kind of ad hoc development lamented by those that follow the matter, councillors, council workers, residents and so on, continues as an investment in a way of life in the present City of Adelaide. While these concentrate on the physical aspects of growth, once made concrete they also reveal important social implications related to a 'vision' of Light's vista on the City.

Light Square and Light's Vision

I turn now to contrast the statue and situation at 'Light's Vision' on Montefiore Hill to his grave site in Light Square. This contrast is used to draw out understandings

of Light as a social construct, to stress the lack of attention paid to his subjectivity on a everyday basis (see Appendix VI) and to highlight his uncanny absent presence.

The original version of Light's grave appeared shortly after his death and was designed by Kingston (Light's deputy surveyor and a source of aggravation during his life). Kingston's memorial of 1839 had the form of a "pentagonal Gothic Cross" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1992a: pamphlet). This memorial proved to be of inferior quality, disintegrated like the relationship between the two men and became a target for vandals. Eventually a new memorial was constructed in 1905 featuring a granite obelisk "surmounted by a representation of a surveyor's theodolite" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1992a: pamphlet) (Plate 8). This was emplaced one year before Light's statue appeared in Victoria Square and twenty-three years before the same statue was removed to Montefiore Hill. The theodolite on the grave site is positioned to point east-west along the line of Currie Street and is indicative of a more compelling orientation for the City, with the hills to the east and the sea to the west[16].

Centenary celebrations at Light's grave site in 1936 marked the first 100 years of settlement and the implicit conjugations of Light and Adelaide. Even as I write the City is, on occasion, referred to as 'The City of Light' and the remodelling of Light Square for South Australia's sesquicentenary in 1986 (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1992a: pamphlet) was a further affirmation of the relation between Light and the origin of the city-state brought together at this site.

However, Light's grave site has not been visited with great regularity, nor has it been elevated (as his 'vision' on Montefiore Hill). The reasons for this, I suggest, are located in the fact that the memorial in Light's Square is a burial site on the plain and as such cannot confer a 'potentiality', a future. Rather there is interred a past. Light's memorial foretells a closure, the finality of a 'vision' removed of perspective and hence

[16] Yet, by convention, Light's plan and nearly all subsequent maps of Adelaide are oriented by the north at the head of the page. This is a convention tied to the marking out of boundaries (Stokes in Ryan 1996: 93).

Plate 8: Grave site of Colonel Light in Light Square depicting a theodolite facing east-west on a marble obelisk. The east-west orientation towards urbanity is shared by Light's 'vision finger' on Montefiore Hill. The trees and paths surrounding the grave site are oriented north-south and follow the line of Morphett Road which leads directly to 'Light's Vision' on Montefiore Hill and the frontier to the North (as a cardinal point). In this sense 'Light's Vision' may be seen as the transcept.

the death of what can be represented and viewed from this point. Planning debates in Adelaide require a future to remain live.

Light is laid to rest under the primary instrument of subjugation and surveillance, a theodolite. The apparent realisation of the original plan on paper is also laid to rest with the theodolite. Without it there is no future 'vision' or at least one that does not somehow incorporate Light's means of envisioning. The theodolite supplied a technology of 'misrecognition' which was instrumental in the erasure from the memory of Aboriginal presence and prior ownership. As Hemming has indicated the Parklands of Light's plan "represent a microcosm of Indigenous/non-Indigenous relations in South Australia" (1998: 11). These relations were realised in the creation of the City's surrounding parks which were constituted as areas for the enjoyment of European 'civilisation'. It was this 'civilising' process which brought about the displacement of Indigenous populations, histories and activities. Even reports on Parklands in the period of 'reconciliation' with Indigenous people usage fail to adequately grasp their cultural significance for Indigenous people (Hemmings 1998: 12).

As a social construct 'Light's Vision' is held up as an idealised view, a 'potential', that connects past (establishment), present and future. By contrast Light's grave site reminds us of an 'actuality', of a life lived, and a past. The tomb of Light is closed and in shadows. The grave site is in the vicinity of the West Terrace Cemetery and close by the red-light district of Hindley Street. In the early settlement period the area surrounding the Square had been a 'red light' district (Stark, pers. comm., 1994) and the Square itself had a reputation as a "haunt of roisterers and miscreants" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1992a: pamphlet). Some of the nightclubs, massage parlours and hotels on the Square maintain this 'seedy' 'degenerate' edge. Nightclub bombings, a murder at the Colonel Light Hotel, the presence of one of Adelaide's most famous brothels, Stormy's, and the opening of an 'S & M Club' on Light Square have all proved highly contentious issues on the Adelaide scene over the last ten to fifteen years.

Brine contended that the spatial layout of Adelaide provides the mechanism of visibility and the means for instigating the 'good conduct' fundamental to Jeremy

Bentham's schema (1989: 16)[17]. The Parklands could regulate those whose behaviour was of unacceptable standard by offering opportunities for diversion and recreation. Moreover, the proximity in this area of the plain of the prison and lunatic asylum incorporated within the Parklands could invoke a sense of fear in those not open to diversionary control (Brine 1989: 17). In this sense Light is an ever-seeing *panopticon* that directs movements of progress. He is a compass doubly articulated in his plan which houses the cardinal points, and is thus integral to the sense of a panorama which

> is often structured in terms of its being a view 'round the compass' (Oxley 136); but the word 'compass' has a second meaning, that of 'embracing what is seen'. Thus Oxley's description of a panoramic view from a hill considers the panorama in terms of visual possession as well as rotation (Ryan 1996: 96-7).

The effectiveness of the panoramic view from 'Light's Vision' thus appears to issue from assumptions of its suitability as a place from which representations of the City are made. In this way it has always been *the* place from which to measure Adelaide's progress and hence a site of *propriety* and *decorum*. The frequency with which it appears in representations further confirms the centrality of Light's image in people's daily activities and their formulations of composure.

The view from 'Light's Vision' through time perpetuates Light's duties of survey as mundane. Light the man is mostly known through his last brief journal, thereby linking his explorative gaze with the nature of panoramas, because, in effect, "(p)anoramas are the classic moments of the journals: the explorer gains elevation for the quotidian duty of triangulation of points, but this is always at the same time a celebration of the visual" (Ryan 1996: 93). In a comparable way, cartographic practices have the appearance of being innocent of intent or meaning (for example, the use of Magnetic North to orient the map (Ryan 1996: 102)), but like this setting, they are social practices. We assume that we see things as they really are and as with maps, an assumption of "innocence ... [and a] capacity for transparency" (Ryan 1996: 102) are

[17] Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) was the central figure behind 'the Benthamites' whose school of 'Utilitarian' philosophy advocated democratic reforms in England early in the nineteenth century. Bentham's *panopticon,* established as a means of penal 'reform' and recently revived by Michel Foucault (1982), is now often recalled in debates on surveillance and the intervention of disciplinary forces of the state.

the means by which their authority is raised. And, as with the map, perspective is gained from above and relies on a 'forgetting' or 'misrecognition' of the conventional use of signs (whether it be blue for water in maps or notions of progress in the city landscape). The image and the notion of progress being underlined in its representations is a reflection of cultural practices in which South Australia (and the rest of Australia) was assumed to be a blank slate. 'Progress' in-fills this assumed emptiness through social practices that indicate space to be in continual need of ordering and occupancy.

The apparent neutrality of Light's image and the panorama it affords, in a comparable manner to the architectural blueprint or map, masks an intent from which is drawn the power to legitimate the social order. Like blueprints, the use of this image fashions a means of surveillance and control. Power is supported by their use, a power exerted from above that places this usage in a "juridical system of power" (Foucault 1980: 88). In the case of cartography, its exponents, cartographers, "create a spatial panopticon ... [whose] power [is] embedded in the map text" (Harley 1992: 244). A correspondence between cartographic practices and the applications of the three-dimensional image of Light in a wide range of fields also reveals that power is exercised internally, in ways that decide how information is selected or in following the determination of "rules for the abstraction of the landscape" (Harley 1992: 244)). In looking at how the information is 'generalised' it is necessary to investigate the contexts in which Light's image is used. Further, as in cartographic practices, its applications may signify an hierarchical 'landscape' and be used as a form of rhetoric in representations of the 'landscape'.

Maps have altered the way in which power is exercised. The colonial powers, for instance, simply drew lines over Aboriginal territory and so excluded Aborigines' political identity, land and experience as a lived reality from their 'vision' for the City. Contemporary developers, planners and bureaucrats just as easily make decisions with seeming indifference to social dislocation in the name of 'progress'. The map or blueprint is not in itself the reality, but a creator of a different way of seeing whose authority is authenticated in its 'embeddedness' in published texts. Like the statue at

'Light's Vision' such texts point towards a distant frontier and invoke an authority to possess.

The relation between the burial tomb in Light Square and 'Light's Vision' on Montefiore Hill suggests a link with Carter's general assertions about the nature of Light's biographers and his 'Last Diary'. The link indicates that many biographers ignored the details of his last diary and landscape paintings, passing them off as inconsequential to the 'real' or as destructive to a Romantic reading of Light. In some measure, I argue the understandings gained by a general populace at Light's grave site and at 'Light's Vision' parallel understandings held in common with Light's biographers (see Appendix VI).

A 'walking city'

The City's Squares are also an area of the Parklands which have widely ascribed relations with egalitarianism. Such relations are reflected in the unusually low built topography of the City. The lack of building height, some claimed, favoured pedestrian-oriented activity and evoked the character of a 'walking city' (cf. Whitelock 1985: 329), while others more bluntly described it as a City distinguished by a "curious flatness" (Colquhuon cited in Whitelock 1985: 329; cf. South Australian Government Tourism Commission 1998a: 11). The low topography and well preserved buildings made an ideal combination for the development of a "thriving industry of heritage walks" (Whitelock 1985: 329) that by implication is open to everyone.

Adelaide did not form as a 'walking city' in a manner that pertained to Sydney or British and European cities like London or Paris which were "land-intensive" (Frost 1990: 5). The true 'walking city' was one "physically structured to minimise the distances people had to walk to go about their daily business" (Frost 1990: 21). In such cities businesses fronted onto main streets and the labour force huddled in the back alleys and streets behind these thoroughfares (Frost 1990: 21). The wider Adelaide region remained, in contrast, "a remarkably outsized city" (Frost 1990: 41) for its level

of population, the growth of which was a condition that helped preserve its inner suburbs from change. However, such low density living proved expensive since basic infrastructure, such as sewage and water pipes, power lines and public transport, "ravenously consume capital" (Frost 1990: 49). The cost of piping in Adelaide, for example, was regarded as extravagant in comparison to the size of the population when originally implemented (Frost 1990: 49).

The idea of walking about Adelaide in 1994 was actively encouraged and perceived as an important dimension of inner city life. This orientation was complemented by an expanding range of 'heritage walks' around certain sections of the City which have contributed to coherent views of City space. These walks provide a means for structuring experiences of the City environment. They fashion a way of seeing that is tied to built forms and people of an historicised past which they help bring to prominence. Similarly styled walks appear in cities around the world, for example, the 'London walks' featuring the London of Dickens, Shakespeare or 'Jack the Ripper'. 'Walks' thus provide the grounds for imagining space in time and synecdochic understandings of a city as an entirety. A 'knowable' city is sought by walkers, a *heimlich*, that displaces a lack of comprehension, the *unheimlich*, and so effectively renders the strange, familiar[18].

Hanrahan's belief in a "Weird Adelaide" (1988: 6), a term she used to describe her feelings of the inherent and concealed 'strangeness' of Adelaide, underlines commonly held conceptions in official constructs which are built into everyday practices. In Adelaide an uncanny time/space is engendered that is easily naturalised, yet this naturalising makes it difficult to recognise the power relations that stare locals in the

[18] For example, the September/October edition of *South Australia Great Magazine* 1994 featured an article by two women who had walked all over the City's 'Square Mile' and produced a document for dissemination to tourists (South Australian Government Tourism Commission, 1994b). Some City Councillors also made mention of the City's pedestrian scale and promoted their efforts to retain this feature of Adelaide. Councillor Johnson, in particular, waxed lyrically about his 'vision' of an Adelaide devoid of cars, where people 'mingle' on the streets in a harmonious way without unruly influences (Adelaide City Council Development Committee Meeting, 23/5/94). For many living in the City its main attractions were the Parklands and the ease of walking to a given destination. However, most agreed that they felt vulnerable to attack when walking at night (for example, Hutt Street Residents Forum 8/9/94).

face. The 'walks' are thus a way of framing experience which re-present structures that already loom large in our 'vision'. They contribute to the misrecognition that in these structures reside the instruments of governmentalities and corporations which, down to their very foundations, are linked to modes of power.

Contemporary contestations - a case study: Light and the Parklands

The enduring conjuring of Light's 'vision' in contemporary planning debates is well-demonstrated by the contemporary struggles about the Parklands which encircle the provincial City of Adelaide. The Parklands that enclose the City of Adelaide, I argue, frame the manners and demeanours that dominate everyday understandings and meanings. These are revealed in debates in which the Parklands, as symbolic of Light's 'vision', are commonly held to be egalitarian spaces and to be in a 'free' and largely undisturbed state.

A 'vision' of egalitarianism, coincidental with the image of Light and the Parklands, is invoked most fervently on those occasions when different uses of the Parklands are debated. Hence Light's 'vision' is an essential symbol of a current and vital debate within Adelaide about 'heritage' and 'development' processes that is mobilised to combat the incursions of 'development', particularly within the Parklands. I demonstrate that such debates and positions held about the Parklands generally are uncanny and further highlight the selective nature of remembering in this City.

Local commentators, such as Whitelock (1985), were convinced that the Parklands made the City a place unlike all other cities, in that they contributed to a sense of difference. Recent proposals at an official level (for example, in the State Government planning offices) have also referred to the unique and different attributes of Adelaide in "its smaller scale, Colonel Light's planning, the parklands, [and] its intimacy" (M. Lloyd, *The City Messenger* 1996b: 7). These features formed one of four major themes that the Government identified in its *Adelaide 21 Project* (M. Lloyd, *The City Messenger* 1996b: 7). The Adelaide City Council's 'Vision Committee' also

asserted that "(t)he parklands distinguish Adelaide from any other city in the world" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1994b) while in 1994 the Lord Mayor of Adelaide claimed them as "our single biggest asset" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide: 1994c).

The Parklands have been put to a number of uses. Despite the 'freedom of usage for all' principle, delineated areas of exclusive use have become associated with certain areas of Parklands. These areas are sometimes linked to the proximity and habits of those nearby a particular region. For instance, in North Adelaide "(s)ome of the best legal, political and engineering minds live ... Not only do they have a direct line to State and local decision makers, in many cases they are or have been the decision makers" (Mellor, *The City Messenger* 1997: 14). Some earlier excisions, such as the golf links between 'south' and 'north' Adelaide adjacent to Montefiore Hill, and the tennis club at the base of the Hill have been recreation grounds of Adelaide's elites. Other's in the lower parts such as the site of the zoo, botanic gardens, museum and public library were intended for the improvement of the common man.

In between 'north' and 'south' Adelaide there is also the Adelaide Oval (a major sporting arena), war memorials, classical statues dotted here and there, a number of University of Adelaide sporting grounds *and* the statue of Colonel Light on Montefiore Hill. Only the area around the river invites more informal public use but this is usually only of a day time. Paths running beside the river are popular with lunch-time and evening 'joggers' and cyclists. The river's banks in areas adjacent to the universities and the zoo are favoured by young lovers, families and workers of a day time while rowers ply the river of an early morning and evening. Generally, the surrounds of the river at night are considered 'unsafe' and have a notorious status as providing refuges for illicit activities such as drug-taking and clandestine sexual encounters. One section of the river bank, known colloquially as 'Pinky Flat', had gained a reputation as an area for prostitution. Elsewhere the river area has been the site of murders, rapes and assaults, some of which have never been solved.

Thc array of what remains 'greens', mostly uniform at ground level where lawn predominates, are occasionally interrupted by a raised flower bed or artificial lake, or a

boullée rink, or various indigenous and non-indigenous trees and shrubs. These lands include the City's squares and have been maintained for the public's pleasure. They are used, for instance, by contemporary City workers during breaks from work or by others for Christmas parties, barbeques with friends and/or family gatherings usually on a week-end and, occasionally, open-air concerts.

Temporary and episodic events present both a local and global nature and have included visiting circus performances that returned here for more than a century and a range of multi-cultural events. Circuses, which "were always popular" because their acts "astonished the citizenry" (Whitelock 1985: 227), are the likely precursors to global events like the annual Adelaide Grand Prix (1985-1995), itself daubed as a 'Grand Prix circus' by the press (Anon., *The Advertiser* 1993: 6). More recently there have been a number of other 'global events' such as a World of Music and Dance (WOMAD) festival (commenced 1991) which is held in the opposite year to the staging of the Adelaide Festival of Arts (commenced 1960). Each of these events make apparent Adelaide's positioning in 'a global market'. Thus the appearance of such activities in sections of the Parklands provides evidence not only of a City and suburbs divide but also facilitates an expression of the 'pageantry of a global vision' as a transient expression of everyday Adelaide life.

The wonder that the outside world may stimulate is, therefore, connected to understandings of the City that are locatable in the Parklands. Adelaide's Parklands, I argue, are a means of displaying difference on a collective scale in a similar way that the adaptations made to a facade enable individuals to exhibit a range of differences from others, such as class, wealth, family, fashion, inventiveness and so on (Holston 1989: 182-83). Hence, the Parklands area, like the facade, serves as a "liminal zone of exchange between the domains it holds apart" (Holston 1989: 118). In this sense the liminal dimensions of the Parklands form the interior walls of parochialism and 'heritage' and the exterior walls of global connections oeuvre.

The scale of the Parklands and their proximity to the City centre has been a potent underlying source for tension between 'heritage' and 'development' interests throughout

Adelaide's history. Like few other comparable-size cities of the world these lands occupy twice the developed area of the City and "have descended to us after 150 years in remarkably intact condition, something for which the city council, their main guardian, can take most of the credit" (Morton 1996: 146). Thus the welfare of citizens has been closely moulded to the interests of the City Council whose invocations of Light's dictum continually reinforce references to the Parklands as being 'for the use and recreation of citizens' and thus reiterate the favourable intentions of Adelaide's founder (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1914: 17). The inherent associative contradictions between Light's ill-health (see Appendices VI & VII) and that promised by the Parklands are also underlined in these references.

Proposals to disturb the aesthetics of the remaining 'free' Parklands, especially in a commercialist guise, bring public outcry particularly if they exclude a wider public usage. For instance, an "Adelaide Vision Advisory Committee" (hereafter, 'Vision Committee'), set up by the City Council in 1993-94, announced a range of proposals for the Parklands that appeared to exclude certain socio-economic groups and individuals and were perceived as a threat to public freedom. The Committee was comprised of some councillors, the Lord Mayor and selected members of the public who worked to produce a document titled, 'the Adelaide Vision'. Prior to the formation of the Vision Committee the Lord Mayor and two councillors produced a 'vision' that the Lord Mayor stated would "rival Colonel William Light's vision" (Holman, *The Advertiser* 1993: 5). One of their more contentious proposals was for an 'equestrian centre and polo court' in a north-east section of the Parklands (Holman, *The Advertiser* 1993: 5). As leisure pursuits associated with the very wealthy members of society and of limited appeal, this proposal drew strong popular condemnation. In particular it was the exclusivity of these pursuits that was central to the debate which ensued.

The Vision Committee met on a regular basis in 1993-94 in the 'Colonel Light' room of the City's Town Hall (see Figure 5). The 'vision' of the Vision Committee, however, appeared as an adjunct to the earlier versions proposed by the three members of Council. In producing a 'vision' of the Parklands prior to public consultation they

perhaps mimicked the stance taken by Colonel Light in producing his 'vision'. But the Committee seemed unaware of the respective contexts differentiating the historical decisions made by Light and their own positions. As a result those held to be primarily responsible for the schemes envisioned in the original proposal were given the mock title of the 'three wise men' in the press (Holman, *The Advertiser* 1993: 5), partly because they presumed to speak for the public as a whole.

Proposed alterations for the Parklands area appeared in the *Adelaide Vision Report* produced in 1994 (Corporation Of the City of Adelaide 1994b). The actions of the Council were described by a local journalist as "recasting Colonel Light's vision" (Pearce, *The Advertiser* 1993a: 15), and informed the public that the full Council were not involved in creating 'The Vision', but that a "development faction" (Editor, *The Advertiser* 1993: 14) of the Council was involved. Members of the Council's "heritage faction" were opposed to the proposed changes, said Pearce (1993a: 15). *The Advertiser* was moved to issue an editorial caution that "(t)he authors [of the proposed development] must ... expect the closest scrutiny of their proposition that the Parklands, rather than being a "passive, foliage-dominated fringe", should become a comprehensive recreation park" (Editor, *The Advertiser* 1993: 14). In fact it was not long after 'The [Committee's] Vision' was released to the public that I was alerted by a member of the City administration of the displeasure of members of the 'Park Lands Preservation Association' who opposed their actions. The Association had lodged a petition with the City Council protesting the lack of public consultation over the project. They also objected to the potential of additional built forms to be constructed within the Parklands and the charging of entrance fees for constructs within the Parkland's domain.

The president of the Association had, on a previous occasion, voiced concern over commercial development of the parks and stated that "(i)f you can't walk onto any part of the park lands for free, then we're not interested" (cited by Pearce, *The Advertiser* 1993b: 3). The Preservation Association argued for a World Heritage listing of the Parklands stating that the Parklands have "significance as a key feature in Light's plan

for Adelaide, which has been acclaimed as a masterpiece since early settlement" (Adelaide Parklands Preservation Association 1999, pamphlet).

The Vision Committee's proposals thus aroused debates about the 'ownership' and 'intended purpose' of the Parklands and the aspirations of a man who had laid down his life, many appeared to believe, for the provision he made in his plan 'for' the people of Adelaide. The State Government was also upset by the proposals because they sensed that the Council was trying to move into their own 'visionary' domain and into areas that they had recently staked out as a domain of "State policy" (Holman, *The Advertiser* 1993: 5). A counter-view had already appeared in a document produced by the South Australian Government Department of Environment and Planning with the title *2020 Vision* (1991) in which was set out proposed planning guidelines for the city and state. The collision of these governmental views further propagated debates over the control of City spaces in which Light and his 'vision' were again brought into view.

However, such debates over the intended use of the Parklands are not a recent phenomenon. In 1877, for instance, Parliamentarian George Kingston wrote a response questioning whether the government had the power to build in them or to alter its appearance with roads:

> I deny the Government to interfere with or make use of any portion of the park lands not specially reserved or set apart for Government purposes by Colonel Light, and so described on his original plan of the city. I may I think be excused for claiming to speak as an authority on this subject because my official position as next to Colonel Light on the survey staff gave me the best opportunity for knowing every detail of his plans, as well as it being my duty to see that his instructions were properly carried out (Kingston cited by Anon., *The Register* 1877).

By invoking Light in 1877 no less than 1994, a citizen might 'deny the government' any intentions to fiddle with the Parklands for it is through such invocations that citizens could conjure moral authority.

A parallel may be drawn with the above statement and a debate between Philip White and Ian Gilfillan, two prominent Adelaide identities, presented in the City's weekly newspaper in 1996. Their debate and Kingston's remarks 120 years earlier highlight the sensitive nature of alterations to the Parklands and their apparent but illusory distance from any government control. In brief, the debate was presented as a

polemic in *The City Messenger* (1996), although it was clear that both sides stridently held a hands-off approach to the Parklands. On the one hand, Gilfillan (a former state politician and State leader of 'the Democrats'), stated that

> (t)he preciousness of the park lands is the whole belt of open space... Green and growing; and wherever that's contradicted then we are - I don't think I put it too strongly - we're spitting in the face of Colonel Light's dream. He saw it, he established it, it's up to us to maintain it (Gilfillan cited by Wynne 1996: 5).

Gilfillan's reference to the organic nature of the 'dream' he attributed to Light shores up an argument for maintaining the Parklands as Light intended. In a pathos of mock counter-assertion, White, a wine writer and raconteur, presented an even more radical view by claiming that

> (t)he park lands are not kept as Colonel Light wanted them to be. Colonel Light wanted them to be like the parks in Harrogate in England, which were for sheep and horses (White cited by Wynne 1996: 5).

Each of the debating protagonists claimed a superior understanding of 'Light's vision' for the Parklands. The ex-politician assumed that no fundamental change had as yet taken place to the Parklands, while the wine writer believed that though these lands had changed that they could be reconciled to the original form that Light had envisaged.

Their teleological renderings of Light's intentions appear irrefutable, even though Light died in 1839. This debate focuses critical attention on a debate about planning that is essentially about loyalty to Light's plan and reveals how Light becomes a text and Light's 'vision' a cornerstone of debate. Light as a constructed reality is the plan itself, a personified form of inscription.

An implicit assumption surfaces in such debates indicating that the Parklands are formed in the present as an reconstructed vision of the past, an affirmation of enduring order from Light until now. For in looking at Light's intentions contextually, it is easy to assume that his reasons for assigning the depasturing of horses and sheep to the runs of the Parklands were also linked to a market orientation, for which this city and state was constructed and, perhaps equally, in order to better sell his plan to the sceptics who were fond of criticising its location.

The polemic thus also continues, in altered form, the arguments of those controlling the initial visions of the Province. As Bull pointed out, the divisions between first Governor, John Hindmarsh, and Light over the matter of Adelaide's siting (see Appendix VII), were such as to bring into existence "two parties in the colony" (1878: 24) and from these "much excitement was caused" (1878: 24). Their arguments, in which Light is often cast as an innocent victim of Hindmarsh's taunts and churlish behaviour (Dutton (1971); Dutton & Elder (1991); Mayo (1937); Pike (1967); Whitelock (1985)), demonstrate initial debates whose traces extend into the present with undiminished passion and whose resonances are found in the 'heritage' versus 'development' debate.

In a socio-economic sense the Parklands are a levelling space, open to the use of everyone, but a space that, in a misrecognised way, is differentially used as well. The monuments in the cemetery of the western Parklands, for example, bear witness to the fact that equality does not exist for all. These vary in size and expense while denominational zones restrict use. In the main, however, the Parklands have been used for communal pursuits and maintained an emphasis on 'participative' rather than 'spectator' sports. Thus it was not surprising that the recommendations of the Vision Committee stalled and are unlikely to be realised in the foreseeable future. What their 'vision' revealed most clearly, however, were the competing 'visions' of governments and the public and between powerful elites and 'grass-roots' interests. All operated from commonly held assumptions that the Parklands existed as a non-negotiable form linked to Light's 'vision'.

The Parklands as revolutionary space

The process of re-imaging the landscape and re-inscribing the territory as a result of colonisation brought about the destruction of existent Aboriginal populations and great environmental changes to South Australia. Thus it was not just about re-constituting the land in the image of England but had to do with divesting the land of its

content to make a new start, that, according to the rhetoric of its founders, was based on freedom. Or, more pointedly, elite settlers were interested in "quick capital gain and the creation of new opportunities amidst the gum trees for hardworking farmers" (Dickey & Howell 1986: 7) through the acquisition of the 'waste lands' of the Empire.

However, at the time of the inauguration of the City plan, it must be remembered that the technological age heralded by the Industrial Revolution was well under way, as were social movements in England precipitated by the French Revolution. Such advances made it possible to conceive of the space of the city, generally, as affording control of the masses often under the guise of 'freedom'.

Light's inclusion of a vast Parklands area surrounding Adelaide and the squares and wide streets within the north and south sections of his design appear to follow the logic of freedom (of movement). There is also an emphasis on good health, a peculiarly modernist concern that was frequently asserted in contemporary designations of the Parklands as 'the lungs of the city'. These 'empty' volumes were indications of the direction taken by Enlightenment thought which also emphasised "freedom of movement" (Sennett 1994: 292) where the openness of central squares became like lungs set free to expand without obstruction (Sennett 1994: 292). However, a direct consequence of these unobstructed spaces was that power and surveillance were more easily exercised over them, noted Sennett (1994: 293).

Sennett wrote of a "volume of liberty" (1994: 292) that was pertinent to the emerging spaces of revolutionary France in 1791. The concerns raised over the design of Paris at that time had significant impact on the future designs of cities throughout the Western world. The clearing of spaces in the central part of Paris may be seen as assertions of freedom by revolutionaries. These assertions appeared in response to a design competition held by the City Council of Paris. Entries which adhered to principles associated with transparency where an "open emptying volume" (Sennett 1994: 292), said to be inspired by revolutionary thought, dominated the competition. The designs generally emphasised a "town square regularised by buildings on four sides to form an enormous empty central space, without roads or paths through it" (Sennett

1994: 292). Adelaide's geographically central Victoria Square reflected such aspirations in the breadth of its dimensions and in its centrality. The sheer scale of this and other squares in the City were apparently incomprehensible to the newly arrived English emigrant:

> The town of Adelaide as depicted on the maps is the very beau ideal of all possible cities - there is an elegance and vastness of design about it ... but on going to the spot, like many other works of art and imagination, it resembles the picture very slightly - it is altogether on too large a scale ... the squares are of such magnitude, that ... a cab would almost be required to get across them (James 1838: 31-32).

Zacest asserted that open spaces and the early imposition of the South Australian Institute provided indications of values associated with health and self-improvement that were shared by a growing planning movement (1978: 49). Such values were woven into the settlers generally held belief in the social benefits drawn from pursuits based on "philanthropy, sentiment, romanticism and scientific interest" (Whitelock 1977: 250). Their pursuits were thus regulated and fostered through scientific procedures, and the application of new technologies and legislature (Zacest 1978: 46). These are processes of 'governmentality' that, as Foucault has pointed out, are "internal and external to the state" (1991a: 103). The paradox presented in this "governmentalization of the state" (1991a: 103), stated Foucault, is inherent in techniques which both permit the state to survive and also enable "the only real space for political struggle and contestation" (1991a: 103) to occur.

If Adelaide "is a unique exemplar of nineteenth century city planning", as Don Dunstan (1996: vi), a former premier of South Australia and later president of the South Australian Civic Trust, claimed, then its vast open squares and surrounding Parklands and their association with the health and movement of its people reflected the ideas of revolutionary thought. Its design therefore continues to mirror the imperatives of the social conditions on which the colony was founded, conditions of equality and freedom. These qualities were also the imperatives of a Romantic era, from which issues a realisation "that in the wake of the French Revolution, *the whole tradition* of Western Civilisation was at stake" (Ricoeur 1991: 218). Thus it was the French as well as the Industrial Revolution that helped shape "the political and social attitudes of Englishmen"

(Pike 1951-52: 65) at the time of South Australia's settlement. At the same time Adelaide has been the province of a powerful elite whose basis for power was set by the Wakefield Plan. The enduring contest between the principles of egalitarianism and the interests of the capitalist elite are the uncanny bases of contemporary struggles to define and construct the City.

Conclusion: oriented visions and centring Light

At the beginning of each Municipal Year of the Adelaide City Council

> the newly elected Lord Mayor recalls the life and work of Colonel Light in a ceremony at which the Members of the Council and invited guests are present. At the conclusion of his address (sic), the Lord Mayor invites those present to drink of Australian wine to the memory of Colonel William Light. The wine is ladled from the Corporation's Silver Bowl ... and on some occasions cake is provided. When the Bowl was presented in 1859 a piece of wedding cake of Her Royal Highness the Princess Royal of England was sent to the Corporation by Colonel Palmer. This was distributed among the Councillors and citizens present at the meeting at which the memory of Colonel Light was first honoured in accordance with the wishes of the donors of the Bowl[19]. The ceremony of drinking to the memory of Colonel Light having been observed, the guests and visitors retire from the Council Chamber and the Colonel Light Room is kept open for those who wish to inspect his water colours and other relics (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1974: 87-88).

Colonel William Light is a constant and abiding referent in contemporary Adelaide. This circumstance raises a number of curious ironies. For instance, the present space of Adelaide is far more and yet less than the realisation of Light's plan. Yet the City is promoted as incorporating Light's 'vision' in almost every instance of contemporary planning. Ironically Light is counterpoised to relevant figureheads of the British Empire in many accounts, but maintains an authority as the principal arbiter of change in the present and a connection between the past and future.

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[19] 'The Bowl' had four donors, one of whom was a brother of Jacob Montefiore, "one of the eleven commissioners appointed to the colony by King William IV in 1834" (Gunton 1983: 79). Montefiore Hill was named after Jacob (Gunton 1983: 79). The other three donors were Colonel George Palmer, one of the Commissioners and a friend of Light; Raikes Currie, a member of the British Parliament; and Sir Thomas Elder, a pastoralist and philanthropist (Elder 1984: 51). Their names are integral features of the contemporary Adelaide landscape.

The less easily discerned figure of Wakefield on contemporary horizons is a misrecognition of how his plan laid the groundwork for the implementation of Light's plan and how this plan was conjured by a man convicted and imprisoned for ill-mannered suits. Wakefield thus set the scene for an uncanny modernist vision to be installed and for the manners and demeanours underpinning the concrete form of Adelaide's plan. His plan predicated a society of privilege and civility despite claiming the terms of social justice. From the outset in Adelaide, ownership of land and power has been maintained by an elite socio-economic group. Wakefield's plan was, in the beginning, the shining motif of settlement in South Australia and the 'civilising' program of his theories of colonisation was the foundation of Adelaide's inception and development. Light's plan set in place and gave concrete structure to the principles of the Wakefield system. The influence of elite settlers on Adelaide's social and spatial ordering were also critical elements in the development of Adelaide and South Australia and the City's contemporary cultural divisions (see Pike (1967: 64); Hodder (1893: 26); South Australian Association 1978: (17-18); Borrow (1984: 64)).

While Wakefield's initial acclaim turned into condemnation as the new social order he outlined fell into financial difficulties, Light's plan became idealised as the motif for planning action in this state[20]. Wakefield's plan was construed as a 'vision' for the Province of South Australia, whereas Light's plan is maintained as a 'vision' for organising civility in the city-state. Thus, meanings attached to Light not only coexist with Adelaide's origins but also precede understandings of a future and present in which Light's spatial order regulates the metaphorical understandings of a City in evolution.

Light produced an initiating plan of Adelaide before he died but his 'vision' is also constantly conjured in contemporary planning circles and elsewhere. Thus he is theory and practice all rolled into one, out of which forms are concretely manifested in the present. Everyday conceptions of space are condensed in him and in the materiality of

[20] The prosperous beginnings of South Australia proved artificial after the first six years at which time the unique double government of Colonial Office and Home Rule collapsed into the single governance of Home Rule. The term 'systematic colonisation' became used as a catch phrase whenever difficulties issued from self-interested colonists and the expediency of the Colonial Commission (Pike 1967: 170).

the City, especially, for example, in surveillance and in planning processes. Light also illustrates a contradiction in that he is the founder and yet he is not the founder of the City. That is, he is both a man and a lifeless figure in bronze that points, a founder and a metaphor for the City's evolution.

His statue at 'Light's Vision' on Montefiore Hill, close by the establishment mansions of North Adelaide gives rise to another uncanny contradiction. The statue does not reveal the site of the statue's gaze which had originally been fixed in Victoria Square (Light's designated 'heart' for the City) and pointed north down King William Street towards Government House, North Adelaide and the new frontier. At Montefiore Hill Light's statue is elevated and turned inward by the State to face the City. At this time (1938) the State turned its back on the frontier and re-positioned Light in the same way. The future is then assigned to the City. The shift in the balance of power thus also effectively quashed the argument between Light and his deputy Kingston by irrefutably installing Light as the City's sole arbiter. A brass impression of George Kingston remains in Victoria Square but only on a panel on the north eastern side of a pedestal bearing the figure of his son, Charles Cameron Kingston. Kingston, unlike Light, is dead and buried as a figure of the future.

Light's role in the contemporary era is formalised by his presence as a ghostly presence at most Adelaide City Council planning meetings. Local historian, Derek Whitelock, also noted this 'presence' which he claimed extended from current planning to material implementation of changes to Adelaide, so that "the immortal Colonel Light, a watchful presence in the consciousness of Adelaide planners must nod approvingly from the Elysium at the Festival centre, the Torrens linear park scheme and the City of Adelaide Plan, whatever he feels about the suburbs" (Whitelock 1985: 335).

In this analysis I have sought to highlight how, through possession and the implementation of Light's figure, Light is made the bearer of an aesthetic through which a brutal means of possession was enacted, legitimated and is now generally concealed. That he may be regarded as an 'artist of note' by contemporaries continues to obscure the scientific rationale of an approach dominated by an artistic mode of appreciation.

This understanding is compounded by photo-images of Light's facsimile mounted on a pedestal pointing over the City. His image, usually with the City in the background, is a front for a diverse range of contexts from Annual Reports and school texts to postcards and City 'walks'. It is central to matters relating to City planning, tourism, and essential aspects of educative processes in this state.

The naturalness of Light's figure in everyday discourse indicated that Light, as a concept, enables thought about the "plurality of the real" (de Certeau 1988a: 94) to coincide with City planning, and contributed to perspective and prospective views of the City. As de Certeau stated:

> Perspective vision and prospective vision constitute the twofold projection of an opaque past and an uncertain future onto a surface that can be dealt with ... Linking the city to the concept never makes them identical, but it plays on their progressive symbiosis: to plan a city is both to think the very plurality of the real and to make that way of thinking the plural effective; it is to know how to articulate it and be able to do it (de Certeau 1988a: 93-94).

Thus 'perspective vision' indicates a way of regarding situations by sifting through the evidence to determine their relative importance. 'Prospective vision' implies looking towards the future and an anticipated outcome. Planning in and of a city requires that these two visions be brought together, argued de Certeau, and is made possible because 'perspective vision' allows the analysis of situations in their 'plurality'. Thus a first step for a de Certeauian analysis is to proceed from differentiation and the means it offers for enabling articulation. In order to carry out that articulation one may anticipate an outcome from a prospective view.

Effective elements of articulation, I argue, would mark out how political contestations and historical formations make overt the links between a concept and its actuality. Light's omnipresence in protests, advertising and education provide a conjured figure of articulations which are at odds in uncanny ways. In Adelaide space is settled by the never settled attributes of Light's 'vision'. This is why its uncanny - demeanour highlights the unsettling aspects of Light's aesthetics. The alignment of Light and the City plan is used as a form of political expediency that helps maintain and orient a certain cultural structuring of the City. The exercise of power through

technologies and disciplines associated with planning and the presence of the image of Light as an uncanny presence highlights 'the uncanny' in the absence.

In the following chapter I examine the practices of naming the City's spaces. In naming I locate a further means of ordering the Adelaide landscape and of asserting control. As a consequence, names laid over the outline of the Adelaide grid have often been misrecognised as natural to everyday life while acting as progenitors of certain 'civilising' imperatives.

Chapter Three

Superimposing a taxonomy of hegemony

> The name [Adelaide] was chosen by the South Australian Commissioners in London after the passage of the Colonisation Bill ... It was assigned to the Capital even before its site had been fixed (Cockburn 1984: 3).

Introduction

'Naming' is an initial step in making the unfamiliar, familiar and of 'realising' the imagined. It is a practice that from the earliest European settlement period in Australia has been of profound significance in the ownership of land. An 'unnamed' land provided the grounds for occupation as such land was considered to be unoccupied and therefore free of historicity in Western terms (Carter & Malouf 1989: 174). There is an implied subjugation of the landscape entailed in the act of 'naming', an appropriation by which former use and ownership can be denied and ignored. 'Naming' followed survey and was thus part of a technology of surveillance whose techniques evade detection.

Naming practices set in place the familiar patterns of 'civilisation' that kept at bay any incipient tendencies to degeneration in a wilderness. Around the time the Adelaide grid was being named Harrison warily stated:

> The tendency of an isolated existence in the bush is to produce a deterioration of personal habits in those who have formerly possessed some refinement ... [and also induces the] vulgar and illiterate to a more animal existence (Harrison 1978 [1862]: 76-7).

In this regard Harrison also believed that "the influence of dress as an agent of civilisation should not be over-rated ... [as] a neglect of cleanliness ... [was] a prelude to many vices" (1978 [1862]: 76). Names, like clothing, may complement an illusion of civilised refinement, as Leigh's initial impressions of Adelaide in 1839, demonstrate:

> I had read a few days ago, of the various names of the streets - such high sounding names! - this square and that square - east-end and west-end - such a terrace and such a street, - that I could not but fancy my sight was suddenly failing me, when I

> strained my eyes in vain, to see either square, terrace, street, house, or even anything to lead me to the conclusion of there having been any (Leigh 1839: 139).

Naming practices in Adelaide conjured a divided social landscape. Like the modernist practices common to the emerging sciences, such as the taxonomic principles of natural history (cf. Allen (1996); Bennett (1995); Healy (1997); Stocking (1985); Thomas (1991)), the naming of features of the grid addressed a lack of differentiation albeit in the social and spatial environment. Adelaide was a prime example of the 'civilising' impulses of modernism which informed the planning of cities during the nineteenth century. In Adelaide the rational virtues of open airy living conditions were realised in a design that bore little resemblance to the squalid conditions then available in Europe. These open airy conditions remain valued assets in City marketing (Russell 1993: 29) which, I argue, enhance an underlying taxonomy of social division framed by naming practices.

In this chapter I demonstrate that names and practices of naming orient the spaces of Adelaide and reveal an underlying text based on a theme of foundation and power. Most of Adelaide's streets and squares were named after South Australia's founders and English monarchs in May 1837. That is after those who asserted power or whose power was asserted in the founding of the City. Naming of the City's streets took place two months after the completion of the City of Adelaide Plan and

> like most other things was the cause of endless bickerings ... Finally a kind of Commission was formed, and a considerable portion of the landowners were included. The result was that the various streets, squares and terraces had affixed to them the names of almost everyone of note who had been connected with the colonisation scheme and the founding of South Australia (Burgess 1907: 92).

The Naming Committee[1] applied the names of members holding civil offices in the Legislative Council, the Colonial Secretary's Office, the Survey Department, General Post Office, Storekeepers Department, Justices of the Peace, and banking directors (*South Australian Almanac* 1840: 72-76) to the streets of Adelaide. The Squares were,

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[1] Members of the Naming Committee included: Governor Hindmarsh, James Hurtle Fisher (Resident Commissioner), Robert Gouger (Colonial Secretary), J. Barton Hack, John Morphett, Colonel Light, Edward Stephens, Thomas Bewes Strangways, Thomas Gilbert, John Brown, Osmond Gilles and Sir John Jeffcott (a judge) (*The South Australian Record*, Vol.1, No.1, 1837: 10).

in general, named after higher ranked officials and royalty of the time and thus resulted in the assignation of names like Victoria (then Heir Presumptive to the throne of England), Wellington (the Duke of Wellington who recommended Light's appointment) and Hindmarsh (South Australia's first Governor). The remaining three squares were named Light (after Colonel Light), Hurtle (after James Hurtle Fisher who was Resident Commissioner) and Whitmore (after W.W. Whitmore, a Colonisation Commissioner for South Australia and a member of the English Parliament). The central street of the City, running north-south, was named after the then King, William IV, and the City itself after his consort, Queen Adelaide. These royal figures lived around the time of South Australia's inception.

Apart from Gouger and King William IV, the men were all Members of Parliament and also held other leading positions within the new colony and/or in England[2]. Notably, Gouger played a pivotal role in bringing the Wakefield Plan to fruition while Morphett proved highly influential in deciding where the present site of Adelaide was to be established because he held more votes than all others as a result of his extensive land-holdings (Morphett cited by Morphett 1936: 23-26). Some of the descendants of these figures remain powerful forces in Adelaide and South Australia. Descendants of Morphett for example retain substantial pastoral leases in the far north of South Australia.

I indicate that the names applied to Adelaide's streets are the basis of a political and social network that was formed and produced around contested visions of nomenclature. Names which thus appear natural to the City landscape appeal to more than just an empty association with a vacant space. The text that the Nomenclature Committee wrote over the City in 1837 predicated the hegemony of Adelaide and laid the groundwork of its genealogical reproduction and on-going transformation in the present.

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[2] For example, John Rundle M.P., (Rundle Street) was an original Director of the South Australian Company and owner of the Tavistock Bank (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1946: 128-29); Raikes Currie, M.P., (Currie Street) was a London banker and one of the original Directors of the South Australian Company. He was also one of four donors of the silver bowl mentioned in the conclusion to Chapter Two; Charles Hindley, M.P., (Hindley Street) was another original Director of the South Australian Company and of the Union Bank (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1974: 62-65).

Lawson and Goodwin maintain that the application of names to an unmapped territory reveal a "device for retaining the power of the familiar culture to designate what is strange and what is familiar" (1990: 293). The construction of historical discourse that predicates and follows from designating the familiar promotes the legitimacy of dominant groups and orients understanding toward the experiences of the ruling culture and a publicly owned 'heritage'.

Through case studies explored in this chapter I indicate the contemporary nexus between naming and relations of power. I examine, for example, how the Adelaide City Council went about assigning a name to an inner City laneway and a recent development project in the City that conjoins public and private interests. By contrast I also document the failure of a common peoples' proposal to name a section of the Parklands after a dead peripatetic racing car driver and the way in which 'authorities' retained the right to name in the City. The examples used reveal how the insertion of names can familiarise alterations to a space made unfamiliar through development and for conveying a sense of socio-economic grouping. This application of naming practice is intimately tied to a politics of space and with manners and demeanours. The manner in which the public is drawn into and adopts the City's naming procedures is thus another focus of this chapter. In all instances I explore how fundamental orientations and relations of power underpinned and attested by the naming of the grid are maintained and reproduced.

The Council's control over naming procedures helps reassert the integrity of Light's plan. Such practices qualify the intrusions made by the addition of laneways and streets to the City. The clear evidence of some of the Plan's limitations (Anon., *The Advertiser,* 1917) were later glossed over by City planners who described the alterations as providing a "valuable adjustment to the Light Plan" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1993a: 8). They claimed to create important pathways linked to "Light's original hierarchy of streets ... [that] extend the spatial variety of the Plan and provide a rich mix of public spaces at a pedestrian scale ... [In this way] the minor streets have become intrinsic to the quality of the public realm in the City" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1993a: 8). However, the fact that the City Corporation decried the nature of

unofficial naming practices as arbitrary, even though they were integral to laneway and minor street formation, I deem 'uncanny'. Their control, I argue, reasserts an authority whose legitimacy extends an historical discourse centred in the figure of Light. Adopting Fabian's analogy, this control is worked through a taxonomic mode whose arbitrary labels cannot be recognised as such because they are fundamental to its model (1983: 102). Their manner of operation is, I argue, reminiscent of Marx's description of England's 'Enclosure Laws' as "decrees by which the landowners grant themselves the people's land as private property, decrees of expropriation of the people" (Marx 1976: 885).

Genealogical links

The erasure of the Kaurna from European historical consciousness coincides with an absence of Indigenous names in maps of Adelaide. If approaching the contemporary City of Adelaide from almost any direction by road or rail, it is possible to note gradually diminishing references to Aboriginal place names and a pre-Colonial past. In moving towards Adelaide along the coastal road from the south, names of apparent Aboriginal origin, such as Yankalilla, Aldinga and Willunga, figure prominently. However, on the fringes of Greater Adelaide, between ten and twenty kilometres from the City centre, suburbs with English names such as Brighton, Seacliff, Glenelg and Henley Beach are evident. An approach from the desert regions north of Greater Adelaide reveals a similar dilution as the Centre becomes more visible. A mixture of Germanic and Aboriginal place names such as Peterborough, Orroroo, Yongala, Koolunga and the Barossa Valley north of the City steadily give way to English names such as Gawler and Elizabeth and inner suburbs such as Prospect, Payneham and Walkerville[3] (Figure 6).

[3] The names cited in this section appear on a Freemasons' map of South Australia (Mander-Jones 1976: 384-85) (Figure 6) which also discloses the sites of some Freemasons' Lodges in this state.

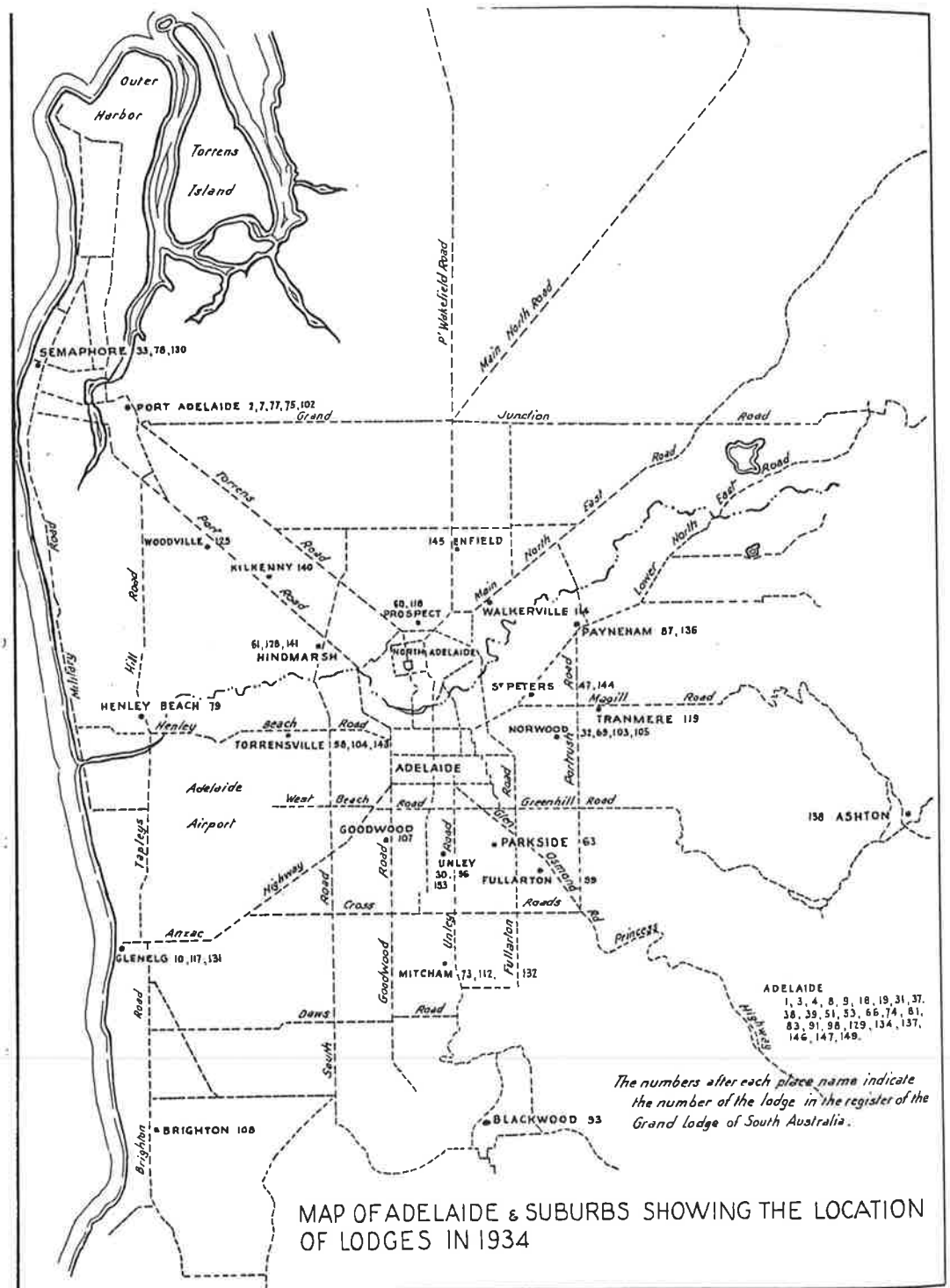

Figure 6: Some place names within greater Adelaide reproduced from the map of the Grand Lodge of South Australia, 1934 (Mander-Jones 1976: 384).

The City can also be approached from the east via the Mount Lofty Ranges. The main thoroughfare through this range is along the Princes Highway on which are located towns near the Victorian/South Australian border such as Pinnaroo, Lameroo, and Karoonda many kilometres from Adelaide. Germanic place names like Hahndorf are apparent in the ranges (known locally as 'the hills'), but a distinctly English character evident in names such as Crafers, Aldgate, Littlehampton, and Stirling, predominates and is repeated in the naming pattern of the suburbs of the Adelaide plains.

The positioning of Aboriginal place names at great distances from the City's perimeter appears to distance Aboriginal people as out of place and Other in this 'settled' landscape. The essence of this Other is located in "outback places and ritual mysteries" rather than closer to 'home' (Fergie 1993: 2). On a daily basis such spatial distancing reinforces Aboriginality as an exotic and shadowy presence by virtue of its distance from a 'centre' that, in its own spatial naming, adheres to Anglo-Celtic origins. Fergie has pointed to the effect of 'spatial and temporal distancing' that operates to configure Aborigines in another time and place and position them as "innately and profoundly different from us" (1993: 2). In adopting this reasoning it becomes possible to recognise that in the names of Adelaide's streets and in the names of its rural areas profoundly different historic epochs, from the 'nearness' (in time) of English settlement to a distant and hence timeless Aboriginal past, are possible. As Fabian has indicated, words carry a range of moral, aesthetic and political meanings which often lie hidden from view. Thus words in themselves have the power to create "temporal distancing" (Fabian 1983: 75).

Significantly, the City's Parklands escaped naming[4] for a time nor could they be privately possessed, except in those instances contained in Light's original plan which included sites for the construction of a cemetery, Government House, an army Barracks, and a hospital (see Figure 2). The names later applied to the Parklands seemed a prerogative held over for wealthy and influential patrons of the City, such as

[4] In 2000 the City Council announced that some defined but unnamed sections of the Parklands would be given Aboriginal names. As I write this determination is yet to be given effect.

Angas, Bonython, Elder, Rymill, Glover, Veale, Osmond and so on, after whom sections of the Parklands have been named[5]. These sections often took the form of 'playgrounds' and 'fenced in' areas that were dispensed for the purposes of honouring the (male, white) philanthropist and/or government officials.

The names applied to Adelaide's streets make visible the social matrix of power evident at the time of the City's formation. Contrary to more general naming practices which disguised the operations of power, the names used for infilling the spaces of Adelaide amplified the visibility of power rather than highlighting physical landmarks. In this inversion, members of a dominant and powerful elite were installed in everyday language as guides to citizens' orientation in space. These names have thus underwritten a system of power along which people have travelled daily in their movements around the City and are illustrative of a genealogical inheritance that continues to link personal and public pasts but which is also 'naturalised' and backgrounded in everyday experience.

Street names as symbols

Carter (1987) alleged that Cook named the Australian landscape analogously by ascribing to it qualities that resembled his personal memories of England. However, such reasoning has a potential for masking the necessarily political and epistemological character of all naming practices and fails to account for the hierarchical and taxonomic structures of scientific discourse within which Cook worked (Seddon 1997: 29ff). For Seddon the taken-for-granted aspects of language concerning the landscape and the

[5] For example, 'Angas Garden', was named after George Fife Angas who was described in the City Council's 1972-74 *Reference Book* as a "pioneer, pastoralist and philanthropist" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1974: 146); 'Bonython Park' was named after Sir John Lavington Bonython a Lord Mayor and member of the City Council (Ibid); three playgrounds with the title 'Glover Playground' were named after Charles R.J. Glover the first Lord Mayor of Adelaide (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1974: 147); 'Elder Park' was named after "Sir Thomas Elder, philanthropist, and one of South Australia's largest landowners" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1974: 147); 'Rymill Park' was named after a former Lord Mayor of Adelaide (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1974: 148); and 'Veale Gardens' were "named after William Charles Douglas Veale, who was [a long-serving] Town Clerk of the City" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1974: 148).

integral role of language in the formation of dominant ideologies and behaviour are paramount. Thus, language is considered important as a medium that exerts influences over "our perception of the environment" (Seddon 1997: 16). Further, our perceptions appear in various guises that are "the product of cultural conditioning and individual variation" (Seddon 1997: 13).

Language has a number of important effects in our everyday lives and these were indicated by Seddon in the following points:

- The words we use reflect our objectives and interests in the environment;
- Language affects our actions in the environment; and
- Linguistic awareness is essential to self-awareness (Seddon 1997: 16).

Language predicates an environment that is "inescapably anthropocentric" (Seddon 1997: 16) where words figure in articulating a range of underlying motives, such as ownership, possession, dispossession, and appropriation. These terms provide the wherewithal by which we are able to "position ourselves in relation to landscape" (Seddon 1997: 21). Names, then, are a basis for assuming control and play a vital role in emplacement. In this respect they furnish the imagination and contribute material for stories while providing a measure for a correspondence between the imagination and a named landscape (Seddon 1997: 25-26).

For me, the 'critical act' of naming also resides in the assurances and guarantees the name implies, most evidently for aspiring immigrants, but also in daily encounters. For example, in the 1950s a new satellite city was constructed just 25 kilometres from Adelaide and named 'Elizabeth' after the Queen of England at that time. Many at that time had urged the Premier of the State, Sir Thomas Playford, to name the new city after himself. Playford's choice of 'Elizabeth' said Cockburn, was however, a "shrewd move for the head of a government seeking to attract British migrants to work in the factories which the government was trying to establish there" (Cockburn cited in Lloyd, *The Advertiser* 1995: 4). The name reassured potential inhabitants, many of whom were British, that they had the support of the British Empire and/or felt that they approached the landscape they would inhabit with some degree of familiarity. In this

sense the names of founders also provided and continue to provide forms of assurance. They are part of the everyday order of the environment that fashions underlying conditions for a naturalised hierarchical ordering. This dominance holds despite an increasingly diverse Adelaide demographic and a generally diminishing relevance that the figures behind the names have for members of the public.

Names are, as Turner observed for symbols generally, "dynamic entities, not static cognitive signs, ... patterned by events and informed by the passions of human intercourse, in friendship, sexuality, and politics" (1975: 96). In addition, symbols may be seen to act as "root paradigms" (Turner 1975: 15) which form the basis for certain societal beliefs. In constituting fundamental relations of this depth, the naming of the City's thoroughfares is manifestly conjoined with origins in state power. This conjunction assisted the masking or 'misrecognition' of conventional modes of spatial orientation throughout the City. In this sense names link with other symbolic forms to constitute the basis of paradigms that "mediate ... between ideals and action in social fields full of cross-purposes and competing interests" (Turner 1975: 96).

The grid can be used like a "machine for building on the move" (1996: 247), said Carter, but Light's plan militated against active carving of the landscape (1996: 247). The design used for the City's 'square mile', according to Carter, "frustrate(s) outward expansion; at the same time, though, it avoids implosion by 'staggering' lines of attraction likely to encourage centripetal concentration" (1996: 247). In this way the design preserves Adelaide's boundaries by an act of self-enclosure and signifies the end of debate as to its siting. I assert that this preservation is further enhanced through the application of names that are generally overlooked or 'naturalised' in everyday life. My application of the term 'naturalised' or taken-for-granted applies to understandings and meanings that are commonly held and accepted without question by the populace often as a result of their frequent encounter.

Voloshinov (1973) has highlighted the intrinsic role of historical process in language and in everyday life. Importantly for the argument I am making, he argued

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that, like a language system, other systems of social norms were to be similarly regarded. That is, every system

> exists only with respect to the subjective consciousness of individuals belonging to some particular community governed by norms. Such is the nature of a system of moral norms, of judicial norms, of norms for aesthetic taste, ... and so on (Voloshinov 1973: 66).

In presenting this argument I assert that the design and naming practice as applied in Adelaide display a system of norms where the needs to individualise and differentiate were revealed as paramount objectives for orientation. Within these systems a process of eliminating time and society was at work and particularly expressed in 'development' processes in contemporary Adelaide. In this effort the projections of planners and developers were aided by the strategies of various tiers of government and the public, either consciously or inadvertently.

The installation of names inform a semantics of spatialization that conjoins with an activated process of land division. As such the naming of City streets forms the basis of a language that has a potential for incorporation into narrative forms which can be enunciated and which orient the self in space/time. This does not mean that design should be seen as a separate activity to naming or that one precedes the other but that both are dialogic moments (cf. Bakhtin (1981); Voloshinov (1973)). Names are not static contrivances but contribute to shifting meanings through space/time. Their static appearance in everyday life is, I believe, a result of design being privileged over naming following the logic that design usually precedes the name. That is, a change in name most usually awaits a reordering of space.

Landmarks and the space of everyday naming

Through the differentiation of space one is able to orient oneself, as Kant has pointed out: "'An underlying assumption in orienting oneself in the space of the Earth's surface ... is that that space is asymmetrical with respect to its objects'" (Kant cited in Carter 1987: 52). The unknown spaces of South Australia were not easily

differentiated[6] by early explorers as there were few prominent and familiar geographic features 'recognisable' in Eurocentric terms. Hence, sign-posting and the imposition of a grid were conducive to orientation in a new landscape. The need to differentiate was also impelled by the requirements of legal ownership. The 'Torrens Title' land tenure system, for example, enhanced the certainty of landowners that the land they had purchased was exclusively theirs and made it more unlikely for investors to buy land that they already owned, as had happened in the past in South Australia (Keeley 1986: supplement).

During my fieldwork Adelaide people often made reference to local landmarks that, in some cases no longer existed, or to which a certain spatial fixity was assigned. Through such references people located their positions in space. These gave rise to discrepancies in which what they said existed did not necessarily match up with what could be seen. In such instances the changing features of the City's landscape and the passage of time were highlighted. In the more extreme cases spatio-temporal meanings became part of a social construction of identity aligned with structures and names or events that no longer had prominence outside of an individual's memory. For example, when asked how long they had worked in Rundle Street, some traders began by stating *"just after Rundle Mall was built* [in 1976]*"* (Mr. Croft, pers. comm., 1994), or *"about the time of (a construction or demolition of some kind)"* (various responses).

Local landmarks, such as hotels and taller buildings in the centre of the City (T & G Building; CML building), are often enlisted as a locating device in space/time. For example, one informant related his former work sites around the City with the places he visited after work: *"that was when I used to go to the 'Exchange Hotel', you know; it used to be near the corner of Hindley and King William Streets"* (Mr. Croft, pers. comm., 1994). Similarly, another maintained, *"I worked opposite the 'Crown and*

[6] Some of the flora and fauna found elsewhere in Australia also existed in South Australia. For example, 'stringybark' and 'bluegum' had been recorded by botanists in New South Wales prior to the exploration and settlement of South Australia (James 1838: 260).

Anchor' years ago" (Mr. Green, pers. comm., 1994). I found that many of those familiar with the City on a daily basis would refer to City buildings by a former or current name if I happened to ask about a particular area or when asking for directions. For others a street's former name was frequently used, as if it somehow carried more meaning than a newer appellation. For example, I often heard elderly traders of Rundle Street (one as old as 80) refer to Frome Street as Tavistock Street, even though its name was changed from this in the 1960s[7].

The use of former names provided reminders and contestations of the alterations to City structures and highlighted the physical spaces of Adelaide which had changed form. Despite such change they remained important orientations in the City for some people. The hotels of the City, in particular, oriented day to day experience. Even if their physical form had been dramatically altered they remained a source of anecdotes and part of contemporary life. They were a focus for many at the end of a working day and formed a bridge between a work scene and experiences beyond the work place. The work/pub relation appeared to have its own intrinsic logic attached to it.

People experiencing the City were also oriented by the cardinal points explicit to the City's design. Thus the terraces bordering the 'square mile' were used to locate items near the City's edge. When ascertaining a location nearer the centre, the major axis of King William Street was often used while well known streets, such as Hindley and Rundle Streets, became orienting features of the landscape.

The City Squares were also adopted as a means of directing or orienting a position in the City space. The Squares are about 800 metres or half a mile apart and about 400 metres or 0.25 miles from the edges of the 'square mile' (see Figure 2). In visualising the Squares and the grid pattern of streets, people constructed a fundamental image of the City that could be used as a mental template for physically locating themselves in space. This visualisation was aided by the application of names to buildings and features such as sculpted forms. In the City's mall, for instance, names applied to

[7] I examine reasons behind this name change in the next section.

artistic and architectural forms, such as the "Spheres" (known as 'the Balls' by locals), the Remm Myer Centre, 'the fountain', David Jones (a department store) and so on, were used in preference to other orienting devices and become more defining of spatial 'locatedness' in the more open area of 'Rundle Mall' (see Plate 22).

Residents and visitors to the City alike have claimed to experience difficulty coming to terms with the change in street names from one side of King William Street to the other, finding this an endless source of confusion. Lesser known juxtapositions such as Sturt and Halifax, Gilles and Gilbert, Wright and Carrington, which appear to the south of Victoria Square, were not easily recalled and indicated their infrequent use by a wider populace. To some extent the confusion was reduced by adopting the names of prominent structures. However, in a City whose building topography was generally low and even, prominent structures were not always easily located[8].

Being set on a flat plain and complemented by mostly squat structures, the possibility of confusion is, I argue, surprisingly easy in such a grid-shaped city. The confusion is compounded by the City's distant hills that for some impart an overwhelming sense of the passage of time through the effects of physical aging, a sense remarked upon by visiting writer, Bruce Chatwin, at an Adelaide Festival. Chatwin found it "a tired country, not young at all. It tires its inhabitants. It's too ancient, too old" (cited in Rushdie 1992: 230). Angela Carter was also wary of these hills noting "that there's something a little exhausted about the place names around here - I mean, Mount Lofty, Windy Point" (cited in Rushdie 1992: 230). Their comments revealed that the proximity of the relatively 'lowly' hills contributes significantly to orientation.

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[8] The Adelaide City Council placed restrictions on building heights that varied around the City from precinct to precinct. Building heights were thus related to the desired future characteristics of a given precinct as were dwelling densities (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1993a: xii). The tallest building in the City, Santos House Adelaide, is set back from the corner of Currie and King William Streets. Standing at 135 metres it towers above other buildings nearby which were built mostly along or in the vicinity of King William Street. In comparison to other tall structures around the world Santos House is low. For example, the Eiffel Tower in Paris stands at 301 metres, the Centrepoint Tower Sydney is 305 metres and the Empire State Building is 380 metres (Murphy, *The Advertiser* 1997: 2).

Designating a name

The initial establishment and naming of streets on Light's grid were determined according to a principle of the recognition of influence. Incursions to Light's plan thereafter, until the 1960s, were named in recognition of ownership. This was explained in the *City of Adelaide Reference Book* (1974) as follows:

> When the streets and squares delineated on the first plan of Adelaide were to be named, the duty was entrusted to a competent and influential Committee, which introduced a valuable historical element in the performance of its important task. Thereafter any person who subdivided a piece of land and established a new street had the privilege of naming the thoroughfare, with the result that, in the absence of official control, the derivation of many of the less important street names is lost in obscurity (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1974: 57-8).

The naming of Frome Street[9] in the City in 1963 indicated the initiation of a new approach to naming City streets and the imposition of different 'official' controls. Frome Street was originally a private street that was known as Tavistock Street from 1864 to 1963 as a result of its dedication to public use by the owner of the adjoining properties (the Tavistock Bank, a private bank owned by John Rundle, M.P. (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1946: 129). In September 1950 the street was widened from North Terrace to Rundle Street and renamed Frome Street in 1963 (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1963: Town Clerk's Special File No. 453), presumably because it formed the continuation of Frome Road on the north side of North Terrace.

The laying out and initial naming of Tavistock Street was an instance of an incursion into Light's plan and like many laneways and alleys that formed in a *"haphazard way"* (architect Ron Danvers, pers. comm., 1994), responding to a need for greater ease of movement around the City. Thus

> *the growth and adaptation of the city blocks and the need for access has been slowly formalised into a lane system throughout the city* ... [In this way] *secondary access ways* [were created] *within the overall framework that allow*[ed] *a sort of adaptation that makes living possible within such a rigid grid* (Danvers, pers. comm., 1994).

[9] Frome Street was named after Captain (later Lieutenant-General) E.C. Frome (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1946: 124) who had been appointed as a Surveyor-General soon after Light's resignation from that position in 1838 (Dutton 1971: 262).

The change of name from Tavistock to Frome of this incursion I argue indicates an overlay or addition of a name more closely associated with the foundation of the State than that first attributed to it. The new 'official' name, laid over the vernacular name, was an attempt to erase an association with the organic and 'unofficial' growth of the City. The institution of the name 'Frome' arrested this organic development and returned ownership of naming-rites to official circles. For those with more personal attachments to the area the name 'Tavistock' lived on in memories even though the street's 'heritage' had been over-written in an official register. Such live memories contrasted with official recognitions were also entailed in the change of Brown Street, (between Grote Street and South Terrace) to Morphett Street (cf. Figures 1 & 2) the name of an influential City pioneer. A small monument in Whitmore Square marked the change and related that (John) Brown was a former Colonial Commissioner and editor of the *South Australian* in 1893. Graffiti on this monument indicated that it did not go altogether unnoticed nor contestations untagged.

The Adelaide City Council argued that the assignation of new names to Adelaide up until the 1960s was undisciplined and lacked historical process. However, by 1994 the Council had gained firm control over naming practices. In item 6.1 of the City Council Notice Papers (July 18, 1994), a street name was deemed only if "in accordance with Council's street naming policy" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1994d). The policy directed "limited research of the locality ... [being] undertaken to determine whether any association exist[ed] with a significant aspect of the city's history [in the locality]" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1994d).

'History' in this context was based on empirical evidence associated with the duration of European occupancy at a given locality. This became evident where the required research of "Town Acre 989" "revealed a reasonably long association with the locality by three families: Verner, Polain and Farmer" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1994d). The ultimate determination of association was thus linked to the length of tenure or 'history' of the family group in this area. The Verner family met the

desired criteria and were considered by Council to have the "more meaningful" association with the area having owned the land "from 1880 to at least 1955" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1994d). Thus the name 'Verner Court' became inscribed on official maps of Adelaide in 1994.

This application for appellation also brought attention to the fact that the Town Acre in which the lane appeared was originally purchased from the Colonisation Commissioners by John Wright (after whom a street of Adelaide was already named) (Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1994d). The noting of this 'fact' further demonstrates the logic of the Council's decision to choose Verner over Wright since Wright's name already appeared on a much larger and more important street. Importantly, the reference to Wright brought recognition of the foundations of the state to the surface and underscored the essential historical links highlighted by the Council. The name, Verner Court, indicated a private street servicing apartments built upon a town acre, and although it could be trammelled by the public it did not afford a thoroughfare. Such a name also more clearly signalled private use, unlike the names of founders such as Wright that have long been associated with familiar pathways of movement.

At first inspection there appeared to be a certain arbitrariness to the City Council's naming procedure, a feeling exacerbated by a clause in the policy that allowed for "flexibility in the name selection in cases where the street is small" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1994d). However, as a social document the names on the map of Adelaide promote an acknowledgment of a social hierarchy where smallness of street is equivalent to lesser social status and where "meaning" is tied to an historical duration. Names are thus spatial markers and indicators of personal associations. They reveal borders that intersect in time/space and which demarcate pathways of expansion and the historical context of their formation.

The importance of 'historical connection' and the power of governmental instrumentalities to control naming in the City is also attested by the debate about and defeat of a 'peoples' proposal to name a section of the Parklands in memorial to a Grand

Prix racing car driver. The widely shared cultural illusion fuelled by Light's 'vision' has often impelled public/private contestations over Parklands ownership. The contested nature of this ownership is well illustrated again by a debate within the City Council (23/5/94) concerning a request to name a section of the Parklands after Formula One driver, Ayrton Senna. Senna provides an example of the failure of a popular attempt to memorialise someone who came, went and died.

Senna had been a popular figure at the Adelaide Grand Prix since its inception in 1985 until his death overseas in 1994. In death his hero status was honoured with a requiem mass in the east Parklands that was presided over by the Grand Prix chaplain and attended by around 3,000 people in May 1994.

The request was forwarded through the City Engineer who had been approached by a group of people also willing to fund a memorial in the Parklands to Senna. The debate revealed the importance that many councillors placed on being local (that is, South Australian in origin), the value of certain cultural pursuits over others, (for example, performance arts and medicine were considered among the most honourable pursuits) and the 'sanctity' of the Parklands. Some councillors reasoned that if candidates in the fields of art and medicine (presented as 'real' cultural heritage areas), who they regarded as more worthy of such honour, had yet been denied their due, then those in less worthy pursuits (such as motor racing) and those who were, in addition, non-local, had little hope of being attached to a putative list of worthies. Development of the Parklands in ways that did not accord with these ideals were thus dismissed at an official level.

Although Light is not directly brought to attention this debate indicated how the Parklands can be defended by officials against 'foreign' incursions. Such incursions were assumed to be outside of Light's ordained uses for the Parklands. The debate further demonstrated the parochial attitudes that enshroud the Parklands and local aspirations that transform the natural state of the Parklands into a (higher) cultural tradition. In this sense the application for a memorial and name did not accord with the

shape or 'vision' of the person who had brought the Parklands into being, Colonel Light, and thus could not be sanctioned.

Salient effects of a history based on artifice were revealed in de Certeau's (1988b) examination of historical discourse in which he explored how events given historical worth were handed on from the time of their occurrence. His study highlighted the conventions surrounding the way events were received, imagined and passed on, thereby demonstrating how the past inheres in these practices as does the future (de Certeau 1988b: 21). De Certeau indicated that the emergence of historical facts and their assumed validity stemmed from "conflicting imaginations" (Conley 1988: xv) that were both simultaneously contemporary and past. In following this conceptualisation the focus is directed at the way events were described and by what means events were accorded the status of authenticity through consensus. Importantly, the ideological attributes and undertakings of previous historians and their personal biographies were shown to effect how historical information was accepted and interpreted by contemporary historians (Conley 1988: xv). Explanations of events and concrete forms in my account are similarly regarded as ideologically and politically charged since they are personal products derived from mental operations. Thus I report on how the conveyance of history through forms and historical discourses makes clear who is constructing them and why.

Many people in Adelaide construct a view of history that is only partly facilitated by books and progress through an education system. Their understandings are further guided by the City's profuse statuary, the naming of the City's streets and the presence of numerous 'heritage' items within its boundaries as well as through global effects that daily cross those boundaries in television, media, or in travel. As Clifford pointed out, "(i)ntercultural connection is, and has long been, the norm" (1997: 5). Concrete reminders of a past encountered on excursions through the Adelaide landscape do, however, weave a history closely associating dates and events.

My understanding of 'history' in this thesis reflects the role of discourses as the "primary cultural means through which individuals become *subjects* " (Cairns and

Richards 1988: 15, their emphasis). Typically, 'historical discourses', like other forms of discourse, are characterised by their own set of rules through which they gain "coherence and effectiveness" (Cairns & Richards 1988: 15). In the process the rules make available the means for those who best articulate them to control the lives of others. However, this control is not maintained once and for evermore as, generally, discourses are available to all and enable the dominated to seize power (Cairns & Richards 1988: 15-16). In other words, a constant struggle for hegemony is engaged in which to maintain and reproduce certain streams of understanding, and it is through discourses that an individual may pass from one group to another. The passage is made possible because discourses are open to interpretation. Hence individuals may discern the rules by which they are governed and through which discourses are sustained. In knowing the rules of discourses people are empowered but since all have potential access to these rules, then all may interpret them. It is thus the struggle to hold the dominant discourse and the relations of power between groups as a result, which is of highest concern. Thus, claimed Cairns and Richards, "(d)iscourses ... constitute groups or peoples, as those acted upon, defined, and frequently rejected by the articulators of the dominant discourse" (1988: 16).

The Council's approach to naming gave priority to public prominence and historical connection based on associations with the land based on ownership and length of tenure. The historical discourse produced by the pre-eminence of these associations linked a set of unique historical conditions with a particular space. However, Lefebvre noted that "(e)very social space is the outcome of a process with many aspects and many contributing currents, signifying and non-signifying, perceived and directly experienced, practical and theoretical" (1991: 110). When space is understood to possess these qualities a sharp distinction can be made between it and the generally accepted views of

> (t)raditional historiography [that] assumes ... thought can perform cross-sections upon time, arresting its flow without too much difficulty; its analyses thus tend to fragment and segment temporality. In the history of space as such, on the other hand, the historical and diachronic realms and the generative past are forever leaving their inscriptions upon the writing-tablet, so to speak, of space. The

> uncertain traces left by events are not the only marks on (or in) space: society in its actuality also deposits its script, the result and product of social activities. Time has more than one writing system. The space engendered by time is always actual and synchronic, and it always presents itself as of a piece; its component parts are bound together by internal links and connections themselves produced by time (Lefebvre 1991: 110).

The form of historical discourse presently pursued by the Council induces such fragmentary effects on temporality that marks out a continuous past. There is little recognition of the multiplicity of inscriptions that inform space over time. As a consequence the kind of 'history' presented does not make clear its distinctive parts of "past and present ... [where] history is the recording or reconstruction of the past, and also the making of events, the present surrounding us" (Lombardo 1994: 389). Instead, the practices adopted for naming space construct historical moments relative to length of tenure and backed by associations to founding figures. As such they disguise present realities and continue an Anglo-Saxon domination through symbolic nomenclature.

The illusion of a past that appears static and hence, determined and ordered, is presented. A particular conception of time creates these misrecognitions, as Lefebvre pointed out, making space appear as a unity, not as something experienced from moment to moment. For instance, the south-west part of the City in which Verner Court was emplaced has for long had a prominent Mosque in an area of early 'Afghan' settlement in South Australia. It was also an area in which significant numbers of Aboriginal people have lived. For most of this century Greeks and Italians have also populated this area of the City. However, an examination of contemporary maps reveals no officially inscribed nominal sign of these groups. Indeed, non-Anglo-Saxon names are very rarely encountered anywhere in the City. The streets of Delhi, Solomon and Rosina are but a handful of examples of non-Anglo-Saxon origin street names in Adelaide and these exist as minor thoroughfares, usually known only to those living nearby.

The Council's 'official' dictates thus gather together a space with a constructed discursive alignment. In this way the little laneways and streets that developed in Adelaide are linked to origins that are locatable and exist according to the familiar

precepts of the City's foundation. These precepts centre on the possession of wealth, influence and 'civilised' race.

Naming the City landscape: 'Garden East'

In this section I examine the development of a former market area in the City's 'East End' which had been home to the 'Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange' (hereafter, AFPE). This was a major development project within the City in the 1990s where the interests of private investors abutted the City's public and popular thoroughfare of Rundle Street. The site's juxtaposition with Rundle Street displays the ambiguities between public and private ownership which, I argue, are revealed most cogently in an exploration of names applied to it. I return to this area in a later chapter but here I focus on names as allied to a site's geometrical reordering. I argue that the reconfiguration of the site instigated a process of story creation and facilitated its conversion from an apparently unruly produce market to a manicured enclave of exclusive residential accommodation. The site was located near areas considered culturally significant to the State, such as North Terrace and Tandanya (National Aboriginal Cultural Institute Inc.), and the recreational spaces of the Parklands and Botanic Gardens and thus linked to the 'heritage' of the City (see Figure 10 (d)).

An essential adjunct to the site's conversion from produce market to up-market residential enclave was the renaming of its internal spaces and of the site itself. The area was renamed 'Garden East' at the commencement of development there in 1993. The type of terrace residency proposed for the site was unusual in Adelaide where suburban dwellings proved popular. Generally, prior to this experiment, "(c)lose living never succeeded in Adelaide; there was no solid expanse of building except in the offices, shops and showrooms of the CBD where face-to-face relationships were important" (Williams 1974: 456-7). Nearly everyone owned a block of land in the suburbs by the 1960s (74%) and this continued a trend of high ownership rates evident last century (Williams 1974: 457).

In the re-ordering of the AFPE site, developers sought a substantial change in local practice especially concerning those already established in Adelaide's suburban areas. The project did not cater for those already frequenting the area, such as students, artists and hospital workers at the lower end of the economic scale, who would generally be unable to afford these apartments. The site's development manager stated

> *We had to exclude that market from our thinking ... (T)he problem is that the price of land is too expensive to be able to build something in the City that can meet their demands and meet the rents that they can afford to pay* (Young, pers. comm., 1994).

The problem for the developers thus lay in convincing well-heeled new investors to buy in the City: *"Unless it's demonstrated that they can get the same ambience in the City as exists in the suburbs then we won't get people living in the City"* (Young, pers. comm., 1994). The connections they made between the site's and the City's 'heritage' proved invaluable in this pursuit, I argue.

The geometry of the site, like the change of name, severed an association with the former produce market and its rural connections and reinforced a connection with the City, its Parklands and Botanic Gardens. The new site name, 'Garden East', and the names later applied to its apartment blocks and thoroughfares, were the means by which the developers notified the public about what they and government bodies believed to be a more appropriate condition for a City struggling to retain its centrality for wider Adelaide. However, the nature of the apartments and their setting and cost also reflected an introspective pursuit, and a trend evident in cities of the United States, as Davis (1990) has noted. In these inward-looking policies was found an increase in security consciousness and the demands of the middle class for "spatial and social insulation" (Davis 1990: 228).

Hence, it is not surprising that the developers intended to emulate a suburban feel and the qualities of *"tranquillity, security ... [and an appropriate human] scale"* (Young, pers. comm., 1994) attributed to them. The names and spatial configuration of the site figured prominently in this orientation as they lent a sense of familiarity and

prestige that was linked to official figures of the state. These facets encouraged investors to buy into a higher density living environment.

The naming practices applied to the site were linked to an aesthetic that the project developer said made use of

> *interesting parks and spaces between the buildings ... [and] a public square in the middle of the development ... [Moreover], a number of discrete buildings ...[were being created to] give a sense of individuality to each building* (Young, pers. comm., 1994).

The spaces of the site as well as its buildings were invested with names that heightened a sense of individuality and were intended to add to their aesthetic appeal. The internal spaces were gradually infilled with names that made references to the founding of the market and to successful figures in the market's past. For instance, one of the first names to be installed as a thoroughfare was that of original market manager, William Charlick (1903). Named, 'Charlick's Circuit', it provided recognition of prior ownership and Charlick's role in the development of the area. The application of his name not only reflected Charlick's involvement with the market from its inception in 1903 (East End Redevelopment Steering Committee 1992: 7), but is also suggestive of the informal naming practices of the populace. The naming of the thoroughfare as a 'circuit' reinforced the internal orientation of the development.

Project sales manager for the AFPE site declared that all new buildings would be named after former board members of the market (Altmann, *The Advertiser* 1994b: 2). One of these also had a laneway named after him (Vardon Place). The names included a former Lord Mayor and former Members of State Parliament who were in office at the time of the market site's inauguration. They continued to reflect the social relations of power and influence also evident in the naming of Adelaide's streets in a mosaic of power that cut and divided the site so as to establish a sense of historical continuity. The official and long term associations with the AFPE site were therefore vital components for insulating against unwanted intrusions and operated just as effectively as the 'heritage' walls of the site (commonly known as the 'heritage crust') in filtering these out.

The former site, like many fresh food markets throughout the world, had been a scene of chaotic activity, reaching its apogee in the early hours of the morning. Yet the sounds of loud hooters, trucks and 'fork-lifts' buzzing about the streets, and people shouting and running about with sack trucks carrying vegetables from point to point were rule-governed albeit less than 'civilised'. This activity affected everybody within the immediate vicinity and especially those who lived or worked nearby. The former chaos which attracted Adelaideans to the area had now to be excluded from view in order to sell the apartments under construction. Developers sought ways of diminishing extraneous noise especially that emanating from nearby Rundle Street. Concerns over the opening hours of neighbouring clubs and hotels were raised. Some involved in the project worried that the presence of an over-exuberant street life nearby would be detrimental to sales.

The paved walkways through the site encouraged movement along 'lines of power' in which spaces were forged that more readily complied with the demands of 'officialdom'. Movement at the site is now assigned a more defined course where previously the chaotic but well trammelled routes of market gardeners were taken. With the ordering of movement has come a reduction of exuberance and an assertion of refined civility. Naming extends this disciplinary order for its references to the past are also references to power and authority, and about who has the right to possess and rule.

According to de Certeau, the name does not express anything but "allows a labour to be undertaken" (1986: 144). In this new development names clearly demarcated walkways and encouraged movement that imposed limits on public access. They replaced a former set of rules through more official references to power. Naming conferred possession and property rights. It underlined expected manners and decorum inside property boundaries and governed their predicability, thereby ordering a set of rules that affected everyone and extended beyond the boundaries of the site to streets and attitudes in the City. The new development, therefore, marked the beginnings of a set of practices based on a more civil foundation. However, the site is now also a location of

private and communal interests. As such certain requirements that met the needs of site residents have to be resolved at their interface with the public domain.

The allegorical and metaphorical dimensions of the 'Garden East' project, I argue, are the modes through which locals were being asked or persuaded to accept a transformation of the East End's former lifestyle (see Chapter Seven), from one oriented by produce market activity to one governed by official controls. In the process, previous social practices in and around the produce market have been altered through the analogical dimensions of the project. These dimensions included the application of certain names and the curtailing of random movements within and around the site and resulted in a more familiar predicability. Importantly the project structured the kind of behaviour and demeanour which would be regarded as acceptable and civil within its walls. The meaning of 'Garden East' is not graspable just in the language of naming it is instilled in the manner with which people inhabit it.

Conclusion

Names are not just representative, ordered and static contrivances but they also manifest in individual encounters. They contribute to Adelaideans' orientations to the grid and a continuous process of change in manners and demeanours. Their appearance as fixed and incontrovertible belies a dialogical relation with historical time and social process.

In Adelaide the names applied to public thoroughfares have underwritten a system of power and differentiated the space of ownership and influence. Traversal of the City was directed along pathways that conjoined personal and public pasts. Thus the lineage of Adelaide's 'founding fathers' presented the genealogical grounds along which people have moved around the City. The taxonomic forms of historical discourse adopted by the City Council since the 1960s have supplied an essential adjunct to this underscoring through practices that naturalised and maintained the powerful and Anglo-Saxon domination of the landscape. In this sense historical discourse has a strategic use that is

allied to an epistemological stance. The function of contemporary myths impels such strategies. As Barthes has pointed out "myth has the task of giving an historical intention a natural justification, and making contingency appear eternal" (Barthes 1972: 142). Myths constructed in this way result in the removal of "time and society, and a structure [that] cannot be modified ... only ... satisfied or repressed" (Emerson 1986: 27).

A past interpreted along these lines, I argue, promotes uncanny relations of power in which the names assigned to place appear natural and come to be generally taken-for-granted. This naturalisation is enhanced by maps and blueprints which, together with naming practices, aid the positioning of social identity and the reinforcement of manners and demeanours. However, this dominance is also subject to everyday manipulations that are consciously and unconsciously worked. Such manipulation appears in the exercise of names no longer in existence or whose official status is no longer recognised and those still in practical use amongst Adelaideans. The refusal of citizens to adopt officially sanctioned names or name changes, such as Frome for Tavistock, and the use of names tied to demolished buildings, are also proof of an indifference to, and contestation of, the dictates of 'officialdom' on a daily basis. Their orientations further highlight the uncanny relations of power within the City. The uncanny or dynamic of culture tells us that the settled and unsettled can coexist. In this sense, it is at least in part because names are changed by officials that previous names or links with the landscape are maintained.

Personal memories bear strong relations to political and epistemological practices, inherent as Seddon pointed out, in all naming practices. In this chapter I have demonstrated how naming practices were used by official sources to cement relations of power and transform spaces. I have also indicated that many City dwellers and visitors to the City operated outside of official practices and have adopted their own naming devices for the City landscape. Such formations can be characterised as a deliberate counter to official practices although they were just as likely to be the result of convenience as a deliberate attempt at resistance. In those cases where a name being

used did not coincide with official declarations there was also evidence of a general awareness of a name's naturalising effects. Thus, the change of name from Tavistock to Frome simplified understandings of the City but was not necessarily adopted if it displaced former attachments to place. Through acts of naming contestation is placed at the fulcrum of uncanny relations.

In the following chapters of this thesis I assume a more pointedly ethnographic focus. I explore everyday processes within the grid of Adelaide 'south' that relate to space/time and discursive and non-discursive activities central to manners and demeanours. My focus is on those areas of the grid with the greatest potential to orient and influence a broad cross-section of the Adelaide populace in direct as well as indirect ways. In the next two chapters I ascertain the importance of North Terrace to Adelaide's social and cultural order. The discussion of manners and demeanours that ensues follows the intimate relations between personal experiences and the social and spatial landscape. I first demonstrate that topographical changes to this landscape over time are integral to the formulations of official discourses on power.

Chapter Four

North Terrace: Triangulations of Power and the refinement of the Common people

> North Terrace was still a builders' battleground [in 1876], in transition from a rocky no-man's-land of tempest scoured tracks down to the banks of the Torrens ... Even so the identity it possesses today was already firmly implanted there. Commercial building had to shape itself into houses, designed for the south side of the road, awaiting the uplift of the University building and the new library and museum (Jensen & Jensen 1980: 625).

> It would be hard to find a heritage streetscape anywhere else in Australia so superbly arranged to explore on foot [as North Terrace] (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1992b: pamphlet).

> Weird Adelaide. Generations and generations of working-class people, quite disappeared. No official bronze plaques on the pavement for them. You only find them in the commonplace objects they left behind; and in sepia photographs and yellowing newspapers and old people's reminiscences. Folk heroes who are *Adelaide,* not some slick imitation of Anywhere. Not official worthies or the souffle and shoulder pads set (Hanrahan 1988: 7).

Triangulations of power

The City of Adelaide has been constructed from the blue-print of civilisation which was at the core of Colonel Light's 'vision'. His grid was given effect by the scientific triangulations he performed with his theodolite and then staked out across this territory. Light's triangulations of siting and measurement were calculated acts of power, part of the 'civilising' processes of the Imperial settlement of the Province of South Australia. But the built structures, avenues, squares, buildings laid out on the basis of those triangulations soon concealed from everyday view the powerful and refined calculations on which they were constructed.

In this chapter I reflect on this process by highlighting other powerful political processes on which the further development of the City of Adelaide has been founded.

The triangulations of power I focus on are similarly shadowed or concealed from view in much of the everyday life of the City.

My foci are the structures of social and cultural power which by their human triangulations up, down, and along North Terrace have cemented genealogies of privilege, influence and power through generations in this state and mark out to refined civil behaviour which is the target of governmental action for the raising of the 'common' population. Those (mostly) men who have triangulated their power and influence in North Terrace from their clubs of refinement and institutions of civilisation have provided both 'models of' and 'models for' (Geertz 1973: 93ff) the apex of refined and genteel civilisation which the State has long directed its projects for 'the common good'. I then turn to examine how these 'models for' civilisation have been naturalised and orient the demeanours and manners of those who enter the pedagogical institutions of North Terrace.

North Terrace (or the Terrace) is now officially described as Adelaide's 'cultural boulevard' or 'cultural precinct' (Figure 7). Such a classification stems particularly from the range of governmental activities that are found here. I argue that the cultural order so formed conditions the daily apprehension of space/time in North Terrace and that this apprehension is facilitated by the numerous 'signposts' shadowed in everyday experience in its streetscape: statues, memorials, institutional buildings and plaques in the main, in which relations of power have been made concrete and normalised. The signposts promote certain ways of seeing, even if only the vaguest notions about the figures represented are held. They set up the conditions for understandings of space/time in which a familiarity with Adelaide's social 'order' is given prominence and in which relations of power are de-emphasised because misrecognised[1] and temporal frames are dominant.

North Terrace is an apt place for the investigation of relations of power and the formulations of composure which in part constitute them. The various institutional

[1] See Chapter One.

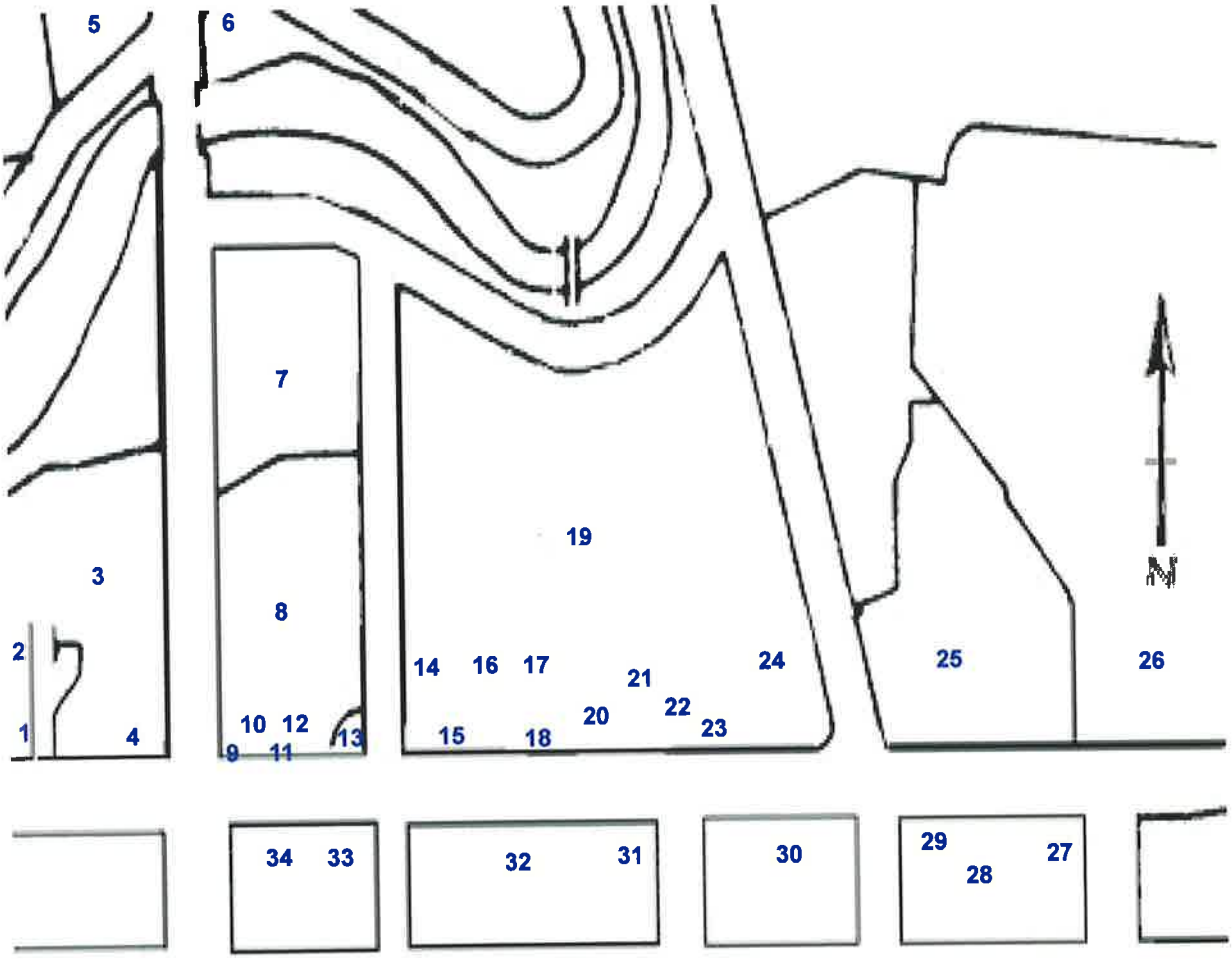

Figure 7: Section of North Terrace from Adelaide Railway Station to Botanic Gardens.

References

1. Adelaide Railway Station
2. Adelaide Casino
3. Festival Centre
4. State Parliament buildings
5. St Peter's Cathedral
6. Women's War Memorial (Pennington Gardens)
7. Torrens Parade Ground
8. Government House
9. South African War Memorial
10. Busts of Mary Lee, Mark Oliphant & Mellis Napier
11. Prince Henry Gardens
12. Venus de Canova
13. South Australian War Memorial
14. State Library
15. King Edward VII
16. South Australian Museum
17. South Australian Art Gallery
18. Bonython Fountain
19. University of Adelaide
20. (Sir) W.W. Hughes
21. (Sir) Thomas Elder
22. Bonython Hall
23. (Sir) James Way
24. University of South Australia
25. Royal Adelaide Hospital
26. Botanic Gardens
27. Botanic Hotel
28. Ayer's House
29. Palais Car Park
30. Freemason's Hall
31. Scots Church
32. Former John Martin & Co. Offices
33. Queen Adelaide Club
34. The Adelaide Club

structures, plaques and statues that dominate the Terrace streetscape underscore a didactic orientation widely held by the populace. Its oft-visited structures inform an undercurrent and a misrecognition of a political order that is reflected in the actions of contemporary planners who have given increased attention to considerations of Adelaide as a 'University City' (Pudney, *The City Messenger* 1997a: 5) and an 'Information Technology City' (Mellor, *The City Messenger* 1998: 3). Adelaide's development has leant in these prescribed directions, emanating outwards and along North Terrace.

The positioning of structures on the Terrace also appears critical for maintaining institutional prestige. The University of Adelaide, for example, is located at the heart of North Terrace and so far retains its identity as the oldest and most powerful of the State's three universities[2]. The importance of position, geographically and socially, thus casts attention on the different manners and demeanours of people in and around the Terrace's institutions.

I focus on that area of North Terrace which has the greatest concentration of governmental power, memoriae and institutional forms; between the Adelaide Railway Station and the Adelaide Botanic Gardens (Figure 7). This analytic focus encompasses an area around the Terrace's intersection with King William Street to its intersection with East Terrace[3]. In particular, I focus on the north side of this part of the Terrace and the

[2] The University of Adelaide was constructed in 1874. Flinders University "was created by State legislation in 1966" (Flinders University of South Australia, information sheet 1998). The University of South Australia superseded the South Australian Institute of Technology which had in turn taken over the South Australian School of Mines constructed 1900-1903 (Queale & Di Lernia 1996: 54) in 1991.

[3] Until recently the area to the west of the Adelaide Railway Station has generally received scant planning consideration and irregular human movement. It is worth noting some former and present features of this area. For instance, at the far western end of North Terrace were the Adelaide Gaol (decommissioned in 1988 and now a tourist attraction) and, across the Torrens from this, an Aboriginal Reserve, 'the Location' (recently acknowledged as a 'heritage' site) (refer Freeling's map (1849) - Figure 3). Later, railway lines were installed through a section of the Parklands to the present site of the central Railway Station. In the early nineteenth century this area was also set aside for cattle and sheep yards (Warburton 1986: 33). Presently, on the north side west of Morphett Street, high fences preclude intrusion into railway sidings, while on the other, vacant warehouses have been renovated or demolished in the 1990s. They provide a space for hotels, government and commercial enterprises. Further west is the new campus of the University of South Australia known as the 'City West Campus' and a small theatre complex, the Lion Arts Centre. These developments reveal something of an explosion in recent activity at the Western end of the Terrace and highlighted the intentions of contemporary planners to revive this erstwhile 'dead' end of the Terrace. This area is now a space for contemporary structures of progress which have parallels with the way in which the railway terminus represented nineteenth century views of moving the frontier of progress.

assumed 'decency' and progress that goes with the area. The South Australian Museum, the State Library or the Adelaide Club, to name a few examples in the area, are institutions within which standards of civilised decency, propriety and civility are demanded and contrast with behaviour evident on the street. Inside each of these institutions a bodily order has been established that is aligned with the conventions of 'civilised' manners and that differentiate practices inside and outside of their walls. Their institutionalised conventions, to some extent, also influence behaviour on the street. They framed pedagogical roles intended to raise the civility, decency and manners of the common populace (cf. Bennett 1995: 62).

In this chapter I explore the importance of North Terrace to contemporary understandings of the City (Plate 9). I assert that in North Terrace people are presented with official views of the difference between 'savagery' and 'civilisation' and models for the refined civility which is the State's ultimate aim. The centrality of North Terrace for Adelaideans in popular imagination and experience locates such conceptions within its distinct institutional forms that highlight modernist beginnings and the nature of 'civilising' processes.

The 'civilising' order brought to this area of the City by influential individuals and groups has a long association with privilege and power. Their material deposits in the landscape maintain the standards of civility while the additions of new memoriae continue to instruct about a past and maintain the profiles of certain individuals positioned at the forefront of an essential Adelaide experience. The concealment of power relations and the naturalisation of certain authorised versions of 'history' are essential adjuncts of this instructive process. The nature of such instruction is shored up by the maintenance and reproduction of relations of power that, in Adelaide, are paralleled by the surveyor's possession of land through triangulation. In my examination of triangulating relations of power later in this chapter I explore the

Plate 9: Easterly view of North terrace from a vantage overlooking Parliament House. The northern wall of City buildings is evident on the right hand side of the picture. The positioning of cultural institutions in the erstwhile 'Parklands' is indicated by their vegetated shading on the left.

Photo: Mark Bradley

reproduction of relations of power in the landscape and illuminate how these triangulations form constellations of power[4].

In these and other 'uncanny' ways covert expressions of relations of power inhere in the Terrace's dominant demeanours and manners so that a unity of space/time persists in learnt, imagined and embodied ways. For example, different levels of an hierarchical and progressive 'civilised' structure are marked out in frequent visits to icons of the state, particularly on ceremonial occasions, at which differing forms of dress and behaviour are paraded. Their exploration reveals the uncanny side of North Terrace as a space of seemingly diverse and incompatible practices that are often constituted as a 'whole'. In this sense the disparate events of the Terrace, I argue, promote the daily acceptance of unified space and aid in "the deployment of strategies" (Lefebvre 1991: 320).

What is needed to hold these disparate events together as a totality is an "act" (1991: 320), by which Lefebvre defined political power and political action. 'Acts' of political power, or the political meanings evident in the landscape's concrete forms, are thus also examined. For Lefebvre,

> (s)pace ... makes it possible for the economic to be integrated into the political. ... It is not political power *per se* that produces space; it does reproduce space, however, inasmuch as it is the locus and context of reproduction of social relationships - relationships for which it is responsible (Lefebvre 1991: 321).

Constructed forms, and their placement, are not readily perceived as political acts. Similarly, the constructs of North Terrace do not readily reveal themselves as the context and locus in which social relationships are reproduced. Yet the constructs located there are significant by-products of the 'City Fathers' whose foundational status is assured through tactics of concrete preservation. Further, as inherited forms, the dispositions of 'City Fathers' appear 'at home' and set in stone in this part of the City. Their legacies provide expressions of relations of power that are fundamental to, and provide a

[4] I intend an uncanny connection with the triangulations through which Light staked out a grid of new powers in this territory.

structure for, contemporary imagination and action. These expressions are not limited to mnemonic devices but are also part and parcel of everyday experiences and demeanour.

North Terrace and the City-State identity

North Terrace is centrally figured in the orientation of the City evident in guide books and histories of Adelaide (Queale & Di Lernia (1996); Cameron (1997); Eliseo (1994); South Australian Tourism Commission (1997)). The first painted scenes of Adelaide to be sent back to England were from the perspective of North Terrace and the northern end of the 'Square Mile', more generally. This 'end' continues to be figured as centrally important to the City and State. For example, in 1999 the route of the ANZAC[5] March was altered for the first time in 40 years with the South Australian War Memorial on North Terrace taking the place of Victoria Square as a major assembly point (Anon., *The Signal* 1999a: 1).

North Terrace continues to be an important tourist destination. More visitors go to its institutions than any other area in the State[6]. This popularity marks the Terrace out as an area of the City that has been experienced first-hand both by locals and those who come as visitors. This high level of attention is focussed particularly in the area of North Terrace between Adelaide's Railway Station and Botanic Gardens.

Thus North Terrace is a cardinal orienting frame from within Adelaide and directs attention towards destinations beyond the South Australian horizon. The presence of highly visible structures of the State's 'high culture' on North Terrace is an integral

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[5] 'ANZAC' is an acronym for a combined Australia and New Zealand Army Corps which landed at Gallipoli, Turkey, on April 25, 1915 (Bean 1983: 117). At this site a significant battle was staged which became, and remains, central to Australians recall and understandings of World War I. ANZAC Day is marked by a nation-wide holiday on April 25 each year.

[6] In data concerning the areas of the City most frequently visited, North Terrace had eight out of the top ten cultural attractions for visitors, with the remaining two being nearby. In order of the most frequently visited attraction to the least were: (1) The Adelaide Casino; (2) The Botanic Gardens; (3) the Adelaide Festival Centre; (4) the South Australian Museum; (5) the Adelaide Zoological Gardens; (6) the Art Gallery of South Australia; (7) the Bicentennial Conservatory; (8) the Migration Museum; (9) Old Parliament House; and (10) Tandanya - the National Aboriginal Cultural Institute Inc. (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1993b: 55).

feature of Adelaide's international identity. The Terrace's institutions form important adjuncts to the Adelaide Festival Centre's activities which are magnified during the biennial Adelaide Festival of Arts. 'The Festival' has been an important event in the Adelaide calendar since 1960. Its success as an event of international status, "ranking with the world's elite cultural events" (Safe, *The Australian Magazine* 1996: 34), has for many years enabled locals to defend themselves against frequent accusations of 'parochialism'. The 'Festival Centre' is conveniently located to the rear of the Parliamentary Buildings on North Terrace. As a major traffic thoroughfare (pedestrian and vehicular) through the City the Terrace daily imparts a widespread familiarity with high culture and its institutions of power.

North Terrace is part of a continuum linking the eastern suburbs with western, southern and north-western suburbs through the Port Road. It is a favoured thoroughfare for vehicular traffic through the City because it connects major arterial roads to the east and west. A fairly lengthy detour around the Parklands is otherwise required if travelling across the City. The Terrace is also bordered by wide footpaths that are further enhanced on the northern side by the inclusion of a strip of lawn and other foliage known as the 'Prince Henry Gardens' which extend from King William Street through to Frome Road.

The vast expanses of footpath and road were not generally complemented by massive buildings which have been held in check by guidelines laid down by the Corporation of the City of Adelaide (1993a). The Corporation's planning and design guidelines in 1993 stated that building heights should be made commensurate with the width of streets so as to curtail the scale of dominant buildings (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1993a: 13). Most large-scale buildings appear on the south side of the Terrace and in some cases these form the rear end of buildings fronting Rundle Mall. If a proposed building was substantially larger than its surroundings then its "apparent mass" has had to be reduced by breaking it up into "distinct elements" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1993a: 14). On North Terrace this was achieved by setting back the taller structures from the street so as to retain the "distinctive City Wall" (Corporation of

the City of Adelaide 1993a: 14) on the south side of the street. Thus the Remm Myer building's facade developed in the late 1980s was "broken up to avoid conflict in scale with its older neighbours" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1993a: 14), most notably the powerful Adelaide Club (established in 1863) on its western flank which occupies a building of much smaller scale (see Plate 10). Such concessions preserved the visibility of the powerful Adelaide Club in the North Terrace streetscape and have complemented its role in determining the shape of the Terrace that I outline in a later section.

Queale and Di Lernia (1996) indicate that the Terrace's built forms do not impress because of their massive scale or architectural features. Rather North Terrace is impressive because of the presence of "an extraordinary concentration of State Government, public symbolic art, cultural facilities, higher education and public recreation" (Thomas 1996: 2).

Among the array of 'heritage' buildings on the southern side of North Terrace stands the Botanic Hotel (constructed 1876-77), Ayers House (constructed 1855)[7], the Adelaide Club (constructed 1863-64), Freemasons Hall (constructed 1923-27) and Scot's Church (constructed 1850) (see Figure 7). The Queen Adelaide Club (constructed 1895-1920) is located closer to King William Street and has views of the Adelaide Club and Government House nearby (see Figure 7 & Plates 10 & 12). The Queen Adelaide Club was regarded as "the companion to the Adelaide Club" (Queale & Di Lernia 1996: 81) and is currently used for "the meeting and club rooms ... [of] Adelaide's 'establishment' women" (Queale & Di Lernia 1996: 81). This club "was opened in 1909 by Lady Bosanquet, wife of the then Governor. The women of influential families have comprised the membership of the Queen Adelaide Club: Lady Way [wife of Sir Samuel James Way, see later section] was the first President, and Mrs.

[7] According to the National Trust of South Australia who were its curators, "Ayers House is one of the last remaining grand nineteenth century homes that once lined North Tce" (The National Trust (South Australia) 1994: pamphlet). Henry Ayers, a foundation member of the Legislative Council in 1857 and Premier of South Australia on five occasions, lived there from 1855 to his death in 1897 (The National Trust (South Australia) 1994: pamphlet).

Percival Stow[8] first Vice-President" (Tomkinson 1936: 240). Its members, often the wives and relatives of members of the Adelaide Club and the Freemasons Lodge have been without doubt influential in determining the course of South Australia's political scene over the years.

The interests of others using the buildings on the southern side of the Terrace have tended to be aligned with commercial pursuits, with few exceptions, rather than the pedagogical and governmental concerns that dominate the northern side. The presence of three clubs, the Adelaide Club, Freemasons Lodge and Queen Adelaide Club on this southern side is of note because they have been instrumental in binding all of the seemingly disparate activities on the Terrace. The powerful and influential connections that members of these clubs have shared and continue to share are borne in greater measure by the North Terrace streetscape than by any other streetscape of the City.

The prominence of North Terrace in 'local' understandings made it the focus of frequent political debates. Leigh Davis, a member of the upper house in the State Parliament, commented in 1994 on the importance of the Terrace and how little attention had been drawn to its appearance in more recent times. Davis sought to gain political leverage and stimulate attention for North Terrace development by making known the comparable growth of capital city icons elsewhere in Australia[9]. He referred to major interstate projects, such as the Darling Harbour project in Sydney, the Expo Site in Brisbane, and an International Tennis Centre in Melbourne. Adelaide, in his eyes, seemed incapable of maintaining one of its most important iconic images, North Terrace.

Davis described Adelaide's present condition as consistent with "a "hick" boulevard that ... [was] substandard and an embarrassment to the city [of Adelaide]" (King, *The Advertiser* 1994: 8). He made this attack in State Parliament in 1994 just

[8] Mrs Percival Stow (nee Catherine Stow) was formerly Mrs Katherine Langloh Parker under which name she became renowned for focussing attention on Aboriginal legends (Muir 1990: 113). Her anthropological work amongst Aborigines in New South Wales was considered by Muir to be "one of the earliest attempts to bring Aboriginal culture to the attention of White Australians in a serious and sympathetic manner" (1990: 114). She was also active in the social and cultural life of Adelaide (Muir 1990: 113).

[9] Although a number of proposals for North Terrace had been forwarded evidence of their being acted upon was scant (M. Lloyd, *The City Messenger* 1996a: 17).

days before the opening of another Adelaide Arts Festival. Davis appeared to be most concerned with the indifferent attitude "towards North Terrace which was recognised [and marketed] as Adelaide's cultural boulevard" (King, *The Advertiser* 1994: 8). The political expediency of drawing attention to the condition of North Terrace at Festival time worked on assumptions that high culture is valued by locals and is linked to a sense of 'civic pride'.

Twedell, 1994's Adelaide Festival chairman, believed that the nature and size of the City prevented the Festival from going unnoticed by locals: "To us the Festival is about breaking new ground, cutting-edge, creating new intellectual property in the arts" (Twedell cited by Eccleston, *The Australian Magazine* 1999: 20). If North Terrace could be presented as an embarrassment to Adelaide then its upkeep reflected the deep concerns of locals, generally. Locals' adherence to the concerns of high culture was thus measurable through fundamental images of the City and State projected through the lens of North Terrace.

Indeed North Terrace is a dual focus of local and global concerns[10]. Connections with the Australian nation, however, are less readily discernible. Some recognition of the Australian nation would have at least figured here, it might be assumed, at the time of the federation of Australian states in 1901. However, a stained-glass window in the Adelaide Stock Exchange was but one of a few structures to commemorate this event in Adelaide. Further, the building in which this window appeared was almost entirely hidden from view in a laneway between Grenfell Street and Pirie Street[11] (see Figure 1). The building was also dwarfed by surrounding structures and teetered on the edge of

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[10] In the early conjunction of South Australia with the Empire, the institutions on North Terrace relayed information to and from the new colony to the seat of power in England. For example, such buildings as the former Treasury on North Terrace housed the contents of Light's land surveys, personal diaries and paintings that were later destroyed by fire (Bull 1878) as well as other important documents of the colony. Nearby, the colony's first Legislative Council building was erected in 1843 and marked the beginnings of a local colonial government (Gargett & Marsden 1996: 40). The Governor's House had already been assigned a prominent position on North Terrace in Light's plan of the City. They and later institutions became the means for disseminating information to the Empire and for disseminating understandings from various sources, including the 'outback', to locals.

[11] Queale and Di Lernia pointed out that its "window depicts scenes that illustrate the federation of the states of Australia" (1996: 122).

recognition at the heart of Adelaide's CBD. It was last used as a stock exchange in 1987, the year of its centenary (Gibbs 1988: 1).

For many South Australians North Terrace is a feature of their daily experience and not a distant and imagined phenomenon like the Australian nation. The Terrace's horizons have always been immediate and material. They have provided a platform, a vantage, for imaging not so much the nation but the state, the British Empire and the world. Since the 1970s Adelaide's international gaze has shifted from Britain towards the United States and Asia.

The broad focus on North Terrace gave it a special status as something experienced rather than simply imagined. The shared experiences of strolling along the Terrace or travelling along it inside a vehicle were directed by planners. As the manager of the City Council's Urban Design Services remarked, "North Tce is not just a cultural boulevard. It is the most important cultural icon for the city and the State. It has arguably the best range of built heritage, statuary and art works [in Australia]" (Russell cited by M. Lloyd, *The City Messenger* 1996a: 17). Pedestrian movement along the pavement has continued to be framed by institutions, plaques, and other memoriae of local and global relations of power. At the local level the spatial structures of North Terrace also revealed relations of power that were there for all to see but which were continuously naturalised, cemented into the fabric of these structures and built into our everyday lives. These relations seemed natural because they were contained in highly visible built forms that constituted the fabric of visible space.

Fundamental orientations to Adelaide and powerful and influential South Australian identities continue to be manifest in the formation and on-going reproduction of practices influenced by the constructed spaces of North Terrace. Here the dominance of neo-classical forms displayed the former proximity of Empire and an emerging local identity. By examining these structural forms I seek to elicit figures of Adelaide's past and indicate how the Terrace's emerging shape is revealed in processes of control. It is such control that has underlined activities in the street and propagated the complementary roles of institutional structures and streetscape memorials in education. This

demonstrates relations of power as operating both inside and outside of the enclosed spaces of institutions.

The role of the British Empire has generally diminished in local matters in recent decades and as such leaves Adelaide in a fairly ambivalent position vis-a-vis the rest of the nation. Adelaide's current identity crisis has perhaps been mirrored by the movement from one prominent Premier of the State to another. Hence, there are the conservative years of the Liberal 'The Playford era' (Patience 1992: 344) from 1939 to 1965, in which the State was retrospectively characterised as inward looking and parochial, followed by the innovative policies of the Labor Government in 'The Dunstan Decade' (Parkin 1992: 4) from 1970 to 1979, with its outward-looking, global, and Asian focus. Recently, economic management under a Labor Government in the 'Bannon Decade' from 1982 to 1992 (Parkin 1992: 9-17) has realised an uncertain future into the Brown/Olsen years of consolidation (1993-) which have focused on developing global frontiers largely within the square mile (see Appendix VIII).

Ways of seeing: triangulating relations of power and the spatial layout of North Terrace

(a) Enduring structures of power

As a first step in the disclosure of politically contested meanings it is essential to note that the Terrace's spatial configurations emanated from European ways of seeing, initially of the nineteenth century, in which the emerging science of natural history was influential. A concentration on the scientific study of "visible nature" (Smith cited by D. Gregory 1994: 23) is evident in the institutions lining North Terrace as these related to such 'historical' disciplines as geology, botany, zoology and anthropology. Bennett argued that in this ocularcentric approach the intent was to instruct through "clear and distinct techniques ... [and thus] comunicat(e) to visitors what it was they had to come to learn and understand" (1998: 208). In this scientific quest the spatial world was to be converted into abstract categories to produce the "domesticat(ion) [of] difference by

caging it within a general taxonomic grid" (D. Gregory 1994: 23). Like the processes of natural history that Pratt characterised as "the planet's life forms ... [being] drawn out of the tangled threads of their life surroundings and rewoven into the European-based patterns of global unity and order" (Pratt 1992: 31), the space of North Terrace was woven and shaped by the trappings of Empire.

The early establishment of the 'Adelaide Botanic Gardens' in 1858, for instance, underlined "the role of economic botany ... for the development of a new European colony" (Payne 1992: 23). South Australia had initially been established for the purposes of primary production and to feed the markets of the British Empire and, in what now appears, in hindsight, as an 'uncanny' move, to test the principles of Wakefield's social reforms. Plant research was essential to the success of such a venture. But the Botanic Gardens were also seen as an aid for the self-improvement of the individual, a fond topic of the Victorian era. Payne has noted (1992: 28) that in this effort "(e)ducation in relation to natural history had special importance in the nineteenth century, an era when the study of natural history was considered a 'rational amusement' which combined pleasure with an element of useful instruction and moral uplift" (Barber cited by Payne 1992: 31)[12]. The Adelaide Zoological Gardens established around 1858 was initially part of the Botanic Gardens designed in that year and is said to be one of the oldest zoos in the world[13].

Taxonomy was not only fundamental to the spatial ordering of such institutions but it was a means of defining South Australia's place in the world-wide natural (and

[12] The role of 'Clubs' and 'Conversaziones' centred on North Terrace was similar in this regard, as J.A. Daly (1982) indicated. Such constructs made it possible for the recalcitrant lower socio-economic groups to entertain the belief that certain others were 'superior' by virtue of their partaking in a relatively "exclusive existence and ... symbolic elite activities", argued J.A. Daly (1982: 52). By partaking of these activities the masses could hope to be uplifted. Such uplift was also promised through the construction of "spacious villas" (J.A. Daly 1982: 52) and the formation of "Literary and Scientific Associations and ... [the holding of] Conversaziones. The Adelaide Club, emulating the exclusive London clubs, reinforced their gentility and eliteness - at least to one another!" (J.A. Daly 1982: 52). Such formations distinguish the role of North Terrace as a precinct where pedagogy and relations of power have been interlinked.

[13] The Adelaide Zoo appears to have been in evidence in some form at least as early as 1839 (cf. Jensen & Jensen 1980: 17). More formal plans for a Zoological Gardens surfaced in 1858, around which time the details of Adelaide's Botanic Gardens were being implemented at their current site (Jensen & Jensen 1980: 202).

thus social and political) order. For instance, a Botanic Gardens was a necessary adjunct for citizens to regard their City as one with "some standing in the British Empire" (Payne 1992: 32). Its taxonomy incorporated a material connection with the non-physical world through which concepts flowed, mostly to do with intangible socio-political forms like 'civic pride'. Such inter-play of non-physical and physical forms, were, as Payne indicated, actively encouraged as important investments for citizens in the nineteenth century (Payne 1992: 32). Similarly, the South Australian Museum's collection of Aboriginal artefacts is even now promoted as one of the finest collections of its kind in the world. The enduring power of this taxonomy is thus called upon when reflecting upon contemporary constructions and refurbishments around the City appearing under the sign of "City Pride" (see Plate 19) or when the Terrace is used to highlight the status of the Adelaide Festival or the global premier quality of the museum's Aboriginal collection.

Gradually other institutions consolidated their presence on and to the north side of North Terrace in part of the area now designated by the State Government as the 'Torrens Domain'. As these forms materialised they were thought to raise the status of the City. To this end it was very early in Adelaide's history that a number of "cultural society's" were inaugurated. These later joined forces to become the "South Australian Institute" (Gargett & Marsden 1996: 15), also known as a "Philosophical Institute" (Thomas 1996: 2). This group sought and were granted government help to find a location and to construct a suitable building for their various interests. The site chosen, nearby Government House on North Terrace, not only marked the beginnings of North Terrace as a 'cultural boulevard', as Gargett & Marsden (1996: 17) illustrated, but continued the close conjunction of government with cultural and educative processes.

The founding legislation for the establishment of the South Australian Institute in 1856 "provided for both a library and a museum" (P. Jones 1996: 16). This was not especially for pragmatic reasons but reflected a principle of self-help through education since it was accepted that "(o)bjects and books complemented each other" (P. Jones 1996: 16). This and other institutes which formed in the suburbs, greatly raised interest

in natural history and "hastened the transformation of the *cabinet* type of collection into museums of a recognisably modern type. Their activities, small-scale and generally accessible to a popular audience, suited the scale of colonial capitals" (P. Jones 1996: 17).

Throughout the nineteenth century other cultural and educational bodies emerged, some from the South Australian Institute (Gargett & Marsden 1996: 15), into premises that included the State Library, the South Australian Museum, the Art Gallery of South Australia, the University of Adelaide (constructed 1874), the Jubilee Exhibition Building (constructed 1886), and the Royal Adelaide Hospital. In more recent times the Adelaide Festival Centre (opened in 1973 (Marsden, Stark & Sumerling 1990: 250)) has been added to this list (see Figure 7).

Construction of South Australia's Parliament House commenced in 1883 on the opposite corner to Government House (Queale & Di Lernia 1996: 40). Further to the east the "Renaissance-style literary institute, ... the public library and some temporary structures belonging to the university" were already in place (Morton 1996: 22). Along the Terrace's northern limit a number of buildings had already been placed that Morton described as

> the normal physical manifestations of nineteenth century state power and charity: the gaol, the barracks and the powder magazine; bleak asylums for the destitute, the lunatic and the orphaned; the hospital and the botanic gardens. At the gaol the gallows were in regular use (Morton 1996: 23).

However, the ethos of a largely middle class population "was self help, self improvement and respectability" (J.A. Daly 1982: 57) which coincided with the essential aims of institutions like the South Australian Institute and the Jubilee Exhibition Building. The widespread acceptance of this ethos was evident in the popularity of their displays. The Jubilee Exhibition Building was constructed for the fiftieth anniversary of the colony and replaced an Exhibition Building constructed in 1860 and demolished in 1942 (Burden 1983: 188). The former exhibition space was located to the rear of the Royal Adelaide Hospital and adjoined the Botanic Gardens site (Burden 1983: 188). The latter Jubilee Exhibition Building and its grounds continued to promote the aims of

"International ... Arts, Agriculture and Manufacturers" (Pike and Moore 1983: 67) to local audiences. The hall of this building was the largest in Adelaide for a time and was situated to the east of the Bonython Hall at the University of Adelaide. Following demolition in 1962 the extensive grounds of the Jubilee Exhibition Building were incorporated into the University of Adelaide domain (Burden 1983: 190).

The Exhibition Building, like the South Australian Museum and Art Gallery, was host to a large and enthusiastic public (Pike & Moore 1983: 67) who acted as "witnesses to a display of power" (Bennett 1995: 59) as effective as the "spectacle of punishment in the eighteenth century" (Bennett 1995: 59). A number of consequences may be noted in this change of orientation in the viewing public and the rise of 'exhibitions' in the nineteenth century. For instance, Bennett pointed out that

> the emergence of the art museum was closely related to a wider range of institutions - history and natural science museums, dioramas and panoramas, national and, later, international exhibitions, arcades and department stores - which served as linked sites for the development and circulation of new disciplines (history, biology, art history, anthropology) and their discursive formations (the past, evolution, aesthetics, man) as well as for the development of new technologies of vision (Bennett 1995: 59).

Institutions thus flung open their doors transforming the building's contents from inside to out, and at the same time, claimed Bennett, reoriented the mechanisms of discipline and power that Foucault has associated with the visibility of punishment (Bennett 1995: 59-60). Punishment became increasingly hidden while institutions that had previously withdrawn their wares from the public gaze began to reveal all. As such the public were exposed to representations that "formed vehicles for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power (but of a different type) throughout society" (Bennett 1995: 61). The difference was in their role of enforcing order through an appeal to 'culture' (Bennett 1995: 62). Hence the process of self-improvement was seen as an enjoyable and uplifting task and not just in terms of control over, and regulation of, bodies. The ideal sought was the regulation of the self through "knowing power and what power knows, and knowing themselves as (ideally) known by power, interiorising its gaze as a principle of self-surveillance and, hence, self-regulation" (Bennett 1995: 63).

The institutions of North Terrace thus greatly contributed to the development of "South Australia ... under the dominant idea of liberalism prevailing in England in the nineteenth century" (J.A. Daly 1982: 57). As a consequence the idea of separate classes was maintained in the form of a subtle conflict between 'the leading colonists' and those more removed from wealth and status who gathered in large numbers to witness exhibitions and other spectacles.

All of the Terrace's institutions were granted land under a precedent set by the provision in the Municipal Corporation Act of 1849 which gave the former Parklands area between the River Torrens and North Terrace over to the control of the colonial government (Gargett & Marsden (1996: 17); see also J.W. Daly 1980). Today the accumulated buildings over the reserved area provide tangible evidence of "the ad hoc way in which powerful pressure groups were able to use valuable and centrally located public land for little or no cost" (J.W. Daly 1980: 49). It also indicates strong links between Government and private interests (J.W. Daly 1980: 116). The University of Adelaide has proved to be the most voracious institution in acquiring this section of Parklands but its expansion over the years has encountered little opposition. The University has been a preferred choice for figures of State whose bequests illustrated a strong and enduring link between governance and education and the role of exemplary acts throughout the City's history. The linking of such aspects reveals a very powerful force in determining the spatial dimensions of North Terrace and the wider city.

A good example of such determinations is found in a bequest of Sir John Langdon Bonython, whose principal occupations included newspaper proprietor of *The Advertiser* and Member of the House of Representatives (MHR) from 1901-1907. As an MHR, Bonython "favoured protection, retrenchment, and the White Australia Policy" (Pitcher 1979: 340). The Bonython Hall he bequeathed to the university was on condition that "sternly specified a sloping floor to deter dancing and a location which prevented an extension of Pulteney Street through the university grounds" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1992b: pamphlet). Daly indicated that this blockage of Pulteney Street had been opposed by Rundle Street Traders at the time who thought it deleterious

to their trade. It was also opposed by the Adelaide City Council who argued that "Colonel Light had planned for Pulteney Street to be one of the three arteries leading from North Adelaide through to South Adelaide" (J.W. Daly 1980: 118). In this case however local influence outbid Light's 'vision'.

The bequests of philanthropists and Adelaide Club members, such as, Thomas Elder and Walter Watson Hughes were also significant and placed the onus on the government to develop the Parklands reserve in a particular way (J.W. Daly 1980: 101). Sir Walter Watson Hughes' bequest of 1872 led not only to the establishment of the University of Adelaide at its present site on North Terrace (J.W. Daly 1980: 89) but predicated its inevitable expansion. Elder's bequests to the University of Adelaide were essential for its survival and success (Cameron 1997: 56). Another of Elder's bequests was on condition that the Government provide land and buildings in 1896 for an Art Gallery (J.W. Daly 1980: 101) which was to become the South Australian Art Gallery. He also donated a Rotunda that was shipped out from England and located in a section of the Parklands now known as Elder Park (J.W. Daly 1980: 150) just north of the Adelaide Festival Centre. Elder also financially supported the Botanic Gardens and the Zoological Gardens (Cameron 1997: 29).

Many of the statues and institutions along North Terrace appear as expressions of individual autonomy placed in the service of the State and thus constitute ideological formations of the State (cf. Kapferer 1988: 168). Since these figures are coincidental with the State's history their insertion on North Terrace has been attributed iconic value and linked to the making of a unified State ideology. But such formations may also supply uncanny instances of people imposing their own individualist ideologies on the State. For this reason the role of institutions like the Adelaide Club, on which I now focus, is of central significance.

(b) Privilege, power and poise: the view from the Adelaide Club

The origins of the Adelaide Club (Plate 10) reach back to the first years of settlement. Many of those influential at the beginning of the colony were its first members (originally known as *The South Australia Club*), for example, Colonel Light and Captain Sturt (Morgan 1971: 1). A more recent member wrote, "(t)he movement to form the South Australia Club began less than seventeen months after the settlers in the H.M.S. Buffalo had reached the South Australian mainland, before then inhabited only by a few aborigines" (Morgan 1971: 1). The sentiments contained in his expression reveal the basis of close connections with the British Empire that were forged through the Club and remain evident in the members' library collection. Up until the 1970s at least periodicals subscribed to in this collection, in Morgan's words, may be taken as exemplifying "the continuity of British life" (1971: 68). In this regard, another member, C. R. Cudmore, maintained the hope that members'

> daily lives in this place [the Adelaide Club] ... substantiate the claim, that here, we carry on the kind of Club life that has been the joy and relaxation of English gentlemen, wherever they may be, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Cudmore 1971: iii).

The extent to which the daily lives of Club members followed these ideals is even more stridently revealed by the earlier comments of Boyd Neel. He stated:

> Where is the core of the British Empire? ... in the Adelaide Club you will find the answer. Here far removed from any suspicion of an idea that Queen Victoria is not still on the throne you will find something that I thought had ceased to exist - the England we were taught about at school, the England of Kipling, or even of Dickens! (Neel cited in Morgan 1971: vii).

Thus the Club remained, for its members, a continuous link to days of the British Empire. I suggest that a constancy of thought can be traced. This perspective has a strong appeal for Governments and resurfaces from time to time in official records of the state. It was aptly demonstrated, for example, in Thomas Gill's description of South Australia at its Jubilee. For Gill the

> colony ... was a *terra incognita* - a land previously trodden only by the uncivilised and wandering savage, and consequently without a vestige of a prior history, save what may be found in geological researches, the impressions of nature on its rocks and stones - a land not obtained by exciting wars or conquests by battles, but a history of conquests of wild and uncultivated regions by indomitable British pluck -

Plate 10: The Adelaide Club, North Terrace, 1995.

> a simple peaceful history of the steady progress of British settlement (Gill 1976 [1886]: 3).

By the time of the South Australia's centenary in 1936 Fenner, acting "under the auspices of the Government of South Australia and the Centenary Committee" (1936a: 1), noted that "(s)lumbering under her southern skies almost from the beginning of geological time, South Australia long awaited the quickening touch of civilisation" (1936a: 1). The Governor's centenary message repeated such sentiments and the idea that "(c)haracter is created by the conquest of difficulties, and the character of the people of this State was developed in the conquest of a new and strange environment" (Dugan 1936: vii). The relations between 'character' and 'conquest' were evident in the peregrinations of Club members and the defining moments of battle. For them, it was not until the South African War (the Boer War) in 1899 that they had their first 'real' taste of battle in an event that reflected "in the life of the Club" (Morgan 1971: 58). Much money was raised through the efforts of members in this and subsequent wars to promote the war effort. However, even in the absence of conquest, motifs of Empiric trophies[14] in the form of animal heads and skins from hunting expeditions were accumulated and continue to adorn its interior walls.

The positioning of the Adelaide Club is instructive. Land for the Adelaide Club was first acquired in 1838 on Wakefield Street near Victoria Square. In the same year members rented and purchased a cottage on the corner of Stephens Place and North Terrace (a later site of the 'Verco Building') so that meetings could proceed while waiting for building to commence on Wakefield Street (Morgan 1971: 2-3). Finding the rented accommodation to be too cramped for its projected purposes 'the Club' maintained its search for suitable premises and bought the Victoria Hotel located at an intersection with Hindley Street and a laneway still known as 'Club House Lane'.

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[14] Items included the stuffed head of a lion, tiger skin, elephant tusks, five heads in the entrance hall, heads of European deer and so on and formerly a rhinoceros head. Not all members were happy with such adornments (Morgan 1971: 66-67) but they appeared to be outnumbered by those that approved of them. The hunting and collecting attitudes of members was reflected in the corresponding collections of artefacts in institutions like the South Australian Museum, the South Australian Art Gallery and even the State Library across the other side of the Terrace.

The Club's original purchase of a block of land near Victoria Square aligned with Light's 'vision' of the City in which he situated Victoria Square at its hub. However, the ultimate decision not to build on this land was likely a consequence, said Morgan, "that by 1839 it had become apparent that Light's intention that Victoria Square should be the centre of life in the city ... had not been fulfilled, but that the eastern part of Hindley Street had taken its place" (1971: 4). Thus the Club's later move to Hindley Street demonstrated an emerging nexus between the established power of members of the Club and a necessity to locate their activities in a vista of power. I argue that the Club's move to North Terrace in 1863 is a measure of the Terrace's growing centrality and its maintenance as a central location in the present. This central figuring is complemented by the social status of foundation members of the Club on North Terrace, many of whom were politicians and even became Premiers of the state, for example, Sir Henry Ayers, John Baker, Sir Arthur Blyth, Sir Richard Hanson, John Hart and G.M. Waterhouse (cf. Morgan 1971: 13) (see Appendix IX).

Membership of the Adelaide Club has always remained small, exclusive and familial[15]. A long list of father and son memberships is evident. Walter Bagot, for example, was born at North Adelaide in 1880 and became a member of the Adelaide Club in 1901 (Morgan 1971: 115). His grandfathers were Charles Hervey Bagot, a foundational Member of the Legislative Council (MLC) 1857-61 & 1865-69 and Sir Henry Ayers KCMG, also a foundational MLC in 1857 and State Premier on five occasions between 1863 and 1873 (Gardner 1994: 35). These were two of the most influential members of the early Adelaide 'aristocracy' and both were members of the Adelaide Club. Walter Bagot was appointed as the architect for St Peter's Cathedral and for the Roman Catholic archdiocese. He was also responsible for the design of many of the buildings on North Terrace, including Bonython Hall and the Barr-Smith Library at the University of Adelaide, both of which demonstrate his strong classical leanings. Bagot's preference for classical and traditional design accorded well with members of

[15] Memberships by invitation only, rising from an original figure of 125 in 1863 to only 514 in 1962 (Morgan 1971: 13).

the Adelaide Club and neo-classicism is a feature of North Terrace architecture, generally. He was president of the Adelaide Club from 1948-50. It is noted that Bagot and his wife were determined, through exemplary behaviour, "to show that in Adelaide 'some of us know the way to do things as well as any citizen of the world'" (Berry 1979: 133). Morgan claims such familial relationships demonstrate "that South Australians have been like a large family; indeed the critics of the state say that ancestor worship is still practised in it" (1971 : 14). In addition to its strong links to England and the British Empire, Club members lines of power criss-cross their influence along North Terrace to form triangulations of power which entrench their influence within the City and throughout the State.

Over its history the Club has maintained a list of members who were also powerful Adelaide identities. While the Adelaide Club is not the only place in which power relations were or are formed, nor have all its members been able to exercise power to the same extent, the influence of Club members is conspicuous in City, State and national affairs. The unevenness of power relations amongst members is reflected in Playford's comment that most members "enjoy high social prestige" (Playford 1986: 290) but do not necessarily have "political and economic power and influence" (Playford 1986: 290). However, those that have made material deposits in the Adelaide landscape, back and forth along North Terrace in particular, I argue, were more deeply entrenched in the contemporary fabric of City structures and an essential part of social and political experiences on an everyday basis. This material reality sometimes coincided with the actions and achievements of an individual Club member and at other times was the result of the Club's collective membership (Cameron 1997: Preface). Through 'The Club', therefore, members cemented power and influence through fundamental concrete realities in specific ways. Notably:

> (a) none of the Club members ever belonged to the Australian Labor Party, (the political left) in this state and a party which may be construed as members of a political opposition (Playford 1986: 284);

(b) while it *was* prevalent for members to be or become members of parliament this was no longer so apparent. Recent cases however include Liberal front benches, Alexander Downer and Ian McLaughlin. In any case a strong connection to the Liberal Party remains in the membership and has influence over the Club's direction and constituency. As Playford noted "(a)n impressive number of state presidents of the [conservative] LCL (Liberal and Country League) and later the Liberal Party have been members of the Club" (Playford 1986: 288). Thus members have an ascendancy in the administration of the conservative Liberal Party.

(c) Playford also pointed to powerful elites outside of the Club who have or had socio-economic power yet retained a strong connection with the Club. Despite having wealth and power, those outside the Club rarely figured in material representations along North Terrace. The powerful figure of newspaper magnate Sir John Langdon Bonython is a notable but impermanent exception. He eventually joined the Club after remaining a non-member for most of his life. More often those outside of the Club have not appeared as part of the concrete reality of North Terrace. Thus their presence in the City has often not been foundational nor have they been validated through membership of the Adelaide Club.

The influence of the Bonython family demonstrates the role of a lineage of power anchored in the Adelaide Club in shaping the Adelaide social and physical environment. Their family tree is said to be traceable back to 1370, without a generation break, to the Duchy of Cornwall (E.G. Bonython 1966: xiii). Sir John Langdon Bonython's father, Thomas, came out to South Australia in 1840 and leased land in Rundle Street, east of Pulteney Street (E.G. Bonython 1966: 81). Sir John Langdon Bonython later became owner of the local newspaper, *The Advertiser* and an Member of the Federal Parliament and was regarded with such esteem that the next highest hill to Mount Lofty was renamed Mount Bonython shortly before his death in 1939 (E.G. Bonython 1966: 110).

John Langdon's eldest off-spring, (John) Lavington Bonython, known as Lavington, was educated at the elite Prince Alfred College and knighted in 1935 (Kym Bonython 1979: 2). Lavington later became a City Councillor from 1901-1907, an Alderman from 1907-11, Acting Mayor 1911, 12-13 and Lord Mayor 1927-29. He was the youngest man then to have become a Lord Mayor of Adelaide. Lavington joined *The Advertiser* and in 1935 gave Adelaide its Town Hall clock (Kym Bonython 1979: 2). His membership of the Adelaide Club (Knox 1933-34: 61-2) and devotion to the concerns of preservation and 'heritage' of the Parklands, and of Adelaide more generally, won acclaim. A section of Parklands is named in his honour. Lavington had three children by his first wife and three by his second wife, Constance Jean Warren[16]. Constance Jean was the mother of Hugh Reskymer (Kym) Bonython, Warren and Katherine who all have become prominent figures of Adelaide's social scene. For example, Kym Bonython, born 1920 and educated at the St Peter's College (Kym Bonython 1979: 13), was an art dealer, jazz and speedway entrepreneur (Pitcher 1979: 341-42). He is regarded by opinion makers as an "(i)con of the Establishment" (Turner & Harris, *The Advertiser* 1998: 19). Significantly, Kym was Chairman of the South Australian Jubilee Board 1980-87 (Howie 1992: 193). His brother, Warren Bonython, was President of the National Trust of South Australia[17] from 1971-1975, a Member of the South Australian Museum Board from 1952, and an Adelaide Club member (Draper 1980: 119). Others in the family also reached a high social profile, such as John Langdon Bonython (born 1905), a prominent businessman (Pitcher 1979: 342). The influence of some of these family names, Morphett, Hurtle and Bagot was already cemented in names on the structures of Light's grid.

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[16] His second wife was the daughter of Charles Herbert Warren, a merchant, and Alice Downer (Bonython 1979: 2).

[17] According to a statement appearing on the cover of the National Trust of South Australia's Annual Report, the Trust was "to be the pre-eminent, independent community body promoting conservation of South Australia's natural and cultural heritage assets, and encouraging the use of those assets, whether by commercial or other means, for the long term social, economic and environmental benefit of the public" (National Trust of South Australia 1994: Annual Report).

In Van Dissel's study of the growth of an "indigenous South Australian gentry" (1986: 334) between 1850 and 1920 he noted that its "members were related by marriage. They met each other in the Adelaide Club and hunted together in the Adelaide Hunt Club" (Van Dissel 1986: 334). Typical of marriages among the older gentry families were the marriages of "Sir John Morphett ... [to the] daughter of Sir James Hurtle Fisher[18] in 1838; Harry, son of Sir Henry Ayers ... [to] Ada, daughter of Sir John Morphett in 1866; John Bagot, son of Christopher and grandson of Captain Charles Hervey Bagot ... [to] Lucy, daughter of Sir Henry Ayers, in 1878" (Van Dissel 1986: 355).

Commercial as well as marital unions were forged amongst this gentry while "links with Government House were further cemented by a number of marriages into the vice-regal circle" (Van Dissel 1986: 335). Commercial unions were made between, for instance, "Sir Thomas Elder, his brother-in-law Robert Barr Smith, and Edward Stirling [who] combined stock and station interests with extensive pastoral holdings" (Van Dissel 1986: 354). The consolidation of the gentry brought about through these unions "was reflected in the creation and growth of the Adelaide Club" (Van Dissel 1986: 355). Networks combining an array of mercantile interests from pastoralism to shipping and banking were created among Club members (Van Dissel 1986: 367). Many of these were in competition, but unions like those of Elder and Barr Smith combined very powerful mercantile families into particularly influential units in local affairs (Van Dissel 1986: 367). The influence of Club members more generally has been evident in the high proportion of Legislative Councillors and members of the Assembly which came from their ranks. The percentage of members appearing in the Legislative Council has only decreased somewhat in the last twenty to thirty years (Van Dissel 1986: 365). The influence of the Bonython and Kyffin Thomas families who "owned the colony's two

[18] Fisher arrived with the first fleet as South Australia's Resident Commissioner. He became a Member of the Legislative Council (Upper House) 1836-38, 1853-65, a Speaker of the House from 1855-57, and President from 1857-65. He was Adelaide's first mayor in 1840 and reappointed three times thereafter. Among other positions held he was leader of the South Australian Bar, an original trustee of the Savings Bank of South Australia and a founder of St Peter's College (Morgan 1971: 100). He was also a foundation member of the Adelaide Club (Morgan 1971).

leading newspapers - the *Advertiser* and the *Register* respectively" (Van Dissel 1986: 357) were no doubt extensive. The significance of the Bonython family names is particularly memorialised in the names of buildings in the University of Adelaide (see Appendix X).

It is significant to the formation and on-going relations of power in South Australia that some members of the Adelaide Club occupied or occupy positions in State Parliament and also the higher office of Premier of the State (cf. Morgan 1971: 13) and that others held high positions in the judiciary, or were directors in various companies, pastoralists, land speculators, and University Chancellors (Van Dissel 1986: 340-53). It was "(t)hese men [who] directed the economic affairs of South Australia in the boardrooms of the colony's companies, and influenced its political affairs in the Legislative Council" (Van Dissel 1986: 334). Its members, especially in the early years, tended to marry the relations of other members thereby strengthening their hold on wealth and power (Van Dissel 1986: 355). This is why some South Australians suspect 'The Club' of being a breeding ground for a privileged elite. Morton's hypothetical observations in 1996 portrayed an earlier scene of North Terrace and ominously reflected on its role, even at an early stage, in matters of governance and the strategic spatial positioning it has retained in the City's main thoroughfare. In Morton's reconstruction a person wandering along the Terrace in 1878 might have looked over to

> where the blinkered horses of the hackney carriages and wagonettes waited patiently for hire ... at the political and cultural heart of Adelaide and therefore of the colony too. ... On the south side of North Tce were low blocks of offices, doctors' rooms and the like, and still many fine private mansions. ... [Of these, the first floor balcony] of the Adelaide Club ... [presented the most] convenient coign of vantage from which members could contemplate Government House across the road, standing in large grounds behind a wall (Morton 1996: 21).

Government House held frequent events that reaffirmed social connections in Adelaide with those in England, at least until 1965 (Van Dissel 1986: 335). Members of the Club were prominent among its guests and helped preserve and foster these connections by first establishing their role as founders of the State, as 'City Fathers'.

(c) Schooling an elite

The "(s)tatues ... often planned and promoted in the close confines of the Adelaide Club" (Cameron 1997: Preface) and the buildings of North Terrace reveal the importance of connections between the Club and the British Empire, and the Club and the State. The relevance of education at the *right* school in Adelaide has also had enduring connections with the nature of this social 'heritage'. The role of St Peter's Collegiate School (SPSC, commenced in 1849 (Van Dissel 1986: 362)) in producing and reproducing an 'aristocratic order' has been especially significant. Most of the sons of the gentry have been educated at St Peter's (although some went to Prince Alfred College after it opened in 1869) and later at Cambridge University (Van Dissel 1986: 337). The practice of continuing education at Cambridge or Oxford universities became less prevalent after World War II (Van Dissel 1986: 363) when the University of Adelaide became a more favoured destination.

The elite's progeny were groomed for social leadership roles that were especially afforded by positions in the Legislative Council and House of Assembly (Van Dissel 1986: 337). Children of the Adelaide established elite were thus educated to go in and reproduce relations of power laid bare on North Terrace. This role has not diminished in contemporary times, as Peel and McCalman observed:

> In most cities, there are dominant school systems. In Adelaide, there is a dominant school. It is common sense in Adelaide that boys from the "best" families will go to "Saints" to learn the skills (and the manners) appropriate to social leadership. The 1988 *Who's Who* reveals that Saint Peter's College truly is a major training ground of the Adelaide Establishment (1992: 42).

At the turn of the twentieth century, the natural collusion of an education at St Peter's College and progress to an elite and membership of 'The Club' was even more pronounced than it has been in the 1990s[19]. Many of SPSC's founders were also

[19] It is not only the right school that makes for progression to elite status as obviously many do not become elites. There are also other factors at work, such as family connections, that relate to opportunity in later life. Bagot, for instance, was educated at St Peter's College and later apprenticed to a well-known architect in Adelaide, E.J. Woods (also a member of the Adelaide Club), before continuing studies in architecture at King's College, University of London. On returning to Adelaide in 1905 he formed the firm Woods & Bagot (Berry 1979: 133). Woods and Bagot later teamed up with Laybourne-Smith (also a member of the Adelaide Club) and Jory to design the State War Memorial on North Terrace (Cameron 1997: 102).

members of 'The Club' (cf. Morgan 1971). Around 36% of St Peter's College graduate males born before 1918 were represented in *Australia's Who's Who* (Peel & McCalman 1992: 43).

The Anglican, St Peter's College, is situated on a large reserve of land opposite a section of the Parklands known as 'Botanic Park' and is bounded by Hackney Road and a section of North Terrace leading out of the City. Its address is given as North Terrace and "in ethos and architectural style, it harked back to England, the place of its origins" (Warburton 1986: 37). It was founded in 1849 by a "substantial number of gentry" (Van Dissel 1986: 362). The Church of England's "continuing links with England and the Crown [and] its possession of the colony's oldest and largest boy's school, St Peter's College" (Hilliard & Hunt 1986: 203) were especially appealing to the tastes of upper socio-economic groups who recognised its "emphasis on tradition, good order, patriotism and dignified worship" (Hilliard & Hunt 1986: 203).

St Peter's College main 'rival' has been Prince Alfred College (PAC). PAC was founded in 1867 and it was here, said Warburton, that "the Wesleyans ... laid ... the great core of Methodism in South Australia" (Warburton 1986: 37). PAC is situated a short distance away from St Peter's on Dequetteville Terrace at the edge of the eastern Parklands (see Figure 1). Most members of the elite favoured St Peter's over PAC. Their decision came down to the differing educational pursuits on offer, although at first religious denomination was a major consideration. Even progeny of T.G. Waterhouse, a major benefactor of PAC, were sent to St Peter's (Van Dissel 1986: 363). In general terms, "St Peter's was predominantly the school of the landed and professional classes, while Prince Alfred College was the school of the business or commercial elite" (Van Dissel 1986: 363)[20].

Both schools are located just beyond the Parklands and overlook them. Though they exist outside of the City they remain institutions in which boys are bred to go into

[20] The right-hand wing of Prince Alfred College (the second wing), constructed in 1881, was named 'Waterhouse' (Pike & Moore 1983: 52) after T.G. Waterhouse (brother of a Premier at one time, G.M. Waterhouse) who made substantial monetary contributions to the school's structures (Gibbs 1984: 68-69).

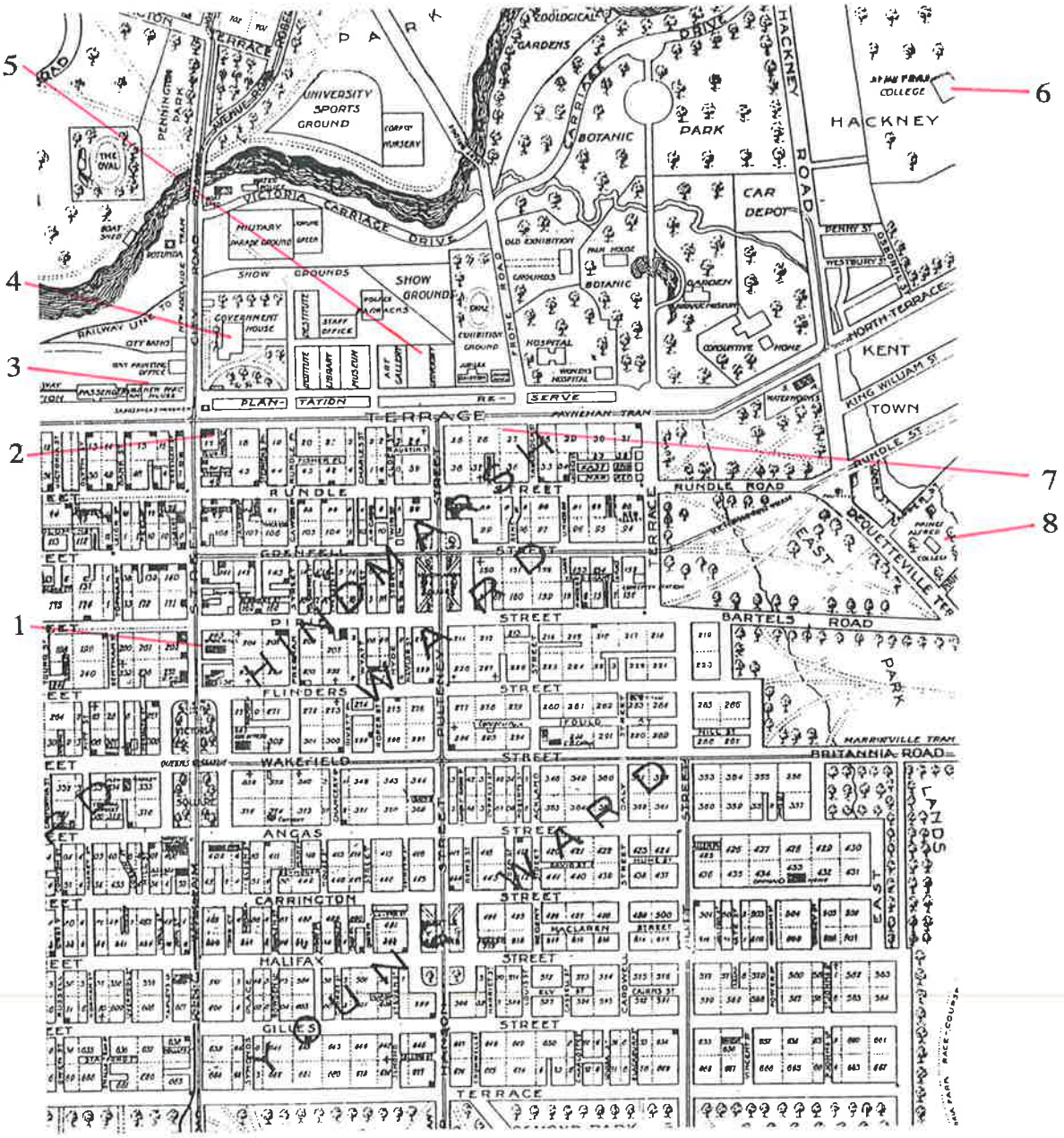
the City to reproduce and develop the triangulations of power of their forebears. The strength of the relationship between the Anglican St Peter's College and the Methodist Prince Alfred College and the avenue of power along North Terrace via the Adelaide Club has endured. The connection between St Peter's College and the Adelaide Club coincides with long held understandings by Club affiliates of the importance of religious denomination. From the outset non-Dissenters or Anglican Protestants were favoured as Club Members, although exceptions have occurred as in the case of the Dissenter, Sir Samuel Way, himself the "son of a non-conformist Methodist minister" (Cameron 1997: 87). Those with a Protestant background were the most likely to attain membership. According to Hilliard and Hunt Methodists and Protestants were the

> most successful religious bodies in meeting the individual and communal needs of the colony's early settlers. By the end of the nineteenth century Protestant leaders were proud of their position of influence, which they attributed to South Australia's godly pioneers ... Adelaide became known as 'the city of churches' (Hilliard & Hunt 1986: 194).

The Methodists were known as the great builders of churches in Adelaide and it was mostly due to their efforts that the 'city of churches' tag is still wielded in local and extra-local references (Warburton 1986: 36). In these uncanny ways, religion still retains a strong association with power in South Australia despite a general decline of religious activity Australia-wide particularly since the mid-1960s (Hilliard & Hunt 1986: 228). This relation is an uncanny conjunction in that South Australia was the first state in Australia to separate the concerns of the state and of the church.

In Figure 8a & 8b I outline the triangle of relations of power centred on the Adelaide Club. The powerlines between 'The Club' and the Freemasons, State Parliament, the Church, 'the Schools', and commerce, demonstrate the various triangular interconnections that exist between these institutions and the constellations of power that structure their operations. These constellations have enabled the formation and meanings of a landscape as appears in North Terrace.

Figure 8 (a): Section of Frearson's tramways map of Adelaide c. 1895. Sites indicated highlight the persistence of the City's triangulating relations of power.



Index:

1. Adelaide City Council Chambers
2. The Adelaide Club
3. Parliament House
4. Government House
5. University of Adelaide
6. St Peters College
7. Freemasons' Lodge (from 1924)
8. Prince Alfred College

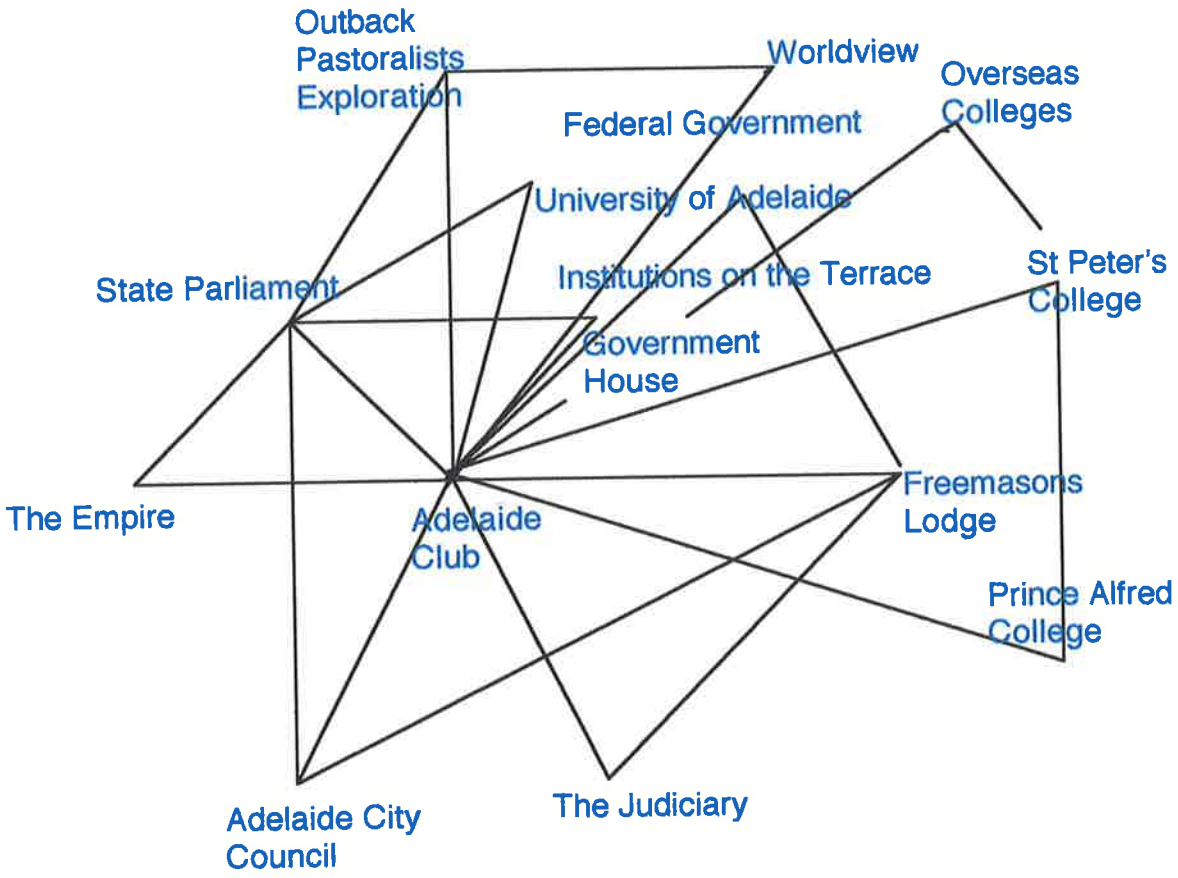


Figure 8(b): Diagram outlining the City of Adelaide's 'triangulating relations of power'.

Memoriae: conversions of power

The numerous statues and memoriae appearing on North Terrace are illustrative of the triangulating relations of power in detail. Most of the statues and memoriae of the North Terrace streetscape are located in or near the Terrace's 'Prince Henry Gardens' (see Figure 7 for their positioning). This 'Garden' occupies a strip of land around 20 metres wide that is generally covered by lawn and interspersed with trees. It extends in parallel with the North Terrace footpath from King William Street to Frome Street. An examination of who is represented in the memoriae and statues deposited there and who is responsible for their placement and commissioning reveals much about the relations of power in Adelaide and particularly the role of the Adelaide Club and its members. The statuary along North Terrace has a strong militaristic and Empiric theme that has been complemented by an underlying didactic orientation. This didacticism bears a relation to the rule of law, exploration and discovery: in short to the processes of civilisation.

The statues and memorials along North Terrace generally related the status and achievement of various individuals in Adelaide. Exceptions included the South African Memorial, more commonly known as the 'State Memorial' (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1974: 136), and the South Australian War Memorial which have been prominent reminders of local participation in world wars. The South African Memorial, positioned at the King William Street and North Terrace intersection, commemorated those who fought in the Boer War from 1899. It became, in 1904, Adelaide's first war memorial and has 'pride of place' in being fixed outside the entrance to the Governor's residence and opposite the Houses of Parliament. According to Cameron it is the "most eye-catching statue in Adelaide" (1997: 41). The decision to fight in this war, said Gargett and Marsden, was a test of South Australia's "commitment to the Empire" (1996: 14).

The imposing South Australian War Memorial, at the corner of Kintore Avenue and North Terrace, commemorated the soldiers, airmen and sailors of South Australia killed in the World Wars (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1974 : 136) (see Appendix XI). The themes of 'Government and Law' appear in statues such as that of Sir Samuel Way, Sir Mellis Napier, Mary Lee, Sir Mark Oliphant and King Edward VII. Busts of Mellis

Napier, Mary Lee and Mark Oliphant are clustered near the entrance to Government House. It is worth examining each in turn. I group the statues and memoriae according to their inauguration in an Empiric era (pre-1970s) or a post-Empiric era (post-1970s). The 1970s marked a decline in the stranglehold of conservative forces in South Australia's governance that that had long been dominant. The worldly political focus advocated by Don Dunstan who was Premier of the State from 1970 to 1979 was instrumental in bringing about this change. The era from the 1970s onwards has been especially important for women in this state.

Figures of Empire

Sir Mellis Napier's bust, along with the other memoriae considered in this section, coincided with the heady days of the Adelaide Club and conservatism. The examination reveals close associations between institutions and influential people in this state. For example, Napier held various posts including Chancellor of the University of Adelaide (1948-1961); Chief Justice of South Australia (1942-1967); Lieutenant-Governor of South Australia (1942-1973) (Mander-Jones 1976: 133); Pro Grand Master of Freemasons (1930-35) (Mander-Jones 1976: 367) and member of the Adelaide Club. Napier was born in Scotland. The chairman and managing director of *The Advertiser* at the time, Sir Frederick Lloyd Dumas (also an Adelaide Club member), led the presentation of the bust and suggested that it be placed nearest the entrance to Government House (Cameron 1997: 137) where it was unveiled in 1970 (Cameron 1997: 135).

The figure of a former Chief Justice and Lieutenant-Governor of South Australia, Sir Samuel Way, has stood outside the University of Adelaide grounds on North Terrace since 1924. Cameron described him as a "grand figure" of the state whose Montefiore Hill residence "was virtually an extension of Government House" (1997: 90). The Montefiore Hill residence was later occupied by Sir John Langdon Bonython. During his life, Way held key state positions of Chief Justice, Lieutenant-Governor, Baronet Privy Councillor, Doctor of Civil Law, Doctor of Laws and Chancellor of the University of

Adelaide (Mander-Jones 1976: 367). His statue is situated almost directly opposite the Freemasons Hall at which he was a Grand Master from 1884-1889 and 1895-1916, and, according to a contemporary member of the Freemasons, he "ruled Royal Arch Masonry in this state" (Mander-Jones 1976: 327). Way became an Adelaide Club member in 1868.

Freemasonry has been, until recent times, an important part of triangulating relations of power between the University of Adelaide, and the City and/or State governments. Freemasonry held an enduring association with the "governing body of the city" (Mander-Jones 1976: 336) and for a time, Lord Mayors of the City were also Freemasons[21] (see also Appendix IX). In any case, only men of "proven character" (Mander-Jones 1976: 336-7) were offered membership of the Freemasons. Women were excluded, so were males with certain religious affiliations, most notably and explicitly Roman Catholics. The example set by Glover and other prominent figures in the Craft's high offices gave Freemasonry, said a member,

> an authority and dignity which must have been a matter for deep satisfaction to Freemasons generally. For over 30 years, Samuel James Way (later Sir), Lieutenant Governor, Chief Justice and Chancellor of the University of Adelaide ruled over the Grand Lodge of South Australia ... Governors of the State at various periods (for example, the Earl of Kintore and Sir Alexander Hore-Ruthven) also accepted the Grand Mastership (Mander-Jones 1976: 336).

King Edward VII was one of at least five English kings who were patrons of the Freemasons (see Plate 11). This list includes King William IV (Short 1989: 136) after whom King William Street was named. The statue of Edward VII was an affirmation of the loyalty of "far-flung subjects" (Cameron 1997: 74)[22]. The King's sudden death in 1910 was claimed to have "shocked the Empire" (Cameron 1997: 74), according to the Mayor of Adelaide at that time, Lewis Cohen. Cohen postponed the Mayoral Ball and

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[21] Richmond John Glover, for example, was a Grand Secretary at the same time as he was "Mayor and later Lord-Mayor of the City of Adelaide" (Mander-Jones 1976: 336). By taking up these positions it is evident that he "ultimately ... encourage(d) men ... to offer themselves for service in local government in various capacities" (Mander-Jones 1976: 336).

[22] The statue of Edward VII was located opposite the State War Memorial and placed on a pedestal situated in the middle of the pedestrian strip in 1920. This positioning caused a necessary diversion for foot traffic (see Plate 15). The 6.4 metre high pedestal (Cameron 1997: 74) has three female figures on a lower tier representing "Australia, Peace and Justice" (Queale & Di Lernia 1996: 46) and is located in front of the neo-classical structure of the former 'South Australian Institute Building', mentioned earlier.

immediately announced plans for a public subscription to create a monument (Cameron 1997: 74).

A memorial committee chaired by Cohen was formed and included members who were "leading business figures of Adelaide" (Cameron 1997: 75). Public response for the statue was strong and abetted by the support of newspapers. However, the original site chosen for the statue was opposite the Adelaide Club and, stated Cameron, "it is reasonable to guess where most of the sentiment lay" (Cameron 1997: 75). Cohen personally donated £500 and the Council a total of £350 out of a total cost of £5750 (Cameron 1997: 75 & 78). The statue was unveiled in 1920 (Cameron 1997: 75) with the delay in completion resulting from squabbles between the committee and the sculptor over the design and also to the unsettling effects of the First World War. Sir Samuel Way was particularly influential in determining its eventual outcome (Cameron 1997: 78). Thus a design effecting a high degree of formality ensued with the king being presented in full "coronation regalia" (Cameron 1997: 78). The resultant statue therefore demonstrates strong links between powerful people, their membership of Clubs and North Terrace.

Art is another significant theme of the Terrace in which refinement has been expressed. The City's first statue, the 'Venus de Canova' created public controversy at its presentation in 1894 (Queale & Di Lernia 1996: 42)[23]. It was chosen and gifted by William Austin Horn who presented it to the City of Adelaide on return from an overseas trip (Cameron 1997: 13). Horn was a member of the Adelaide Club, a Member of Parliament and a South Australian explorer. 'Venus' was one of three statues donated by Horn (all are classical in style) and, despite public protests as to its moral suitability, through his powerful insistence it remained outdoors to "educate, delight and refine passers-by" (Cameron 1997: 11). Their classical lines appealed to those of refined tastes and sensibilities (attributes commonly ascribed to members of the Adelaide Club). However, the statues were seen as vulgar and threatening to those with

[23] The white marble statue of Venus depicts the life-size figure of a woman only partially clad by a length of material. It is raised about 1 to 1.5 metres above the ground on a plinth.

less refined tastes as they depicted naked male and female forms. The statue of Venus has been moved twice, from its original site near the Governor's guard house to a position directly in front of the South Australian Museum. It was then moved to make way for the Lavington Bonython fountain and re-situated at its present site opposite the Adelaide Club and in front of Government House (Cameron 1997: 12).

Another white marble statue featured Robert Burns, the Scottish poet, located outside the State Library. His figure is not uncommon to Australian cities perhaps reflecting something of the rogue element that many Australians like to believe is common to the national identity. However, the annual activities that take place around the statue hosted by the Caledonian Society appear to make more of a connection with pomp and ceremony than with Burns' more usual position as a social provocateur. This was the first street statue carved in Adelaide and the fact that Burns received this honour displays the Scottish origins of many South Australians and that "Scottish pomp and pageantry were in high fashion throughout the Empire" (Cameron 1997: 16). The Caledonian Society, which was headed in 1893 by Adelaide Club member, John Darling, was responsible for raising the funds for the statue and Scottish citizens such as Thomas Elder and Robert Barr-Smith were among contributors (Cameron 1997: 17).

Burns' statue was first located at the corner of Kintore Avenue and North Terrace and was later shifted to make way for the War Memorial. It was then placed, by the City Council near the entrance of the Art Gallery in 1930. The Board of Governors of the Art Gallery were unhappy with this siting and by the intercession of Premier Playford the statue of Burns was relocated to its present site in front of the State Library on North Terrace in 1940 (Cameron 1997: 19). Burns was also a Freemason and once wrote of his fond association with them in a poem titled the 'Sons of Light'(Short 1989: 75).

Themes relating to 'education and medicine' and 'exploration' are evident in figures such as the bust of Lord Florey[24] and Sir Mark Oliphant (the physicist), the

[24] Located near the statue of 'Venus de Canova'.

statue of Matthew Flinders and the bust of Sir Douglas Mawson. These themes concretise essential features of the North Terrace landscape and the social relations of power in South Australia, and often the intentions and aspirations for which the edifices which they front were constructed. Adelaide-born Lord Florey was educated at St Peter's College (Eliseo 1994: 70) and later became a co-discoverer of the medicinal use of penicillin. The bust of Antarctic explorer, Sir Douglas Mawson, was unveiled in 1982 and is situated to the east of Way. Mawson was a former professor at the University of Adelaide, from which he gained his doctorate in science in 1909 and at which he later held the post of Professor of Geology and Mineralogy from 1920 onwards (Knox 1933-34: 189). Mawson was also a member of the Adelaide Club.

A major defining feature of North Terrace evident throughout the analysis thus far is its male-orientation. This orientation appeared unencumbered by female concerns that were generally closeted in other areas of the City, away from the overt power structures of the State. For instance, the Pioneer Women's Memorial Garden is located north of the Governor's Residence, while some distance away from North Terrace and opposite St Peter's Cathedral on King William Street, is located the Cross of Sacrifice and gardens (see Figure 1). The Cross of Sacrifice commemorated the hundreds of Australian victims buried in France during the war and formed a 'Women's War Memorial' to the South Australian Sailors and Soldiers lost in World War I that was meant as a "tangible link with the distant dead" (Cameron 1997: 81). The original site chosen for this monument was on North Terrace but according to the chief planner the area assigned for it had been too small (Cameron 1997: 81).

Also of note are the many representatives of the men of freemasonry in the statuary and in street names, such as King Edward VII, Robert Burns, Sir Mellis Napier, the Earl of Kintore[25] (after whom Kintore Avenue was named), and Sir Samuel Way. The strong militaristic theme of the Terrace is rooted in these representatives and

[25] The Earl of Kintore was a Grand Master of Freemasons in South Australia from 1889 to 1895 (Mander-Jones 1976: 367). He was also Governor of South Australia from 1889 to 1895 (Gardner 1996: 39).

their cohorts. As Short noted, "the formation of a [Masonic] lodge seemed to have happened as soon as British soldiers or sailors claimed some corner of a foreign field for the empire. Many lodges travelled with their regiments" (Short 1989: 370)[26]. The military theme of the Terrace also feeds into a male exclusivity epitomised by the Freemasons membership rules and the membership rules of the Adelaide Club, although the Adelaide Club now admits females but only as the guests of members since 1963 (Morgan 1971: 90).

The statues and memoriae make those whom they represent appear more 'at home' in the space of North Terrace. For example, the seated figure at the front entrance to the University of Adelaide is that of Scottish born, Sir Walter Watson Hughes, the University of Adelaide's first benefactor and one of its principal founders. Hughes was a member of the Adelaide Club and also held pastoral and mining interests (Van Dissel 1986: 345). Hughes' statue appeared to be particularly 'at home' and, like other statues, it seemed he was more 'at home' than the likes of ordinary folk would ever be. For Hughes this is an uncanny assignation as he was fond of a "roving life" (Cameron 1997: 54). His wealth was generated through mining exploits in South Australia although he spent little time here and most of the last twenty three years of his life at home in Great Britain (Cameron 1997: 56). On a brief return to Adelaide during this period he contributed a sum of money to found a religious college that, through community pressure and against Hughes' wishes, was eventually channelled to the formation of the University of Adelaide on North Terrace (Cameron 1997: 56).

Hughes' present position in bronze at the forefront of the University is somewhat ironic, therefore, as he was reluctant to support its formation. It appears that the main source of enthusiasm was generated by the wider populace and that a donation by South Australian pastoralist Sir Thomas Elder was essential to its on-going success. Elder's statue was in fact the first to be raised in the university grounds, an action that prompted

[26] The warrant for the establishment of a Lodge in South Australia arrived with Charles Kingston who travelled "with Governor Hindmarsh on the Buffalo in 1836" (Anon. 1997a: 3). Freemasonry is thus coterminous with the foundation of the colony and their first meeting was held in the same year as that of the first Adelaide Club in 1838.

nephews of Hughes to commemorate his memory in the form of an imposing statue in front of the University's Mitchell Building in 1906 (Cameron 1997: 54-6).

The statues and memoriae along North Terrace, on the one hand, present images of capital and social status, and on the other, crystallise the social relations of power on which their production was founded. The memorials to war demonstrate the defence of property, figures of governance reinforce the presence of a ruling elite and art's emplacement in all of this positions it in the service of a patriarchal state. Together they assume a "socially 'real' appearance" (Lefebvre 1991: 306) that is unified (for that is the nature of capital) and over-rides a heterogeneous, conflictual or contradictory appearance (Lefebvre 1991: 306). That is, their concrete presence in the landscape supplies an imaginative context for negotiating social relations. However, though the planned order is the dominant conception of space made familiar to us who experience it, it is also a space which the imagination seeks to alter.

Post-Empiric figures

The political climate since the 1970s has provided a different approach to the organisation of space in North Terrace. Hence a bust dedicated to Mary Lee was unveiled in 1994, 100 years after the Women's Suffrage Bill was passed (Cameron 1997: 150) (Plate 11). Lee's work enabled South Australian women to be the first of any Western country to gain the right to parliamentary vote and to stand for election to parliament. Lee was the only female commemorated in statue form on the Terrace in the twentieth century (until the unveiling of Dame Roma Mitchell's statue in 1999) but only appeared 100 years after the unveiling of the first and only other female figure on the Terrace, the 'Venus de Canova'. None were members of 'The Club'.

The bust of Sir Mark Oliphant near the gates of Government House appeared in 1978. Oliphant was a former Governor of South Australia (1971-76) and a nuclear physicist of international standing, but not a member of 'The Club'. The principle building of the Research School of Physical Sciences at the Australian National

Plate 11: Pedestrians negotiating their way around the plinth of King Edward VII on the North Terrace pavement in 1994 (top). In the middle photo the State War Memorial is visible behind the King Edward VII statue. The bust of Mary Lee (bottom) is located near the intersection of King William Road and North Terrace in the Prince Henry Gardens.

University, Canberra bears his name. He was the first South Australian born Governor and his figure was the only local royal representative to be featured on Adelaide's streets (Cameron 1997: 138) until Dame Roma Mitchell's statue was commemorated in 1999.

The statue of a seated Dame Roma Mitchell was positioned across the Terrace from the Adelaide Club. Among a list of firsts for women in the Western World Roma Mitchell became a Queens Counsellor in 1962, a Supreme Court judge in 1965, a Governor of South Australia in 1990, and Chancellor of a university (the University of Adelaide) in 1983 (Anon., *The Advertiser* 2000b: 4). Her appointment to these and other important local and national positions and her widespread acceptance in patriarchal ranks is a good demonstration of the changing political climate for women in the late twentieth century as well as her abilities in and outside of the law profession. At her funeral in March 2000 the Governor General of Australia stated that "(s)he blazed a trail for Australian women - in law, in public service and in academic life" (William Deane cited by Anon., *The Advertiser* 2000b: 5). The South Australian Premier, John Olsen, described her as a person who challenged "existing conventions and ... [who] pioneered a new status quo" (Olsen cited by Anon., *The Advertiser* 2000b: 5).

Amidst this changing political climate my examination of a series of plaques set into the pavement of North Terrace demonstrates the enduring and powerful hold of sentiments relating to 'character' and 'conquest' and their effects. Everyday practices of "well-mannered" demeanour and the spatial layout of North Terrace that I discuss focuses attention on these ideals and reveals a nexus between powerful practices and machinations typically associated with the Adelaide Club even in this post-Empiric era.

The plaques were produced as a result of South Australia's sesquicentenary in 1986. An extended discussion of the composition, didactic role, biases and relations of power constituted through these plaques appears in Appendix XII of this thesis. That discussion adds on to the above analysis of the role of key figures and institutions in providing orientations for 'local' identity. The 'Jubilee Walk' along North Terrace that is framed by the plaques brings figures of the past into the present and reproduces profiles at the forefront of an 'essential' Adelaide experience. In the assemblage of

history the plaques project the serious business of education and of revealing Adelaideans to themselves is inserted into the fabric and structures of everyday life.

Social movements located in this constructed past soften the impact of reform in the contemporary era. Further, this past allows the omission of ethnic figures who migrated here in larger numbers after the Second World War. Con Polites, for example, "one of Adelaide's most successful businessmen" (N. Lloyd, *The Advertiser* 1995: 20), with 57 companies built up over 60 years (N. Lloyd, *The Advertiser* 1995: 20), is not included. While the name 'Polites' was highly visible throughout the City and sometimes glowed from neon signs, there was no trace of 'Polites' cemented on North Terrace. His overt presence in the City's power grid did not exist as powerfully as that of Elder, Bonython, Light, Angas and so on who all reappeared on North Terrace and in sections of the Parklands named after them. Their uncanny power was built into the very foundations of the Terrace's structures and was validated in various ways and also hidden from view. Their power thus exists not only in visible structures but in the very footings of the buildings they bequeathed or in the memoriae with which they were bestowed. For them it was the solid foundations of Empire and commitment to civilising processes that linked their modes of power to State authority. Polites' power is not linked to this foundational base and, like his name on neon signs, has only existed above ground, in the visible and transient light of the present. Though illuminated, Polites substance has not been triangulated to link it with that of the State nor the 'common good' of civilising projects. Further, the relevance of time is made evident in his absence from North Terrace. Polites is a contemporary figure without a lineage rooted in Adelaide's powerful past nor apparently with foundations for the future being laid. Without such multi-stranded footholds of power he remains on the margins of established power.

Hence the 'taken-for-grantedness' of relations of power are in part due to the visibility of a (past) power that is cemented and built from the past into the present (and future). Lapsed power lies underfoot and before the eyes in plaques, statues and buildings. It is as a result of past and present bodily transferences of power from one

side of the Terrace to the other and is made evident in the material forms of prominent figures in the South Australian social landscape. These manifestations coexist or predate transformation into concrete forms, such as statues, plaques and even buildings. This is made manifest in the impact of members of the Adelaide Club on North Terrace. Its members had and have access to the upper echelons of government and were, or are, frequently invited to attend Government House functions, for instance, and to officiate in State Parliament and/or the Adelaide City Council.

Transformations into concrete reality culminated from the activation of networks of power, most usually, in one of two ways:

> (a) through bequests, in which built forms, statues and so on made or make their appearance in the streetscape as a result of the application of individual wealth and power for the 'common good' or
>
> (b) through an act of bestowal on certain individuals by members of a Government, a City Council, through 'public subscriptions', or an institutional body. For example, funds for the statue of the Chief Justice, Sir Samuel Way, on North Terrace were gleaned as a result of a 'public subscription' from "his friend Sir John Langdon Bonython's suggestion ... [who] promptly raised £1600 from 16 friends, and Way kept a confidential list of subscribers" (Cameron 1997: 90). Such bestowals were often made posthumously (though Way's was made during his life-time) and scrutiny often reveals links to the Adelaide Club. Even so Polites, without such broader links to State power and the past or in philanthropic projects aimed at a 'better' future is unlikely to be memorialised.

Such practices demonstrate tangible and visible contemporary values and relations of power. The memoriae cement the triangulating of relations of power in Adelaide between, for example, Government House (representing the British Empire), Parliament House (representing the State) and the Adelaide Club (local, commercial and power brokers), into visible structures. This visibility ensures that power relations are

naturalised by the wider populace and supplies the imaginative frame by which a dominant concept of State may be articulated.

The plaques service the order of the State and, like the foundation stones of buildings, form a ceremonial base for Adelaide's social and cultural order. They provide essential links between the spatial dominance of the Terrace's institutional buildings and memorials; those personages with and exercising power and influence through them and the power of an 'officialdom' that both preserves and fosters a 'taken-for-granted sense of 'history' and its influences in daily life. Similarly, the process of 'naming' supplies fundamental bonds between the claiming of land and the assertion of some prior right to it, and thus, of an authored and authorised history. Like names assigned to the landscape (Carter, 1987) they demonstrate how power relations are both celebrated and concealed and coincide with the making of narratives through their interaction with everyday experiences. They further indicate the growth of a ceremonial base that is reproduced and transformed over time.

Controlling demeanour in the institutions of public pedagogy

The names applied to buildings along North Terrace have aided understandings of Adelaide's hierarchical and exemplary order. For example, 'The State Library' has several sections named after Adelaide Club members including the 'Mortlock Library'[27] the 'Jervois Wing'[28] and the 'Bray Reference Library'[29]. Numerous buildings in the University of Adelaide grounds bear the names of members, such as, 'Elder Hall'[30],

[27] After W.R. Mortlock - Member of the House of Representatives 1868-75 & 1878-84; Anglican; pastoralist, born in England 1821; arrived in South Australia 1843; died 1884 (Van Dissel 1986: 347). The Mortlock wing of the Library was constructed in 1884 (Queale & Di Lernia 1996: 47). His son William Tennant (1858-1913) was educated at St Peter's College and Cambridge University. He was admitted to the Inner Temple but followed pastoral pursuits with his father and like his father was a member of the House of Assembly (Hone 1974: 302).

[28] The Jervois Wing was constructed in 1884 and named after Sir William Jervois (State Library Research Unit 1999: 2).

[29] After Sir John Cox Bray, former Premier and Member of the Legislative Assembly (Gardner 1994: 35).

[30] After Thomas Elder, Member of the Legislative Council and Adelaide Club member from 1863 (Van Dissel 1986: 343); Elder Hall was constructed in 1900 (Queale & Di Lernia 1996: 52).

'Bonython Hall'[31], the 'Napier Building'[32], the 'Barr-Smith Library'[33] and the 'Mawson Laboratories'[34] to name but a few. Even open spaces between buildings bear names with social significance, such as the 'Hughes Plaza'[35]. All these names belong to wealthy and powerful members of the Adelaide Club, and the bequests they made for constructs of their power and influence in this part of the City. They reflect triangulating relations of power established from about the 1860s (around the time of the Adelaide Club's construction of its present headquarters) to the 1930s which appears as the most important period in terms of the present shape of the North Terrace streetscape. The influence of these refined and eminent citizens, I argue, extends to the aesthetics of self-presentation practiced on the Terrace.

The rules (see Appendix XIII) governing behaviour in institutions like the South Australian Museum, State Library, South Australian Art Gallery, The Universities, Parliament House, Government House, Ayer's House, the Adelaide Club, the Queen Adelaide Club, Freemason's Lodge and so on, focus attention on the regulation of behaviours practised out in the street. The misdemeanours of drunkenness are not tolerated within these hallowed halls. Exhibits are apprehended according to established codes of conduct that control such things as the speed of reception. People typically do not run through these institutions. Nor may they eat or linger too long, nor can they shout, litter, and so on. Inappropriate behaviours are noticed and frequently disciplined by regulating 'attendants' when they occur. The Museum's regulations even extend to the extremities of the forecourt area of the Museum. For instance, during a heatwave in 1991 a group of young Aboriginals were observed playing in the fountain about 50

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[31] After Sir John Langdon Bonython, Member of the House of Representatives; constructed in 1936 (Queale & Di Lernia 1996: 52).
[32] After Sir John Mellis Napier (see earlier this chapter); the building was constructed in 1959 (Queale & Di Lernia 1996: 54).
[33] Robert Barr-Smith held 14 directorships including mining companies, banks, pastoral companies, South Australian Gas Co., and so on (Van Dissel 1986: 341). His donation brought about the construction of the library building in 1931-32 (Queale & Di Lernia 1996: 9).
[34] Sir Douglas Mawson - Antarctic explorer; bust presented to the City in 1982 (Queale & Di Lernia 1996: 53), the centenary anniversary of his birth.
[35] After Sir Walter Watson Hughes.

metres from the entrance of the Museum. Security guards rushed to the scene and ordered them out (Fergie, pers. comm, 1994) (cf. Plate 12).

In the regulations for the Art Gallery the right to exclude a person who "(a) is in a soiled condition; or (b) is not decently attired" (The Executive Council 1989: 1866) are reserved. Regulation 12 of the *South Australian Museum Act* in 1980 stated that

> any member of the public or person visiting the Museum shall not: -
> (a) smoke tobacco or any other substance;
> (b) eat any substance; or
> (c) drink any fluid,
> in any part of any building forming part of the Museum (The Executive Council 1980, No. 58).

To do so would be a *mis* - demeanour. In the first set of regulations compiled for the South Australian Institute, Regulation Two stipulated that "(c)onversation must be avoided as far as possible, and must in any case be carried on in an undertone" (Kay 1867: South Australian Institute, noticeboard regulations). This edict on 'propriety' continues to influence behaviour although it no longer has any force in law. That visitors continue to adopt such demeanours within this institution demonstrates how such rules have over time been normalised by citizens and the civilising intentions given effect.

Despite these and other regulations, it is commonly assumed that the choice of whether or not to enter such institutions is open to everyone. Yet, decisions are made as to what and who is to be catered for, and usually it is the tastes of a certain cognoscenti who decide the contents for inclusion and the style of its presentation. Thus, a person entering the front entrance of the Art Gallery, for example, may choose one of two directions in which to move. The less frequently chosen left route, from my observations, included a series of rooms devoted to European Art. The series of rooms encountered in the route on the right hand side included themes of early settlement in Australia based on the colonies of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. From this direction such representations appeared before a section on Australian Modern Art that was followed by Australian Art of the 1950s to 1980s and, finally, touring exhibitions.

Plate 12: Aerial views of Government House (top); the forecourt of the South Australian Museum (note figures swimming in Bonython Fountain) (middle); a jacaranda tree in front of the South Australian Museum on North Terrace (bottom).

Photos: Mark Bradley, Denise Galloway.

The rules are informed through the conversion of formerly elite institutions along North Terrace into chambers for popular viewing. Such conversions hinged upon the institutions' pedagogic status, an alignment that Bennett argued was an intrinsic part of institutional practices (1995: 24). In examining the application of institutional tactics historically, Bennett indicated that institutions like the museum, and the use of high culture, displaced the visibility of cultural representations as embodiments of state power (1995: 23-4).

However, different types of behaviour and dress were on display within the confines of each institution. The hushed undertones experienced in the Art Gallery and Museum were less obvious in sections of the State Library, although like the others the Library also had a general air of imposed restraint that was practised by its mostly youth and adult patrons. Patrons of the Art Gallery tended to wander in slow and silent appreciation of the exhibits. Patrons' general air of refinement were enhanced by a usually well-groomed appearance. Unlike the Museum, the Art Gallery was dominated by adults. The South Australian Museum tended to attract parents (usually the mothers) of children in strollers, along with other young children sometimes in class groups or with their parent(s). A degree of reserve was also practised at the Museum although children sometimes had to be reminded about not running about and keeping their voices down and hence the general level of human sounds may peak and trough unexpectedly. In this way the pedagogy of civilised behaviour continues to be reproduced.

'Attendants' were another point of differentiation. Art Gallery 'attendants', now usually women, paid more attention to diction, poise and dress, while Museum 'attendants', usually male, were also 'security guards' and more off-hand in their dealings with the public. In the past their uniforms mimicked the police and services. Only in recent years has it been deliberately made less authoritarian.

Every time the institutions of North Terrace were entered people celebrated a system in which opening hours were regulated and access to space, and behaviours therein, were controlled. On North Terrace the more periodic ceremonial practices, such as 'The Dawn Service' and 'Remembrance Day' (see Chapter Five), have been observed

in silence by the young. The popular institutional forms of the museum, art gallery and library, also instructed in silence and attention. The Adelaide Club at one end of North Terrace, and the Freemasons Lodge at the other, for the most part formed silent and impenetrable barriers that blocked avenues to real relations of social power except for the privileged, and their operations remained mysterious. This quiet reserve seemed to infect those perambulating, standing or sitting somewhere on the Terrace, as if the rules interior to these institutions somehow influenced behaviour on the street.

In each case the establishment and development of these institutions were conceivable as institutions which were integral to the civilising processes of 'settlement' and though they were at apparent odds with Light's plan for the City, were in keeping with its essential aims. Their construction was also evidence of a threshold level in the attainment of a 'civilised society'. Thus their importance for the 'common good' was at least twofold. They were a means of raising the 'common man' (sic) and they attested the crossing of a threshold level of civilisation in so much as they could be conceived of, financed and constructed within the Province. These institutions, like Light's plan were part of a broader determination to civilise and be civilised which was fundamental to the 'settlement' project of the Province. The instrumental role of local philanthropy in (partly) financing them was an expression that the civilising process was bearing civil fruit.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to bring out from the shadows the triangulations of power which built up the triangulations of Light through an analysis of their founding forms in Adelaide's precinct of power: North Terrace. Those whose influence is founded in these triangulations of power are the aptly named 'Adelaide establishment', or in their own vernacular, members of the 'Old Adelaide Families' - OAFs. These powerful personages, the lineages they form and the institutions they constitute and are constituted through are models of refined demeanour and philanthropic actions which

underpins their power. They and their ceremonies are models for that level of civilisation to which the State aims to elevate the 'common people'. A means of that elevation is the composures required and displayed by the public who enter in to the cultural and pedagogical institutions their philanthropy and projects enabled and whose operations they continue powerfully to influence.

Their influence and power is both concealed in everyday life and revealed in it. It is revealed by memoriae and the constant iteration of their names. It is also concealed because in everyday action such memoriae and their names are taken-for-granted and naturalised. Thus uncanny recognitions and misrecognitions are built into the on-going life of this part of Adelaide.

I turn now to explore the way contemporary ceremony and contestation both cement and unsettle these relations.

Chapter Five

Hallowed ground: everyday and ceremonial practices on North Terrace

Introduction

In this chapter I highlight the uncanny ways in which everyday life and various ceremonial practices intersect with relations of power on North Terrace. I demonstrate that contemporary ceremonies and contestations both cement and unsettle these relations and reveal that everyday demeanours both reinforce the disciplines and regulations of institutional power and prove disruptive to them. A variety of demeanours and behaviours are evident on North Terrace from different styles of clothing to protest marches to painting of graffiti on memorials and so on. In my argument these all have an effect on, and are effected by, the domain of their enactment.

In the uncanny portrayal of the dynamic of culture in this chapter the stateliness of North Terrace is orienting but always contested by everyday forms of resistance and other demeanours. Thus the formalities of state ceremonies orient, for example, the informal nature of protest marches that nearly always end in North Terrace and the informal appearance of university students. Demeanour thus constitutes the orienting dimensions of power as well as the disrupting dimensions of power.

Although underpinned by a sense of impropriety the actions of some are not necessarily consciously produced. They are naturally deemed by those who enact them to be appropriate to their class, age or group of people of similar competence and experience. In this sense disruptions or improprieties may be attributed to groups or individuals having different sets of manners and demeanours to a dominant group. However, like conscious acts of resistance such individuals or groups frequently use the *time* of the dominant who reassign their schedules to organise for clean-up, increased surveillance and structuring social programs.

Processions of power and 'the people' in the late twentieth century

During my field work North Terrace was, for most, a place for day and occasional evening activity. By day and night its space was shared between the ordinary mass of citizens and elites in government and education oriented to the uplifting of the masses. Thus during the day North Terrace is a domain of elites and aspirants who seek to elevate their social, cultural and economic positions and others who are the potential foci of their actions.

The temporality of the Terrace is governed largely by activities surrounding its institutions. Parliament House at the corner of King William Street is occupied by politicians and staff at irregular hours and at irregular intervals throughout the year. In contrast to the homogeneous group at Parliament House the regulated flows of the train station nearby transport a remarkable mix of social groups to and from the City over the course of a day.

The opening of Parliament each year and occasions such as 'Remembrance Day' and the ANZAC Day 'Dawn Service' are good examples of the different order of State ceremonies that impinge on daily practices (Plate 13). The opening of Parliament, like other ceremonial events, continues to give substance to a range of mundane practices through an emphasis on the pomp and ceremony of the state.

The opening of Parliament I witnessed on 10 February 1994 started with the sounds of a police brass band at the Torrens Parade Ground (see Figure 7). The band exited the Torrens Parade Ground near the rear of Government House and played Scottish highland music on its way up King William Street. Behind them were four columns of 25 uniformed military personnel. Their procession upheld the afternoon flow of south-bound traffic along King William Street before turning into North Terrace. Here the assembled stood in rows outside the front of Parliament House. and were joined by a small crowd that gathered to witness the proceedings. Ten minutes elapsed before the Chief Justices of South Australia's High Court appeared. They were dressed in formal courtly attire complete with long horse hair wigs and bright red silk

Plate 13: Contradictory practices on North Terrace: (i) part of the opening ceremony for State Parliament in 1994 with Chief Justices leading the way into the State Parliamentary Chambers opposite Government House (top); (ii) at the eastern corner of Government House a cyclist dances in front of the State War Memorial on North Terrace (bottom photo).

Bottom photo: Mark Bradley.

gowns. Their adornment contrasted with the grey of the Parliamentary Buildings behind them and the everyday clothing of the crowd.

The Justices were soon joined by a steady flow of politicians and parliamentary staff who made their way through the crowd. Members and staff of the parliament were dressed in sober business suits of a uniform grey colour. The crowd, which included tourists, locals and one or two homeless people, were dressed in a variety of casual styles. Some seemed bemused by the events unfolding. Others were related to the officers in the military and pointed out their acquaintances and relatives to interested on-lookers waiting in the crowd. Fifteen minutes after the band had arrived the Governor, seated inside a silver-grey Rolls Royce, was escorted from Government House across the Terrace to participate in the ceremony. In front of her was a team of mounted police carrying flagpoles. Traffic in all directions was brought to a stand-still at the intersection of King William Street and North Terrace while the Governor's procession moved across to the front of Parliament House.

After a brief speech the Governor, Dame Roma Mitchell, proceeded to inspect the ranks of the military gathered before her. She was wearing a grey skirt and matching suit, a coloured scarf, a hat and flat shoes. About ten minutes later she departed allowing judges, politicians, staff and the media to enter the Parliamentary Chambers. The police band recommenced its musical ovations and followed members of the military who preceded the Governor's car and entered the gates of the Governor's Residence. Once the ceremony was completed traffic along North Terrace and King William Street again flowed freely. The ranking of all participants in this ceremony, like the war ceremonies considered in the next section, were there for all to see.

The differing degrees of formality in conduct between this ceremony and everyday life were maintained and enhanced through the staging of other ceremonial events that were witnessed by a wide cross-section of observers throughout the year. In these occasional but formal events North Terrace has continued to supply the context and the location for ceremonies of state that form its "rites de passage" (Van Gennep 1960

[1909]: 11). In such ceremonies the power and deliberate demeanour of Stately power is highlighted.

Van Gennep defined 'rites de passage' (or 'rites of passage') as "rites which accompany every change of place, state, social position and age" (1960 [1909]). In 'rites of passage', the movement of individuals through successive phases of the marginal, limen and aggregation, occur. Such ideas underpinned Victor Turner's model of society as a "dialectical process that involves successive experience of high and low, communitas and structure, homogeneity and differentiation, equality and inequality" (1989: 97). The first stage involves *separation* from a previously held social position or set of cultural conditions (a "state") or both (Turner 1989: 94). The subject then enters a more ambiguous phase associated with a liminal condition in which "few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state" (Turner 1989: 94) are evident. In the last phase a new social position, with the norms and ethical expectations that such a position holds, is said to be realised (Turner 1989: 95).

Turner's model has been criticised for making 'anti-structure' appear as the "dialectical complement of structure" (Kaplan & Kelly 1990: 136) and for not being "intrinsically historical" (Kaplan & Kelly 1990: 139). This is why I make particular reference to the context of enactment and the essential "influence, status, power, and privilege of elites" (Lüdtke 1995: 20) noted particularly in the previous chapter. The "process" of social action that Turner laid bare remains invaluable, however, in terms of contestation, reproduction and change in which various impulses, such as architectural forms or planning policies, can be viewed as indicators of power and its contestation.

However, not all practices in North Terrace were so refined and 'well-mannered' as the opening of State Parliament. For example, in 1999 a small camp of mainly Indigenous people gathered on the Prince Henry lawns just outside the entrance to the Governor's Residence and opposite 'the Club' in protest against the treatment of Aboriginal people and the related topic of Western Mining Corporation's mining at Olympic Dam in South Australia's mid-north. The protesters, led by Arabunna man Kevin Buzzacott, maintained a day/night presence at this site and had large camp fires

burning while the State Government and the Adelaide City Council sat powerlessly by seemingly unable to deal with the situation. Negotiations took place over several weeks before Buzzacott was eventually arrested on the seventh of January, 2000. The protesters caused a local furore in the media in which they were accused of defecating and urinating at the National Soldiers Memorial (Sam Weir, *The Advertiser* 2000: 15). Outraged responses pointed to the desecration of a precious South Australian 'sacred site'[1].

Among other ceremonies which confront and contest aspects of power and social status are events that also draw attention to inequalities and the Terrace's overt links with power, such as protest marches (Plate 14). The International Women's Day March[2] that I observed on 12 March 1994 was one of the few protest rallies during my research that made sustained use of the space of North Terrace as part of its protest route (see Figure 14). Typically it was protests with a strong student focus that made use of the Terrace (because they came and went from the universities). Most often King William Street was incorporated as part of any given protest route. Protest marches, like that of the Women's Day March, brought to the fore aspects of the Terrace that were more easily misrecognised and taken-for-granted on a daily basis. Such marches, I argue, emphasised the maleness of North Terrace and highlight what Lüdtke perceived as the multi-layered nature of the social field (1995: 21). In this sense the Women's Day March demonstrated an unusual take-over of a space festooned with male icons. The particular rally I witnessed had a special significance because it coincided with the centenary year of female suffrage in South Australia.

Participants in the march assembled at Victoria Square under the swirls of colourful banners and flags. The penetrating slow beats of drums, chanting, the sounds

[1] On the 21 January 2000 the City Council approved the use of Peace Park by this group as a protest site, off Sir Edwin Smith Avenue, North Adelaide. Protesters were then granted an interim seven day use of this site between the hours of 10:00 a.m. and 8:30 p.m. The choice of the new site upset several veteran naval officers as it was located close by the state's naval memorial garden (Sam Weir, *The Advertiser* 2000: 15). As soon as the protesters left North Terrace the area they had occupied was top-dressed and revegetated, quickly erasing all signs of this Indigenous presence as such top-dressing had covered earlier occupations.

[2] The March was also commemorative in that it celebrated the centenary anniversary of Women's suffrage in South Australia.

Plate 14: Protesters on North Terrace passing by the entrance of the Adelaide Club (extreme right edge of top picture); at the corner of King William Street and North Terrace (centre); and at their final destination, the rear of Parliament House (bottom).

of whistles and ululating voices, dominated the scene and disrupted the normal composure of North Terrace. A large crowd, mostly of women and children, then proceeded slowly down King William Street towards North Terrace, maintaining a cacophony of noise as they moved (see Figure 14). Many were adorned in the colours of green and purple and wore long flowing dresses and scarves. Some had painted their faces while others had their hair cut short and spiked and dressed in black pants and heavy work boots. Jewellery was worn by most participants. Unusually the rally paused for an hour on the lawns outside of the South Australian Museum before moving on to a final destination in the east Parklands. On the Museum lawns a series of speeches from women of various ethnic backgrounds were delivered before the home of radically different and indigenous cultures. The 'not civilised' presence of indigenous cultures presented a backdrop to the gathering of women who also waited to escape 'civilised' confines.

Further, North Terrace, cloaked in the vestiges of gender-oriented polarisation, supplied the context and location for the contestation and possible transformation of social inequities. Within the space of North Terrace marchers confronted a distinct male bias characterised by the memoriae, clubs, Parliamentary buildings and ceremonial practices that existed there. In their clamour they unsettled the controlled demeanour of public visitors within the walls of the public institutions.

That North Terrace should be the location for expressions of gender-oriented polarisation is uncanny since it was here that women were granted the right to vote in 1894 before nearly all other places in the world. However, as Bacchi has pointed out, South Australia was the last state in Australia "to elect a woman to its lower house ... and second last to send a woman to its Legislative Council [Upper House]" (1986: 403). Bacchi also asserted that "women were enfranchised largely because of their anticipated conservatism" (1986: 403) and not for reasons that challenged existing gender relations. The ideological position expressed in women's suffrage, she believed, "invited

[women] to have a say in the public domain because they represented the home, not because of any desire for them to leave it" (Bacchi 1986: 426). Bacchi's views challenge assumptions that suggest a logical connection between Adelaide's early embracing of female enfranchisement and its exalted position as leader in debates over women's rights (Bacchi 1986: 427).

The 1994 International Women's Day protest march was issue-specific and showed no evidence of ranking. Its purpose was to undermine, declare resistance to oppression and protest against State power on matters of concern. The painted faces of some women, heavy adornment of jewellery, dominant colours of purple and white in clothing, the casual styles of dress, accentuated make-up (often black), the banners and whistles and chants of protesters all formed a stark contrast with the attire and behaviour generally experienced in this part of the City especially on formal occasions and at ceremonies. For example, music concerts at Elder Hall or events at the Festival Centre, University or staged at Parliament House cloaked aspirants of self-improvement and exemplary behaviour. Sometimes musicians in black tails carried musical instruments up the Terrace of an evening on their way to the Elder Hall along with elegantly robed members of an audience. The glitter of fine clothing, jewellery and understated opulence leant them all an air of self-confidence and purpose. Likewise, male members of the Masonic Lodge seemed equally comfortable in tails and adorned in the regalia of their institution as they entered or exited the confines of the Freemasons' Hall across the street.

Biannually, gowned new graduands processed into Bonython Hall to graduate to the tunes of the University brass ensemble. Once graduands and their families and friends have been seated in the hall, appropriately gowned junior academic and general staff of the University lead the senior staff of the University and finally the Mace Bearer and Chancellor on their purposive march down the centre aisle of Bonython Hall and across its stage. A member of the University Council confided in me that on these occasions she was never quite sure of the manner of walk that she should adopt. She assumed that her gait never fully accorded with the degree of formality required and that

a different kind of walk was somehow required (University of Adelaide Councillor, pers. comm., 1999). Once on the dais the Council, staff and prospective doctorates sat formally overlooking the assembled mass of graduands and their invited guests. Each year the assembled sit in steely silence gazing on as the formal procedures of the under-graduate and post-graduate ceremony unfold, their hands locked, their legs and feet motionless. After a guest speaker has addressed the audience the Chancellor hands out degrees and shakes the hands of successful students who process across the stage as their names are read out. The ceremony ends in the reverse order to which it commenced with the Mace Bearer and Chancellor now leading the academic procession out of the building. Meanwhile the sounds of a brass ensemble again fill the hall. Finally the disorderly exit of the masses of 'lower' graduates and their guests are permitted freedom of movement and spill out onto the lawns of the University of Adelaide and into the Terrace. Many move to have formal gowned photographs taken in a marquee set up on the lawns in front of Elder Hall.

Such occasions demonstrate a different order to the 'business' conducted in this part of the City and also highlight a contrast with everyday life on the street. The everyday attire of students which usually varied from casual to worn out and unkempt, except on the occasion of their graduation when best clothes were worn, seemed far removed from the ceremonial garb worn by University staff, the gowns of graduands, the formal dress of concert goers, Freemasons, judges and ordinary citizens. However, the dominance of the universities in the North Terrace streetscape assured that most were influenced by an air of scholarly disposition even if their clothes seemed disordered. Their measured gaits often reflected demeanours that related to power, intellectualism and diffident pomposity. The effects of the university could even be felt within the relaxed confines of the Botanic Gardens where families, groups and individuals often held picnics. In these gardens people were surrounded and informed through a tabulated diversity of plants that was part of the recreational setting. The design and layout of the gardens also exhibited 'correct' ways to divide space and move around it.

Behaviour within the Botanic Gardens was more subdued than say, Botanic Park nearby, or the Adelaide Oval or out in the Terrace. An air of instruction has dominated the Botanic Gardens and rules have regulated more outlandish behaviour, such as shouting, the consumption of alcohol and activities at which spontaneous outbursts of emotion can be anticipated. The quiet confines of the Botanic Gardens, where picnickers, friends and lovers often met and where the elderly, infirm and family groups strolled or sat around on the lawns, seemed an ideal place to escape the hustle and bustle of the City.

North Terrace thus denoted an area in which people dressed and acted with ceremonial formality from time to time and in which people were generally conscious of their attire, manners and relations with power. Misdemeanours were rare and usually speedily dealt with wherever they occurred. Misdemeanours visited on the institutions, memoriae or open spaces of North Terrace were especially given a high priority by law enforcers and institutional regulators of behaviour.

'The state': memory and remembrance

Douglas pointed out that "synchrony and order" (1991: 300) in the family home go hand in hand with the control of "delinquency" (1991: 300). I extend this idea to cities where synchrony and order constitute modes of surveillance. In this sense the people of Adelaide are ordered by its grid, its street names, statues and institutions, codes of behaviour, legalities and so on. The spatial arrangement guarantees an 'order'. On Adelaide's North Terrace the presence of powerful institutions of the state, and figures said to reflect the virtues of 'the people', invoked easy recognition for 'locals' of an order of privileges and of disciplined behaviour. Economic gain and ideological principles centred on cultural capital and prestige were daily paraded here as models for virtues to be strived for. Thus damage to institutions and memoriae also constituted an attack on the underpinnings of State control. For those who emplaced graffiti on these memoriae they meant an invaluable means of 'getting your name up'.

Some of the sensitivities surrounding damage to memoriae were evident in the graffiti damage to the South Australian War Memorial around the end of September 1994. The damage provoked immediate calls for police action and roused the interest of a Government Minister who contacted the Services to Youth Council (SYC) in the week that it occurred. At the 'police lock-up' I had been attending weekly in Hindley Street, a youth worker for the SYC stated that *'the minister was not looking for a knee-jerk reaction and ... had recognised the delicate political nature of the issue'* (Jung, pers. comm., 1994). Comments of members of the Returned Services League (RSL) were more strident as they spearheaded a call for introducing a "Singapore-style" caning of the offenders in a front page article of *The Advertiser* under the title "Is nothing sacred?" (Hackett 1994: 1). One RSL member said that "this place is probably the most hallowed ground in Adelaide" (cited in Hackett 1994: 1).

The Memorial's position at the heart of governmental and pedagogic interests and along the route of a major thoroughfare meant that, in one way or another, it was casually visited on any day, by passing Sunday shoppers, casual strolls through to the Parklands, on 'heritage' walks or by passing vehicular traffic, activities that may often be construed as family-oriented (see Plate 15). The central importance of the Memorial was elevated during Remembrance Day and ANZAC Day Dawn Service ceremonies. The Remembrance Day ceremony was especially prominent as it halted traffic and office and other activity throughout the nation. I briefly examine the importance of events held at the Memorial which I argue are impressed in the sombre aspects of demeanour that prevail on North Terrace even when these enactments are absent.

The Remembrance Day ceremony[3] I observed on 11 November 1993 commenced precisely at the usual time of 11:00 in the morning, as it does throughout Australia.

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[3] Remembrance Day or 'Armistice Day' was initially proclaimed to commemorate the cease-fire at the end of the First World War. For most it is a time to reflect on war and its effect on human lives. The two minutes silence, which is observed at 11:11 in the morning, appears to have originated in a memorandum sent by the High Commissioner in South Africa to Lord Milner for the consideration of the English Parliamentary Cabinet. The memorandum was based on an existing South African model (A. Gregory 1994: 8-9).

However, in 1993, the time delay between the eastern states and the central state of South Australia made it possible to witness a special ceremony, the burial of the "unknown" soldier in Canberra, a half hour before the Adelaide Remembrance Day ceremony. The live telecast of this event was presented inside the University of Adelaide's Bonython Hall, and was attended by the Governor, military personnel, select politicians, the Lord Mayor and other assembled guests. These dignitaries proceeded to the Remembrance Day ceremony at the War Memorial once the significant aspects of the burial in Canberra had been brought to a close. The circumstances of 1993 and the context in which the burial was viewed thus brought pedagogic and governmental practices into close conjunction.

A substantial crowd gathered about the Memorial for the Adelaide ceremony in 1993. War veterans were prevalent in a crowd of mostly aged and middle-aged people, police and City Councillors, the Governor, the State Government's Attorney General, the Lord Mayor, and dignitaries from overseas. Higher military dignitaries carried the insignia of their respective offices. Most ex-service personnel dressed informally in smart casual grey trousers and blue blazers, however some Vietnam Veterans preferred the distinctive 'biker' style fashion of denim, leather waistcoats and berets (Plate 15). Current members of the armed forces were also present in ceremonial uniform.

Most in the crowd wore an item of military apparel such as a beret, medals on a blazer or on a vest. Others wore a red poppy and were unmistakably associated with the event. Some, like a small group of nurses, put on their former uniforms. Other groups of people could be distinguished within the crowd both by the locations which they had adopted and by the similar styles of dress that were worn within their groups. Thus distinct colours of navy blue, military green, grey and white seemed to coalesce in different areas of the crowd. The ranking of participants was perhaps the most clearly defined of all North Terrace's ceremonies. Most stood in silence while others chatted quietly to comrades. Positions were taken up around the Memorial according to an unstated ranking. Army nurses gathered to the rear of the Memorial, somewhat displaced from the main crowd, but shaded from the hot sun. Uniformed officials and

Plate 15: Crowds gathered for the 'Remembrance Day' ceremony at the State War Memorial in 1993 (top photos). Bottom photo, Vietnam Veterans patrol the perimeters of the State War Memorial site prior to the formal proceedings of 1993.

prominent dignitaries stood near the front of the Memorial while more casually dressed observers stood to the rear and in front of the Memorial. Intermittently an old acquaintance would be spied and smiles and handshakes exchanged. Middle-aged women in uniform sold poppies to those passing along North Terrace.

During the mandatory one minute silence, traffic on the Terrace came to a stand-still, with bus loads of people and other vehicles banked up at the lights, motors switched off. The hot, northerly winds that blasted through the empty corridors of the City at the time contributed to the uncanny and surreal qualities of the scene created. All present at the Memorial stood with straight backs, removed their hats, bowed their heads and clasped their hands during the silence. Those who witnessed the proceedings seemed genuinely engaged in it. They did not appear to be just idly standing by. The tight ordering of the ceremony and the compliance of participants was marked. However, some Vietnam Veterans, the youngest participants with experience of war, tended to roam the extremities of the ceremonial space. Although they conformed to its order they appeared more distant and detached than other veterans and less at ease. Prior to the ceremony their bikie style of dress and mode of gait suggested their ownership of the public domain (including the street) in which they wandered. Other Vietnam Veterans dressed more conservatively, often in brown suits, shirts with wide collars and leather shoes.

Most of the crowd stood around after the Remembrance Day ceremony was completed for about 20 to 30 minutes if they wished to confer with others. Some visited the epitaph enshrined in the base of the statue on which a list of many who died in war appears on brass. The television media rushed to interview the 4 or 5 World War I veterans present, many of whom were nearing 100 years old. The younger participants at the ceremony gradually dispersed into the cafes and bars of the City or went to their local RSL Club branch for a reunion or retired to their homes.

According to Kapferer, Remembrance Day and ANZAC Day Dawn Service in Australia contained the key Christian elements of "death, sacrifice, and, rebirth" (1988: 149). The Dawn Service that I observed earlier on 25 April 1994 commenced, as was

customary, with the bugle repast at 6:00 in the morning after which were recited the words of the 'Last Post'. This was followed by a sombre wreath-laying ceremony in which groups of three people at a time came forward to the base of the Memorial, bowed and returned to their respective positions, over a 15 minute interval. Many young people were present at the 1994 service, apparently accompanied by one or both parents, while former war veterans stood around, singly or in small groups, yet part of the proceedings. The Memorial was the initial point at which ANZAC Day participants gathered for what Kapferer terms a "rite of mourning" (1988: 165).

In my interpretation the Remembrance Day and ANZAC Day ceremonies, in 1993 and 1994 respectively, described the concerns of government within the space of pedagogy in Adelaide and made all participants aware of their vulnerability and lack of autonomy, even though, at other times on these occasions, participants might feel that the converse holds. This point complements one of Kapferer's assertions concerning ANZAC Day, that the hierarchical "inequalities of power and status implicit in the rite as a whole is overtly and systematically negated" (1988: 152). I argue that as a result of this disengagement from a hierarchical structure, participants are in a liminal state of being for a time. In this state inequalities variously merge with, and separate from, their negation. For instance, prior to the Dawn Service participants were arranged before the Memorial and appeared on the scene at different times according to their status. The higher the status, signified through demeanour and ranking clearly identified by insignia on a uniform, the more central to the ceremony one was placed. Further, the highest status persons appeared last on the scene, a familiar practice in a wide variety of situations. Thus the Governor arrived last and was preceded by other dignitaries and so on, who together formed the 'main', centrally located group. The Unit Clubs[4] and others were arranged to the left of this central group, and the 'Kindred Groups' or 'civilians', such as Legacy, or members from the Commonwealth Department of Veterans Affairs, were to their right.

[4] The 'Unit Clubs' are clubs specific to the former members of a particular unit of the Armed Forces.

In my view the ANZAC Day ceremony seemed a more moving affair than Remembrance Day. In the more subdued liminal light of dawn people seemed less inhibited and composed after the mournful sounds of the bugle repast. Some wept openly while others shifted uneasily from foot to foot. The lowered heads and stern appearance of many participants displayed their struggle to retain composure. After the Dawn Service ceremony participants wandered off in small groups in the general direction of Victoria Square to reconvene for the march down King William Street (see Figure 14). Along the way some stopped for coffee and greeted others who they may have met for the first time. I walked alongside one veteran who immediately engaged me in conversation, telling me amongst other things of another veteran's recent marriage. A convivial atmosphere was commonplace and I frequently overhead light-hearted discussions on the weather and sexual encounters, past and present. Later at the conclusion of the ANZAC Day march veterans typically retire to pubs and many re-emerge unsteady on their feet.

However, those at the Memorial site gathered not only in an egalitarian union on such occasions, as Kapferer convincingly argued in his analysis of ANZAC Day (1988). In an 'uncanny' way they also paid homage to a structure, The South Australian War Memorial, borne out of the confines of privilege and status. The Adelaide Club across the Terrace is never far from this conjugation. Throughout the rest of the year the Memorial, as a "significant landmark" (Queale & Di Lernia 1996: 45) at the heart of the Terrace, provided daily reminders of War and the Armed Service of the state for passers-by. This was a ceremonial event for common men and women who had served their country in the uniform kit of the armed forces. It thus informed meanings and understandings for those whom North Terrace and the City was a part of their everyday life.

Undertones of 'concealed' power: silent mechanisms of social regulation

There is a generalised recognition that in the edifices of North Terrace are invested the values of a wider Adelaide 'family', its established routines and a proscriptive order of relations, analogous to those of kin. However, unlike the usual operations of a family in which there is opportunity to practice the "transformational schemes" (Bourdieu 1990a: 89) of learning the role of one position diametrically opposed to another (for example, nephew → uncle), here that opportunity applies only to those underwritten by an elite status. For most, the relations remain patriarchal and realised in the concrete forms of a landscape that offers a clear, unambiguous, outline of the '*sexual division of labour*' and the '*division of sexual labour*'.

In the space of the street there is not the same degree of regulation over movement as in institutions like the museum, for example. People are not usually engaged in a silent examination of 'exhibits' as they are inside institutions. Yet statues and plaques are inevitably part of a purview that, like other architectural forms, in some way condition or influence movement in, and the perception of, a space (Scruton 1979: 15). These forms reinforce a social constructedness and a hierarchical ordering that is reminiscent of the way institutions work to condition the masses that flows through their doors.

Instances of self-improvement of the highest order are on display along the Terrace, concretised in the forms of statues, plaques and monuments. They thus form a neat conjunction with the institutions nearby which contain representations deemed most worthy of a cultural order and selected according to the cultural standards of a particular society. The conjunction of these edifices and the streetscape they front, I argue, induces an abstract space that orders a coherency, and, in consequence, elevates its temporality. In Adelaide this coherency is enhanced by the presence of institutions like the museum which

> is notable in that its architectural record is preserved almost undisturbed, together with a representative remnant of its exhibition galleries from 1895 onwards. Its earliest home, the 1860 South Australian Institute Building to the west of its present site, is a reminder that this museum, like other colonial museums in Australia,

predates the 'museum movement' of the late nineteenth century by several decades (P. Jones 1996: 15).

A certain degree of homogenisation of the masses is promised by this didactic approach. The museum, said Bennett, is a case in point as it maintains a more middle ground, sometimes homogeneous, sometimes exclusive and "is defined by the contradictory pulls between these two tendencies" (1995: 28). At base, however, Bennett remains convinced of the exemplary didacticism of institutional practice.

Within the walls of various institutions, argued Bourdieu, the crowd is manipulated by institutional regulations or *doxa*, so that their collections of artefacts, their layout and rules of operation present a stable objective structure whose influence over individuals is dependent on "the extent of the field of *doxa*, of that which is taken-for-granted" (Bourdieu 1990a: 166). However, this 'field'[5] does not go uncontested because the dominated, especially, are aware of its arbitrary qualities and the social inequalities that are set up, inequalities that the dominant may more readily accept (Bourdieu 1990a: 169). But the power of *doxa* has assured its continued appearance and lies in the

> subjective necessity and self-evidence of the common-sense world [that] are validated by the objective consensus on the sense of the world, [where] what is essential *goes without saying because it comes without saying:* the tradition is silent, not least about itself as a tradition (Bourdieu 1990a: 167, his emphasis).

Common sense maintains the foothold of 'officaldom' since it is "intrinsically oriented toward a stability of meanings" (Hannerz 1992: 129) and has the seductive appeal of "culture for free, generously shared because nobody gains anything by withholding it from others: again, generalised reciprocity in the flow of meaning" (Hannerz 1992: 133). Indeed the seductive capacities of commonsense views make it more difficult to

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[5] The concept of a 'field' "is an arbitrary social construct" (Bourdieu 1990b: 67) that is understood as such within the parameters of the game it encloses. The 'field' is "an artefact whose arbitrariness and artificiality are underlined by everything that defines its autonomy - explicit and specific rules, strictly delimited and extra-ordinary time and space" (Bourdieu 1990b: 67), such as one might encounter at a soccer game or even in a game of 'scrabble'. This type of field contrasts with "social fields, which are products of a long, slow process of autonomization ... one does not embark on the game by a conscious act, one is born into the game, with the game; and the relation of investment, *illusio,* investment, is made more total and unconditional by the fact that it is unaware of what it is" (Bourdieu 1990b: 67). That is, one only enters into a given social field by being born into it or "by a slow process of co-option and initiation which is equivalent to a second birth" (Bourdieu 1990b: 68).

accept that "the complex cultures of our time are quite noticeably in a state of flux" (Hannerz 1992: 127). The way institutions and clubs organise subjects within their walls is comparable to the appearance of the North Terrace streetscape that isolates and freezes instances of Adelaide's socially modernist programme in forms and spaces that bear uncanny relations. Here the modernist plan for a utopia is rendered overt in the memorials of 'founders' and their progeny and in institutional practices. Such a landscape was, in the eyes of a former director of the South Australian Art Gallery, thought to flow from the original design by Light (Thomas cited in M. Lloyd, *The City Messenger* 1996a: 17).

In the study of the modernist vision for the city of Brasilia, John Holston (1989) highlighted the intentions of planners and architects to remove social distinctions from architectural forms. He demonstrated that the city's unfolding architecture details a "domain of intentions - for changing society, repatterning daily life, displaying status, regulating real estate, and so forth - which engages other intentions, all of which have consequences in the world" (Holston 1989: 11). In Brasilia structures appeared with unornamented facades and interiors because planners believed that a lack of differentiation in the fabric of buildings would erase social distinctions from everyday perceptions. By contrast, many of Adelaide's constructs, especially those appearing on North Terrace, appear modern. Here planners have sought to regularise social distinctions in architectural forms and in location. Social divisions were deliberately rendered overt and natural, therefore, and layered over a socially modernist program that held inequality as a naturalised principle. This understanding was qualified by an enduring legacy that was aligned with the City's 'heritage', and propounded and maintained as being of benefit to all. Thus, the kind of 'heritage' that received most attention was one that excluded 'ordinary' people outside of 'official' ranks. 'Heritage' conceived in this way harked back to a past bound by rules of classification, that is, "(t)he taxonomies of the mythico-ritual system [that] at once divide and unify, legitimating unity in division, that is to say, hierarchy ..." (Bourdieu 1990a: 165).

'Heritage' often appears in the guise of a commodity having exchange or use value. In this form it may be rationalised by planners and architects who see it as an essential part of cultural tourism and, therefore, the State's economy. Such rationalising, I believe, aids in neutralising the value of space by presenting space as pre-eminently historical. That is, it makes space appear as value-free and as belonging to all. The inhabitants of the state are all said to share in the economic benefits derived from preservation. In the case of the museum, where time 'reaches-ever-back', the juxtaposition of the museum and high culture with the open air display of events and figures of the past is considered significant to a process that perpetuates understandings of space as neutral. This process is illustrated in continued links between modernism and natural history. Yet as I have sought to demonstrate North Terrace is far from neutral space.

Jones indicated associations between the natural sciences and museum-based anthropology in Adelaide which were maintained and enhanced up to the 1930s (P. Jones 1996: 138). The implication is that their practices form part of the inveterate associations between the institutions of North Terrace and also their wider field of influence. The Museum and Art Gallery, for example, relied on a theory in which the socially subordinate classes would learn proper comportment and style from mixing with their social superiors in their interiors (Bennett 1995: 28). The dangers of this didacticism have been exposed by Fergie who argued that the South Australian Museum has continued a fundamental association with natural history that remained especially deleterious to its Aboriginal displays. As a consequence of this association, said Fergie, "Aboriginal people ... are framed in this Museum by the architecture of social evolutionary thought" (Fergie 1993: 7). Such displays present "indigenous cultures ... as living fossils" (Fergie 1993: 7) and banish their status to the distant regions of early 'civilisation'.

Like the artefacts in a museum, the memorialised subjects along North Terrace are presented as objects fixed in space. Laden with historical specificity they inform a "history [that] can begin only when a present is divided from a past" (Conley 1988: viii)

thereby involving the separation of temporal and bodily frames. However, it is due to the gravity and apparent immobility of these objects that they have been more likely to be implicitly accepted as reminders of the past or as cultural understandings of Adelaide, unlike at least some of the displays in the museum that have been frequently altered and discussed and thus exhibited a "shifting evidence towards critical self-analysis" (S. Schaffer 1994: 42). The hypostatic landscape harbours the conditions necessary for dominant conceptions of space, such as that present in the overarching demeanours and manners practiced on North Terrace, which encourage the neutralisation of political intent.

The variety of institutions along North Terrace underwrite a precinct that, as Fergie maintained,

> exemplifies approaches to governmentality which were current in the mid- and late nineteenth century: the period in which the most significant sites in this precinct were built. The North Terrace Precinct is particular for its essential linearity; the extent to which the external fabric of nineteenth century institutions have been preserved; and the way in which the Precinct's built structures exemplify a 'modernist' approach to government, ideas of progress and the improvement of 'the common man' (Fergie 1997a: 5).

The maintenance and reproduction of these highly visible cultural institutions of power provides evidence of an unceasing belief in their ordering principles. As Hannerz has pointed out the authority of specialists within these institutions is paradoxical (if not uncanny) as they each contain a community of members of similar competence who master a form of critical discourse that stands opposed to the authority they espouse. Consequently, "(i)n the expert-client interaction that competence tends to be encapsulated as an achieved fact, a halo, instead of coming under direct challenge" (Hannerz 1992: 157).

In similar guise the plethora of symbols along North Terrace, and their burgeoning numbers, mark them out as effective orienters of space/time that guide understandings of power and reflect the importance of 'heritage' for this City (Plate 16). The preservation of the Parklands area designated by Light is an important link with this 'heritage', even though they have been subjected to a degree of alienation since settlement.

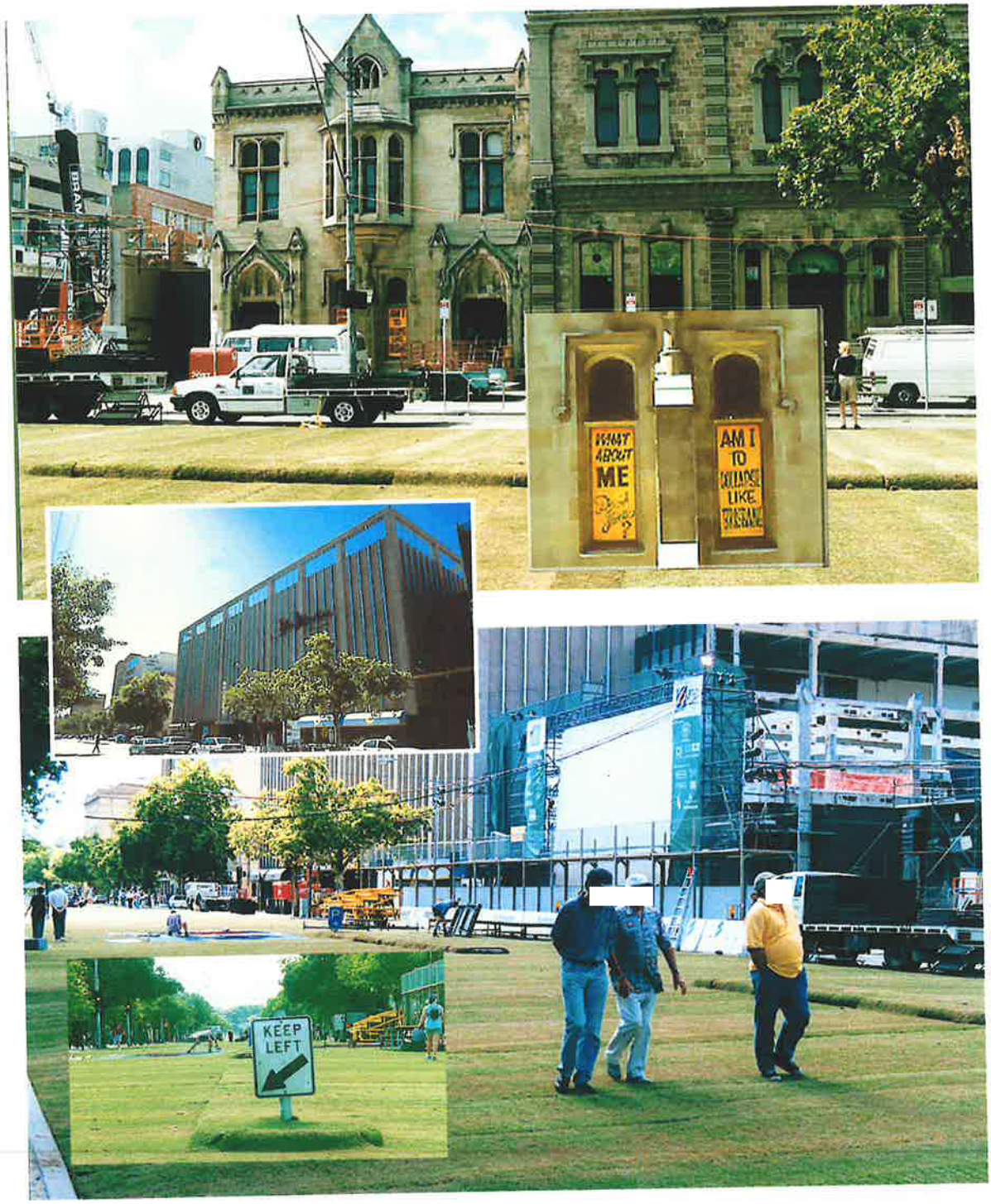


Plate 16: At top, former John Martin's Offices during the demolition of the John Martin's store to the left of picture (see also Appendix 16). Top inset shows detail of wording on the Offices' front windows: "What about me, David Jones? Am I to collapse like Brisbane?" Bottom photo indicates three tourists strolling past the demolition site on the rolled-out lawns on North Terrace, on the first South Australia Day (previously Proclamation Day) celebrated in North Terrace in 1998. Middle inset shows the car park next to the former John Martin's department store which has carried the name 'John Martins' into the year 2000. Bottom inset shows a section of the Terrace between Pulteney Street and Kintore Avenue covered by rolled-out lawn.

Top inset: Mark Bradley.

Changes to the Terrace especially, but in other parts of the city also, meet widespread opposition because, said Philip White, a local wine writer and raconteur:

> Everyone who lives here and loves it doesn't want to promote it too much because secretly they don't want it to change. That's why a lot of people who are otherwise progressive are happy to have a little bout of conservatism when it comes to the city because they want it to stay as it is (White cited by Safe, *The Australian Magazine* 1996: 34).

This resistance to change and the seemingly intractable characteristics of Adelaide's orienting boulevard present a good measure of the hold of *doxa*, and hence things taken-for-granted. It is perhaps a measure of the dominance of the apparent readability of the space/time of North Terrace as 'transparent' that it remains an area of 'reserve' and self-control but also an area where codes of conduct sharply contrast with the practices of everyday life.

Conclusion

I have argued that the essential features of North Terrace are associated with a pedagogic role and relations of power. These features are central to North Terrace being maintained and reproduced as the City's main orienting vector through which it figures prominently in the social construction of local identity. This identity is forged as a result of the rules of institutions, the forms of North Terrace, the presence of memoriae and the nature of ceremonial events which are allied to the daily practices of demeanour on North Terrace and triangulations of power between establishment personages.

I have pointed to the importance of North Terrace in local imaginings and daily experiences of the City. The critical role North Terrace has played in orienting political strategies of government was revealed in a unique blend of cultural and educational structures which are both models of and models for refined civility.

A number of uncanny relations surfaced that indicated the unsettling aspects of North Terrace's coherent orientation, such as exhibited at state ceremonies, 'kids' playing in a fountain or as a result of protest marches. To a great extent the formalities of North Terrace orient the informal practices exhibited there. Thus it is because of

North Terrace's formality that the holes in the clothes of university students or the sight of people begging for money have such force. The uncanny expresses the two sides of meanings at the heart of culture and how cities are orienting but never uncontested.

The 'uncanny' lies below the surface of everyday practices and can be seen in examples as seemingly diverse as Light's triangulation of the City's dimensions and the triangulating relations of the Adelaide Club and the private schools of St Peter's College and Prince Alfred College and the Houses of Parliament or the Governor's residence and the powerful public institutions along its length. Yet members of the powerful Adelaide establishment must be seen as inextricably caught up in an intricate web of uncanny constellations of power and its relations, like everyone else, which they both weave and in which they are also entrapped. As Sangren has argued, contextualised subjects should not be seen as "transcendent or irreducible originators of social action, [thus] obscuring their dialectically simultaneous natures as immanent products or effects of social activities" (1995: 26).

The 'uncanny' conceals the nature of relations of social power by making them explicit in various domains of operation, that are

(i) gender-specific;

(ii) favour a powerful and enduring elite (impressed in the pavement, in statues, in the names of buildings and even rooms within these buildings); and

(iii) in the subtleties of didactic exemplars associated with the various institutions and ceremonies of North Terrace.

The logic of space that they engender is "as-of-a-piece", typical of modernist schema underpinned by a Cartesian logic of space. In this sense concrete forms are particularly suited to fashioning formulations of composure. As such they constitute the calculus of a measurement of power that for the most part remains hidden from view.

In the next chapter I investigate an area of the City I term, 'the Strand'. This area is a negotiated space par excellence in that the use of space/time depends on protracted arrangements, not only affected by governmental techniques but also those between individuals and collectivities formed through a variety of discourses and events. I

highlight that negotiations taking place within 'the Strand', in group and individual settings, pose the greatest threats to governmental control. This stems, in part, from their efforts to evade the "incorporating strategies ... [and] homogenising ... [effects of] imperialising control" (Fiske 1993: 79).

Chapter Six

Locating The Strand

> The reality is that the Adelaide city centre of the 1990's is a sorry shadow of its former glory, with a civic and government leadership near paralysis from factional division. The early morning footpaths smell of urine and vomit, many traditional buildings house low-rent "cheap and cheerful" discount stores, the "entertainment strip" of Hindley St is a violent precinct, and the mall is cluttered with buskers and beggars (Abraham, *The Australian* 1997: 13).

Introduction

In this chapter I investigate an area of the City which I refer to as 'the Strand' (Figure 9). My application of the term, 'the Strand', is meant to invoke a strand of continuity through which I unsettle structures and processes of segmentation that commenced with Light's displacement of Aborigines in the founding of the City. Though 'the Strand' of my attention can be understood as a single and continuous thoroughfare east-west across the City, in the minds of locals it is broken into different segments of meaning along its length from east to west across the City. This strand has no single unifying name except that which I have given it in this analysis. 'The Strand' presents an array of divisions that are distinguishable not just through changes in street names but also because these are paralleled by heterogeneous zones of differing formulations of composure and action. I examine changes along its length and indicate the movement of demeanour across space that underscore the practices of planners and the naturalisation of meanings in the landscape. My aim in bringing each of its parts into discussion is to allow comparisons between different areas of 'the Strand' and to demonstrate how naming practices and government visions (planning zones) enable a process of dividing that promotes disunity. Through the mapped traverse of 'the Strand' I thus seek to disrupt, expose and highlight everyday assumptions and planned variegations in which distinctions and relationships between naming (past), planning (past/present) and contemporary demeanour are concealed and revealed in this part of the City.

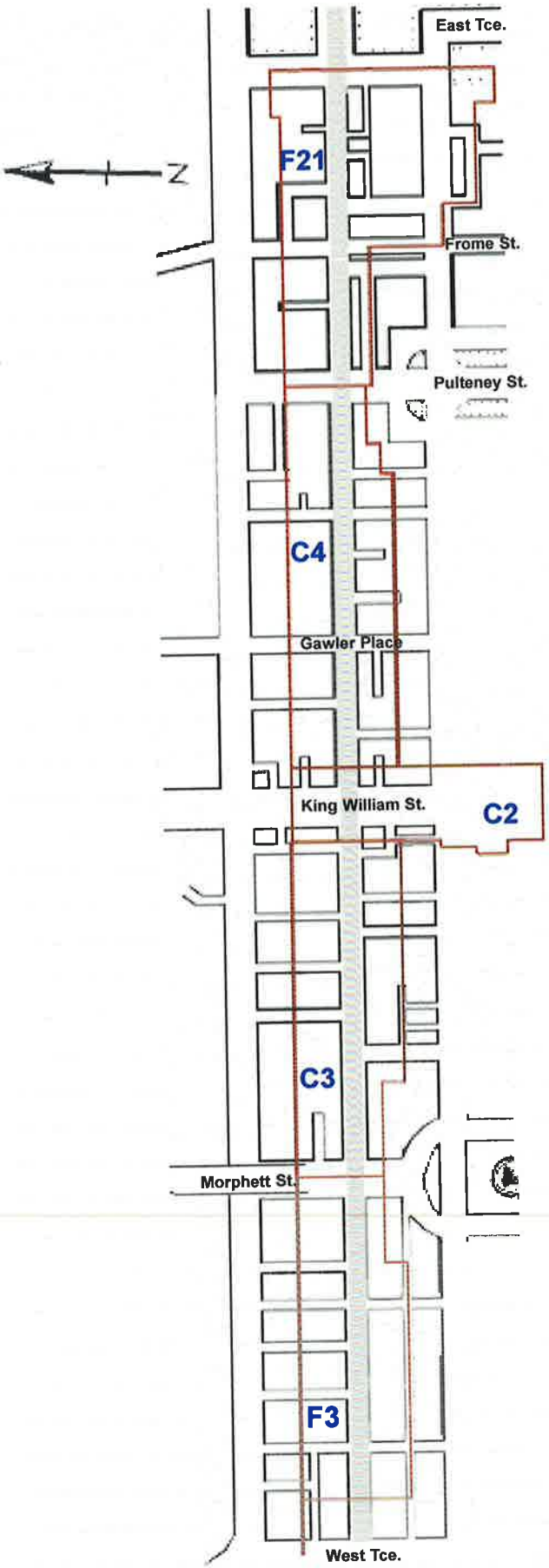


Figure 9: 'The Strand' (shaded region) showing Precinct boundaries.

The first segmentations of 'the Strand' were made by the Nomenclature Committee who divided the single east-west traverse of 'the Strand' into two on either side of King William Street: Rundle Street and Hindley Street. Settlers in their turn soon divided the City along the length of King William Street into an 'East End' and a 'West End' with Rundle Street and Hindley Street epitomising this distinction. Other divisions followed as the population grew. A major change in thinking was effected by the City of Adelaide Planning Study of 1974. In this study the application of 'Districts' and 'Precincts' to areas of the City was mooted and later implemented in the framework of the 1976 City of Adelaide Plan. The establishment of Rundle Mall in 1976 further contributed to the segmentation of 'the Strand' (see Figure 10 (c)). The 1974 Plan was modified in 1981 and further revised in 1986 and 1991-93 (see Precinct map of 'the Strand', Figure 9). Under these planning reviews more 'Districts' and 'Precincts' were identified throughout the City, among a raft of policy alterations (see Appendix XIV). My intention in identifying aspects of District and Precinct planning is to unsettle planning maps and to convey how meaning is moved from the sweeps of thoroughfares to zones/corners which obscure the lines of streets and orient demeanours of those within them.

'The Strand' runs from East Terrace to West Terrace and is segmented by a number of thoroughfares, namely Morphett Street, King William Street, Pulteney Street, and Frome Street, which enhance the divisions created. King William Street is perhaps the most significant of these cross-cutting divisions, as I later indicate. The segmentations of my 'Strand' were more commonly referred to as Rundle Street east, which formed a central part of an area referred to as the 'East End', Rundle Street, Rundle Mall or 'the Mall', and Hindley Street which was central to the area known as the 'West End'.

Firstly I present brief descriptions of each of three major areas of 'the Strand' and focus on modes of control that were built into everyday experiences in them. I assert that these provide a contrast with the 'time-honoured' forms of control along North Terrace (Chapter Four & Five) which is a 'decent' and 'polite' area in comparison to the

sometimes 'obscene', 'impolite' or degenerate character of western parts of 'the Strand'. The Hindley Street end of 'the Strand', in particular, is acknowledged to harbour the seedy side of the City, while the eastern, Rundle Street end, maintained more esoteric and polite qualities relating to food, art and fashion. Overall, 'the Strand' was used variously as a venue for events, such as wine and culinary festivals, Grand Prix parties, a Solar Challenge (a global race), that catered ostensibly for a differentiated mass and effected subtle exclusions.

The broad scope of behaviours exhibited in 'the Strand' are then examined. The comments of City users indicated differing perceptions of the safety or danger of a particular area and something of the local attitudes of relations between 'the self' and 'the body'. It seemed that fears were raised foremost in areas where people felt most likely to be corrupted in some way. Planners have sought to allay such fears by offering, for example, improved street lighting and by attracting more people to an area. Planners' efforts related essentially to making people feel 'at home' in the City in situations where they might have otherwise felt uneasy. The population was thus divided by practices which had the capacity to order who was welcome within a given locale.

In the public eye

In following the indication of former Art Gallery director, Daniel Thomas and the City Council, I recognise 'the Strand' as the 'backyard' to private residences and clubs, commercial enterprises and religious premises along North Terrace's southern side. Thomas claimed that the south side of North Terrace had been less of a concern to the City Council than the north side of that street as it was "always meant for urban development ... [and] reflects the City Council view of it as the back door to Rundle/Hindley Street city-centre shopping, cafes and night life" (1996: 3). Such a view suggests that constructions on North Terrace relate meanings typically associated with a 'front yard' of a domestic house. The 'front yard' is oriented toward display and

signals its concerns with appearance and respectability (Seddon 1997: 161). It is not meant for "recreation or living" (Seddon 1997: 161) and is usually at least "semi-public" (Seddon 1997: 161). Through this orientation it exhibits what is permissible and brings into view the characteristics of a 'facade' that

> admits certain acts to the realm of what is visible, whether they occur on the facade itself (on balconies, window ledges, etc.) or are to be seen *from* the facade (processions in the street, for example). Many other acts, by contrast, it condemns to obscenity: these occur behind the facade (Lefebvre 1991: 99).

For Fiske, Hodge and Turner the domestic 'backyard', on the other hand, revealed something elemental for an emerging Australian identity:

> The backyard, with its lack of systematic control and neglect of imposed standards of taste, came closer to an indigenous Australian discourse, a particular discourse of Australianness which constructed the family and the nation in its own specific ways (Fiske, Hodge & Turner 1988: 49).

The predominant uses of a 'backyard', as Fiske, Hodge and Turner indicated, signalled a rejection of European values in favour of emerging Australian values. Further, the 'backyard' has long retained a fundamental orientation that is "primarily male ... [and] spontaneous ...[but] emphatically for use, not for display" (Seddon 1997: 159). In more recent times this view is changing as "the backyard has become back garden, for recreation, adult-dominated family use, and for showing off to one's peers" (Seddon 1997: 159). These emerging characteristics of the backyard bear an uncanny resemblance to those of 'the Strand', I argue, and particularly its eastern end wherein I have highlighted triangulations of power which continue to influence life in this city and state. The orientations at this end of 'the Strand' have moved from a range of circumspect and closed activities typically associated with artists, writers and so on to more sophisticated tastes that encompass a broader public. In this movement the redefined 'East End' has become a "display space (entertainment), ... [and] added a public function to its private one, and thus acquired a characteristic of the front garden" (Seddon 1997: 160).

Seddon argued that the front and back gardens form a "dialectical pair, defining each other negatively ... [so that] to understand either, we must look at both" (1997: 160). His logic and the particular attributes that he assigned to front and backyards also

suggested that there is a social distance between the back and front based on gender stereotypes, with the front yard characterised as 'female' and the backyard as 'male'. However, the more recent character of the backyard as a display space for entertainment weakens the analytic power of this dichotomy. In my argument the differences and similarities between the two are linked to degrees of formality. Thus the front yard is closer to the domain of State interests and therefore open to surveillance and control while the backyard, at least in appearance, seems less subject to State regulation and more open to conviviality and commensality.

As backyards become less common features of the private domain, it may be assumed that at least some of their attributes have also seeped into the public domain. Even endemic features of the 'backyard' are now celebrated in public spaces. For instance, the 'Hills hoist', a South Australian invention whose primary purpose was to hang wet washing to dry on almost invariably located within the backyard, became a fundamental iconic symbol for advertising the 1996 Adelaide Festival of Arts as well as a work of public art. It appeared not only in promotions for the Festival but was reproduced in a sweep of spectacular large-scale, gas-lit replicas on the lawns behind Government House (behind its back fence) near the site of the Women's Memorial Gardens.

I argue that as the backyard has begun to recede from view in new housing ideologies the importance of such places as 'the Strand', as spaces for entertaining and meeting friends, has increased. 'The Strand' to some extent has thus superseded, as it mirrored, the role of the 'backyard' to which it is attached in a generalised sense via an increasing demand for inner urban apartments. The relatively narrow passage that 'the Strand' afforded through the City is also aligned with the garden's primary sense of "enclosure" (Seddon 1997: 146), that is, of "keeping something in" (Seddon 1997: 146). The fact that planners recognised this is evident in the ready-made architectural features that complement their purpose. Thus planners have striven to maintain and enhance "(t)he existing intimate enclosure and lively atmosphere of Rundle Street ...

through the careful management of built form and activities" (Danvers Architects 1994: 39).

However, 'enclosure' is not only a means of 'keeping something in', I argue, but involves, at the same time, 'keeping something out'. This is uncanny in the sense that in 'keeping something in' it simultaneously socially segments populations according to their cultural and/or economic wealth and power. The enclosure may also segregate on the basis of sexuality, a possibility that bears some comparison with Gell's study of the way enclosures are used by the Umeda of Papua New Guinea (1975). For Gell, the Umeda enclosure was strongly suggestive of a human presence and a site of "symbolic copulation" (1975: 171). Only Umeda males were able to enter the enclosure prior to a ritual enactment. Here an area was first cleared and then planted with plants that indicated a human male presence that Gell proposed as a "symbolic 'fertilization'" (1975: 171). The sexual segregation applying to the Umeda enclosure is not as clear in the case of 'the Strand', of course. Yet most of 'the Strand' is and has been planned by males, and male practices are reflected in 'the Strand's form and construction.

In many ways the uncanny relations of inclusion/exclusion are also a function of the increasing proximity of the concept of the global in current identity formations and leisure pursuits. These allow for the provision of a licensed space for licentious behaviour, in the rarer sense of that term as displaying a disregard for convention, which is practised or interpreted in varying degrees. In the process European values are embraced rather than rejected and become part of emergent meanings attached to space.

Since a facade is also readily understood to involve a "deceitful cover-up" (Visser 1994: 49) then the more visible displays of governance and power on North Terrace mask the uncanny relations that obtain in its material and non-material forms. The Terrace was not regarded as 'obscene' by people I queried, despite its material display of forms of power. The exception among the institutions of North Terrace are, potentially, the universities, which are institutions of order but also places where order may be overturned. They are occupied by students who are in a liminal phase between

states of knowledge and professional status and ultimately reinforce the orders their liminality highlights.

A conception of disorder was more easily applied to parts of 'the Strand' which appeared 'obscene', especially in those areas where governance was not so clearly marked. For instance, at its Hindley Street end there was no clear demarcation of spatial uses in terms of the governance of space. Here spatial usage was overtly contested by both the public and private domains and thereby raised uncanny ambiguities for its patrons. On the one hand it contained a visible State police presence but this was countermanded by equally visible private-sector policing. The eclectic forms of architecture found there also continued to distort this picture of who was in control and so offered numerous opportunities for modes of practice construed as 'obscene' because they were beyond official sanction.

A view of North Terrace as offering the vantage of a 'facade' emphasises its positive aspects as a place where it is possible "to create ensembles, to become master of the internal (structured) disposition of space as well as of its own function (which it [the facade] both fulfilled and concealed)" (Lefebvre 1991: 273). Possibilities of the role of human agency played out through the facade become apparent. In this sense the workings of governmental control were maintained and reproduced in the institutional forms and monuments of North Terrace. Yet it is not just the State that regulates, as an examination of the leisurely spaces of 'the Strand' made clear. In 'the Strand' people were more animated than in North Terrace and, as a consequence, more demonstrably turned their backs upon the operations of a State apparatus. 'The Strand' in short hosts the contemporary actions of ordinary people.

'The Strand' provided spaces in which the behaviour of citizens could be more expressive than in North Terrace and which conjured less restrictive sensibility and composures. The State had to negotiate with the demands of private individuals to a greater extent in 'the Strand' where control appeared weaker than in North Terrace and where it seemed more difficult to call individuals to order. In 'the Strand' power operated through much finer channels than existed in a State apparatus and,

consequently, the exercise of power "goes further [than a State apparatus], and is much more ambiguous, since each individual has at his [sic] disposal a certain power, and for that very reason can also act as the vehicle for transmitting a wider power" (Foucault 1980: 72). For example, the installation of surveillance cameras in Rundle Mall, the first to be applied to a City street, was instigated by requests for increased surveillance of property from the private sector. Development approval for these cameras was granted by the Adelaide City Council and their operation is presently overseen by State Government police.

The regulation of behaviour associated with the institutions of North Terrace contrasted with behaviour's regulation in 'the Strand'. Typically, neither time nor space were ranked in the same way in 'the Strand' as in North Terrace in which the terms of the 'spectacle' were shaped through the continuing role of the exhibitionary and civilising complex. In Hindley Street both State and private control continue to be asserted more overtly than anywhere else in the City. Control has been largely maintained by a 24 hour visible police presence distributed through a centrally located station and also by privately hired 'bouncers' who patrolled the footpaths outside of nightclubs. Despite an over-bearing presence of the instruments of state and private control, regulations were disdained, particularly in Hindley Street, where eyes were not averted nor speech controlled to the extents apparent in North Terrace. In paradox, the less evident use of control in and around the nightclubs of Rundle Street also, surprisingly, evoked more restrained behaviour than I had witnessed during my research period in Hindley Street in 1994.

Politeness and inclusion

Over the last couple of decades more informal aspects of 'the Strand' have moved to the fore. An emphasis on leisure pursuits associated with a so-called 'cafe society' has emerged particularly in the 'East End'. However, although conducted in socially interactive settings, these places were invested with differing amounts of "symbolic

capital" (Bourdieu 1990a: 171). In this way 'the Strand' has operated with subtle principles of exclusion. Previously the 'East End' had, for much of its history, been a popular entry point into the City for people from some parts of 'the country'. They contributed to its former 'country feel' and in some measure to a more recent 'Bohemian' labelling. Even in the early 1980s it was possible to wander into a hardware and fodder store in Rundle Street east, I was told, and to have to search the street for the store keeper (Oven, pers. comm., 1994). This relaxed attitude had to some extent resulted from the 'East End's previous role as the destination for growers of produce and the distribution of their goods throughout the City and suburbs. The area during my fieldwork had few country references and catered mostly to the requirements of well educated and/or socio-economically advantaged people: in short those with high levels of cultural capital (cf. Bourdieu 1990a).

The changes stemmed from the complicity and forced acquiescence of those who had lived and worked in the area as well as that of sections of the general population. Organisations like the National Trust along with other interest groups have been important in raising concerns about proposed new developments within recent times. However, negotiated change involving supporters of pro-development and/or conservation positions, had been possible and were instigated without resorting to force. Bourdieu observed that such peaceful resolution is possible because "(t)he task of legitimating the established order does not fall exclusively to the mechanisms traditionally regarded as belonging to the order of ideology, such as law" (Bourdieu 1990a: 188). The maintenance of the dominant order's legitimacy works because the group complies with that which dominates them. It is aided by the presentation of a facade which relies on the "trick of pedagogic reason" (Bourdieu 1990a: 94), which in Adelaide was localised in the constructs of North Terrace and more diffusely encountered in media (electronic, newspapers, film), advertising, and so on. The sly pedagogic reason inherent in their practices

> extorts the essential while seeming to demand the insignificant: in obtaining respect for form and forms of respect which constitute the most visible and at the same time

> the best hidden (because most "natural") manifestation of submission to the established order (Bourdieu 1990a: 94-5).

A valid measure of the 'respect for form and forms of respect' is, I assert, indicated by degrees of politeness as an attendant form of conservatism.

I assert that experience of 'the Strand' heightened the sense of the 'worldly' in Adelaide but that the major differences between each 'section' of it lay in their relative positions, vis-a-vis State power and North Terrace and that these differences were determined according to their relative positions in regard to 'politeness'. The orienting capacities of North Terrace have supported the idea of 'politeness' in light of which the conventional practices of Hindley Street may be cast as 'obscene' and thus skewed or deliberately ignored. Manners and demeanour in Rundle Street, on the other hand, may be termed 'polite' as it is geared, mostly, to the conventions of the State and, in turn, the State demands its support.

Polite action may be construed as a facade for symbolic violence since, as Bourdieu contended, "(t)he concessions of *politeness* always contain *political* concessions" (1990a: 95). Under these concessions, which are extirpated by the conditioning supplied by the State and which are necessary for our survival within it, the individual recognises his or her duties to the group. They make palpable obligations wrought through exchanges between the individual and the group and appear in the form of "formalities and formalisms which "cost nothing" to perform and seem such "natural" things to demand ... that abstention amounts to a refusal or a challenge" (Bourdieu 1990a: 95).

My focus on demeanour and the composure of behaviour allows for comparison of the types of control exercised at either end of 'the Strand'. I posit that certain types of polite demeanours are a fundamental orienting principle for inhabitants, traders/workers and frequent visitors to Rundle Street east while their opposite, overt violence, orients the social practices of 'locals' in Hindley Street. This distinction between the two areas is, I argue, also a social construction maintained by Adelaide's dominant groups and essential to the reproduction of their domination. As a consequence, the apparent clarity

of the demarcation between the two ends of 'the Strand' only exists at a superficial level. Thus I do not believe that people in Hindley Street are more 'impolite' than their counterparts in Rundle Street, as this presupposes a unified view that reduces each area's complexities. Although, a dominant public perception of Hindley Street as a violent place appeared justified, to believe that the 'East End' did not share some of the same behaviours is open to question. Intentions to keep some people *out* and others *in* were often aligned with the interests of the State and influential members of the public.

The bipolar ascription of 'politeness' to either end of 'the Strand' was useful in directing control over the future of Rundle Street east. For instance, many 'East End' traders opposed the introduction of a 'Timezone'[1] (an amusement parlour) into Rundle Street in late 1993 citing the deleterious effects of the one that already existed in Hindley Street. Opponents considered that it spelled potential disaster for Rundle Street east and were able to effectively argue against its introduction through the Adelaide City Council. The 'Timezone' was portrayed as the essence of Hindley Street by those who argued against its move to Rundle Street east.

A spokesperson for 'East End' traders on this issue also argued that a 'Timezone' was no different from a brothel. He was fearful that the South Australian Government and the Council were acting jointly to 'bulldoze' acceptance of the plans for a 'Timezone'. He believed that the City Council had already approved Timezone's long term lease (though this belief was a false one), and that Rundle Street's retailers had not been consulted about the proposal. His objections centred on a conviction that *"the environment of the 'amusement machine' is not family oriented and is expensive for consumers, usually young adults"* (Roscoe, pers. comm., 1994) Moreover, there seemed to him to be no control over their operation. He said angrily: *"There's supposed to be no smoking and yet the carpet in Hindley Street's Timezone is full of*

[1] 'Timezone', in Hindley Street, is the name given coin-operated electronics games entertainment arcade, particularly favoured during my fieldwork by street kids, school kids, and other youth.

holes; there are supposed to be no kids during school hours but they're always there" (Roscoe, pers. comm., 1994). In short, he thought its existence was related to pernicious *"activities that are asocial, and don't involve the family and occur at a time when kids are supposed to be in school"* (Roscoe, pers. comm., 1994). He concluded that *"Timezone is an amoral structure that presents a facade of upholding the virtues of the family and the state but in reality achieves the opposite"* (Roscoe, pers. comm., 1994). Further, he equated brothels with amusement arcades, as if such amusement arcades pre-empted other forms of vice. The 'East End' in his view was the clean end of town, untainted by vice, unlike Hindley Street (Roscoe, pers. comm., 1994). Another Rundle Street trader opined that a 'Timezone' was equivalent to a 'McDonalds': *"They are no different,* [he said]*, both are parasites that feed off people"* (Chapel, pers. comm., 1994).

A fundamental difference between the two ends of 'the Strand' is typified in the above remarks and underline attitudes towards the image frequently characterised as 'Bohemian' (a popular labelling applied to activities in the 'East End' during the 1980s) and a patron of a 'Timezone'. This difference, I argue, is based on respective relations with time. The 'Bohemian' does not 'waste' time, unlike the patron of a 'Timezone', but is busy ordering (by disordering) a new society. Thus, in some sense the 'Bohemian' is also a 'developer'. The patron of a 'Timezone' on the other hand, like the wasteful and 'disgraceful' activities that characterised Hindley Street, is linked to disorder because time is abused, and thus has attributes that are antithetical to the notion of the 'Bohemian' figure.

The notion of the 'Bohemian' was well expressed in Bakhtin's formulation of the "grotesque body" (Bakhtin 1984) and its embodiment of the 'spirit' of carnival. It was in this 'spirit' that a sense of 'incompleteness', 'becoming', and 'ambiguity' emerged and acted as a jolt to a complacent world (Clark & Holquist 1984: 312). I detail this formulation in a later section where I discuss the application of the term 'Bohemian' to

the 'East End'. 'Bohemianism' appears uncanny in the contemporary 'East End' where 'safety' and issues of 'heritage' and conservation appear at odds with experiential dimensions of a 'Bohemian' lifestyle. If anything, a 'Bohemian' existence, located at the fringes of society, would be more 'at home' in the 'West End' where the 'danger' of overturning societal conventions was more pronounced and acceptable even to the point of being 'natural'. Yet the emerging 'East End' was being allied with 'heritage' and inherited rather than transformed social conventions. Despite the evident contrasts with assumed 'Bohemian' qualities many still sought to retain its former assignation.

Traders and patrons of Rundle Street also sometimes voiced concerns if they perceived lower socio-economic groups beginning to invade their 'patch'. As one patron confided, there was an alarming trend of people entering the 'East End' from areas such as Salisbury and Elizabeth, which in local idiom meant that they were of lower socio-economic status and therefore unused to 'proper' behaviour. This informant was a resident of the affluent eastern suburbs and had returned to Adelaide after a year's absence overseas. Friends who lived in the eastern suburbs of greater Adelaide immediately drew her attention to an invasion of people 'lacking in dress sense' and declared that the 'East End' was nearly unacceptable to their standards of propriety. What the street had to offer was thus perceived more narrowly as being aligned with certain cultural values which some considered superior to the values held by lower socio-economic groups. In recent times the practice of configuring the 'heritage' of the 'East End' has largely contributed to such up-market positioning.

A cosmopolitan 'cafe society' in Rundle Street east gained momentum in the 1990s around core 'global' foci such as internet cafes, a Grand Prix motor race, art installations both local and international, and events like a Solar World Challenge, which were held at this end of the City. These foci brought mobile phones, business suits and corporate organisations into the area by 1994. An adage I often heard expressed in the 'East End', by these new entrepreneurs and reiterated by traders, was that *'if the development of the East End succeeds then this success would extend to the wider*

Adelaide community'. This success had references to European and sometimes Asian economies and fuelled support for an annual Grand Prix in the vicinity of the 'East End' as well as other developments to which the wider populace 'acquiesced'.

Dominant conceptions of a local and global identity are largely the responsibility of 'cultural brokers', that is, people involved in a diverse range of occupations such as the media, politics, corporations and bureaucracy (Peace 1998: 279). The orchestrated actions of 'cultural brokers', on occasions like the Adelaide Grand Prix, direct the meanings that position Adelaide on "the global map" (Peace cited by Safe, *The Australian Magazine* 1996: 35). They perform in unison "(d)espite different institutional allegiances, despite different material interests, and despite varying relations to the State which was throughout a key player" (Peace 1998: 282). The ways in which 'cultural brokers' presented Adelaide and the Grand Prix, for instance, were considered by Peace to

> close the gap between the global order and this particular periphery as Adelaide gained recognition on the international stage. The leading personnel were characterised as members of a cosmopolitan elite, and the life styles were both savoured and dissected accordingly. And finally the Grand Prix was endowed with the capacity to create regional prosperity on a substantial scale, all in the best traditions of commodity fetishism (Peace 1998: 282).

As a consequence local understandings of place and identity have to compete with external regimes of power that tend to swamp local agendas. These external regimes do not account for everyday practices but are bent towards the understandings imposed by the dominant. As such, 'cultural brokers' benefit by "configur(ing) the map of Australia [say] in a certain way [such that] ... there's a dominance by the eastern seaboard and everything else is subordinate in location to it" (Peace cited by Safe, *The Australian Magazine* 1996: 35) and thereby reinforce "the mammoth facticity of the *status quo* " (Peace 1998: 283).

'Cultural brokers' also helped shape the shopping district of 'the Mall' with a distinctive family orientation, for instance. On closer inspection, however, I found that problems associated with youth homelessness, drug taking and other illegalities were evident in this space. The differing types of retail on offer in each area of 'the Strand'

contributed to the variety of behaviours and predicated an appeal to certain sectors of society and not others in a given area. Cafe styles and styles of dress adopted for each area also subtly affected those included or excluded.

Many activities and structures in Hindley Street, for example, had the appearance of being out of time and out of place. These included the 'cowboy western' look of some architectural facades, its public fist fights, the parade of cars that 'cruise' the street on a Friday or Saturday night, a general (and sometimes deliberate) lack of sophistication, and a recalcitrance displayed with respect to 'heritage' conservation[2]. Apart from such visual features, the aural and oral distinctions between the 'East End' of 'the Strand' and its 'West End' were striking. High acoustic levels of music in the 'West End' and the prevalence of take-away food contrasted with more subdued musical resonances on the street and the more sophisticated culinary focus of the 'East End'.

In Hindley Street the obscene dimensions of life were more clearly part of daily activity when compared to the accepted standards upheld by the institutions on North Terrace. Rules of decency and modesty were frequently transgressed and excesses entertained. Violent behaviour was practised as part of an evening's 'fun'. Fights between bouncers and young males were remarkable for their frequency during my fieldwork. However, the feeling of 'anything goes' appeared to alter at the King William Street end of Hindley Street and its nexus with Rundle Mall. The north-south axis of King William Street cross cut the east-west view of 'the Strand' and, like North Terrace, maintained important ceremonial functions integral to dominant conceptions of the City.

The use and consumption of alcohol was also central to the divisions separating the three major areas of 'the Strand'. Drinking alcohol was prohibited in Rundle Mall (a proclaimed 'dry area') while Rundle Street east was one of the few areas in the City in which alcohol consumption could occur outdoors with impunity, whether seated at

[2] According to a leading figure in the City Council's Heritage Department, the City Council had many unfruitful conversations with the owner of a section of West's Coffee Palace in Hindley Street about restoring the facade of this building (Stark, pers. comm., 1994). The owner's lack of cooperation was frustrating as this was regarded as a prime 'heritage' site in Hindley Street.

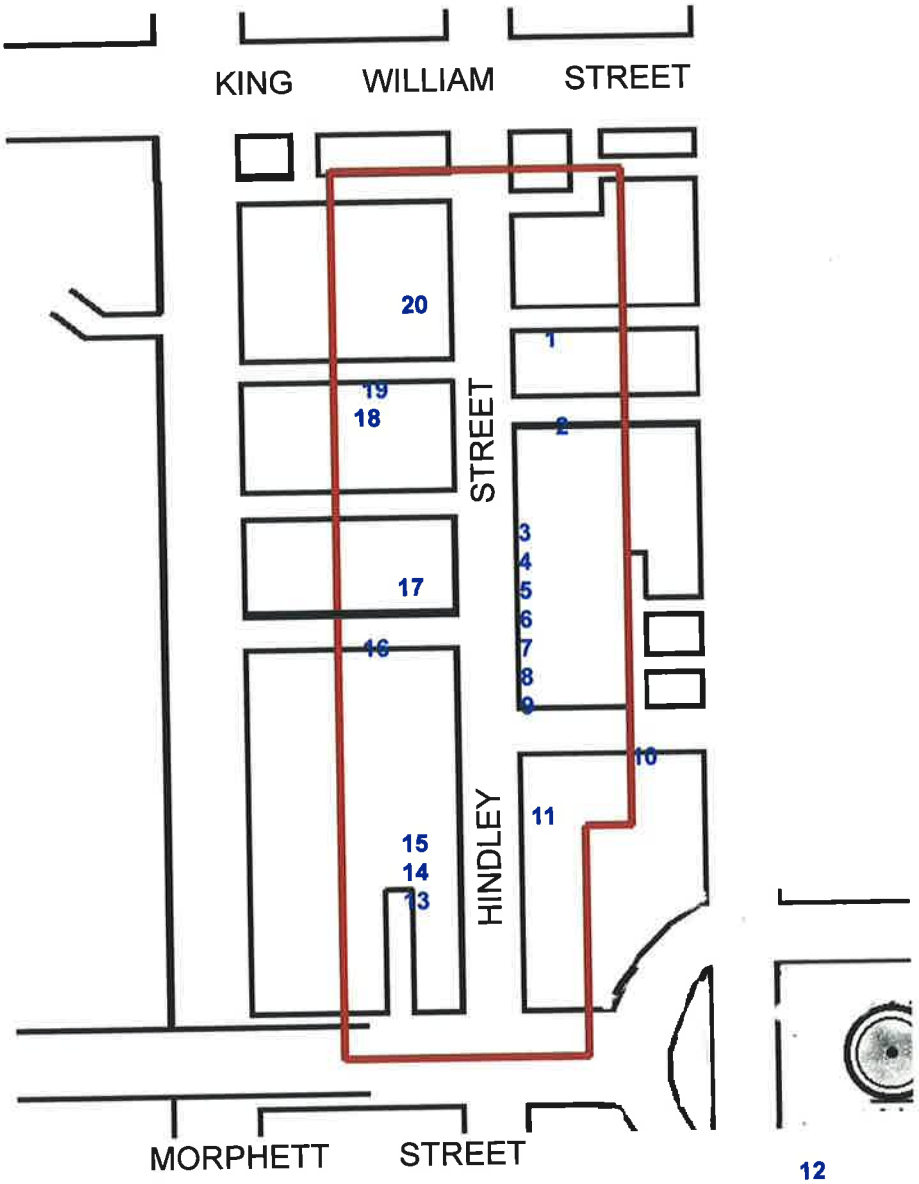
tables on the pavement or, on some occasions, just about anywhere within the street. However, only in Hindley Street was alcohol available 24 hours a day, which was a key factor in its altered time clock, although it could only be consumed within the premises at which it was sold. These conditions presented Hindley Street as another side of the non-conventional despite its spaces being rigorously patrolled by police, 'bikers', bouncers, youth workers, street kids and so on.

Pedestrian mobility in Rundle Street was of a different order to that in Hindley Street. Tables and chairs and the passage of waiters and patrons from inside to outside often hindered the fluidity of transverse pedestrian movement. Widening of its footpaths in the early 1990s, in contrast to Hindley Street, amplified the opportunities for cafe or restaurant managers to position more chairs and tables on them. Over time these new found spaces began to assume almost limitless proportions for proprietors. However, the widening of footpaths in Hindley Street by the City Council in 1994, which appeared to follow from the example of success set by Rundle Street, was not in response to a growing demand for 'al fresco' restaurants and cafes as was the case in Rundle Street. Rather the Council's purpose was to prevent the eruption of fights which they sought to reduce by creating a less constricted walking space that would prevent people bumping into one another (Russell, pers. comm., 1994). However, the alterations did not fit into the daily workings of the street and instead aroused the ire of those who worked there. Many workers, particularly taxi drivers, perceived it as an assault on their freedom of operation (Trzcinski, *The Advertiser* 1995a: 11).

Disrupted spaces of 'the Strand'

(a) Hindley Street: corruptions of the flesh

The results of a pedestrian survey overwhelmingly indicated that Hindley Street (Figure 10 (a) & (b)) was the place where people felt most unsafe, despite the array of

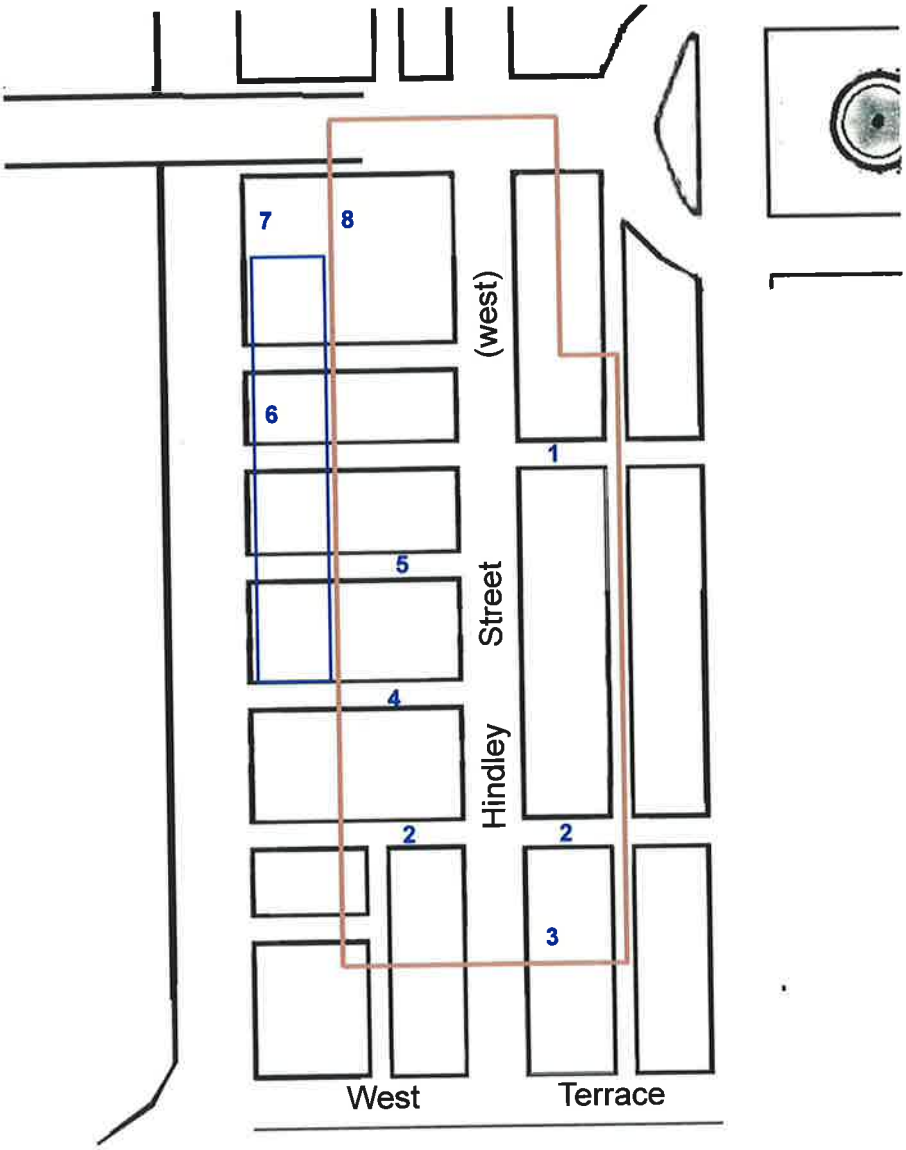


C.3

Figure 10 (a): Hindley Street Precinct (C. 3).

References

1. Peel Street
2. Leigh Street
3. Hindley Royal International Hotel
4. Cinema Club 'X'
5. Club Femme Erotica
6. Goodwill Clothing
7. Hotbods Lingerie
8. Quiet Waters Restaurant
9. Rio's Nightclub
10. Rosina Street
11. Royal Admiral Hotel
12. Light Square
13. Wests Coffee Palace
14. Black Rose Piano Bar
15. Harley Tours
16. Victoria Street
17. Imprints Bookshop
18. Bank Street Motel
19. Bank Street
20. Hindley Street Police Station



F.3

Figure 10 (b): Hindley Street Precinct (F. 3).

References

1. Clarendon Street
2. Gray Street
3. Hindley Street petrol station
4. Liverpool Street
5. George Street
6. University of South Australia, City West Campus
7. Lion Theatre Complex
8. Mercury Cinema

security in force[3], with 360 negative responses as opposed to 103 for Victoria Square, which appeared next on this list, and 88 for Rundle Mall. This firm assignation of a general unease in Hindley Street was the most pronounced of any city in Australia, according to the survey. Curiously, Rundle Mall, despite being relatively high on the unsafe list, was also a favourite place for citizens with 289 responses, while Rundle Street east (185) and North Terrace (145) appeared relatively safe and enjoyable places also (Trzcinski, *The Advertiser* 1995b: 3). I contend that the aural and visual confusion induced by the practices of traders in Hindley Street contribute to these general feelings of unease.

When seen as a 'totality' the glitter and blare of music in Hindley Street at night and the vast array of signage littering the pavement (sandwich boards, posters) and stretched above and across the street both day and night, produced a number of improbable juxtapositions (Plate 17). For instance, outside a shop named 'Harley Tours', motor cycle owners illegally parked their Harley Davidson's on the pavement with apparent impunity. These stood nearby a bookshop catering for an intellectual reading audience. Directly across the street from the motor cycles was an up-market hotel, 'The Hindley Royal', complete with marble frontage and plush interior that adjoined the blacked out facades of an adult cinema, 'Cinema Club X', and 'Club Femme Erotica'. Another apparent anomaly, while at this more superficial level of appearance, appeared between 'Hotbods Lingerie' and its neighbour, a 'Goodwill' (a charity clothing) store.

The dilapidated and unkempt appearance of the street served to exacerbate the 'sleaze' elements that the signage more clearly articulated. At the 'Hot Rock Cafe', for instance, about halfway down the length of Hindley street, were four large, temporary-looking signs on canvas. These surrounded its entrance, all with the same message in various print sizes:

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[3] In the 1990s the police were outnumbered by a ratio of 2:1 by private security agents whose ranks were filled mainly by former members of the navy, police and armed forces (Kym - security guard at the Remm Myer Centre, pers. comm., 1994).

Plate 17: Hindley Street east of Morphett Street: advertising slogans draped across the street (top left) ; take-away shops (top right); tattoo parlours (middle); youth outside 'Tilt' amusement parlour (bottom left) and; signs hung outside a T-shirt shop proclaiming 'local' anger at losing the Grand Prix to Victoria (bottom right).

Business lunches - See-thru - Topless - Lingerie - Excellent Food - Shirt and Collar a Must - Open every Wed to Fri 12 noon.

The over-abundance of signage around this entrance passed without comment, not surprisingly, in a street where the number of signs was raised to the point of absurdity. But above their clamouring, one distinct sign appeared regularly and belonged to a businessman named 'Polites'. His name appeared on some thirteen blue and white neon signs on either side of the street. Their appearance in this street and elsewhere in the City, such as King William Street, was in stark contrast with his 'non-appearance' in North Terrace. Ironically, 'Polites' signs could be easily confused at a distance with the sign 'Police' at about the same level above the street and using the same colours. An intent to play on associations with State control were suggested and reflected a general ambivalence towards State authority at this end of the City. For those with even a cursory understanding of the Greek language, his name might have also conjured associations with the Greek word 'polities' meaning 'city states' and its origins in the word, 'polis' meaning 'city' (Wilden 1987: 118).

Many locals were prone to exaggerate the extent of Con Polites' property ownership in Adelaide. This was an issue that often came to the fore when elections for the City Council were due. Contentions arose from a stipulation in the Local Government Act which provided that the more property a person or persons owned the more votes they were entitled to submit in Council elections (M. Lloyd, *The City Messenger* 1996c: 5). In 1991 it was argued that Con Polites had at least 11 votes at his disposal because of his ownership of around eleven office blocks in the City. This number of votes was considered to provide a "substantial boost for any pro-development candidate" (Light, *The City Messenger* 1991: 2) running for Adelaide City Council who the reporter appears to have assumed Mr. Polites would support. When compared to the sanctioned activities of Adelaide Club members in the 'development' of City space (see Chapter Four), Polites' control was easily cast as obscene and, in what may be regarded as 'uncanny', as a distortion of democratic principles. Yet despite the establishment of "unequal" power through property ownership Mr. Polites remains

excluded from 'establishment' power and authority indicated by membership of the most unequal but understated group of all - The Adelaide Club.

'Polites' and Hindley Street seem conjoined by the regularity of his neon sign's appearance. Con Polites has been one of the most successful of the State's business people with a total of 57 companies bearing the name 'Polites' written over the City landscape (N. Lloyd, *The Advertiser* 1995: 20). His presence in Hindley Street has proved to be the culmination, perhaps, of *"the wider success of Greek businesses in the City and their use of Hindley Street as a business base from the turn of the* [twentieth] *century onwards"* (local businessman, Mr. Cacas, pers. comm., 1995). It was in the Parklands *"near the corner of West and North Terraces* [that the] *initial waves of southern European migrants [mostly Greek] first camped during the 1950s before establishing themselves in businesses in Hindley Street"* (Cacas, pers. comm., 1995). They were soon joined by people of Lebanese and Italian descent and together these groups made up the majority of the street's predominantly ethnic populace. One Lebanese restaurateur pointed out to me that *'the Greeks occupied one side of the street and the Italians the other'*. This, he said, *"was a result of a long-standing disagreement between the two groups"* (Jamil, pers. comm., 1994). The regard that one Italian business operator had for George Polites, son of Con, strongly supported this contention ('Pip', pers. comm. 1994).

The nature of feuds in Hindley Street promoted an impression that the forms of control being exercised were outside of the usual operations of state and local council governmentalities. Hindley Street's positioning outside the sphere of the dominant in Adelaide I believe also contributed to many negative feelings people had of the place. Hindley Street disturbed the dominant identity as here migrants were rarely Anglo-Saxon in origin and, like their counterparts from the British Isles who had arrived earlier

and who continued to arrive, they often retained their dominant language and fashioned a home having strong resonances with their past.

'Cruising' down Hindley Street

Unlike Rundle Mall the streets of Hindley and Rundle permitted a flow of vehicular traffic. However, the size of these streets were such as to naturally reduce the pace of its flow. This allowed interaction, whether wanted or not, between pedestrians and passing traffic. The type of interaction found on Rundle Street was related by a local publican as having a friendly face: *"People love cruising, see who's here. They ... drive down the street and see who's [around]"* (Nick, pers. comm., 1994). 'Cruising' along Hindley Street meant something quite different from that in Rundle Street where the main object was to spy friends and acquaintances inside cafes or out on the pavement. In Hindley Street the passing cars appeared mainly at night and frequently invited interaction between strangers. Sometimes exchanges were offensive but they also offered opportunities for the quick-witted. Usually the abuse seemed to flow from those in cars towards those on the street and drivers had the added protection of "just being able to roll up their windows" (F. Baker, *The City Messenger* 1989: 1).

However, the following experience, related to me by 'Catherine', demonstrated that those in cars were just as vulnerable as those on the street. Catherine and a woman companion had been driving elsewhere in the City when they came across a distressed cat, twitching by the roadside. They decided it needed veterinary care but, as the vet was some distance away and their car was low on fuel, they decided to stop at the nearest petrol station. This happened to be located at the opposite end of Hindley Street to which they were positioned and therefore required that they partake of the usual Friday (and Saturday) night crawling cavalcade of cars or 'cruise'. At one point their car was, not unusually, at a standstill amidst this traffic. Catherine recalled that at one particular moment a large Italian male shoved his head inside their car and said *"Hey*

girls, ya' got any pussy?" Catherine, in mock retort replied, *"Yes, as a matter of fact, we have!"*, and pointed to the cat in the back seat of the car which her friend held aloft. The man, bewildered, staggered off into the night, shaking his head in disbelief (Catherine, pers. comm., 1995).

This was regarded as 'acceptable' behaviour in Hindley Street where it is taken-for-granted that people may be 'obscene'. Whilst it appears acceptable to say *"Hey girls, ya' got any pussy?"* on Hindley Street, however, such a greeting is out of place 200 metres away on North Terrace. In Rundle Street and 'the Mall' the private sector also curtailed such activity to a more marked extent. 'The Mall's design allowed people the freedom of the street although the design of some structures thwarted the way people used it. Rules established how the space was to be used. For instance, musicians and other performers could not perform in 'the Mall' without first obtaining a busking licence from the City Council authority. Yet 'the Mall' was the only space in the City where 'buskers' could legitimately operate. They required the permission of the Rundle Mall Management Committee (composed of City Councillors and representatives of 'the Mall's retailers) in order to busk and paid a nominal fee before commencing their sets. Certain instruments were not allowed, such as snare drums or instruments that required electric amplification, nor could they stand near the entrances/exits of large department stores[4]. In general, impromptu celebrations, such as that by a group of Brasilians after their country of origin won the World Cup in 1994, were frowned upon. But in Hindley Street you could sing and shout and walk around inebriated and the police would leave you alone. As such it was a favoured place for 'bucks', 'hens' and other rite of passage parties. Hindley Street is a liminal zone of communitas (Turner 1975: 45ff).

[4] For example, the City Council's busking regulations, numbers 7 & 13, prohibit excessive noise and undue obstruction near retail outlets or trading stands (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1998a). New practices evoke other modes of surveillance over the Mall's and the City's changing landscape. Comparative works such as Davis (1990); Zukin (1982, 1991, 1992); Duncan (1990); and Holston (1989), also illustrate a range of competing practices over historical time in contemporary global cities. Zukin's (1982) study of New York loft living explains an ethnographic present through examination of New York's recent social history. Elsewhere she underlines the materialist nature of space and its role in "constituting, not just reflecting, society" (Zukin 1992: 490; s.a. Zukin (1991) & Holston (1989)). For Davis (1990) the ethnographic present coalesces in the literature, film, music and art of Los Angeles that act as "fabricators of the *spectacle*" (Davis 1990: 22) in the construction of the city. Duncan looks at how meanings are contested through social and political alliances (Duncan 1990: 155).

The various kinds of interaction typified in each section of 'the Strand' centred on their respective hours of operation. For instance, Hindley Street's peak hours were from about 6:00 in the evening to 8:00 in the morning, particularly on week-ends. Rundle Mall adjacent ceased to operate after daylight mostly, while Rundle Street east catered for activity day and night. The distinctive temporalities associated with each division were neatly marked by the crossroads of north-south streets that intersected them. The diurnal clock of North Terrace, like that of 'the Mall', remained about 12 hours 'out of kilter' with the nocturnal clock of Hindley Street. Thus the temporality of Rundle Mall was aligned with the temporal orientation of the power block on North Terrace that extended from the University of Adelaide to Government House. Rundle Street was busiest from about 11:00 in the morning to around 2:00 or 3:00 the following morning.

Generally, the traders and residents of Hindley Street proudly extolled the cosmopolitan aspects of their street and refused characterisations of its sleaziness and violence. For instance, Eli Melky, head of the Hindley Street Traders Association at the time, emphasised the sophisticated character of the street in which, he said, *"you need to know four [languages] ... bit of Greek, bit of Italian, a bit of Lebanese and a bit of English ... you break the ice with those"* (Melky, pers. comm., 1994). The assignation of cosmopolitanism contrasted with the more uniform presentation of Anglo-Imperially-based institutions on North Terrace and their maintenance of connections with the beginnings of a colonial enterprise and with forms of governmentality relevant to State control. As such North Terrace did not reflect the multicultural composition of wider Adelaide yet purported to represent Adelaide as a totality. However, Hindley Street traders and residents generally recognised and promoted their cosmopolitan orientation (as did traders in Rundle Street). This aspect of the street was displayed in restaurants and take-aways (mostly Greek, Lebanese, Italian, and Chinese), amusement parlours, nightclubs and Chinese laundries, youth shelters, a Hare Krishna centre, sex shops, an international hotel, tattoo parlours and so on.

At night, and especially on weekends during the period of my fieldwork, 'bouncers' and spruikers circled the pavement outside nightclubs while the roadway was jammed with cars 'bumper-to-bumper'. Most pedestrians either hung around on the pavement or walked in large groups from venue to venue and perhaps shouted at passing motorists and their occupants or vice-versa. Neon lights and loud music flooded the street and through a maze of confusion and chaos police walked in pairs (or larger groups), their bulky figures stretching out across the narrow pavement.

Small vending operations dominated the pavement and the sizzle and odours of hot food at such close range disoriented local understandings of Adelaide, except for those who perceived Adelaide through the lens of Hindley Street. For those with a less intimate association with Hindley Street the appearance of such stalls was incongruent in a City where only since the early 1980s had serving coffee and food on the pavement become widespread[5].

Most commentators or cultural brokers' cast the practices of Hindley Street as 'depraved' or 'obscene' and overlooked a humour that offensively cast those of the 'East End' as 'polite'. Many traders in Hindley Street liked to 'thumb their noses' at the conventions of Adelaide's dominant Anglo-Australian manners and demeanours. These practices created an impression of a street in which ethnic minorities felt less inhibited about practising their own cultures and where many Adelaideans, from whatever background, were less inclined to feel the need for 'reserve' or refined behaviour.

The practices of some property owners in Hindley Street in their treatment of building frontages or in point blank refusals to renovate their heritage-listed buildings have challenged dominant forms of control. The treatment of 'heritage' facades has been of particular concern to the City Council, said a staff member of the Council's Department of Planning and the Environment (Mike Brown, pers. comm., 1994). The

[5] 'Al fresco' dining had existed in only a couple of places around the City in the 1960s (for example, 'Cafe Flash' and another cafe on Hindmarsh Square). However, in the early 1980s an avalanche of applications from restaurateurs wanting to employ 'al fresco' dining facilities were received by the City Council. These applications were not in the form of development applications nor has any by-law been established for on-street dining as yet (Grant, pers. comm., 2000).

Council was frustrated by the attitudes of some traders in Hindley Street towards 'heritage', said another City Council staff member in the Heritage Branch who referred particularly to those they identified as the most intransigent and significant owners of 'heritage' properties in the City (Stark, pers. comm., 1994).

This intransigence was perhaps fuelled by the difficulties immigrants and their families faced in the post-war period in Adelaide. Those who set up businesses in Hindley Street, such as Greek-born Mr. Cacas, easily recalled the difficulties that he and others encountered in dealing with largely Anglo-Australian governmental attitudes. Despite conspicuous commercial success a major disappointment for such people remained their exclusion from everyday 'Adelaide social life' from the time of their arrival and continuing into the present.

The cladding placed over 'heritage' forms, notably on the facades of night clubs like Rio's, made it appear strangely incongruent in an Adelaide setting, but in 1994 it fitted in well with the general context of Hindley Street. For example, interstate and country football teams had week-end forays in Hindley Street and often stayed in cheap accommodation and motels in places such as Bank Street which went off Hindley Street. The management of some establishments were associated with and even promoted the devolutionary aspects of Hindley Street. For instance, I overheard 'important' advice given by a hotel manager to an interstate football team in the hotel's lobby about how they should avoid trouble (that is, fist fights) and where they could find the 'strip joints'.

The dominance of 'wild west' imagery in places like Rio's was antithetical to 'polite' culture and deliberately unsophisticated. In asserting a 'heritage' that was non-local a mythic past was enjoined, in a street of the City where the Other was dominant. Such a scheme, said Tim Knight, a former acting president of the Hindley Street Traders Association, accorded with the overall efforts of traders in the street who endeavoured to "create something that is unique to Adelaide" (cited in M. Lloyd, *The City Messenger* 1995b: 5).

The facade of Rio's nightclub in 1994, like similar facades, treated patron and client as accomplices. Classical references were evident in its bas-relief Doric columns and pediments which were incongruously juxtaposed on a brass-riveted, burnished sheet metal surface. The facade was mounted over a Victorian style building which had surveillance cameras carefully positioned under the recesses of its high verandah.

The confusing elements of Rio's facade were exacerbated by its interior. On one wall hung daguerreotypes of turn-of-the-century female nudes in settings reminiscent of the old American West. Further inside wagon wheels suspended from a low ceiling and the presence of a long serving bar made from pine logs complemented this theme. On either side of a central sunken dance floor were arranged horse saddle seats that had to be straddled if purveying the dance floor antics. Rio's was unashamedly phallic in its orientation.

An earlier proposal to demolish the nineteenth century facade of Rio's nightclub and replace it with 'a modern reflective glass frontage' had proved controversial (F. Baker, *The City Messenger* 1989: 1). The plan was approved only after heated debates within the Adelaide City Council during which the so-called 'pro-development' and 'heritage' factions of the City Council clashed. The then Lord Mayor, Steve Condous[6], delivered the casting vote in favour of the proposed changes (F. Baker, *The City Messenger* 1989: 1). Opposition to the plan was based on its non-conformity with "the nineteenth century character of Hindley St East" (F. Baker, *The City Messenger* 1989: 1), while those in favour claimed that it would better reflect the area's entertainment focus (F. Baker, *The City Messenger* 1989: 1).

Businesses like Rio's catered for enjoyment that was usually experienced by a 'pack' of individuals, often of the same sex. In 'risque' Hindley Street the respect for 'bodily integrity' seemed particularly lax with respect to female sexuality. This partly explains why women and also men roamed this street on a Friday or Saturday night in

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[6] Greek-born Steve Condous became a Liberal Party member of the State Legislative Assembly after leaving the Mayoralty in 1993. He was generally regarded as a pro-development council representative.

'packs' as such formations helped preserve and enhance the personal space of participants and/or assert their dominance. These 'packs' roamed the street going from venue to venue "full of piss and purpose" (Male, *The Advertiser* 1993: 8). As Male noted, "it's like something has closed somewhere - a rock concert, perhaps - and everyone is moving out. Everyone moving like it's important to be going somewhere ... no, seen going, seen going" (Male, *The Advertiser* 1993: 8). Seldom do individuals walk the streets alone, although lone male figures lurched eerily (wearily?) from the dark recesses of places like the underground 'pick-up joint', the 'Black Rose Piano Bar' in Hindley Street of an early morning.

(b) Crossing the *axis mundi:* King William Street

Moving east across King William Street Hindley Street gives way to Rundle Mall. King William Street (see Figure 9) presented a significant disjuncture in the meanings attached to this 'end' of 'the Strand'. King William Street has the same width as North Terrace and carried a dense flow of traffic through the centre of Adelaide. It forms the *axis mundi* of the City in the sense that it is a "mediator of other significant relationships" (Wilden 1987: 114) within the City's grid. The north-south passage it makes through the centre of the square mile is marked by the differently named streets to each side of it. These names portend the important strategic role of King William Street in matters of financial and governmental orientation. Among the more prominent features are the Adelaide Town Hall, the attached Adelaide City Council Chambers and the Central Post Office (see Figure 13), and further north the Australian Tax Office and a range of banking and insurance groups. On one side of its intersection with North Terrace stands the State Parliament buildings, and on the other, the expansive gardens and buildings of Government House (see Figure 1). The street thus formally links three tiers of government, local, state, and home rule, and has maintained its ceremonial focus in recent times.

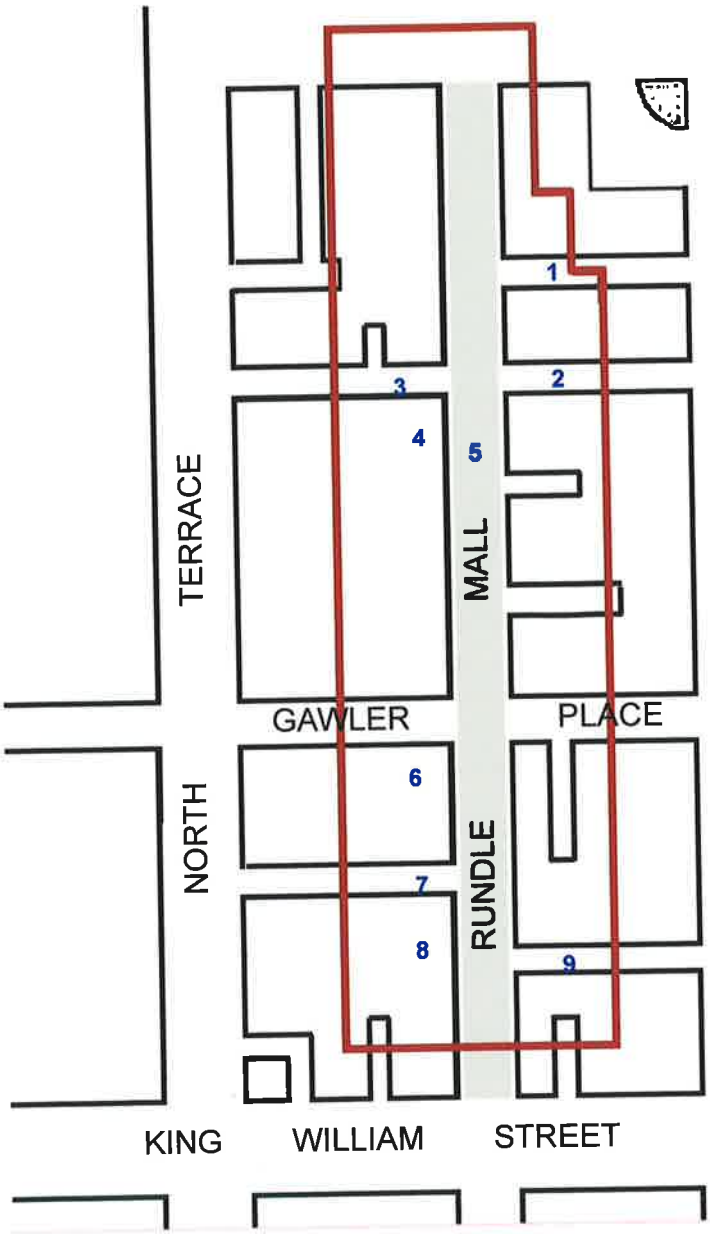
The central traffic islands of King William Street are covered by lawn and interspersed with flagpoles, 20 to 30 metres apart, from Victoria Square down to the River Torrens. These flagpoles have usually carried the Australian flag or indicated events of importance to the City. On numerous occasions I noticed the Union Jack on these flagpoles, perhaps as a reminder to citizens of a past associated with the British Empire and military matters.

The presence of governmental control was not only evident in the royal name of King William or in the name changes effected along its route. The street held important ceremonial functions of a formal and less formal nature such as the ANZAC Day Parade and occasions celebrating anniversaries, such as the 'Victory in the Pacific Day' Jubilee held in 1995. It was also a favoured route for protesters who marched between Victoria Square and Parliament House (Plate 18) and thus linked sites that have been configured in the hierarchical structure of the City and State, with Victoria Square representing the City's geographical heart and Parliament House the locus of State rule.

For my argument the formidable barrier imposed by King William Street, in terms of its width and ceremonial importance, allowed for a radical transformation to occur in the meanings associated with Hindley Street and Rundle Mall. On one side of it, in 'the Mall', a family ambience was generated. However, Rundle Mall after hours, while sparsely populated, may be anything other than family oriented. In Hindley Street family groups were rarely observed. This sudden change in orientation indicates that the north-south view offered by King William Street is of fundamental importance to the different orienting meanings obtaining along the length of 'the Strand'.

(c) Rundle Mall: the retail power block

The installation of thirteen surveillance cameras in Rundle Mall in 1995 sought to monitor the entire space of 'the Mall' "24 hours a day" (Adelaide City Council Meeting, 25 July 1995). When first proposed for 'the Mall' (Figure 10 (c)) in 1994 this surveillance network aroused debates amongst City councillors about matters of privacy



C.4

Figure 10 (c): Rundle Mall Precinct (C. 4).

References

1. Twin Street
2. Arcade Lane
3. Charles Street
4. Former John Martin's Department Store
5. 'Spheres' (or 'The Balls')
6. David Jones Department Store
7. Stephens Place
8. Remm Myer Centre
9. James Place

Plate 18: Protesters at an anti-Gulf war rally in 1990 (black and white photos) on a march down King William Street to the steps of Parliament House. Colour photos in the right-hand column are of Victory in the Pacific jubilee celebrations in 1995 at different points along King William Street and King William Road. The bottom left photo is of mounted police leading the ANZAC Day march down King William Road in 1994. Centre of bottom row is an aerial view of King William Street and its intersection with Grenfell and Currie Streets.

Black and white photos & aerial view: Mark Bradley.

and freedom of movement. However, despite protestations within Council and by various members of the general public, surveillance cameras were installed in mid-1995 and soon forgotten about. An anonymous form of coercion and a generalised control seemed to slip easily into place. In an uncanny turn, the protection of private property had thus been deemed to be worthy of a public sacrifice over the control of a space which the public itself owned.

In its heyday 'the Mall' had more than 800 shops, 5 major retailers and 11 arcades (Anon., *The Advertiser* 1987: 8), and in 1990 it was visited by 700,000 people every week (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1990: 1924). Such figures were used to justify the City's exclusive access to Sunday trading and where that trading would occur in the City in 1995. It also indicated the power of major City retailers in deciding the nature of new shopping developments in suburban areas. Their power was also fostered by the City Council to whom they paid significant rates.

Don Dunstan a former Premier of South Australia, who opened 'the Mall' on 1 September 1976, later described it as "the greatest thing that has happened to the City of Adelaide since Colonel Light" (Dunstan cited in Anon., *The Advertiser* 1987: 8). The whole area was paved with bricks to which had been gradually added trees, rubbish bins, a number of sculptures, fruit and vegetable stands, newspaper stands, a cafe, benches for seating, lamp posts, a fountain and so on (Plate 19).

In 1994 'the Mall' contained a dissonant group of people: mothers with their babies in baby strollers; young children with parent(s); workers and non-workers of various ages, ethnicity, and social background; and young adults from a variety of backgrounds. Numbers ebbed and flowed in response to certain regularities of the City's operations. From mid-morning until mid afternoon numbers grew and then dwindled. Of a night, soon after the shops had closed, 'the Mall' was all but deserted with only an occasional busker or a small group hanging around long enough to perhaps observe a lone office worker, an infrequent group of tourists or locals, walking quickly through to another place.

Plate 19: Rundle Mall (large photo); Rundle Mall/Gawler Place intersection before (left) and after (right) erection of a cantilever under the banner of 'City Pride'. Bottom photos indicate a mixture of uses made of the Mall apart from shopping and 'hanging around': at bottom left Brazilians celebrate a World Cup Soccer victory in the Mall, 1994; at right, members of the Hare Krishna sect chanting.

People moved hurriedly out of this area at night, as if it contained some potential danger, a condition no doubt prompted by its empty, quiet darkness. For many South Australians, the carnage caused by a group of about twenty goose-stepping pro-Nazi's who went on the rampage in 'the Mall' one night in April of 1994, was fresh in their memories. This fear became an exploitable commodity for those who wished to install surveillance cameras along it. Further, with all shops from King William Street to Pulteney Street closed after hours 'the Mall' was a dead space in social terms and well recognised as such by the City Council (Mike Brown, pers. comm., 1994).

The wide variety of activities conducted within it included everything from bin picking, to busking, to people handing out leaflets, or using elements of 'the Mall' as meeting points. The most popular meeting point was at a sculpture almost as old as 'the Mall' itself and referred to by locals, in irony, as 'the Balls', although its formal title is "Spheres" (South Australian Government 1998b, map). People gathered at 'the Balls' on various occasions and it soon proved to be a favourite place for 'buskers', young children having their faces painted, clowns, and even protesters (Plate 20). At a forum titled "Making Light Work" in 1997 conducted at the Australian Broadcasting Corporation studios Richard Brecknock (of Artechtonics, South Australia) noted that 'the Balls' had an iconic role and were essential to people developing a sense of place and aesthetics, features typical of art in public spaces (Brecknock, ABC interview, 24 June 1997).

Various modes of entertainment, from shopping to watching the world go by, made 'the Mall' a popular day-time destination for those with money to spend as well as those on a limited budget. It seemed a safe environment during daylight hours for both the elderly and for young adults, two of the more noticeable age groups who spent time waiting around for something to happen. As I passed through of a mid-morning in 1994, I commonly observed groups of retirees, typically Greek and Italian men at the Hindley Street end, who found this a comfortable place to sit around and talk. Later in the day people moved about 'the Mall' more hurriedly, probably constrained by their work to a specified time of non-work activity. The correspondence between what was

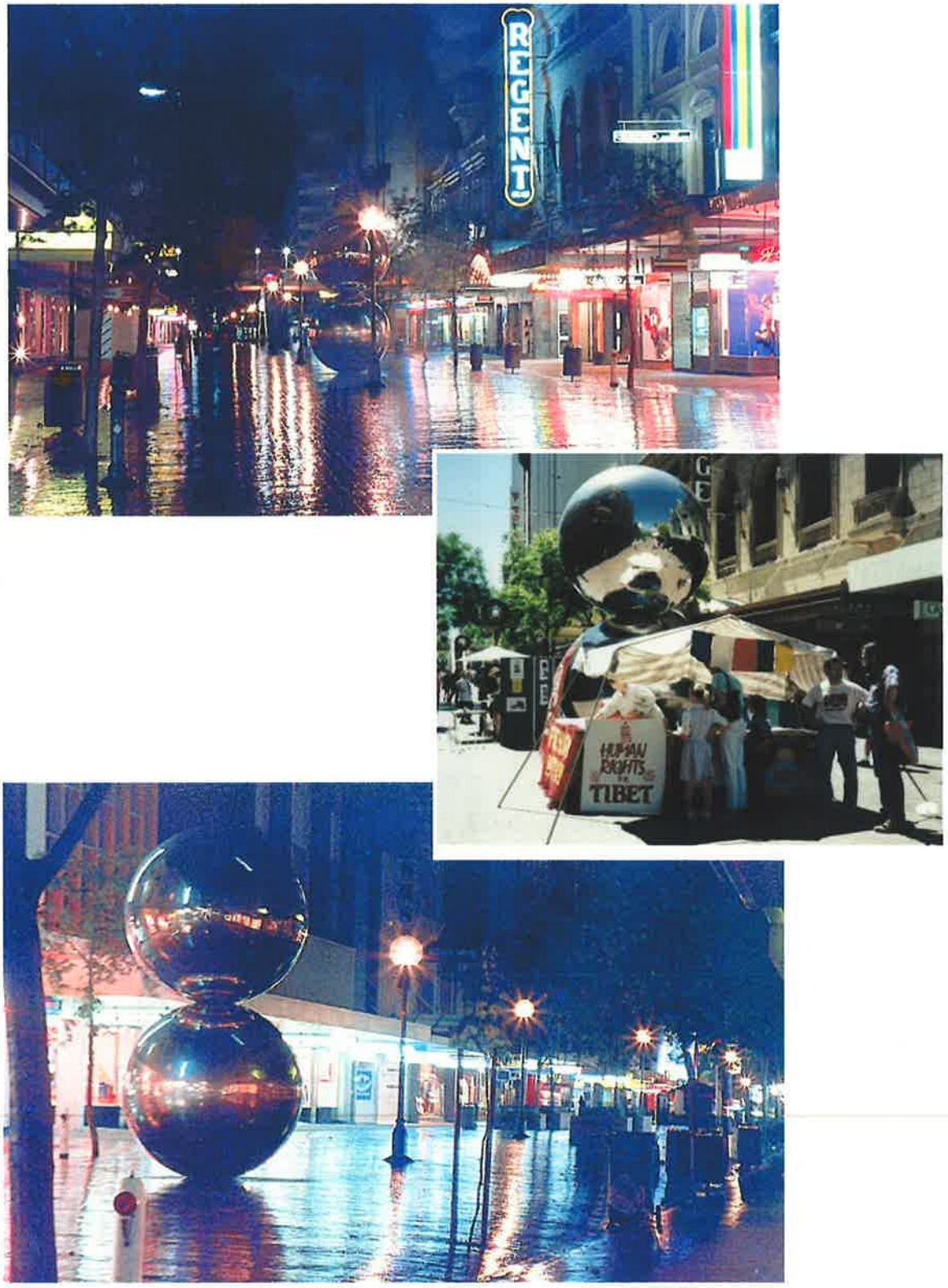


Plate 20: The staging of a human rights campaign for a free Tibet at 'The Balls' in 1994 (middle). Top and bottom, night photos of 'the Mall' and 'the Balls', a favoured daytime meeting place but avoided at night, like 'the Mall' itself.

Rundle Mall night photos: Mark Bradley.

in the stores of 'the Mall' and the clothes on peoples' backs alerted me to the centrality of this shopping precinct in everyday life.

'The Mall's structures have a solidity and a consistency, and its surface is uninterrupted by other forms of mobility. The prohibition of the car, cycle, roller blades and so on, make it an exclusively pedestrian zone in which a very small number of vehicles are permitted only to off-load goods.

Yet the private domain asserted rights over the street through the support and direction of certain sections of the public and official bodies. It also presented this domination as a physicality in new architectural forms like the giant pillars of the Remm Myer Centre which formed an impediment to pedestrian movement along 'the Mall'. In this way, as Schumacher contended, the physical size of some structures worked to overtake open spaces, converting them into the prerogative of private use (1978: 139). The behaviour of people in this area of the City reinforced this contention. 'The Mall', for example, was initially set up so that people could enjoy the freedom of the street yet people constantly refused to take it over. As a consequence an underlying constriction had been placed on public comment as the forms that buildings had taken undermined the concerns of a community voice in the planning arena (Mike Brown, pers. comm., 1994).

The Remm Myer Centre constructed in the late 1980s located near the western exit of 'the Mall' was the largest single structure in it (see Figure 10 (c)). For many, the interior of this building was disorienting and noisy. The screams of roller-coaster riders, on tracks winding high above the empty central space, descended from its upper stories. A maze of walkways and escalators wound around a central cavity and effected a display of continual human movement (Plate 21). The cavity also proved a popular place for suicides.

Music filled spaces monitored by surveillance cameras. These focussed on well-known 'trouble spots' outside certain shops and along walkways. I was alerted to one of these 'trouble spots' by an incident in 'the Mall' outside the Remm Myer building in 1994. In this incident my attention was drawn to drug problems, homelessness,

Plate 21: The Remm Myer Centre as viewed from the Torrens Parade Grounds at the rear of the Governor's Residence (top). The bottom photo shows the rail tracks of a roller-coaster ride in the lofty heights of the building's hollow interior.

Top photo: Mark Bradley.

surveillance and other forms of clandestine activity. My attention was first drawn to what at first glance I took to be 'street kids' being addressed by an angry woman around 10 years their senior. She was dressed 'hippy-style' and confronted an audience of around 30 youths both male and female, and all about 15 years of age or older. The woman referred to each by name. She spoke firmly:

> *Come on you guys, speak to me / ya' know what you've done to me / I've had the cops around photographing me in the Parklands - there's been a complaint that (drug) deals have been done through my shop. Ya' see how you've treated me - we're all the same - but you've treated me like this ... I'm really upset - hurt by you* (Katrina, pers. comm., 1994).

At one point a police car drove through the middle of the assembled group which parted and reformed without much apparent concern on either side. The woman addressing the group, who I later discovered was the manager of a shop in the Remm Myer Centre, then moved to one side of the circle addressing each of them individually and trying to get them to speak frankly to her. Her control over the kids was quite alarming, almost as if she was a mother-figure to them (I had wondered if she was a social worker because of her ability to control them, keep their attention, make them cry even). The youth looked well dressed in new wide-leg jeans, baseball caps, clean clothes, and make-up on the girls. A couple of girls were crying after this 'incident'. I asked two of them about the woman talking but they could only stammer *'I don't know what happened - I don't know'* !

I later asked the manager about this incident. Without apparent reserve, she explained that she 'co-managed' a shop in the Remm Myer Centre and that these kids were hanging around it, 'ripping her off'. She took one home and then she was *"ripped through"* (her house was ransacked). So she was just letting them know that *"we're all the same, that there's no difference between any of us"* (Katrina, pers. comm., 1994).

I visited her shop on a number of occasions after that because it gave an insight into a world not readily accessible to members outside its boundaries, the world of the

'street kid'. These 'kids' were more prevalent as I headed west down Hindley Street and, following my experience in Rundle Mall, more easily recognisable. Many were attracted to the video games and amusement parlours of a day time, as were other youth ranging in age from about 10 to 18 years moving in there after or during school hours.

Over a period of time I discovered that the shop was under surveillance by security staff at the Remm Myer Centre and the police. Each time I visited the shop loud 'techno' music was being played. Conversation within the store was difficult and I wondered whether the music was used being as a mask to prevent being overheard. The managers were happy to talk to me outside the shop, however, in full view of a surveillance camera. I was told that all the clothing they sold was made and designed locally in North Adelaide. Katrina (who had addressed the kids in front of the Remm Myer Centre) made and designed clothes which she described as *"not techno exactly, but sort of everything"* (Katrina, pers. comm., 1994). All clothing carried the shop's label and jeans, for instance, were expensively priced at around $120. They were of a uni-sex style, easy to wear *"even grandma's come in to buy our clothes"*, said Katrina, though I never spied any in the shop. The design of the clothes, they thought, offered a certain kind of freedom to 'the kids'.

There were notebooks in the store in which the kids could write to each other, one manager said, but these books had been a source of recent controversy. Some of the 'bad' kids used them to pass messages about drug deals. *"Someone has to realise that kids are people and therefore are cleverer than the system. That's why they used the books"*, said Katrina. *"The police had become aware of this and that's why they had taken the books"*, she added.

Are 'street kids' able to afford the clothing they sell in their store?, I asked.

"No, it's kids playing at being street kids. Most are from wealthy families", Katrina replied. Katrina pointed to the surveillance camera outside the shop and said its operation was one of the conditions of tenancy to which they had agreed. The youth

who came to the shop were also aware of the camera and the highly visible security guards.

The managers had a policy of employing 'street-kids' as workers in their shop. One, a shop employee around 15 years old, said: *"The police want to watch us everywhere we are. They want to put up surveillance cameras in the mall because they're too fuckin' lazy to walk up and down it. We're being watched right now"*, he said pointing to the camera on our right. *"And there's another camera over there"*, this time pointing to the front of the shop on the other side of 'the Centre'. I had the feeling that the sense of danger, of being found out and alluding detection, formed an exciting game for them.

The youth subverted the gaze of the State and its panoptic devices. By using the books they outsmarted the system, but only for a time. The managers, for their part, put up with the constant surveillance on the basis that it was how they retained their lease. They understood that the shop had to be surveyed in order to keep security and thus the management of the Remm Myer Centre happy. However, being the centre of attention I surmised wasn't all that bad for business either.

What role were the managers playing? Was a surrogate family being set-up by the shop and used as a lure for parent-less street kids? Katrina said that she had herself been a street kid and understood them very well but had surrendered the books to the police. Were they being used in evidence? Why surrender the books to security? Katrina had said that certain of the kids were 'really bad'. Was this her way of getting the ones she didn't like out of the way, out of the shop? What brought kids to the shop, anyway?

"We treat them with respect, that's the difference, that's why they like us. We are trying to teach them that the law can work for them not against them", said Katrina.

Why take them home then? She reiterated that she was hanging on to her shop tenancy by the skin of her teeth, although her desperation may have justified control over the

youth. The fact that she had been investigated by the police was a source of power for her since the threat of the shop being closed could be used to threaten the kids with the loss of an avenue of communication or whatever and it also added to the shop's credibility on the street, perhaps. From the youths' point of view the shop owners thus appeared as their allies.

The visibility and constant reminders of surveillance also engendered the feeling that the store managers and the kids were in it together. This represented a form of self-regulation specifically oriented to preserve anonymity. In emphasising this juxtaposition of an apparent egalitarian collective of individuals rallied against the State and 'big business' the managers were able to get the kids' respect and place an obligation on the kids that they owed them in some way. This obligation could be extended by employing some of the kids in the shop.

Youths sought protection from being 'rolled' but what they were losing were *their* clothes, the clothes that were sold to them. Katrina claimed to have got back the clothes for one youth who had been 'rolled' recently. The circle of exchange was completed and they were again in her debt. This was allied to the 'family' atmosphere in the shop, the hugging, the 'mother-figure', and the reason for the earlier confrontation in 'the Mall'.

Tough kids, ones that were street hardened did not cry, unlike those I saw in front of the Remm Myer Centre. The day Katrina spoke in 'the Mall' those that cried may well have been doing so out of a fear that their parents would find out about the seizure of the note books and a possible entanglement with the police. The other manager of the store, Stephanie, told me she was 22 years old and that *"she didn't do chemical drugs"* (pers. comm., 1994). Whenever I visited the shop she assumed a mediating role between myself and any youths who were around insisting that I needed protection from them because some were *"bad"*. She took it upon herself to choose the ones that I could talk to without personal risk. She cautioned that *"these kids carry weapons, knives, even guns"* and pointed to her steel cap boots as necessary items for self-

preservation. It was because of a danger that I might be harmed that she suggested I conduct interviews directly outside of the shop under the view of surveillance cameras. *"They'll shit down your throat without blinking"*, she almost shouted at me. *"They're really smart, you have to watch them"* (Stephanie, pers. comm., 1994).

On one occasion Stephanie introduced me to a 38 year old male, 'Murphy', who explained that he had been a 'street kid' at the age of 12. Without asking about how best to deal with 'street kids', his advice was freely given:

> *Always share whatever you've got, don't carry money, be prepared to bunk out with them in a sleeping bag, don't ask any questions until the time is right, be prepared to answer questions about yourself and do so openly, never give your address, don't use a moralistic tone - say you chose to do this; do I know the youth workers? No, well try the Salvo's - they're probably the best - nobody robs from the Salvo's. Do I know any self-defence? No, then I'll have to be able to talk my way out of situations* - [He] ... *always carried a knife which* [he] ... *held behind his head when he was sleeping. Even now* [his] ... *wife says* [he] ... *sleeps with one arm behind his head, a carry-over from his street kid days. The kids are out for the rush, the one initially coming from adrenalin and later needing to be induced by drugs - the kids are always on the look-out for this rush and that's what makes them dangerous. They carry samurai knives, even guns, and weapons such as nails in a piece of wood, or razor blades in the sides of their boots* ('Murphy', pers. comm., 1994).

These graphic depictions of a violent world in which drugs were freely used gave my informants a power to decide who I should talk to and how I should behave when dealing with their clients. I believe they were aware of the utility of 'danger' as a means for effecting an ends and sensed its 'commodity value'. In a comparable way the tactics adopted by developers and the governmental practices used in transforming Rundle Street east applied elements of a former street character to maintain control. This assertion forms the context of the following section.

(d) Rundle Street: 'Bohemian' and 'worldly' traces

At the end of the 1970s and into the 1980s the availability of large and unusual work and living spaces at cheap rents and the proximity of Rundle Street (Figure 10 (d))

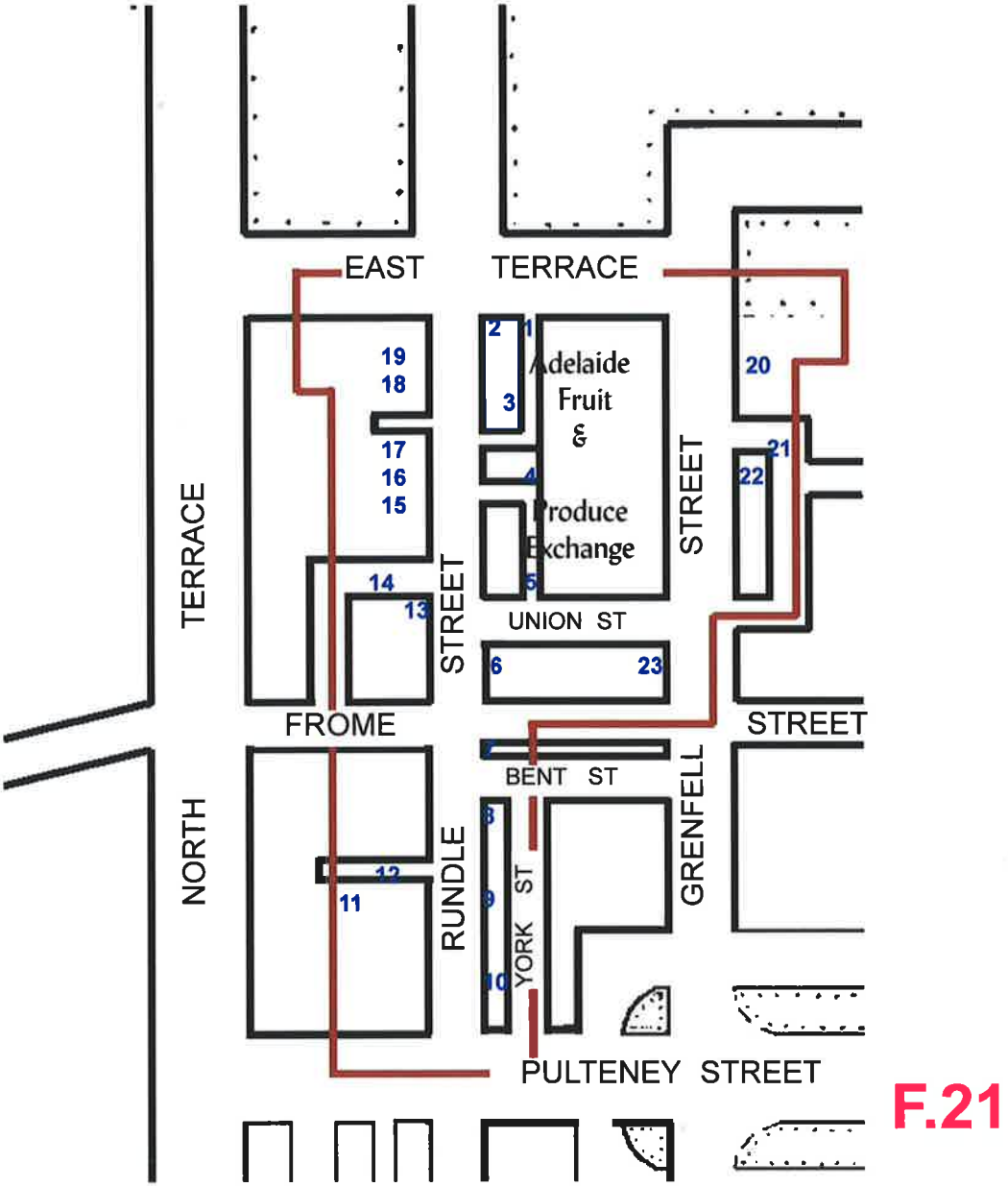


Figure 10 (d): The East End Precinct (F. 21).

References

1. Vardon Place
2. The Stag Hotel
3. Universal Wine Bar
4. 'The Apron'
5. Ebenezer Place
6. Sym Choon Emporium
7. Ngapartji Multimedia Centre
8. Austral Hotel
9. Bonjourno's Cafe
10. Car Park Station
11. Synagogue Nightclub
12. Synagogue Lane
13. Exeter Hotel
14. Vaughan Place
15. Al Fresco Cafe
16. Marconi's Cafe
17. Scoozi Cafe
18. Boltz Cafe
19. Mecca's Restaurant
20. Tandanya Aboriginal Culture Museum
21. Tam O'Shanter Place
22. The East End Exchange Hotel
23. Crown & Anchor Hotel

to two universities made it an ideal location for artists, designers, writers, architects and students "along with a handful of advertising consultants, publicists, marketing specialists and a few retailers" (Harris, *The Advertiser* 1987: 13). These factors contributed to a 'Bohemian' labelling as did the intricate and somewhat mysterious nature and use of the area's spaces at the time. The area was sometimes eulogised to the point of melodrama by the print media:

> The doorways are narrow and non-descript. People barely notice them as they stroll past the trendy shops and restaurants of Rundle St East. Yet they are openings into another world.
>
> Up the dark stairs one could believe one was far away in the famous lofts of New York's Soho district (Harris, *The Advertiser* 1987: 13).

The exuberant values imposed by the media also referred to Parisian resonances, to the extent that the eastern end of Rundle Street was known as the 'Little Paris of Adelaide' for a time (Harris 1987: 14). For Steve Grieve, a long term resident and architect/trader in and around Rundle Street, the spaces could be used to acquaint outsiders with less illusory 'local' practices and issues of importance. He recalled a gastronomy symposium he helped organise in the early 1980s, when early indications that the market was to be moved out of the area were emerging. In part the symposium had been arranged so as to engender support for retaining the fruit and produce market's (AFPE) position in this part of the City. It was also thought that the market's image could be gainfully utilised in promoting Rundle Street as a repository for fresh market produce and good food (Grieve, pers. comm., 1994). Despite the demise of the fruit and produce market this image has been maintained in the present through a restaurant/cafe focus (Plates 22 & 23).

However, as Ron Danvers, director of a 'heritage' architecture firm working on the AFPE site explained, developers *"like to feel familiar with what they're doing, they like to be working on what worked well last time and they have ... a discipline that they like to apply to a site ... a sort of unwritten law ... about how developers behave"* (Danvers, pers. comm., 1994). Not surprisingly, therefore, 'developers' sometimes

Plate 22: Cafes in Rundle Street east 1994, featuring the 'Al Fresco Cafe' (top), one of the first open-air cafes to appear in this part of Adelaide. Below a street scene with Marconi's Cafe in the foreground.

Photos: Y. Cailes.

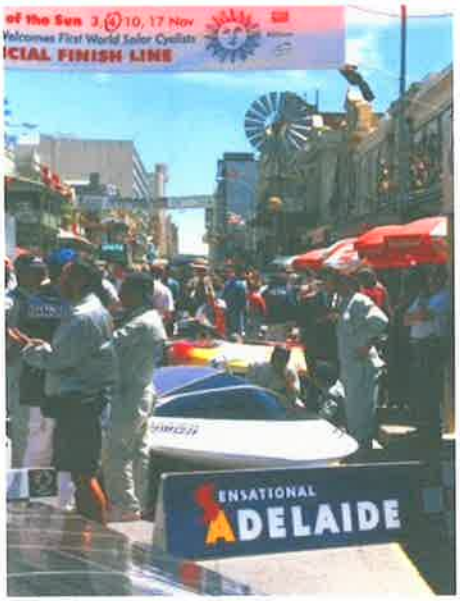


Plate 23: Examples of street-centred activities in Rundle Street east: (a) wine and culinary festival (top left); (b) the closing stage of a solar world challenge cycle race (top right); market workers' favourite breakfast haunt, 'Ruby's Cafe', pictured early morning (centre left) in 1986; a protest passing the AFPE site & young people congregating in Rundle Street east around 1986 (bottom right).

Black & white photos: Mark Bradley.

clashed with views expressed in the local media and with those who occupied the area daily.

The more often used Parisian and/or Bohemian resonances, said to be reflected in the intricate web of Rundle Street East's spaces and its people became, however, less evident once new retail developments were under way. Such developments transformed the area into one with a more homogeneous and exclusive appearance. Interiors as well as exteriors were swiftly altered. A 'local' designer and resident of the street sarcastically described it as an invasion of the *"mezzanine culture"* (Pfitzner, pers. comm., 1994), as mezzanine floors were being extensively moulded into the interiors of buildings. Another, a bookshop manager on Rundle Street, was incensed by the colour restrictions being applied to facades along Rundle Street imposed by the retail developer and Heritage Committee of the City Council. Their overt responses to control contrasted with the more covert workings in Hindley Street where patrons claimed it was best to *"mind your own business"* and thus avoid *"problems"* ('Sean', 'Stevo', and others, pers. comm., 1994).

Bakhtin's comparison between the "grotesque body" and the "aesthetic body" (Bakhtin 1984) is useful for highlighting differences between the two ends of 'the Strand' in terms of formulations of composure. Fiske linked the 'grotesque' to the "body of the people" (1993: 59) and the 'aesthetic' to an "officialdom" (Fiske 1993: 59) in Bakhtin's work. The 'aesthetic body' is understood as complete and perfect, whether in a personal sense or in the form of a work of art such as a sculpture. Development of the 'aesthetic body' is final because it has already attained perfection and thus "contains its own argument against change" (Fiske 1993: 59) as change would only spoil its perfection. The 'grotesque body', on the other hand, lacks fixity and is never complete as it "embodies growth and change: its ugliness is that which escapes the social control of the beautiful" (Fiske 1993: 59). In linking the 'aesthetic' to an 'officialdom' it becomes possible to view "(t)he aesthetic... [as] an ordering, and therefore, disciplinary

system: the grotesque in contrast, embodies the signs of disorder, the threat of the uncontrolled" (Fiske 1993: 59).

Residents and activities were widely characterised as 'Bohemian' in the Rundle Street area prior to the entry of the Government and hordes of developers. This term proved popular with government officials, media and other commentators. According to the *Collins English Dictionary* (Wilkes 1990) the term 'Bohemian' has several meanings although it most often refers in everyday speech to a person or persons of unconventional appearance, behaviour and so on and leading an unconventional life, such as artists or writers. It may also be used in irony to mock those living unconventional lives by making them appear anachronistic. Those unable to accommodate difference attempt to disavow others practising an independent existence that like 'Bohemia' itself exists uncertainly at the borderlands of other kingdoms. The application of the term in a critical region of Adelaide also reveals, I argue, a lack of certainty over identity which has resonances with European values. 'Bohemia' is then something of an uncanny concept that reflects the unstable and repressed qualities of identity.

The uncanny nature of identity suggests that the retention of a 'Bohemian' label had strategic value for developers who cast the 'Bohemian' as posing a threat to an ordered and homogeneous society. In Rabelaisian terms of the 'grotesque' the 'Bohemian' might thus signal to conventional society that here was an aberration which should be brought into the fold of conventional practices. In this regard, the seemingly derisive (or at best condescending) tones of the then Lord Mayor (Steve Condous) in the early stages of the AFPE 'development', I believe, illuminated a 'Bohemian' figuring for ridicule and made appeals to unify that which appeared disorganised. He stated, for example, that "the area wants the arty people with pink hair and flowing capes" (Condous cited in Ferguson, *The Advertiser* 1992a: 1). His remarks seemed to pass

without question or were even recalled as a playful interpretation[7] of Rundle Street East, on later occasions, and thus 'only meant in fun'.

The 'grotesque body' is held with suspicion by those who seek to impose control through and over a 'disciplined' person. As such its meanings were inhibiting and ambivalent for the 'visions' of developers and certain government officials. For example, directors of 'Mancorp', a company in charge of developing the commercial side of Rundle Street east, were divided on its application. One director, Grant Pember, perceived it as

> *a sitting street ... [and] a looking street ...* [and urged that I should] *forget the word 'Bohemian' ...* [which he understood as] *people who ... think they're a bit exclusive and a bit different ... Your ability to retain them, because they seem to add character, whatever you do, you're going to lose some of them ... because they don't want to be there any more because there's a sense of it being popular, and being popular isn't what they're about ... There is a different level of Bohemia that is prepared to coexist with what seems popular* (Pember, pers. comm., 1994).

This definition of 'Bohemia' contrived people who liked being on display or who merely observed the passing parade. His view did not encompass the usual sense of "vagabondage" applied to a Bohemian lifestyle which indicated a person without an estate or place of residence and who is regarded in a criminal light. The criminal aspect is worthy of note as this is "a preferred role of the bohemian, the outcast, the rebellious poet" (Vidler 1992: 209). Nor does Pember's definition extend to former occupants of Rundle Street such as writers and artists and market workers who some labelled as 'alternative'. Yet it was their lifestyles and the spaces in which they had worked which had made for an apparently unconventional lifestyle that was labelled 'Bohemian' in the first place.

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[7] For example, a director of the South Australian National Trust recalled Condous as saying something about a "woman with orange spiky hair" (Menses, pers. comm., 1994). National Trust's drawings for the site were deliberately humorous as well. They "played on references to things like the 'rich heritage crust' [the heritage facade of the AFPE] by putting a bread shop in the front window in the perimeter building selling 'heritage crusty bread', [and came up with labels such as] "terrace in the sky", puns on the Bohemian lifestyle, tour-guides with umbrellas" (Menses, pers. comm., 1994) and so on. The drawings were made public in "*The City Messenger*, *The Advertiser*, *The Australian* and [elsewhere], for example, Channel 9, [a national commercial television network]" (Menses, pers. comm., 1994).

Another of Mancorp's directors, Theo Maras, was more often quoted in the press. He maintained that the 'Bohemian-ness' of the area was all important. He said, "(w)e don't want to lose the 'East End's Bohemian edge. It was that "grungy feel" after all, which attracted everybody down there in the first place" (Maras cited in M. Lloyd, *The City Messenger* 1996d: 12). However, his view of 'Bohemia' had more to do with 'al fresco' living and the sophisticated values associated with European lifestyles. The 'alternative' or 'Bohemian' labels that were attached to the lifestyles of those living in Rundle Street from the late 1970s to the late 1980s thus indicated a further shift in focus from work-related activity to one promoting leisure. By adopting former labels the fragmented and disparate spaces and habits of those living and working in Rundle Street could thus be made to appear unified under the banner of a 'living heritage', and thereby used by the developers for the promotion of a rationalised space. For the developers, it therefore followed that 'Bohemia' more closely resembled a form of 'collective individuality' where the *"individuality of each of the premises"* (Pember, pers. comm., 1994) was important. The fact that they deigned to specify how that 'individuality' would be expressed went either unnoticed or was simply accepted as inevitable by most people.

Prominent landmarks in Rundle Street

The East End Market on the northern side of Rundle Street that opened in the early 1990s was built on the same site as the former produce market that had been established there in 1872 (The East End Market Company 1991: 1). The reinvestment of a market orientation to this end of the City was claimed to effect "a transfusion which has restored the lifeblood of Adelaide's most bohemian, diverse and enchanting precinct" (McDonald, *The Advertiser Magazine* 1992: 3). However, the new construct was unlike the 'warren-like' spaces of the original building, as it contained a grid of aisles and hours of operation that aligned with the street's trading practices. Despite these changes, its developers (Metrocorp), who also renovated many of the shop frontages

along the northern side of Rundle Street, were reported as being "mindful of the area's architectural and Bohemian heritage" (McDonald, *The Advertiser Magazine* 1992: 3). Yet they ignored references to a past that included, for example, an infestation by a 'flea market'. This market had previously filled the remnants of the produce market and occupied spaces in which stalls appeared, some at odd heights on open, raised platforms previously used for off-loading market trucks, and others located in recesses of the market area, off corridors and in rooms barely known to exist.

During the 1980s, I was informed, the 'flea market' had spread across the road from the northern site and into the sheds that bounded Union Street opposite (the AFPE site). As development of the AFPE site progressed these markets were forced out of the area so that by 1994 only one or two stall holders sometimes occupied part of a vacant block that remained opposite the Exeter Hotel. This remnant perhaps reminded some passers-by of the 'flea markets' that had once existed in the area and their part in the area's former profile. Gradually even these traces were erased and a remaining space was turned into mini basketball courts early in 1995 before a later conversion into an Arts Cinema complex. The 'flea market' was thus finally eradicated from the southern side although some traders continued on the northern side, in Vaughan Place, which led to the entrance of the new market development.

Vaughan Place was owned by the proprietors of the adjacent Exeter Hotel and was named after the northern market's first manager. Since the thoroughfare was privately owned, trading from stalls was possible following application for development approval from the City Council. However, licences for trading in the street were mostly only available on very rare occasions, such as when a street was closed for a Grand Prix or a food fair. A licence was issued only "at the discretion of the Council" and with stalls designated as suitable by the Council (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1999, brochure).

In effect, Vaughan Place traders continued an earlier tradition of this part of the City in which the first market site was used prior to any official declaration (The East End Market Company 1991: 1). Through such actions the first market had emerged and

gained a degree of legitimacy that officials found difficult to displace. It was these people that added 'colour' to what 'cultural brokers' had already identified as an underlying Bohemian character. Thus any attempts to move them on contradicted an important aspect that was later implemented by Rundle Street developers - the area's 'heritage' (see Chapter Seven for a more detailed discussion of this).

The ground floor of the 'Palais' car park located at the northern end of Vaughan Place and named after the dance hall site it had occupied, had also been taken over by a 'flea market'. Under less than ideal conditions, traders worked weekends amidst the gloom cast by the broad cantilever of the car park's concrete lining and absorbed the fumes belched out by cars that parked in the station's higher levels. Despite the cold conditions in winter and the acrid smell of car exhaust fumes all year round they maintained a tenuous existence. Traders lobbied the City Council and accessed the media in order to continue operations at the site. They seized upon the uncertain future of the car park to claim the ground on which it stood. However, given the historical precedents of other, previous attempts to operate such businesses in Adelaide generally, their struggle also seemed unlikely to succeed, and ultimately did not.

The 'East End's cafes and hotels have proved a popular destination for a growing student and youth market from the late 1970s to the present. The changes in the profile of 'The Exeter's' (pub) patronage over that time was indicative of the wider changes that had been occurring along the street. Its manager, Nick, described the 'Exeter Hotel' he moved into in 1985 as *"run-down"* and the *"clientele [as] ... [leaving] much to be desired ... [and as] a bit rough ... tattoos and all that sort of gear"* (Nick, pers. comm., 1994). Nick said it took him about a year to clear them all out (Nick, pers. comm., 1994). He claimed to have coopted the efforts of some local *"big drinkers"* in bringing about changes to the clientele base. Most of this help came from those who had preferred to drink at the more up-market 'British Hotel' in North Adelaide, then also favoured by students. It was from here that he enticed what he considered to be a 'better class' of drinker to The Exeter.

Gradually more students began to drink there in a move first heralded by staff and students of the Architecture Department at the University of Adelaide who became its regular patrons, said Nick. This type of drinker had been rarely sighted in the past. Later a few designers started appearing and then people who worked at the Royal Adelaide Hospital nearby. Nick assumed that local patrons were responding to the change in the client base of the hotel. Drinkers in the 28 to 35 age range gradually formed the new core group at The Exeter, an age group comparable to the manager and his cohorts at the time. These the manager described as *"alternative people ... who were sick of going to 'The British'*[8] *and wanted a change because 'The British' had changed, and they felt comfortable here ['The Exeter']"* (Nick, pers. comm., 1994). The similarity between the two hotels was expressed in many comments essentially claiming that *"walking into the front bar of The Exeter seven years ago was like walking into 'The British' ten years ago"* (Nick, pers. comm., 1994). By the early 1990s the main attraction of the hotel was perceived in its resistance to change and its advertising slogan proudly boasted "No Renovations, No Bullshit".

The Exeter Hotel proved a good indicator of social and cultural changes happening in the street from the early 1980s to the mid 1990s. In any particular time frame the hotel's patrons were indicative of the type of people who frequented or lived/worked in the area, although its patrons did not constitute all of the area's workers and many from outside the street were beginning to patronise it by the early 1990s. Those not predominantly interested in the pub scene usually opted for coffee at Al Fresco's which, according to The Exeter's manager, had a set of patrons distinct from those that frequented The Exeter. The boundaries between these two 'institutions' became less distinct towards the end of the 1980s, claimed Nick, but was still largely maintained even in 1994 (Nick, pers. comm., 1994).

[8] 'The British' is a hotel in North Adelaide.

The two establishments were not distinguished on gender specific lines. Both attracted male and female clients in approximately equal numbers, although more males than females generally drank in the front bar of the hotel. Al Fresco's was still the most popular 'street' cafe in the street in 1994, although competition from newer cafes, perhaps not diminishing its loyal customer base, brought in different groups of people. I was informed that people only went to Al Fresco's to be seen or for the authentic experience of drinking coffee in the first of the 'al fresco' style cafes in this part of Adelaide. Most were young but a number of older clients (30s and 40s age group) in professional employment appeared there usually early in the morning, prior to work. These clients often had a long association with the area often established in their undergraduate days and maintained this association with the street by their daily presence. Many members of the East End Traders Association preferred this cafe to others and sometimes used it as a venue for their business deals. The cafe next door to Al Fresco's, Marconi's, although similar in the length of its tenure tended to attract far fewer patrons and usually those that were new to the area and therefore, in the eyes of locals, less sophisticated.

Hotels throughout the City were typically arranged to include a front bar, a lounge bar and an entertainment or 'beer garden' area. The lounge bar of The Exeter Hotel was, like most other hotels, the space of informal gatherings, usually after work or at lunch times, for one or two hours. Its mix of male and female clients was more equal than the typical front bar in South Australia which was usually male dominant. In the front bar games (for example, darts and pool) were played. Patrons usually stood or sat at the bar rather than at tables. The 'beer garden', although a somewhat anachronistic term, could still be found in most City pubs, but because of the demands of space this was more often used for different purposes than previously.

The Exeter Hotel also attracted a wide variety of customers from elderly men in spats to punks. It advertised to its patrons in *The Adelaide Review,* a monthly publication appealing to the 'establishment' tastes of the well-heeled in Adelaide and was the only newspaper in Adelaide not owned by Rupert Murdoch, the Australian media

magnate. Before its present and on-going transformation 'The Exeter' was home to men having a quiet beer and listening to the races, and patrons' weekly indulgence in a 'meat raffle' on Fridays. Local Joff Chapel recalled that *"the biggest day of the year was Anzac Day. It was quite different then to what it is now"* (Chapel, pers. comm., 1994). Until 1991 The Exeter was open to 12:00 midnight when it converted to a late licence allowing operation until well into the morning. This reflected a general change in the character of the street. However, the beginnings of these changes may be traced to the early 1980s when, as local Jim Barker noted,

> *The Exeter had started to be taken over* [by] ... *mainly artistic-type people. They started to infiltrate - they eventually threw Frank* [the barber] *out as president of the social club and took over the hotel. Which was when The Exeter started to become a more 'Bohemian', for want of a better word, hotel* (Barker, pers. comm., 1994).

People regularly met at The Exeter to renew long-standing acquaintances and alliances mostly at the end, or in the middle, of the working day. In the early evenings of a working day it became a space of lively interaction. However, Rundle Street cafes were more popular with groups of young women of a Friday and Saturday night than were the hotels. These women found cafes more amenable to conversation with young men or amongst themselves. Hotel bars were considered too noisy (especially if bands were playing) and many in them were too drunk for sensible conversation. Typically these young women dressed in expensive clothes that they did not want to be contaminated by the smell of cigarette smoke and stale beer.

Males and females sometimes drifted from, or into, the cafes usually accompanied by other males and females. On Friday nights, especially, the presence of large groups of women or men, but not both, were often confined to the Hindley Street end. However, in Rundle Street the fact that many cafes had liquor licenses did not seem to alter the gender ratios in either hotels or cafes. The Exeter was favoured by a number of women who they said felt comfortable drinking there, whether on their own or with other women. Many women reported that such conditions were not easy to find in the hotels of Adelaide (de Crespigny 1998: 3).

The reason for Al Fresco's and The Exeter's popularity was, in part, also attached to their perceived capacity for delivering the 'authentic' experience of Rundle Street - one which was tied to a more recent past. 'Regulars' included real estate agents and their clients, newcomers to the scene and old 'faithfuls' who continued to visit the street and catch up with friends. Their regular presence in these places re-affirmed a position in Rundle Street's informal social network. Cafes were also used as an extension of the many offices located a short distance away. The emphasis on leisure was in line with the way Adelaideans liked to see themselves which, as Peace asserted, promoted "a city for residence rather than a city of industry; and this in the popular imagination is its strength rather than its weakness when compared with cosmopolitan yet crime-ridden Sydney and metropolitan yet motor-dominated Melbourne" (1991a: 98). However, local practices also revealed an underlying tension operating within this leisure zone, a point taken up in the following section.

The closure of the Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange in 1988 also appeared to impact on the presence of some of the *"rough"* types and the *"bloody blokes from the park"* (Nick, pers. comm., 1994), and the *"winos"* (Former Manager of the Crown & Anchor Hotel, pers. comm., 1994). By 1994 these 'down-and-outs' were becoming less visible in Rundle Street and in the adjacent Parklands[9]. As well, increasing rents were driving certain businesses out of the area.

One of a handful of traders who had survived the various changes in street personnel was widely known as 'Frank the barber'. Frank's association with the area commenced in 1957 ('Frank', pers. comm., 1994). He believed that the produce market's closure was a catalyst for change in a number of areas such as property speculation and the rise in rents and real estate. The closure, he said, also brought an immediate difference in the social climate of the street as many people living and

[9] The homeless and destitute often sought overnight refuge in the eastern Parklands in the 1980s (and perhaps earlier) and it is such people who constituted Nick's 'bloody blokes from the park'. In 1994, these people, who were usually male and of mature adult age, were no longer apparent. However, it seemed widely known that many young people were squatting in the grandstand of the Victoria Park racecourse in the east Parklands and that they sometimes ventured into Rundle Street by day and night.

working there were forced to move to cheaper accommodation and, therefore, out of the area. For him, and many others, the people moving in seemed less interested in looking after one another than had the previous occupants (Frank; Mr. Croft; Chapel (pers. comms., 1994)). A significant reason for such change is examined in the next section.

The Adelaide Grand Prix

Between 1985 and 1995 the Adelaide Grand Prix, perhaps more than any other event in Adelaide to that time, hastened strategic and dramatic changes to the eastern end of Rundle Street and contributed to its present social structuring. Yet the annual scream of motor engines as they raced around the circuit and the large, undifferentiated mass of people who wandered in and out of the street seemed anathema to the usual experience of relaxation and freedom that brought 'regulars' to Rundle Street.

The Grand Prix circuit (Figure 11) wound around a section of the eastern Parklands with one stage incorporating a significant section of the Parklands. A cyclone fence enclosed the perimeter of the track for the duration of the Grand Prix event each year. Rundle Street was itself cordoned off by a cyclone fence and a viewing stand that stretched across the eastern end of the street. A makeshift barricade at the Frome Street end of Rundle Street converted the street into a pedestrian-only precinct.

The Grand Prix, which took place annually in Adelaide from 1985 until 1995, had other profound effects on this end of the City. During the day and night, but mostly the day, a range of stalls appeared at haphazard intervals along Rundle Street, selling various items of Grand Prix memorabilia; 't-shirts', caps, model cars and so on, while others sold fast food, cool drinks, and clothing. The space of the street was cluttered with these vendors so that in walking the area one had to weave in and out while facing their clamour of requests to buy the goods displayed. There was little music, an unusual lack in an entertainment area. Instead most of the noise was generated by ambient and intermittent sounds from the track or aerial displays, or most often the sounds of people in conversation, the sizzle of food on portable bar-be-ques, sounds drifting from the

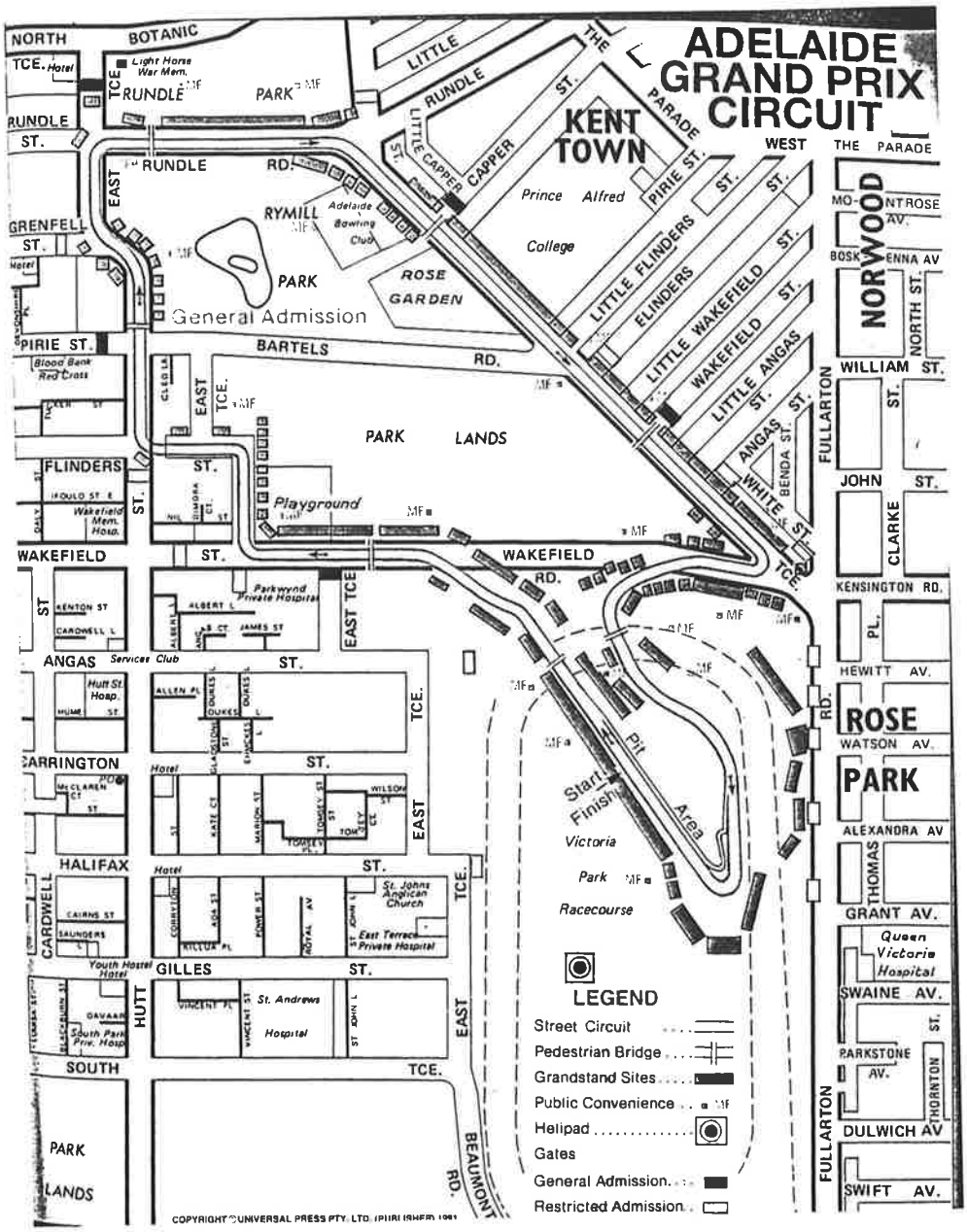

Figure 11: Map of the Australian Grand Prix Circuit 1991 (reproduced with permission of UBD c/- Universal Press Pty Ltd. 06/00).

cafes, the coffee machines and eating utensils, the clatter of cups, the dragging of chairs and the shuffling of feet.

The race circuit articulated the new boundaries of the City both in the lead up to the event and after, and thus significantly altered 'normal' operations. Peace asserted that "its impact has been enormous and inescapable: even its detractors - and there have been a good many - have readily conceded this point" (1991a: 95). The effects were particularly strong at the eastern end of Rundle Street, but also extended to other major streets of the City such as Hutt Street (on the City's eastern boundary) and Grenfell Street (parallel and next to Rundle Street) and even down the other end of the City, in particular, Hindley Street. However, the more tangible effects of the race over the eleven year period of its presentation in Adelaide, in terms of property development, occurred in Rundle Street. The race had a great influence in the reordering the street, which was altered from a low key address at which artists, writers and others eking out new and innovative existences could be found into one with more up-market ambitions. This new phase was promoted by Grand Prix organisers who brought "a celebration of consumerism" (Peace 1991a: 97). Over successive Grand Prix's the street became more thematically focussed as a domain of restaurants and cafes, interspersed with a diminishing number of former traders and residents.

By the time of the last Adelaide Grand Prix in 1995 the street had undergone a radical transformation. The solid walls of trading establishments had been replaced by large glass doors that opened directly onto the pavement, footpaths had been widened, windows enlarged to allow viewing into and out of dining areas, and some frontages could be opened when weather conditions permitted to create vast windowless spaces. In moving about this space my gaze became directed inwards and, consequently, interiors appeared as adjuncts to the street, like rooms off of a central corridor in a domestic space. Additionally, the proximity of an international event made locals look more closely at their own behaviour as well as at the behaviour of visitors. It allowed for comparisons to be drawn. Was the 'East End' the cosmopolitan place that many seemed to claim? Was it in some sense legitimated by this influx of tourists?

During a two week stay at the City Council's Department of Environment & Planning in 1994, I gained access to what was then a current survey the Council had been conducting of people using the 'East End'. The survey indicated that what people most enjoyed about the 'East End' was 'the coffee, restaurants, pubs, atmosphere, scenery, and peacefulness'. Thirty one percent used the term 'atmosphere' as meaning variously: cosmopolitan, unique, and having a multicultural nature. Others said that their friends 'hung out' there and that it had an 'alternative feel', 'sense of life', 'groovy people', and 'because of the people the 'East End' attracts'. Some said it was 'laid back', 'safe', and that 'it had a community feel'. A few came into the area to enjoy the Parklands but most were attracted by the cafes, markets, restaurants and, above all, the atmosphere. Seventy seven percent said they felt safe at night in the 'East End', although many felt that there should be more lighting. Many made comparisons that favoured Rundle Street above Hindley Street which was used as a yardstick for measuring personal safety in the City (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1994e, survey).

Throughout the Grand Prix the 'East End' appeared as the side-show to the main act. The usual functioning of the street had been altered for purposes that were subservient to the whimsy of some higher order. The collective acceptance of major disruptions to everyday life were borne in the knowledge that Adelaide was making an appearance on the global map (Peace 1991a: 99). Even the usually 'sacrosanct' Parklands were at the disposal of this higher order. The gender balance was disrupted with males dominating the scene who were encouraged by the Grand Prix event's parade of gender stereotypes to harass women walking along the street with wolf-whistles and calls and at other times to act in a loutish fashion. That these and other transgressions were visited on the City flowed the other way as well. Restaurateurs raised their prices and uncharacteristically (as I found at times other than the Grand Prix) hurried people on to free up space for new patrons.

Outsiders or 'non-locals' were thus perceived as an exploitable resource and they, in their turn, perceived that they could exploit locals, not in an economic sense, but by

flouting observance to behavioural protocols, using offensive behaviour, getting drunk and fighting, and so on. Some locals joined in the behaviour. Others were clearly intimidated by it. Hotels that were normally under-patronised were full to over-flowing at these times. I recalled seeing one young man being flung out onto the pavement outside a hotel and then turning around and walking straight back into the bar. I felt like I was in a western-style movie in which the mayhem of a saloon bar brawl appeared unable to be checked. Locals associated this behaviour with a *'hoon'* element that had arrived in town, whose antics were regarded as undesirable and in bad taste. The sentiments of one informant who referred to the Grand Prix event as a *"hoon boon"* (Gerard, pers. comm., 1994), by which was meant an ideal time for conducting inappropriate behaviour in public with apparent alacrity, were felt by numerous others.

The event was regarded as atypical and as disruptive to the usual course of life in Adelaide. Some greeted the temporary transformation with glee, others with resentment. The excessive noise of vehicles on the track was a common complaint, followed closely by displeasure at the disruption to the easy flow of City traffic. Those who enjoyed it often talked about Formula One drivers as if they were personal friends (cf. Senna's 'funeral').

The existing hotels in the area had either undergone subtle facelifts (The Exeter, The Austral) or were undergoing more substantial renovations (The Stag Hotel, The Circuit (formerly The East End Hotel)), prior to, and throughout, 1994. The new restaurant and cafes springing up in the area (almost, it seemed on a weekly basis) were indicative of a new and more concerted focus on dining 'al fresco' style. Nearly all new cafes were designed so as to maximise contact with the street or minimise boundaries between themselves and the street.

The Grand Prix Party: a means of comparison

In the annual Grand Prix street party I found an opportunity to compare the general attitudes that traders had towards patrons and their expectations of patrons' needs as well as the attitudes of patrons to each domain of 'the Strand'. The Grand Prix party held prior to the race final is, I argue, an important indicator for highlighting the various sections of 'the Strand' and the different ways in which each is regarded at both official and everyday levels. It is on such occasions that a heightened sense of the differences between Rundle Street and Hindley Street come to the fore in terms of what is permissible behaviour and demeanour and what is not. During the party 'the Mall' remained 'out of it', an intermediary space almost devoid of activity, except for people moving from the Rundle Street end to the Hindley Street end of 'the Strand'.

Street parties were held in one or another part of 'the Strand' over the course of the year (on around three or four occasions) and forced the closure of either Hindley or Rundle Streets, usually from about 6:00 in the evening to about 2:00 in the morning. However, the Grand Prix party was the only event that produced the closure of both ends of 'the Strand' at the same time and it was run over two consecutive nights. In witnessing this event I discovered that the treatment and general behaviours of the crowd could be contrasted and depicted as degenerate and 'obscene' at the Hindley Street end and 'polite' at the Rundle Street end. The differing treatment and activities at each end of 'the Strand' disclosed much about greater Adelaide's social divisions.

In the Hindley Street section of the party, club owners seemed intent on recreating the audible levels of events at the race track. Music was pumped mercilessly into the street at such high levels as to prove somewhat disorienting. People wandered aimlessly up and down the street, much like those in the outer at the race track. Amongst the blare of music from nightclub balconies, small speakers mounted on light poles along Hindley Street emitted unintelligible voices and a sharpness of tone that contributed to the discomfort of many. From these were emitted sounds that produced wanton disruption

and clashed with the general ambient noise on the street[10]. At one particular point in the street the confusion from extraneous noise was so intense that those nearby looked distinctly agitated by it. The relentless sounds stopped the crowd from congregating, forcing them to be continually on the move.

At about the centre of Hindley Street a group of police stared at a group of 'bikers' illicitly consuming alcohol in a laneway next to the Royal Admiral Hotel. The 'bikers' stared back at the police as if daring them to interfere with their disregard for the 'dry zone' regulations (see Chapter Eight) that applied in Hindley Street despite the 'party' atmosphere. The 'bikers' seemed the only people in the street not on the move. The police appeared at a loss as to what to do about them. They just kept on staring at them, shuffling around and chatting to the crowd. In the end they decided to leave them alone and moved on themselves.

The noise levels in the street during 'the party' were exacerbated by the competitive natures of rival night clubs which sought to attract passing custom. Their rival sound systems competed across the space of the street and stifled conversation there while the sounds clashed and began to phase, creating a wall of indiscriminate noise. Such contests to secure audio supremacy were not unusual, although on this occasion it was being fought out with less than usual reserve.

Along the street side-show type stalls had been constructed and 'rock' bands appeared on temporary stages their performances hampered by the ambient noise. The dress of some stall owners had taken up the general theme of the street's architecture in adopting a 'western' style (as in the 'American West'). The street's adoption of this style was most effectively illustrated by Rio's design and also that of The Royal Admiral Hotel, where crowds gathered in a 'saloon bar' window to view the street scene. These various scenes contributed to the appearance of Hindley Street as strangely out of time and lacking sophistication. One person said it looked as though a mob of 'Elizabeth

[10] I had heard similar noises regularly broadcast outside of an amusement parlour named 'Tilt' (opposite the police station in Hindley Street), and also on the first floor of the Remm Myer Centre.

Centre' shoppers had descended on the place. This was meant as a disparaging comment[11].

Amidst the confusion, however, clear sexual divisions were apparent. The penetrating loud music had overt links with the aesthetics of self-presentation of many of the women working at the party. Some of these worked at street stalls dressed in 'bunny suits', or in long leather boots and shorts, others gyrated in 'the cage' at the Royal Admiral, or dressed in leotards and tails to entice passers-by to enter their venues. Sex workers were busy chatting to clients in dark alleys off Hindley Street and sometimes the police showed a 'friendly' interest in their activities. A clear division of the sexes was evident against which the antics of the passing crowd seemed appropriately shaped, as, for instance, when men and sometimes women eagerly tested their strength using a hammer and bell apparatus set up in the street watched by a horde of cheering on-lookers. The 'party' thus encouraged stereotypical sexual references and ribaldry of the remote space/time of the 'American West' and its 'heritage'.

The conjoining of this event and the street's usual operations also made obtuse connections with a Grand Prix and with 'family' values. These proved contradictory because the connections made were impolite, in terms of their relations to contemporary understandings. Thus the party displayed the 'obscene' character of the Grand Prix and relations to family values by simultaneously mocking traditional values of the state. The 'obscenity' indicated a gross enactment of the exchange demanded by the State in allowing the street party to take place and when the purposes of that exchange were countermanded. The 'West End' of Hindley Street stood in contrast to the 'East End' of Rundle Street east.

At the other end, in Rundle Street east, the ambient sounds were more subdued. In general, people were better dressed and the atmosphere was one of sophistication. Cafes with names like 'Mecca', 'Boltz' and 'Scoozi' opened onto the street while

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[11] Elizabeth is a city near Adelaide that grew in response to the demands of a car manufacturing industry. As such it carries negative connotations associated with a 'working-class' background. It is also an area with high unemployment levels.

alcohol was consumed freely on the footpaths outside of hotels (like 'The Exeter', 'The Austral' and 'The Stag') and other places that served alcohol, such as restaurants. The emphasis was on eating and conversation rather than filling ambient space with music and the provision of frivolous 'games' in Hindley Street. Many places ran a 24 hour service on this occasion. It was here in the 'East End' that people were accorded the trust that went with self-control.

A large section of the clients of the Austral Hotel occupied the pavement and even the median strip in front of the hotel. The hotel seemed unable to contain its patrons and their use of otherwise prohibited spaces of the City. However, the main police presence was located in Hindley Street so the crowd was able to assume a right to the street and perhaps understood that any attempts to arrest this behaviour would also have proved contradictory to the image of the 'East End'. The State Government's part in this image formation, as well as the role of the City Council and other groups may have helped curtail police action as the 'East End' had vital links with government (see Chapter Seven).

The aural and visual components of street-life in Rundle Street differed from that of Hindley Street on a daily basis. In Rundle Street cafes had hard, reflective surfaces that served to amplify the sounds of voices and other sounds associated with a cafe's daily operations. Then exterior lighting and signage was generally more subdued than in Hindley Street. A youth worker who had worked in Hindley Street for more than seven years commented on the flashing lights around some hotel frontages and the constant blare of music emanating from various establishments, which at times had almost made her physically sick. She claimed that "*the over-stimulation of the senses was not something to which it was easy to adjust. Many of the 'hardened' police who patrolled the area disagreed with her, but she thought they were probably hiding their true feelings behind a 'machismo'*" (Annie, pers. comm., 1994). Patrons, particularly of Al Fresco's, often resorted to shouting over the incessant cappuccino machines, the clattering cups, and voices at other tables. In setting an example for other cafes in

Rundle Street, 'quiet' exteriors were overturned by the general brashness of reflective interiors. In contrast, Hindley Street cafes were more restive but outnumbered by nightclub venues and blaring neon lights that hammered its licentiousness out on the street.

Safety: 'seeing' and 'being seen'

According to some 'cultural brokers' (for example, Trzcinski, *The Advertiser* 1995b: 3) and the expressions of surveys like that conducted by Bell (1991) and the City Council, a major concern of City users appeared to centre on feelings of safety. In most cases, it seemed, people felt safer at the eastern end of 'the Strand' than at its western end. Hindley Street was characterised as violent but violence in the 'East End' was rarely mentioned. By the late 1980s problems with street gangs and poverty in Rundle Street had been forgotten, or buried under the growing number of anecdotes of the past that were being relayed to an ever-widening audience. The illusion of safety was enhanced by advertisements like that used by the South Australian Government Travel Centre (*The Australian Magazine,* 1995) in which a man and woman were positioned on a balcony overlooking the quiet sophistication of Rundle Street. This image hinted at the existence of an informal surveillance system, where the presence of adequate lighting and human-scale buildings, the controlled consumption of alcohol in pleasant surroundings, vantages for viewing and a high pedestrian presence, were taken-for-granted aspects of street life.

Such attributes were important in the perception of an area's safety (Bell 1991: 81-84). Yet sporadic outbreaks of violence surfaced throughout 1994 in the 'East End'. For example, the Crown & Anchor attack, the fire bombing of Sym Choon's, and the 'neo-Nazi' attack in Rundle Mall, were arguably the most violent incidents to happen in Adelaide's streets during 1994 and all occurred or emanated from the 'East End' area. Other more minor 'street' attacks that I heard about were not even reported by the media. The 'neo-Nazi' attack was perhaps the most horrifying of these incidents and began at

about ten at night outside a Rundle Street hotel. A newspaper report described how a gang of about twenty 'neo-Nazis' had fought with bouncers at the hotel before moving on towards 'the Mall'. Here about fifteen members of the public were injured during "fifteen minutes of terror" (Power, *The Advertiser* 1994a: 1). The report concentrated on violence in 'the Mall' as the source of the problem and cited the Police Commissioner as admitting that violence in it was a concern, particularly that directed against young adults who had been assaulted and had their clothes stolen (Power, *The Advertiser* 1994a: 2). The 'rampage' thus gave added impetus to a debate at that time raging in the City Council chambers over whether or not to install surveillance cameras in 'the Mall'.

This re-direction of the scene of the crime to Rundle Mall and the down-playing of other related incidents, such as the fire-bombing of 'Miss Gladys Sym Choon's Emporium' which appeared to be racially motivated, was noted by at least one local reporter who characterised an ambivalence in reporting crime in the City. It seemed that in this regard the 'East End' was given little attention by the media: "If someone farts in Hindley St, it is big news. Yet a bashing in the trendy East End can go virtually unreported. ... This imbalance towards one end of town is unfair" (Light, *The City Messenger* 1996: 8). The ambivalence about reporting incidents in the 'East End' coincided with its development and a need to position the street's image in a positive light. It also demonstrated an important conjunction between public and private concerns. Safety issues were thus seen as critical factors for determining the shape and temporality of an inner urban environment, which the development of 'the Strand' has brought to the fore. This environment, as Bell stated,

> reflect(s) society's goals, [and] clearly communicates to users the values of those who design and manage urban spaces. As a communicating medium, it says that young, disadvantaged, persistently poor and homeless people do not matter; that they need to be "moved on" from familiar hangouts because their presence causes distress (and sometimes is dangerous) to legitimate (usually older adult) users. These users spend money in the inner area and their continued support is essential for the City's economic health. Any stigma attached to an inner area is "bad for business" (Bell 1991: 95).

While a clear communication of designer values was forthcoming, a more shrouded communication for users of 'the Strand' has been evident. Such concealment had

important implications from the point of view of design initiatives. Bell believed that the reduction of violent behaviours could be achieved by making apparent "symbolic, functional or verbal cues within the environment to [indicate] appropriate use" (1991: 89). As a result that which is 'public' and that which is 'private' must be clearly signalled (Bell 1991: 89).

Users of space have generally operated with a limited set of meanings and so any reduction of ambiguity is a paramount consideration. For instance, those less familiar with the City may have found that the presence of an elite intellectual bookshop ('Imprints') in Hindley Street was as bizarre as the belly dancers at 'Quiet Waters' or at 'The Jerusalem' nearby. Some probably did not even notice that a bookshop existed. However, people who worked and lived there on an everyday basis had a different way of looking at their world and their views were often tempered by the anonymous interactions through which their world was constructed. Street-kids often saw the outsider as the object of their attention, for example, and they also interacted with the police as objects. Thus Bell's suggestion of a clear signal between private and public use might be difficult to implement in reality. Moreover, a clearer demarcation of uses of space within the City, as in North Terrace, might also prove discriminatory.

The South Australian Government's involvement in the 'East End' also contributed to a level of ambiguity over public and private spaces. Such involvement may lead, or be the result of, political effects that 'developers' were able to exploit for their own purposes. The excessive expenditure of Government funds in joint ventures with private companies in the recent past, most notably the Remm Myer Centre in Rundle Mall, (completed in the early 1990s), and other governmental problems, raised the status of 'the East End' as an important State election issue (see Chapter Seven). The Government of the day was keen to minimise damage to their campaign by demonstrating the viability of its involvement in the 'East End's redevelopment and sought to finalise a deal and exit as quickly as possible. This understanding was contained in the brief given to the developers who were eventually appointed and underpinned a more general understanding of the Government that "a major effort ...

[would] have to be made to sell the desirability of living in the East End Market" (Hopkins, *The Advertiser* 1992: 11). They also understood that a low Government profile was needed should the project fail. The other end of town, the 'West End' (Hindley Street in particular) could easily be made to appear as more violent and less refined and so produce a more distant correspondence with values associated with North Terrace and the 'East End'.

Underlying these assignations were revealed political, economic and social dimensions which, I suggest, enforce and promote the destruction of formerly distinct and heterotopic regions of Adelaide, such as North Terrace and Rundle Street east. This tendency seemed to be spreading to certain regions of the City although efforts that appear uncanny in this light were being made to establish the differences between precincts. Programs implemented by the Council were part of the primary objectives of the Council's "Mainstreets Program" which set up 'Coordination Groups' in certain precincts. Hindley Street, perhaps more than others, resisted Council intervention and appeared to operate outside the main power structure of the City. For instance, once it had established a 'Coordination Group', its members excluded the Council from its operations (Davis, pers. comm., 1994) thereby demonstrating a mistrust of 'official' organisation. Rather than work with the existing power base they worked from their own. In contrast, the East End group more effectively incorporated the existing power structures into their operations.

However, there were indications that by 1997 the Hindley Street traders' power base was changing and being brought under the control of planners in the Council and by other forms of government. Hindley Street was being 'easternised' in the process. For instance, the area to the west of King William Street, proudly asserted by locals as the 'West End' from the earliest days of settlement, was undergoing a review commissioned by the Council and titled "The Hindley St East Tenancy Plan" (Pudney, *The City Messenger,* 1997b: 5). This 'easternisation', I argue, was about bringing Hindley Street into line with the approved values of the state and hence with North Terrace and Rundle Street east which had become the models for success.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined differing formulations of composure and practice along a single transverse avenue of the City. These formulations appeared in a range of guises both concrete and imagined, such as the 'Bohemian' aspect and in the glass frontages of the 'East End', the surveillance cameras and misdemeanours in Rundle Mall, and the assignations of 'obscene' characteristics to Hindley Street. They formed regulatory mechanisms that like the accounts of cultural brokers augmented certain understandings of Adelaide over others. The 'Bohemian' labelling of the 'East End', for example, was both extolled and opened to ridicule as suited the requirements of dominant cultural concerns.

At a macro-level I analysed planning efforts directed at realising an immediately recognisable space for visitors. However, the coexistence of 'wayward' children and youths in a 'family' pedestrian space proved uncanny and unsettling at a micro-level, for example as I outlined in the discussion of the 'kids' and the managers of the shop in the Myer Remm Centre. The manners and demeanours of these 'kids' were judged as inappropriate by the store managers as they did not act in accordance with their class. But the managers also uncannily operated outside of the 'norm'.

Hindley Street gave licence, to those it engaged, to act with less than usual reserve. In the process social convention appeared to be disrupted along with the physical domain of its enactment. Roaming 'packs' of non-Indigenous drinkers were rarely harassed by the police as they caroused through Hindley Street. The ambiguities over the control of space/time contributed to this unsettled appearance. In Rundle Street social conventions were characterised as 'off-beat' yet accepted as the 'norm' through associations with official codes of conduct. In this bias was located a concept of 'politeness' as a facet more often associated with elite or dominant groups. Those who belonged to these social groups readily assigned such qualities to themselves and portrayed Adelaide in this light. The writers and artists whose comments generally reached the wider public domain were those that extended this view. Abrahams' words at the beginning of this chapter illustrate this point as he contrasted an 'impolite world'

with an assumed 'polite world' of a potential readership. Hanrahan's fear that "Adelaide's going - they're knocking the guts out of the place" (1988: 6) pursues the notion of overt violence being practised through development and it invited 'polite' readers of the *Adelaide Review* to contemplate this loss. The frustration and surprise that Hindley Street traders felt when their street was labelled, for example, as one of the most violent streets in Australia by reporter Damien Murphy in a national magazine (Murphy, *The Bulletin* 1994: 24-9), continued as it contributed to expressions that cast it as 'impolite'.

Thus I demonstrated how formulations of composure were elevated and given everyday importance in ways that asserted processes that normalised and gained political concessions. I have also used the device of 'the Strand' to demonstrate the structuring of difference along this otherwise singular avenue. Initiated by the different namings of its two halves divided by King William Street the continued differentiation of the avenue has been structured by a variety of planning decisions and their effects since then. The different domains of demeanours across 'the Strand' highlighted planning processes which were otherwise concealed from view.

In the next chapter I explore the development of the Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange site in the 'East End'. This development I regard as a vignette of negotiations that take place in 'the Strand' on a daily basis. However, within this development the suburb/city divide comes powerfully into view.

Chapter Seven

The City within the City

> The plan answers to needs everyone shares: the need to memorialise the past and hallow it, to rationalise confusion, transmuting ugliness into ease without losing the sense that disturbance preceded harmony, to reduce it to comfortable proportions for play, to summon up other places and other times, to have everything at hand, to stay at home (Harbison 1977: 4).

Introduction

Soja pointed out that in Foucault and Lefevbre's conceptions of social space

> the modern state (national and local) ... does not reduce the city's social power as much as it expands and extends it in scale, preserving the urban as a contested space for a politics that is simultaneously based on the reproduction of state and society and on its potentially revolutionary transformation *in situ* (Soja 1995: 29).

These conceptions bring a focus on the past as well as "the present revolving around the politically charged spatiality of social life" (Soja 1995: 29). Thus space is intimately associated with power and disciplines that endeavour to control space. In this chapter I examine how various disciplines, with a knowledge framed by aesthetic judgements, engage with economics, politics and institutions, in a development within the City's East End Precinct (see Figure 10 (d)). I aim to reveal struggles for control between and within groups and disciplines mostly associated with planning and architecture, especially those involving development companies, the State Government and public factions, and to indicate the high strategic importance of issues such as 'heritage' for determining aesthetic judgements. I examine specific instances of planning process at a new development site in Adelaide, known formerly as the Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange (hereafter AFPE or the market). Planning at this site reveals certain formulations of composure and discloses the operations of power and control in such developments in Adelaide with which this thesis is concerned.

The AFPE site has been represented as "a well loved Adelaide landmark of national significance" (East End Redevelopment Steering Committee 1992: 7).

Accordingly, an 'East End Redevelopment Steering Committee' (hereafter 'the Steering Committee') "was formed to report to [the State] Government through the Minister of Public Works" (1992: 3) on the proposed development. The site perimeter comprised the offices of a former produce market and shops fronting Rundle Street east. Much of this perimeter had been 'heritage' listed and included the entire facade of the market site and several structures in Rundle Street east (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1994f: 174) (Figure 12). As a result of the 'heritage' listing developers were required to maintain the integrity of the external facade and to work behind it. The ways in which these constraints were managed as the development proceeded reveals how negotiations and practices expressed in a way of living enter the discourses surrounding a science of planning.

Despite the inconvenience of some market practices, many 'locals' were opposed to its removal. They fought hard to at least retain some vestiges of the market's operations. The retention and 'heritage' listing of the facade wall of the AFPE site were primarily a result of their efforts to maintain the area's atmosphere or 'feel' that was claimed to exist when the market was in operation. Locals and other interested groups, such as the Heritage Council and the National Trust of South Australia, also sought retention of this 'feel' and petitioned and lobbied the Government for the inclusion of residential premises in any new 'development' scheme. These groups favoured a residential style of 'development' that would be accessible to the lower end of the real estate market. Cheaper rents, they asserted, would continue to attract the students, artists, writers, nurses and so on, who had either lived and worked in Rundle Street or in North Terrace nearby and maintain the character of the area.

The intervention of the Government at the site is instructive because it indicated the competing interests of Government and developers within a wider context centred on issues of commercial and residential 'development'. On the one hand State planners sought to rework and maintain the 'heritage' of an area that they considered was differentiated by a 'Bohemian' character from other areas of the City. They determined that the East End should be more closely linked to activities in other areas of the City

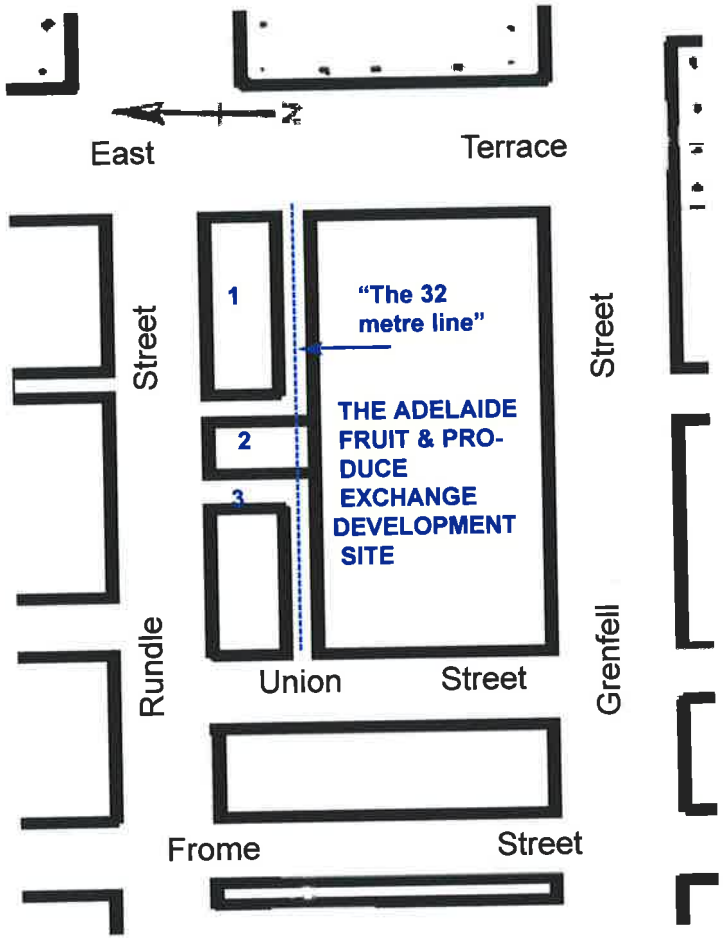

Figure 12: Outline of Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange (AFPE) site.
(1) Vardon Place
(2) 'The Apron'
(3) Ebenezer Place

deemed critical, such as the facilities on North Terrace, the nearby Parklands and the Tandanya Aboriginal Cultural Institute (see Figure 10 (d)). The 'Bohemian' character that they identified was thus associated with a more 'worldly' and outwardly focussed approach. However, as I indicated in Chapter Six, the developers were divided on this characterisation, one uninterested in it, the other happy to use it to advantage if possible. The malleable understandings brought to the term 'Bohemian' were reflected in some measure by the fluidity and impermanence issuing from the contested use of space and evident in the concrete forms produced in Rundle Street.

No references to Light's 'vision' appeared in the development of the AFPE site. Despite the 'heritage' listing of buildings the conflict that ensued during the site's development raised issues relating to commercial versus residential 'development'. The debate so formed had more in common with a suburban 'vision' in which the City and 'heritage' were uncannily lost from view.

A brief history of the Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange (AFPE) site

The AFPE site was formerly the City's distribution point for the wholesale of fruit and produce goods to retailers throughout the City and suburbs. The site's closure in 1988 severed a continuous connection from the 1860s of fruit and produce sales that had been taking place in this area of the City. It also severed a range of connections between primary producers in the country areas and the inner workings of the City.

The sale of fruit and produce in the 1860s took place before the market was legally established in 1872 (The East End Market Company Limited 1991: 1). Operations at the Produce Market commenced on the north side of Rundle Street and in 1904 expanded to include the south side of Rundle Street in the area now known as the AFPE site (Plate 24). The northern site was extensively damaged by fire in the early part of the twentieth century and subsequent reconstruction transformed it into a series of labyrinthine passages. The southern or AFPE site was built over what had been previously been the site of 'Workers' Cottages' known as 'The Rookery' and a slaughterhouse and tannery.

Plate 24: Section of the Adelaide Fruit & Produce and Exchange (AFPE) site 'heritage' wall on East Terrace prior to redevelopment (top). Bottom four photos are of the East End Market operations in 1986: top left indicates the former practice of parking trucks and semi-trailers in Rundle Street east on market days; top right an interior view of the market; bottom photos were taken in East Terrace (left) and Grenfell Street (right) just outside of the AFPE site.

Montage and market photos: Mark Bradley.

The southern market also comprised a myriad of rooms that, from my pre-fieldwork experience, were ill-lit and connected at seemingly odd angles. New premises were discussed and an 'East End Market Relocation Committee' formed in March 1975 (Harvey & Tugwell c.1977: 1) as the prelude to the removal of the market to another site. At the time of its closure in 1988 the market was the last remaining privately owned fruit and produce market within an Australian capital city (East End Redevelopment Steering Committee 1992: 6).

The AFPE site designated for reconstruction in 1988 covered almost the entire area bounded by East Terrace, Grenfell Street, Union Street, and Rundle Street. The dimensions of the site, around 190m by 130m (The East End Market Company 1991, site plan), included the surrounding facades and shop fronts on Rundle Street with only three exceptions[1]. This area was widely regarded by the real estate market as a prime City location and thus brought a frenzy of development competition. Speculation followed speculation before a rather unusual agreement for the development of the site was brokered just prior to a change of State Government in 1993[2].

Until the late 1980s Rundle Street had contained a rich mixture of businesses and a small but noticeable group of inhabitants. Traders in clothing (new and second-hand), shoes, books, artworks, electrical equipment, travel, sporting goods, music, hair, fashion, medical supplies and even a fodder and hardware store were present. Many of these faced difficulties as the popularity of the area grew and rents increased in the 1990s and either closed down or moved to less expensive locations. They were replaced by a style more attentive to culinary matters, elite fashion and leisure pursuits. The more homogeneous collection of cafes and restaurants that has moved in has transformed Rundle Street east into Adelaide's version of a 'cafe society'.

The somewhat chaotic and unruly practices of market workers prior to the site's closure were conducted in a time/space that was outside of the normal order. Like the

[1] The site "encompasses all the land bounded by East Tce, Rundle St, Union St, and Grenfell St with the exception of [273], 285 and 293 Rundle St" (East End Redevelopment Steering Committee 1992: 6).

[2] The details of that brokerage and the speculation over the land are examined in a later section.

'Bohemian' characterisation of Rundle Street their practices also appeared 'unrefined'. The nature of market work meant that work-related activities were mostly enacted outside of office hours, from around 2:00 to 8:00 in the morning on specific days of the week. This deviance from the 'normal' hours of City activity meant that a set of social practices could flourish that were uniquely tied to the lives of market workers. Around the turn of the twentieth century Chinese market workers appeared along with those of Anglo Australian origin. After the Second World War the market became popular with workers of Italian origin while more recently Vietnamese workers appeared on the scene in the mid 1970s through to the closure in 1988.

The manager of the 'Rubber Man' store on Rundle Street, recalled that hotels used to open around 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning on market days (Croft, pers. comm., 1994). He added that market workers continually entered his store, often in small groups, to buy new boots or leather aprons. 'Frank the barber', like most of the shops in the street during the market's operation, received most custom from market workers. His shop was one of the few remaining from that era that had withstood the influx of new cafes and restaurants (Frank, pers. comm., 1994). For Frank the loss of the market site was like *"losing your love ... you never get it back the way it used to be"* (Frank, pers. comm., 1994). He added that the market was something unique and that *"to create an atmosphere that engenders community spirit you don't build an apartment that costs $500,000* [or more, each]*"* (Frank, pers. comm., 1994).

Market merchants used to trade in a single item like potatoes or onions. They used to trade all week, said Croft (pers. comm., 1994). The Market's designated opening time of 6:00 in the morning was as a consequence of the 'Garden Produce Act', a regulation designed to "prevent sales being made outside of the central wholesale market before prices were determined in that market" (Harvey & Tugwell c.1977: 73). Retailers generally entered the market early but were not able to remove produce before 6:00 a.m. Most arrived around 4:00 a.m. to secure the goods that they wanted at the best price (Harvey & Tugwell c.1977: 73). Local resident and trader, Steve Grieve,

passionately recalled the chaotic scenes of hand trucks rushing about the streets and the noises of fork-lifts moving all night, except between the hours of 5:00 and 7:00 in the morning. During the lull in activity the staff at his breakfast diner, Ruby's Cafe, braced themselves for a rush on their doors around 6:00 in the morning (Grieve, pers. comm., 1994). By 1994 there was no longer any need to open so early and 'Ruby's' ceased providing breakfasts altogether as lunch and dinner meals became a more viable commercial option.

Market practices clashed with the standard hours of City operation. At certain times of the day, usually in the early to mid mornings, conflict between market operators and the City Council and traders were evident. The trucks and semi-trailers of market workers were targeted by parking inspectors and incurred heavy fines for parking offences and, said a local witness, *"they [the Council] used to police that very, very officiously"* (Grieve, pers. comm., 1994). Perhaps the attitude of City officials and the market's directors made market workers less concerned about the vegetable material they left on the street after a night of trading or even other aspects of their behaviour.

After the semi-trailers left of a morning *"the whole area was just strewn with cabbage leaves and debris from the night before of the markets"*, said another local trader, Jim Barker (pers. comm., 1994). In this and other ways market workers claimed an absolute right to the area surrounding the market. One former resident, for example, said that *"cars parked in the wrong place would have forklift holes punched in their sides by the market's forklift drivers who removed any vehicles left in their way"* (Thompson, pers. comm., 1994). However, their detritus gave ammunition to members of the City Council opting for the market's removal because an additional expense of sending around a team to clean up the 'vegies' littering the street was incurred (Mark, pers. comm., 1994).

Development and tiers of political contestation and negotiation

The State Government took over the ownership of the AFPE site in 1992 from the State Bank of South Australia (East End Redevelopment Steering Committee 1992: 3) as part of the Government's 'rescue' following the State Bank collapse. At this time the Government sought a developer or developers for the site to recoup some of its State Bank entailed losses. Their involvement to this point had resulted from a complex set of circumstances that were linked to political and economic realities and shifting community values in debates over 'heritage' and 'development' in Adelaide.

I project the nature of relations between the chosen developers and the Government through the eyes of an informant to whom I have assigned the pseudonym, 'R. Byrd'. 'Byrd' was a Government officer involved in the selection of suitable developers for the site and was an instrumental member of a team that produced the *East End Report of 1992* and its list of Paramount Objectives. 'Byrd's role was in large part determined by the State Government's purchase of the AFPE site following an event in the State's recent economic past referred to by some locals as 'the State Bank disaster'[3]. Before turning to 'Byrd's comments later in this chapter I outline the way in which 'the State Bank disaster' and subsequent events influenced the on-going development outcome of the site.

Findings of a Royal Commission into the State Bank's affairs were released between November 1992 and September 1993 in a three volume report (S.J. Jacobs Vols. 1 & 2; J.R. Mansfield, Final Report 1993). At its conclusion, the second Royal Commissioner, J.R. Mansfield QC, stated that the losses incurred by the Bank did not arise from any dishonest dealings but were as "the result of errors of judgment in lending and investment decisions [by the Bank], and of inadequacies in the establishment and policing of prudential policies in relation to these decisions" (Mansfield 1993: 250). An unfavourable economic climate was said to have greatly

[3] The State Government acted as guarantors for the State Bank of South Australia. Losses of A$2.2 billion were projected in 1991 (Scott 1992: 88) but much larger estimates followed in the order of A$4 to A$5 billion.

contributed to the financial losses that resulted (Mansfield 1993: 250). The Bank's losses, and the entailment in them of the State Government, threatened South Australia's economy.

The Bank's problems began to surface a number years prior to the Royal Commission with their investment in the AFPE site proving something of a barometer for the stormy times ahead. After a number of deals during the mid-1980s the AFPE site, previously under the control of the 'East End Market Company' (EEMCo.), was purchased by a subsidiary of the State Bank known as "Beneficial Finance Corporation" (hereafter 'Beneficial'). The headlines of *The Advertiser* during this era indicate something of the attention paid to the site and the nature of Beneficial's involvement in it[4]. Growing public awareness of Beneficial's practices[5] were roused by what many considered an excessive price paid for the site.

Philippa Menses, director of the heritage preservationist National Trust of South Australia in 1994 (hereafter 'the Trust'), believed that the recession of the early 1990s and late 1980s was timely in that it prevented Beneficial from going ahead with plans for another unnecessary and vaporous office tower block at the site (Menses, pers. comm., 1994). The Trust's opposition to the proposed developments was supported by individuals and groups concerned with the preservation of 'heritage' forms in the City. As a result these factions significantly altered the direction of 'development'.

The contentious demolition of 'the House of Chow' building (see Chapter One) became a useful issue for determining the shape of the East End. For instance, the Trust used it to focus on developmental proposals and successfully directed media attention to

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[4] For example, *The Advertiser* ran articles such as '$350m redevelopment plan for market site' (Partridge 1988a: 3); 'Revised plan for market unveiled' (Partridge 1988b: 18); '$46m East End buy-out' (Ferguson 1992a: 1-2); 'Beneficial to lose $30m on East End sale' (Bauer 1991: 3); 'Months old data given to board' (Cater 1991: 14); 'East End deal needed Govt. commitment' (Anon. 1991: 14); 'Probe into East End Market site' (Read 1992: 2); 'Developers cool on market site' (Ferguson 1992b: 3); 'New visions for East End Market' (Hopkins 1992: 11); 'New start for the East End' (Altmann 1994b: 2); etc.

[5] See, for example, reports on Beneficial's practice of 'shock proofing', that is, of "understating reported profits during good times in order to create a "nest egg" for bad times. This process was reversed from about March 1989, because of the continuing downturn of the economy" (Anon., *The Advertiser* 1991: 14).

the East End, which they regarded as *"a much more significant issue ... With the East End we thought there was this huge opportunity to show how development could and should happen in this City and ... how it can be viable"* (Menses, pers. comm., 1994). As a result of this manoeuvring, Beneficial Finance, which had become the main proponent of a series of failed development proposals for the AFPE site in the East End, were alleged to have put pressure on the Council to deny the Trust further access to the media. For Menses such action indicated that Beneficial felt they were being boxed into a corner and their response made it seem as if they were in *"siege mentality"* (pers. comm., 1994). However, the Council backed Beneficial's position and wrote to the National Trust claiming that they *"had no right to speak to the media"* (Menses, pers. comm., 1994) and that their press releases required prior approval from them. These claims were ill-founded since the National Trust is a community funded organisation[6] with no direct accountability to the City Council or the State Government. However, their response to the Trust's involvement highlighted mounting concerns of growing community resistance to the plans of Beneficial Finance. Such concerns were further heightened by the release of the findings of a Royal Commission into the State Bank. For Ferguson, the findings of the Commission indicated that "the East End development was an 'incestuous' relationship which helped hide the extent of Beneficial's true

[6] The National Trust is a community funded organisation set up in the interests of preservation and conservation of selected heritage items. Its *raison d'etre,* said Menses, was the promotion of "the conservation of South Australia's heritage, both natural and cultural" (1995: 6). The Trust sought to continually refine its methods of disseminating information on heritage conservation issues (Menses 1994: 6). On the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the South Australian branch of the National Trust in 1995, its president, Bob Piper, listed a number of achievements that included:

"[i] raising [the] profile of heritage conservation from a fringe activity to support by mainstream community;
[ii] successfully lobbying for creation of legislation to protect heritage in SA (1980);
[iii] successfully lobbying for creation of [a] system to protect local heritage (1993);
[iv] listing some 4,000 items on the Trust's register (1960s-1990);
[v] managing a major portfolio of heritage buildings, local and thematic museums, and nature reserves now numbering 138 properties (1955-1995);
[vi] being by far the largest conservation group in South Australia ... and still growing" (Piper 1995: 7), and so on.

problem ... By that stage there was no doubt the project, Beneficial-style, was dead" (Ferguson, *The Advertiser* 1992a: 2)[7].

The political stance adopted by the Trust was the first time in its history that it had become publicly 'politicised' (Menses, pers. comm., 1994). Their stance, said Menses, encouraged the intervention of the Government in the site and its establishment of a Reference Group for the East End area (pers. comm., 1994). The media aided this process by frequently being critical of the Bank's financial deals. These criticisms and the repeated failures of development proposals put forward for the AFPE site by Beneficial meant that the former East End markets came to represent the failure of the Bank *"quite well"* (Menses, pers. comm., 1994).

The AFPE site thus took on, but was not limited to, a metonymic form, in which "(m)eaning is ... offered as a constant linking of the seemingly disparate elements in its field of view, and theoretically producible or deducible from any one of them" (Terdiman 1992: 6). In this sense, until development was well under way, the empty site would continue to remind citizens of the State Bank's (and hence the State Government's) financial failure and ineptitude.

The South Australian Government's eventual 'bail-out' of the State Bank resulted in acquisition of the AFPE site from Beneficial. In 1986, just prior to the involvement of Beneficial, the site had been valued at less than $10 million, but by 1989 their exposure in it had raised the valuation to around $46.8 million. When the Government took over the losses of the Bank and that of its subsidiary in 1992, they purchased the AFPE site for $17.4 million, an amount then closer to its true market value. Thus in

[7] Three Reports into the State Bank were produced. In the second of these, released in March 1993, reference was also made to the Bank's involvement with the Remm Myer project in Rundle Mall (see Chapter Six). This project was demonstrably "(t)he most significant exposure undertaken by the Bank ... [to that time] July 1988" (S.J. Jacobs 1993: 141). The Final Report went on to outline that "(a)n estimated loss of $250 million or more was anticipated by the Bank on the Remm facility as at 31 March 1991. Since that date the Bank has written off an amount of $290 million and established a further provision of $129 million 'with respect to facilities associated with development'" (Mansfield 1993: 95). The Commission found that the motivations behind the Board's approval of such a risky scheme related to (a) the Bank's desire to promote the greater good of South Australians; (b) that the Board faced a government anxious for the project to be approved; and that (c) the Board lacked a due regard for the Bank's financial practices (Mansfield 1993: 100).

effect the Bank received "$28.4m through the Government-funded indemnity" (Ferguson, *The Advertiser* 1992a: 1).

According to local architect, Steve Grieve, the over inflation of the value of the AFPE site land placed enormous pressures on any developer endeavouring to make an appropriate return on their outlay and partly explains some of the reasons why Beneficial was keen to build office towers on the site. Undaunted, however, developer after developer, said Grieve,

> *waltzed into the East End, always ... bearing gifts ... and the classic was, I think, that* [a certain group of architects] *... came in and said 'We're going to do a proposal that will reinforce the Bohemian quality of the East End'. And the first thing they did was to kick out a whole artists' studio so they could move their own office into that. And those artists have never been back, they've never been able to relocate in the East End. That was an appalling little exercise and I don't think those sort of actions should be forgotten. I think they were the things that ... ripped the heart out of the East End* (Grieve, pers. comm., 1994) (Plate 25).

The proliferation of development proposals continually raised the land's value and could later be regarded as purely speculative or more simply as *"a classic case of eighties greed"* (Anderson, pers. comm., 1994). The concerns of those involved with managing Beneficial for profit excluded the interests of locals, except in rhetorical form. Many concluded in hindsight, that proposals, such as a $350m redevelopment for the site (Partridge, *The Advertiser* 1988a: 3), were a sham aimed at upping the value of the land before selling it on. The impracticality of these plans should have been obvious to all, suggested Grieve (pers. comm., 1994).

The then Lord Mayor (Steve Condous), responded to one of the proposals as promising "one of the great heritage restorations in Australia" (Partridge 1988a: 3) but he went on to point out that more residential type accommodation was also needed on the site. This, he claimed, would enable retention and expansion of "the Bohemian character of the area ... [which] gives the East End that beautiful feel" (Partridge 1988a: 3). However, by 1994, it seemed that the designated residential developers had little or no intention of reinstating a 'Bohemian' quality, (see Chapter Six), and that the kinds of

Plate 25: Losing sight of stated intentions: retention of former market signs within the AFPE site (top) and the work of grafitti artists on a wall in Rundle Street east in 1994 (below) - now obscured by an 'art house' cinema complex.

Bottom photo: Y. Cailes.

'Bohemianism' being extolled by the retail developers were closely linked to a generative economic program.

The Government, for its part, claimed to seek closer relations with other areas of the City and to align the East End with the cultural values of North Terrace. Once in control of the site they set up

> an East End Redevelopment Steering Committee ... comprise(d) of representatives from the ACC [Adelaide City Council], and several Government departments including [State] Treasury ... [This] group ... liaise(d) with a special committee of representatives from the National Trust, the Royal Australian Institute of Architects and local traders (Ferguson, *The Advertiser* 1992a: 1).

The Government sought to introduce prospective developers to the guidelines established by the Steering Committee. The need for community consultation emerged from concerns and issues that had been put forward. Further pressure for community consultation arose, said Menses, when the Trust joined with certain members of the East End community and others to present their own proposal to the head of the Premier's Planning Department (Michael Lennon), the head of the South Australian Finance Authority (SAFA), and the head of the Department of Environment and Planning (Menses, pers. comm., 1994). These were key figures of the Government's involved in the AFPE development. Some of the force of their proposals were enhanced by the need for the newly elected Liberal Government to demonstrate a sympathetic response to community concerns as it had also recently initiated, around this time, a Strategic Plan[8] for the future development of South Australia.

Many of the early proposals for the AFPE site had been commercial in focus. However, by 1992 wider South Australian interest in the area and events like the State Bank collapse were such as to refocus the then Labor Government's attention on the site. They were also keen to down-play their involvement in another public/private enterprise, many of which in the recent past had proved deleterious to the Government's political aspirations (for example, the Remm Myer Centre and the Cosmopolitan Centre in Hindley Street). An impending election in 1993 also helped push the AFPE

[8] This initiative involved a great deal of public consultation and meetings with communities and private interests to ascertain issues vital to the future directions of South Australia.

development in the direction of community rather than commercial interests. Thus, an unusual agreement for a residential complex to be constructed within the perimeter of a 'heritage' facade was reached.

Eventually two development companies, Mancorp and Liberman, were selected by the Government to undertake the extensive alterations of the AFPE site. Their appointment was based on expertise in residential (Liberman) and commercial (Mancorp) areas. Although this might have appeared as a neat division of labour, from the outset of the project there was a great deal of hostility between the two camps. The competitive rivalry between the two development groups was fuelled by the Liberman group's concerns to realise the whole of the development for themselves. In order to minimise friction between the two camps, the Government ultimately divided the AFPE site, not just in terms of each group's expertise, but by a line drawn on the plans.

Few development companies have worked on the same site as another (rival) firm and it was of little surprise that disputes between the two were soon evident. In order to remove the obstacle of mistrust the Government decided to clarify each developer's zone of operations by simply drawing a line through the site and thereby positioning the companies on either side of the divide. As a result of this action conflict between the rival companies rested on matters of separate commercial and residential interests as opposed to the more customary debates between 'heritage' and 'development' apparent in most City development deliberations.

(a) Private interfaces: development of the AFPE site

The line drawn by the Government Steering Committee which divided the site between the interests of the two development companies is, I argue, central to an analysis of the AFPE site (cf. M. Weir 1997). The committee named this division the "32 metre line" as it corresponded to an interface between the two developers that was 32 metres in from, and parallel to, Rundle Street, on a line extending from East Terrace to Union Street (see Figure 12).

Disputes between the developers became increasingly apparent as this line coalesced into a concrete form in the East End. Initially suggested as a means of quelling the disputes between the appointed developers who were struggling over who should control the site's development, the line not only constituted the interface between them but revealed the apparently intractable nature of the dispute between the two parties. The line itself belonged to neither development group but nevertheless became a useful tool for extracting agreements as well as in defining the positions of the various parties involved. This included not just the developers and the Government, but a variety of local voices, the National Trust, local traders, the public, the City Council and so on, who in some way altered the conditions and terms of the site's appearance. As such it represented something about a much wider condition in Adelaide life.

The line became a focus of attention between the two parties that took many months to resolve. In later attaining the physical form of a laneway, it followed *"in the best tradition of how the city developed"* (Danvers, pers. comm., 1994). The lanes and streets formed by the necessities of movement not built into Light's original plan were features of such incursions. Architect Ron Danvers explained that such *"adaptation ... makes living possible within such a rigid grid"*. The generally *"haphazard"* formation of laneways in Adelaide belies the *"regular and precise geometry [of Light's plan]"* (Danvers, pers. comm., 1994). It is uncanny that these haphazard incursions have appeared only to enhance the stability of order that Light laid down.

The development of the AFPE site set in motion a renewed vigour for the retrieval of stories associated with the area's past. Oral histories and photographs were sought out and archaeological digs undertaken[9]. Reclaimed artefacts formed the basis of various displays with an archaeological theme in buildings close to the old market site. Other exhibitions such as *End* (Ruciak, 1994), *The Invisible City* (Cruickshank, 1995),

[9] For example, the 1992 excavation of 'The Rookery' located at the corner of Grenfell Street and East Terrace site.

and tour guides relating the art and architecture of the area such as that by Queale and Di Lernia (1996), also figured prominently in the creation of the East End's spatial and historical dimensions. These works animated the form and character of the area. At the same time they heightened a sense that an essential part of the area's future lay in the fervent pursuit of its past.

The market site was for many 'locals' a repository of a past that they feared losing, a fear made all the more palpable by the course of the new development that in many ways denied the market's prior existence as it sought to implement a residential enclave. The changes occurring to this spatial order produced and brought forth stories that delimited a field of action. In so doing, as de Certeau has pointed out, such stories revealed their foremost ability to

> *authorise* [in de Certeau's sense of "found"] the establishment, displacement or transcendence of limits, and as a consequence to set in opposition, within the closed field of discourse, two movements that intersect (setting and transgressing limits) in such a way as to make the story a sort of "crossword" decoding stencil (a dynamic partitioning of space) whose essential narrative figures seem to be the *frontier* and the *bridge* (de Certeau 1988a: 123).

The '32 metre line', I suggest, represented this 'dynamic partitioning of space' involving the two developers within the closed field of city planning. It indicated a dispute in which a wider field of contestation was engaged that includes history and tradition, 'ownership' of the site, and the associative field of planning production which links various designated sites of the City as cultural concomitants.

Disguising its entailment in the State Bank 'bail-out' the South Australian Government said it purchased the AFPE site "because of its significance to the City of Adelaide and to the East End in particular... [and because it] provides a unique opportunity to create important new and renewed development for Adelaide and South Australia" (East End Redevelopment Steering Committee, 1992: 1). The subsequent formation of a Steering Committee and a Reference Group that reported to the Government had instructions to identify a number of objectives for the site's development and to determine "appropriate uses and physical forms" (East End Redevelopment Steering Committee 1992: 3) for the site. The Government's

involvement in this end of the City, as the East End Redevelopment Steering Committee indicated, emphasised the high strategic importance of the East End which (apart from its significant history, character and 'heritage') related to it being:

> (i) adjacent to the Grand Prix track, the eastern Parklands and the Botanic Gardens thus giving it the potential for linking a variety of activities;
>
> (ii) close to major growth areas of tertiary education (the University of Adelaide, the expanding University of South Australia) and health (the Royal Adelaide Hospital) which may only expand into this area as an adjacent patch;
>
> (iii) the wider area of the East End includes Ayers House and Tandanya, identified by the Steering Committee as culturally significant and as a logical extension of the North Terrace precinct adjacent to it (which contains the South Australian Museum, South Australian Art Gallery, The State Library, The War Memorial, Government House, and so on);
>
> (iv) the East End is within walking distance from Rundle Mall (the City's central shopping area). (East End Redevelopment Steering Committee 1992: 7).

These four points illustrate the central concerns of the Government and planners and their endeavours to link the cultural and economic pursuits associated with North Terrace and east end of 'the Strand' with everyday practices. They indicate the intimate connections, formulations of composure, and disciplines that endeavour to control space.

In asserting a fundamental connection between North Terrace and the redevelopment of the 'East End' the terms of an 'officialdom' (oriented towards the foundational aspects of the City plan) were oriented above all toward political expediency, I argue. The AFPE site conceived by the Steering Committee had a diverse range of possible uses consistent with its contested spatial format. 'Byrd' (pers. comm., 1994) indicated that a '32 metre line' allowed for new shops to be established at the rear of the shops facing Rundle Street (the depth appeared adequate for this purpose) and a corridor or laneway to the rear of the commercial sites. However, with neither party willing to concede land for the laneway the line became a test of who needed the

laneway most and what concessions could be won from a Government nearing an election in 1993.

The residential developer seized the initiative in negotiations, said 'Byrd', as its director, Max Liberman, made repeated visits to the State's Premier in the early stages of planning. Liberman made it clear that he wanted the whole site for his company alone. The apparent stagnation of the site over the previous 4 to 5 years and its political embarrassment to the Government gave him some room to manoeuvre. The State Government for their part were facing certain defeat at an election and, in order to reduce electoral damage, sought a quick resolution of the development process. Such resolution seemed vital since the site was a synecdochic reminder for voters of the State Bank's failures ('Byrd', pers. comm., 1994).

Due to the state's unfavourable economic circumstances in 1993 both the incoming Liberals and out-going Labor government faced difficulties in finding developers willing to make a commitment to the site. The election result in 1993 which resulted in a massive defeat for the Labor Government was of minor interest to the developers since both Labor and the new Liberal Government were eager to maintain their services. This was evident in the concessions provided in Government agreements including the provision of basic infrastructure requirements, such as lighting, drainage and so on, for the conversion of the '32 metre line' into a laneway. Also, confided 'Byrd', the Steering Committee reports seemed, in hindsight, tailored to suit the needs of the residential developer and demonstrated that the policy of the Labor Government was to hang onto the developer at whatever cost ('Byrd', pers. comm., 1994). However, once concessions were made the situation was fundamentally unalterable for the newly elected Liberal government ('Byrd', pers. comm., 1994).

Essentially the residential developer had the upper hand in negotiations because while the former AFPE site guaranteed a less certain short-term gain it provided a more certain long-term return. Their various behind-the-scenes manoeuvres had also proved successful. The leverage supplied by repeated threats to leave the development as the 1993 State election drew closer were useful. So too were threats of the construction of a

large brick wall on the opposite side of the laneway to which the rear shops of the retail developer's properties would face. Such a construction would have rendered commercial properties facing the wall virtually useless ('Byrd', pers. comm., 1994).

Not surprisingly, the Labor Government had also conceded to the residential developer's requests for a 'Concept Plan' which allowed for future negotiations as to the site's final shape. Thus, if the residential style of apartments being built in stages did not sell well at each stage then a revision of other potential constructions on the site could be undertaken. The Labor Government of the day had therefore not demanded resolution and the only ground they ceded was to the residential developer ('Byrd', pers. comm., 1994).

In these circumstances the strategists (the developers, the politicians and so on) who promoted a certain view contrasted with other levels of contestation, such as encountered in 'street' debates and commentaries. 'Local' concerns were often 'mopped up' along the way. However, according to one commentator, *"more could and should have been done in the early days"* (Grieve, pers. comm., 1994). What the promotion of strategic views made apparent was an ever-pressing need to

> frame a vision of the city ... [especially] ... as publics become more mobile and diverse, and [as] traditional institutions - both social classes and political parties - have become less relevant mechanisms of expressing identity. Those who create images stamp a collective identity ... (W)ithout questioning their representations of urban life, we risk succumbing to a visually seductive, privatised public culture (Zukin 1995: 2-3).

The move from an identity based on socio-cultural practices concretised on North Terrace to one based on a 'privatised public culture' (Zukin 1995) in Rundle Street suggests the heterotopic nature of prominent 'sites' around the City.

The power plays used to gain advantage, such as the threat of a 'brick wall', made it appear that agreement could not be reached and its failure might be concretely manifest. The odds seemed to favour the residential developer in these power plays and the only advantage the retail developer could secure was by directing their appeals to members of the public who had strong feelings about the future of the East End. The retail developer therefore canvassed community interests in 'heritage' (the National

Trust), the 'Arts' (the 'Fringe' and local artists), 'off-beat' cinema (proposal for a new arts/cinema complex keenly sought by locals), and food and wine (strong local interests in these areas, especially related to tourism, and promoted by seeking the 'right operators'). These interests usually corresponded with people having high levels of cultural (and economic) capital (cf. Bourdieu 1984).

(b) Everyday interfaces: 'outside' and 'inside' worlds

'The retail developer' and 'the public'

The developer's manipulation of physical interfaces under discussion extends to the idea that culture acts on the social and is conjoined with peoples' emerging conceptions of space/time. Therefore, it is acknowledged that the interfaces formed in Rundle Street east altered peoples' relations with the street and with surrounding buildings and that activities within these sites shifted towards more outwardly oriented concerns.

The retail development company, Mancorp, operated within a set of objectives primarily aimed at gaining a kind of puppet mastery over the Rundle Street area of the site. A managing director of Mancorp, Grant Pember, claimed that

> *no doubt there's a lot of very basic differences between, if you like, the old English form of High Street retailing as opposed to the Australian sort of version of American-style shopping which is, suburban shopping mall, enclosed shopping mall environment. So there are a lot of differences in the way you go about planning, and from our point of view at least, ... it's a shop by shop process which principally in what it looks like and how it develops - it's more around not necessarily the customer but the operator [the retailer] that we choose to put in there* (Pember, pers. comm., 1994) ... [This type of planning was expected to deliver] *a totally different style of shopping* [to that experienced in the suburbs which was] *orientated towards establishing a theme in terms of... not so much the external but the internal design and signage and sameness and consistency to ensure that people sort of maintain a standard in the way they present their shop ... Whereas the charm of... strip shopping is the individuality of each of the premises, so yeah,* [he said they sought] *a very different philosophy* (Pember, pers. comm., 1994).

The individuality of each premise was 'encouraged' in certain directions by the development firm. The choice of retailers was not left to chance:

> *Our view is that we need a mix to create interest - the East End is a very different place. That's why I don't think any consultant coming in trying to do a study of the thing, to say well this is what it needs ... [is] necessarily going to be right. It has to have a sense of its own evolution ... And we're relying on us, sort of, to some degree, picking certain people we think are right* (Pember, pers. comm., 1994).

Choosing the "right" people needed careful selection. The management for their "key element" in the street's social composition, 'The Stag Hotel', at the corner of East Terrace and Rundle Street, for instance, were, said Pember, to *"set themselves in between the down market Exeter and The Austral Hotel crowds and the up market Universal Wine Bar"* (the heart of the East End area - see Figure 10 (d)). The developers also hoped to entice 'The Adelaide Fringe Festival'[10] to relocate from the 'West End' to the Charlick's Building, the former East End Market's management office and a major element in the streetscape. Although some reluctance had been shown within the firm for encouraging such a move, Pember expressed confidently in 1994 that *"we're just about there with that deal"*. Further, there was an art film cinema operator *"who wants to come in as well. We'll get him in anyway ... This provides a good option if the Fringe deal doesn't come through"* (Pember, pers. comm., 1994).

Mancorp's attention to the 'heritage' interests of the area were to be made in instances such as their intentions to place *"plaques on our buildings ... even if it's [just] numbers ... [so that] people can pick up a heritage brochure and walk around reading the brochure as opposed to there being a story on the building itself"* (Pember, pers. comm., 1994). These plaques, like the plaques along North Terrace are the signage of an 'officialdom', of an "aesthetics of symmetry" (Fiske 1993: 59). Like other memoriae

[10] The 'Adelaide Fringe Festival' runs a concurrent program to that of the Adelaide Festival of Arts and attracts large audiences to its performances. The 'Fringe' headquarters were located in the new laneway (an extension of Ebenezer Place) behind Rundle Street that was formed by the implementation of the '32 metre line'.

and statuary in the City, most cogently revealed by Light's statue on Montefiore Hill, they instantiate an order. In them inhere the terms of possession and control whereby "the local planning authority and conservationists ... construct a symbolic terrain which ... [speaks] of values of morality, civility, hierarchy and order once central to the City of Empire" (Jacobs 1996: 53). The development of the entire AFPE site is a good example of the construction of such 'symbolic terrain' and of the assertion of specific formulations of composure from the ground up.

Changes in the 'symbolic terrain' of Rundle Street became more visible once development was under way. Some of those remaining noted that new elements, like high fashion stores, were moving in. They spoke of alterations to the street's 'community' feel. 'Frank the barber' noted that

> *around 99% of traders were involved with the* [produce] *market and there was a far greater variety of shops. There was a strong community feeling, people knew one another, some lived upstairs [the upper level(s) above the shops], and brought visitors into the area. People shared a common view, they wanted to help each other out, not like it is now where if you can destroy one another it's [regarded as] good - the opposition won't help you. ... Late 1970s was the onset of this effect of the gradual decline in community spirit. ... [It's] the people with money [who] decide what's going to happen* (Frank, pers. comm., 1994).

Other retailers in 1994, who have since left the area, complained of the effect on their businesses once the markets closed, especially those situated on Rundle Street to the west of Frome Road. However, this end of the street didn't even exist for the retail developer of Rundle Street east who admitted that his *"view stopp(ed) at about Frome Street"* (Pember, pers. comm., 1994). Like the residential developer, there was little attempt to understand the area outside of the specific project of development.

In order to gain some advantage the retail developer used an approach that incorporated broader public interests in 'heritage'. They enlisted the auspices of the National Trust for one of their redeveloped tenancies. They also courted the State Government's Heritage Branch (M. Lloyd, *The City Messenger* 1996d: 12) and were keen to instate plaques on buildings that informed the contents of a 'heritage walk' (Pember, pers. comm., 1994). These moves cast their 'opposition', that is the

residential developer, as pro-development. In essence, the respective stances of these developers promoted as well as mirrored wider debates in Adelaide over 'heritage' and 'development' issues. In this uncanny way the more important underlying themes pertaining to a commercial versus residential development were disguised and concealed.

(c) The City within the City: 'The residential developer' and 'heritage'

In this section I explore what the interface between the two developers, the '32 metre line', meant for the residential development company and their relations with 'the public'. For the developers on the residential side of the '32 metre line' (who renamed the AFPE site, the 'Garden East' project), the surrounding - Adelaide City itself, did not appear to figure greatly in their plans. Even Rundle Street, just 32 metres away, seemed to fade from view, an indication of the distant state of relations between the two development camps. For them, the surrounding City represented all the things that their project disavowed, especially 'heritage' claims that clashed with their aims *"to create a suburban feel to an inner city precinct"* (Young, pers. comm., 1994).

In order for their 'product' to sell the residential developers considered it necessary to recreate the suburban ambience that many prospective buyers would leave behind. There was no attempt to encourage an Asian style that some 'locals' associated with this part of Rundle Street nor was attention paid to stated 'Bohemian' qualities, qualities loosely applied by the retail developers in a variety of contexts as I have indicated elsewhere. Rather the residential developer was *"... providing spaces that Western people feel comfortable living in"* (Young, pers. comm., 1994), spaces, Young said, that were more easily marketed. 'Bohemia' was therefore deemed to be 'beyond the West' and discomforting, unsettling. The designs being used in the project were neo-classical French (Paris reproduction - 18th century 4 & 5 storey - gable/hip roof) (Kenn Fischer, pers. comm., 1994).

The City, in their view, appeared somewhat amorphous, indeterminate and distanced and their site was protected by the 'heritage' walls that enclosed it. The project manager for the site thought this enclosure provided ample justification for adopting an introspective approach:

> *The thing that makes this site unique, apart from its location, is* [the] ... *three storey* ['heritage'] *wall around the site which means you don't have any views until you get up 4 stories. .... That was another reason for turning the thing back and focussing ... on itself. That's why we've got the public square and we've got little squares in between the buildings and we've created avenues of trees. All of those sorts of things ... create the environment within ... We want people to get the feeling that as they walk out, they walk out of their building and then walk through this park, this garden ...* [that] *it's not until they step out through the wall that they're actually out in the city* (Young, pers. comm., 1994).

This sense of enclosure builds on the spatial effects provided by the Parklands that enclose the City of Adelaide. Such an effect is complemented by the site's treatment and its blueprint which reflect a view that Adelaide is "unusual, both in being a planned city, laid out before the first building was constructed, and in being a city with clearly defined boundaries, delineated by the encircling parklands" (Bond & Horner 1978: 51). The 'heritage' walls thus provided a sense of something pre-existent, that, like the Parklands, promised to maintain a unique environment.

As I have pointed out the Parklands that enclose the City of Adelaide frame formulations of composure which orient everyday understandings, meanings and demeanours. A 'vision' of egalitarianism, coincidental with the image of Light and the Parklands, is not however, evident in the enclosed spaces of the Garden East site. Light was not an abiding presence in these development plans. For the developer the Parklands served to replicate a suburban 'vision' inherent in their own plans. In their envisioning it was possible to plan the site *"like a little city, ... [and] have parks and streets and give every building a sense of its own unique address"* (Young, pers. comm., 1994).

This microcosm, I argue, shares a number of the aspects of the City's development in a conceptual sense. The City of Adelaide's blueprint also provided

potential buyers and interested parties a feel for the new development ahead, but used a rhetorics of design created on the basis of letters, speeches, landscape paintings and official transcripts both at home and abroad. Consequently, in the new development, a tradition has been followed that continued to employ a model for reality, where the model was gradually infilled by constructed elements of the 'real'. In the latter endeavour the developers intended to infill the conceptual model with "actual" buildings on a computer-generated image, so that *"once we get the streets designed, putting in the landscaping for that, so we actually finally convert the model to what ... is actually built on ... site"* (Young, pers. comm., 1994). The difference between before and after is as a result of technological change rather than in the attention given to conveying the conceptual aspects of a *delimited* representation of an idea becoming an 'actuality'.

The model thus highlighted space/time (in the form of 'progress') condensed to images on a screen. One might 'walk' about the site without leaving a chair in front of a computer screen. By enclosing changes to the spatial/temporal order in this way the developer awaited infilling the site with human presences and sought to host their 'micro-stories'. The buyer understood a world whose order was made more palpable by each addition to the model.

The focus of this concept was on the minutiae of moving about the site, of seeing the site as a totality of experience. Like Adelaide's formation, that was fixed within the larger frame of Empire with which it shared the same sky, the site evolved as it progressively eliminated what de Certeau terms "local authorities" (de Certeau 1988a: 106). The developer acted with and against such 'local authorities' whose polyvalent voices "compromise the univocity of the system" (de Certeau 1988a: 106) and hence compromised the discursive means through which a totalitarian scheme, like the developer's, might be imposed. The developer thus promoted "technical rationalities and financial profitabilities" (de Certeau 1988a: 106) in order to succeed. For instance, when asked about the retention of a 'Bohemian' image for the street the project director said *"that's gone ... because the only way these places get redeveloped is, as they get*

redeveloped the values go up, rents go up. They [the 'Bohemians'] can't afford it so they move on and out" (Young, pers. comm., 1994).

The developer's intention, said the director, was not to preserve a former historical usage of Rundle Street nearby, whether in terms of what had been described as 'Bohemianism' or the former activities related to the market. They wanted to promote *"the family atmosphere of the cafe society and to differentiate this end of town from the Hindley Street end [the West End] of town"* (Young, pers. comm., 1994). His conception of what had existed before in the street was of *"people that ran odd shops and things and ... the odd person living down here in attics and wherever they could find a cheap space to live"* (Young, pers. comm., 1994). There was thus no attempt to entertain features of pre-existent and diverse lifestyles as these were not so easily controlled nor would they easily realise a profit. It was therefore preferable to eliminate difficulties connected with diversity, like those that arose from dealing with 'heritage' authorities:

> *The problem with heritage,* [continued Young], *is that everyone has a different idea of what it is. If you ask the average person in the street what is meant by heritage they'll say 'Look at those lovely old buildings'. But if you read the Heritage Act it really has nothing to do with buildings. It's more to do with social events that took place in the building. And it's my view that once you get into that realm it becomes very subjective, so that what may be important socially to you is not necessarily important to me. And thus politics enter the equation and suddenly you've got a real bun fight.*
>
> [For instance] *I may think that because General Macarthur had his war cabinet meeting here during World War II, that that's terribly important. Somebody else [may] think that because there was a Rookery on the site where some peasants [sic] worked when they first arrived here and* [that] *they worked in the tannery [is very important]. Who's right, who's wrong? It's a very subjective thing and that's where the conflicts arise. ... My personal view is that we ought to save important buildings and there ought to be representatives of each era ... but you can't use the Heritage Act to put a blanket over everything so nothing can happen. If that happens then society collapses* (Young, pers. comm., 1994).

The South Australian Heritage Act passed in 1978 was designed "to help to preserve, protect and enhance the physical, social and cultural heritage of the State"

(South Australian Department for the Environment, Heritage Unit 1979: 3). *The Act* gave provision for declaring

> an area of land that is considered to be part of the physical, social or cultural heritage of the State and of significant aesthetic, historical or cultural interest ...[as] a State Heritage Area ... State Heritage Areas are designated by the Minister of the Environment by means of public notices after consultation with the State Planning Authority, the South Australian Heritage Committee and the appropriate local council (South Australian Department for the Environment, Heritage Unit 1979: 5).

The Heritage Act enabled for the first time a "statutory protection of buildings included on the Register of State Heritage Items" (Marsden, Stark & Sumerling 1990: 45). In 1993 'heritage' matters were brought into the ambit of the 'Development Act' *(The Act)* which provided "for the maintenance, amendment and publication of a Planning Strategy for South Australia" (Hayes 1993: 2-3). As such *The Act* sought to deal with "economic, social and environmental issues within the context of an overall strategy rather than with ad hoc decisions on individual developments" (Hayes 1993: 2-3). The Premier was made responsible for the Planning Strategy and its implementation and/or alterations. The community had to be consulted on the Strategy's "contents, implementation, revision or alteration" (Hayes 1993: 3) and it was to be regarded as "an expression of policy formed after consultation within Government and within the community" (Hayes 1993: 3).

The notion of 'subjective judgement' adopted by the developer was thus not linked to a consideration of either 'heritage' or 'development' policies. His assertions of the subjective nature of decision making were instead used to silence discussion of issues raised. He portrayed his firm as uncanny 'victims', held to ransom by the tyranny of past events and their site's representation in the present. He pleaded a case for the unanswerable and asked rhetorically *'Who's right, who's wrong?'* He situated himself and his firm's interests in the same boat as everyone else and asserted an homologous structure for Adelaide's population. Difference was negated as was the past where outsiders (foreigners), no matter what rank, and 'peasants', could be treated with equal disdain. Both were consigned to history and thus, for him, devoid of relevance in the present.

However, the protection of 'heritage' forms around the site had been written into the contract between the developer and the State Government. These forms were seen as part of an inherited spatial order, conditioned in part by the Development Act and local input, which the developer sought to reorder.

The use of 'technical and financial profitabilities' allowed the developers to continue a process of elimination. In paradox, however, they simultaneously raised the profile of 'local authorities' whose presence worked against the functional totality that the developers wished to claim. The paradox is clear in the developers' implementation of proper names which in themselves were already 'local authorities' (de Certeau 1988a: 106). These names appeared on the plan and in material form as the names on thoroughfares and on buildings. When I asked a real estate agent engaged to sell the site's apartments about these names he shrugged his shoulders and suggested that they could be traced to a plaque *"near one of the southern exits"* ('Agent', pers. comm., 1996) which bore the names of the market's first directors in 1904[11]. For him, they appeared to be a natural part of an order that gave the site discrete and easily identifiable units for sale. Simultaneously the vendors considered that they were somehow meeting community expectations and market demands that were linked to the site's 'heritage'.

The adoption of these names also tended to eliminate an intervening or previous history of the site and perhaps indicated a realisation, on the part of the developers, that people cannot live in a place without memories. This, like the retention of the 'heritage' facade around the development, had the effect of softening a totalitarian image. This softening is also evident in the sculpture, 'The Apron', commissioned in 1997 by the Minister for Housing and Urban Development and financially assisted by the Department for the Arts and Cultural Development and the Liberman Group Pty Ltd. (Plate 26). It represented some former market activities and included a few cases of vegetables, a leather apron worn by market workers and the ubiquitous presence of

[11] Apartment blocks were given the surnames of people such as A.T. Magarey, Hon. J. Vardon (MLC), Thomas Brooker (MP), William Charlick and so on, all former directors of the AFPE.

Plate 26: 'The Apron', a sculpture commissioned by the Minister for Housing and Urban Development with the financial assistance of the Department for the Arts and Cultural Development and the Liberman Group Pty. Ltd. (1997). The sculpture was positioned at the mid-point of the "32 metre line" on a plinth separating Vardon Place and Ebenezer Place. It features items commonly associated with market work.

strewn cabbage leaves. The sculpture was strategically positioned at the mid-point of the laneway between the two developers thus preventing vehicle access between Union Street and East Terrace (see Figure 12). However, false impressions of a harmony between 'heritage' concerns and the residential developer were also raised by the sculpture. In an uncanny realisation previously shunned aspects of 'heritage' were presented as consistent with Liberman's aspirations.

The 1994 model also reflected the uncanny principles on which the colonisation of Adelaide took place. The dominance of aesthetic views of Adelaide I attributed in Chapter Two to relations linked to possession. These views helped obscure the brutal nature of occupation and a scientific rationale for organising space through survey. In the 'present', scientific rationalisation of space is further enshrined in a functionalist developmental approach in which progress (that is, 'positive' effects through time) is privileged to the extent that "space itself ... [is] forgotten" (de Certeau 1988a: 95). This is predicated on the basis of a 'forgetting' of who 'owns' space and the subsequent totalising strategy that such 'forgetting' enables. It is in line with the dominant ideologies about the City that I earlier signalled in the introspective spatial practices of North Terrace and through which the practices of Empire have been and continue to be ciphered and interpreted as the City's history.

The views of local traders, such as 'Frank the barber', Mr. Croft, and others could have been regarded as 'parochial' by both these developers and linked to community intransigence and thence to assumed negative effects for them. However, 'parochialism' could also be turned to more positive uses for the developer, especially through the savings and guarantees on offer from the City Council and State Government who financially assisted the developers and people wanting to take up residence in the City. Incentives included stamp duty rebates, State Government funding of car parking facilities and so on. I explore this use of 'parochialism' in the opening of Stage Two of the residential development at the 'Garden East' site in the next section.

'Parochialism' is an important aspect of the way Adelaide has maintained its difference from other Australian cities and is a central feature of "the collective self imagery of Adelaide" (Peace 1991a: 98). Development of the 'Garden East' site highlights how the 'parochial' becomes naturalised in an architectural order which is itself an international rather than regional practice. In the following section I explore how the developers of the residential site took Adelaide's 'parochialism' to heart and the way in which members of an 'officialdom' positioned themselves within a privileged domain. Specific formulations of composure were called into play so as to direct the institution of a 'new place' that was excised from Light's vision.

'The place of new ways'

The first stage of the 'Garden East' project was officially opened by the then Premier, Dean Brown, on February 23, 1995. This stage offered the only townhouses to be built on the site as well as some apartments. The second stage of the project, the 'Ridgway Building', was the first apartment block to be built on the site and comprised 37 apartments. This stage was also officially opened by the Premier, after its completion in November 1995. The opening of the second stage, which I attended, took place under a marquee located just inside the perimeter of the site. Though the ceremony had been advertised as open to the public it maintained an exclusive atmosphere and those in attendance refined behaviour. Amongst the predominantly male crowd which gathered under the marquee, I recognised several councillors and aldermen from the Adelaide City Council and prominent officials from Government Departments of Planning and the Environment, a former South Australian Premier (Don Dunstan), and other dignitaries amidst socially significant people of the Adelaide scene. Most male guests were dressed in business suits and ties despite the hot weather. The few women present also wore outfits suited to the grandeur of the occasion.

While waiting for the 'main guests' to arrive, such as the then Premier of the State (Dean Brown), Ministers of the State Government and the development's directors, the

assembled guests conversed frantically and consumed prawns, oysters, strawberries and other refined fruits with glasses of champagne and orange juice that were on offer. A few curious members of the public wandered by the marquee but appeared reluctant to join the gathering, perhaps discouraged by the well-heeled appearance of the crowd and the positioning of proceedings within the more private space of a perimeter wall of the 'Garden East' site. I also felt somewhat uneasy about being in attendance even though I clearly understood that this was a 'public' event. I was perhaps the only person in attendance outside of the 'official' circles in which these people moved and worked. The scene highlighted for me what was on offer to potential investors in these apartments and the social distance from the motives of the original planning period where community involvement had first been enjoined and attention paid to the former socio-economics of the area.

The Premier and Government Ministers arrived last and joined other speakers on a small stage within the marquee. The then Lord-Mayor, Henry Ninio, opened proceedings by congratulating the Liberman group on its development and recalled that around four years earlier, Max Liberman, the group's director, had done a 'pilgrimage' to Adelaide. He recalled how he and Max were seated in Rundle Street east, opposite the AFPE site, sipping coffee and that Max had looked across the road and said *"What is that bomb-site over there?"* This remark was attributed much significance by the then Lord Mayor (Ninio) who voiced his personal ambitions in development matters and established his position at the focal point of the AFPE development's conception. Ninio explained that he had then related the story of the site to Max. Some time later he revealed, while having drinks on Max's yacht in Sydney, Max had indicated his interest in the project to him. And that was how the whole thing got started, said Ninio.

Liberman then spoke briefly to the assembled crowd about *"being enormously satisfied and happy to take the kudos that the project generated"*. He left it to his General Manager, Gerry Harrison, to do most of the talking. Harrison declared that *"he*

used to be annoyed by Adelaide's parochialism but that now he saw the benefits in it". What appeared to impress him the most was his assumption that those buying their apartments understood that the Government's commitment and the developer's commitment were mutually beneficial things. *"This understanding"*, he said, *"made it possible for the quality and character of a place to be maintained at a relatively cheap rate, compared to Sydney and Melbourne."*

The people of Adelaide thus perceived, he continued, that

> *profit was the result of time and care and that it was to be shared equally between the developer and the Government ... The productiveness of such a relation demonstrated just what business and Government alliances could achieve. As a consequence,* [he said], *we could give more than people expected.* [He added that] *the project was good for Adelaide, but more innovation was needed. The fact that the Liberman Group were creating their own market was central to this innovation. For success to continue* [he stressed that] *time delays were to be avoided* (Harrison, 1995).

The General Manager turned to the Premier and called for legislative reforms and the extension of car parking concessions which, he said, had become a key issue for those buying into the site. Finally, he urged that *"Adelaide was to be 'the place of new ways', and the 'envy' of other states"*. In a parting gesture he presented the Premier with the genes of a 100 year old grape vine.

The Premier retorted, in mock humour, that Liberman had already placed an obligation or two on him at the opening of the first stage. The first was in regard to finding more car parks. He then announced the availability of 250 car parks in the Union Street car station for the new year. Another request, for a stamp duty rebate[12] for all those moving into the inner city area of Adelaide, had already been delivered, he said. 'Max' was commended for giving the 'East End' an international focus and for showing others the importance of belonging to a global market, not just to the rest of Australia.

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[12] The "stamp duty rebate of up to $1500 ... [was] available for the transfer of a new residential strata home unit in the square mile" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1997b: 7) and formed part of the Adelaide City Council's 'City Living Incentives' programme.

The Premier concluded on a note of pride and hailed Liberman as a *"visionary"* and as a *"visionary for many years"*. In doing so the Premier indicated a new vision for Adelaide, albeit one still overlooked by a silent statue on Montefiore Hill.

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The presentation of the vine stock genes by the Premier to the Liberman Company at the opening of Stage Two of the 'Garden East' project was reminiscent of the annual toast to Colonel Light conducted at the opening of the Adelaide City Council (see Chapter Two) in that such ceremonies celebrated important planning developments in South Australia. The presentation was also emblematic of an entrenched 'parochialism' linking honour and high social position. The practice of handing over vine stock had also been part of another opening ceremony, 'Nostalgia Week' (April 20, 1994), that I witnessed in Rundle Mall (Plate 27).

At the 'Nostalgia Week' opening a few people wandered around in Victorian costumes, two men wheeled penny-farthings, furry dancers danced up and down 'the Mall'. A police band played next to the fountain in the Mall and occupied most of the intersection with Gawler place (the fountain has since been moved close to the Adelaide Arcade entrance further east). A small podium had been set up in front of the band at which the Lord Mayor officially opened 'Nostalgia Week', a four-day event in the Mall. The director of the National Trust, Philippa Menses, also spoke. Menses mentioned the necessity of corporate activity generated by these kinds of events, represented in the various stalls along 'the Mall' (20 in all). The connections they have with 'nostalgia' were in the forms of preservation or reproduction of some kind. For example, stalls advertising 'Haymes' heritage paint products, the Mintaro slate company, and the National Trust were among those that also included purveyors of past-times like philately. Those paying polite attention to the proceedings were in the main, elderly people and others with nothing better to do. On that occasion the director of the National Trust of South Australia had handed over vine stock to the Lord Mayor of

Plate 27: Opening of 'Nostalgia Week' in Rundle Mall, May 1994.

Adelaide. 'Heritage' and the importance of wine to the State's tourism industry were thereby conjoined.

The wine industry and thus 'vines' are constitutive of a new 'development'/ 'heritage' theme emerging in Adelaide in that period. The contemporaneous proposal for the establishment of the wine museum on North Terrace is a clear example of this emergence. Its proposed siting near the new 'heart' of the City indicates that wine-growing has a central place in the 'heritage' of the State. The presentation of vine stock to the Liberman Company thus promoted a connection between an official memory and a 'rooting' of Liberman in South Australian soil. The presentation legitimised practices that have little to do with 'heritage', however. Light was marginalised by the installation of a 'new heritage', another beginning but implicitly recalled in the rhetorics of 'vision'. Parochial attitudes provided the masquerade behind which a commercial versus residential development was celebrated.

The installation of this 'new heritage' was strikingly evident, I argue, in the style of a final structure to be incorporated into the break in the facade surrounding the AFPE site (Plate 28). This will incorporate a luxury eight-storey apartment building on the corner of Grenfell Street and East Terrace and named after the developer as 'Maxwell on the Park' (N. Williams, *The Advertiser* 1999: 5). At this point in the 'heritage' wall a new development will symbolically break through the confines of a former 'heritage' and reveal the way forward. The building is envisaged to guarantee and provide "a stylish gateway to the city" (N. Williams, *The Advertiser* 1999: 5) and is being cast as the crowning achievement of Liberman's legacy at the 'Garden East' site. His achievements elsewhere in South Australia, particularly in suburban redevelopments, are also being romanticised (cf. N. Williams, *The Advertiser* 1999) and, like Light, he is now formally, a man of 'vision', as daubed by 'cultural brokers' (cf. N. Williams, *The Advertiser* 1999: 5-6).

The 'gift' of vine stock presented to the Liberman group carried a commitment from the Government that they would honour the memory of Liberman's development. The genes signalled the merging of old and new practices that were indelibly rooted in

Plate 28: Top photos indicate the vacant site at the south-east corner of the AFPE site which had been ear-marked as a 'farewell to Max Liberman'. Bottom photo highlights a section of the Adelaide Fruit and Produce Exchange (AFPE) 'heritage' wall showing detail of a pediment from a Grenfell Street entrance. Photos taken from the rooftop of Tandanya Aboriginal Cultural Museum.

Photos: Mark Bradley

South Australia's planning history and thus at the heart of 'officialdom'. The uncanny incorporation of a new project into the vista of a parochial view of Adelaide, which was at first the bug-bear of the developer, was now being guided into the future.

'Parochialism', in a negative sense, could also stand for something in the developers' way, like those encountered by strong community associations. In this case a new form of parochialism was being supplanted by another. The latter form wrested control over origins locatable in forms of governmentality and social hierarchy to instate its own form of elitism by making overt references to power and formulations of composure. The General Manager thus found parochial attitudes useful because he realised that these mediated avenues for making legitimate claims over the possible uses of space. Such spaces were easily misrecognised in everyday practices as devoid of political intent. This analysis by contrast has sought to expose the political strategies and intent developed in this process.

The creation of divisions or precincts within Adelaide City by City planners were also a significant part of development practices, and further reduced the City to a variety of functional capacities and proclivities. Such segmentation produced a City that spoke for itself in a way that appeared as a product of "commonsense" (Deutsche 1990: 108). Light's plan of Adelaide created the conditions for its division into 'North' as the region for higher socio-economic ruling groups and 'South' as the centre of their business operations, the whole being wrapped around by the 'egalitarian' spaces of the Parklands. In the case of the 'East End' an exclusive precinct was being forged which forced out lower income earning groups and individuals. In order to continually reassert its exclusivity it was contrasted to the West End of the City, particularly Hindley Street, where problems of crime, youth, drug-use and prostitution were being foregrounded at the time (see Chapter Six).

The 'cafe society' label attached to the East End asserted a 'naturalness' that was opposed to the aberrant and perverse dealings in Hindley Street. This natural state was linked to family values in which the 'vagabond' or 'Bohemian' image was usefully cast to effect a type of effacement. Thus the upsurge in the number of cafes along the street

was distanced from any references to a former 'Bohemianism' and pursuits typically associated with artistry and intellectual activity that evoked disorder and low income. The pursuit of capital was now being proclaimed as a more desirable activity by the residential developer who stated that *"there were Bohemians living here* [the 'East End'] *when it was dirt cheap to live here and they could find little nooks and crannies to get in at a very low price"* (Young, pers. comm., 1994). The area was now directed to more 'wholesome' values of the 'family' and economic opportunity, claimed the residential developer, so as to *"differentiate this end of town from the Hindley Street* [sleazy] *end of town ... It's going to get fairly conservative I imagine"* (Young, pers. comm., 1994). An "essentialist view" (1990: 109) was promoted that, as Deutsche argued more generally, acted to obstruct a conception of space as social. As a result of this obstruction

> [space] is recognised as social only in the sense that it meets the purportedly unified needs of aggregated individuals. The functionalization of the city, which presents space as politically neutral, merely utilitarian, is, then filled with politics. For the notion that the city speaks for itself conceals the identity of those who speak through the city (Deutsche 1990: 109).

The production of a dominant view attaches unified meanings to the appropriate uses of space which are tied to an assumed common good. The retail developer found this a logical process as *"natural market forces take their course. People become displaced progressively as things become more popular - it's almost a natural thing"* (Pember, pers. comm., 1994). Moreover, the elevation of the functional values of city spaces as the structuring principles of space masked the contestations through which they are produced and reproduced, and denied the struggles of resistant groups (Deutsche 1990: 109). Thus a hypostatic view of the city emerged out of this dominance, one that may be countered by taking account of resistance (Deutsche 1990: 109) (cf. Plate 29).

Stewart indicated that in Lefebvre's work resistance emanated from the human body and its "ability to *produce* space, rather than just to *conceive* space" (1995: 610, her emphasis). Lefebvre's focus on resistance attached to "abstract space ... the

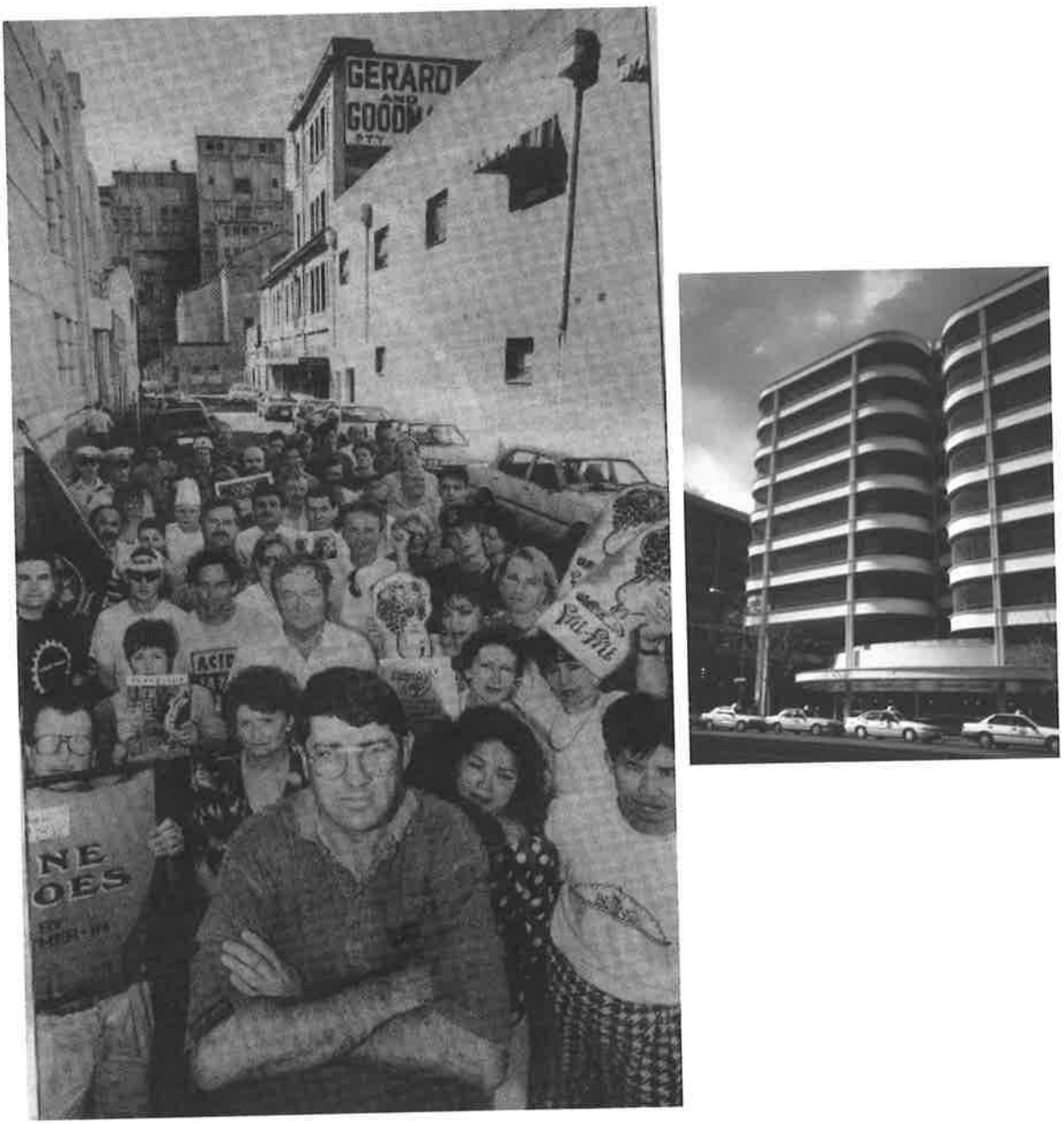

Plate 29: East End traders gathered in protest at proposed plans for another car park station in the vicinity of Rundle Street in 1994 (Photo courtesy of *The Advertiser*). At right, a car park station nearby the protest site at the corner of Pulteney and Rundle streets.

codified logic of modern power which has been implemented by specific groups of people - capitalists, bureaucrats, and city planners, for example" (Stewart 1995: 610). In summary, Lefebvre's view of resistance demonstrated how space has been decorporealised over time and "brings to the fore the connections between power, space and everyday life in the modern world" (Stewart 1995: 610). Such relations were evident in the addresses of various speakers at the opening of Stage Two of the 'Garden East' development. Their comments and demeanour revealed essential omissions, that is, who had been excluded from attendance, ownership, and participation. 'The place of new ways' which was heralded as a new beginning and a recasting of the past, thus operated through aesthetic differentiation and economic benefit. Ultimately this was linked to possession and associated strategies for maintaining control.

The official affirmations of the developers by the Premier legitimised their rights of possession to the City's spaces and to further projects. But as they were part of on-going social practices their input into the construction of the City was also determined by City's users (cf. Lefebvre 1991: 39), and their resistance to the claims of experts and voicing of historically contingent local knowledge. There is therefore not an anonymous and dispersed regime of power in operation (as Foucault might term it) but one that may be challenged and thwarted in its production.

The forms of resistance encountered in the 'Garden East' project went unacknowledged at the opening of Stage Two but, as I have demonstrated previously, they were important in determining the emerging form of the site. Yet few concessions appeared to have been given as a result of their actions. In fact, a witness to the agreements reached between the Government and the developers, was of the opinion that *"in the end it was Michael Lennon, Max* [Liberman] *and* [Theo] *Maras* [Mancorp] ... [who] *decided what the site was to look like and all other parties were excluded"* ('Byrd', pers. comm., 1994). Thus, as far as 'Byrd' a Government officer working on the AFPE Project in its early stages understood the situation, a representative from the Government (Michael Lennon) and the heads of the respective development groups

(Theo Maras and Max Liberman) were the sole arbiters of what had started out as based on widespread community involvement.

The developers took control of what they assumed to be a blank slate for development. They were prepared to take all the credit for the site's development despite the intervention of others in its creation, (for example, the National Trust of South Australia, local traders, architects, archaeologists, conservationists and so on) who were critical of the early plans suggested for the site. However, through affirmations at an 'official' level power was asserted by stamping the direction from which the myth emanated. This practice relied on a selective 'forgetting' and 'remembering' and was located in the discourse of relations of power through which 'corrected' ways of behaving continue to be articulated in Adelaide.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have emphasised the operations of power not only when exercised by an elite and/or through technocratic means but also in everyday encounters. Within the 'East End' development a vignette of negotiations that take place in 'the Strand' on a daily basis were encountered. The defining moments of power were seen as complex, diverse and ambiguous and essentially related to the spatial/temporal environment in which they took place and through which such an environment was formed. The examination of the AFPE site development made evident a technological panopticism in which attempts to control particular formulations of composure and behaviour were being worked. In evidence were a diverse range of people with varying involvement in an area whose practices, though not always concretely articulated, helped define the emerging landscape and built structures.

I have demonstrated that the development of the AFPE site rendered opaque the 'heritage' that surrounded it and which lay buried beneath its surfaces. This was not a 'heritage' remembered as a socially active environment but a 'heritage' reproduced in terms that reflected the year of construction. Thus social relations were erased in a

landscape that appeared hypostatic and totalised. The dominance of this totalising scheme served to conceal the power struggles between public and private concerns located at the heart of the City's spatial/temporal practices.

What seemed to be at stake throughout the AFPE and Garden East 'development', for many 'locals' and other interested groups, was the maintenance of other formulations of composure and a sense of difference from other parts of the City. In essence interested parties continued to control and determine an identity for this part of Adelaide at one level whose shape was influenced by seemingly irrelevant memories and practices, such as cabbage leaves blowing along the street, the presence of semi-trailers, stall holders working in a laneway, or even signs on a wall.

The '32 metre line' was a means of effecting control over the 'development' of the AFPE site and, in the end the character of an entire precinct. The line was designated by the South Australian Government who were the overseers of the site's 'development'. This 'line of power' separated the different and competing interests of the two developers and clearly demarcated their zones of activity. It indicated, as Fiske maintained, that "(s)harply drawn lines in the sand, in the curriculum, in people's heads, are the product of power" (1993: 65). The line defined what was to appear either side of it and reconstituted the prominence of debates between 'heritage' and 'development' to bring a focus on residential and commercial 'developments'.

The struggle fought out in the private and public domains demonstrated the resonances between a science of architecture and planning and political, economic and institutional practices. The line supplied a "privileged instance for understanding how power operates" (Soja 1995: 28) through such disciplines which endeavour to control space. The '32 metre line', developed firstly as an idea on paper then as a spatial manifestation in the form of a laneway. In the end it concealed a landscape of strategy and conflict. In its place a landscape of apparent solidity and static appearance emerged which belied the political conditions of its formation. When this 'line' became the focus of political struggle it decentred and swept over the cabbage leaf detritus which determinedly held in the memories and meanings of others. The aesthetic frames of an

area of political contestation (the produce market) framed within a precinct of social and political constructed meaning (Rundle Street east) was *re-aligned* by the, then, more powerful and strategically backed forces of the developers within broader city/state political struggles.

In the next chapter I examine Victoria Square and the irresolute and unsettling coexistence of demeanours at the heart of Adelaide and, in particular, the disruptive state of relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Demeanours easily characterised in Eurocentric views as *mis*demeanours indicate that the Indigenous behaviours within Victoria Square 'unsettle' the concrete (built) forms of settlement and the City's temporal structure as they simultaneously bring into question the power relations in which the state and its capital city are formed.

Chapter Eight

The City Nucleus: Victoria Square

Celestial and terrestrial ordering

Victoria Square, the subject of this chapter, is located at the centre of the City of Adelaide (see Figure 1) and is a locus for a diverse range of activities. In Victoria Square (or the Square) movements in space/time intersect against a background of surrounding administrative structures fundamental to State and local government organisation. I demonstrate that it is an 'unsettled' space that is informed by a range of civic functions from mini food festivals to protest rallies and ceremonial practices. It is a terminus for public transport, a space for leisure and entertainment, political engagement, daily gatherings of some Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, tourists, lunch-time office workers, retirees, people waiting for transport, and the occasional school group, among others.

The focus of this chapter is an examination of how a small group of Indigenous people who daily occupy the Square can unnerve a wider non-Indigenous population. In answering this question I investigate the incompleteness of the State's 'civilising' principles with regard to their presence. This is explored in the light of a colonial history and in terms of demeanours so easily characterised as misdemeanours, that is, acts which do not conform to a social collective sense of European propriety. I indicate that the Indigenous behaviours 'unsettle' concrete (built) forms of settlement in the shape of government buildings surrounding the Square and also 'unsettle' its temporal structure. These relations are illustrative of the principal concerns of this thesis that I have dealt with - the 'civilising' of manners and demeanours, expressions of resistance and non-compliance and the uncanny relations of power in the City of Adelaide.

Significantly, the Square is a space that most of the population *knows* through media comment and to a lesser extent through experience. Media attention on the Square

is thus influential in determining a wide range of opinion about the Indigenous presence. In fact, though opinions emanated from diverse sources, which included personal experiences, there has been a marked tendency for understandings to be shaped by the media for many community members (South Australian Government Department of State Aboriginal Affairs 1990: 31). In these media representations issues like race, the public consumption of alcohol, 'Parklands use' and planning figured highly. Such issues were magnified in the administrative heart of the City where interaction between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people conveyed fundamental notions about postcolonial practices.

In Chapter Two I alluded to the way Aborigines were first consigned to a reserved area of the City by the Torrens known as 'the Location' (see also Appendix III) from which they were eventually displaced. Their contemporary 'residence' in the Square, in contrast, was neither 'reserved' nor was the Square a 'reserve'. It was a potential site for unrestrained and disorderly conduct although it should have been, according to official edicts, a site of order. It was surrounded by assertions of principalities and orders that have maintained a celestial (the church) and terrestrial (law and police) focus. On a daily basis the Aboriginal presence demonstrated that this order was questionable and open to political contestation. Thus the Park's squared space, located at the 'dead heart' of the City, appeared 'unsettled' despite the surrounding assemblage of the highest colonial and postcolonial orders. Here the edifices of Government, the heart of its administrative system, enclosed nature, unlike the rest of Adelaide which was itself 'enclosed' by a cordon of irregularly shaped Parklands.

Yet the Square also provided "a public venue for 'reconciliation' between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians" (Hemming 1998: 14)[1]. This uncanny aspect has been frequently played out in public rallies held throughout the 1990s in the

[1] According to Reynolds, reconciliation is "the reconciling of two stories about what happened when pioneer settlers met indigenous people all around a vast, moving ragged frontier" (1999: 126). In this way a "convergence of histories" (Reynolds 1999: 171) is sought that advances the aims of reconciliation. Such convergence follows "(t)he stated objective of the Reconciliation Council [which] is to give all Australians a 'shared ownership of their history' " (Reynolds 1999: 177).

conjoint efforts of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in events such as a 'National Sorry Day', 'The Sea of Hands', rallies for the Kumarangk Coalition and other gatherings. It has also been a central focus for mostly non-Indigenous political rallies as well as their ceremonial events.

Victoria Square circumscribes the common grounds for an examination of divergent formulations of composure evident in the heart of the City's 'civilising' district. I argue that a more enlightened view than a range of expressions concerning the Square promoted by planners, the media and so on, accounts for these formulations of composure and the relations of power with which they are involved. Such a focus thereby attends to the uncanny character of encounters between and within Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups and their distinctive formulations of composure. Further, expressions of resistance in the form of being shabby, making noise in a protest march or drinking to excess, and more mundane demeanours, are open for inspection. Victoria Square thus provides the conditions, par excellence, for an analysis of uncanny relations of power.

The dominant forms of Victoria Square

Contemporary visitors are told that by 1859 Victoria Square had degenerated into "a place of vice and whistling cat-calls at females" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1992a: brochure). The construction of Parliament House on one half of Victoria Square and a museum on the other were suggested in 1878 but never occurred. Following lengthy debates it was decided that King William Street should extend through the Square, a decision that came to fruition in 1883. The next major reshaping of the Square occurred in 1967 when this thoroughfare was closed off in preference to the current layout (Winston 1971: 10). That is, a rectangle cut into a diamond shape flanked by King William Street and dissected to meet Wakefield and Grote Streets, thus permitting a flow of vehicular traffic around the Square and through its middle (Figure 13).

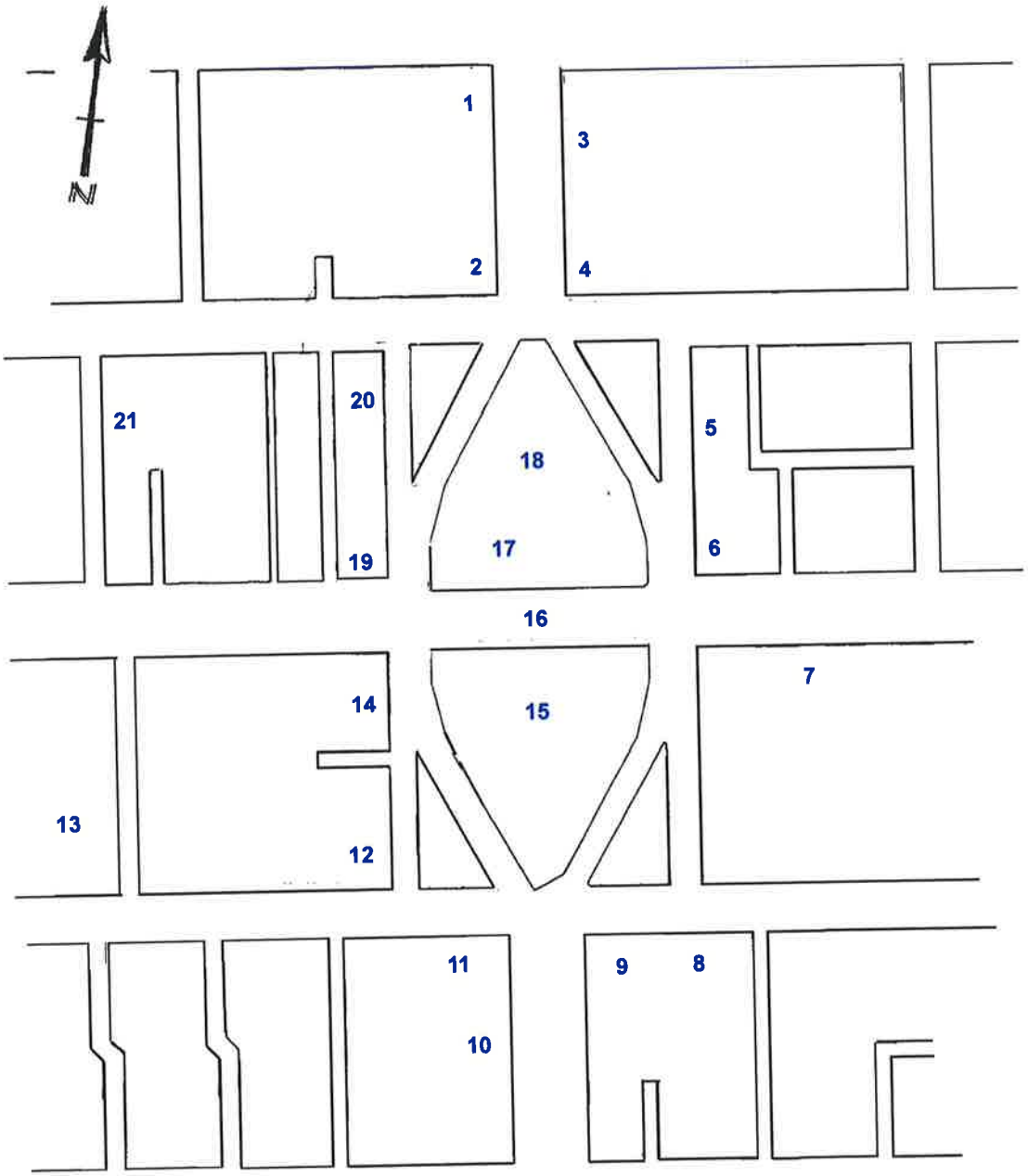

Figure 13: Victoria Square and surrounds.

References

1. The Advertiser Building
2. The General Post Office (G.P.O.)
3. Adelaide Town Hall
4. Former Treasury Buildings
5. State Administration Centre
6. Torrens Building
7. St Francis Xavier's Cathedral
8. South Australian Police Headquarters
9. Magistrate's Court
10. Local Court
11. Supreme Court
12. Adelaide local districts court (Sir Samuel Way Building)
13. Adelaide Central Market
14. Hilton International Hotel
15. Tram terminus
16. Queen Victoria Statue
17. Toilet block
18. Commemorative fountain
19. SGIC Building
20. Lawyers' Offices
21. South Australian Correctional Services

The diamond shape of Victoria Square in 1994 included a large commemorative fountain and an imposing toilet block (see Plate 32) in the northern half of the diamond and a tram line and terminus that divided the southern side. Outside of the paved areas the Square was covered by lawn and a number of shady trees. Park benches were located about the site and were intermittently occupied by people waiting for trams and office workers usually on a lunch break. Indigenous people and the homeless tended to squat on the lawns in the northern half of the Square away from the tram terminus and within easy access of the toilet block.

The Square has been surrounded by stately concerns from the time of its inception (Plate 30). Their functions ultimately determined proper and improper demeanour for the State as a whole. The placement of these concerns at the centre or 'dead heart' of the City has obvious symbolic and practical affirmations. The administrative concerns, which remain the business of this district in the year 2000, pertain to the local and the global and the national. Local matters which have been the concerns of the State Government, the Local Government Authority, the Church, the Police, and the Law were at the forefront of buildings surrounding the Square (Figure 13; Plate 30). Structures such as the Hilton International Adelaide Hotel, a banking organisation and the General Post Office[2] (G.P.O.), constituted the overt features of its global links. The G.P.O. buildings located at the northern flank of the Square, are an outstanding example of South Australia's 'heritage', stated Marsden, Stark and Sumerling, such that "(f)ew other classes of buildings reflect settlement as effectively as these buildings" (1990: 165).

The construction of buildings dedicated to judicial matters on the southern flank facing the Square coincided with the G.P.O.'s construction in 1866-67. At this locality four courthouses were arranged, including the Supreme Court building, that together constituted "the heart of South Australia's judiciary" (Marsden, Stark & Sumerling

[2] In fact, a global orientation reaches the very foundations of the G.P.O. which overlooks Victoria Square. For instance, Helen Oliver pointed out that construction of "(t)his building was begun in 1867, in which year the foundation-stone of the tower, named after Queen Victoria, was laid by Prince Alfred" (Oliver 1975: 43).

Plate 30: Panorama of Victoria Square looking (from the top): (i) north down King William Street and featuring the G.P.O. on the left and the offices of the City Council on the right; (ii) east down Wakefield Street with the Torrens Building on the left and St Patrick's Cathedral on the right; (iii) south down King William Street - on the far left of the picture the police headquarters, the Magistrate's Court next door, at the centre, a tram on King William Street approaching the Victoria Square terminus and the Supreme Court on the right of picture and finally; (iv) the view looking west down Wakefield Street with the Hilton Hotel on the left and the SGIC Insurance building on the right.

Photo montage: Mark Bradley.

1990: 171). Evidence of 'Commonwealth' and State concerns appeared under the guise of the Local Court (formerly the Police Court, built 1867), the Supreme Court building (built 1866-69) and Jeffcott Chambers (former Supreme Court Hotel). On the opposite corner (to the east) was the Magistrates' Court[3]. This has been one of the oldest surviving public buildings in Adelaide (Marsden, Stark and Sumerling 1990: 178) (Figure 13).

The Catholic Cathedral of Saint Francis Xavier was positioned on the eastern flank of Victoria Square in 1858 (see Figure 13; Plate 30). Opposite this, on the north side of Wakefield Street, stood the vast expanses of the Torrens Building. This occupied an entire Town Acre upon construction in 1881 and housed the Government's Public Works and Registrar-General's Department (Marsden, Stark & Sumerling 1990: 175). The Treasury Buildings, opposite the G.P.O., were rebuilt between 1858 and 1907 and have

> effectively [been] the centre of South Australian government and administration from the late 1830s until the 1960s: all the important colonial officials and later, state cabinet and the premier, were accommodated here, and much other government business conducted, including the work of the Governor and Chief Secretary's Office, Treasury, Survey, Crown Lands, Public Works and Attorney-General (Marsden, Stark & Sumerling 1990: 169).

The buildings were the focus of rioting workers and the unemployed in 1925 and again with the 'Beef Riot' in 1931. During the 'Beef Riot' protesters had walked from Port Adelaide around 20 kilometres to the west and gathered in number on their way to Victoria Square and the Treasury Buildings. The violent and noisy class conflict which erupted at the Square, during which mounted police charged at protesters, is said to have shocked local ruling groups at the time (Marsden, Stark & Sumerling 1990: 170). At the rear of the Treasury buildings were the Adelaide Town Hall built in 1866, and its concomitant structures named Prince Alfred, Eagle, Gladstone and Queen's Chambers (Marsden, Stark & Sumerling 1990: 163-65).

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[3] Formerly the Supreme Court of South Australia, which was completed in 1851 (Marsden, Stark and Sumerling 1990: 178).

The offices of the former Marine and Harbours Building from 1914 to 1979 were located on the western flank. This high-rise building was originally constructed by an Insurance Company in 1884 (Marsden, Stark & Sumerling 1990: 174). The Sir Samuel Way Building to the south of The Hilton International Hotel on the western flank was opened in 1983 after renovations to form the Adelaide local district courts. This structure had been a Department Store known, after its founder, as Moore's (Figure 13)[4].

Other important structures which shared a block with buildings fronting the Square included the City's Central Market established in 1870 (Anon., *South Australian Chronicle & Weekly* 1870), the State Government's Correctional Services (a.k.a. prison detention centre) and 'The Advertiser' building, with 'Telecom' and the 'National Crimes Authority' appearing at its more distant edges.

'Light' and 'dark' visions of temporality

Although set back from the Square, the Town Hall and its clock tower have remained highly visible and audible from the Square for many years (Plate 31). The clock has chimed loudly and dramatically every fifteen minutes and added to a general awareness that the activities surrounding the Square shared a temporality geared to the working day, particularly that of office workers who form a high percentage of the people in the area from Monday to Friday or Saturday. These workers have been engaged in the offices of the City Council, the Post Office, the high-rise office block of SGIC Insurance Company and the MLC financial management services nearby. Other large employers in the area included the Morgue and Forensic Science Laboratories, the State Administration Centre on Victoria Square, The Advertiser Newspapers Limited and Correctional Services, among others.

[4] This store had a unique location within the City being the only major department store away from the retail centre of the Rundle/Hindley axis. Moore's opened in 1916 in a structure inspired by the "Paris Exhibition of 1878 and the nobility of Parisian Buildings" (Marsden, Stark & Sumerling 1990: 176).

Plate 31: The City Town Hall and clock tower as viewed from Victoria Square looking north along King William Street from near the point where Light's statue was originally positioned in 1906.

Photo: Mark Bradley.

The State Government has a major role in determining the temporality of the Square through the conduct of Government administrations set up around it, as well as through various transport authorities. Authorities sought to order the traffic that circulated and entered the Square. The State Transport Authority has been responsible for upholding a focus on the Square as their early services to the newly emerging centres of suburban growth, namely North Adelaide, Kensington and Norwood, emanated from here, areas "intended by Colonel Light" as places where such growth should occur (Steele and Wheaton 1978: 3).

Public and private transport companies have regulated traffic passing around and through the Square over the years, and a central Tram and Bus Depot remained in use until the 1980s, nearby in Angas Street. As I write the Square is most affected by the continuing presence of a Glenelg/City tram which terminates at its centre and a 'Bee-Line' bus that moves along King William Street from the Central Railway Station on North Terrace to the Square and back every fifteen minutes during shopping hours. The tram service operates from 5:57 in the morning until 11:50 at night on weekdays and at similar times on week-ends. These services mingle with busses from various destinations that set down passengers near the statue of Queen Victoria amidst the circulating traffic of cars, trucks, vans and so on.

Small groups of Aborigines have often gathered within the Square while such temporalities have circulated about them. Against a backdrop of governmental and business oriented activity they seemed oblivious to the chiming of the Town Hall clock and the preponderance of suited office workers, men and women in black and grey, scurrying to work. The entourage of Councillors, staff, media and members of the public filing into City Council meetings in the Town Hall on alternate Monday nights during the year seemed to be similarly ignored by them.

The interiors of the Hilton International Hotel equipped with conference facilities with rooms named after explorers who appeared around the time of the colony's foundation, such as Flinders and Baudin, remained exclusive for them. Yet the Hotel's more overt operational activities were easily spied. These included doormen greeting

guests day and night, handling luggage and opening doors of hired cars for prospective clients. Even the bar staff and the bar's well-heeled patrons on its ground floor were open to view behind a smoked-glass frontage. However, Aborigines appeared to be as disinterested in these practices as they did in the antics of frocked judges and lawyers, court attendants, media personnel and variously attired members of the public who filed in and out of the courts of law in the south-western corner of the Square.

Overall the cut of the cloth of judges and barristers' robes, the suits of office workers, the uniforms of 'bell hops' and the expensive clothes of their customers formed a marked contrast to the unkempt and dishevelled appearance of those who inhabited the Square. The calm and confident air of the law and its unmistakable odour of wealth and position provided a contrast exacerbated by the architectural style of buildings surrounding the Square. Such formulations of composure contributed to a sense that the margins of the Square were the order while its centre was the 'unsettled' frontier. The margins represented the ordered decorum of embodiment and built structures, the stateliness of manners and demeanour. The Square of the park itself was the disordered centre which could never be 'settled'.

The measured gait of police on patrol, exiting or entering the police headquarters overlooking the Square or at court rarely raised the eyebrows of Square occupants nor did members of the clergy at the church, school or in the street, dressed in the garments of their particular denominations. Similarly the peal of the bells at St Francis Xavier's Cathedral, especially on Sundays, drawing soberly attired worshippers through its doors had little effect on the Indigenous people in the Square. The progress of hordes of uniformed school children in the mid-mornings and late afternoons to and from nearby schools attracted little attention nor did the presence of excursion groups of school children on tours of City statues within the Square.

Shoppers were attracted in great numbers to the Central Market a short walk from Victoria Square on Market days, and they also formed part of the ebb and flow of people regularly incorporated in the temporality of this part of the City and its stately forms. Overall the temporality of the 'Square' itself was never 'settled' despite the outward

appearances of measured activities that encircled it. Aborigines gathered outside of its temporality but they were there when everyone arrived for work and were still present when everyone else went home. Despite an outward appearance of disinterest in the activities surrounding them I argue in the following sections that the Aborigines of the Square were active members of a political process. For instance, the inattentive attitudes of Indigenous people in the Square to the State's formulations of composure made it an uncomfortable place for workers to have lunch there or for other members of the public to linger. In this way Victoria Square, the heart of apparent settlement, continually 'unsettles'.

Victoria Square, as the centre-piece of Light's plan, has long been a central focus for Indigenous activities. The comments of some contemporaries, presented below, highlight its importance in matters of leisure, lifestyle and family, and religion, in the main. As one Aborigine, who frequented the Square asserted: "You come down from the bush and find out about your family through this place" (Sprawson, *The Advertiser* 1994: 4). Another stated that he was there to visit relatives who had just arrived from an outer country area. Moreover, he recognised its status as a park and the rights of ordinary citizens in such areas. He said that "(p)arks are meant to be nice. People are meant to want and come and sit in them - so why shouldn't we just sit here and enjoy it?" (Sprawson, *The Advertiser* 1994: 4). Another pointed out about what Aborigines were doing there: "They go to the square to meet, to find others, to get in touch with relatives, to be together. They have been doing that there forever" (McEwen, *The Advertiser* 1994: 13). More succinctly, an Aboriginal leader stated "this is our place, our mother earth" (Power, *The Advertiser* 1994b: 7).

The daily meetings of Indigenous people in the centre of Adelaide were part of a broad range of meanings that the Parklands have held for Indigenous people, which as Hemming has indicated, included elements of cosmology, burial, politics and resistance, sport, economics, leisure, education, reconciliation, dispossession, incarceration and control (1998: 18). Indigenous meetings at Victoria Square, according to Gale and Wundersitz, were especially important for those entering or exiting Adelaide and seeking

knowledge of temporary accommodation or more permanent lodgings in and around Adelaide (1982: 75).

The importance of the Square as a meeting place existed prior to European contact and the displacement it brought to Adelaide Aborigines. Such displacement was continued by the implementation of assimilationist policies in operation before the end of the nineteenth century and up until the 1970s (some might say that they are still evident). Government policies segregated many Aborigines, by their forced encampment on 'reserves' ('missions') away from non-Aborigines. Invariably these 'reserves' were on land that had marginal economic value and which was limited in size (Stevens 1981: 187). Peripheralisation of Aborigines also underscored intentions to separate Indigenous and non-Indigenous interests (Stevens 1981: 187-88). However, following the second World War a steady influx of Aborigines from the 'reserves' moved into Adelaide or into large country towns (Gale & Wundersitz 1982: 1).

As I write there is a debate before Parliament about the State Government's proposal for a Land Trust for the Parklands (1999). The City Council has argued against such a proposal asserting that development and not preservation of the Parklands would ultimately result (Anon., *The City Messenger* 1999b: 5). While this debate ensued Light's exclusion of the Indigenous owners of the land on which Adelaide was built, the Kaurna, was being ironically overturned by Kaurna elder, Lewis O'Brien. O'Brien believed that "Light designed the City in the shape of a red kangaroo[5] and North Adelaide in the shape of an emu - and he didn't even know it" (Nankervis, *Sunday Mail* 1999: 10). Light's choice for the centre of the City, Victoria Square, was induced by the spirituality of the land on which he walked, argued O'Brien. At Victoria Square "was a sacred site for the Kaurna Aborigines, [and] ... the centre of red Kangaroo dreaming" (O'Brien cited by Nankervis, *Sunday Mail* 1999: 10).

O'Brien's remarks were both reconciliatory and ironic in that he was reconfiguring Light, the centre-piece of European occupation, as a principal of

[5] The City of Adelaide and its Parklands were positioned on the Red Kangaroo Dreaming place of the Kaurna people (Hemming 1998: 5).

Indigenous concerns. O'Brien's views were quickly taken up by City promoters who contrived them as yet another City secret (Reichelt, *The City Messenger* 1999: 9). However, the fact that the Kaurna have received no monetary compensation for the loss of their lands as a result of settlement and that they have also been conveniently excluded from popular historical discourse (cf. Reynolds 1999) remained unrecognised.

The activities of Indigenous people in the Square were thus part of a wider context of interactions and events which gathered in simultaneity. The regal park of Victoria Square, fortressed by government buildings at every level, local, State, Empire or International, and the national, provided the circumstances for the pomp of business suits and courtly attire and the demeanour of administrative efficiency to appear in concert with their environment. This stateliness was undermined by demonstrations and forms of periodic resistance to which, I argue, the Indigenous presence contributed in subtle ways.

The temporality of the Square was also 'unsettled' by evidence of long-term Indigenous connections with the area. An interview with a Kaurna woman named Ivaritji conducted by the *Advertiser* in 1927 indicated some of the extent of this association. In the interview, cited by Tom Gara, Ivaritji revealed memories of Adelaide as a child which pointed to her being born in the mid to late 1840s (cited by Gara 1990: 66). A synopsis of her comments about the Square and the City at this time have been particularly illuminating as they revealed Victoria Square as the 'headquarters' of the 'Tarndanya' clan:

> She was born on the Adelaide Plains ... and the tribe to which she belonged numbered thousands. Their headquarters were where the city of Adelaide now stands, with their central camp in or near Victoria Square ... Great wars had taken place in the vicinity of Adelaide and hundreds of natives had fallen in battle where city life thronged today (*The Advertiser* cited by Gara 1990: 90-1).

Those who presented outlandish proposals for the reshaping of the Square effectively opposed Indigenous rights to congregate in the Square and formed part of continuing efforts to 'civilise' the place and to conceal the Indigenous people there. This 'civilising' was less about reforming alcoholism and drinking outdoors, issues often brought to the fore in media analyses, and had more to do with issues of race. I argue

that the consistent efforts to remove Indigenous people are linked to aesthetics of 'the whiteys' being over-laid on the landscape. In this sense, an en-lightened City has been produced by moving 'the darkies' out. The manipulation of representations of images of the Square were an important means of carrying out this 'en-lightening' process since most non-Indigenous people have known the Square only through representations and not direct experience. The conjunction of official planning manoeuvres to deal with certain people congregating in the Square and the practices of the media have proved instructive in this regard. These played upon a persistent theme that, as Gelder & Jacobs indicated, could turn the victimised and marginalised into a powerful and oppressive force and the oppressor into the victim and the powerless (1998: xiii).

The apparent disregard that Indigenous and some non-Indigenous 'residents' of Victoria Square displayed towards mostly non-Indigenous concerns, made them, paradoxically, the subject of intense scrutiny. But, being under surveillance was not a new experience for Indigenous people in this City and only magnified an aspect of Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations whose antecedents have been evident from the first days of colonial settlement. In these relations 'the state' and 'settlement' may be contrasted to an Indigenous 'unsettlement' where settlement is only partial. The constraints placed on Indigenous movement are fundamentally linked to the nexus of state and corporate concerns. The Square has been a place persistently occupied by Aborigines and more recently laced with the accoutrements of European 'civilisation' and notions of order and State propriety. Hence the Indigenous presence is plainly tentative and contrasts with the more overt celebration of Eurocentrism that is daily expressed in cultural tourism and the elevation of built structures, icons of the colonial past, such as Queen Victoria and the explorers, and the fallen soldiers of war.

Generally, pedestrians passing through the area or along its verges encountered little attention from the Indigenous and/or homeless group who seemed more interested in relating to each other than in conversing with passers by. Occasionally, however, some-one from their ranks wandered towards the traffic lights at the Grote Street and King William Street intersection and spoke to people waiting to cross at the lights. At

other times, people waiting at bus stops or the tram terminus were engaged in conversation. Sometimes money or cigarettes were requested, perhaps by a person suffering from the effects of excess alcohol consumption. Very occasionally the exchange became abusive.

The media used such instances to characterise Aboriginal behaviour. In large part the attention paid to the area was politically motivated and made much easy gainsay of the people found lying around sleeping on the lawns, who were presumed to have taken part in a drinking session. Sitting on the lawn in this part of the City Parklands was a frowned upon activity and one not generally practiced by other than those characterised as vagrants. The high profile of police in the area and the open consumption of alcohol fuelled media speculation and a barrage of negative images.

Sprawson's report for *The Advertiser,* cited above, also included a survey of fifteen non-Indigenous people. All of the people presented complained of being harassed in or nearby the Square. Their main objections related to experiences of 'drunken abuse', verbal insults and being asked for money. Some complained that the behaviour of those in the Square was 'rowdy'. A number compared it to Hindley Street and other City squares and one to the disturbing (and distant) feelings she had when walking in the streets of her own suburb. There was general agreement about the need for a more prominent police presence in the area. Another emphasised this request by alluding to her discomfort on pay day: "They know when its our pay day and they come over and hassle us begging for money. I don't think that's fair; they should do what we do and get a job" (Sprawson, *The Advertiser* 1994: 4).

Yet the harassment was not one way. One of the more telling comments came from a regular at the Square who pointed to a passing tourist in the act of photographing their group: "Talk about harassment, [he said]. And white fellas wonder why we're rude back when they do things like that. They never ask permission, never say anything, like we don't exist, y'know" (Sprawson, *The Advertiser* 1994: 4). For Indigenous people in the Square, the kind of demeanours directed at their presence were at least as potent a form of abuse as that which the non-Indigenous experienced from

them. However, the dominant position of non-Indigenous people in this situation cloaked their actions in blithe disregard for the plight or rights of these Indigenous people. They exercised a form of "symbolic violence" (Bourdieu 1990a: 192) on the Indigenous presence, consciously or not, that was an extension of the more 'officially' sanctioned aesthetic determinations made for the Square. For Bourdieu

> symbolic violence, the gentle, invisible form of violence, which is never recognised as such, and is not so much undergone as chosen, the violence of credit, confidence, obligation, personal loyalty, hospitality, gifts, gratitude, piety - in short, all the virtues honoured by the code of honour - cannot fail to be seen as the most economical mode of domination, that is, the mode which best corresponds to the economy of the system.
>
> Gentle hidden exploitation is the form taken by man's exploitation of man whenever overt, brutal exploitation is impossible (Bourdieu 1990a: 192).

In this case an 'overt, brutal means of exploitation' cannot be countenanced as this would run counter to commonly held 'civilising' principles. Thus Victoria Square must be 'gently' reordered according to aesthetic manipulations that included plans, ceremonies and other comments on demeanour which emphasised the refining moments of 'civilisation'.

Media calls for greater police involvement in Victoria Square cleared the ground for Government intervention. The police, at the same time, were presented as being at a loss as to how to manage the 'problem'. Their inability to act was presented as a direct result of legislation decriminalising public drunkenness (Ferguson & Turner, *The Advertiser* 1994: 1; Power, *The Advertiser* 1994c: 3). According to media reports the Government were more inclined to deal with the cause of the 'problem' rather than move it elsewhere (Ferguson & Turner, *The Advertiser* 1994: 1-2). However, Government action revealed little of this benevolent intent as the various plans that have been realised for the Square over the years overlooked the potentialities that the site held for those that met there.

If overt violence was out of the question then more subtle means of exerting domination were at the disposal of the dominant. Knowledge of the rules and symbolic meaning governing proximate behaviour and its associated nuances of politeness and self-restraint (Minson 1993: 102), that is, manners have been an essential facet of

control. These rules demonstrate that "policing of manners is ... an indispensable concomitant of a democratic political culture" (Minson 1993: 102). However, 'policing' is always an interpretive act (Lucas & Fergie 1996) and involves subjective determinations that are based on attitudes or 'norms' which surround the notion of civility and usually, said Minson (1993: 104), with reference to a patriarchal code of conduct.

Distortions of the Square

Negative images of demeanour focussed on the activities of Indigenous people in the Square. However, it was not only Indigenous groups who were perceived as 'unsettling' the Square. Protest rallies, usually dealing with a social justice issue, were the most confronting for established orders. Before and after 1994 I was often witness to rallies which the police observed in silence as the singing, chanting, bashing of drums and blowing of trumpets disrupted the City's ambience. Other processions emanating from the Square also impinged on everyday practices by disrupting the ordered flow of daily activities (Figure 14) in which traffic was brought to a stand-still and public and private time-tables altered.

The wide range of activities hosted in the Square gave it a high public profile. Consequently, it is not surprising that behaviour in the civic space of the Square engendered feelings of intense and continual scrutiny. For some it has retained a history from Light until the present that is 'revolting', exclusive and never 'settled'. Yet rallies and ceremonies of State were hosted there which brought levels of tolerance within the ambit of ideological control into sharp focus.

In the civic space of Victoria Square 'locals' have frequently expressed who they are and what they believe in with each passing rally or ceremony. However, marshalled protest rallies held there contrasted with the 'settled' nature of civil (state, national) ceremonies. Popular beliefs were also tested in reactions to what was happening at the Square on a daily basis and in the broad characterisations of an Indigenous presence in

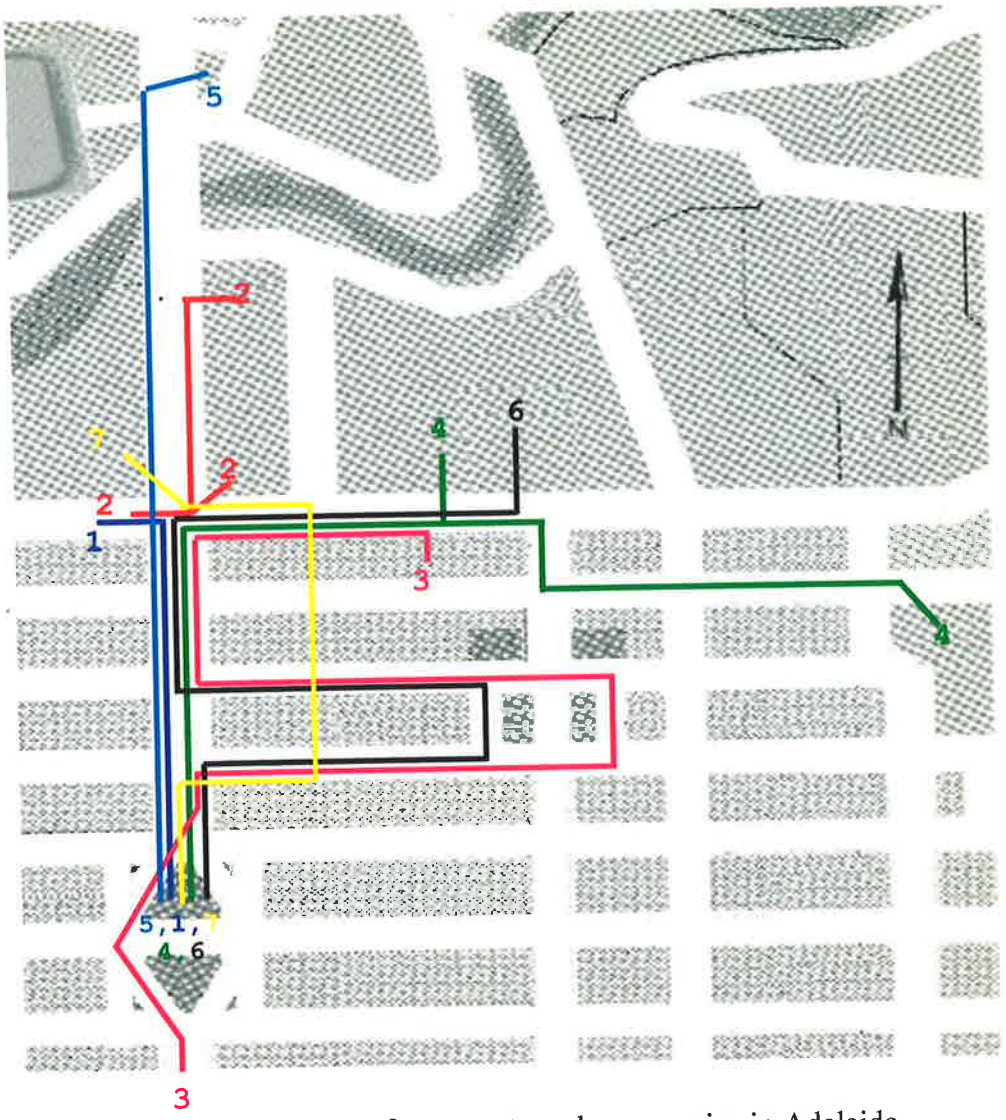

Figure 14: Frequently used pathways for protests and ceremonies in Adelaide.

Number:

1 The route from Victoria Square to Parliament House (and vice-versa) via King William Street has been most popular for protest rallies.

2 Route between Torrens Parade Ground, Parliament House and the Governor's Residence - route for opening of State Parliament, 1994.

3 Christmas Pageant route, South Terrace (off map) to John Martin's Department Store, the site of 'the Magic Cave' on North Terrace, 1994.

4 International Women's Day March from Victoria Square to the South Australian Museum and to Rymill Park, 1994.

5 ANZAC Day route, Victoria Square to Pennington Gardens, 1994.

6 Student protest route: University of Adelaide to Victoria Square, 1994.

7 Anti-nuclear rally: Victoria Square, King William Street, Gawler Place, North Terrace, concluding at the rear of Parliament House, 1994.

media reports. The different time/space dimensions and formulations of composure that Indigenous people brought to the Square were starkly outlined against a backdrop of movements in and around the Square.

The massing of protesters at Victoria Square has been a regular event over the years and the commencement and sometimes closure of a contemporary protest march was virtually synonymous with Victoria Square (Plate 32). Even though these protests usually forced the Indigenous people to temporarily move from their established locations in the Square protesters were nearly always welcomed onto Kaurna land by Kaurna elders at the commencement of rallies. The rallies frequently gathered a diverse range of people. On one occasion, for example, protesters assembled in 1997 to condemn Federal Government changes to workplace relations. White and blue collar workers walked alongside members of religious groups and school children, while members of workers' unions gathered under their affiliated groups. Individuals, some unemployed, joined in where ever they felt comfortable. The crowd was addressed by members of the clergy, Don Dunstan (a former Premier of South Australia), union delegates and leaders and one or two members of the wider public before proceeding along King William Street towards Parliament House on North Terrace. Typically, the attire of protesters was casual, with male 'blue collar workers' preferring denim jeans and check shirts and 'white collar workers' a range of more and less expensive cloth. The unemployed were often distinguished by ripped or worn clothing and unconventional hair styles (Plate 32).

In 1994 government initiatives especially encouraged the use of the Square for festive occasions, such as food fairs or a 'cycle to work day' rally. Such events were hosted by official bodies like the City Council, State and Commonwealth Governments and were confirmatory of an established order. At these would appear an array of participants from people in suits as well as more casual styles such as denims and t-shirts (Plate 32). The initiatives were directed at uplifting the Square's image. Festivities in the Square were being planned more often during the latter 1990s with, it seemed, a view to expel regular Indigenous visitors.

Plate 32: Protesters gathered at the Victoria Square fountain (top left); woman with two sons marching in a rally from Victoria Square (top right); view of the 'Aboriginal presence' in Victoria Square as seen from the Hilton Hotel (middle left); Chinese protesters at Victoria Square in 1989 (middle right); participants at a culinary event at Victoria Square (bottom photos) - note Queen Victoria's statue in the background of photo bottom left.

Photo top right and second top right: Mark Bradley.

The Square was also a host for 'official' parades, like ANZAC Day and the annual 'Christmas Pageant' (see Appendix XV) which moved around it (see Figure 14). More recently the Square has attained an international focus being used as a base for an international cycle touring race, 'Tour Down Under', in 1998. For around a week an array of tents occupied the middle of the Square opposite the Hilton International Hotel with equipment for the international support crews. The tents were ablaze with light at night. The activities that cyclists and their crews brought to the Square throughout the day and especially at night were out of step with the Square's usual temporality and rather than contribute to a 'settled' appearance made it appear more 'unsettled'.

The ANZAC Day March is one of the more prominent 'officially sanctioned' annual marches held in the City. This march commemorates the soldiers of Australia and New Zealand who have fought in major world wars since the Federation of Australia in 1901. It is held on April 25 of each year in centres throughout Australia and features a 'Dawn Service' that, in Adelaide, is held at the State War Memorial on North Terrace. Several hours after the 'Dawn Service' in 1994 marchers assembled at Victoria Square and then proceeded along King William Street to a final destination in the Parklands of North Adelaide (see Figure 14). The central importance of the Square and the ceremonial importance of King William Street (discussed in more detail in Chapter Six) are brought to the fore on such occasions.

The aesthetic direction of the ANZAC procession generally involved a movement from order to disorder, and from parts of the City typically identified with separate male and female activities, that is, from areas dominated by the male concerns of government administration, and the legal and business suits around Victoria Square to its finishing point at the Women's War Memorial opposite St Peter's Cathedral on King William Road. In 1994, as in other years, marchers moved from a geographically higher position at Victoria Square to a lower position at the Memorial by the River Torrens. They also moved from surroundings occupied by the structures of the State to surroundings where the Church of St Peter's dominates within a Parklands setting. Along the way to the Women's Memorial marchers passed through the City's 'gates' at

the corner of North Terrace and King William Street, whose 'pillars' are Government House on one side and Parliament House on the other. The Women's Memorial on the far side of the Torrens commemorated those who had died in the distant fields of battle. Thus movement was, as usual, oriented towards the north and symbolically 'the world' (see Appendix XVI). After the ceremony many participants gathered at hotels and private functions where the consumption of alcohol, often to excess, was practised.

The consumption of alcohol has been a prerequisite for effecting this alteration from order to disorder and was central, as Kapferer pointed out, to Australians' ideological conception of "personal autonomy, as an ingredient in the formation of personal power. Australian cultural discourse flows with the connection between drink and power" (Kapferer 1988: 155-56). However, stated Kapferer, one must demonstrate a capacity to be able to drink large quantities without 'getting drunk' in order to gain the admiration of others. Thus

> the more that is drunk, the greater the power gained. ... Alternatively, failure to consume reasonable quantities or outright resistance to drinking is to indicate weakness, a tendency to the female rather than the male (Kapferer 1988: 156).

Those who fail the test were publicly demeaned through ridicule which centred on their feminised qualities (Kapferer 1988: 157).

Drinking also had to occur within a social group and was equated with principles of 'mateship' and equality between individuals (Kapferer 1988: 158). For Kapferer, those who drink alone are "not giving vent to natural sociality and ... [are] ontologically threatening" (Kapferer 1988: 159). In this light drinkers in Victoria Square obeyed fundamental conventions of white Australian mateship and sociality but the fact that they were Indigenous *and* in the 'wrong' place made their behaviour out of order. The Indigenous have been banished from view in this City as their presence 'unsettles' coherent visions of 'civilisation'. This view has been consistently maintained in law since the introduction of stricter vagrancy laws in 1847 (see Appendix III). The order of demeanour is transgressed by a presence which contravenes the dominant ideology. Their behaviour draws attention to uncanny inequalities at the heart of 'civilisation'.

During the reaffirmation of egalitarian principles ceremonially defined during ANZAC Day participants marched from what was, for them, already a designated 'dry zone' (see later section) at Victoria Square, where drinking would be deemed a 'weakness' because prior to duty and outside the routinized areas of alcoholic consumption, and proceeded towards a 'wet zone' where drinking was legally sanctioned and socially encouraged. This corresponded to a movement from 'outside' to 'inside', from the streets to the interiors of clubs and hotels. The march thus made palpable an underlying order in which duty to the nation was regarded as paramount. In the next section I argue that alcohol, which is the bane of many non-Indigenous as well as Indigenous consumers, also has positive attributes for asserting Indigenous control and rights over space.

Indigenous forms of protest

The Square conforms to the idea of a 'city square' which has been a leading aspect in city planning for about 2,500 years and an integral part of the perceptual order that fashions social relations (Holston 1989: 127). As a place for ritual and the political affairs of the citizenry (Holston 1989: 125) its potential as a 'liminal zone' for the population are evident. At the Square both Indigenous and non-Indigenous protesters confronted existing structures in the hope of altering those structures. Rallies were primarily perceived as a means by which to effect an 'unsettling' of existing relations of power.

In this section I argue Indigenous drinking practices in Victoria Square may also be conceived as a form of continuous protest that has maintained the Square as 'unsettled' in space/time. In my argument the consumption of alcohol by Indigenous people is construed not just as an addiction but as one that purposively and non-purposively affronts the dominant order and its formulations of composure to an extent that the Indigenous presence cannot be ignored.

The activities of Indigenous people at the Square equipped them with a form of empowerment and a forum from which to comment on the more unfavourable aspects of their lives. The more the dominant order sought to disavow them, the more uncannily activities of Indigenous people appeared at the centre of disciplinary processes. I thus point to the incompleteness of 'civilising' practices where they would appear to matter most. To this end the consumption of alcohol by Indigenous people seemed to raise the greatest difficulty for those wishing to apply a 'civilised' order.

Many non-Indigenous people assumed that intoxication was widespread among people occupying the Square. Apart from media influences, such assumptions were perhaps reinforced by the threat of an "aggressively assertive drunkenness" (Sackett 1988: 71) and by experiences in which alcohol, consumed in the midst of heterogeneous groups, is more readily perceived as a prevailing threat to the social order (Lucas & Fergie 1996). Intoxication may also be linked to the capacity for alcoholic consumption to both disrupt and facilitate social gatherings and order more stereotypical perceptions about Aborigines in particular. Thus the consumption of alcohol and its ability to break down the boundaries and hierarchies between people offers a greater potential for disturbances to be maintained.

Aborigines 'present' more often than any other racial group in South Australia to the judicial system and in nearly all cases before the court alcohol use is a factor (Sackett 1988: 66). The reasons for this have often been characterised as a means of escape from feelings of hopelessness created by government policies that have kept Aborigines in a state of dispossession and minority exclusion (Summers 1981: 127 & 141; Sackett 1988: 66; Shoemaker 1988: 162). Most commonly Aborigines before Australian courts appeared said Bird (1987), as a result of 'upsetting' the public order through drunken and disorderly behaviours and indecent language. More generally, Aboriginal conduct was not seen to conform to the standards set by the dominant social order, an assertion clearly rendered by the recent Hindmarsh Island Royal Commission in South Australia (Stevens 1995) which demonstrated the central role of demeanour in assessing the

conduct of Aborigines and its pertinence for "analyses of the fights of Indigenous people over, and for, their land and heritage" (Fergie 1997b: 59).

Sackett believed that many Aborigines consumed alcohol to excess not purely from of a sense of loss. He reasoned that drinking also maintained the boundaries of the group and thereby promoted a degree of 'autonomy' (Sackett 1988: 67). Sackett claimed that

> (l)iquor, the substance of disorder and chaos, provides an ideal way of responding to the perceived threat of being ordered by and completely incorporated into the wider society. Intoxication simultaneously facilitates and to an extent excuses the apparent uncontrolled behaviour of a people opposing the imposition of ever more constraints (Sackett 1988: 67).

The more restrictive case of Wiluna Aborigines examined by Sackett (1988) is, I believe, applicable to Aboriginal people in Adelaide, especially since many have maintained strong rural linkages (cf. Gale & Wundersitz 1982: 44). Victoria Square was a place where Aborigines were cast as exterior to the dominant culture and a place that was a potential State-fortressed "liminal" zone used as a meeting place before entering or exiting from City life. The Square is thus maintained as a location in which a passage to the interior life of the City and/or the exterior life of the country is facilitated.

Successive Governments have continued to create an atmosphere in which

> (d)evelopment operates, not in opposition to, but in tandem with, the more blatant forms of coercion. It too is 'part of the problem' ... [and] the manner in which it is structured ... promotes conformity to norms deemed paramount by members of the wider society (Sackett 1988: 74).

Drinking thus presents a means by which these 'norms' might be demeaned. In this way excess consumption of alcohol and the concomitant behaviours it releases may be regarded as a show of deference to most other forms of hegemony that were both governmental and widely accepted as a social given.

Beckett (1965: 46), like Sackett (1988), Collmann (1979) and Sansom (1977 & 1980), has provided evidence that supports such a contention. The dynamics of 'fringe' camps witnessed by Sansom (1977) were particularly suggestive of a number of general points for comparison with activities in Victoria Square. For example, the familial responsibilities of Adelaide Aborigines might have impinged on daily activities and may

thus have curbed unrestrained drinking in a manner similar to that experienced in Darwin's 'fringe' camps (cf. Sansom 1977: 60). Further, the behaviour of 'locals' as compared to 'visitors' might have been more restrained. If similar principles of looking out for the 'visitor' also applied in Adelaide then perhaps the 'visitor' was the one who felt less constrained by their surrounds (see Appendix XVII).

Despite being the heart of the public, Victoria Square is also publicly demeaned. The behaviour of those in the Square has often been painted in gossip and/or in newspapers and other media as 'shameful'. For example, calls for a ban on alcohol in an article of the *Sunday Mail* titled "Shame Square" assiduously proclaimed that "Adelaide's heart is being wrecked by a group of down and outers" (Whittington, *Sunday Mail* 1989: 2). But from the point of view of 'drinkers' shame did not appear to be an overarching concern. It is apparent from studies, such as that by Peace, that the consumption of excess liquor is not always shameful and may even be considered a routine event of daily life (Peace 1991b: 1). Peace's study of drinking behaviour of a fishing community in Ireland concluded that it was through drinking excessive amounts of alcohol that community members became even more acutely aware of "the fluid and complex realities of their world in a more comprehensive fashion than is usually the case" (Peace 1991b: 14). Peace asserted that, in that community, a drinker was alerted to their own position and that of others in the social domain they inhabited. Drinking alcohol made it possible for the fishermen to regard the world with greater reflexivity, in terms of the social relations in which their industry placed them and in the way they understood themselves (Peace 1991b: 14-15). In that case, fishing and drinking could not be separated as it was the practice of drinking in bars that provided the opportunities for more efficient fishing in the future. It was thus considered vital for group members to regularly appear at drinking sessions in order to access what was scarce information (Peace 1991b: 7-8).

Gale and Wundersitz (1982) have indicated that the exchange of information was one of the prime reasons prompting Aboriginal meetings in the Square. Like the fishermen of Peace's study, I argue that they were engaged in more than a 'get

together'. Their alcoholic consumption thereby helped constitute their own social identities and social relations that were fundamental to their lives. Further, Indigenous drinkers in the Square might also be assumed to become more acutely aware of the nature of their predicament through an alcohol-induced more reflexive stance to the world. However, a critical difference between Peace's fishermen and Aboriginal drinkers in the Square is that Aboriginal drinkers have not had the support of the wider community for their drinking practices. Their drinking was instead characterised as abnormal and shameful by the majority of Adelaideans.

Victoria Square lies at the crossroads of Indigenous and non-Indigenous occupation and is maintained as the central focus. The high profile given the Aboriginal presence at the Square makes it, paradoxically, more difficult to deny Aboriginal peoples' legitimate presence. Their behaviour defies efforts to 'civilise' or repress them. At its heart the City is similarly elusive and continues to escape the logic of development. When sought out in principles of 'continuous use and relaxation' it is ironic that the continuous use sought to substantiate claims for it as the 'true' heart of the City could already be located in the practices of Aborigines and the homeless who are always already there.

Beyond the reserve and the reserved: 'dry zones'

The policing of alcohol consumption has long been a factor of everyday life in the outback regions of South Australia (Lucas & Fergie 1996: 32). Where unregulated, the practice of alcohol consumption in these areas has been made to appear illicit, a labelling that often masked the devious practices of disciplinary forces to establish convictions (Lucas & Fergie 1996: 36). In the City, I argue, this 'illicit-ness' was transposed into concerns relating to standards of acceptable and 'civilised' behaviour. Thus the prohibition of alcohol consumption in certain public areas and not others provided a measure for any 'uncultured' and 'obscene' behaviours encountered. It was more

generally assumed, therefore, that the 'civilising' processes of demeanour, regarded as the 'norm', may be imposed.

The characterisation of behaviour observed in the Square as 'obscene' was ironic in view of the many practices of surrounding institutions, like the law courts, public trustees, the church and police headquarters. Within these institutions ethnocentric evaluations of demeanour and conduct were constant and abiding principles for deciding legal and illegal actions. However, behaviour in the courtroom or by police, more than any others, often proved contradictory and anything but polite for those involved. Intimidation, in a variety of ways, has long been a standard practice of courtroom etiquette, for example, that has been used as a means of 'getting at' the witness. In court the actions and words of a witness may be turned against them by lawyers wishing to imply a lack of credibility. Lawyers may even harangue and berate a witness during cross examination, sometimes displaying little reserve in their sanctioned efforts to 'get at' a witness. Outside of the courtroom similar actions would appear discourteous and impolite, but in court they formed part of the accepted behaviour of its officers (Fergie 1997b: 49).

The efforts of the media, City Council and Government in portraying certain areas of the City where 'boozing' in public spaces was considered a 'problem' also highlighted a contradictory approach. For example, only Hindley Street and Rundle Mall were already proclaimed as 'dry areas' or 'dry zones', but the Council was keen to add Victoria Square and the approaches to the Casino, next door to Parliament House, to this list (Maguire, *Sunday Mail* 1995: 2). These were all areas in which an Indigenous presence was evident. The City Council, however, claimed it was acting on the mounting concerns of "residents, visitors, business people, and police over drunken disturbances" (Holman, *The Advertiser* 1994: 5).

In South Australia the idea of a 'dry zone' or 'dry area' was first established to control alcohol consumption in Aboriginal communities. In order to declare an area 'dry' it had first to be acknowledged as a 'problem'. The Hindley Street 'riot' in 1988 after a Grand Prix street party made it possible for the long term declaration of a 'dry

zone' to that area. Police support was a vital component of a successful application as were the persistent complaints of residents and others (South Australian Government Department of State Aboriginal Affairs 1990: 24). One year later, the focus of an alcohol ban had turned more specifically towards the City's Parklands (Maguire, *Sunday Mail* 1995: 2)[6].

Discussions for making Victoria Square a 'dry zone' had been going on for more than a decade by 1998 (South Australian Government Department of State Aboriginal Affairs 1998c). More pointedly the files of the Government and the City Council over this time frame indicated a focus on "the public behaviour of Aboriginal people in Victoria Square, concerns about drug and alcohol abuse and safety and proposals to declare this and other squares 'dry'" (South Australian Government Department of State Aboriginal Affairs 1998c). From 1995 to March 1998 the City Council worked with the Government and Department of State Aboriginal Affairs in efforts to find "alternatives to declaring the Square dry" (South Australian Government Department of State Aboriginal Affairs 1998c). Suggestions for a 'sobering up centre' were made public in a 1995 report prepared by the City Council's Community and Development Services Committee. This report focussed on the 'problems' associated with Aborigines consuming alcohol in public, mainly in the Square, where it was noted they were in full view of City inhabitants and workers. Sections of this report deemed relevant by a local journalist indicated that a

> potential site has been identified for a sobering up centre for those Aborigines in the city, particularly Victoria Sq, experiencing alcohol associated problems.
> The opportunity exists to replicate a recent successful program at Port Adelaide where an Aboriginal security firm would control pressure points in the city.
> Consideration is being given to extending the existing Currie St, Hindley St dry zone to include the immediate vicinity around the Casino and Parliament House (Maguire, *Sunday Mail* 1995: 2).

By March 1998 a site for a sobering up centre (as an alternative to a police 'lock-up') had still not been found while the City Council eventually voted against declaring the

[6] A 'dry area' was first declared in South Australia in 1986 in an Aboriginal community near Port Augusta, a town 300 kilometres to the north of Adelaide (South Australian Government Department of State Aboriginal Affairs 1990: 15). By 1994 there were thirteen such areas within the state (Holman, *The Advertiser* 1994: 5) and in some cases the general community was involved.

Square a 'dry area'. The inability to find a site for a 'sobering-up' centre brought out tensions within the State Government where allegations of a conflict between a present and former Minister of Aboriginal Affairs were raised by *The City Messenger* "over a (supposed) decision not to proceed with establishing a sobering up centre" (South Australian Government Department of State Aboriginal Affairs 1998c). Difficulties were also apparent with declaring Victoria Square 'dry'. Since Victoria Square was part of the Parklands such a declaration would have turned the entire Parkland's area into a 'dry zone'. This action would have affected the 'civilised' activities of many non-Indigenous people as well, as Councillor Alderman Mark Hamilton was quick to point out:

> People should remember that a dry council area would also prohibit people having a beer or glass of wine when having Bar-Be-Que's and picnics in the parklands. It would also mean that weddings and other functions including, ironically, council civic receptions held in the parklands would have to be dry (Hamilton cited by South Australian Government Department of State Aboriginal Affairs 1990: 33).

The discussions of a 'dry zone' and the Square's development have coincided with remarkable frequency with each onset of both State and City Council elections in recent years and highlighted the politicised nature of this space. Alternative schemes have been proposed. In 1989 the then Premier, prior to a State election, backed a $200 million plan for developing the buildings around the Square and an east-west tunnel underneath it. Also in 1989 an independent proposal valued at $100m included an observation tower as part of its plan (Trzcinski, *The Advertiser* 1995c: 10; Titelius, *The Advertiser* 1996: 3). This was followed by South Australian Government design initiatives in 1992, and the then Lord Mayor's (Henry Ninio) pledge that "a "revitalised" Victoria Square would be his "thank you" to the people of Adelaide when he left office" (Turner, *The Advertiser* 1994: 3). Some wanted to erect concert halls over it (Ward, *The Adelaide Review* 1993: 5). One of the most recent proposals was for an outdoor cafe/dining area which was approved by the City Council (Titelius, *The Advertiser* 1996: 3), shortly before its anticipated sacking by the State Government in 1996. The restaurant opened for business in September 1998 but by the end of 1999 all traces of it had been removed by the business's creditors (Gavin, *The Advertiser* 1999: 2).

The 'problem' festered under the surface of governmental and individual concerns and was recently brought to attention at a public forum conducted by the City Council looking for new strategies for promoting the City as a 'centre' (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1998b). On other occasions local business people appeared willing to add their weight to the argument for a 'dry' zone. A hotel manager near the Square stated:

> This end of town near the Town Hall and Victoria Square should be a showpiece for the city, but it is difficult to entice people here when they are confronted by beggars, harassed by drunks and have to watch the foulest of carry on. The public toilet should be a facility for the public, but I would question just how many ratepayers or local workers use [them] ...
>
> I'm sick to death of both the council and the State Government saying it's not their problem, it's a real problem but everyone always seems too scared to talk about it (cited by Maguire, *Sunday Mail* 1995: 2).

Lucas & Fergie (1996) observed that, in the policing of drinking in a far northern region of South Australia, highly arbitrary judgements were made about the appropriateness of conduct. This arbitrariness concealed a form of "surveillance [that] is neither predictable nor uniform ... [through which] (i)ndividual police enact their own agendas and also react to highly variable political and social currents" (Lucas & Fergie 1996: 38). Thus, what one law enforcer considered a misdemeanour might not be thus considered by another. The hotel manager's actions also revealed something of the role that individuals play in disciplining others' behaviour and also the role of business, as it often appeared, as the vanguard for moral concerns. The media often appeared to play a supporting role on such occasions and maintained a silence over events that could have also been raised. The character of celebrations close by the Square on King William Street each St Patrick's Day, for example, and numerous other occasions of drunken behaviour in areas of the City such as Rundle Street east where drinking occurs on the pavement every night of the week, were treated in a different and more accepting way.

The type of conduct permissible thus depended on its location and the social status of individuals and groups mostly in attendance. Behaviour within the Square was seen as 'unreserved', and as such could be counterpoised to the kinds of behaviour expected on, say, North Terrace or Rundle Street east or even in the locality of Victoria Square. Most of the misdemeanours that were reported in Victoria Square were characterised as

alcohol-related and posited Aborigines as the main offenders (as indicated, for example, by Ferguson & Turner, *The Advertiser* 1994: 1-2). The characterisations of indecent language, excessive consumption of alcohol and requests for money were among features that marked it out as an area of 'obscenity' and misdemeanour.

Ordering a centre

The numerous planning proposals for the Square which have been released, I argue, to some extent undermine the potentialities for reconciliation. Planning procedures confer social distance on the Square's 'residents' and have provided an alternative means of policing activities within the Square. In this sense planners have continued to position Victoria Square at the crossroads of a postcolonial figuring whose salient features are demonstrated in reactive approaches to social ills like alcoholism. In combination with much media reportage on the Square the proposals gave subtle legitimation and a location to a range of intolerant practices. The Square provided the grounds for an on-going postcolonial struggle between Indigenous and non-Indigenous concerns. This struggle is as a result of differing formulations of composure and a desire to 'settle' the centre of the City.

A diverse range of references, from planning documents to brochures advising tourists about Adelaide, depicted Victoria Square as the largest and most important square in the City. Frequently, readers of such documents were informed that it was named after Princess Victoria who later became Queen of England and whose statue was placed at the centre of the Square in 1894 (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1946: 132). Other statues followed as well as a tree and plaque to the memory of soldiers in the Great War and a fountain. These were prominent features of European occupation in this part of the Parklands. The fountain "commemorates the visit to Adelaide in 1963 of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and the Duke of Edinburgh" (Queale & Di Lernia 1996: 163) and maintained a royal conjunction with Queen Victoria at the Square's centre.

The positioning of these concrete forms reveal that, from its inception, the Square has been of major importance to the City's formulations of composure. I argue that the forms elevate the Square's centrality to the extent that they help defer comment on wider Empiric practices. In this regard, as Levi-Strauss (1982) argued for masks, statues may be claimed to have a certain plasticity, that is, their existence is not isolated but "supposes other real or potential masks by ... [their] side, masks that might have been chosen in its stead and substituted for it" (1982: 144). Further, for Levi-Strauss, masks were not to be merely interpreted as aesthetic representation nor in terms of an intended ritual use. Primarily, a mask is "what it transforms, that is to say, what it chooses *not* to represent. Like a myth, a mask denies as much as it affirms. It is not made solely of what it says or thinks it is saying, but of what it excludes" (Levi-Strauss 1982: 144). This exclusion was most poignantly revealed in Victoria Square in the daily juxtaposition of Indigenous people and primary figures of Empire. In similar fashion the Square's planning directives have masked intentions that affirmed the exclusion of Indigenous people by not representing their interests.

Arguments about the Square's shape and design appeared from the earliest times of European occupation. For instance, plans for an Anglican Cathedral in the Square realised in 1848 were based on the direction of a former Governor who had offered the land to the church. These plans did not however accord with the City Council's view of the Square's future uses. In 1854 the Corporation of the City of Adelaide thus eagerly "plant(ed) 800 forest trees and 400 shrubs" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1992a: brochure) and effectively blocked the path for construction of a church. Their actions brought the church, State Government and the City Council into conflict and eventually brought these parties to the Supreme Court in 1855. The Court had to decide whether to support the Council's renovations or the plans for a church (Whitelock 1985: 75). The court favoured the City Council. This decision has maintained the Square as the Council's responsibility since that time. The Cathedral was eventually "relegated to a cow paddock" (Hannaford 1996: 158) on the North Adelaide side of 'The Torrens' on King William Road.

The Square's aesthetic guardians, the City Council, have been prominent in promoting it as the "heart and focus of the City, continuously in use" (Winston 1971: 19). However, by the end of the twentieth century the Square had "become a politician's and a designer's plaything" (Editor, *The Advertiser* 1994: 14). As the Square has been altered and discussed, the buildings surrounding it have been maintained and positioned so as to direct stately purposes and a sought-after centrality. Such centrality had the potential to direct the Square's formal dimensions and orient its functions as a civic centre. The formulations contained in the 1974 *City of Adelaide Plan* demonstrated the importance to civic authorities of manipulating this space. Their plans aligned the Victoria Square precinct with

> the civic centre of the State, and the focus of its judicial and administrative functions. Government and semi-government offices should become the predominant activity in the Precinct, reinforced by appropriate private offices and possibly by apartment or hotel towers.
>
> The image of the Precinct should identify its role as the "Central Place" of Adelaide. The Square itself should be the most formal of the City's Squares, with areas for civic assembly and ceremonies together with more intimate spaces where activities can take place for the entertainment of workers and visitors by day and night (Urban Systems Corporation 1974: 138).

This alignment centred civic assembly in the context of judicial and administrative concerns. Assembly was therefore assigned a 'civilising' role and given a distinct bearing associated with the higher orders of state control. The entertainment aspects countenanced in the plan were directed towards the benefit of workers and visitors to the Square whose renewed presence was considered integral to the re-ordering of the Square's formality.

A central tenet in the reworking of Adelaide's image prompted by the 1974 Plan was the retention of the intended stately purposes of some of the earliest buildings to appear in Adelaide. Many of these were earmarked for preservation and, in the words of a Lord Mayoral committee in 1971, had proudly served as "a link with the City's Colonial past" (Winston 1971: 10).

Such planning proposals I equate with Foucault's view of "explicit programmes" (1991b: 80) through which people have been subject to reorganisation, spatial arrangement, and regulation of behaviour, through calculated and reasoned acts (what

Foucault terms "prescriptions" (1991b: 80)). But these "programmes don't take effect in the institutions in an integral manner; they are simplified, or some are chosen and not others" (Foucault 1991b: 80). They are able to affect the real by forming into institutions and informing individual behaviour so as to "act as grids for the perception and evaluation of things" (Foucault 1991b: 81). Foucault cautioned that programmes were rarely followed to the letter and that a potential for rejecting or resisting the manner of treatment could be found in them. Further, whatever the outcomes produced, the programmes were in fact implemented and did not remain locked inside some-one's head (Foucault 1991b: 81). Without this realisation planning procedures might easily 'hide behind the scenes' those aspects of social life deemed, for whatever purpose, as 'distasteful'.

Planning has thus been part of wider concerns and programmes involved in aesthetic orderings of Victoria Square. However, Victoria Square is also a space in which a range of articulations are possible that, as Jane Jacobs (1996) has indicated more generally, fall outside the colonial encounter. That is, participants are not solely engaged with the "grim entrapment in colonial formations, past and present" (Jacobs 1996: 15). I argue therefore, that the range of articulations at the Square are as a result of historical antecedents of which the colonial encounter is but a part.

From a Western perspective, Elias' (1978) study on 'manners' brings to the fore possibilities for exploring such interwoven articulations. Elias' work emphasised the interplay of individual and group in constructing identity and fundamental links to relations of power. He expressed the dynamics of group and individual interactions in notions, most notably, of resistance and opposition, acquiescence or accommodation, and 'just doing'. In my account these dynamics articulate relations at the Square which are deeply inscribed by the West's assumption of superiority in matters relating to 'taste' and 'manners'.

The application of social mechanisms such as 'shame' and 'embarrassment' may be equated to a 'hiding behind the scenes' all that appears distasteful. In this regard Elias indicated trends in changing attitudes to urination, defecation, spitting, the

increasing privacy of the bedroom or even in the carving up of meat (1978: 121). Changes in attitude were traced to the times and manners of courtesans, and are, perhaps, most poignantly revealed in the treatment of animal carcasses. Around this treatment "(t)he increasingly strong tendency to remove the distasteful from the sight of society clearly applies, with few exceptions, to the carving of the whole animal" (Elias 1978: 121). Carving had been, up to the mid-nineteenth century, an integral part of upper class sociality, but its practice gradually became perceived as more and more obnoxious, so that eventually "the distasteful is *removed behind the scenes of daily life*" (Elias 1978: 121, his emphasis). After this time carving began to be left to 'specialists' in the kitchen and elsewhere. This characteristic of 'hiding behind the scenes' is fundamental to notions of the advance of 'civilisation'.

The history of Victoria Square highlights the pressing needs of planning authorities to make this the heart of the City. In formulating this heart, an essence for the City's identity was continuously sought through aesthetic ideals that were fought over and disputed but rarely made concrete. In the midst of these debates were Indigenous people who were gossiped about and derided and removed from promotions of Victoria Square as a prominence in the state of 'civilisation'. In this paradox the presence of Indigenous people at the Square was seen as a curtailment of the march towards civility and ensured that their continued peripheral status remained centre focus.

The more the dominant pursued efforts to remove the Aboriginal "problem", as it was termed by the State Government's Minister of Social Services in 1994 (Campbell, *The Advertiser* 1994: 27), the more such efforts revealed uncanny relations of power. In labelling the Indigenous presence as 'a problem' the Minister, I argue, cast light on a situation that he and his Government uncannily felt powerless to control. However, their inaction or inability to act other than in indirect ways has focussed attention on the relations between a Colonial Self and Indigenous Other. 'The problem' was thus more than a local irritation but one firmly lodged in the national psyche. As Gelder and Jacobs (1998) have noted, the more colonialism and its contemporary processes have sought to discredit claims of the Aboriginal sacred, the more this has been brought to the

forefront of everyday life and the more it becomes fundamentally entwined with "the making of the nation" (Jacobs 1996: 126). As such, "(t)he Aboriginal sacred always throws up questions to do with who is 'marginal' - who is empowered enough to claim to represent the nation, and who feels as if the nation has disdained them" (Gelder & Jacobs 1998: xii).

The other side of this relationship is an enduring and uncanny colonial process in which the treatment of Indigenous people from the earliest days of settlement and into the present has been continued through confinement to reserves and closely monitored behaviour. In colonial Australia this confinement represented, as Jacobs has argued, "a spatial repression which kept distant the Otherness against which the Self was constituted" (1996: 130). The spatial repression at Victoria Square has continued in the form of rendering general behaviour there as 'illegitimate' or 'illicit' by the attempted application of a 'dry zone' territoriality. Even without coming into force, because the 'dry zone' ruling would have also curtailed the freedom of non-Indigenous people to consume alcohol in the Parklands, its appearance in planning discussions reinscribes white ownership and codes of behaviour on the landscape of the Square. However, the inscriptive process is also part of 'unseemly' Indigenous practices through which Victoria Square is revealed as an Indigenous space of significance.

Policing 'the vision'

In a lighter (whiter) sense the Parklands and squares of Adelaide have been the definitive spatial imprint of the City of Adelaide planner, Colonel William Light. The success of his design emanated from the continued presence of the Parklands and followed his determination that they be maintained for the recreational benefit of the non-Indigenous population. Even in the contemporary era, it was evident that the Parklands were not intended for use by Aborigines, a fact well demonstrated by a growing number of ludicrous proposals to alter the shape of Victoria Square.

Victoria Square, the recognised centre-piece of Light's design of the City, maintained a feeling of unease that had both social and bodily assignations. The Aboriginal people who daily occupied the Square were the object of this unease. They constituted a 'problem' for governments that was not confined to the 1980s or 1990s but one that could be traced to at least the 1950s, according to Henry Ninio in 1995 who stated from his Lord Mayoral office that "(i)t used to be not too bad in the 1950s - it's a bloody disaster now" (Ninio cited by Church, *Sunday Mail* 1995: 5). His plan for dealing with Aborigines congregating in Victoria Square involved the "planting [of] 1500 trees" (Ninio cited by Church, *Sunday Mail* 1995: 5) as an effective means of hiding or driving the 'problem' from view. This infilling technique was adopted as early as 1854 by the City Council to prevent the construction of an Anglican Cathedral at its edge.

Jacobs has pointed out that "(l)and rights success in Australia was, and still is, linked to specific constructions of Aboriginality in which 'traditional' Aborigines are privileged over those Aborigines who have had their way of life most seriously disrupted by contact" (1996: 111). For Aborigines access to land has been continually denied as constant reaffirmations of the principles of *terra nullius* are made that are shored up by "spatial technologies of power" (Jacobs 1996: 105). Typically these technologies are associated with "laws of property, practices of surveying, naming and mapping and the procedures of urban and regional planning" (Jacobs 1996: 105). Such technologies belong to the administrative heart of a city.

Despite the area's profound significance for Aborigines, Victoria Square's surrounding constructs have activated a wilful application of the principles enshrined in the concept of *terra nullius* and have been part of a wider "(s)patial control [that] is an essential constituent of modern technologies of discipline and power" (Shields 1991: 39). This control lay in the dictates of bureaucratic policies and formulations of composure at the heart of Adelaide social life that are guided by Eurocentric 'civilising' principles that are produced and made accessible in the confines of space, such as the hospital, the prison, the school and so on (cf. Foucault 1982). Within these confines

the conversion "of dangerous multitudes or wandering vagabonds to fixed and docile individuals" (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982: 155) has been more easily effected. Those beyond the confines are classed as 'uncivilised' and outside widely held norms of conduct.

Though dispossessed, the Indigenous people at Victoria Square brought the formulations of composure surrounding them into question. In this way the possibilities for "new forms of Aboriginal authority come into being through the very structures of dispossession" (Gelder & Jacobs 1998: 51). The assignation of the title 'Mayor of the Square' bestowed on a well-known Aboriginal figure by fellow 'regulars' at the Square is a further case in point. At the last public rally I attended in 1998 (generated by Indigenous people who sought renewed efforts for reconciliation) the 'Mayor' was called upon to welcome all non-Kaurna people at the rally onto Kaurna land, prior to the march proceeding down King William Street to Elder Park and the River Torrens. By using the structural forms of their 'oppressor' the Indigenous presence in the Square was positioned in contradistinction to the authority of the other Mayor, the Lord Mayor of the City of Adelaide. In so doing the jurisdiction of the City Hall was rendered less stable and contested.

Indigenous claims that posit an alternative order threaten the validity of existing non-Indigenous structures and, as Gelder & Jacobs noted, "produces a certain kind of crisis for non-Aboriginal Australians" (1998: 60-1). The counter-claims undermine understandings of 'traditional' views held about Aboriginal beliefs that are believed because they are consigned to 'tradition' by the non-Indigenous. Without the foothold of 'tradition', non-Indigenous people discover a separation of notions pertaining to the 'sacred' and a corruption of the 'sacred' by association with the 'bureaucratic' (Gelder & Jacobs 1998: 61). The supplanting of this ideal of 'Aboriginality' by an "'Aboriginal bureaucracy'" appears to be "'monstrous'" and unacceptable to non-Indigenous views on what Aborigines should be (Gelder & Jacobs 1998: 61).

Development proposals for the Square have acted insidiously as a spatial means for denying and defining the Indigenous presence in the City and their rights over land

in contemporary times. These 'peregrinations' of designers and politicians reveal that Indigenous people remain as 'unknown' as the outback that for many is only understood at a psychic level. Fergie has indicated that occasional forays into the outback regions were for many metropolitan Australians seen as a chance to get in touch with who they were and to gain an understanding of the nation they lived in. Thus, argued Fergie, "(t)he outback is now a realm in which visitors, tourist and researcher alike, can see themselves as explorers and their journeys as explorations into the interiors of both self and nation" (1996: 21). Importantly, such understandings are brought back and introduced into bureaucratic policies and legislation (Fergie 1996: 21). These understandings are therefore intrinsic to the practices of everyday life in which it becomes possible to cast the Aboriginal presence in Victoria Square as a 'problem'. Their presence cannot be made to fit into bureaucratic models in which an idealised 'outback' version of Aboriginal life is paramount.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that planning proposals for the 'development' of Victoria Square underlined a means of determining and monitoring the behaviour of a group of Indigenous people at the Square and that these proposals brought forth the elements of a 'civilising' project. The location of this Indigenous group placed them at the heart of the City's celestial and terrestrial imaginings and at the centre of its postcolonial practices. Further, their formulations of composure helped shape the terms of postcolonial encounters and 'unsettled' the formulations of composure that surrounded them.

My investigation into formulations of composure in this chapter highlighted uncanny practices at work in policing and various institutional operants such as used in the planning process. Claims of Aboriginal behaviour pointing to excessive alcohol consumption, abusive language and so on, that is, misdemeanours, were presented as the object of Eurocentric 'civilising' practices. In asserting superiority through

formulations of composure the dominant order effectively justified planning actions taken or the comments of media reports. However, I assert that the operations through which 'civilising' principles work are not only inside the heads of participants but also locatable in daily enactments of resistance and contestation in which the dominated are confronted with a politics of administration, the law and struggles over land, and the dominant are met by a politics of disruption. The possibility that the consumption of alcohol may be an essential part of such contestations was also explored.

The proposals for a 'dry zone' in Victoria Square and other proposed and operational means of constraining behaviour were linked to a Eurocentric model of 'civilisation'. For Elias, "(t)he process of civilisation is related to the acquired self-regulation that is imperative for the survival of the human being" (1995: 9). Self-regulation implies a deferment to a later date of the fulfilment of urges that the individual is either following or altering in some way (Elias 1995: 9). In Victoria Square self-regulation also enabled a process whereby victims could be cast as those victimising others. This turnaround is uncanny and promulgates relations in which, to borrow Gelder & Jacobs phrase, "to lose is also to gain" (1998: 51). As such those at the margins of society absurdly appear to some "to have gained *too much*" (Gelder & Jacobs 1998: 51, their emphasis) and are thus treated with even greater disdain.

Self-regulation requires the operation of power which in the first instance, said Fiske, is dependent on the enclosure of "territory, within which to concentrate rather than dissipate its energies" (1993: 72). Enclosing territory makes it easier to monitor or survey the populace as these modes are at "the core of social discipline" (Fiske 1993: 72). Yet those who wield power bring something of themselves to the monitoring process that reveals their personal histories and social competence (Fiske 1993: 78). Subtle nuances are also exhibited in the way the less powerful resist or skirt around the powerful. On occasion the individual or group may 'turn a blind eye' to the actions of some while not being so lenient with others. Such 'misrecognition' involves the power differentials between different strata of society. The individual or group may control

behaviour at such times by a careful selection of information rather than as a consequence of memory loss or ignorance.

Chapter Nine

'The roving eye': a view from the inside

> Identity is not fixed at birth; people become who they are gradually through life as they acquire different attributes derived from the activities in which they engage and the people with whom they live. One important contributor to identity is place. People are shaped, and their bodies become marked, by the activities in which they engage in the particular locality in which they live. Identities, skills and personal characteristics are acquired rather than innate (Carsten 1995: 329).

Concluding remarks

In this thesis I have examined how manners and demeanours are intertwined with relations of power in the City of Adelaide. In highlighting the uncanny conjunction between these formulations of composure and relations of power I have affirmed the centrality of political contestations within the apparently 'settled' landscapes of everyday experience. I have located unstated and stated rules and taken-for-granted cultural knowledge within composures through which an essence of propriety and order is maintained. Maintenance of these composures is fundamental to practice and the widespread adoption of coherent views of time/space that in part stem from misrecognition and myopia.

I have also demonstrated that relations of power are naturalised and in this process become difficult to discern. Relations between the instruments of governmentalities, corporations and 'the people' have been brought into view. This critical positioning enabled an exploration of anthropological space/time, landscape and aesthetic frames which have often been taken-for-granted in ethnographic studies. In foregrounding manners and demeanours I have noted how the City of Adelaide came to have the particular ordering that it did and how this society has come to view this ordering as framed by both personal and collective experiences.

Elements of 'heritage' were central to framed constructions of space/time in Adelaide that brought to light contestations and arguments within the City's landscape. Through the treatment of history that this political process predicated entry into the field of Adelaide's social elite has been maintained and assured. Seemingly, in 'heritage' is substantiated some fundamental truths bearing the status of foundational association. Further, where 'time' is privileged the body politic has been reacting to a changing landscape which is in some sense already formed. The apparent inability of the body politic to shape the environment is brought about by a temporal frame in which the past, present and future are conjoined. My focus on a discrete set of case studies in this thesis and the ways in which meanings have been fought over and reproduced in the landscape has contradicted such a view.

My investigations of both everyday life and its historical context related a discussion about how the City of Adelaide and, to some extent, the State, has been produced and reproduced spatially and socially through demeanours and behaviour. Features of the Adelaide landscape have been revealed as integral to everyday life, being intimately associated with the space/time of daily confrontations in which people moved. I have argued that manners and demeanours served to naturalise experiences of the City in the present and to complement everyday occurrences in fundamental ways.

The foundations on which dominant discourses have been built demonstrated socially orienting effects for the City's spatial forms. The remnants of such foundations indicated, in the contemporary era, an essential part of the process through which an "officialdom" (Fiske 1993: 59) has been maintained and reproduced and is transformative. In 'official' promotions a City devoid of inhabitants or emphasising its utilitarian aspects has been foregrounded. The orientation that this provided for everyday understandings of Adelaide set up apparent contradictions that became more sharply defined as one moved down or across the social scale, in terms of gender, age, wealth or race.

Debates fundamental to the changing form of the City's landscape have tended to be highly polarised in the late twentieth century, according to whether the actor was

'pro-heritage' or 'pro-development'. In on-going debates in Adelaide over the maintenance of 'heritage' forms and/or their replacement/'development', concerns have been expressed that essentially related the contemporary negotiations of meaning and political contestation. Adelaide's remarkable retention of its historic structures (Ward 1999: 18) was linked to social and spatial configurations in which the City's plan, and the social program on which it was based, have predicated an orientation to understanding in which visual aesthetics are foregrounded. Thus I was directed to an exploration of the past in the present and to the way names and architectural forms oriented everyday understandings as people negotiated their way about the City's spaces. Through my focus on particular areas of the City in which 'development' and 'heritage' orientations have collided I have sought to reveal how the architectural forms of the City landscape were non-static and maintained shifting shards of meaning that mirrored the transformative social practices of Adelaide.

In this ethnography of power a complex of relations centred on bringing a concrete environment to fruition have been discussed. I adopted Elias' (1978) concept of 'civilisation' in order to observe and comment on the influence of manners and demeanours in such relations. Elias' work along with Bourdieu's conceptions of 'bodily hexis' and 'meconnaissance' (1990a) helped assert the practice orientation of my aesthetics and to thereby indicate how manners and demeanours have been acquired in everyday life.

The importance of 'heritage' and 'development' issues in this City further highlighted the nexus between demeanour and civility. The extent to which one group or another held sway, along with their adaptive uses of 'heritage', was a measure of the population's acceptance through practice of implicit aesthetic principles and their centrality to the social construction of identity. A focus on visual aesthetics, typical of dominant discourses on the City, made it more likely for space to be conceived in the abstract and as time dependent, and, as such, aesthetics were often used to politically mobilise the relations between space and subject.

The thesis in review

In Chapter Two I linked the erasure and removal of traces of an Aboriginal past to planning practices from Wakefield onwards. I have argued that this erasure centred on the construction of selective 'visions' and remembering and forgetting. The initial acts of survey and division, to which such 'visions' were the prelude, sectioned off the past of Aborigines from the present of European invasion. Such initial divisions were repeated everywhere in the spatial environment of the square mile and have resulted in 'planning decisions' or aesthetic emplacements that have isolated periods of the State's progress as different. They indicated a change in vista and progression towards a more encompassing civility. Each of these periods of settled transformation, for example, the Playford era, the Bannon Years or the Dunstan decade, provided a layering of discourses that constructed 'places'. The visibility of these discourses sometimes appeared in the physical forms of the landscape in which former social uses were then perhaps remembered, stored or discarded.

Dominant political discourses, whether on Light or involved in the naming of City streets and squares, brought out orientations that have been subtly enforced and enacted on a daily basis[1]. The movement from blueprint to material form has also indicated how expressions of power appear in everyday practices. The blueprint's or map's assumed objectivity helped reinforce the legitimacy of an elite and a capacity for organising a "totalising classification" (Anderson 1991: 173). As such maps/blueprints contributed to the State's archaeology of knowledge which was available for constructing a certain ancestral past-in-the-present. Such constructs have been especially pertinent to contemporary debates between 'development' and 'heritage' in the City of Adelaide.

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[1] A recent newspaper article, covering three pages of *The Advertiser,* presented, under the heading 'Men of Vision. *Adelaide's* Grand Planners', the prominence of Col. W. Light in Adelaide's contemporary form and depicted him as a 'visionary' whose design made possible the future. The article also mentioned that

> (a)mong myriad men (sic) behind Adelaide's ambience, four men of vision reflect the wisdom of many others - Colonel Light; late 19th century city gardener August Pelzer; in modern times architect John Morphett, who stamped Adelaide's CBD; and housing and construction mogul Max Liberman, who shaped its city and suburban housing (N. Williams, *The Advertiser* 1999: Weekend 5).

The constructed resonances between Adelaide's ancestral past and its first surveyor-planner Colonel William Light have been illustrative of Light's uncanny prominence in past and contemporary historical accounts of Adelaide. Yet Light's authoritarian image has been down-played in much of this history.

Out of this cultural configuring of Light concrete forms in space/time have been manifest. Many of these have aggrandised the figure of Light for locals and subtly masked the underlying brutality of a science of possession and its enduring 'settled' features. In this way everyday experiences of Light's grid-plan have enhanced his artistic status and the 'civilising' propensities of the Adelaide plan while at the same time obfuscating the scientific means of the plan's implementation.

The addition of names to the plan examined in Chapter Three underscored the power relations evident at the time of settlement. These named pathways were conjoined with mundane experiences of the City and presented the genealogical grounds along which movement occurred and on which a totality has been based. The genealogy of names and the prominence of Colonel Light in contemporary planning debates have highlighted the role of historical and political relations in the construction of 'visions' for 'development'.

References to the image of Light in Adelaide provided a narrative means that has helped structure consciousness. However, the City has not been solely or even predominantly experienced through Light's image or as a 'text'. The examination of daily practices revealed that not everyone has shared the same 'vision' of space/time nor had the same vantage from which to construct a 'vision' of the City. Rather such practices provoked disruptive understandings of Adelaide in which the various 'ways of seeing' that have been presented here have appeared to some extent illusory and 'unsettling'. Accordingly my own vantage point has been presented as a 'roving eye' on City relations from the point of view of a white, aspiring middle-class male, strategically positioned within the academy and its elite knowledge systems. Significantly, I am also part of the institutions that I have critically assessed.

The iconic reminders of a past which appeared in Adelaide's 'avenue of power', North Terrace, were examined in Chapters Four and Five. These built forms, like the constructed forms and dominant political discourse on Adelaide, helped instruct on the difference between 'savagery' and 'civilisation'. The institutions, statues and plaques revealed spatial configurations based on historical and political relations that have been both personal and official. These specific embodiments of modernity indicate a time that is ever deposited, like in a museum, and assignations linking built forms and memoriae to tradition and order. References to 'a hick boulevard', a 'cultural boulevard', were part of a streetscape that, as Tony Baker and others have pointed out, only changes very slowly[2] (cited in *The Advertiser* 1994: 15).

The role of institutions like the museum were complemented by the various institutions that were assembled along the Terrace and historical and political relations between commercial and public interests either side of the Terrace. For instance, in 1995 a blueprint for a A$50 million shopping arcade extending from Rundle Mall to the Museum was released. One of the proposal's main features was the inclusion of an underground tunnel that would link the City's "commercial and intellectual areas" (Dr. Chris Anderson, South Australian Museum Director, cited by Owen, *Sunday Mail* 1995: 11). The director of the Museum confirmed that:

> Our vision is for a new science gallery under the forecourt of the museum lawns, with a fantastic, underground shopping arcade link to Rundle Mall - such an attraction could take our visitor numbers to the million mark ... We've never really talked across the Terrace - the commercial and the cultural have never really come together, and it's a bit of a pity. We'd like to tap into each other's market ... If you put appropriate shops in there, which tied in with the museum theme, it would be a real success (Anderson cited by Owen, *Sunday Mail* 1995: 11).

These comments appear uncanny given that the 'cultural' side of the Terrace was significantly formed by the actions of those whose 'commercial' interests were located on the retail side. The comments also highlighted the ease with which the time/space of the museum and the everyday activities of the commercial world were separated. This

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[2] Members at a recent forum organised by the State Library and titled 'Visions of North Terrace' generally agreed that there had been "frustrating decades ...of plans for upgrading the length of the street that have largely gone nowhere" (M. Lloyd, *The City Messenger* 1996e: 5).

separation invoked misrecognised understandings as neither commercial nor institutional pursuits have occupied isolated mediums as I demonstrated in Chapter Four of this thesis.

The 'development' of museums has proceeded along with the 'development' of various cultural institutions where crowds have gathered. An important distinction museums have shared with exhibitions and department stores was an ability to exert crowd control and the presentation of organised walks through interiors "in which an intended message is communicated in the form of a (more or less) directed itinerary" (Bennett 1995: 6). The concept of directed itineraries gained widespread acceptance throughout the 1990s in Adelaide and was evident in the popularity of 'heritage walks' that enhanced the appeal of certain areas of the City as well as in art exhibits and publications[3].

North Terrace like 'the Strand' examined in Chapter Six shared a foremost relation to the formation of 'heritage' and entertainment values that were used by an 'officialdom' to exercise and maintain power in the form of "political process" (Jacobs 1996: 35). I have noted that in the East End Steering Committee's attempts to bring some aspects of these two areas into alignment they also reproduced and maintained differing foci. Colonialism, the State, and institutions such as the Museum and Art Gallery in North Terrace have been especially incorporated into cultural elements that the Steering Committee isolated as important to the 'East End'. However, the 'East End's popularity was set against a festive atmosphere, one roused initially by some unusual practices of market work.

The spaces of 'the Strand' examined in Chapter Six, indicated a time of temporary relaxation such as experienced in cafes, gardens and so on. These activities were conjoined with shifting global foci made available through various information technologies and events like a Grand Prix motor race. My investigation of the historical

[3] Art installations like "The Invisible City" commented on whether "the city sustains a psychology of difference from those of other State capital cities" (Cruickshank 1996: 6). Such exhibitions reproduced tangible links that could be mobilised to confirm or disconfirm 'official' views at a personal level of everyday experience.

backgrounds of these areas also demonstrated the effects of political, economic an ideological factors in contemporary Adelaide. That analysis sought to highlight the construction of distinctions of meaning along a single transverse of the City.

Differences between the predominantly inward focus of North Terrace and fundamental social constructions of local identity, were offset by 'the Strand' and its outward and worldly focus. In North Terrace behaviour was oriented by setting up 'norms' of social 'heritage' that were absorbed into, and altered by, local practices. 'The Strand', as the differentiated 'backyard' to the more 'fundamental' (in the sense of orienting 'local' identity) experience of North Terrace, elevated cosmopolitan experiences that signalled more obvious adaptations to understandings framed as shifting global movements.

The Hindley Street end of 'the Strand' was demeaned as culturally inferior and destabilising of civility especially by those in the 'East End' who feared its degenerative aspects. In Hindley Street an emphasis on the 'penetrated/penetrating body' frequently adorned or pierced by jewellery, tattoos, syringe needles and so on, was associated with the more violent aspects of criminal behaviour involving prostitution, murder, rape and drugs. It was a place in which to be demeaned and to act with less than usual demeanour.

In contrast the 'developments' at the eastern end of the City, analysed in Chapter Seven, have sought to illuminate incorporating and imperialising strategies in a contemporary 'development' setting in Adelaide. These strategies relied on the employment of conventions that distanced the involvement of practitioners and disguised their political intent. Such a separation parallels the removal of the author(s) from a blueprint or map that heralds an act extinguishing a complex of people involved in their production. In cartography, for instance, 'objectivity' displaces subjective considerations by those who construct the map. This is made evident by "(c)hanges in the aesthetic appearance of maps [that] testified to the growing authority of scientific discourse" (Kirby 1996: 45). Further the creation of grids, maps of empire, familiar landscapes out of 'unknown' ones are all "spatial events" (Jacobs 1996: 158) that not

only boosted the coffers of an imperial regime but also made possible a movement from the "visioned to the embodied" (Jacobs 1996: 158). As such these events establish "the beginnings of that most permanent legacy of imperialism: the contest between that which, through space itself, has been 'naturalised' and that which has been made 'illegitimate'"(Jacobs 1996: 158-59).

Although developers and the State Government may have assumed that what they were presenting was under their complete control, this analysis has indicated that their control was sifted through public comment and contested meanings. Developers liked to see themselves as puppet masters and the constructed 'visions' of space/time later taken up by 'officials' also leant in a similar direction. These 'visions' anchored an historical memory in which local idioms became obscured by a dominant discourse on Adelaide's history. Such 'visions' also reimposed an order, one which, on closer examination of the everyday world, presumed a fiction. However, as has been noted, the affirmations of developers, planners and so on did not go unchallenged in this essentially political process.

Developers of the 'Garden East' site built over the former market site that itself had been built over the remains of Workman's Cottages and a 'Rookery' (a tanning factory), which were the first uses that Europeans put to this end of the City. These earlier remains were discovered and later interred under a bed of sand over which brick pavers had been placed (Menses, pers. comm., 1994). These accretions gave the site a form like a museum, in that it resembled a place where the remnants of the past could be viewed, even if that viewing was not immediate.

The archaeological dig conducted in 1992 as part of the development of the AFPE site in Rundle Street demonstrates this point. The 'dig' brought to the surface fragments of a European presence and in reportage about them served to reinforce a European past that further relegated memories of an Aboriginal past. The foundational remains of early European occupation were later carefully interred under a bed of sand and brick pavers. Publicity about the 'dig' contributed to the validation of the prior European occupation

and ownership of the City and layering cultural conceptions that were 'homely'[4]. At the same time this resurfacing of European claims of ownership reinforced conceptions of 'Tandanya', in the Kaurna sense of the Adelaide area, as 'unhomely'.

Victoria Square, the purported 'heart of the City', has been revealed in Chapter Eight as a place deeply unsettled in meaning. However, an ordering has continually been sought there as a measure of Light's intentions for making the Square the 'hub of the City' in every sense and the realisation of Light's 'vision' for Adelaide. In being located at the centre of the City, Victoria Square was at the heart of administrative concerns as well as a locus of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous concerns. Although maintained as a continuous link from Light until the present its facets are still seen as revolting. What should have been the site of civility and order has instead been daily presided by an 'ungovernable' and 'uncivil' Aboriginal presence which might just as easily have met elsewhere in the 'square mile'. The choice of some Aboriginal people to unsettle and congregate in the centre of the City, however, has maintained a high profile for Indigenous identity in a place surrounded by the temporal mechanisms of City order.

Some implications of this study

This thesis raises issues about the qualities of anthropological space/time and the study of a diverse and complex population in a western city. Throughout I have argued for an anthropology of space/time framed by reference to manners and demeanours and hence the political, psychic and social domain. In a unique way I have placed an analysis of manners and demeanours at the fulcrum of uncanny relations that disturb settled 'visions' of space/time and power in the core of urban space. In essence the dynamic nature of culture has been asserted and degrees of cultural construction exposed.

[4] The remains of 'the Rookery' were covered over with sand and pavers to retain their present integrity for possible future examinations and to appease members of interested groups. Contemporary space/time, rendered in this way, shared some of the characteristics associated with the museum, which held in perpetuity items that served to educate the populace.

The form of anthropological inquiry I have adopted has much in common with methods employed in cultural geography particularly by Jacobs (1999: 11ff) which shares a similar ethnographic focus. This commonality was not consciously achieved but rather the result of what I considered as a pragmatic way of encompassing my diverse field site. However, I have not sought to exchange breadth of understanding for depth of understanding in accord with Jacobs stated aims of the cultural geographer (1999: 19). To this end I have made conscious efforts to use historical perspectives as an integral feature of my ethnographic method. Further I have endeavoured to take "an instrumental and eclectic view of complementary ways of finding facts" (Hannerz 1980: 315). My use of a loosely structured interview technique was adopted with the understanding that it was but one part of participant observation methods which also make use of, as Denzin has illustrated, document analysis, introspection, direct observation and observer participation (1978: 183). In this vein my concern has been to move between macro and micro scale structures within an ethnographic field and correspondingly to view the role of spatial/temporal forms in everyday perception and experience.

I chose the City of Adelaide as a site for study precisely because of its apparently inherent stable spatial appearance reflected in projected images of an even political climate. In order to investigate this apparent 'stability' I delved into subtleties of behaviour and the way powerful elites have muted the responses of those they wished to ignore. Had I chosen a more politically volatile field site then manners and demeanours might have appeared more marginal to the incidences surrounding them. I might thus have ended up with a completely different study that was dismissive of concerns easily marginalised in everyday encounters.

The geographical and cultural proximity of this field site has sensitised this study, rather than distanced it, to salient qualities of fieldwork experience. The site brought to the fore critical issues surrounding the practice of fieldwork and ethnography that not only confronted fundamental relations between anthropologist and those under study but also brought to the fore assumptions concerning the boundaries of field sites. Easily

glossed details were emphasised in a study centred on the movement of people and information across boundaries. The powerful forces that affected and shaped peoples' daily lives within my field site were concurrently illuminated.

The findings of this study highlight the influences of culture in which an analysis of manners and demeanour took place. The first year of my fieldwork (1994) was a time in which great alterations to the City's physical appearance were occurring, arguably with perhaps some of the most dramatic changes to streetscapes in the City's history. A new style of development project was initiated and represented as an embellishment of already existent practices within the City's structuring and spatial make-up. A variety of competing 'visions' were aired in various forums and contributions from the public sought. Cafes and restaurants multiplied within popular areas of City life. Other activities, like the Grand Prix, WOMAD and cafe internet access centred on more 'globalised' interactions which were already gaining acceptance and being treated in a more mundane fashion. These types of events helped set in motion the scene of intense activity within the field site of my study. This was a spatial appearance given credence as withstanding change that seemed out of kilter with reality.

In this study I have used 'the uncanny' to reveal the contestable nature of everyday space/time and its formation and to foreground concealed relations. 'The uncanny' appears in the erasure of distinctions between imagination and reality which disrupts taken-for-granted relations of power. Relations of power seem natural because they are put into the fabric of buildings and open spaces for all to see. However, evocations of Light's 'vision', for example, can be seen as attempts to 'settle' space which is at the same time always 'unsettled'.

Analysis of formulations of composure have been used to convey aspects of demeanours associated with a sense of decorum and an essence of propriety allied with the State's foundations. They revealed relations with practice fundamental to the people of Adelaide and its planning. Since formulations of composure were revealed in a process of normalising relations of power it is in those areas in which relations of power are de-emphasised and misrecognised that have been the focus of this thesis.

Elias (1978) brought manners to attention in his analysis of courtly behaviour and civilisation in Europe. On a much smaller scale I have depicted a range of behaviours in the context of built structures and their conception on the streets of Adelaide. I see these behaviours not so much as forms of resistance to, or concurrence with, hegemonic control but often as unseen expressions of human experience essentially related to the space/time of their occurrence.

I have sought to account for how cities are always contested spaces of meaning in which uncanny contradictions constitute the relations of power therein. This thesis has also explored how we sometimes feel 'at home' in them and at other times not 'at home'. In this endeavour manners and demeanours have proved indicative of a range of possible articulations that remain elusive in everyday encounters. Significantly, they make evident the powerful nature of cultural acquisition and its deployment.

Chronology of key events:

1829 - E.G. Wakefield published *A Letter to Sydney* and its guidelines for the establishment of a self-funded colony

1834 - South Australian Foundation Act passed by British Parliament.

1836 - Arrival of first fleet of settlers from Great Britain and the Proclamation of South Australia by Governor Hindmarsh in the newly formed Province of South Australia.

1837 - Colonel Light commenced survey of the present site of the City of Adelaide.

1837 - Naming of the streets of the City of Adelaide.

1838 - Adelaide Club acquired land for a club house in Wakefield Street.

1839 - First Aboriginal school constructed at the 'Location'.

1839 - Death of Colonel Light.

1839 - Kingston's grave-site memorial to Col. Light constructed.

1840 - First Municipal Council in Australia elected for Adelaide.

1841 - First section of Adelaide Gaol completed.

1844 - Colonel Light's first grave site monument constructed.

1847 - *Vagrancy Act* passed through Parliament.

1847-51 - Magistrates Courts constructed.

1849 - Opening of St Peter's College.

1855 - Ayers House built on North Terrace.

1856 - Founding legislation for the establishment of the South Australian Institute.

1858 - Construction of Adelaide Botanic Gardens.

1859-61 - South Australian Institute building constructed.

1863-64 - The Adelaide Club's headquarters on North Terrace constructed.

1866 - Adelaide Town Hall constructed.

1866-69 - Supreme Courts constructed.

1869 - Opening of Prince Alfred College.

1869 - Adelaide Central Market opened.

1874 - University of Adelaide created.

1876-77 - Construction of Botanic Hotel on North Terrace.

1881 - Mitchell Building constructed.

1883-89 - West wing of current Parliament House constructed.

1884 - Jervois Wing of the Mortlock Library of South Australiana constructed.

1894 - Women's Suffrage Bill passed by South Australian Parliament.

1894 - Statue of Queen Victoria placed in Victoria Square.

1895 - South Australian Museum (north wing) constructed.

1895-1920 - Queen Adelaide Club constructed.

1898 - First section of the Art Gallery of South Australia constructed.

1900-03 - Brookman Hall constructed.

1901 - Federation of Australian States proclaimed.

1901 - Construction of John Martin & Co.'s former offices in North Terrace.

1903 - Statue of Thomas Elder placed in the grounds of the University of Adelaide.

1903 - West's Coffee Palace constructed in Hindley Street.

1904-08 - Adelaide Fruit & Produce Exchange (AFPE) constructed in Rundle Street.

1905 - Colonel Light's current grave site monument constructed in Light Square.

1906 - Statue of Walter Watson Hughes placed in front of the University of Adelaide's Mitchell Building.

1906 - Statue of Colonel Light unveiled in Victoria Square.

1923-27 - Freemasons' Hall constructed.

1930-31 - South Australian War Memorial constructed.

1936 - Bonython Hall constructed.

1938 - Statue of Colonel Light moved to Montefiore Hill.

1955 - Formation of the Australian National Trust.

1960 - First Adelaide Festival of Arts.

1966-67 - South Australian Heritage Act passed.

1968 - Victoria Square fountain constructed.

1974 - Australian Committee of Inquiry into the National Estate (*The Hope Inquiry*) findings published.

1976 - Rundle Mall opened.

1980 - Bust of Mary Lee unveiled on North Terrace.

1985 - First Adelaide Grand Prix.

1988 - AFPE closed.

1989 - Opening of Tandanya National Aboriginal Cultural Institute Inc.

1992 - Archaeological dig at AFPE site undertaken.

1995 - Final Adelaide Grand Prix.

2000 - Dedication of statue for Dame Roma Mitchell on North Terrace.

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Appendix I — Planning difference

One of the most striking differences between this City and all other Australian capital cities apart from one[1] is that Adelaide's social blueprint was conceived in London prior to its physical conception in situ. South Australia was also the first colony of Britain to appear as a joint enterprise between government and private concerns. It was conceived in an era promoting religious freedoms and when scientific thought, often in the service of capital, was in the ascendancy. Moreover, a Utilitarian approach to planning was adopted that stood in stark contrast to the "'mercantilism'"[2] (Brugger 1994: 20) practised in New South Wales.

The colonial experience in Sydney was not based on the same *a priori* understandings that pertained to the settlement of Adelaide. Adelaide was a destination predicated on the assertion of law and order. Among the features of the South Australian Foundation Act passed by British Parliament in 1834 were provisions, isolated by Hodder, that South Australia

> not ... be subject to the laws of other colonies, but only those expressly enacted for itself; in no case were convicted felons to be landed on its shores; ... the whole of the money derived from the sale of waste lands [was] to be employed in conveying labourers, natives of Great Britain and Ireland, to the colony, the labourers to be conveyed in equal numbers of both sexes (Hodder 1893: 28-29).

Here an enterprise based on land sales and the quotidian duties of commerce were set amongst principles of propriety. It was commerce and the work of a 'free' labour force, as opposed to the convict labour pool used in setting up other states of Australia, that were implemented to sustain the new province. Sydney, in contrast, was in its first stage of settlement to be the destination of dis-ordered lawbreakers and those who guarded the State's interests (in them). King suggested that the work of William Eden on the 'Discourse of Banishment' supplied the rationale for the settlement of Botany Bay (now part of greater Sydney) to the British Government (King 1990: 77). Eden expressed the opinion that convicts might justifiably be used to found the colony at Botany Bay. He claimed that unlike freemen the lives of criminals were

> forfeited to justice ... and have always been judged a fair subject of hazardous experiments, to which it would be unjust to expose the more valuable members of the state. If there be any terrors before the prospect of the wretch who is banished to New South Wales, they are no more than he expects (Eden 1787: vi).

The colonisation process in Adelaide may thus be regarded as an experience already predicated on the basis of an order (the traditions of the British Empire) and on human motivational factors such as economics, social policy, political expediency and so on, that informed the historical particularities of the Province of South Australia. It was

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[1] The only other capital planned before occupation is Canberra, which was established as the administrative centre and capital of Australia in 1912 (Freeland 1988: 225).

[2] Brugger defines 'mercantilism' as "a policy whereby the state granted monopolies [that] favoured the interests of colonial oligarchies (rich ruling groups)" (1994: 20). Under this definition New South Wales qualified as a mercantilist state as it produced an oligarchy that was dependent on convict (read slave) labour for its operation.

E.G. Wakefield who provided the rationale for a plan for South Australia devoid of convict labour yet conceived within the walls of a prison.

Appendix II — The Wakefield Plan

Wakefield's social program was synthesised from contemporary, dominant social theories circulating in England around the 1820s (Williams 1974: 24) and illustrative of the social climate in which Light's plan of Adelaide was implemented. His program was based on a principle of 'concentration' which, in effect, meant that land was to be sold in contiguous blocks. The constraints imposed through 'concentration' were designed to curb the settlement's expansion and thereby maintain a centred populace. In contrast to a dispersed populace, which evaded governmental impositions, a 'concentrated' populace was considered easier to administer and control. 'Concentrated' settlement was the centrepiece of a theory that depended on the existence of land, labour and capital in the right proportions (Pike 1967: 77-8). Although this principle soon proved impractical and was abandoned it has had enduring effects into the present, not least as a basis for land accumulation and the class divisions on which Adelaide was predicated.

In his vision for a colonial future Wakefield predicted that 'concentration' would permit a

> proper division of labour; not everyone need work on the land. In the new town professional men, merchants and skilled workmen would have ample scope for their talents, with room perhaps for a political economist; there would be a market for the produce of adjacent farms; roads and bridges would be built by cooperative effort and the need of government interference reduced to a minimum. With concentration, too, the proclivity of labourers to wander in search of higher wages would be checked. They would also continue to need the leadership and advice which at home they had from the squire and would now expect from the landowner. Thus concentration would beget another blessing - a colonial gentry (Pike 1967: 78).

Pike argued that these sentiments were primarily aimed at aspirants for the middle classes whose successes depended on personal sacrifices in order to generate wealth. Such people had a special place in Wakefield's utopia. He also privileged 'social utility' over 'religion', often to the extent that he was "offensively utilitarian [in his] explanations of religious phenomena" (Pike 1967: 82-3). He disliked church domination, preferring 'religious equality' based on the 'Voluntary Principle'. Pike's assertions of the influence that founders of the South Australian Association had over matters of State is supported by evidence indicating that churches soon needed voluntary contributions in order to survive. As a consequence "Adelaide was the first city in the Empire to realise that Dissenting dream of cutting the financial nexus between the state and established church" (Whitelock 1985: 72). Paradoxically, however, Adelaide remained epitomised as 'The City of Churches', a legacy of its high ratio of churches per head of population (Whitelock 1985: 189) and also as 'The City of Culture' (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1914: 28).

The egalitarian aspects of Wakefield's scheme, another supposed legacy of 'concentrated' settlement, were contradicted by the nascent social climate and the topography of a City where the elite occupied its higher social and geographical vantages. Further, the supply of a large labour force with which to determine the profitability of the province of South Australia was required. Thus Wakefield's agenda displayed a distinctly practical objective of maximising profits for investors in the 'Province of South Australia' while maintaining an underclass to realise its aims. In practice this meant that labourers were to be excluded from land ownership and social opportunity and thus contradicted expressions of "civil liberty, social opportunity, and equality for all religions" (Pike 1967: 1) that were written into the South Australian Charter. Despite these contradictions the utopian dream was maintained for a time and consolidated the 'vision' on which South Australia was founded. Light's plan of the City evoked the concrete manifestation of this 'vision'.

Foundational myths: the underlying social program of the Wakefield Plan

Over a six week period in 1829, Wakefield wrote a series of letters to the *Morning Chronicle* while serving time in Newgate prison for "marital piracy" (Dutton 1971: 147)[3]. The content of these letters formed the basis of a book, *Letter from Sydney,* in which was hatched the basis for a new social order. It was edited by his associate, Robert Gouger who later became South Australia's first Colonial Secretary (Price 1936: 44) and who was, according to Grenfell Price, the "chief mouthpiece of the Wakefield theory [and] ... one of the most important pioneers of South Australia" (Price 1978: 9). South Australian historian, Geoffrey Dutton, offered this assessment of the contents of the *Letter from Sydney:*

> With a style that lied like truth with the ease of Daniel Defoe, Wakefield wrote about his alleged experiences as a gentleman settler on 20,000 acres in New South Wales. He related his subsequent failure to the faults of the colony, and went on to suggest a new theory of colonisation, based on land sales at a 'sufficient price', the proceeds of which would form an Emigration Fund for 'the conveyance of British labourers to the colony free of cost'.
>
> The numbers of emigrants were to be rigorously controlled, 'so that Capitalists shall never suffer from an urgent want of Labourers, and that Labourers shall never want well-paid employment'; the emigrants themselves should be 'young persons and equal numbers of both sexes'. The colonies thus formed, he foresaw, 'would no longer be new societies, strictly speaking. They would be so many *extensions* of an old society...' (Dutton 1971: 148, his emphasis).

The book underscored Wakefield's theories of colonisation and the grounds upon which he and members of a Colonisation Committee later made successful appeals to the English aristocracy for the founding of a colony in South Australia. Significantly, the influential chairman of this committee, Colonel Robert Torrens, gave the plan his support (Howell 1992: 18). Though the 'Letter' was a fabrication it contained,

[3] This euphemistic term refers to Wakefield's penchant for abducting underage heiresses, the first of which he married, the second, however, on which he was arraigned for illegal abduction (Whitelock 1985: 21).

according to Powell, "fanciful snippets which increased the appeal of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's persuasive writings on colonisation: the conscious or unwitting assertions, based on unrepresentative data, which effectively disguised a want of first-hand experience" (1978: 130).

A central concern for Wakefield was the balancing of land, labour and capital in order to create a 'degree of concentration most favourable to wealth and progress' (Pike 1967: 94). Otherwise, he reasoned, "civilized men fall into a state of but half-civilisation" (Wakefield 1838: 91). Wakefield was also adamant that colonisation was more than the transferring of money and people from one place to another but involved the transfer of the best aspects of British life to a colony (1838: 124).

The greatest difficulties in putting these theories into practice were foreseen in the scale of pricing accorded to land sales and the absence of a convict labour force. In this event Wakefield instructed that land prices should be made a 'sufficient' value so as not to deter the migrant with capital from buying land while at the same time keeping land purchase out of the reach of less affluent labourers for some time after arrival. Labourers would find it difficult to accumulate the capital necessary for the purchase of land and hence be maintained as a labour force for those with capital. In effect this meant that the "principles on which the colony was founded were to serve a class interest" (Harrison 1978: 158).

Wakefield proposed that through the sales of land an ever-increasing number of emigrants would be given assisted passage for the journey to South Australia. Those unable to pay their own way would more likely be averted from joining such a colony and, as a consequence, a society made up of middle class professionals and businesses would be formed from "'emigrants [who] would call themselves ladies and gentleman'" (Wakefield cited in Dutton 1971: 148). Thus

> (t)he publicity campaign promoting the Wakefield scheme directed itself to the wealthier merchant and professional classes, as well as to the lower classes of British society - tradesmen, shopkeepers, and farmers - to ensure a balance in Adelaide's population reflecting British society and its values (Zacest 1978: 48).

One of the more striking features of the proposals was that the colony was to be self-governing from its outset and yet remain an integral dimension of the British Empire (Dutton 1971: 148). These ideas were controversial, so, not surprisingly, the establishment of a British colony in South Australia "developed in a welter of pamphleteering, lobbying and correspondence" (Dickey & Howell 1986: 7) in England that was detonated by Wakefield's prose[4].

Appendix III 'The Location'

One of the earliest attempts to control the Indigenous population is evident in the isolation of Aborigines of the Adelaide plain to an area that became known as the 'Aborigines Location' (Foster 1990: 11) in the City Parklands (hereafter 'the

[4] Marx observed that Wakefield was mindful of the different principles of landownership that existed between the old countries and the colonies. In the old countries land was already appropriated and therefore subsumed under landed property, whereas in the colonies the opposite held true (Marx 1981: 890). This distinction was immense because it meant that in the colonies there was a "legal or factual non-existence of landed property" (Marx 1981: 890).

Location'). Foster noted that 'the Location' had been largely neglected in discussions on Adelaide's history (1990: 11). The otherwise little-known 'Location' is curious given the eminent position the Parklands generally hold in contemporary social and cultural constructions of Adelaide. Such constructs negate "(t)he history of the Adelaide Park Lands ... as a microcosm of the dispossession of Indigenous people and the continuing effects of being an alien on one's own land" (Hemming 1998: 14)[5].

At 'the Location' local Aborigines were to be "civilised and Christianized" (Foster 1990: 11) through the implementation of 'concentrating' their existences to "a defined portion of land and there converting them from their nomadic habits into useful members of the industrial classes" (Foster 1990: 11). This, stated Foster, "was one of the most fundamental policies of the colonial government" (1990: 11) and critical to the 'civilising' and Christianizing stance applied to Aborigines into the twentieth century (1990: 11). It was first occupied around mid-1837 (Foster 1990: 12) and situated "on the northern bank of the Torrens opposite the Adelaide Gaol and near the first bridge across the river" (Foster 1990: 14) (see Figure 3).

The construction of huts and a school at 'the Location' made it the first place for authorities in South Australia to involve themselves in "the practice of the removal of Indigenous children from their parents" (Hemming 1998: 20). Just across the Torrens the first section of the Adelaide Gaol, completed in 1841 (Gargett & Marsden 1996: 40), was particularly visible to those at 'the Location'. From the time of its formation the Adelaide Gaol has maintained a great historical significance for Indigenous people, asserted Hemming, as "(t)hey are aware of the hangings that took place there and the unmarked Indigenous graves in the yard of the gaol" (Hemming 1998: 41).

The construction of huts by Aborigines in the southern area of the Torrens River by stripping bark from trees had already drawn strong condemnation from some settlers. One Adelaide resident complained that "(i)f this goes on much longer, the lovely spot reserved for the park will be deprived of its greatest ornaments, and we shall look in vain for a shady walk in the summer months" (Correspondent to *Register* August 15 1840 cited in Pope 1989: 45). The Indigenous presence thus threatened the development of (Western) aesthetic qualities of the Parklands area. Such attitudes and practices contributed to the on-going harassment of Indigenous people by Police that is evident in the following example from *The Register* of 1847:

> The police having repeatedly and in vain, warned the black natives not to erect their temporary places of abode, called wurlies, on the south side of the river, unwisely deemed it necessary to burn them (the said wurlies). The blacks, as may be supposed, were much enraged, and threatened mischief (*The Register*, 8 December 1847, cited in Hemmings 1998: 42).

The subsequent construction of permanent huts by the government were thus attempts to 'settle' the Aborigines with an objective of 'civil-ising' their practices. As such the government worked to combat customary practices and to preserve the trees

[5] The 'Sorry Day March' in 1999 addressed some of the widespread amnesia with regard to important Indigenous sites within the Parklands such as 'the Location' (Plate 3). 'The Location' was part of a route taken by marchers as part of 'Sorry Week' ceremonies conducted by Kaurna (and Njarrindjeri) Aborigines in 1999. The walk also included non-Indigenous people who joined marchers in their progression from the Adelaide Gaol to a final destination at Victoria Square.

for the pursuits of leisure, an irony unlikely to have escaped the attention of Aborigines migrating into the City who were first-hand witnesses to the rapid deforestation happening just out of town (Pope 1989: 45). The rations of food and clothing that ensued, in their terms, may thus be seen as a form of "reciprocity" (Foster 1990: 16), that is, a form of compensation for losing their traditional hunting domains and practices. This notion is further supported by the Aborigines' use of the permanent huts only as and when they required, that is, for ceremonies and so on, as a matter of 'convenience' (Foster 1990: 18).

Although the 'civilising' of adult Aborigines proved difficult, their children, it seemed, were more easily confined. In order to facilitate this educative process the Native School, which had been in operation at 'the Location' from 1839 to 1845, was relocated to "the former Sappers and Miners Barracks on Kintore Avenue" (Foster 1990: 22), nearby the Governor's domain[6] and away from the presence of Aboriginal elders and parents. This shift in focus meant that the former 'Native Location' was now only "'reserved' as a recognised place for Aborigines to camp in Adelaide - but it was little more" (Foster 1990: 28). The lack of firewood at 'the Location' also meant that the area was rarely useful to the Aborigines in the course of a year. They preferred to relocate to other parts of the Torrens River as resources became scarce (Foster 1990: 28). In order to arrest this habit and the movement of Aborigines about the newly emerging City, a redefined "Vagrant Act 1847" (Foster 1990: 29) was brought into practice. The Police Commissioner immediately forwarded a request to the Protector of Aborigines that the boundaries of 'the Location' be fenced off so as to enable more effective suppression of Aboriginal vagrancy in areas outside its bounds and keep them to the assigned lands (Foster 1990: 29). The Protector of Aborigines abetted this insult by requesting the deployment of adult Aborigines to the Town Surveyor to prevent their wanderings in the City. Soon after, in 1848, "the Aborigines Location essentially disappeared from view" (Foster 1990: 29). Hence an important foundational element of the City of Adelaide was concealed and naturalised by the same order of cultural act applied to new citizens who are naturalised by citizenship ceremonies.

Appendix IV Romantic versions of Light

At the unveiling of Light's statue in Victoria Square in 1906, the editor of Adelaide's major newspaper, *The Observer,* was moved to remark that "Col. Light, with a practical sense of immediate requirements, insisted on settling the people on fertile land where their labour could at once be made profitable" (Editor, *The Observer* 1906: 31). His sentiments echoed images of people being led into the fertile pastures of a 'promised land' where labour could be converted to gold. This biblical theme is reinforced in recollections by planners such as Ray Bunker (1986). Such accounts relate the South Australian Commissioners handing over to Light a list of ten principles for founding the colony of South Australia, prior to his departure from the United Kingdom in 1836 (Bunker 1986: 10). Such accounts add weight to Carter's assertion

[6] *Freeling's Map of 1849* presents evidence of the Government's intentions to separate as clearly as possible "the rapidly shrinking Native Location ... and the Sappers and Miners Quarters" (Foster 1990: 31).

that Light is an integral part of Adelaide's founding myth and that Light is used to legitimate the patriotic fervour of South Australians (1996: 211). In similar fashion biographers of Light supply the illusory links between the aesthetic dimensions of a plan and conceptions and perceptions of Light's life story which evade acknowledgment of the political implications of his actions. Instead we are left with more lasting impressions of a "disappointed Light ... [who] died of tuberculosis ... [and who was] badly treated by authority and driven to an early grave" (Cameron 1997: 49-51). This aspect of the ideal, presented through historical discourses of biography, is examined later in this chapter.

Other comments by the editor of *The Observer* at the inauguration of Light's statue centrally positioned this figure in the state:

> Adelaide, indeed, is Col. Light's permanent monument; but now that it has been decided to remove from the Queen City the reproach of being almost barren of street statuary, this latest edition to "civic furnishings", which should have been the pioneer of its kind, is both appropriate and welcome" (Editor, *The Observer* 1906: 31).

The opening ceremony at Light's statue, for readers of *The Observer*, later became politicised so as to block the march of Socialism (Editor, *The Observer* 1906: 32). At this time Socialism was perceived by *The Observer* as undermining the unity founded by the recent Australian Federal Constitution. It denounced an anti-socialist positioning while advocating the economic principles underpinning profit motives. The image of Light was employed to cushion the strident nature of the editor's remarks. It was thus considered possible for Light's 'vision' to be marshalled in order to effect control, in a manner that contrasted contemporaneous social understandings of the City and order through Light, and a purported disorder linked to a socialist program in which Light was absented. Importantly, it was Light's image that was called upon to cloud other images available at the time. In this image was thus condensed the unifying principles massing on the Adelaide horizon.

The situation and form of the statue supplies the allegorical dimensions of Light 'overseeing' the construction of Adelaide, even though this is revealed as a relatively recent emplacement and thus an illusory circumstance. Even works, such as *Sands & Macdougall, Directory of South Australia* which provides a comprehensive directory of South Australia's features, appears to mirror the unquestioning public and thus to be inattentive to a conflation of historical process. In its 1964 Centenary Edition, for example, the City and Light on Montefiore Hill appear as coextensive events:

> In the year 1840, four years after it was surveyed, Adelaide was incorporated as the first Municipality in Australasia. On the crest of Montefiore Hill, within the city boundary is "Light's Vision," a memorial to Colonel William Light, the first surveyor General of SA and the "founder" of Adelaide (Sands & Macdougall 1964: A16).

The pervasiveness of these and similar accounts and the allegorical dimensions of the statue on Montefiore Hill, links order and stasis. Visits to the Montefiore Hill site and its promotion as a tourist destination intensify the mythical status of a person who was attributed the foresight to locate a City at its current site and who had

produced a plan of such order. Light left England with sole jurisdiction over where to place the site. The exercise of this authority marked the advent of a space through which subjects were constituted (Rajchman 1988: 103). Thus the design of space directs ways of seeing and in this way links with power. These links become visible in architecture's physical manifestation, that is, through its symbolic or semiotic dimensions, and also through "what it makes visible about us and within us" (Rajchman 1988: 103).

The utopian sentiments contained in the names "Felicitania" and "Liberia" that Jeremy Bentham had proposed for the new colony (Richards 1986: 1), are illustrative of the aims of colonisation in South Australia. It was not about discovery or exploration, that Carter (1987) indicated were the aims of Cook's voyage, but about possession and good fortune. The application of images of Light, whose statue offers a vantage on the City and an imaging of Light's 'vision', continues to augment the terms of this utopianism.

Appendix V Civilising impulses

Woods concluded that the decline in the Aboriginal population was accelerated by introduced diseases between 1830-1835 (Stirling 1914: 295) and was also directly associated with dispossession:

> Without a history, they have no past; without a religion, they have no hope; and without habits of forethought or providence, they can have no future. Their doom is sealed, and all that the civilised man can do, now that the process of annihilation is so rapidly over taking the Aborigines of Australia, is to take care that the closing hour shall not be hurried on by want, caused by culpable neglect on his part (Woods 1879: xxxviii).

However, Woods' paternalistic views were never far from the manipulations of a 'civilising' impulse and elsewhere he assumed the superior qualities of a European life style. For instance, he claimed that Aborigines "seem ... incapable of any permanent improvement, for none of those to whom the benefits of civilisation have been made familiar have ever adopted them when beyond the white man's control" (Woods 1879: xxxvii). Woods' blindness to the paradox at the heart of these 'civilising' principles is fundamental to the cultural hegemonic position to which he acceded and assumptions that the fate of Aborigines was sealed. Similarly, Sir Edward Charles Stirling, Director of the South Australian Museum from 1895 to 1913 and then Honorary Curator of Ethnology from 1914 to 1919 (Fergie 1997a: 7), had unequivocal regard for the 'civilising' qualities exacted by his European ancestry. For him

> the Adelaide tribe ... became extinct about 1850, and, unfortunately, very little of their handiwork and few of their remains have been preserved. So, also, almost complete extinction has been the fate of the natives extending from Adelaide southward to the sea, eastward to the River Murray, and northward to the latitude of Port Augusta (Stirling 1914: 293).

Stirling was premature in claiming the extinction of the Adelaide Aborigine at this time (Gara 1990: 64), nor did he appear interested in anything but a pristine notion of a

'pre-contact Aborigine'. He expressed concern, for instance, about the impact of an East-West overland railway then under construction and the effects of increased contact between Aborigines and Whites along "the telegraph line and main northern route" (Stirling 1914: 295-6). For him this meant the loss of Aboriginal life and the "discontinuance of many of their interesting native customs and ceremonies" (Stirling 1914: 296). As a result of contact, Aborigines, he urged, became contaminated and hybridised, thus altering the conditions necessary for their control (Stirling 1914: 283):

> From being a problem involving the control of a relatively large number of natives, for the most part pure-blooded and living after their own customs in a more or less wild state, inhabiting wide areas which are very sparsely settled, or even almost unexplored, and at a great distance from the central government, the principal problem remaining for South Australia has now become one in which the chief difficulties are of another character. Now, these centre round the control, education, and destiny of a relatively small number of full-blooded Aboriginals and a relatively large number of half-castes and other grades of intercrossing between the white and native race, or between the latter and Asiatic aliens, such as Afghans and Chinese. The majority of such hybrids, moreover, are to be found in more or less well settled districts (Stirling 1914: 281).

Importantly, Stirling's and Woods' comments make apparent the attempted control over Aboriginal populations by the confinement of their activities to the domain of natural history as well as a more pointed reduction in their freedom of movement[7]. They provide indications of the movement of Aborigines into more 'settled' areas of the State and the growing hybridity of their encounters and experiences with colonisers. Diane Bell's (1998) recent exploration of an Aboriginal heritage issue affecting Indigenous women in South Australia showed, however, the persistence of sentiments contained in Woods' and Stirling's views. The reason for this continuity of settler views she located in

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[7] P. Jones (1996) said of Stirling: "Stirling was representative of a new force in British anthropological method, distinguished by 'the collection of data by academically trained natural scientists defining themselves as anthropologists, and involved also in the formulation and evaluation of anthropological theory'" (P. Jones 1996: 124). What this connection fostered were strong links between the natural sciences and museum-based anthropology that grew in strength up to the 1930s: "Adelaide anthropology tended to emerge, and operate most successfully, as a branch of the natural sciences" (P. Jones 1996: 138); Johns (1914: 197) draws attention to Stirling's education at St Peter's College, Adelaide and later at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was a Professor of Physiology at the University of Adelaide and a recognised authority on Australian natural history and anthropology, stated Johns. "The National Museum at Adelaide containing perhaps the finest Australian ethnological collection to be found in any museum in the world, is due to his creative genius" (Johns 1914: 197). Apart from his museum directorship he was a member of the council of the University of Adelaide, lectured in clinical surgery at the University of Adelaide, was President of the Royal Society of South Australia in 1890, a member of Parliament from 1883-86, served on the Royal Adelaide Hospital board, was a member and chairman of the board of Governors of the Public Library, Art Gallery, and Museum of South Australia, a member of the Council of Zoological Society, anthropologist to the Horn Scientific Exploring Expedition to Central Australia in 1894 and Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Adelaide (Johns 1914: 197); he was also South Australia's first Fellow of the Royal Society. Significantly, Morgan (1971) added that Stirling was a President of the Adelaide Club from 1918-19 (Morgan 1971: 111).

> (t)he construct of the noble savage, the intuitive native, and a religion that integrates all life forms into one harmonious world, [which] is far more appealing than the historical reality of a people whose lands have been over-run, whose food sources have been destroyed, and whose beliefs have been under attack since first contact. In the reimagining of the "native" as untouched and willing to share wisdom, the real lives, struggles, histories, and rights of Indigenous peoples can be set aside. These are not the "real people". Instead, the romantic reconstruction has become the standard against which to measure the authenticity of those claiming to be Indigenous (Bell 1998: 13).

Appendix VI Biographical reductions

For Carter, the depiction of Light in most biographies is that of a "white colonist ... overseeing a landscape in transformation from the primitive to the civilised" (1996: 211). A prime example of this type of eulogising is presented by Dutton, who stated characteristically that "Light laid out his city with an unflinching eye on the future, undeterred by the ludicrously vast expanses of uninhabited streets and unsurrounded squares" (1971: 216). Dutton presumed a *fait accompli* in which the plan is held to orient the principles of its own success and also mirror posterity's relations to Light's life. Light's 'vision' is thus presented as all-knowing and uncontestable. At the same time a conjunction between his life and the progress of the Empire is drawn and it is made apparent that no other person would have been suitable for such a prophetic task. Within this collusion of fates biographers render transparent a person who appears self-determining and imaginative. The resultant hero status with which he is invested "underlines the point that modern biography has little to do with the territory of the interior and everything to do with fantasising the mechanisms of colonial expansion and territorial appropriation" (Carter 1996: 211). This investment points to fundamental connections between contemporary understandings of Light and the continuing significance of the Empire. The fantasy creates narratives that support a seemingly innocuous appropriation of colonial territories and feeds a belief that may be used to abrogate contemporary and future responsibilities associated with the seizure of land.

Carter (1996) believed that Light was an integral part of Adelaide's founding myth. He located the "value of founding myths ... in their power to lend a community's history an allegorical dimension" (1996: 210). Howell also pursued the notion of Light's mythic status arguing that

> people took it for granted that Light must have been a genius to have accomplished so much when his body was becoming increasingly corrupted by the tuberculosis which killed him in 1839. [Beyond this] ... opiates afforded the only known relief from his illness; he also suffered protracted bouts of severe depression; his papers were destroyed in a fire; he died in poverty and in the colonial equivalent of the garret in which true genius is ... believed to flourish (1986: 3).

According to Howell, this is the basis on which myths are founded. The characterisation of Light's life by his contemporaries as being on the boundaries of acceptable behaviour further compounds this mythic status. As such, despite his apparent misdemeanours, he gained widespread acceptance shortly after his death as the City's founder, adding yet another ironic twist to his life history. In my reckoning Light as a myth has instrumental value. Formed into a cultural construct his image can be used in a variety of contexts.

Many historical accounts reported the unconventional aspects of his social life as but minor trivialities when compared to his contributions to the planning of the City of Adelaide. Even before entering South Australia Light's legendary status seemed assured. Dutton more than most elevated the noble deeds of this early period, and, said local historian, Brian Dickey, deftly "skates over the plain evidence he presents that Light rogered (sic) the local women whenever he coaxed them into complaisance" (Dickey, *The Advertiser* 1992: 16) on his campaigns in the Peninsula Wars (under the Duke of Wellington). For the most part Dutton has consistently preferred to emphasise the heroic characteristics of the young Light and consistently framed him as a Romantic figure.

In keeping with more romanticised accounts, Light's life in South Australia was often recorded as a series of struggles with ill-health, poverty, fire and those who would defy the calling into existence of his Plan for the City. The major struggles appeared in on-going fights between Light and the colony's first Governor, John Hindmarsh. However, arguments amongst any number of colonists about almost anything appeared to be commonplace at the time. This condition, M.P. Mayo one of Light's biographers and an illegitimate step 'descendant' of the Planner[8], ascribed to a lack of distractions from the hardships of pioneering life in those formative years (1937: 132).

In hindsight, the opposition that Light faced was essential to the biographical construction of his heroic status. Without this resilience the reader is urged to believe that the City might have been just another outpost of Empire. Instead, his plan contained the essential virtues of Wakefield's social program and later utopian visions. Mayo described Light as a "man of vision and sound judgement" (1937: 191) at the mercy of "short-sighted blunderers" (1937: 191), who were, he noted, prevalent at the time. It "left him without a rival among the great figures of our past" (Mayo 1937: 191). All he (Light) wanted, it seems, was to be remembered as the "Founder of Adelaide". An inscription on a copper breastplate bearing these words was placed in his coffin in Light Square as he had requested (Mayo 1937: 191). Mayo's account, as well as other biographies and histories, repeated the struggles Light endured with ill-health and a range of contemporaries, often portrayed as incompetent (see also Appendix 7).

Carter's examination of Light presented a counter to Romantic views of Light that have been prevalent in dominant discourses. He scoured Light's landscape paintings and the details of his *Brief Journal*; the paintings to reveal something about the nature of the plan that he construed; the *Brief Journal* for evidence of the gaps in

[8] In the sense that he is not the progeny of Light but that of Light's mistress, Maria Gandy, who married George Mayo in 1840 (Dutton 1971: 289).

knowledge that Light left for posterity. At first glance the *Brief Journal* does not appear to be particularly hopeful for this pursuit as it offers a seemingly vacuous account of his last days. Carter, however, located a hidden context in it that he related to Light's subjectivity:

> One day vanishes to be replaced by another, but no magical transformation is involved. The mere succession of days does away with the need to order the diary entries associatively. A fresh entry does not supersede or interpret or revise the one previous to it; it does not close it off. Rather, it nearly repeats it, again disclosing the open aspect of the world. But the disclosure is not revelatory ... The transition from one day to the next is a measure of endurance, a means of staying where one is (Carter 1996: 282-83).

'A means of staying where one is' and of 'endurance' were important aspects of Light's legacy revealed whenever Light or his vision were evoked, whether in planning or simply by citizens gazing from his statue on Montefiore Hill. An assumption that one may recreate in the mind the 'vision' that Light himself perceived was effected in these varying instances. It followed from a commonplace assumption that he *must* have looked from Montefiore Hill when deciding on the site and plan for Adelaide. In similar vein, his biographers closed off each entry, as Carter noted, when they regarded the contents of the *Brief Journal*. They did not pursue the wider significance and relation of each entry to each other for to do so would have undermined a more Romantic view of Light.

Such views bear a relation to a biographical record, that as Carter asserted, has often been subverted by biographers and shaped as a "monumentalizing" (1996: 285) of Light. Biographers, he stated, tended to see the events in his *Brief Journal* as somewhat frivolous and unworthy of attention. They were thus dismissed as insignificant daily references to the weather and the state of his health, and little else. Carter noted its contents, however, not as frivolous events but as indicators of Light's "precocious knowledge of death and its corollary: a desire to circle as long as possible the centre of his fate" (1996: 285), that is, his death.

According to Carter's analysis, Light made an analogical association between the state of the weather and his illness. This connection seemed likely given that it was common, even amongst the medical profession at the time, to accept that weather conditions reflected the condition of one's health as well as the health of the social fabric. Thus it was not only Light that looked for signs in the sky. It seemed to be widely accepted that:

> Stormy weather precipitated the breakdown of character. Social divisions grew ragged and haemorrhaged. What had been enclosed was disclosed; what imprisoned, released. The accumulation of clouds aroused superstitious fears, raised questions about power and control. It reminded the settlers of their vulnerability and nakedness. It was like a return of the primitive (Carter 1996: 263).

In reading the shape of clouds it was therefore thought possible to determine the state of one's inner workings against an observable domain (Carter 1996: 276). In detailing

this relation, references to the weather thus became significant indicators of Light's mental processes rather than being mere pronouncements of meteorological import and they reveal other aspects to Light's 'vision'. In these references we are able to imagine Light "(w)atching clouds, ... [but] not merely look(ing) for signs; he saw his own disease backlit against the sky" (Carter 1996: 280).

The majority of biographical understandings about Light portrayed his life as a sacrifice to the higher virtues of a life lived for posterity's sake. In Carter's view, however, their readings of the *Last Journal* and of his paintings mistakenly pronounced a Romantic version that ignored the subjectivity of a person coming to terms with an irreversible disease. Carter's recreation of Light produces an alternative account that foregrounds the environment in historical process (Carter 1996: 278). The link Carter made between environment and history was more frequently ignored by historians who substituted a link between Light's tuberculosis and history. What these historians overlooked by this substitution was that the range of myths surrounding tuberculosis "limited the stories he could elaborate about the origins of his illness, its meaning and his destiny, but they did not wholly predetermine what could be said" (Carter 1996: 279).

Carter argued that the causes of consumption, being unknown and considered numerous in Light's time, left the afflicted in a state of mental flux and eclipsed the predicability of their lives (1996: 279). By forecasting such unpredicability Carter overturned the memorialising presented in biographies and their indifference to the possibilities of a disease with unknown causes. Moreover, those afflicted could also be credited with the means at their disposal to create any number of narratives of their own (Carter 1996: 278-79). Light's illness, therefore, formed not just part of a social construction but was also linked to his subjectivity: "Light's subjectivity is ... a history that history leaves out", stated Carter (1996: 287). However, this subjectivity is understood in a different way by contemporary planners, I argue, who appear oblivious to the social and historical constructedness of Light and who thereby interpret and transform his memory into an idealised conception that consumes his subjectivity.

In this sense the contents of the *Last Journal* must be seen as another manifestation of his 'vision', a 'vision' in post-mortem. The *Journal* cannot then be interpreted by an act that "subvert(s) the intention of his own biographical record" (Carter 1996: 285), that is, by an action ignoring its refusal to admit an end. This unenlightened condition was integral to biographical accounts that induced Light's resurrection and effected his consequent "monumentalising" (Carter 1996: 285). As Carter stated:

> To rewrite history is not to turn back the clock. It is to find a mode of writing that does not, however anxiously it aims to occupy the moral high ground, repeat the enclosure acts associated with imperial history. It is to inaugurate a post-colonial history on other grounds than those of ideology. It is to dispense with the myth of progress, the idea that the future entails leaving the past behind (Carter 1996: 287).

Carter's biographical emphasis illuminated Light's subjectivity and highlighted the social constructedness of biographies about him. Light's self-portrait[9] is further testimony of this subjectivity. The self-portrait, as well as the *Journal*, encouraged a certain way of thinking about Light that, like other self-portraits, indicated aspects that their authors wish to convey about themselves. Light's steely gaze appeals to the viewer "to refuse history's theatrical enclosure, to insist on time's performance, on a present continually renewing itself" (Carter 1996: 245).

The implementation of Romantic conceptions of Light in contemporary planning debates brought forth a 'vision' that was called upon in every change to the City landscape. Minson argued that "(c)rucial to the formation of the Romantic personality ... is a highly generalised, ethical knowledge of the way of the world, of what it was, where it is going and above all how it is governed, which is simultaneously an assertion of dis-identification with it" (1993: 8-9). Against a typification of bureaucratic techniques of government and norm setting is measured "the telos of the Romantic personality: perfect all-round development" (Minson 1993: 9). In the pursuit of planned perfection Light is constructed according to the precepts of such a 'Romantic personality'. Through this construct is contrasted important governmental procedures in a way that paradoxically fosters the growth of governments and their validation. I argue, therefore, that the discursive figurings of Light are (and were) mobilised to advantage by governmental practices as a means of implementing policies.

The Cartesian separation of mind and body that underlies the 'Romantic personality' indicates a model of socialisation that is closely linked with Elias' (1978) notions of 'civilisation' and the control of body functions. The separation of outside and inside realms that these notions entail allude to a skewed perspective in which a rational understanding of the world is paramount. Hence "we are socialized by internalising lessons which the 'outside' world teaches us when we act in it ... [that] also produce a lack of interest in the unconscious, in dreams and fantasies" (Rose 1993: 77). Moreover, insisted Rose, a racist philosophy is disclosed in which differing

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[9] Light's self-portrait is dominated by the fathomless black orbs Light painted for his eyes. This dominance enhances the idea for observers that in Light's gaze we can see a reflection of ourselves. Carter suggested as much: "The painted subject makes of you a looking glass; it is as if he is looking into a surface that reflects his own image. Or it is as if you are looking at your own portrait" (1996: 245). The eyes that stare out of the canvas are part of an image that defies and enjoins the observer. In meeting the observer's gaze it avoids becoming the observer's subject but in it the observer also finds something of themselves.

In portraits of this ilk there is a difference in the way a portrait is received that is dependent on whether the person depicted in the painting is looking straight back at the observer or whether their gaze is focussed at a point beyond the observer. Berger contended that the gaze that looks past the observer promoted the authority of the portrayed and as a consequence the observer was made aware of a dialectic relation with the observed (1972). As such the observer perceived that he/she was both subject to the gaze and that what was being witnessed was readily discernible as a construction. That is, in perceiving that the observer was a subject of the author's gaze and therefore subordinate to the author who was witnessed in their own domain, the observer also realised the hierarchical structure in place. In being made aware of this relation the observer then effected a "biographical reduction" (Carter 1996: 245).

Carter acknowledged that a self-portrait such as Light's depicted the subject gazing straight back at the observer and thus dispensed with the dialectic (1996: 245). The observer is thus able to see, in the image being reflected, his/her own image. The relationship appears devoid of a hierarchy that portends a biographical enactment but rather is complicit as part of historical process and its unpredicability.

ethnicities are measured against the dominant position of 'whiteness' whose colour is denied (1993: 78).

Appendix VII — Light versus Hindmarsh

For example, Hindmarsh's appointment to the post of Governor is frequently portrayed in historical accounts as an example of Light's persistent ill-fortune. Light missed out on this position, it appears, only because of the swift and somewhat fortuitous actions of Hindmarsh. However, it appears that Hindmarsh was also a more likely candidate as he was "a man after the Admiralty's heart, [for] ... in those days both the Admiralty and the War Office looked to the governorships sprouting all over the expanding British Empire as honourable berths for the superabundant veterans of the Napoleonic Wars. ... This tradition of making distinguished military men imperial governors was to prevail in South Australia and elsewhere right up to the 1980s" (Whitelock 1985: 5).

In such accounts all sympathy moves to Light who is perceived to be fully engaged in an 'historical' task while contemporaries like Hindmarsh stood idly by with nothing better to do than criticise. Light's sensitivity in such instances is easily opposed to Hindmarsh's bullish attitude. Hindmarsh appears to lack any credible basis for his behaviour, apart from being ill-advised or as a deliberate assertion of power. He is thus an ideal counterpoise to Light whose constant battle against ill-health, and struggles against myopic individuals, of which Hindmarsh is but one, adds another dimension to his bravery and the accomplishment of his plan under duress. Dutton, for example, wrote: "His life had been a series of losses: his home (if it could be called that), his parents and his fortune all gone in his childhood, then the mysterious E. and the wild, fascinating Mary. He died cared for by a woman he could not marry, in a city he had founded but could not live to enjoy..." (1971: 287-8). Nor did Light live to see the realisation of the City he had planned so that Adelaide was only ever a (yet to be realised) vision for Light. Dutton & Elder (1991) continue in similar vein. Many other histories of South Australia treat Light more succinctly but with equal fervour. Whitelock, for instance, illustrated Light's heroic qualities and his dogged determination in spite of ill-health and went as far as labelling him "the Hamlet of South Australian history" (1985: 5). Unlike Hamlet, however, he is not made to appear incapable of making decisions: "Fortunately, during the weeks after Proclamation Day, the ailing surveyor-general [Light] still had the drive and resolution to make bold decisive strokes. While the colonists were still recovering from the libations at Gouger's tent, Light was at work laying out the site of Adelaide" (Whitelock 1985: 27).

Light's health is an object of fascination for biographers and serves to embellish his heroic status and to amplify the tribulations he endured. Further, health has been a major issue for city planners of this and subsequent eras, and used in the selling of the virtues of the Adelaide plan to visitors and locals. Such values are of note in various contemporary 'development' and tourist brochures.

The plan of Adelaide pegged out by Light and the site he chose raised much contention amongst those eager to stamp their authority over the new land. The main problem for Light had been to convince certain others, notably South Australia's first

Governor, John Hindmarsh, of his unusual choice of an inland location and the necessity this posed for transporting goods overland from Port Adelaide. Light had, of course, subsumed the problems of transporting goods to the necessity for a proximate supply of water, only freely available in the inland option. Governor Hindmarsh's inability to grasp this fundamental point is a frequent taunt used by historians to compare and contrast the views of Light and Hindmarsh. The polemic between the two men works to reinforce affirmations of Light's superior qualities.

Hindmarsh's clashes with Light on matters relating to the siting of Adelaide conveniently position Light at the other end of a debate based on personal characteristics and consequently makes Light appear as a champion of civil liberties, as well versed in systematic colonisation, and as the only one flexible enough to bend the militaristic code. For example, the influential history of South Australia provided by Douglas Pike emphasised that the first Governor was ex-navy and that, consequently, he new nothing about systematic colonisation nor civil liberty, and opted for a militaristic code in which orders took precedence over principles (Pike 1967: 104). Light was, it appears, constantly harassed by Hindmarsh and eventually wrote to him stating: "While I was employed in my survey at the river here hardly a day passed without my hearing from some-one that you were abusing the place" (recorded in Gouger to Light (Sept. 18, 1837) cited in Mayo 1937: 218).

Although both served in the navy, Light is seen more positively as a 'sailor' while Hindmarsh is frequently portrayed as 'ex-navy' and thus negatively evoked. In less forgiving accounts this evocation is focussed through the eyes of a potential emigrant whose statement aids in the polarisation of Light and Hindmarsh. The oft-quoted emigrant asked of Hindmarsh, "How far does 43 years in the Navy, accustomed to warlike habits and prejudices and to all the horrors and devastations of war make him the most accomplished personage for superintending a colony professing to be founded on principles of peace, equity and human improvement?" (Pike 1967: 103)[10]. However, it was not long after Light's death that the choice of site was being lauded in terms similar to those used by Wilkinson who was one of Light's contemporaries. Wilkinson recalled that:

> Great opposition was manifested to his plan of forming the town at the spot where it is now situated; but by his firmness he overcame it all, and now, when he is gone, every one is desirous of ascribing to him the entire merit of choosing the excellent site where Adelaide stands, and which is acknowledged to be the best (Wilkinson 1983: 49).

In hindsight, the controversy over the site for Adelaide deepened Light's 'vision' (and foresight) in the eyes of many (not least his biographers) and instigated rifts and divisions in the community. In historical accounts these divisions appeared both on the ground and in the social fabric. In the contemporary setting it is the ground divided that mirrors the condition of the social fabric, rather than, as in Light's time, the clouds in the sky (see below). A number of divisions are suggested for further exploration and include natural divisions as in the tectonic plates suggested by Carter (1996); the up/down positioning of the English social strata suggested by Douglas (1990)

[10] See also Dutton (1971: 152); Whitelock (1985).

paralleled in a model relating to upstream and downstream of a river; or even the division of the City into precincts (Urban Systems Corporation 1974: 18).

Appendix VIII **Contemporary visions**

For example the MultiFunction Polis (MFP) was a contemporary vision that publicly paraded a procession of power destined to put Adelaide on the global map. People not directly involved with the project were generally sceptical that it would ever become a reality. The MFP was first conceived around 1987 "as a vision for a new model suburb for Adelaide" (Robbins 1997: 6). Its focus has been centred on the production of new technologies and on the creation of a completely new suburb built around technological innovation. A South Australian firm (Lend Lease and Delfin Property Group), with backing of the Federal and State Governments, won the tender for the development of a blueprint to proceed, first proposed by a Japanese investment mission to Australia in 1987 (Robbins 1997: 7). According to one commentator it was never really meant as a suburb but as a vehicle for scientific exploration (Wiltshire, ABC radio programme, 1998).

The MFP vision still had little in the way of a concrete form by 1998, yet its proposed suburban dimensions were then made concomitant with a fundamental region of the City of Adelaide via the boundaries of a 'Torrens Domain'. This was an area bounded by Grenfell and Currie Streets at its southern edge, and across the Torrens River to the southern boundary of North Adelaide's built environs at its northern edge, and extending the full width of the City of Adelaide area. Thus the MFP was linked to a long list of development projects on and near North Terrace that included upgrades for "the State Library, the SA Museum, the Festival Centre and ... Parliament House and the Torrens Lake" (Titelius 1997b: 1). The pedagogic role of North Terrace and the power relations central to it presents the MFP Project as a reality commensurate with the City itself and simultaneously an ideality in the minds of many sceptics.

Appendix IX **Former Mayors and Lord Mayors of the City of Adelaide and selected Premiers of South Australia**

Mayors of Adelaide		**Known Adelaide Club Member**
1840-42	James Hurtle Fisher	Yes
1842-43	Thomas Wilson	
1843-49	City Managed as a Government Department	
1849-52	City Managed by Comissioners	Yes
1852-54	James Hurtle Fisher	
1854-55	Joseph Hall	
1855-58	John Lazar	
1858-59	William Thompson Sabbend	
1859	Edmund William Wright	
1859-62	Edward Bootle Wilbraham Glandfield	
1862-63	Thomas English	
1863-64	Samuel Godde	
1864-66	William Townsend	

1866-69	Henry Robert Fuller	
1869-71	Judah Moss Solomon	
1871-73	Adolph Heinrich Friedrich Bartels	
1873-74	William Dixon Allot	
1874-75	John Colton	
1875-77	Caleb Peacock	Yes
1877-78	Henry Scott	Yes
1878-79	William Christie Buik	
1879-82	Edwin Thomas Smith	
1882-83	Henry Robert Fuller	
1883-86	William Bundey	
1886-87	Edwin Thomas Smith	Yes
1887-88	Sir Edwin Thomas Smith	Yes
1888-89	James Shaw	
1889-91	Lewis Cohen	
1891-92	Frederick William Bullock	
1892-94	Charles Willcox	
1894-98	Charles Tucker	
1898-1901	Arthur Wellington Ware	
1901-04	Lewis Cohen	
1904-07	Theodore Bruce	
1907-09	Frank Johnson	
1909-11	Lewis Cohen	
1911-13	John Lavington Bonython	Yes
1913-15	Alfred Allen Simpson	Yes
1915-17	Isaac Isaacs	
1917-19	Charles Richmond John Glover	Yes

Lord Mayors of Adelaide		**Known Adelaide Club Member**
1919	Charles Richmond Jon Glover	Yes
1919-21	Frank Beaumont Moulden	Yes
1921-23	Lewis Cohen	
1923-25	Charles Richmond John Glover	Yes
1925-26	Wallace Bruce	
1926-27	Sir Wallace Bruce, Kt.	
1927-30	John Lavington Bonython	Yes
1930-33	Charles Richmond John Glover	Yes
1933-36	Jonathon Robert Cain	
1936-37	Sir Jonathon Robert Cain	
1937-41	Arthur George Barrett	Yes
1941-42	Lieut-Col. Arden Seymour Hawker	Yes
1942-43	Col. Arden Seymour Hawker	Yes
1943-46	Reginald Walker	
1946-49	John McLeay	
1949-50	Arthur Ernest William Short	

1949-50	John McLeay	
1950-53	Arthur Campbell Rymill	Yes
1953-54	Sir Arthur Campbell Rymill	Yes
1954-57	John Scott Philps	
1957-60	Lancelot Morton Spiller Hargrave	Yes
1960-63	Charles John Glover	Yes
1963-66	James Campbell Irwin	Yes
1966-68	Walter Lewis Bridgland	
1968-71	Robert Evelyn Porter	Yes
1971-73	William Hubert Hayes	
1973-75	Robert Wyndham Clampett	Yes
1975-77	John Justin Roche	
1977-79	George Joseph	
1979-81	James Vincent Seaton Bowen	Yes
1981-83	Arthur John Watson	Yes
1983-85	Mrs Wendy Chapman	
1985-87	Jim Jarvis	
1987-93	Steve Condous	
1993-97	Henry Ninio	
1997-	Dr. Jane Lomax-Smith	

(Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1983: 57-59; Corporation of the City of Adelaide Archive Librarian 1999 for information post 1983; Morgan, 1971).

Selected South Australian Premiers since 1856

Since 1856 there have been 42 Premiers of the State of South Australia. These included:

Names	Year(s) in Office	Known Adelaide Club Member
Hon. Robert R. Torrens	1857	
Hon. G.M. Waterhouse	1861-63	Yes
Hon. Sir Henry Ayers	1863-65; 1867-68; 1872-73	Yes
Hon. Sir J.W. Downer, KCMG, QC	1885-87; 1892-93	Yes
Hon. Thomas Playford	1887-89; 1890-92	
Rt. Hon. C.C. Kingston, QC	1893-99	
Hon. Sir Thomas Playford, GCMG	1938-65	
Hon. D.A. Dunstan, QC	1967-68; 1970-79	
Hon. J.C. Bannon	1982-92	

(Gardner 1996: 41-2; Morgan, 1971).

Appendix X The Adelaide Club and features of the City landscape

All major buildings of the University of Adelaide fronting North Terrace are titled: the Bonython Hall, Elder Hall, the Elder Conservatory, the Ligertwood Building, the Napier Building and the Hughes Building. The attributes of the people after whom these buildings were named appears in the body of this thesis. Napier was a Grand Master of Freemasons form 1928-30 and Ligertwood, like Napier, was a Grand Registrar of the Freemasons. Both were King's Counsellors.

The major building of the University of South Australia next door bears the title, the Brookman Hall and behind this stands the Bonython Jubilee Building. Sir George Brookman after whom this building was named was instrumental in the formation of the South African War Memorial on the corner of North Terrace and King William Street. This statue features a soldier with rifle on a rearing horse and is a commemoration of the persistence of Adelaide's newspapers which spearheaded pleas for volunteers and donations to the war effort. These newspapers engendered a patriotic response from the public and resulted in the formation of a memorial committee, chaired by Sir George Brookman at the end of the First World War (Cameron 1997: 41-2). The Boer War was not especially significant for the Adelaide populace so the memorial is more of a poignant reminder of "the colonial endeavour which cemented imperial ties" (Cameron 1997: 46). It shares a complementary relation with the South Australian War Memorial further east.

The statues and monuments sponsored by Club members appear as a benevolent legacy of the past in which

> (t)he city fathers cherished the uniqueness of Adelaide's parks and boulevards and wanted to fill them with noble statues, mimicking the old cities of Europe. They chose classical gods and goddesses, monarchs, explorers and themselves as suitable subjects. This reflects the passions and interests of the period and explains the striking paucity of female recipients. Men controlled the fund raising, and donations would usually come from wealthy businessmen who saw their contribution as a way to enhance their prestige and status. Statues were often planned and promoted in the close confines of the Adelaide Club. Funds for other monuments such as war memorials and royal statues were raised by public subscriptions, and their unveiling ceremonies were celebrated by huge crowds at lavish formal presentations (Cameron 1997: Preface).

Cameron wrote of a past era when statues and monuments were more grandiose and when the unveiling of a new statue was a formalised occasion. He noted that since the 1960s interest in such events had waned and that few full-size statues were erected from then until now. He also noted that those memorials raised were mainly attended in the present by small interest groups. I argue, however, that despite the low attendances at such events that the various busts and the plaques laid down in the pavement both before and after 1986 retain significance and that they indicate an on-going importance being invested in memorials generally.

Perhaps the most overt of all bequests in terms of linkages with political power was Sir Langdon Bonython's donation of £100,000 towards the completion of the Parliamentary Buildings in 1936 (J.W. Daly 1980: 145). Another of Bonython's legacies is found in the land he obtained for the Brookman Building on the north

western corner of Frome Road and North Terrace. The building was the result of a bequest by Sir George Brookman (J.W. Daly 1980: 103), but the availability of the land was only made possible through Bonython's influence over government. The acquisition of this land was in fact fixed by Bonython in secret and it was not until the building had been officially opened that he confided in the Premier of the day that the site had not in fact been released by anyone in government. The Premier had apparently found this revelation most amusing and Bonython was to use the same methods to obtain further lands in the same area for expansion of the School of Mines (J.W. Daly 1980: 103-104). This expansion resulted in a 'Bonython Building' which was constructed behind the Brookman Building, and

> (o)n two more occasions Bonython bequests added land to the School of Mines; first to double the Bonython Building in 1924, and then toward the Bonython Jubilee Building in 1940. The first stage of the Playford Building was erected in 1949; again the Government were persuaded to provide land for a prestigious building named after the State Premier of the day (J.W. Daly 1980: 104).

Brookman was not an Adelaide Club member, however, his son Norman gained membership and was a Member of the Legislative Council. Brookman's narrow attitudes toward public education or other reasons may have averted his selection for membership. For instance, although he managed successful mining operations in Western Australia and South Australia, in 1900 "after a controversy over the management of Associated Gold Mines [his companies] ... he resigned his directorships" (Gibbs 1979: 429). He then directed his personal interests mostly elsewhere from that time on. His politically conservative attitudes would have been favoured by the Club but his overt disinterest in the rights of workers and his opposition to the public education system may have proved too radical for them. Despite these views Brookman was "a council member of the University of Adelaide 1901-26" (Gibbs 1979: 430). He was also prominent in war time (the Boer War and First World War) in raising funds for the war effort. He held a position as "member of the State War Council, chairman of the State Repatriation Board, and [was] active on behalf of the War Savings Committee and Red Cross Society" (Gibbs 1979: 429). The building named after him and his numerous ties with North Terrace[11] suggest that he had frequent encounters with members of the Adelaide Club.

Playford cites the late membership of Sir John Langdon Bonython into the ranks of the Adelaide Club as notable. As a member of the newer gentry, however, his entry into the ranks of the older gentry that dominated 'The Club' would not have been automatic as the older gentry were becoming more particular about the social origins of those who sought membership (Van Dissel 1986: 359). Yet his son, Sir John Lavington Bonython, had been a member since the time he became Mayor of Adelaide some 17 years earlier. Key figures in South Australia's history, such as "Sir Sidney Kidman, the 'Cattle King of Australia', [and] Sir George Brookman" (Playford 1986: 289) or chief industrialists of the inter-war period such as the motor vehicle

[11] Brookman was also chairman of the Children's Hospital and of the South Australian Public Library, Museum and Art Gallery, and a director of the Bank of Adelaide as well as a council member of the University of Adelaide almost to the time of his death in 1927 (Gibbs 1979: 429-30).

manufacturer Sir Edward Holden, were not included as members (Playford 1986: 289). Interestingly, Kidman's address was 175 North Terrace, Adelaide. He was an enthusiastic war worker and presented fighter planes for use in World War I. He and his wife donated their country residence to the South Australian Education Department (Knox 1933-34: 184). All three are included on the North Terrace plaques, however.

The reasons for the Club refusing admission, or late inclusion into the Club's confines were often related to its prejudicial attitudes towards certain occupations, particularly in the area of trade, and religious affiliations or ethnicity. Kidman, for example, left home at thirteen and was a cow hand who went into horse and cattle dealing before becoming a wealthy pastoralist (Knox 1933-34: 184). The Club's exclusionary practices were held in common with "prestigious London clubs" (Playford 1986: 288) of the time. Non-membership may also have been a matter of personal choice.

Appendix XI Important statu(e)s of War

The South Australian War Memorial was erected in two parts, the first part unveiled in 1931 to honour those who died and fought in the First World War, the second part unveiled in 1956 honoured participants of the Second World War. The first part was the creation of "Woods, Bagot, Jory and Laybourne-Smith [who] won the competition for its design, which they called 'The Spirit of Sacrifice'" (Queale & Di Lernia 1996: 45). Entries for the competition were restricted to "South Australian's who were also British subjects" (Cameron 1997: 102) and provided evidence, stated Cameron, of a "mixture of parochialism and Empire unity" (Cameron 1997: 102).

Initially arguments within the Government's Memorial Committee over the selection of the site for the South Australian War Memorial delayed its construction, with prominent architects favouring Montefiore Hill. However, a fire, which destroyed all competition entries, made possible the selection of the present site in the interim that followed, two years after the competition was first announced (Cameron 1997: 102). The second Memorial involved Woods, Bagot, Laybourne-Smith and Irwin (the City's Lord Mayor at one time). The name 'Laybourne-Smith' appears elsewhere on North Terrace on the name of studios in the newly formed School of Architecture and Design at the University of South Australia at the western end of North Terrace. The name refers to Louis Laybourne-Smith who joined the Adelaide Club in 1939 (Morgan 1971: 123). Walter Bagot, one of the other architects, was a local and University architect and, like his former mentor, E.J. Woods, was a member of the Adelaide Club (Morgan 1971: 115 & 130).

Appendix XII The plaques: rendering the visible

In this section I examine a particular instance of the contested nature of North Terrace which framed experience according to a dominant (or conventional) conception of space/time. I highlight the role of memoriae in the construction of relations of power on North Terrace through a focus on a series of 150 plaques laid out on the North Terrace pavement to mark the State's sesquicentenary year in 1986. The series was organised under the title of a "Jubilee Commemorative Walk" (Corporation of the City

of Adelaide 1994g, pamphlet) (hereafter the 'Jubilee Walk' or 'the Walk'). The Walk now extends from the north-eastern corner of the North Terrace/King William Street intersection to the North Terrace/Frome Road intersection. This walk usually took me about ten minutes and was interrupted by just one cross street (Kintore Avenue) and several small laneways (see Figure 7). An exploration of the 'Walk' makes visible other items in the North Terrace landscape that were part of its intended purview. The plaques were themselves too numerous to countenance as individual items in a single experience, and thus were constructed by officials as symbolic reminders of the depth of Adelaide's people and history, and as a symbol of pride in the State.

Like the statues located on the Terrace the plaques, at first, appear to represent an arbitrary cross-section of deceased Adelaide society. On closer examination they disclose critical elements of an hierarchical order. My initial assessment of the plaques sought to bring to account individuals selected for them and outline relevant points relating to their selection.

Each plaque is of identical size (around 20 x 30 centimetres) and the series is arranged alphabetically about a body's length apart and cemented into the pavement on the northern side of North Terrace. Being of equal proportions and consistent material construction, the plaques form a series that replicates a line of mass production. They thus form a vital adjunct to the maintenance and reproduction of the City's spatial coherence and naturalised order. Their visibility and cementing in place underfoot brought to the fore possibilities for remembering in certain ways by providing a framed context for experiencing. This orientation accorded with the Terrace's essential orienting (or normative) character. As a contemporary formulation, 'the chronicle' of the past that the assemblers outlined through this 'Walk' involved critical relations to present social constructions of space/time in Adelaide[12].

In using the term 'chronicle' I refer to an ordering of events whose meanings constitute part of a narrative, that, in Hayden White's terms, "impose a discursive form on the events that its own chronicle comprises" (White 1987: 42). Each of the plaques are considered as elements of a past that informs those who pause to read them of the personage, fame and history of those named. Each name appearing on the plaques was dependent for their emplacement on the opinions of a panel comprised of 'eminent' South Australians (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1994g: pamphlet). Members of a Government Department, the City Council and a local property developer were on this panel, with the developer being the major sponsor for the 'Walk' (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1994g: pamphlet). I indicate that the

[12] Staff at the Adelaide City Council Information Centre were surprised to discover, as was I, that pamphlets for the walk were not printed by the City Council, as might be assumed from a cursory examination of a pamphlet, but at an exclusive school located on Adelaide's South Terrace known as 'Pulteney Grammar College'. This school was instituted within six weeks of St Peter's Collegiate in 1847 and was also affiliated with the Church of England (Ray 1973: 1). It opened in 1848 (Ray 1973: 8).

selections made are such as to reveal striking features of the social and cultural order of Adelaide over time and reinforce the triangulating of relations of power in this City[13].

According to the short guide for the 'Walk' the plaques were intended as a durable link to educative processes while selection of individuals for them was on the basis of those with "significant contributions to the State's lifestyle or [who had] gained national and international recognition for their work" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1994g: pamphlet). Their siting on the City's cultural boulevard elevates their significance, I argue, and sets them beyond reproach, as quintessential elements of Adelaide and South Australia, substantiated by the form they chronicle.

On them are identified educationists, pioneers, social workers, scientists, explorers, writers, artists, performers, sporting personalities, politicians and government officials. Developers, manufacturers, welfare workers and educationists are most often apparent[14]. and many are in some way closely associated with the institutions on North Terrace. The South Australian Jubilee 150 Board considered it appropriate to have these "outstanding people ... permanently commemorated" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1994g: pamphlet) in the State's sesquicentenary year. In effect these people were to be regarded as 'pioneers' for the State of South Australia. Members of the Jubilee 150 Board which commissioned the plaques included Mr. H.R. (Kym) Bonython (see above) as chairman, and a former Mayor of Adelaide, business woman and developer, Mrs Wendy Chapman. The Board also included lawyers, accountants, Members of Parliament, financiers and so on[15]. Three

[13] The founder and group chairman of this development group, Alan Hickinbotham, has a number of connections more generalised in the power hierarchy of Adelaide. He has held or holds a number of public positions such as Chairman of the South Australian Institute of Urban Studies; membership of the South Australian Museum's Board of Directors; he was or is a member of the Civic Trust of South Australia and a member of various associations and committees dealing with housing and civic matters; and is an inaugural member of the Art Gallery of South Australia Foundation. He attended the University of Adelaide and the South Australian Teachers' College after a stint in the RAAF during World War II. He taught at the exclusive Geelong Grammar School in Victoria for a few years, then went into farming and later, real estate sales. This last venture led him into his parents' housing construction business of which he is now the managing director. The attention I give to his biographical details is meant to accent his part in a long line of Adelaide identities and power brokers. It reveals a conjunction of power with the institutions of North Tce. and their conjunction with other operations of power within the city. For instance, the development group's presentation of a statue of H.R.H. Queen Adelaide (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1994g: pamphlet) to the City of Adelaide, as a means of marking the group's 25th anniversary, cements as it enhances this connection. The statue, which stands in the foyer of the Adelaide City Hall, bonds the alliance of the development group and the Adelaide City Council as part of a long standing tradition that extends back to the naming of the colony.

[14] The bias towards areas of construction and development strongly reflected the concerns of a sponsor of the 'Jubilee Walk', a housing construction firm known as The Hickinbotham Group of Companies, while other biases related not only to the concerns within the relevant government departments and members of the City Council but to numerous contributions and 'right wing' publications produced by "families, friends and associated organisations" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1994g: pamphlet).

[15] The Jubilee 150 Board set up 19 executive committees, including, for example, a 'Community Service Organisations Executive Committee' which was chaired by Tom Chapman (husband of Wendy, above). All except three executive committees were headed by men, the exceptions being the 'Women's E.C.', which was headed by a former Lady Mayoress (Mrs G. Joseph), a "Youth E.C.' and a 'Families, Religious and Cultural Communities E.C.' (Jubilee 150 Board 1982, News Bulletin).

women and twelve men appeared on this board (Jubilee 150 Board, 1982: News Bulletin).

Individuals assigned to the textual history appearing in the plaques are united in a series in which is recorded their occupation(s), year of birth and, perhaps, death, and name (the only indicator of social position and gender). A random sample reveals some of the variety of men and women represented in these plaques, such as the following: William Charles Douglas (1895-1971) who was described as a Town Clerk, soldier and a contributor to Adelaide's civic environment; Catherine Helen Spence (1825-1910) - writer, political and social reformer; and Richard B. Smith (1838-1919) - inventor of the stump jump plough. The brevity of descriptors suggests that they refer to a broader and well-known 'history' of significance to South Australians.

Generally, the early founders, immortalised in the names of Adelaide's streets and squares, did not reappear on the plaques. Only Light, Kingston, Angas, Torrens, Wright and Sturt were deemed worthy of mention. Light, Kingston and Wright have been remembered as the 'architects of the City', Angas (George Fife) as a 'businessman', Torrens as a 'Land Titles law reformer' and Sturt as an 'explorer'.

Wakefield and Gouger, the progenitors of the social program out of which the City plan emanated, were not so favoured. In this sense a new history of the State was inscribed in 1986, one that appeared to reformulate its social program and which pointed to contemporary views and values embedded in physical space.

On closer examination a number of biases in the plaques were obvious. The ratio of men to women in the series indicated a bias towards male inclusion as only 21 women appeared on the list of 168 persons (or just 12.5%)[16]. The inclusion of women in this revised history of South Australia thus has the appearance of tokenism, in which former constructions of South Australian history, as a largely patriarchal affair, have been reproduced and maintained. In such histories early decision-makers have been persistently conceived as 'The Founding Fathers'. The paltry efforts to address this dominant view in the plaques accentuated the revisionist nature of their construction, one that now included some women, workers and others as key figures of history, but which do not transform their positioning as peripheral to the purported main arena of history makers.

The symbols of honour attributed to the forms of institutions and memoriae on North Terrace express repetitive instances of male prowess through which the male's "affirmation of their potency" (Bourdieu 1990a: 92) has been contrived. Discourse was thus dominated by male concerns that excluded "female sexual "interests" ... from this aggressive and shame-filled cult of male potency" (Bourdieu 1990a: 92). Further, this male order appeared natural and beyond a need for justification. It is also more 'uncanny' in the light of changes in the gender roles in Australian society, generally, over the last few decades.

[16] This bias was noted by female staff at the nearby State Library who felt it to be a glaring over-sight and an insult (State Library front desk, pers. comm., 1994).

Two Aborigines are mentioned in the plaques series, one of whom, David Unaipon[17], held international status. The other, 'Jimmy' James, was described as an Aboriginal police tracker. His inclusion is a good example of exemplary tokenism and White misunderstandings of an Aboriginality located in the outback. In the frontier of relations between Whites and Aborigines his inclusion may be seen as mandatory in that it justifies the dominance of White rule and preserves the memory of Aborigines as 'primitive'. The collusion of White rule and Aboriginal knowledge to hunt down the lost as well as the guilty and to thereby accomplish the heroic implants a natural order to this inclusion. The remainder of the list emanated from a predominantly Anglo-Saxon lineage (with several exceptions). The listing also has the appearance of all-inclusiveness in its breadth of social status from Chief Justice or Premier, to 'baseballer'. A high ratio of Parliamentarians is evident. In short while issues of class, gender and race could not be claimed to go unnoticed in the series, as an overall impression attention to them was scant.

The paucity of figures not male, not from the more 'established' classes and not having an Anglo-Celtic name appears to relate significantly to the 'real' space/time in which the plaques were set down. North Terrace, Adelaide's "avenue of power" (Fergie 1993: 7), has been integral to the formation and reproduction of State power in South Australia. Thus the positionings of the plaques as part of a 'Jubilee Walk' have fundamentally reinforced, on an everyday basis, a linkage between the power of the State, powerful citizens and their power and authority over ordinary citizens. This linkage has also been served by the edifices and statues and ceremonies that are erected there. However, the plaques accentuate a textual move toward a more incorporative mode of history that lies underfoot. Spatial accessibility is thus linked to everyday use, to something as mundane as waiting for a bus or walking around the City or visiting one of its institutions.

The repositioning of the figures of Light, Torrens, Angas, Kingston, Stuart and Sturt in the plaques also brings to the fore discourses of power that have formed the basis of power's articulation in this City, especially in areas of architecture and planning, commerce and land tutelage, and exploration. Their roles as 'Founding Fathers' are further naturalised because these well-known figures are repetitiously scored in the City's landscape.

Significantly, the plaques on North Terrace were conceived as an essential part of an educative process regarded as suitable for children and adults (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1994g: pamphlet). The roles of the South Australian Museum and State Library, particularly, were widely conceived by 'locals' as places where one was

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[17] David Unaipon also appears on Australia's $50 note. He was born in 1872 at the Port McCleay Mission in South Australia. In the 1950 *Who's Who in Australia* he is described as a Aboriginal lecturer and preacher and a well-known advisor to Aboriginal welfare bodies. He was also a

> Prince of the Narrinyeri Tribe, former inhabitants of the Lake Country, but now surviving only at the Mission; [his] father was [the] first native evangelist on [the] River Murray. [Unaipon was] educated at the Mission: studied philosophy, science and the Bible; written much about the beliefs and customs of Australian natives; preaches in Churches of many denominations; closely associated with workers for the natives (Alexander 1950: 716).

His address was recorded as c/- Australian Board of Missions, Leigh Street Adelaide. Leigh Street until the last few years has been the property of St Peter's College. This is of note as it raises connections between the plaques, North Terrace, the Adelaide Club and St Peter's College.

able to view, and be instructed about, the past. Therefore, the configuration of plaques in the space of North Terrace extended the role of institutions since the key figures that they presented were products and producers of these institutions in material, philosophical and moral ways. The 'Jubilee Walk' maintained and reproduces their profiles at the forefront of an essential experience of Adelaide. It brings these figures from the past into the present. This normalises the present presence of historical figures and draws on passers by to occasionally reflect on the history beneath their feet.

Such instruction is filtered through the institutions on the north side of North Terrace that were emplaced on the hallowed ground of the Parklands which Light had decreed were never to be built upon (with the exception of the several buildings included in the original plan). As most Adelaideans are aware, these public institutions were all built on land originally designated for exclusive public use. The assemblage of histories which they contain and project, are informed by a prior assignation of public recreational use. In this guise the serious business of education and of revealing Adelaideans to themselves is inserted into the fabric and structures of everyday life.

The plaques continue the ubiquitous use of the statue of Colonel Light and the 'heritage' forms and other memorials around the City that form signposts in the landscape. For those familiar with these landscapes they illustrate a future in the present as well as foundations in the past. They allow for the implementation of material representations of lived experience in the form of transparent modes of history.

This transparency has particular significance in the domain of North Terrace as its material forms were imbued with maximum cultural value, an association that over time has not escaped the notice of governments. The siting of Adelaide's Festival Centre is particularly instructive in this regard. The choice of its siting first became an issue in the mid-1950s at which time the City Council established a "Cultural Committee" (J.W. Daly 1980: 152) to find a suitable place for a 'Festival Hall'. This Committee initially selected a building known as 'Carclew' in North Adelaide, otherwise known as "the Bonython Mansion on Montefiore Hill" (J.W. Daly 1980: 152), which was the former home of the influential and well-established Bonython family. Such a selection was no mere accident. It favourably conjoined an elevated location in space with an elevated position in Adelaide's social hierarchy assured by the Bonython lineage.

Despite the extent to which the Bonython family and other established lineages have affected and continue to affect the City's landscape and domains of power, Adelaide's formation remained a contested affair. In the debate over the location of the Adelaide Festival Centre, for example, not all Cultural Committee members favoured the Carclew site. "Stewart Hart, [the] Director of Planning, advocat(ed) a more central site" in North Terrace (J.W. Daly 1980: 152). Hart reasoned that a site near North Terrace would enhance the character of a Festival Hall since North Terrace already had a "principal focus of learning and culture ... [and] existing cultural buildings" (Shard cited by J.W. Daly 1980: 152). The centrality of North Terrace remains in line with the decision to position the plaques on North Terrace. The plaques bring together the

focus on North Terrace with culture and education in a reconfigured lineage of South Australia.

North Terrace's plaques are examined and commented on, from time to time, by a small proportion of the passing foot traffic, by people waiting at the numerous bus stops along the Terrace, and tourists wandering through the City's cultural sites. Students form a large part of the daily foot traffic that moves between the Central Railway Station and one or both universities, along with people employed in the nearby hospital.

Although foregrounded as items of interest in a spatial landscape for "school children, adults and visitors to the State" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1994g: pamphlet) they were also overlooked by authors such as Simon Cameron (1997), Queale and Di Lernia (1996), and Axiom Publishers (1997), whose work focused on the statues and monuments of Adelaide. In these works they were regarded as less important, perhaps being less photogenic than the more imposing forms of statues and monuments. They appeared in Gargett & Marsden's *Adelaide a brief history* (1996) in a series of photographs but otherwise they were not commented on in texts very often. Not unusually it was only the substantive relief of vertical items in the landscape, such as buildings and statues, that received attention. The plaques being both impressed in the pavement and existing along a well worn walkway 'escaped' comment. In the following discussion I focus on the ease with which the plaques are overlooked and suggest that their inconspicuous presence more effectively results in their naturalisation.

Ψ

Rajchman reasoned that, for Foucault, discussion of space often centred on why spaces were made so as "to make things seeable, and seeable in a specific way" (1988: 103). This specificity is apparent in the 'Jubilee Walk' whose plaques were assigned didactic functions by the South Australian Jubilee 150 Board. The Board maintained that "(i)t is also noteworthy that the Walk is situated along North Terrace, adjacent to many of South Australia's key learning institutions and one of Australia's most attractive boulevards" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1994g: pamphlet). However, the placement of the plaques under the feet of passing pedestrians, I contend, both obviates a well-trodden significance as it also relegates the memories of the individuals depicted. The lack of verticality of memorials and statues commissioned after the early 1960s lamented by Cameron (1997) is, instead, replaced by an imposing horizontal linearity, an unbroken chain of power with links to 'heritage' in the form of a product for mass consumption.

At least one of the ways in which power operates here is in the manner that Foucault outlined for the operations of Bentham's *panopticon* (see Foucault 1982) in which "(t)he panoptic mechanism arranges spatial unities that make it possible to see constantly and to recognise immediately.... Visibility is a trap" (1982: 200). Being conscious of their visibility and potential surveillance meant that inmates were always conscious of the inescapable nature of power. This understanding may be applied to the statues, plaques, institutional buildings and so on that line North Terrace as they provide, like the *panopticon*, an "architectural apparatus ... for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it; ...[where] the inmates

should be caught up in a power situation of which they are themselves the bearers" (Foucault 1982: 201). The visibility of statues and buildings makes this 'power situation' more recognisable. A further shift, however, is provided by the plaques whose conjunction with these other forms is through a less visible didacticism. This, I assert, operated in a manner similar to that of the interior of the museum that Bennett proposed as a form of "exemplary didacticism" (1995: 28), in which the exemplary behaviour on display was concocted by the living from exemplary figures of the past. However, out in the street locals were being directed towards their own, Adelaidean past, rather than to any other culture.

The plaques thus also accorded more closely, I believe, with a power that Bentham envisaged as both "visible and unverifiable" (Foucault 1982: 201). In Bentham's scheme this meant that the tower from which surveillance was made always remained in view but that prisoners could never know exactly when they, in particular, were being spied upon (Foucault 1982: 201).

The question of exactly who it is that is operating the mechanism of power becomes unimportant, for regulation becomes automatic and deindividualised. It is transferred to the self:

> He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection. By this very fact, the external power may throw off its physical weight; it tends to the non-corporal; and, the more it approaches this limit, the more constant, profound and permanent are its effects: it is a perpetual victory that avoids any physical confrontation and which is always decided in advance (Foucault 1982: 202-3).

The North Terrace plaques can be seen from a particular perspective. Personages selected were deemed to have met criteria which formed a chronicle revealed as a taxonomy of good behaviour and significance. This chronicle may be linked to a moral code that is inherent in Bentham's rational calculability. Thus I posit an association between the chronicle which the plaques form and the character of individuals that make up its contents. In order to gain entry to this chronicle it required that one be scrutinised and judged and ranked according to 'visible' characteristics. Entry, therefore, implied wilful submission to a 'disciplinary mechanism'. Fiske illustrated this point by indicating that:

> A disciplined person is one who submits him or her self to the power of a particular way of knowing/behaving in order to participate in that power, to become more effective in applying it and thus to gain the satisfaction and rewards that it offers (Fiske 1993: 64).

As a result the homogenising effects of discipline are wrought on identity. We are thus coerced and accept that "(t)he conceptual categories of language and the aesthetic values of art impose order; ... as does education, the police force ... [etc]" (Fiske 1993: 77).

The plaques may thus be seen as a reward for those who underwent submission. Yet this would not be true in all instances. The inclusion of suffragist, Mary Lee, for example, may contradict this point. Her determination to change women's sexual and social status did not appear to have been warmly received by contemporary, nineteenth century power brokers. Jones noted that "(s)he saw the suffrage as her 'crown task' and, under ... Edward Stirling's ... presidency, steered the campaign skilfully" (H. Jones 1986: 51). Lee also proposed the format of women's trade unions that later came into being and worked as a trade union secretary for some years. Her efforts resulted in:

> The Constitution Amendment Act ... [This was] passed on December 18, 1894 [and made] South Australian women the first in Australia to gain the parliamentary vote, and on the same terms as men. Additionally, it gave them the right to postal votes and to stand for parliament; these were unique provisions anywhere" (H. Jones 1986: 51).

Despite her invaluable contributions to social reform, Lee died in poverty, unrewarded and unacknowledged for her efforts. The surprising oversight of her efforts was not rectified until 1980 with the dedication of a bust on North Terrace. Until that time "her only memorial [was] her tombstone" (H. Jones 1986: 52).

Lee's appearance in this series, by its own standards, could not be overlooked because she had attained international status of suffrage. Yet her inclusion in the list was, perhaps, neutralised to an extent by the overwhelming presence of the majority of others whose social roles upheld and promoted a status quo. As a member of the series she is a potential member of that status quo. Her position is further marginalised through being accredited the wider token values of the series (and hence of an Adelaide culture) that rarely included women, Aborigines, or ethnic people as members of its elite. In this sense, the inclusion of Mary Lee in the series, as one who, like the Aboriginal tracker, Jimmy James, has not undergone wilful subjugation, may have a strategic use for the state and/or private concerns and reiterate a Benthamite view on social sanctions where, through publicity, the state guards its virtue.

Like survey stakes, the plaques set in concrete on North Terrace in 1986 were regarded as a further means of orienting social experience through a history already authored and possessed. From then until now a certain protocol has been revealed as to who was to be included in that history and who made decisions about their inclusion. Further, the alphabetical ordering of the plaques painted an expression of the egalitarian character and arbitrary dimensions of the South Australian population. But it also neutralised the internal hierarchical structure of a list that might otherwise have appeared to be without internal stratification. Thus, as an ensemble, the plaques only make sense in terms of a wider narrative of the State that has unified disconnected and discrete historical moments by supplying the 'imaginative boundaries' for narrative forms, in the sense of "imagined communities" (Anderson 1991: 6-7), which are framed by North Terrace.

Although absent from sketches and descriptions of Adelaide, the 1986 plaques are positioned to be highly visible and open to examination. Therefore, like statues and monuments, they are neither insignificant nor value-neutral. Rather, they are an

integral part of strategies which totalise space and centralise the image of the State in the City. The fact that the plaques are overlooked in many published works (Cameron 1997; Queale & Di Lernia 1996; Eliseo 1994; Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1992b; South Australian Government Tourism Commission 1997 & 1998a), I argue, further highlights their commonplace presence in a significant area of contemporary Adelaide. Being commonplace they are perhaps more effectively incorporated into our daily lives and beliefs. When it is noticed (as here) that seven of the first eleven plaques depict individuals who were members of the Adelaide Club and that these plaques are positioned directly opposite The Club and in front of Government House, or that certain sectors of the public were without representation or are poorly represented, then evidence of a position coupled with an overt display of the City's power base is confronted.

I have argued that those who walk the pavement of North Terrace generally experience the plaques, statues, and so on, in a piecemeal fashion. For pedestrians, the contents of a predestined itinerary that the plaques reveal always remain incomplete. This is a consequence of a relation between their movement and the numerous snapshots of figures with which they are presented. In the disjunctions this creates, it is possible that imaginative and learnt processes frame space as a totality.

Thus regulating bodies have been able to maintain a space that, in Light's original plan, was to be given over to the people (the Parklands) and over which their wider ownership and control people continue to argue. This space was more easily conceptualised in everyday experience as an abstract space, especially in those areas seized by the State Government.

For Frow the reasons behind such strategic use of space may mistakenly conceive that the dominant "seeks to occupy a terrain and to construct place according to an abstract model" (1991: 55). Place is thus manipulated through acts of self-regulation, "of possession and self-possession, of propriety and security that ... characterises the structure of power" (Frow 1991: 55). In contrast to 'tactics', the operation of strategy takes place in a visible and unified locality. Tactics are less predictable and more difficult to articulate and operate without the benefit of a spatial or institutional locale (de Certeau 1988a: xix).

The application of a concept of tactics appears in some way to address Sangren's concerns with a penchant of social analysts "to treat power as a mainly discursive or linguistic category, divorced from the spatial and temporal realities that produce it and from the individual and collective agents that employ it" (Sangren 1995: 17). Unfortunately de Certeau does not escape accusations of a textually dominant theorising, as Frow (1991: 58-59), for example, has illustrated. The problem is, as Sangren maintained, that

> (t)here is much encompassed by social life in addition to its discursive self-representations. Social life is systemic in ways unimagined in such discourses, and this systematicity must be taken into account if we are to understand the "meanings" (including ideological dimensions) embodied in discourses. If power is to avoid devolution into yet another form of aspatial or transcendental idealism, it must be dialectically located in the spatial and temporal realities of social activities (Sangren 1995: 17).

Sangren's approach made a point of identifying, through a study of the operations of power, those who individually and collectively exercise it. This contrasted with Foucault's approach which Sangren considered was mistakenly premised upon power's operation being outside of social production and located in discourses of power that could not explain how "power ... produces selves" (Sangren 1995: 26).

Appendix XIII **Institutional regulations**

(i) South Australian Institute Regulations, November 1867.

1) All persons attending the Reading Room must be decently attired and reasonably clean.
2) Conversation must be avoided as far as possible, and must in any case be carried on in an undertone.
3) Boys under the age of 13 years are not admissible, unless under the care of some grown-up person.
4) No person is allowed to bring a dog into the Reading Room.
5) It is requested that all persons attending the Reading Room will avoid the following practices, which are calculated to annoy others:

-Turning over periodicals or newspapers noisily;
-Eating in the Reading Room;
-Leaning upon the newspaper stands;
-Sitting in front of the fire to the exclusion of others.

Any person infringing any of these Regulations will render himself liable to summary ejectment from the Room; and it is requested that any person who may be annoyed by such infringement, or any other misconduct, will immediately acquaint the Librarian therewith.
By Order
Robert Kay, Secretary.
(Kay 1867).

(ii) Selected items from the **Regulations under the South Australian Museum Act, 1976-78:**

13. A person shall not deposit any litter in any part of the Museum or the grounds except in a litter bin or other receptacle for the collection or disposal of litter.
14. (1) Subject to subregulation (2) of this regulation any person who is in the Museum or the grounds shall not:-

(a) touch or interfere with any specimen, object or any other equipment or interfere with any case containing any such specimen, or object or other equipment;
(b) wilfully obstruct any officer of the Museum in the execution of his duty;
(c) disturb, annoy or obstruct any other person in the proper use of the Museum or the grounds;
(d) cause or allow any dog or other animal belonging to him or under his control to enter the Museum or the grounds or remain therein;
(e) offer anything for sale;
(f) conduct himself in a disorderly manner;

(g) enter or remain in any part of the Museum not set apart for the use of the public;

(h) after proper warning persist in remaining in any part of the Museum beyond the hour for closing the same;

(i) distribute any pamphlet or any other printed or written matter.

(2) A person shall not be in breach of or fail to comply with these regulations if he does any of the things referred to in paragraphs (a), (e), (g) or (i) of subregulation (1) of this regulation pursuant to the authority of the Board.

(The Executive Council 1980: South Australian Government Gazette).

(iii) Selected items from the **Permit Conditions for busking in the City of Adelaide:**

(a) **The Permit Holder(s) shall not:-**

1. Use any form of amplification in conjunction with any performance.

13. Cause an undue obstruction to pedestrian movement or the operation of nearby street trading stands or retail outlets.

14. Perform within six metres of any building abutting the Rundle Mall.

17. Perform in any one place in the city at any one time in excess of 30 minutes.

(b) **The Permit Holder(s) shall:-**

2. Only perform between the time of 10:00 am and 10:30 pm each day.

11. Respect the position of retailers by not unduly interfering in their operations or competing with their promotions.

(d) **General:-**

8. Buskers can only perform on: footpaths that have a minimum width of 5.0 metres such as King William Street and part of North Terrace, vacant protuberances on Hutt Street, Flinders Street and Jerningham Street corner, areas such as the Rundle Mall, City Squares, Park Lands and road closures.

(Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1998a).

(iv) Selected items from the **Regulations under the Art Gallery Act, 1939:**

Citation

1. These regulations may be cited as the *Art Gallery Regulations, 1989.*

Exclusion of certain persons from gallery

7. A person who-

(a) is in a soiled condition;

or

(b) is not decently attired,

is not permitted to enter the art gallery premises.

Intoxicated persons

9. A person must not be on the art gallery premises while so much under the influence of alcohol or a drug as to be visibly affected by it.

Penalty: $500.

Prams and pushers not allowed

13. (1) A person must not, except with the permission of an art gallery employee, bring a pram or pusher onto the art gallery premises.
Penalty: $200.

(Art Gallery Board 1989: 1865-69).

Appendix XIV Zones and Precincts: Divisions of the Plan

Both theoretical and material constructs, I argue, are the embodiment of "lines of power" (Ollson 1992: 95) that, as Ollson has elsewhere asserted, highlight the ontological status of social relations and hence the operations of power (1982: 227). The invisible but no less discernible outlines created by 'precinct' boundaries and 'zoning' examined in this section are, I argue, like the invisible lines of survey, contemporary means of exercising power. Whether borders are material or immaterial they remain effective in power's implementation.

In 1962 the State Government released a *Report on the Metropolitan Area of Adelaide.* The 1962 *Report* praised the efforts of Colonel Light in establishing Adelaide at its present location and for the plan he adopted. The guiding principles of Light's design were reiterated and it was maintained that "(t)he merits of any city can be judged on [the] ... basic requirements of health, convenience and beauty" (Town Planning Committee 1962: 3). The *Report* drew attention to the growing complexities of the metropolitan area of Greater Adelaide which were recognised as "extending beyond the influence of Light's vision" (Town Planning Committee 1962: 4), and, consequently, highlighted the conditions for a new plan to emerge. Earlier imperatives for town planning, particularly those brought to attention around 1911 when Canberra was in an initial planning phase, had only momentary force. During World War I a visiting lecturer in town planning, Charles Reade, arrived in Australia and later became the first Government Town Planner in Adelaide (Town Planning Committee 1962: 4). Here he prompted the advent of a plan for the entire metropolitan area and the Town Planning Act of 1929. For various reasons this Act had little impact on the subdividing of land (Town Planning Committee 1962: 4).

According to the City Council, the 1962 *Report* erroneously described South Adelaide as merely the CBD. The Council believed that South Adelaide's functions were more complex than this and successfully urged that a draft City of Adelaide Plan be produced in 1974. In the 1974 draft, which was a precursor to the 1976 City of Adelaide Plan, a range of issues central to City life were outlined. Such issues were not evident in plans since Light, with the exception of Reade's work (Zacest 1978: 65). However, by 1997 the work of Reade, like that contained in the 1962 *Report*, seemed to have faded into the background for Council planners. O'Connell, for example, stated in the City's *Development Plan Review* of 1997 that the 1976 Plan continued the "strong urban planning tradition, originating from the work of Colonel Light and George Kingston of 1836-37" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1997a: 3). Between 1836 and 1976 there would thus appear to have been only insignificant planning initiatives brought to fruition.

The diversity of activities in the City demonstrated in the 1974 draft plan were identified as overlapping "subsystems" (Urban Systems Corporation 1974: 18) and

brought peoples' physical surroundings and travelling arrangements under scrutiny. All 'subsystems' were accorded economic, social and physical determinants which were assumed to undergo continual change as a result of the actions of individuals, private organisations and government (Urban Systems Corporation 1974: 18). The 1976 *City of Adelaide Plan* which emerged from this draft was undergoing its fourth review in 1997 (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1997a: preface).

In the 1974 draft plan a 'District' and 'Precinct' structure was formulated and proposed as a means of determining development within the City. I argue that such a formulation, rather than presenting an alternative 'vision' from the one attributed to Light is in line with a tradition that has flowed from his initial design. Thus the scheme of partitioning the City's spaces in the manner used by Light has wider applications in the partitioning of land in this City (see also Chapter Six, this thesis). The 1974 draft plan also divided the City into a "series of Districts" (Urban Systems Corporation 1974: 18) whose basic character and purpose differed. 'Core', 'Frame' and 'Residential' Districts were delineated and each 'District' proclaimed as a "series of Precincts" (Urban Systems Corporation 1974: 18). Precinct boundaries were established by determining "some community of interest, cluster or activities and/or environmental character" (Urban Systems Corporation 1974: 18). A total of 28 precincts including 5 Core precincts, 9 Frame precincts and 9 Residential precincts were isolated (Urban Systems Corporation 1974: 113). Precincts were determined by "name, boundary and position" (Urban Systems Corporation 1974: 111). Change and development within them was said to be "guided and governed" (Urban Systems Corporation 1974: 111) according to a descriptive account of a Precinct's "function, character, image, appearance or any other aspect of such" (Urban Systems Corporation 1974: 111).

In 1986 the second and major review of the 1976 City of Adelaide Plan was conducted and the total number of precincts was increased to 88 and included 10 Core precincts, 23 Frame precincts, 34 Residential precincts, 18 Parkland precincts and 3 Institutional precincts (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1997a: preface).

The implementation of a District and Precinct structure was established as a means for "managing and coordinating the processes of change from the existing situation to the desired future situation" (Urban Systems Corporation 1974: 137). However, the assignation of this precinct structure, I argue, is illustrative of a Cartesian mode of thought. As Lefebvre pointed out

> A classical (Cartesian) rationality appears to underpin various spatial distinctions and divisions. Zoning, for example, which is responsible - precisely - for fragmentation, break-up and separation under the umbrella of a bureaucratically decreed unity, is conflated with the rational capacity to discriminate (Lefebvre 1991: 317).

The imposition of this Cartesian rationality set up conditions for the social differentiation of space, I argue, while it enhances the dichotomy between the subject and the outside (Kirby 1996: 36). Through this differentiation of space, 'precincts' and 'zones' can thus be viewed as creating the conditions for areas of social discrimination and exclusion and delimited 'formulations of composure'.

Contemporary planners contribute to such action and are directed towards producing evermore encompassing definitional boundaries of precinctual character. The "Adelaide 21 Strategy" report released in 1996[18], for example, proposed a "(r)eview [of] the precincts, with a desire to consolidate where possible existing precincts, [and] (i)ntroduce site/sub precinct Concept Plans to clarify desired activities, urban forms and linkages" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1997a: 9). Its authors wished to convey the sense that current planning actions would be judged favourably if Adelaide retained its present character. They stated under the title "2010 A Different City" that

> (a)t a time when the mega-cities of the region have become progressively similar skyscraper cities with intractable problems of congestion, pollution and social division, Adelaide stands apart. Clean, safe and accessible, this vibrant, open and forward-looking city is a centre of innovation. *She* is at the forefront in applications of information and communications technology, linked to existing and emerging global markets and hence a successful player in the world economy (Adelaide 21 Project (South Australian) Steering Committee 1996: iii, my emphasis).

The City landscape is likened to 'virgin' bushlands, also characterised as female in popular Australian mythology (K. Schaffer 1988: 22), in whose vistas lay the undiscovered terrains of information technology and global marketing. The presence of social problems are thus eliminated or forgotten in a 'vision' of the future that aligns with an idealised female form. The positioning of the City's planner, Colonel Light in planning issues is, I argue, essential for maintaining such illusions.

In the next chapter the relation to time contrived in the *Adelaide 21 Project* appear as a fundamental adjunct to practices that position and maintain Light's centrality in planning circles as well as in the public psyche. Thus I assert that a degree of conformity exists between the present and future of the City suggested in the *Adelaide 21 Project* and that which has been represented in many historical accounts since the time of European settlement in South Australia. The practice of Precinctual subdivision further contributes to this simplification of the complexities of City life and the illusory character of an apparent readability of the City's landscape. However, even the mundane appearance of walking about the City is both directed and capable of taking unexpected turns, such as encountered with forms of resistance to control.

Acts that are devoid of legibility and do not appear in planning constructs are outside of the legibility of the 'known' city. Such acts conform to de Certeau's concept of "la perruque" (1988a: 24) and exist in spite of planning constrictions. Acts of "la perruque" occur when the controlled utilise the *time* of the person or persons in control. De Certeau cited typical examples in the workplace where the employee fashions something of personal use in the employer's time out of scraps normally

[18] The "Adelaide 21 Strategy" was described by the City of Adelaide Corporation as "a joint commitment by the Adelaide City Council, State Government and Commonwealth Government to work with all major private and public sector interests in developing an agreed strategy for the city centre" (Corporation of the City of Adelaide 1997b: 6).

discarded. In this regard "*(l)a perruque* is the worker's own work disguised as work for the employer. It differs from pilfering in that nothing of material value is stolen" (de Certeau 1988a: 25). The concept is also intended to have implications outside of the workplace. Acts of resistance, in general, fall within its ambit, such as 'shooting up' in the secluded gardens bordering the rear wall of Government House, or alternatively, relieving oneself there, consuming alcohol in Victoria Square, not paying for train tickets, painting graffiti and so on. These are all acts that steal the time of the dominant in organising for clean-up, increased surveillance and structuring social programs. Importantly, a recognition of 'la perruque' as informing activities within the City reasserts the complexities of City life which much planning policy appears to negate. The legible forms of 'precincts' and 'zones' highlight particular instances in which complexities are overlooked.

'Precincts' and 'zones' are forms of enclosure that as Relph revealed generally for city squares, walled towns and enclaves, offer a distinct feeling of "being inside, of being in a place" (1976: 35). The extent to which a 'precinct' creates and fosters such an impression is dependent on its "imageability" (Relph 1976: 35) or social profile. The greater the 'imageability' the more likely are people to feel 'at home' in a place. However, this feeling harbours 'uncanny' relations that are compounded by the representation of concrete structures in the City landscape, a point to which I return in later chapters. In a similar way the comments of 'cultural brokers' revealed in the Introduction (for example, Rushdie, Hanrahan and so on) enclose and impose boundaries which like 'precinct' and 'zones' construe a 'community' of interests. In isolating the interests of one 'precinct' from another, differentiation is posited as a guiding principle to orientation. I assert that a 'city of constructed differences' is produced rather than one regarded as a 'different city'.

'Precinct' and 'zone' formation thus both undermines and also posits familiarity with the City so that feelings of 'heimlich' and 'unheimlich' (Freud 1987 (1919): 347) are both potentially recognisable. Further, the driving forces of this differentiation have not only economic precedents but are related to social values such as prestige, status and progress which are key factors in a 'civilising' process. That is, planners and strategists who make decisions about the future shape of the City are themselves regulated by their positions within a hierarchy and conform to the ideals and expectations of their work environment (Bonham & Ferretti 1999: 118).

'Precincts' and 'Zones' appear as logical extensions of Light's original plan in that they have a potential to familiarise and 'settle' space. However, they are also capable of rendering space strange and unfamiliar by overlooking the more mundane nature of everyday life.

Appendix XV John Martin's Christmas Pageant

John Martin arrived in South Australia in 1839 and commenced storekeeping operations soon after. The John Martin and Co. Ltd. building fronting North Terrace, next door to the larger, modern site of John Martin's on Rundle Mall, provides an example of a rare 'Gothic' secular building in Adelaide. It also demonstrates the early character of North Terrace that was linked to 'professional' businesses, typically occupied by doctors, optometrists, dentists, surgeons, and so on (Marsden, Stark &

Sumerling 1990: 114). The store had been part of the fabric of retail life in South Australia since 1866 (Hackett, *The Advertiser Weekend Magazine* 1999: 6) and regarded as an integral part of the Adelaide landscape (Plate 16).

Despite popular protest demolition of the chain's North Terrace headquarters commenced in 1998 when the store no longer traded under the John Martins name. However, John Martin's popular annual 'Christmas Pageant', which commenced as a result of the Depression of 1933 (S. Thomas, *The Advertiser* 1993: 10), has been retained through government assistance as a significant cultural event particularly for young children, parents, tourists and the elderly. The Pageant and the John Martin's store were thus fundamental to (local) social constructions of Adelaide identity. Muirden noted for example that in the 1940s, especially, John Martin's was one of several "venerated ... companies like Elder Smith, the stock and station agents, ... [and] the Electric Supply Company" (Muirden 1986: 278). John Martin's store was taken over by David Jones Pty. Ltd. and ceased trading in 1998 (Hackett, *The Advertiser Weekend Magazine* 1999: 6).

The 'Christmas Pageant' is held each year to mark the approach of Christmas. It was hosted by the John Martin's Department Store from the early years of the Depression (1933) up until 1997, after which time it was taken over by that Company's parent company, David Jones Pty Ltd. The 'Pageant' has a series of floats that move through the City to a final destination in North Terrace, the 'Magic Cave' (opened in 1896 (Hackett, *The Advertiser Weekend Magazine* 1999: 6), in the John Martin's complex. At the 'Magic Cave' on North Terrace the mythical figure of 'Santa Claus' resides from early November (the day of the Pageant) until Christmas Day. The Pageant procession begins at the (Methodist) 'Pulteney Grammar School' on South Terrace, at which the various floats and marchers are assembled, and moves down King William Street to North Terrace, with the occasional detour along other City streets so as to accommodate the large crowds that are attracted to it (around 400,000 in 1997 (Anon. *The Advertiser* 1997b: 6)) despite the live telecast. It is thus of great significance in the local calendar.

The Pageant parade included police bands teamed with various floats representing themes such as cowboys and the wild west, fairy tales and exoticised cultures (Latin, Spanish, Hawaiian), stereotyped roles of male and female, band music (usually of a military type - Scottish was particularly common, but American and English also featured), while clowns interacted with onlookers. The parade enacted criteria such as animal/human, gender and race relations, such that two main themes seemed apparent (i) the anthropomorphic treatment of animals and (ii) the exotic and human. Floaters were also employees of John Martin's and, as these were mostly women, the parade had a distinctly female bias. Some women dressed in male roles to perhaps address this imbalance. Nearly all of the participants appeared to be of Anglo-Celtic descent. The pageant Queen was blonde and white in 1994.

The Pageant also engendered the participation of the City Authority. The Mayor and some councillors were present on the balcony of the Town Hall as the Pageant passed by and later the Council hosted a children's party. The police presence was overt although they seemed to be under instructions to present a friendly face and acted more like guides and scouts. They interacted with the crowd and even

allowed themselves to be the butt of their jokes. In this sense the Pageant marked a procession of power in a similar way to planning intentions for the John Martin's site for which a 200 metre 'tower of inspiration' was being proposed in 1997 (Murphy, *The Advertiser* 1997: 1).

Appendix XVI The bias towards 'the North'

Orientations towards the North and Light have been important elements of the formulations of composure of non-Indigenous Adelaideans that impelled a continuing impetus to maintain Victoria Square as the starting point of the state. The enduring significance of the direction 'North' emanated from Victoria Square. This significance was demonstrated in a variety of ways in the Adelaide landscape that revealed taken for granted orientations concerning the City's spatial form. The rarely remarked upon presence of a large survey mark in Victoria Square dedicated on January 11, 1989 by the South Australian Lands Department is a good example of such orientations. The plaque is about one metre in diameter and indicates the direction of 'true' north directly along King William Street. The commemorative plaque was put in place 152 years to the day since Colonel Light inserted the first survey peg and began the process of marking out the City of Adelaide. The year, 1989, marked the sesquicentenary of Light's death. The survey mark was cemented into the northern tip of Victoria Square, near the site where Colonel Light's statue had once stood pointing north toward the frontier. From Light's plan to the City of the present, contemporaries survey and maintain an attention to the north.

The early proximity of the population to the Torrens River and to the City's main water supply (Marsden, Stark & Sumerling 1990: 12) gave a physical justification for attention to the north within the City's boundaries. South Australia's oft-recalled status as 'the driest state in the driest continent' and the dangers of the desert lying to its north have been a persistent reminder for past and present inhabitants of Adelaide's precariousness. 'North' was also the direction that explorers such as Edward John Eyre, John MacDouall Stuart and Charles Sturt, to name a few, took in their momentous quests for a presumed 'inland sea' or to look for more opportunities for opening up the interior (Fenner 1936a: 13). At the centre of the City, in Victoria Square, the statues of some of these early explorers were assembled around the figure of Queen Victoria and all faced 'northwards'. Their heroic status was a powerful reminder of the hallmarks of Eurocentric 'civilising' principles on which the City and State were founded. However, the 'settlement' of statues has been unsettled by Aboriginal protest. Their presence in the Square highlights that the frontier of settlement remains located within.

The orientation 'North' has also been fundamental to cartographic practices and Adelaide's 'natural' alignment. As Ryan pointed out (see Chapter Two), such cartographic practices have the appearance of being innocent of intent or meaning (Ryan 1996: 102), but they disguise social practices that rely on a 'misrecognition' of the conventional use of signs. This orientation was repeated on town maps throughout South Australia.

The widespread acceptance of such practices and the ease with which they have slipped into everyday understandings promoted a continuous emphasised importance

to the direction 'North' in Adelaide. This point was also made clear in the quick sketch maps of the City I asked 'locals' to draw. In their 'mudmaps' of the City respondents invariably drew attention to some landmarks on North Terrace and the adjacent area of the Torrens River. Other areas of the Square Mile usually appeared only in outline. This orientation has been repeated in numerous City plans in which the Y-shape of the so-named 'Core District' (for example, the 1974 *Plan of Adelaide)* is emphasised and reflected in people's most frequently used pathways about the City. In City plans North Terrace and King William Street have most prominence, with Victoria Square forming the base of the 'Y' and North Terrace forming its upper width.

Appendix XVII 'Fringe Camps'

Sansom's examination of Aboriginal drinking in Darwin's 'fringe camps' indicated the sort of group dynamics that might be encountered in Victoria Square. He demonstrated that the Darwin camps were autonomous and self-governing concerns whose members "plot their position on the social and political maps of the Top End. [They] thus make an image of their community by making those discriminations that set it apart from communities of other sorts and kinds" (Sansom 1977: 60). Their shared understandings related the affiliations of members and non-members. For instance, anyone in the camp referred to as a "missionary", that is, someone who did not drink, was distinguished from the more readily understood and easy going, imbibing sorts (Sansom 1977: 60). The 'missionary' was thus an outsider who had brought with them the conduct of another culture. Since "the camp is a context from which the missionary type is excluded, neither incomer nor resident will there be blamed for drinking as such. And this is a freedom, a relief from one kind of moral condemnation that the camp is structured to offer" (Sansom 1977: 60).

The permissive nature of such a context required that some form of control was placed on behaviour, to limit the consequences of unrestrained drinking. In the Darwin camps this was achieved through a special distinction between those who lived in the camp and those visiting from outside. Visitors were more likely to become outlandishly drunk and often progressed from a "welcome and monied" phase to the stage of an "untolerated hinterland bludger" (Sansom 1977: 60). More permanent residents worked to stay solvent most of the time and, as a result, did not engage in the heavy bingeing associated with the 'visitor'. They also had familial responsibilities in close proximity, unlike the 'visitor', and in the case of camp leaders were often placed in control, by the visitor, of the visitor's funds. (Sansom 1977: 60-1). The control of a visitor's funds was frequently "under the gloss of kinship obligations" (Sansom 1977: 61). Other services, such as looking after the visitor's general well-being, were also part of this deal. The visitor may thus become 'out of control' but it was a rare condition for permanent residents and especially leading figures of these camps (Sansom 1977: 61).

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Ferguson - raconteur, 1995.

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'Frank the barber' - barber in Rundle Street, 1994.

Gerard - ('the Professor') - inventor & musician, 1994.

Goldsworthy, Peter - (Adelaide Writers Week), 1994.

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Keren - Rundle Street east trader, 1994.

Kym- Remm Myer Centre, Security Officer 1994.

Mark - former resident of Rundle Street east, 1994.

Melky, Eli - former president of the Hindley Street Traders Association, 1994.

Menses, Phillippa - director of the National Trust of South Australia, 1994.

'Murphy' - mature-aged 'street kid', 1994.

'Nick' - Hotel proprietor in Rundle Street east, 1994.

'Oven' - writer and editor, 1994.

Pember, Grant - a director of Mancorp Developers, 1994.

Pfitzner, Darren - designer living and working in Rundle Street east, 1994.

'Pip' - Hindley Street trader, 1994.

Roscoe - Rundle Street trader, 1994.

Russell, Andrew - Chief Development Architect, Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1994.

'Sean', 'Stevo' and other frequent visitors to Hindley Street, 1994.

Simone, student, 1995.

State Library Front Desk - desk personnel, 1994.

Stephanie - co-manager of a store in the Remm Myer Centre, 1994.

Stark, Paul - Principal Heritage Officer, Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1994.

Thompson - writer, former resident of Rundle Street, 1994.

University Councillor, 1999.

Young, Howard - project manager for Libermann Developers, 1994.