PART ONE

CULTURAL PLURALISM
OUTSIDE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Preamble

The first part of this study examines the theoretical background which has located cultural pluralism outside concepts of cultural heritage. The theoretical framework revealing this phenomenon is informed by existing theories about heritage and place.

Chapter One explores heritage and cultural landscape theory. The conceptual development of heritage embraces the theoretical areas associated with cultural landscape studies and cultural geography, with the discipline of planning seen as the key instrument in identifying and managing heritage places. The theoretical terrain associated with heritage thus encompasses both conceptual heritage issues and heritage planning practice.

Chapter Two establishes the theoretical framework in which to understand the ways cultural pluralism has been marginalised in terms of cultural heritage in Australia. The particular theoretical areas relevant to this issue draw from the history of Australian migration policies, theories about place attachment and the growing body of theory on migration and identity.

The theoretical framework provides the interpretative superstructure used to identify and understand Australian migrant places, the focus of this thesis. The methods used are explained in Chapter Three. Seen together, the theoretical chapters show that cultural pluralism is a strong aspect of Australian cultural history which to date has remained outside concepts of mainstream Australian cultural heritage.

CHAPTER ONE

LOCATING THE THEORETICAL SPACE: HERITAGE CONCEPTS

The theoretical space in this chapter occurs in the overlap of established areas of heritage theory and cultural landscape theory. Shifts in concepts of heritage over the last two centuries provide an argument for a new space for concepts of heritage informed by the new critical cultural geographies. Another potent impetus for heritage theory development since the 1960s has been the tension between the pragmatic needs of heritage planning practice in contrast to ideological theories about heritage.

The first section of the chapter deals with conceptual shifts and planning tensions in heritage theory. The second section provides an overview of cultural landscape theory as a basis for interpreting values related to place. Both sections set the context for investigations into cultural pluralism as heritage. Figure 1.1 shows the relationship between these two theoretical areas in the first section of this chapter.
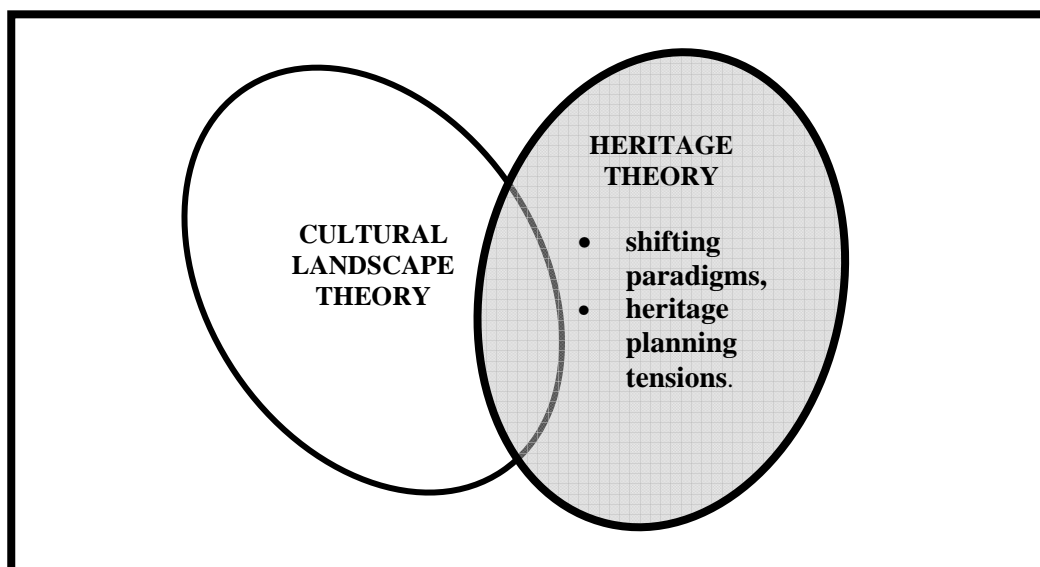

FIGURE 1.1.

Theoretical Focus for Heritage Concepts.

Shifting Heritage Concepts

In 1990, when I began research into cultural pluralism as a dimension of heritage, it was a clear departure from accepted notions of heritage in Australia. In reviewing the

theoretical development of the concept of heritage during this century, however, one can see a certain inevitability that inclusive notions of heritage would emerge. The following brief review of the background of 20th century heritage concepts shows how chauvinist ideas of 'nation' have gradually been relinquished to allow for a more sophisticated understanding of national identity and its associated heritage. The review also shows how parochial ideas of heritage places have been supplanted by concerns about global heritage. Migrant places as heritage allow for another dimension of heritage in the growing global phenomenon of relocated people.

European Heritage Paradigm Shifts in the Early 20th Century

In the introductory chapter, it was noted that values related to heritage and place are often conflated with concepts of culture and identity. The designation of heritage places has tended to reflect the particular cultural concerns of the day, both internationally and nationally. In Europe, the 19th century heritage focus had been on the conservation of patrician properties and family heritage. By the 20th century this was broadened to the concept of 'national heritage'. The Australian historian, Graeme Davison suggests this shift in European notions of heritage is related to the emergence of new European nation-states seeking to legitimate their newness through pride in their cultural practices and political ideology (Davison & McConville,1991). It was in this climate that the first international charter for the conservation of cultural heritage, the *Athens Charter,* was prepared by the League of Nations in 1933. The 1930s was also a period when wilderness landscapes in Europe were seen as heritage places. This interest grew out of the German bushwalking movement with its sinister implications for heritage and national identity associated with so-called culturally pure landscapes (Groening & Wolschke-Bulmahn,1989). Parochial concerns in Europe continued to underpin notions of heritage until the drastic changes associated with World War II including the pervasive impact of post-war development on European cities.

Heritage Concepts in the New World

There are particular differences between New World and Old World concepts of heritage. The heritage theory informing this study emerges from the cultural perspective associated with New World countries such as Australia, North America, Canada and New Zealand (Armstrong,1994b; Domicelj,1990). An exploration of heritage concepts in Australia reveals that until the global heritage concerns of the 1960s, interest in

Australian built heritage was limited to a few scholars (Freeland,1972; Morton,1970). There had long been an interest in natural heritage including concerted action to protect wilderness areas, which in the New World were invested with a sense of nationalism associated with the indigenous landscape, evident in their title as 'national parks'. When the first national park was established in United States in the1870s, Australia followed soon after by establishing the second national park, Royal National Park, in 1872. This interest continued with the designation of other Australian national parks in the late 19th century and a resurgence of interest in bushland heritage in the 1930s.

Concern to protect natural heritage areas did not extend to cultural heritage places. Aboriginal cultural heritage was ignored and apart from a small group of people who established the National Trust in 1945 in order to protect colonial Georgian and high Victorian examples of housing, there was little desire to protect the urban fabric of Australian cities and the rural countryside (Richards,1982). Such lack of concern about built heritage and Aboriginal culture continued until the community activism in the 1970s which was predominantly associated with the destruction of inner-city workers' housing (Ashton,1993).

In the United States, 19th century concepts of heritage similarly focussed on wilderness landscapes. Unlike Australia, however, heritage places were also aligned with the ideology of a New World republic, including places associated with such heroic figures as Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln (Stipe & Lee,1987). By the 1920s, new concepts about heritage places were emerging as a result of the work of the geographer Carl Sauer (1925), who recognised the heritage value of productive landscapes as sites of human history. This work was developed further by studies undertaken by other humanistic geographers in the 1950s (Kniffen,1962; Zilenski,1951), the most evocative of which were the writings of J.B. Jackson in his magazine *Landscape* (Jackson,1951,1952). Jackson, through his emotive editorials during the 1960s, was also instrumental in alerting the American community to the loss of the vernacular heritage in their cities.

Heritage Awakenings within a Global Context

The period after World War II initiated a global change in 20th century attitudes to heritage places thus influencing revised concepts of Australian heritage. Internationally, unbridled growth and development throughout the first world was affecting the quality

of places, not only visually but also environmentally. As a result the concept of heritage was shaped by the specific nature of impacts on the physical and cultural environment. United Nations, through UNESCO, took a lead in addressing these problems. At first, the focus was on *monuments and historic sites*, initially damaged by the war and further damaged by urban redevelopment. By 1965, so great was the concern about the loss of urban heritage that UNESCO established the International Congress of Historic Monuments and Sites, known as ICOMOS. One of its early activities was to replace the *Athens Charter* with the *Venice Charter* in 1966 (Pearson & Sullivan,1995). The *Venice Charter*, however, focussed on preservation and restoration of historic monuments and did not deal with larger heritage management issues. Developments such as high rise towers in older cities and the impact of highways and industrial infrastructure in rural areas continued to cause concern. By 1968, UNESCO responded to this by broadening concepts of heritage places to include *settings* of monuments and historic buildings. Thus by the 1970s heritage places were seen as rare and inspiring monuments, historic buildings and antiquities; all located within sufficient setting to sustain their sense of history.

In United States there were similar shifts in the focus of heritage, namely from wilderness landscapes to the urban fabric of cities. This, likewise, was prompted by the impact of post-war growth and development. The racial issues associated with decaying city centres added further weight to the plight of 19th century urban heritage. Growing community concern resulted in the American *National Historic Preservation Act (US)* in 1966, foreshadowing similar legislation a decade later in Australia. Much of this heritage was associated with the 19th century migration of Europeans to North America, but there was little recognition of this in heritage assessments.

By the 1970s, the effects of post-war growth and development were also damaging natural areas, including the extinction of many species of fauna and flora. Such were the global concerns about *natural heritage* that the *World Heritage Convention* was adopted by UNESCO in 1972 (Pearson & Sullivan,1995). Australia was one of the early signatories to this Convention. Davison speculates that the Australian government's haste, under the new Labor Government's leader, Gough Whitlam, to become a member of the Convention and to embrace the patriotic term 'National Estate', may have been driven by a desire to legitimate the new political regime. Whitlam sought to do this by encouraging pride in an Australian identity and its

associated national heritage (Davison,1991). With the passing of the *Australian Heritage Commission Act* (AHC Act) in 1975 and the formation of an Australian arm of ICOMOS in 1976, there was a dramatic revision of the notion of Australian heritage. An Australian version of the *Venice Charter* was developed, the *Burra Charter* (1979), which provided clear guidelines on how to assess the Australian heritage significance of places. Concurrently, the *Conservation Plan* (Kerr,1979), a specifically Australian heritage planning instrument, was published.

During the 1980s Australian heritage interests began to include *cultural landscapes.* Unlike the United States, there had not been the same interest in the cultural landscape in Australian geographic circles in the 1950s. Instead geographers had focussed on physical interpretations of the landscape, a further indication that in Australia, the predominant values related to the natural landscape. It was not until the 1980s that the cultural landscape was seen as an important aspect of Australian heritage. In many ways New World countries led the interest in cultural landscapes as sites of heritage in the 20th century. In Europe it took twenty-six years for UNESCO to move from the importance of settings for historic sites and monuments to acknowledge cultural landscapes as heritage places in their own right. This was fully legitimated by the UNESCO *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (1994)* (Jacques,1994;Bennett,1996). The acceptance of cultural landscapes as heritage opened the door to different ways of seeing heritage places, including the recognition of heritage values in vernacular places with their associated community meanings.

Because of the increasing interest in protecting heritage places, inevitable tensions surfaced between development interests and heritage planners. In Europe, heritage places were so embedded in European cultural identity that conservation planning processes were accepted in older cities. But in New World countries, where the concept of heritage places was still in a state of flux, heritage places were often defined as a result of contests in the courts, where the legitimacy of definitions of heritage places was argued. In Australia, one of the early forms of heritage legislation, the NSW Heritage Act of 1977, allowed for appeals against Permanent Conservation Orders on heritage places. When such appeals occurred, a Commission of Inquiry was set up to investigate whether the place under consideration was an example of Australian heritage. The legal arguments and the text from expert witnesses provided an important

forum for concepts of heritage. A close examination of the reports of the Inquiries showed that there was much confusion about what was environmental heritage in Australia (Armstrong,1994c).

By the late 1980s, heritage places took on a different value because they were now seen as possible sites for revenue generation. The British journalist, Robert Hewison, coined the term 'The Heritage Industry' in his numerous articles about the commodification of heritage (Hewison,1987). Throughout the world so-called heritage precincts were being used to revitalise flagging economies through cultural tourism. As a journalist, Hewison was keen to expose the undermining of the integrity of British patrician heritage by commercial interests. He suggested that heritage in the 1980s had become anything a community wanted. No longer was value determined by precise historical qualities but rather by evocative resonances for the global tourists (Hewison,1987). The heritage theorist, David Lowenthal, while eschewing the issues of the 'heritage industry', defended concepts of heritage as reconfigured pasts, thus opening the possibility for a more reflexive understanding of heritage values (Lowenthal,1985,1996).

Post-Modern Revisions about the Concept of Heritage Places

In the 1990s, drawing from the French philosophers' writings about everyday life and the value of local distinctiveness, the French sociologist, Lefebvre (1991), and the French philosophers, Lyotard (1979) and Foucault (1972) argued for different interpretations of knowledge, thus providing legitimate reasons for the value of subjective responses to place. This was fuelled by the fact that, despite the rigour of heritage legislation, the rate of change was so fast that many familiar and everyday places were being lost. Most commonly this happened because local places lacked the distinguishing qualities required to meet heritage assessment criteria. In response to this loss, a community conservation movement called Common Ground was initiated in Great Britain in 1985. By the 1990s this movement was flourishing with a range of community based heritage programs throughout Britain and in Australia (Clifford & King,1985; Armstrong,1992). Meanwhile in Mexico, the 1990 Mexican Committee of ICOMOS prepared the Declaration of Oaxaca which focussed on *'cultural heritage in daily life and its conservation through community support'* (Australian ICOMOS, May 1990). The focus on community values was also taken up by the Australian Heritage

Commission through projects exploring the complex issue of 'social heritage significance'. In 1992, a discussion paper '*What is Social Value?*' prepared by Chris Johnston, paved the way for the Australian Heritage Commission to initiate a number of projects related to community values. Thus by the late 20th century, recognition of the value of local places and ways of life had opened up the possibility for migrant places to be considered as heritage places.

In North America, some pioneering work on cultural heritage associated with ethnic diversity had been done by Antoinette Lee of the US National Parks Service (Lee,1986,1992). As well, Dolores Hayden, an architect and historian, wrote about public histories of minority groups and their relationship to cultural heritage in the urban landscape (Hayden,1995). Both writers were concerned to empower minority groups. This thesis builds on their work by undertaking research with migrant groups to understand how the experience of migration is evident in physical places.

20th century concepts of heritage thus reflect iterative changes in both local and global concepts of heritage. Such radical changes required corresponding shifts in the theoretical underpinning of heritage concepts.

Corresponding Shifts in Heritage Theory

The theoretical framework for concepts of heritage draws from a spectrum of disciplines stretching from classical studies to contemporary philosophy and popular culture. The body of theory supporting 19th century concepts of heritage places as patrician estates drew from a study of the classics, reflecting antiquarianism and connoisseurship (Price,1810; Fletcher,1950; Clark,1969). This aspect of heritage theory continues to play a role where for example, the heritage theorists, O'Keefe & Prott (1984), in their five volume study on *Law & Heritage* drew their definition of heritage from the classicist, Kenneth Clark's definition of culture (Clark,1969). His definition is limited to notions of high culture despite numerous writings by others recognising less exalted forms of culture (Gramsci,1973; Hall,1980; Williams 1961, 1973, 1981). The early 20th century shift in concepts of heritage to include representations of national identity did little to destabilise the primacy of history and the classics as the core theoretical base for heritage concepts.

It was the concept of New World heritage as wilderness places that provided the first shift in theoretical perspective. Scientific theories related to the encyclopaedic collection of data defined these places as heritage places, using the scholarship of 19th century collectors of flora and fauna to legitimate the value of wilderness heritage (Griffiths,1996). It was not until the late 20th century that wilderness heritage places were recognised as spiritual and therefore cultural places, drawing their legitimacy from anthropological and cultural studies (Jones,1991;Tacey,1995).

By the mid 20th century, global heritage concerns about the destruction of monuments resulted in an initial return to antiquarian studies. However it was the central concern about the management of heritage places under threat from modernist developments, which resulted in the rapid growth of a new body of theory related to heritage conservation. In Australia, this new theory was an eclectic combination of quasi-science in the form of the *Conservation Plan* (Kerr,1979), historical geography (Jeans,1984) and new landscape assessment theories (Zube et al,1975) associated with state of the art mapping technologies and quantified values used to support assessments of 'Outstanding Universal Heritage Value' required by the World Heritage Convention (WHC,1972). Added to this catholic mix were theories derived from heritage law (Boer et al,1994; O'Keefe & Prott,1984), and the economics of urban planning (Barnett,1974). Unfortunately the shift to parametric theories involving quantified relative values, despite producing growth in knowledge about the management of heritage places, also resulted in a significant loss of heritage places. This occurred through the application of parametric theory in legal contests between conservation and development. By ranking and applying numerical values to heritage places, it was possible to manipulate the legal system so that only the most unusual examples of heritage places were considered to be suitable for conservation.

By the late 20th century, the impact of post-modern thought allowed the theoretical basis for heritage determinations to be opened to non-parametric theories. Revised concepts of the nature of knowledge permitted heritage theorists to challenge the prevailing hegemony and its rigid criteria (Jacobs,1991,1996; Lowenthal,1985, 1996). It was now cultural geographers (Burgess et al,1988,1988b,1988c; Jackson,1984, 1989; Meinig,1979; Relph,1976, 1987,) and cultural theorists (Hayden,1995; Lefebvre,1991; Malouf,1998; Manion,1991; Samuels,1979) who provided the theoretical foundations for determining heritage places. The French theorists, Bachelard (1969) and Lefebvre

(1974,1991), in their studies on space, introduced the importance of local difference in places. Bachelard recognised the value of heterogeneity in his phenomenological study of space. He suggested that experiences people have in spaces and their associated memories generate the qualities of place. This contrasted with the prevailing heritage theory which tended to define qualities of place by their observable physical characteristics. Lefebvre also wrote of the importance of local places in his book on *The Production of Space* (1974,1991). The works of this wide group of scholars resulted in notions of heritage places being broadened to include familiar and everyday places because of their social value and associations with everyday life.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the theoretical underpinning of heritage concerns draw from all the areas mentioned. Although notions of what is a heritage place have broadened and as a result have become more inclusive, none of the former orthodoxies have been relinquished or supplanted. Heritage like many forms of scholarship in the early 21st century can be interpreted in a number of equally valid ways. Figure 1.2 shows the changing nature of heritage places and the iterative construction of late 20th century heritage theory.
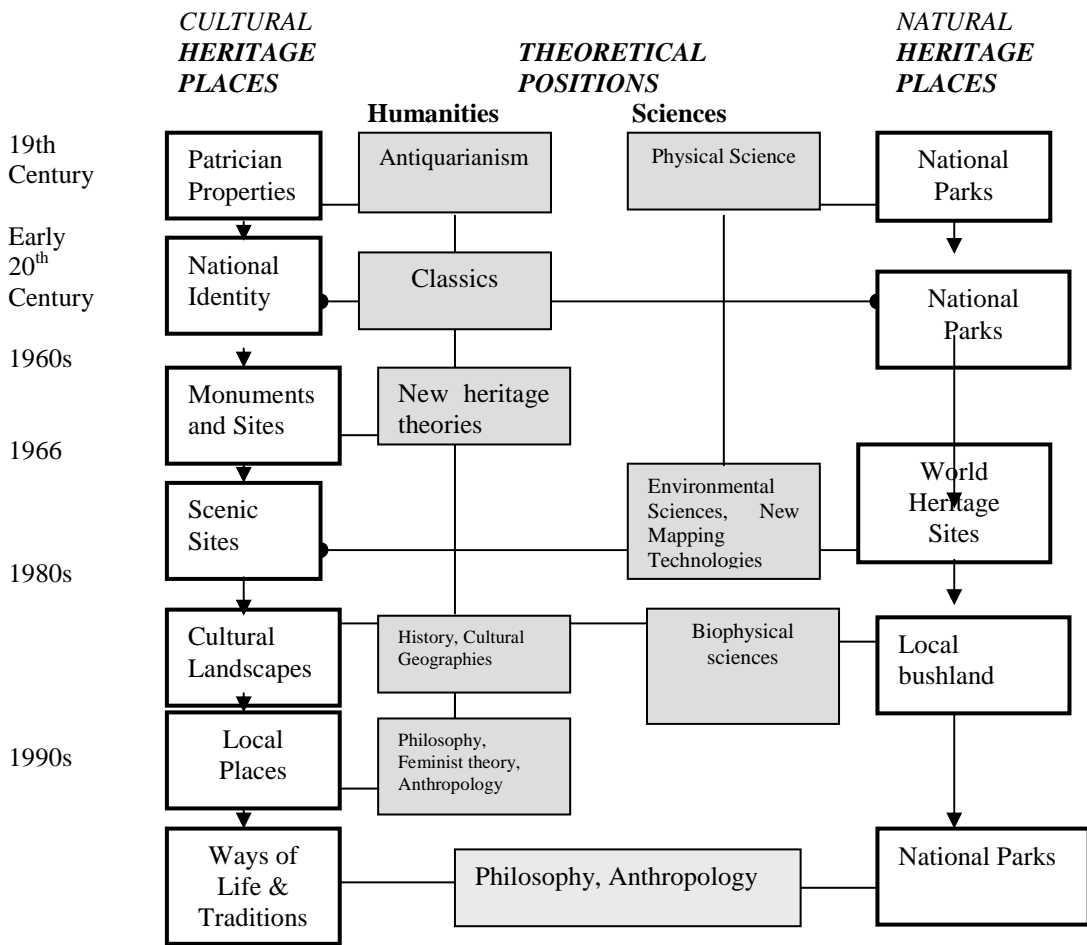
CULTURAL HERITAGE PLACES	THEORETICAL POSITIONS		NATURAL HERITAGE PLACES
	Humanities	Sciences	

19th Century	Patrician Properties	Antiquarianism	Physical Science	National Parks
Early 20th Century	National Identity	Classics		National Parks
1960s	Monuments and Sites	New heritage theories		
1966	Scenic Sites		Environmental Sciences, New Mapping Technologies	World Heritage Sites
1980s	Cultural Landscapes	History, Cultural Geographies	Biophysical sciences	Local bushland
1990s	Local Places	Philosophy, Feminist theory, Anthropology		
	Ways of Life & Traditions	Philosophy, Anthropology		National Parks

FIGURE 1.2.

Changing Foci of Heritage Places and Associated Theoretical Bases.

Specific Theoretical Issues for this Study

The changing heritage emphases during the 20th century reflect an increasing sophistication in the perception of heritage and its relationship to culture and identity. The important issue for this study is the way in which the changing paradigm from purely patrician places to include local places has made it possible to consider migrant places as heritage. There are, however, a number of tendencies in heritage practice in Australia which are either acting against the acceptance of migrant places as heritage or require further development in order to facilitate an understanding of their heritage value. These tendencies relate to tensions in heritage planning, including continued scepticism about subjective values as well as the need for further development in the theoretical underpinning of community or social value which is still at a somewhat 'warm and fuzzy' level.

Theoretical Tensions in Heritage Planning Practice.

The main tension in heritage planning relevant to this study relates to the issue of definitions and the concept of ranking heritage places. There is also tension between heritage planning practice involved in legislative protection and the role of the Australian Heritage Commission (AHC) in developing new ways to interpret Australian heritage places. The theoretical underpinning of planning practice is orthodox and conservative whereas the AHC is able to initiate research into new theoretical approaches because it is relatively free from the day to day protective devices that occupy State and Local Government planners.

Definitions

Theory informs heritage practice in three significant ways; first by providing enabling definitions, second by providing documentary knowledge and third by providing reflexive critiques. Definitions of heritage vary. The ways in which they vary reflect changing concepts of heritage and changing pressures on heritage places. As indicated, early definitions tended to focus on 19th century concepts of patrician inheritance where heritage was seen as a birthright. There was little argument about defining and managing such heritage as it was synonymous with European power structures (Cosgrove,1986). It was the New World definition of wilderness heritage as 'national heritage' that encouraged an egalitarian sense of heritage, albeit constrained by clear preference for natural heritage over cultural heritage in heritage planning.

When the World Heritage Convention (WHC) came into force in 1975, comprehensive definitions of heritage were enshrined in statutory documents. At this stage the concept of ranking heritage items on the basis of 'outstanding universal value' was introduced in order to be selective about heritage places. Clearly fuelled by the conflict between development and conservation, the focus of heritage places was skewed towards the pragmatics of urban planning, with the resulting increase in rigour in the assessment of heritage sites. The role of the expert shifted from the expert as connoisseur to the expert as urban planner. In Australia, a number of planning instruments were developed to address the ranking of heritage places (Davison & McConville,1991). This generated clear tension between inclusive/comprehensive or selective/exclusive heritage values.

The *Burra Charter* (1979,2000) and *The Conservation Plan* (Kerr,1979,1990) were seminal heritage planning and theoretical tools. Heritage professionals, keen to develop heritage practices that were specific to Australia, decided not to use the WHC definition of cultural heritage which focussed on the term 'sites'. Instead they chose the term 'places' because it was deemed to be more inclusive, particularly as it allowed for the inclusion of settings of buildings and larger landscapes. Despite this, implicit in both documents is the intention that heritage places will be ranked. In contrast, the Australian Heritage Commission wished to keep the definition of heritage as broad as possible. They defined heritage as 'things we want to keep' (Pearson & Sullivan,1995).

During the 1980s, tension developed between those heritage planners who sought to consolidate quasi-scientific ways of defining and assessing heritage and heritage bodies who sought to make the process of understanding heritage more accessible. Planners requiring tight sets of definitions and criteria, commonly had to defend their assessments in courts of law. In contrast, the planners associated with the Australian Heritage Commission were concerned with ensuring that the Register of the National Estate reflected a full understanding of heritage places. Litigious aspects of heritage practice was only one aspect of the purview of the AHC. A third group, predominantly academics, were strongly influenced by the emerging cultural theories and so argued that heritage places were derived from wider concerns than merely closely worked historical studies.

The Conservation Plan & Burra Charter.

The different aspects of professional heritage practice resulted in distinct areas of theoretical development. The *Conservation Plan* (Kerr,1979,1990) and the *Burra Charter* (ICOMOS Australia,1979,2000; Marquis-Kyle & Walker,1992) were both practical and theoretical tools used to address development pressures on heritage sites. In the *Conservation Plan*, the process of assessment of heritage and the development of conservation policy included a 'client' whose development requirements needed to be considered. The *Burra Charter* assisted the processes in the *Conservation Plan* by providing clearly stated criteria for heritage assessment. The rigour associated with these procedures centred on the authenticity of the documentary evidence and the discernment required to select the best examples of particular heritage places. A body of specialist theory grew around the use of these documents (Apperly, et al,1989;

Freeman,1982; Jeans & Spearritt,1980; Kelly,1982).   As well, many of the Conservation Plans for heritage places were published by the National Trust. This provided examples of practice as well as documentary knowledge about a number of significant heritage places. Thus heritage planning practice was directly instrumental in the growth of documentary theory about both generic and specific Australian heritage places, however there was little evidence of migrant histories in this theory and cultural pluralism was not seen to be relevant to notions of Australian heritage.

Heritage Studies

Heritage theory also developed from another aspect of heritage practice, the heritage study. In New South Wales, heritage studies tended to be done at State and Local Government level preceding new Local Environment Plans where under the Environmental Protection and Assessment Act (1979), a range of studies were required. The State Heritage Branch, the bureaucratic arm of the Heritage Council, set up a grant system for Local Government Areas (LGA) to undertake these studies. This program facilitated the identification of the heritage fabric throughout any LGA so that conservation policies could be introduced to minimise the threat to heritage places. It was hoped that such planning would prevent the frequent emergency action and community activism associated with Conservation Orders under the earlier NSW Heritage Act (1977).   Similar processes were involved in Victoria and have been gradually introduced into other States. Freed from the urgency to produce documentary evidence for places under immediate threat, heritage studies were able to explore broader concepts of heritage and consider heritage places within the context of sense of place, commonly derived from biophysical factors and regional cultural histories.

A survey undertaken on heritage studies prepared during the 1980s, showed that they were becoming increasingly sophisticated (Armstrong,1991). Early studies in the 1980s were simple histories and inventories, predominantly of buildings. By the mid-80s, studies were developing thematic histories and by the late 1980s, thematic histories were leading to sophisticated interpretations and innovative conservation planning (Armstrong,1989b).   The NSW Heritage Branch developed guidelines to assist consultants while at the same time encouraging innovative approaches to heritage studies.   As a result the NSW studies varied.   They were location-specific and characteristic of certain consultants' styles.   The *Marrickville Heritage Study*,

(Marrickville Municipal Council,1986) is an example of a mid-1980s study. It developed two thematic histories, one the characteristically Australian theme of 'boom and bust', the other a more elusive theme in terms of heritage management, 'the theme of change'. Both themes were used to interpret the heritage fabric of the area, but each was also sufficiently open to allow for later revisions. Another important heritage study, the *Pittwater Heritage Study* (Pittwater Municipal Council,1988), considered the issue of visual heritage significance and its vexing requirements for conservation in areas experiencing rapid change. This study pioneered a thematic framework derived from the landscape rather than the built fabric. The innovative *Leichhardt Heritage Study* (Leichhardt Municipal Council,1991) looked at themes of 'work and place' and 'land and water'. Such themes enabled conservation policies aimed at sustaining community life. Thus in NSW, heritage studies during the 1980s were becoming innovative theoretical tools.

Unfortunately the initiatives related to community life and heritage were not taken further. Instead, in 1990, under pressure to develop a rational system, the NSW Heritage Branch temporarily ceased funding heritage studies while they developed a computer data base of heritage items known as the State Heritage Inventory (SHI). All subsequent heritage studies were to conform to the categorisation developed for the inventory. With such a prescriptive system, consultants found it difficult to explore creative heritage interpretations and associated developments in theory, particularly where they related to community values.

Community Heritage Values: Concepts and Methods

The concept of community heritage values was foreshadowed by the international heritage experts, O'Keefe and Prott,(1984:7) as early as 1984. In the first of their five volume study on *Law and Heritage,* they suggest that

> *…implicit in the word 'heritage' is also the idea of something cherished and to be preserved. Within this precious legacy are included moveable cultural objects (archaeological resources, works of art), immoveable cultural objects (buildings, monuments and sites), expressive activities (language, and the performing arts) and intangible cultural heritage (skills, folklore, rituals, religious beliefs, intellectual traditions).*

The role of intangible cultural heritage and heritage as expressive activities are central to an understanding of migrant heritage places; yet, apart from Johnston's (1992) seminal work on social value and the recent discussion on intangible heritage by

Truscott (2000), none of the existing forms of heritage practice facilitate an exploration of this elusive concept. This thesis incorporates the concept of intangible heritage such as folklore, rituals, religious beliefs and expressive activities as well as the abstract notions associated with the experience of migration, all of which I will argue are evident in migrant places.

The National Estate & Thresholds of Significance

Along with the Australian Heritage Commission's study on social significance, there have been theoretical developments related to the concept of 'thresholds of significance'. The AHC, because of its focus on listing heritage places on the Register of the National Estate, is concerned about the nature of 'thresholds' (Pearson & Sullivan,1995). In heritage planning terms, thresholds are the levels required for listing; above which places are listed and below which places are not. To determine thresholds for any particular criterion of heritage significance, inclusion and exclusion guidelines have been developed. Initially cultural heritage places were listed predominantly for historic significance; hence the thresholds were relatively easy to determine. Thresholds related to aesthetic significance and social significance, however, have not been easy to assess. The AHC has commissioned a number of studies to explore the philosophical issues related to determining significance and as a result has built up the body of theoretical knowledge about the practice of heritage assessment (Australian Heritage Commission,1990, 1991, 1992, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c). This is a difficult area but there is the opportunity for increased sophistication in the interpretations of what constitutes heritage value through the disciplined use of phenomenological hermeneutics.

Revisions in the Academy

In Australia, the impact of post-modern thought in academia has resulted in numerous revisions of perceptions of Australian culture and identity (Mulvaney,1991, Morris,1993). This has become an increasing area of interest as the nation approaches the centenary of Federation in 2001. It is therefore interesting to contrast the current body of Australian heritage theory with critiques about notions of heritage. Publications by practitioners and historians such as *The Heritage Handbook* (Davison & McConville,1991), *Packaging the Past* (Rickard & Spearritt,1991), *The Open Air Museum* (Jeans & Spearritt,1980), and *Looking After Heritage Places* (Pearson &

Sullivan,1995) have focused on documenting Australian practice. Apart from publications on memory and its relationship to understanding history and heritage (Samuel,1995; Connerton,1989; Huyssen,1995) and the growing theoretical development emerging from the Oral History Association (Douglas et al,1988; Frisch,1990), the predominant theoretical literature and critiques about notions of heritage have come from the writings of David Lowenthal (1975, 1985, 1990, 1996 to cite a few of his vast number of publications).

Both Lowenthal and Davison & McConville, in developing their theoretical positions, distinguish between history and heritage. Lowenthal states that '*History explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time. Heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes.*' (Lowenthal,1996:xi). Davison & McConville (1991:4) point out that what we value in the past is largely determined by what we value or repudiate in the present and fear in the future. History is an attempt to represent the past with objective rigour, while heritage is emotive and the needs of the present community are fundamental to its interpretation. Heritage needs in Australia are different to those in Europe or Britain or Asia. As Lowenthal (1990:15) suggests

> *Australians confront the past less as generational continuity than as tableaux from discrete moments. The 1988 Bicentenary celebrated a particular event, not a linkage. Australian National Trust properties engage us as historic stage sets not as ancestral legacies. Compared with the Old World, family connections seem of smaller consequence or perhaps … harder to find.*

It is precisely this representation of history and its resulting heritage that is explored within the category of social significance and which has importance for the understanding of migrant heritage places. Apart from everyday aspects of Australian cultural heritage, Malouf in his 1998 Boyer lectures, *The Spirit of Play,* also highlights the issue of cultural discontinuity for Australians. As indicated in the introductory chapter, cultural discontinuity is an issue for all Australians; Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, Anglo-Celtic Australians and subsequent migrants. This is a difficult area to understand in terms of allegiances and heritage values, despite post-modern revisions in the nature of knowledge and the insightful contributions by such feminist writers as Julia Kristeva (1991). Her powerful work, *Strangers to Ourselves* (1991) augments an understanding of the ambivalent heritage attitudes of many migrants. Similarly the cultural theorist, Iain Chambers, in his work on *Migrancy, Culture and Identity (*1994) provides a challenging perspective on contemporary

migrant experiences. Thus post-modern revisions in the academy have opened the door to interpreting differently empowered groups and their perspective on heritage as well as other ways of interpreting Australian cultural discontinuity.

Within these writings, however, there has been little criticism of the notion of heritage itself. The Australian geographer, Jacobs (1991), in her thesis on the 'Politics of the Past: Redevelopment in London' points out that there is an apparent consensus that heritage conservation is an innately 'good' thing, evident in numerous writings on urban conservation (Ford,1978; Fusch & Ford,1983; Larkham,1988; Relph,1987). There are, nevertheless, some studies which question the power and political implications of heritage conservation (Gold & Burgess,1982; Jacobs,1991,1992,1996; Tunbridge,1981,1984). In Jacobs' work on the different ways concepts of heritage are used to achieve political ends, she aligns her position with that of the historical geographer Hardy (1988) arguing for the distinction between '*heritage as a conservative concept*' and '*heritage as a radical concept*' (Hardy,1988; Jacobs,1991:43). This position is close to that of the heritage theorists Lee (1986,1992) and Hayden (1995) in North America. My study does not seek to use the concept of migrant heritage places as a radical concept to achieve empowerment, but it does reveal the political implications related to why migrant places developed.

There are also economic critiques of heritage in urban planning (Cuthbert,1984, 1987; Goss,1988) which link capital and conservation. Included in the economic critiques are the studies on gentrification which highlight 'heritage capital' as part of 'cultural capital' (Beauregard,1986; Zukin,1988,1992, 1995). In terms of the conservation of migrant places these theoretical works provide important observations about their vulnerability.

Summary of Heritage Theoretical Issues

There is not a large body of 20th century Australian discursive heritage theory. Instead there has been a tendency for theory to focus on definitions, professional procedures and historic documentation. Thus heritage theory falls into two areas, the realm of practice and the realm of ideology. Within the realm of practice, theory has remained parametric and exclusionary. Within the realm of ideology in Australia, recent concerns by the AHC about social significance have enabled the focus of heritage interpretations to shift

towards everyday and familiar places. The growing body of work in the area of Australian has also made an invaluable contribution to heritage understandings.

Outside Australia, there has been important theoretical work done on the nature of heritage. There have also been increasing critiques about the hegemonic aspects of heritage. The work in my study acknowledges the different critiques about the role of heritage in contemporary society, but does not pursue them further. Instead this study focuses on the concepts of meanings and affective values associated with heritage places. Interpreting such values has become the intellectual terrain of the new critical cultural geographies as part of cultural landscape theory.

In summary, a review of heritage theory begs the questions; What is valued? Whose values are considers? and Is heritage theory working as an operative tool in heritage interpretations? In terms of what is valued, it would appear that Anglo-Celtic Australian cultural identity and sense of place are valued highly. The issue of whose values prevail in the early 21st century highlights the shift from colonial to post-colonial understandings. Finally the question about whether the current body of theory is adequate is the challenge this study has taken up. Despite the body of theory related to practice, heritage places continue to be lost, often through the very systems aimed at their conservation. As well, sense of place is continually eroded by the homogenising forces of late 20th century capital, despite planning processes aimed at sustaining local character. But most importantly the theory is limited in its ability to explore the hermeneutics of heritage.

In order to address this limitation, my work has located a space where heritage theory and cultural landscape theory overlap and it is in this space that more sophisticated hermeneutics of place can be explored. This area, shown in Figure 1.3, is occupied by the new critical cultural geographies.
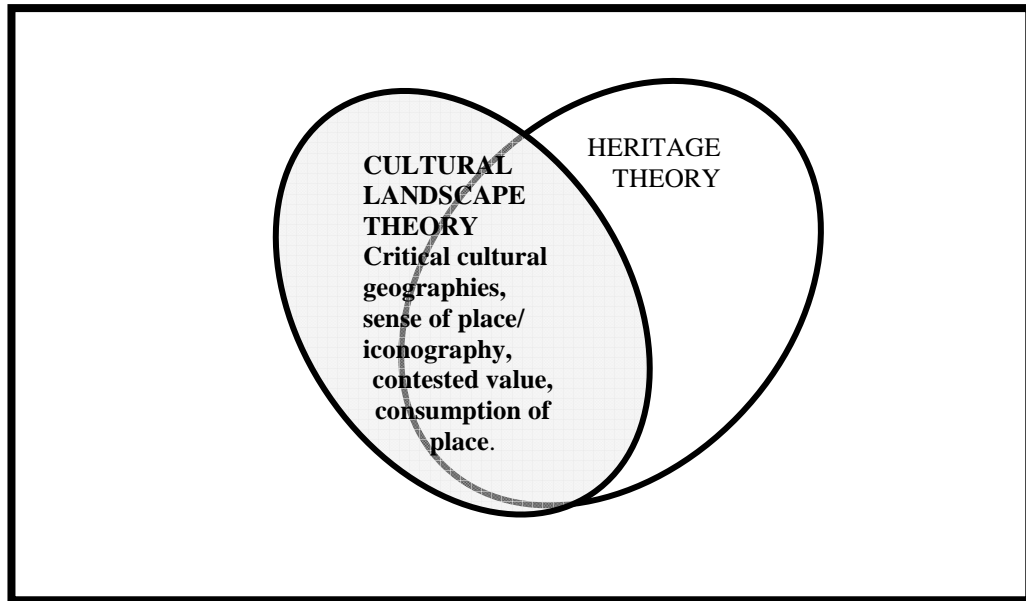
FIGURE 1.3.

Theoretical Space for Cultural Landscape

and Critical Cultural Geographic Concepts of Heritage.

Cultural Landscape Theory and the Critical Cultural Geographies

The new critical cultural geographies embrace the intersection of a number of areas of inquiry including humanistic geography, cultural landscape theory and cultural studies. Humanistic geography, by challenging the perception of geography as exclusively a positivistic science, has opened the path to studies on subjective human engagement with place. Cultural landscape theory has similarly eschewed positivistic geography, instead maintaining an historical approach to interpretations of place. Cultural studies has drawn attention to the complex issues associated with values related to place, particularly focusing on ambiguity and paradox as legitimate aspects of place values. Cultural landscape theory and the new critical cultural geographies are fundamental components of the theoretical framework in this study. Equally, the vast area of cultural studies is selectively used through phenomenological work on place (Buttimer & Seamon,1974; Relph,1976; Seamon,1993; Tuan,1974). This work has proved to be rich and varied because of its particular emphasis on emotional experiences and bonds between people and place.

The central issue for heritage interpretations seeking to include cultural pluralism is the range of human engagements with place and the ways in which different cultural meanings and values can be explicated from particular aspects of the cultural landscape.

The common focus of all these areas of inquiry is the concept of 'place' which in this study refers to environmental settings to which people are emotionally or culturally attached. The term 'landscape' in this study also requires clarification. In many cultural landscape studies, 'landscape' remains as an orthodox concept, namely scenes, place, or countryside (Bennett,1996; Taylor,1993,1999), whereas humanistic geographers use the term to imply a setting for human experience and activity (Rapaport,1992). Meanwhile in cultural studies 'landscape' is often used to denote a theoretical space (Morris,1993). The concept of 'landscape' that I have used is one which embraces the urban cultural landscape, namely the public domain as a setting for human activities and expressions of culture, and in many cases I have conflated 'place' and 'landscape'. In the urban landscape, people transform place into a cultural form reflecting culturally specific activities and values. In her study on heritage values and urbanism, Jacobs (1991,1992) acknowledges the value of the phenomenologically inspired, humanist perspective of place because it facilitates an understanding of the affective relationship between people and the urban environment. She also acknowledges that their contributions related to sense of place have done much to allow for considerations of place meanings and value. Nevertheless she draws attention to the general criticism of this work because of its openness to subjectivism and idealism and its failure to incorporate material conditions, constraints and concepts of power. To support her criticisms she cites Gregory (1978, 1987), Jackson & Smith (1984) and Ley (1981). Chapter Three on methodological considerations addresses subjectivism, which I consider to be central to the hermeneutics of place understandings and therefore legitimate in this work. The issues of material conditions, constraints and concepts of power are explored in the closing chapters of this study where the planning implications related to contested values are considered. Addressing these criticisms, the following discussion reviews the different theoretical aspects of cultural landscape theory and the new critical cultural geographies in terms of my study.

Review of Cultural Landscape Theory

The concept of cultural landscapes includes the proposition that they are physical representations of public history awaiting interpretation. Cultural landscape theory has its origins in the German geographical studies of Otto Schlʋter in the late 19th century. The new theory grew out of discontent about the hegemony of physical geography, considered to be the only means of interpreting landscape. Schlʋter argued strongly for

the recognition of the role that culture played in the creation of landscapes, suggesting that there should be a distinction between cultural landscapes and natural landscapes (Whitehand,1981; O'Hare,1997). Intellectual exchanges between French and German scholars at the end of the 19th century resulted in a similar movement in France through the geographer, Paul Vidal de la Blache who established the French '*pays*' school. De la Blache extended the interest in landscapes derived from human influences to studies of how ways of life, customs and practices were responses to the landscape. He believed that culturally distinctive human societies were based on geomorphically distinct regions. Such an approach, while a departure from conventional geographic studies at the time, was nevertheless confined to an anthropological response to biophysical places rather than a recognition of politically or culturally determined influences on places (de la Blache,1926). At the same time as geographical paradigms were being questioned in German philosophical circles, the prevailing Cartesian approach to knowledge was being challenged by the German philosopher, Husserl, and his followers (Husserl,trans1970). His new philosophical inquiry, phenomenology, was similarly concerned with ways of life and customs, with particular focus on everyday life and the way it is experienced (Valle & Halling,1989).

French and German geographical studies, in parallel with phenomenological studies, lay the foundation for later studies on sense of place. The growth of this work occurred in the United States in the 1920s where Carl Sauer, influenced by both the German humanist geographers and the new developments in human geography in North America, put forward the concept of landscapes as representations of the activities and aspirations of cultural groups (Sauer,1925).

Early cultural landscape studies still used mapping as a means of representation of human influences on the landscape. Later, followers of Sauer developed the practice of 'reading' the landscape through critical observation. Initially such readings were anthropological, but subsequent scholars recognised that landscapes were repositories of signs and symbols which were expressions of customs and values. A number of North American studies were undertaken from the 1930s to the 1960s in the form of analyses of cultural landscapes (Alexander,1966; Kniffen,1962; Jackson, 1951,1952; Wagner & Mikesell,1962; Zilenski,1951). These studies increasingly focused on the way customs, traditions, and ways of life imbued landscapes, both urban and rural, with a sense of place.

Sense of place and the way places can become important to communities often relate to the experiences which have occurred there. The environmental psychologist, Robert Riley (1992), suggests that such experiences become embedded in the memory of the place. He draws from Proust's work *Remembrances of Things Past* (1934) to bring out the power of memory and relived experiences associated with particular places. The role of memory and place is also explored by Samuel (1995) and Lowenthal (1985, 1996).

Lowenthal's early work pioneered the art of interpreting the landscape and its meanings in ways which have been seminal to subsequent heritage and place theories. From the 1960s on, Lowenthal has been pre-eminent in developing concepts of attachment to places redolent with memories and past associations. His work shifted discussions about place and cultural landscapes into the realm of values rather than mere descriptions of the ways cultural practices have created landscapes. Lowenthal saw that cultural landscapes had heritage value because of the need for human attachment to the past (Lowenthal,1975) and his subsequent works (1985,1996) have explored the complexity of values attributed to places under the aegis of 'heritage'.

In Australia, apart from scenic landscape studies (Williamson,1984), the development of heritage landscape studies has predominantly focused on historic landscapes and their conservation. The work of Ken Taylor (1984) on the historical landscape associated with Lanyon near Canberra and Jim Russell's comparative study on cultural landscape assessment methodologies in USA, Britain and Australia (Russell,1988) were important contributions to developing cultural landscape theory. Other important contributions include the writings of the historian, Sir Keith Hancock, on the cultural landscape of the Monaro region (Hancock,1972), Williams' work on the *Making of the South Australian Landscape* (Williams,1974) and the proceedings of the UNESCO conference, *Man and Landscape in Australia* (Seddon & Davis,1976). This was a landmark conference for the development of humanistic understandings of the Australian landscape. The proceedings set the framework for much of the inquiry into Australian landscapes for the next decade. Another contribution at this time, Joe Powell's (1978), 'Mirrors of the New World: Images and Image-Makers in the Settlement Process', provided invaluable insights into the iconography of the Australian landscape. During the 1980s, Australian cultural landscape theory included Jeans & Spearritt's *Open Air Museum* (1980) which presented the cultural landscape through a socio-economic filter and Denis Jeans'

Australian Historic Landscapes (1984) which provided historiographic interpretations. As well, the Cultural Landscape Research Unit (CLRU), established at UNSW in 1985, undertook a number of documentary studies on aspects of the landscape in the 1980s (Armstrong & Burton,1985,1988, 1989). Included in the research of the CLRU were two significant works, the pioneering heritage study on the cultural landscape of Pittwater in Sydney (Pittwater Municipal Council,1988) and the survey and analysis of environmental heritage perceptions in Australia (Armstrong,1989b,1991, 1994c). Concurrent with theoretical explorations on the Australian cultural landscape, in North America the US National Parks Service pioneered assessment methods for cultural landscape evaluations (Melnick,1988).

Cultural landscape theory was also re-invigorated through the cultural geographic work in Britain in the 1980s, particularly the work on landscape meanings and values (Burgess et al,1988a,1998b,1988c; Cosgrove,1986; Cosgrove & Daniels,1988; Penning-Rowsell & Lowenthal,1986). Significant work in North America and Canada in this area focused on sense of place, in particular the work of Edward Relph (1976) and Christian Norberg-Schulz (1980).

Sense of Place

Edward Relph, in his book, *Place and Placelessness* (1976) observes that the values people attribute to places are related to their level of empathy with such places. Relph, along with Yi-Fi Tuan (1974), was one of the early cultural geographers to incorporate a phenomenological perspective into understanding the concept of sense of place. This work was picked up later by the architectural historian, Norberg-Schulz (1980), in his study of the concept of 'genius loci' and by the British geographers, Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (1988) in their work on iconography and the landscape.

Relph's work was prompted by the rise in 'placelessness' in many first world cities. Although his subsequent writings (Relph,1987) have delved more deeply into why 'placelessness' has become a pervasive phenomenon, the insights offered in his 1976 work are more pertinent to a study on migrant place values. In *Place and Placelessness,* he challenges planners' and designers' single focus on systematic and objective descriptions of places suggesting that such approaches do not offer depth of understanding. Instead classifying places into categories and hierarchies imposes artificial limitations when, in reality, experiences of place overlap and interpenetrate

other places and other experiences (Relph,1976). As a result, places are open to a variety of concurrent interpretations. He also challenges those studies of places which are done as artistic insights, namely the work of designers, poets and artists. He acknowledges that artistic works evoke subjective responses to place but considers they are nevertheless limited because they are merely perceptions of particular artists. Like Jacobs (1991), Relph seems to be troubled by the legitimacy of certain kinds of subjective values. Instead Relph prefers objectifying places as sets of experiences which can be analysed existentially. I support his criticisms about the way classifications bring about closure of ideas, but I strongly challenge Jacobs' and Relph's comments on the limitation of the artist's observation because of its subjectivity. Numerous scholars have shown that artists are able to make manifest ambient social concerns through their subjective expressions as art. The artist frequently provides the key to enable others to understand subliminal societal issues. Art theorists such as Barker et al (1992), Crow (1996), Foster (1986, 1996), and Hughes (1986) are just a few of the many scholars who have discussed and analysed the seminal role of contemporary art issues on human relationships to culture, identity and place.

Relph's contribution to this thesis lies in his cultural geographic work on place. He suggests that there are three components to place; the static physical setting, the activities which occur in this setting, and the meanings attributed to the setting (Relph,1976). While the first two components are relatively easy to identify, the concept of meanings is more difficult to grasp. He proposes that rather than classifying places, it is possible to *'clarify'* places using the *'multifaceted phenomenon of experience of a place'* and so reveal the sources of meaning or essence of particular places (Relph,1976:47). His work is similar to that of Norberg-Schulz (1980) on 'genius loci' or the spirit of place where both draw heavily from Heidegger's propositions about experience and being (Heidegger,1971).

In seeking to understand why we value certain places, Relph sees the importance of 'existential' or 'lived' space as particularly relevant to phenomenological understandings of place. According to Relph, existential space is constantly being made and remade by human activities. These are evident as unselfconscious patterns and structures in the form of landscapes, towns and houses. It is this unselfconscious aspect of existential space which results in places being *'centres of meaning or the focus of intention and purpose'* (Relph,1976: 22). Under such circumstances the relationship

between community and place becomes quite powerful. This is manifest as attachment to place which many place theorists suggest is a profound human need (Altman & Low,1992; Auge,1995; Buttimer & Seamon,1974; Marris,1962; Hayden,1995).

Of particular importance to this study is Relph's exploration of the 'identity' of place. There is a difference between the identity *of* a place and group identity *with* a place based on whether one experiences the place as an insider or an outsider. Relph states *'To be inside a place is to belong to it and to identify with it'* (Relph,1976:49). 'Insideness' is a complex concept in migrant communities. The migrant is caught between different states of 'insideness' in both the original country and the new country and as a result, interpretations of place values and meanings require processes which facilitate an understanding of a state of being 'between' (Heidegger,1971; Meyer,1994; Soja,1996).

Relph proposes three states of insideness; *'behavioural insideness'* which is being physically present in a place, *'empathetic insideness'* which is the emotional involvement with a place, and *'existential insideness'* which is the complete and unselfconscious commitment to a place (Relph,1976:50). Migrants experience all of these states of 'insideness'. This thesis uses a particular way of exploring both empathetic and existential 'insideness' in terms of place-attachment to the country of origin and the host country. It is achieved by a process designed to reveal group or community images of place. Relph suggests that once a community image of place has been developed, the identity of such a place will be maintained *'so long as it allows acceptable social interaction... and can be legitimated within the society'* (Relph,1976:60). This creates problems for migrant groups because of the ephemeral nature of migrant places. Migrant places are in a state of flux because migrants are in a constant state of adapting and 'becoming' (Heidegger,1971). For migrants, both these states are different. The research in this study looks at how the early places associated with migration were expressions of unselfconscious activity (existential insideness), and later become meaningful as places where an emotional attachment persists (empathetic insideness). It is the *self-conscious* exploration of place, undertaken through group meetings with migrants, which facilitates understanding and reflection upon place values. Again drawing from Relph's observations on sense of place, the groups in my study reveal how *'the essence of place which lies in the largely unselfconscious*

intentionality, defines some places as profound centres of human existence' (Relph,1976:43).

Contested Landscape Readings

Relph's subsequent work on the modern urban landscape (Relph,1987) has been criticised by the British geographer, Jackson (1989), who challenges the post-structuralist position of treating the built environment as a 'text'. Jackson asserts that many studies described as 'reading the landscape', provide little more than an insight into the personal tastes of the author. He refers to Relph's allowing the '*landscape to speak for itself'* (Relph,1987:5) as providing limited understanding into the reflexive relationship between modern urban environments and ideologies. Jackson is supported by Jacobs who points out that such approaches do not encourage reflections on politics and material culture (Jacobs,1991,1992). I challenge Jackson's and Jacobs' position in terms of my work. Both writers are arguing from a particular perspective related to politics and power in the urban landscape. By not acknowledging the contribution of the post-structuralists as another form of interpretation, they limit the layers of possible interpretations possible bringing about a form of exclusion.

I argue that the concept of landscapes being 'read' as 'texts', much of which is supported as a general trend within cultural studies and urban semiotics (Calvino,1979; Carter,1987, 1992; Eco,1986) is highly valid for this study. The use of tropes and metaphors to uncover meanings and values does not exclude reflections on politics and power. More importantly for this study, the readers of the 'text' are not only the researcher and associates, but also the migrants who created the urban landscape under study. The meaning is not imposed on the landscape by an outside interpreter. Instead the meaning is teased out through mutual exploration by the researcher and the researched. This approach is supported by the work of Gottdeimer & Lagopoulos (1986) on socio-semiotics. Their work acknowledges that meanings in the built environment are not innate, waiting to be interpreted by experts, but are under the authorship of different social groups and interests. In the light of Jacobs' and Jackson's criticisms it is also interesting to look at the work of the humanistic geographer, Marwyn Samuels (1979). He researched the concept of meanings associated with place and landscape by incorporating objective mapping of geographic data with landscape meanings derived from the use of biographies. Samuels was clearly preceding the post-

structuralists by proposing in the mid 1970s that landscapes are authored and it is the author who gives meaning to the landscape. In this interpretation he sees the individual as a surrogate for the archetype of environmental factors, historical movements, socio-economic forces and psychological drives (Samuels,1979). Samuels suggests that places should be interpreted from the evidence of intent found in written explanations of why they did things the way they did, namely from the authors themselves. In my study such explanations emerge through interviews and discussions, which I suggest are similar to written biographies but less censored. The work in this study goes further in that it allows the authors to reflect upon why and how they did things and together with the researcher, develop a reflexive interpretation of place. Interestingly, Jacobs (1991,1992) herself endorsed this in her exploration of differentially empowered social groups and their interpretation of the meaning of the urban environment. Both she and Hayden (1995) suggest that there are multiple and contested meanings associated with place and that the urban landscape is a realm with many authors (Jacobs,1991).

Contested meanings are not only associated with power and place, they are also evident in the commodification of places. In the process of making the unselfconscious conscious, there is a risk that places identified as part of the experience of migration and which have value for particular migrant groups, will become appropriated as commodities for tourism interests. In Australia, with the recent recognition of the success of the multicultural experiment, expressions of ethnicity are increasingly becoming commodities. This is part of what Relph explores in his analysis of 'placelessness'. He suggests that places which have currency as mass identity are often little more than *'a superficial cloak of arbitrarily fabricated and merely acceptable signs'* (1976:61). This is in marked contrast to place identities which have developed through *'profound individual and social experiences which constitute enduring and recognisable territories of symbols'* (1976:61).

Another important aspect of unselfconsconscious or existential sense of place is the profound effect that loss of place can have (Altmann & Low,1992; Read,1996, Relph,1976). Migrants come to the new country in an existential state of loss. This is often more intense if migrants have left villages where there has been a continuous relationship with place over generations. In the new country, the loss of place generates an urgency to recreate evidence of the former place. This is an act of self-conscious place-making. Relph suggests that places created by pioneers and migrants reflect their

hopes and aspirations as well as their commitment to the new country (Relph,1976). I would argue that the act of creating places which give expression to ways of life and experiences in the former country, although consciously done, is driven by unselfconscious needs and experiences. In arguing for this perspective I am drawing from Henri Lefebvre's (1991:100-101) notions of the importance of everyday life where he states

> *…everyday life comprises all that is humble, ordinary, and taken for granted; it is made up of repetitions, of small gestures and insignificant actions in which all the elements relate to each other in such a regular sequence of accepted pattern that their meaning need never be questioned.*

The ways in which migrant places in Australian cities have developed draw from just such repetitions of ordinary events. Migrant places are nevertheless more complicated than mere repetitions of everyday life now undertaken in a new country. Places created in the new country also embody an iconic quality about the migrant's home country.

The Iconography of Place

There is a rich body of theory about the iconography of place. The work that is most relevant to this study is that of the humanistic geographers, Cosgrove & Daniels (1988). They have drawn predominantly from artistic and literary representations of landscape as vehicles to reveal the socio-political signifiers embedded in representations of place. This work has provided important insights into the meanings and values associated with places through time, particularly Cosgrove's study, *Social Formation and the Symbolic Landscape* (1986). Cosgrove is interested in how the idea of landscape has developed as a cultural construct, particularly in terms of approaches to production on the land. He argues for a way of seeing the landscape which reflects a wider economic and social context. Cosgrove suggests that ideologies are embedded in the landscape or place as metaphors for different aspirations. He proposes that *'changes in the way humans organise to produce their material lives quite obviously result from and give rise to changes in relationship to their physical surroundings'* (Cosgrove,1986:5). Migration is the epitome of this kind of change. While Cosgrove highlights change as social, political and economic, it is his arguments about hegemonic change that are pertinent to those in a state of migration, particularly the ways in which migrants create places in response to the actual and implied hegemony of the host country.

Cosgrove explores the role of the New World, for him, North America, in fulfilling European aspirations. The ideological role of the New World for migrating Europeans has been one of realising ideals and beliefs. In his analysis of the American landscape, he cites John Stilgoe's (1982:17) claim that North America is the landscape of common knowledge, which is created by

> *... a mixture of both the 'little tradition' transmitted by generations of half-literate peasants and the 'great tradition' of the literate, innovative minority of scholars, rulers, and merchants and professional surveyors and architects.*

Clearly this adds weight to Lefebvre's recognition of the importance of everyday life (1974,1991) as well as supporting Marwyn Samuels' discussion about the authorship of the landscape where he attributes the quality of places to the work of archetypal figures as well as individuals (Samuels,1979:62).

Cosgrove's 'landscape idea' takes on a particular form in North America which, he claims, is shaped by the combination of European ideas, the reality of the American landscape, and the particular social structure in America. In Australia, a similar process has occurred but without the strength of the American ideological underpinning. Instead the British colonial bureaucracy determined much of the character of the urban and rural landscape in Australia, resulting in a restrained and remote determinant of cultural form delivered through a bureaucratic system (Armstrong,1985, 1989a). Changes brought by subsequent migrant cultures in Australia have continued to be seen against this backdrop. Other writers suggest that a depth of understanding about landscapes requires a '*historical recovery of ideologies*' (Baker & Biger,1992:3). This poses particular challenges in the Australian context where, unlike North America, ideologies have not been stridently articulated by the mainstream culture.

Cosgrove (1986) is interested in the way perceptions of landscape changed in the West from feudalism, which was characterised by a close affinity with the land, to capitalism where the land becomes a commodity for increasing exchange value. New World settlements are the ultimate extension of capitalism's appropriation of land. Cosgrove suggests the pioneering new settler exemplifies this process. The question arises however, whether there is a difference between migrants and pioneering new settlers? I argue that migrants, despite often seeing themselves as pioneers, always came after the pioneer and so came to the New World with received wisdom. In the case of Australia,

migrants came to a land which was imbued with the symbolism of an antipodean garden of Eden - a tropical paradise of abundance and plenty; an attitude frequently repeated in the conversations with the migrants in this study. Thus the places migrants have created in Australia are hybrids which reflect elements of their former culture, elements of the existing Australian culture and elements indicating the aspirations held by migrants for the new place.

Cosgrove (1986) and Relph (1976) provide different perspectives on the interpretation of landscape and place values. Relph enables an understanding of *place* attachment as an 'insider' as well as highlighting the vulnerability of sense of place in the contemporary world, whereas Cosgrove remains outside, giving an understanding of symbolic meanings imbued in *landscape* as a result of cultural processes. Cosgrove's theoretical position is somewhat removed from an intimate engagement with place, transcending the particular in order to articulate broader symbolic interpretations of landscape.

In the light of this, collective values associated with migrant places should also be considered within the theoretical positions of humanist geographers interested in vernacular places such as J.B. Jackson (1984) or in the familiar and everyday places discussed by Donald Meinig (1979). As David Malouf indicates, it is not either-or but both that need to be considered when interpreting Australian places (Malouf,1998). It has consistently been revealed in the migrant conversations that migrants do not come to Australia as humble innocents. They arrive imbued with all the accumulated wisdom of long established cultures. Lebanese migrants speak of their Phoenician traditions, Italian migrants point out their heritage of high culture and fine design, and Vietnamese migrants describe the ways Toaism and Buddhism inform their way of life. Migrants also arrive with highly developed political understandings which rapidly become evident in the nature of places they value.

Theoretical interpretations of place values thus include existential understandings, iconographic interpretations as well as the value of familiar and everyday places. Meinig's edited volume, *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* (1979) provides an invaluable contribution to understanding the values related to ordinary places, particularly the essay by Pierce Lewis on the axioms or rules for reading the cultural landscape. Both his third and seventh axioms have relevance to migrant places. Lewis

(1979:19) states as Axiom 3 '*Common landscapes - however unimportant they may be - are by their very nature hard to study by conventional academic means*', whereas Axiom 7: the Axiom of Landscape Obscurity states that '*most objects in the landscape, although they convey all kinds of messages, do not convey those messages in any obvious way*' (Lewis,1979:26).   The methodology developed for this research recognises both axioms by using focussed discussion to tease out hidden messages in migrant places.

Consumption of Place and Imagined Communities

One of the concerns in making more evident the subtle aspects of migrant places is the current pressure to commodify significant aspects of local distinctiveness for the tourist industry. In his study on *Consuming Places* (1995), the sociologist, Urry, brings out the particular peril of post-modernity and its impact on place identity. I would argue that post-modernity is a two-edged sword.   Post-modern thought opened the door to legitimating difference, but it also left such difference open to appropriation by interests which seek to turn it into a commodity. Although Urry concentrates on the economics of space and the different concepts of consumption, he also brings into discussions about post-modern space the issue of place and identity citing Zukin's work on the city as a centre for post-modern consumption. She describes the way the city has become a spectacle which she calls a '*dreamscape of visual consumption*' (Zukin,1992:221). Such 'dreamscapes' pose problems for sense of place where post-modern landscapes tend to be about simulated places which are available for consumption. This is in contrast to the concept of place as an expression of the way people live and work.

Expressions of lived space are also closely related to Henri Lefebvre's concept of space and representation. For him, the space of representation is a space defined by collective experiences.   He describes the symbolic meanings and collective fantasies around space/place and how resistance to dominant cultural practices results in forms of '*collective transgression*' (Lefebvre,1991:25). This is particularly relevant to migrant places where fantasies about the countries of origin are revealed through selectively valued memories.   They also reveal collective transgressions of hegemonic requirements under assimilationist policies which has resulted in particular subtleties in migrant places, often hidden from the prevailing culture's eyes. Although Lefebvre's main focus is on the production of space under capitalism, he acknowledges that there is

an interplay between spaces of capital, spaces derived from planning and the State and spaces of representation. Migrant places in Australia exemplify this interplay between capital, planning codes and government policies as well as symbolic meanings and collective fantasies.

The British geographer, David Harvey, also explores the consumption of place. He suggests that because of the post-modern time-space compression and the resultant homogeneity of culture, commodity and place, there is increasing sensitivity to the variations in places. As a result, there is an incentive for places to be differentiated in ways that are attractive to capital, migrants and tourists (Harvey,1989). I suggest this is a Faustian bargain. The unselfconscious expression of differences evident in migrant places will be lost once they become part of the image-making process used to lure capital. Migrant places are complex and require sophisticated interpretation, all of which takes time to be studied. It is therefore alarming that the superficial aspects of migrant places are becoming sites for consumption before they have been fully understood. Fortunately there is other work on the consumption of place (Anderson,1993; Urry,1995) which provides valuable theoretical support for the importance of studying the theoretical space between heritage and cultural identity.

Urry, while acknowledging the spatial issues of social production in the work of Lefebvre (1974,1991), indicates that in the 1990s other perspectives of space/place emerged which were related to gender and ethnicity. Most of the studies he cites on ethnicity and place have focused on the black under-class in the United States and urban pathologies associated with certain ethnic groups (Lash & Urry,1994). Much of this work has nevertheless increased the understanding of multiple and contradictory ways in which national and other identities are bound up with landscape and townscape (Urry,1995). Interest in this area has resulted in a number of studies about memory, identity and place (Carter,1987, 1992; Smith,1986; Wright,1985,1992). Of particular importance to my work is the way memories about places are often shared, in some cases communities are only united by memories and such memories can be evoked by place. Each of the migrant groups in this study bears witness to this phenomenon. Urry also argues that social identities emerge out of 'imagined' communities, a concept which is fully explored by Jacobs (1991,1992) in her study of heritage interpretations of Spitalfields in London and by Anderson and Gale (1992) in their volume of essays, *Inventing Places*. Imagined communities are derived from particular constructions of

place which bind together space, time and memory, often in opposition to an imagined 'other'. Migrant places are a complex blend of imagined communities. They reflect the memory of the place left behind; they also reflect an attempt at being similar to the host communities; and more intriguingly they reveal the particular imagined migrant as a pioneer carving out a new life in a land of opportunity.

Urry explores how social identity is in a state of flux, referring to the large volume of literature about transformations in social identity in the last decade. He is particularly interested in how this is manifest in the modern city. Drawing from Zukin's (1992) work where she describes 'dreamscapes' as constructed landscapes, Urry suggests these pose particular problems for people's social identity which has historically been founded on real places. Zukin points out that post-modern landscapes exemplify imagined 'place', such as themed villages and Disneyland Main Streets. In this form, they are places to be consumed. I would suggest that the ultimate extension of this phenomenon is where the place - as a site of consumption - is the real place, in which people live and work, but now exists as a hyperreal version of itself. Migrant places are already becoming parodic versions of themselves such as Chinatowns, Italian restaurant strips and Vietnamese shopping areas.

In his study *The Past in Contemporary Society: Then, Now*, Peter Fowler (1992) foreshadows Urry's study on *Consuming Places* (1995). Fowler focuses on the consumption of heritage places and possible reasons why the commodification of heritage is so acceptable in the present community. Although his focus is predominantly on grand heritage sites, seen from an archaeological viewpoint, he nevertheless acknowledges that quite ordinary elements in a landscape can be heritage and therefore have consumption significance. Fowler comments on the 'invisibles' in a landscape where the significance may not necessarily lie in the features themselves, but in their relationship across space and time, along with other phenomena, the nature of which may be uncertain at a particular moment (Fowler,1992). Migrant places epitomise this space/time nexus including the phenomenon that places which were valued in the early stages of migration may not be valued today but may have value in the future as an aspect of migrant heritage.

Summary

This chapter has provided a selected overview of heritage and cultural landscape theoretical areas in order to bring out their particular relevance to the concept of cultural pluralism, in the form of migrant places, as cultural heritage. It also makes reference to some divergent opinions contained in these areas. Despite these, the central role of heritage theory and the new critical cultural geographies are valid theoretical areas to underpin this study.

The chapter has also explicated the particular aspects of heritage theory related to New World cultures at the same time locating heritage concerns in a global context. As will be shown in the interpretive case studies, there are significant differences between concepts of heritage in Old World and New World countries as well as differences in heritage interpretations between western cultures and Asian cultures. Heritage theory is informed by heritage planning practice, heritage legislation and academic studies. Brief reference has been given to the most relevant aspects of these areas to bring out the development of social heritage significance and the value of subjective responses to place.

The major contribution of studies in the new critical cultural geographies has been the focus on how to interpret meanings and values related to place. The theoretical work associated with commodification of place has also been highlighted here to emphasise the complex nature of migrant places and how vulnerable they are to superficial representations of difference.

As stated in the introductory chapter, it is the area where place and heritage theories interpenetrate and overlap, which creates a 'space-in-between' where new theoretical development can occur. Figure 1.4 shows that this space also occurs where migration and place attachment theories intersect.
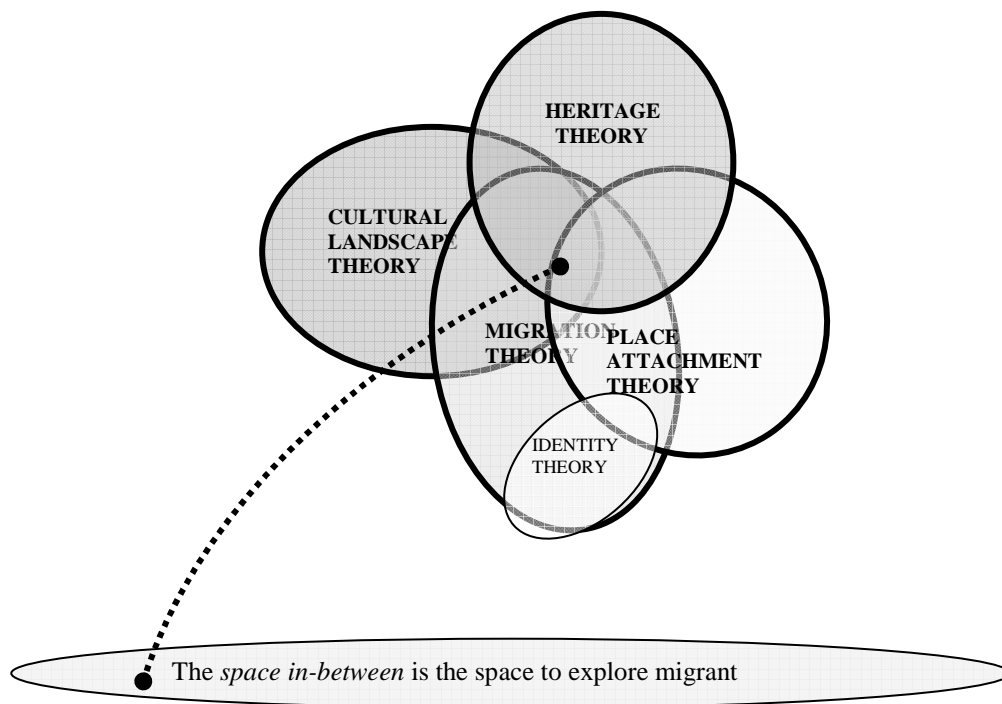
FIGURE 1. 4.

Combined theoretical relationships.

The concern in this study is to draw from a range of theoretical sources in order to understand the way the experience of migration is evident in places and what values are associated with these places. Equally my concern is to draw from contemporary cultural studies as ways to understand and accept the contradictions that inform paradoxical concepts of heritage in Australia. Contradictions and ambivalent positions are central to an understanding of cultural pluralism within Australian heritage. The complex area of theory related to migration and its associated studies on identity and place are explored in the next chapter. Both chapters provide the body of theory from which the hermeneutics of migrant places will be drawn using empirical data derived from case studies.