# CHAPTER EIGHT

## SPACE/PLACE/HERITAGE: RECONCEPTUALISING THEORY

*Bonegilla, Nelson Bay,*
*the dry-land barbed wire ships*
*from which some would never land.*

*In these, as their parents*
*learned the Fresh Start music:*
*physicians nailing crates,*
*attorneys cleaning trams,*
*the children had one last*
*ambiguous summer holiday.*

*Ahead of them lay*
*the Deep End of the school yard,*
*tribal testing, tribal soft-drinks,*
*and learning English fast,*
*the Wang-Wang language.*

*Ahead of them, refinements:*
*thumbs hooked down hard under belts*
*to repress gesticulation;*

*Ahead of them, epithets:*
*wog, reffo, Commo Nazi,*
*things which can be forgotten*
*but must first be told.*

*And farther ahead*
*in the years of the Coffee Revolution*
*the Smallgoods Renaissance,*
*the early funerals:*

*the misemployed, the unadaptable,*
*those marked by the Abyss,*

*friends who came on the Goya*
*in the mid-year of our century.*

*Immigrant Voyages,* Les Murray,1982:184-5.

Les Murray's poem encapsulates and condenses all the stories described by migrants in this study. He is one of many Australian writers who have evoked the powerful resonances of the migration experience. Despite the recognition of these experiences in literature, it would seem that until this study, little has been systematically documented about the experience of migration as actual places created by migrants. Layers of meaning embodied in these places have enabled existing theories about heritage, cultural landscapes, migration/identity and place attachment to be taken further. In this, the last chapter of the thesis, such theory development is presented in two parts, reconceptualised place theory and revised heritage theory.

Revisions in heritage theory resulting from insights gained where the four overarching theoretical areas intersect enable cultural pluralism to be included in concepts of cultural heritage. Such revisions involve deepening the nexus between heritage and cultural landscape theories. They also require the primacy of natural heritage to be relinquished to allow for a living heritage of little traditions. The issues which emerge from these revisions call for a review of heritage planning theory such as exploring mechanisms to identify migrant heritage and how to work with fluid and contested values.

In order to support these heritage theoretical revisions, it is necessary to reconceptualise place theory by looking at first, revisions in space/place theory, second, revised forms of place attachment, third reconsidering cultural discontinuity, and finally theoretical implications related to migrant places in the *space-in-between*.

## Locating the New Theoretical Space

New theoretical understandings have emerged in the theoretical superstructure created from the overlap of heritage, cultural landscape, migration/identity and place attachment theories. Figure 8.1 restates this theoretical superstructure.
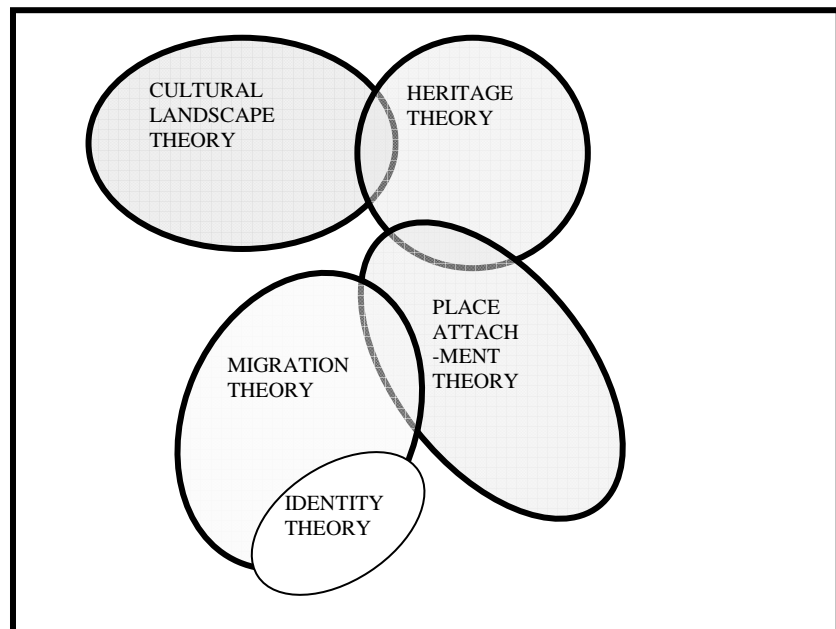


FIGURE 8.1.

Theoretical Superstructure.

Within this superstructure there is also a fine-grained set of relationships between migration, identity and place attachment. In the zone between Australian migration theory and theories about place attachment, we can understand how migrant places emerged during the different migration policies. These places tell the story of the process of settling into a new country and making unfamiliar aspects of Australian life feel more familiar.

The zone between place attachment theory and theories about identity, provides insights into how unselfconscious everyday activities are acted out in Australia as places reflecting translocated culture. This phenomenon, together with the nostalgia for former countries have resulted in particular types of places in the new country. The third zone, that is, between migration theory and theories about identity provides insights into hybrid places reflecting cultural transformations which occur as a result of living in a new country. Figure 8.2 shows these particular spatial relationships, all contained within the theoretical superstructure.



NATIONAL SPACE OF HOST COUNTRY

Emerging migrant places

MIGRATION THEORY

PLACE ATTACHMENT

IDENTITY

Hybrid cultural transformations as place
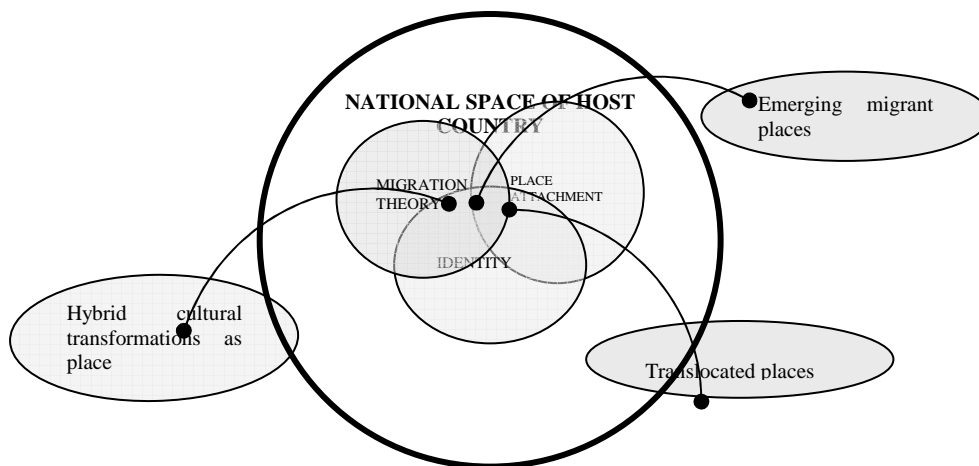
Translocated places

Figure 8.2: Space/place Relationships between Migration, Identity and Place Attachment Theories.

There is a site of specific significance in these overlapping theories and that is the dense area where all theories intersect and react with the host country's concept of 'national space'. The resulting collage/montage effect can be described as multi-cultural hybridity or a new form of 'national space'.

Migration has particular relevance to concepts of Australian 'national space' where migration to Australia has been a persistent phenomenon since the early 19th century. It is the post-WWII migration however, that has had the most significant affect on Australian places because of its unique characteristics, namely as a mid 20th century migration program, it was incomparable internationally because of its size in relation to the population of the host country. It was also unusual in that Australia, as a First World society with a low birth rate, used the migration program to double its size within the short period of forty years. Over this time, no other nation-state was as active in recruiting migrants, nor had the source of migrants been so diverse (Castles et al,1988).

**Space/Place Theoretical Revisions**

Throughout this study the interplay between national space, local space and imagined space has been evident. The effect of migration, particularly in large Australian cities, has been such that concepts of 'national space' have shifted from one dominated by white sun-bronzed pastoralists, evident in many forms of cultural production, to one occupied by dynamic multicultural peoples living in big cities. Both representations of Australia's national space are, in fact, imagined communities.

*Emergents in a New National Space*

The paradox of modern territoriality or 'nation space' is seen in the desire to represent the nation as one people while at the same time recognising *'the liminal point'* (Bhabha,1990:300) or threshold where spatial boundaries are differentiated. This has been evident in a range of Australian policies towards migrants. Bhabha (1990:300) describes this as *'a contentious internal liminality that provides space for the minority, the exilic, the marginal, and the emergent'*. The case studies identify spaces different migrant groups occupy, however, as shown in the case study analyses, representations of where migrants are located in the 'national space' reflect a state of 'emergence' rather than 'marginality'. Marginality in Australia is a complex concept. Until recently, most Australians saw themselves as culturally marginal from Europe (Jose,1985). The lack of assertiveness about an Australian identity, referred to as the 'cultural cringe', in contrast to Old World or even North American identities could well explain why migrants have been so successful in carving out their position in Australian national space.

The concept of migrant groups as 'emergent' members of the national space, in contrast to 'marginals' or 'minorities', supports Hage's (1998) challenges to the presumed homogeneity of contemporary Australian culture along with the supposed hegemony of Anglo-Celtic Australians. From the case studies, it is clear that the diversity of cultural capital, which now contributes to the 'national space', cannot be ignored. As Hage states it is *'national belonging that constitutes the symbolic capital.'*(1998:53). This 'belonging' is complex and not simply shifts in allegiance. 'National space' needs more subtle understanding of cultural dominance within Australia than the usual binaries of *'Anglo - ethnic; dominant – dominated'* because, as Hage states, notions of 'belonging' in Australia today are not so clearly constructed around the *'Anglo-ethnic divide'*(1998:49). Themes about 'belonging' evident in the Greek group discussion in Chapter Four and the Lebanese group's observations about 'becoming Australian' in Chapter Five show that migrant Australians are discriminating about what they incorporate from Anglo-Australian culture and what they reject. Despite this, they are also aware of the gradual osmosis of culture that occurs simply by living in a place for a long period of time.

Common representations of Australia's cultural pluralism in the late 1990s are said to be due to the success of the post-WWII migration program. Migrants are seen to have added their distinctive culture to Australian life, a process which simultaneously provides continuity with their country of origin while adding diversity to Australian society. At the same time there are critiques of such simplistic positions about advantages for both migrants and Australian society. Nicholas Jose's (1985), in his essay *'Cultural identity: "I think I'm something else"'*, uses the work of contemporary Australian writers to examine questions of Australian identity. His exploration of marginality in Australia suggests the result of the migration program presents a dilemma for the country as a whole. He proposes that many Australians, particularly those on the fringe *'...are adrift in a world of enormous diversity...one imported artefact or concept vies with another for consumption. The talismans of old nationalism, such as the bush, childhood, and the past itself, are placed in disconcerting conjunction with the supermarket riches of the new cosmopolitanism'* (Jose,1985:316). Similarly, representations of an apparently seamless cultural transition for migrants has been criticised by Fincher et al (1993), particularly as it assumes migrants are members of

homogeneous ethnic communities. As the case studies show, there is marked diversity within groups of migrants from any one country of origin. Fincher et al (1993) indicate diversity is evident in migrants' different levels of education, whether they are urban or rural people, their political affiliations and the time at which they migrated to Australia. This thesis reinforces such internal complexities within any one migrant group, for example, the time of migration has revealed significant tensions between Australian-born children of pre-WWII migrants and post-WWII migrants of the same ethnic group, shown in Chapter Six. There are also changes which occur as a result of certain intangible forms of acculturation. The Greek migrants in this study spoke eloquently of this phenomenon.

### *New Migrant Landscapes*

Phenomenological analyses in the case studies also call into question place theory based on geographic determinism such as the early cultural landscape work of J.B. Jackson (1951) and the phenomenological work of Norberg-Schulz (1980). Both believe that places have a '*genius loci*' which influences how people occupy the land. From conversations in the case studies, migrants continually altered the landscape to make it more like the landscape of 'home' instead of accepting the new landscape as having an Australian 'genius loci' or as being culturally determined either by the traditional owners or European colonisers. Nevertheless a form of acculturation does occur, particularly as experiences migrants have in the new country start to saturate places with meaning. So there are two processes happening concurrently. Migrants are consciously trying to recreate former homelands, while unconsciously absorbing the culture of the new place.

Associated with the desire to alter the new place, there is a persistent concept of Australia's national space as 'frontier space' (Freeman and Jupp,1992), accepted by both migrants and the mainstream community. The sense of a vast empty 'interior' waiting to be peopled by enterprising migrants continues to surface in political debates about migration. The case studies show that concepts of 'frontier space', the space for enterprising territoriality, are also acted out at the local level.

***The Migrant in a Divided State of 'Insideness'***

The nexus between 'national' space and everyday 'lived' space of migrants reveal paradoxes and spatial misconceptions. This thesis supports Relph's (1976) concept of 'existential space' where migrants are constantly making and remaking space by their unselfconscious alterations to houses, the development of local shops and so on. Through these activities local space becomes 'place with meaning' which results in quite powerful relationships between migrant communities and local places. It is when the 'identity' of the enclave or local space is explored that contradictions or inconsistency become evident. Here the tension of being both 'outsiders' who recognise the identity <u>of</u> a place and 'insiders' who identify <u>with</u> a place, becomes palpable for migrants. They are caught between different states of 'insideness', one in the original country, the other in their enclaves in the new country and as a result, they are in a 'state of being in-betweenness'. 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). From the case studies it appears that this creates problems for migrant groups because of the ephemeral and changing 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. This study shows how early places associated with migration were expressions of unselfconscious activity and adaptation, 'existential insideness' (Relph,1976). Later migrant places became meaningful as places where a sense of 'becoming' and belonging emerged in the form of 'empathetic insideness' (Relph,1976).

Gradually, the state of 'empathetic insideness' in relation to the country of origin results in further facets of 'imagined space'. Migrants hold images of home countries through memories, both personal and collective, so that over time they are no longer reflections of 'real space' in the home country. As, Connerton in his study on *How Societies Remember* (1989:12) states '…*self-interpreted communities, i.e. ones who have broken with an older order, reveal that the most powerful of these self-interpretations are the images of themselves as continuously existing*'. It could be suggested that this 'continuous existing' takes the form of re-establishing a former imagined existence where an 'imagined space' is recreated in the host country, leading to extreme versions of the country of origin. Exaggerated versions of the country of origin are not all

attributable to distant memories. The Vietnamese migrants, through a state of pragmatism and denial of empathy with Australia, have created a place which is a Vietnamese enclave with strong expressions of 'existential insideness', that is an expression of unselfconscious activities (Relph,1976). Interestingly, the Vietnamese enclaves are unusual in that until 1975, the Vietnamese had no history of migration, so their enclaves are new migrant places.

Thus imagined communities for migrants are derived from particular constructions of place which bind together space, time and memory, often in opposition to an imagined 'other', the host community. Migrant places, as representative of imagined communities, are a blend of memories of places left behind, an attempt at being similar to the host communities, and more intriguingly, the migrant as an imagined pioneer carving out a new life in a land of opportunity.

### Big and Little Traditions: Intriguing Marks on the Landscape

There are iconic qualities about the migrant's home country which become evident in the new country. Both Cosgrove (1986) and Stilgoe (1982) see this phenomenon as the interplay between big and little traditions, reflecting a form of unselfconscious accumulated wisdom associated with long established cultures. Migrant places also support Dennis Cosgrove's *'landscape idea'* (1986) where ideologies are embedded in the landscape/place as metaphors for different aspirations. As Cosgrove states '… *in the landscape we are dealing with an ideologically charges and very complex cultural product'* (1986:11). Migrant places in Australia, like Cosgrove's 'landscape idea' of the United States (1986:10), are fulfilling the European aspirations that the new country was a place where migrants consolidate material wealth in a climate of politically benign egalitarianism. This was exemplified by discussions with the Lebanese community in Chapter 5. Migrant places in Australia also support the concept that they are a combination of little traditions of semi-literate peasants, as explained by the Maltese in Chapter Six and 'great traditions' of a minority of professional people, as shown by Greek and Vietnamese discussions in Chapter Four. These concepts also add weight to Lefebvre's (1974, 1991) recognition of the importance of everyday life as well as supporting Marwyn Samuels' (1979:62)discussion about the authorship of the landscape where he attributes the quality of places to the work of archetypal figures as well as individuals.

The 'landscape idea' is also translated to the New World as pioneering new settlers exemplifying capitalism's appropriation of land as commodity (Cosgrove,1986:162). My study asks whether the 'landscape idea' is different for the migrant and the pioneering new settler?  It is significant that migrants arrive after the pioneer and so comes to the New World with received wisdom.  In the case of Australia, migrants came to a land imbued with the symbolism of an antipodean Garden of Eden - a tropical paradise or land of abundance and plenty (Jose,1985; Smith,1989).  This is evident again and again in the conversations with migrants in this study.   Thus the state of divided 'insideness' also included unmasking the idealised Australia imagined by Europeans.  The Greek and Lebanese migrants in Chapter Four reveal how disappointed they were when the 'imagined Australia' was dispelled.

Changes in time emphasise the ephemerality of migrant places derived from 'little traditions'.  The European village farming culture, manifest in Australia as market gardens, has almost disappeared. It is hoped that by revealing the fragile and ephemeral nature of many places associated with migration and the subtlety of their social value, migrant communities can make more informed decisions about the future of such places.

### Revisions about Power and Place

Theoretical work about power and place often shows marginal groups to be victims in urban planning because of the lack of recognition of their needs and values (Hayden,1995; Sandercock,1998).   This is also true of my earlier work (Armstrong,1994b).  The thesis, however, shows that migrants do not always see themselves as marginal groups in *positional inferiority'* (Said,1978; Shields,1991) but rather that they are aware that they are 'emerging' groups having gone through a period of transition from one country to another.  They are also 'emerging' in terms of revised concepts of Australia as a 'white' nation (Hage,1998) where mainstream community attitudes about migrants have gone from insisting that difference is relinquished to a celebration of diversity.

The cohesiveness of migrant enclaves and the ways in which they fulfil most migrant groups' needs, buffer migrants from the patronising attitudes of the mainstream culture. This was certainly the case after 1964 when the Policy of Integration was introduced. It was, nevertheless, the earlier discriminatory assimilationist policy, 1947 to 1964, which generated the growth of enclaves. During this time, policies aimed at ensuring that non-British migrants blended into Australian cities, contrary to expectations, resulted in migrants gravitating to enclaves which allowed them to maintain their difference. In many ways emerging enclaves exemplified Henri Lefebvre's (1991) concept that the space of representation is the space of collective experiences. He describes the symbolic meanings and collective fantasies around space/place, and the resistances to dominant cultural practices which result in forms of '*collective transgression*' (Lefebvre,1991:25). It is the collective transgressions against hegemonic requirements under assimilationist policies which has resulted in subtleties in those migrant places which were 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. Rather than disempowerment, they reflect the ingenuity and enterprising ways migrants established themselves in Australia.

Revisions about concepts of power and place related to migrants are also required for issues of empowerment (Jackson,1983; Jacobs,1991; Keith & Pile,1993). In Australia, some migrants find the concept of empowerment patronising. This is particularly true for highly educated migrants as shown by the following comment. This migrant came to Australia in the 1950s as part of the Austro-Hungarian diaspora.

> *… I don't want an Anglo-Celtic society to be condescending to me, understanding and sympathising and respecting my difference. It is unwitting, not consciously done, but nevertheless condescending. Whereas what I hope is that in the forty seven years that we have been in this country that we have developed some sort of hybrid. We have developed a hybrid of cultures*. (Armstrong,1993b:28)

Interestingly, the phenomenological analyses in Chapters Four and those of the Italian group, not described, show that some migrant groups have patronising attitudes towards Australians. Members of the Greek group spoke of their 'high' culture in contrast to the

'low' culture of the Australian working-class male whom they referred to as a 'mate', spoken in a derisively broad Australian accent. Members of the Italian group were similarly conscious of their contribution of 'high' culture to Australia, a place they considered to be culturally undeveloped. Clearly, theorising about power and place for migrants in the late 20th century needs to include the postmodern revisions initiated by the work of Chambers (1994) on the migrant as the modern metropolitan figure.

### New Forms of Place Attachment

Case studies reveal that place attachment is a complex phenomenon for migrants. They confirm Low's (1992) observation that attachment consists of many inseparable and mutually defining features which not only acknowledge emotion and feeling but also include knowledge, beliefs, behaviour and action. Different forms of place attachment were described in Chapter Two, using Low's typology (1992:166) of symbolic linkages of people to land.

It would appear that migrants have symbolic linkages to their homelands, particularly through 'loss of land' or destruction of the continuity of their linkages. They also have 'narrative symbolic linkage' to their original countries through storytelling and place-naming. Migrant places in Australia are yet to develop symbolic linkages, instead they confirm Low's observations about place attachment achieved through the process of living in a place (Low,1992). The potential for Australian places to have symbolic linkages is complicated by ambiguous place values held by migrants. 'Cosmological symbolic linkage' to place through religious, spiritual or mythological relationships are complicated in Australia because of cross-cultural allegiances. Low's 'economic symbolic linkage' to land through ownership, inheritance and politics is also complex in the New World. Land is a commodity, but in terms of inheritance, ownership and politics, symbolic linkages are yet to emerge. Interestingly, places which have resulted from the large Murrumbidgee Irrigation Scheme which was implemented with predominantly Italian migrant labour in the 1920s such as the town and environs of Griffith carry some of the qualities of territorial ownership and political positioning and possibly an emerging sense of inheritance (MG., personal interview, Nov,1995). Symbolic linkage through 'secular pilgrimage' and celebratory cultural events is evident in migrant places but not necessarily valued in Australia. In many migrant groups the 'little traditions' of seasonal cultural events have been translocated to Australian places

which are gradually developing symbolic associations. The annual 'Blessing of the Fleet' by Italian priests and the celebration of the end of Ramadan by Arabic-speaking Muslims take place in particular places which are gradually becoming saturated with symbolic linkages.

### *Migration and Cultural Discontinuity.*

The results of this study show that the impact of cultural discontinuity is another important aspect of the theory about migration. The inevitable severance with the country of origin, exacerbated by vast distances involved in migrating to Australia, has strong significance for European migrants. This appears to be less significant for the Vietnamese community who chose Australia over United States in order to be near Vietnam.

Theoretical work on place and identity, or sense of place, such as the work of J.B. Jackson (1984), Relph (1976), Norberg-Schulz (1980), and Tuan (1974) has focused on different ways to understand cultural continuity rather than discontinuity. For migrants, sense of place starts with the impact of disconnection from the lost homeland and ways nostalgia influences potential place attachment. Often in this state, the new place becomes a tabula rasa on which to inscribe an imagined life.

Cultural discontinuity is thus reflected in negotiations about identity. Uncertainty and change associated with migration, initially appears to affirm the migrant's identity because of the clear cultural differences between the migrant and the host country, even for British migrants. Over time, cultural identity becomes blurred, as seen in the Greek migrants' evocative descriptions of this phenomenon in Chapter Four. It is worth re-stating here David Lowenthal's observations about the particular qualities of Australian heritage where '*Australians confront the past less as generational continuity than as a tableaux from discrete moments.*' (Lowenthal,1990:15)

The discourse in the case studies also provides further insights into Fincher et al's (1993) reflections on cultural identity for migrants. They argue that migrant culture is a '*recomposition*' of identity or reconstitution of culture, involving the dynamics of migration often associated with contests and strategies used in the settlement process.

Cultural discontinuity and issues of identity require ceaseless negotiations between cultures and complex configurations of meaning and power. The cultural disruption experienced by migrants has particular resonances in Australia where cultural discontinuity is true for most Australians, including those Aboriginal Australians who have been forcibly separated from their land and families. One could say the concept of identity in culturally plural Australia is an elusive phenomenon and is often misunderstood. Thus heritage planners need to interrogate the stereotypes embedded in notions of 'multiculturalism' and re-interpret the concept within post-structuralist terms. The phenomena in this study reinforce Jameson's (1991) description of '*postmodern values*' which require constant negotiation and reflection so that inner contradictions and inconsistencies can be acknowledged and included in the discourse. This is highly relevant to urban planning where planning decisions in many Australian cities seem to misunderstand the complexity of issues involved in migrant place-making, particularly when there is pressure for tourist consumption of ethnic identity.

Despite the break with the country of origin, migrants bring with them a form of transported culture, commonly expressed as the 'little traditions' in everyday life. Gradually, aspects of the original culture are modified by conditions in the host country resulting in certain cultural transformations related to everyday life. The adaptations and adjustments are as much forms of place-making for migrant groups within Australia as are the continued cultural practices from the former country. The work in this study shows that the experience of migration and settlement is highly diverse and it is the inter-weaving of place, migrant culture and the host culture which contributes to the diversity of Australian places.

### *Migrant Places in the Space-in-Between*

Finally, there is the theoretical contribution that this study has made to the concept of the space-in-between. In the first section of the thesis, I indicate that I have derived the term, *space-in-between*, from the landscape theorist, Beth Meyer, who argues that the use of binary opposites, such as architecture-landscape, implies the same differential status as culture-nature and man-woman; in other words the ground or background to

the main figure, architecture, culture, man. She points out that interpretations about place that are based on binary opposites are ways to control meaning and power. I suggest that migrant places have been defined by a number of binary opposites, the most readily recognisable being the notion of 'mainstream/other'. There are two forms of 'other' applied to migrants, 'alien other' or 'exotic other'. Both are stereotypes and are constrained and limited by being in binary opposition to concepts of mainstream Australian culture. To address the limitation of interpretations through binary opposites, Meyer proposes a different form of interpretation using a *'conceptual quaternary field'* (Meyer,1994:33). In this field, interstitial and liminal spaces are occupied by tropes or characters with complex relationships to one another. This is her *space-in-between.*

The space-in-between for migrant place studies is a quaternary space, which can be experienced in terms of volume and time. The volume of the space is filled with interpenetrating networks, interstitial and liminal spaces, which are created by complex relationships and different ways of seeing. The interpenetrating networks support Pratt's (1998) 'grids of difference' where connections occur between cultures and within cultures in space, as shown in the Greek and Maltese discussions and between cultures over time, in places such as Marrickville. In older inner-city migrant enclaves, interpenetration is evident in the way that all groups remain in the space, connecting with each other in new ways. The space-in-between is filled with discursive sites about the experience of migration, enriched by layered interpretations, often expressed as tropes. The richness of tropes is evident in Chapter Five where everyday figures of speech for the Lebanese opened the door to new interpretations about migrant places. The different layers and complex relationships between different migrant groups are revealed in Chapter Four where Marrickville can be a quaternary conceptual field as much as it is a physical place in real time. In the space-in-between, the fourth dimension, time, is not only chronological time it is also phenomenological time where past, present and future are in a constant state of reflexivity.

The concept of the space-in-between also enables us to see how migrants exemplify Chamber's (1994) concept of the migrant as the metropolitan figure in an ever-changing city. From the case studies, it is clear that post WWII migrants have created a new

metropolitan aesthetic and life style, re-inventing private and public places. We have been able to understand this because the fluid nature of late 20th century cities allows us to enter the localities of the everyday worlds of migrants. Contemporary cities embody the concept of space-in-between where we can interpret gendered places, places of ethnicity, territories of different cultural groups, and shifting centres and peripheries. The fluidity of this space enables conceptualisation of fixed places - houses, shops, public buildings, parks - to be simultaneously fluid and changeable as well as sites of transitory events and memories. Such is the richness of migrant places.

Theories about identity can also be revised in the space-in-between. Australian cultural theorists write about the fragmented evolution of an Australian identity (Manion,1991). More recently David Malouf, in his 1998 Boyer lectures, pointed out that when Australians seek to understand the Australian identity, they should avoid concepts of 'either/or' and instead consider that Australian identity is sufficiently fluid that it should include 'both' (Malouf,1998).

I have also used the concept of 'space-in-between' to describe the theoretical space where both overarching theories on heritage, cultural landscapes, migration/identity, and place attachment overlap and where migration, identity and place attachment theories intersect and interpenetrate concepts of national space. In both cases, this theoretical space allows ambiguity and paradox as legitimate states. Ambiguous values were frequently encountered in the way migrants see themselves in Australia and the places they have created. Paradox exists in the migrant's insider/outsider status and in the patronising way many migrants see Australian culture. Similarly, parallel values can be accepted in such a theoretical space. The state of 'in-betweenness' inevitably results in parallel values about place, where values for the home country co-exist beside values for places in Australia. Although it is possible to sustain parallel values, nevertheless, over time values shift. From the case studies, migrants valued their enclaves in the early stages of migration, then with increasing affluence rejected them, only to return to the values embodied in these places, often after visiting their original country.

It is in the space-in-between, which is also referred to as the 'thirdspace' by the geographer Soja (1996), where the richness of hybrid expressions of culture and place occur. The concept of a space-in-between or thirdspace is one where the fluid nature of

interstitial spaces and phenomena give rise to various hybrid forms. Migrant places are commonly multi-authored. Concepts of the thirdspace allow for these different expressions within a negotiated field of difference, more akin to Raban's (1974) *Soft City,* where places are re-conceptualised. Figure 8.3 shows how the theoretical relationships overarch and interpenetrate to generated the space for migrant place-making studies.
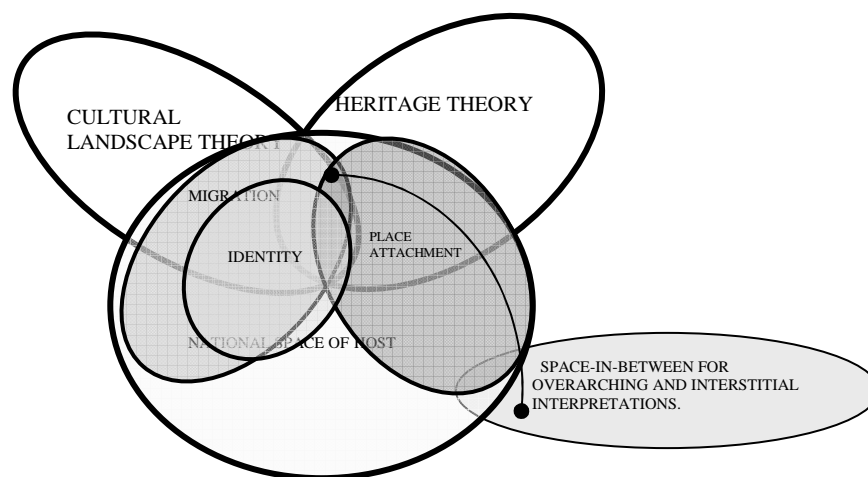


FIGURE 8.3.

Overarching and Interpenetration of Theoretical Relationships.

## Locating Cultural Pluralism within Revised Heritage Theory

As in space/place revisions, so also revisions in heritage theory lie in the interface of the overarching four theoretical areas, heritage, cultural landscape, migration/identity and place attachment. Over the last twenty-five years, there has been a move towards more inclusive concepts of heritage so that values of one minority group, the indigenous people of Australia, can be recognised. This has inevitably involved recognition of heritage values embedded in cultural landscapes. This heightened awareness of Aboriginal cultural heritage allows all Australians to connect to the landscape as an ancient and continuous cultural place, rather than merely a heritage of wilderness flora and fauna. The paradigm shift, however, is more complex than simply moving towards inclusiveness. In the process of revising cultural heritage to acknowledge Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, the pervasive issue of cultural discontinuity emerges, albeit inadvertently. By acknowledging the significance of another minority group, migrants,

as part of the collective Australian culture, a perpetual New World paradox, namely cultural discontinuity, is re-inforced. Migrant heritage is central to an understanding of Australian culture as all non-Aboriginal Australians have a history of some form of migration.

The inclusion of cultural landscapes as part of Australia's heritage does more than recognise the human impact on the land. It also opens the door to heritage paradigm which is holistic and inclusive, where heritage is a living, functioning phenomenon. Figure 8.4 shows how the space-in-between, when working within the overarching theories can contribute to revised heritage theories which include cultural pluralism.
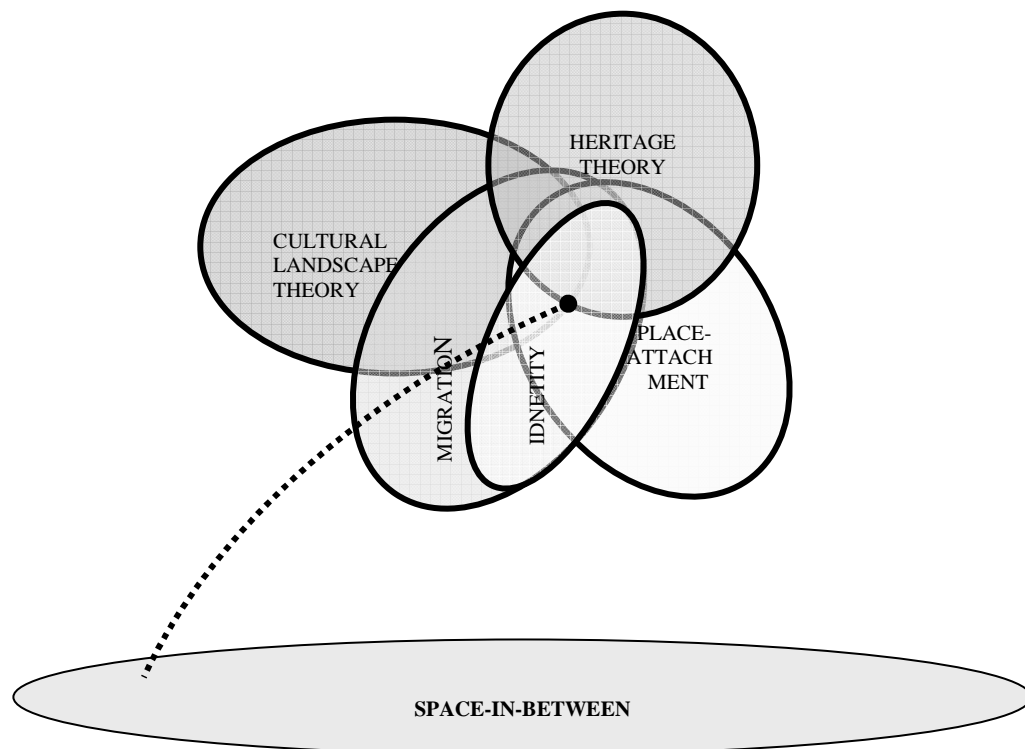
Figure 8.4: Emerging Heritage Paradigm from Theoretical Interrelationships

The proposed new heritage paradigm requires three aspects of current heritage theory to be reviewed. First is the nexus between heritage and cultural landscape theories. This includes challenging the primacy of nature over culture, allowing a heritage of 'little traditions' and incorporating the changing nature of knowledge in heritage paradigms. Second is the way migrant places have generated particular forms of heritage associated

with New World countries such as North America, Canada and Australia where the phenomenon of migration has been central to their development as First World countries. Finally, there are revisions related to heritage planning practice which enable much of the new insights to be applied.

**Deepening the Nexus between Heritage Theory and Cultural Landscape Theory.**

In the late 20th century, cultural landscape studies have strongly influenced changing perceptions of heritage. The central issue for heritage interpretations is the range of human engagements with the broader concept of landscape, rather than a heritage of specific sites. This includes the ways different cultural meanings and values can be explicated from particular aspects of the cultural landscape.

The World Heritage Convention (WHC) recognises three types of cultural landscapes; garden or parkland landscapes, organically evolved landscapes and associative cultural landscapes (Bennett,1996). Within these three categories, it is the second category, organically evolved landscapes, '...*result*[ing] *from an initial social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative and develop*[ing] *their present form by association with and response to the natural environment*. (Bennett,1996:6), which seems most relevant to migrant places.

Although this category allows for the inclusion of migrant places, there are problems in the implicit connection between human actions and the underlying natural environment. Certainly the natural environment determined where migrants, who wished to continue their heritage of intense cultivation, settled. European migrants interested in maintaining small scale farming practices settled in areas of fertile soils. Using Sydney as an example, this was the clay band in Western Sydney, Blacktown, Pendle Hill, Dural and isolated pockets of rich soils in undeveloped land to the north, such as the valley behind Mona Vale. For Chinese migrants, the settlement choice for those seeking to undertake cultivation, were the sandy river flats in various locations throughout Eastern Australia.

This simplistic notion of cultural landscapes, however, removes the interconnectedness between layers of human actions which may have come about subsequently and thus may not have been influenced directly by the physical environment. Urban cultural

landscapes with their many layers of 'social, economic, administrative and/or religious imperatives' often have quite tenuous connections to the original natural environment. Thus the WHC category allowing the inclusion of cultural landscapes of migrant places is limited.

### *Shifting the Primacy of the Natural Environment to 'Living Heritage'.*

In heritage terms, the primacy of the natural environment as the underlying determinant of cultural landscapes has been generated as a modification of heritage landscapes as wilderness. As a result, by requiring a direct connection to the physical landscape, those cultural landscapes seen as heritage landscapes risk being limited to rural landscapes. This is definitely limited in terms of the broad philosophical concepts of 'cultural landscape'.

The requirement for a nexus with the natural environment ignores the complexity embedded in urban cultural landscapes. Clearly urban migrant landscapes are not a response to the natural environment. Instead it would appear that two factors influenced the growth of urban migrant landscapes, the location of urban hostels and sites of work. Urban hostels were commonly located in former army barracks, implying that they were areas of peripheral land set aside by the Ministry of Defence. There seems to be little connection with a former natural landscape. The sites of work have a stronger connection in that at some time, physical landscapes determined where industries requiring port facilities would be. Similarly, undeveloped low lying and brackish land was often left undeveloped. When at a later date these areas were drained, they became industrial areas. To this degree industrial cultural landscapes have been a response to the natural environment. The migrant connection, however, is as sites of work.

If the dynamic qualities of urban cultural landscapes are to be recognised as heritage, then current cultural landscape definitions used by UNESCO need to be revised. Despite this, the important contribution that cultural landscape studies make to planning is that they deal with integrated systems which have been developed by human activity and that these systems are living phenomena – living heritage.

The 1996 European Cultural Foundation's overview of planning for cultural landscapes in France, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Spain, revealed that all participating countries focussed on cultural landscapes as functioning systems. Bennett (1996:8) in his introduction to the study points out

> *Many of the landscapes we have inherited …were formed as a means to serve the purposes of the communities that lived in them; they are the living artefact of dynamic social and economic processes.*

Migrant cultural landscapes, although predominantly urban, have the same qualities in that they embody dynamic social, cultural and economic processes. Bennett goes on to say that '*the way in which many cultural landscapes are managed is therefore crucial…*' (1996:8). A key factor in cultural landscape studies is the recognition that their designation as heritage does not necessarily infer protection. Instead the most common consequence of heritage designation is a requirement for land-use planning related to development plans. The European Cultural Landscapes study (Bennett,1996:131) concludes that

> *… the preservation of a shell of a historic building is a second best solution compared with the continuation of an appropriate use and occupation …. Precisely the same arguments apply to cultural landscapes, although on a far larger scale and to a far more complex artefact. In principle, it is better to apply structural measures that will support the local or regional economic systems and prevent the disintegration of the social structures on which the management regimes that created and maintained the landscapes, are dependent.*

Thus the major contribution that current cultural landscapes studies make to heritage theory is that it allows a shift from single sites to the inclusion of whole areas with all their internal complexities, including their on-going sustainability as 'living heritage'.

### *Noble Heritage vs the Heritage of 'Little Traditions'.*

Meanings and values embedded in the cultural landscape range across perceptions of 'noble' places to everyday places full of '*trifles and common things*' (Lowenthal,1996:x). The nexus between cultural landscape studies and heritage theory explores these different meanings and values embedded in the landscape. In Australia, Taylor (1999) has been a strong exponent of cultural landscape interpretations as heritage, however his work has been consistently located in historical terms (Taylor,1990). More recently he has discussed meanings in everyday landscapes (Taylor,1999). His approach to the interpretation of meanings has been a simple set of questions asking '*Where have things occurred? What has occurred? When did it*

*occur? Who promoted the action and Why?'* (Taylor,1999:109; Jacques,1994:96). In this thesis, drawing from the new critical geographers and phenomenological hermeneutics, meanings attributed to the cultural landscape are shown to be much more complex than those derived from the Taylor model. Instead, using guided discussions and hermeneutics, it has been possible to explore both the multiplicity of meanings embedded in one place as well as paradoxical and ambiguous meanings. As forms of heritage, migrant places in the urban cultural landscape allow the past to engage with the present as living heritage. The key to understanding the heritage implications which lie in these landscapes, is the way they are interpreted. In seeking to address this, it is not simply a matter of empowering people whose values may not have been included. It is also necessary to recognise that many values can be held concurrently. As the cultural geographers, Cosgrove and Daniels (1988:8), point out

> *… from a post-modern perspective landscape seems less like a palimpsest whose 'real' or 'authentic' meanings can somehow be recovered with correct techniques, theories or ideologies, than a flickering text … whose meanings can be created, extended, altered or elaborated.*

Migrant places as cultural landscapes include values and meanings derived from existential understandings, iconographic interpretations, and the value of everyday and familiar places. Thus the definition for cultural landscapes of migration that I have developed for this study is

> *Cultural landscapes reflecting migration are human constructs derived from physical places and their human modifications. This may be conceptual or actual. Cultural landscapes are steeped in meanings and values which have evolved over time. Such values lie in life world stories, myths, and beliefs. They can represent national identity, local folklore, and symbolic landscapes invested with mythological meaning. They are continually reconceptualised where their meanings are extended, altered or elaborated. Migrant landscapes include urban places, rural landscapes, and ordinary landscapes reflecting everyday life.*

This definition allows cultural pluralism and its 'flickering' place values to be included in cultural heritage determinations. Using this definition, a place such as Marrickville is not only a palimpsest of migrant places, it is also a place of multiple meanings between different migrant groups and mainstream Australians. It is not enough to recover layers of history. It is equally important to recognise how fluid and dynamic such places are. In this regard, cultural landscape theory and heritage theory needed to be broadened so that they can accommodate contested and shifting values.

*Incorporating the Changing Nature of Knowledge into Heritage Interpretations*

Post-modern revisions about the nature of knowledge have allowed heritage concepts to include the value of everyday places and the validity of subjective interpretations about place.  In the same way, post-structuralist thought has provided a rich vein of contemporary theory to inform the nature of migrant place-making.  By rendering places into texts which can be read, a discourse about the experience of migration is generated.  Hermeneutic techniques can then be employed to unravel forms of heritage where metaphors and tropes provide keys into cross-cultural interpretations.  This process can reveal the richness of cultural pluralism within Australia's cultural heritage.

Because narrative heritage is such an important aspect of the heritage of New World countries, post-structuralism and textual analyses can make a significant contribution to heritage understandings.  The role of narrative heritage applies as much to the relatively recent European occupation of New World countries as it does to the heritage of their indigenous peoples. Similarly the contribution of post-structuralist thought explains why 'imagined communities' are more powerful in the New World than the Old.

The changing nature of knowledge which has given voice to the values of marginal groups allows concepts of heritage to reflect more inclusive understanding of history where all the people who make up a nation contribute to a richer sense of national identity.  But also by dealing with marginal people or strangers in the mainstream community, there is the possibility that Australians can begin to reflect on the 'stranger within themselves' (Kristeva,1991).  As many cultural theorists have pointed out, non-Aboriginal Australians are uncertain about national identity evident in the constant re-invention of what it is to be Australian (Lohrey, in Armstrong,1993b:50; Jose,1985; Manion,1991; Malouf,1998; Morris,1993).  Migrant groups provide insights into the culture of Anglo-Celtic Australians that are not readily understood by mainstream Australians, as exemplified by the Lebanese perspective on certain aspects of Australian culture shown in Chapter Five.   Australian culture, unlike North American culture, is considered an elusive phenomenon, for many complex reasons.  This brings us to the second issue, the way migrant place attachment has generated a particular form of

heritage associated with New World countries such as North America, Canada and Australia where the phenomenon of migration has been central to their development as First World countries.

**Place Attachment, Migration and New World Heritage**

In Western terms, migrants are a fundamental aspect of New World. During the 19th and 20th centuries, migrants to North America, Canada and Australia were essential to the development of these nations. Thus understanding how the experience of migration is translated into 'place' is fundamental to heritage interpretations of these countries. Without migrants, New Worlds would not have consolidated the capitalist and colonial agenda and its inevitable shift from indigenous to non-indigenous cultures. The pervasive phenomenon associated with this shift is cultural discontinuity, both for indigenous people, forcibly removed from their land, and the occupiers who have come from somewhere else. Cultural discontinuity inevitably results in broken chains of meaning so that what is valuable and important has to be constantly restated (Manion,1991).

Within this concept, place attachment in migrant communities influences heritage theory in two main ways. First there are attachments to places and ways of life in the old country, the memories about which are brought to the new. Ways of life once in Australia continue unmediated by changes occurring in the country of origin. The role of memory in restating what is valuable brings into play Connerton's '*unconscious collective memory*' (1990:i.). Collective community memories are often seen as recollections of cultural traditions thought to be inscribed and immutable. In this context, the New World acts as custodian for the Old World where cultural practices, long relinquished in the Old, are continued unchanged thus representing a heritage frozen in time.

The second way place attachment contributes to migrant heritage lies in the importance of social heritage significance, namely where places have heritage significance if they are considered to have strong social, cultural or spiritual association with a particular cultural group (Pearson & Sullivan,1995). All the case studies show how places have social significance for particular migrant groups. Chapter Five also gives more detail about how migrant places can be considered for listing on the Register of the National

Estate within the eight AHC criteria (Pearson & Sullivan,1995). An important outcome of the process of assessing migrant places under these criteria was the desire for 'pride and success' to be a criterion for migrant places. This emerged with the increasingly sophisticated understanding about heritage displayed by the Lebanese group in Chapter Five. Such a criterion brings into play the concept of intangible and ephemeral heritage. Intangible aspects include unselfconscious ways of being; heritage as lived everyday experiences and cultural practices. Ephemeral aspects relate to the fact that migrants are in a process of change, so holding these forms of heritage becomes difficult.

This brings us to the final aspects of revisions to heritage theory, heritage planning. How does a heritage planner deal with migrant places which are characterised by fluid and contested values, as well as intangible and ephemeral qualities?

**Revised Heritage Planning Theory**

There are four major issues related to heritage planning for migrant places. The first is the urgent need to identify places before they are lost. The second is how planners can interpret migrant places as heritage and the third is what to do with contested values related to migrant places. Finally, there is the challenge of planning within the 'space-in-between'.

*The Need to Identify Migrant Places*

Given the richness that exists within culturally plural neighbourhoods, there is an urgent need to find out about the migrant history in any area because migrant places are highly vulnerable. Greg Young, a heritage planner, supports this by indicating...*Post World War II* [migrant places should be examined] *because of the ephemerality of the heritage that is left. ... it is a particularly brittle and vulnerable representation* (Young in Armstrong,1993b:28). Migrant places in inner-city areas are being lost at a rapid rate due to the redevelopment of former-industrial sites which obliterate evidence of former sites of work and associated enclaves. Migrant places are also being lost on the urban fringe at an equally rapid rate due to speculative housing developments.

An effective means of identifying and managing these places lies in a revised form of heritage studies. In NSW, heritage studies have been shown to be most effective vehicles to interpret the character of Local Government Areas. Through thematic

histories, heritage studies provide potential for sophisticated interpretations and innovative planning recommendation. Heritage studies also inform Local Area Plans, thus providing legislative mechanisms for conservation zoning or other forms of planning control.

If heritage studies are to be vehicles for identifying migrant places, then planners need to work with migrant communities to reveal the complex web of places. The guided discussion process developed by this research has proved an effective tool for such work, particularly as it can be used at two levels. At one level it sets out a methodical way to uncover culturally-specific aspects of everyday life, normally not known about outside migrant groups. At another level, it can be used to gain deeper insights into the ways threads of culture intersect with place. This requires the use of phenomenological hermeneutics.

Given that those heritage planners interested in social heritage significance already work with community groups, it can be anticipated that the procedures developed in this research would be acceptable and feasible for consultant planners. Trials with planners and historians indicated the key issues were how to work with migrant groups, how to generate discursively rich material and how to undertake deep levels of interpretation. Various techniques have been developed during this research. They are included as Appendix Three.

Heritage planners to date have tended to use histories and heritage planning texts as their theoretical base. Interpreting migrant places requires that planners become familiar with some of the work of the new critical geographies described in Chapter Two. As Stephen Davies, the former Environment Director, NSW National Trust explained

> *I think it* [knowledge of cultural diversity and new critical geographies] *should be fully employed in planning the inner city but heritage people like myself don't traditionally have that sort of exposure* … [an example] *is the Bondi Pavilion. I would traditionally think of the Pavilion in terms of its architectural and urban conservation potential ...* [not] *a place that gave migrants a sense of living in Australia.... I think bureaucrats and people in conservation organisations, we still have difficulty in dealing with intangibles.*

He amplified these observations by discussing the range of prejudices that exist about heritage,

> *… one of the connections I have in dealing* [with migrant heritage was a site in Kensington, Melbourne] *… a local shopping centre which was an early 20th century shopping centre – had virtually closed down and was almost blighted. The Vietnamese community had moved in and were closing up shop fronts and operating small clothing workshops behind closed doors. This was a real concern, because of the loss of vitality of the shopping centre, even though it was dying. An Italian born person who had lived there for a long time came up and said " you know the problem with this area is that these wogs have moved in and they are destroying the place."*
>
> *I suppose this is the effect of layering.  One group exists, another moves in, overlaying occurs which produces prejudice.  … The National Trust has a very strong grounding in Anglo heritage. … If one looks at the way the membership is organised and the way we present houses to the public and the sort of things we think are important, there is still a very strong feeling of prejudice in the community.(*Davies in Armstrong,1993b:53).

This comment highlights issues of contested values about what are heritage places in Australia and the contested nature of values between mainstream Australians and migrant groups and within migrant groups.

*Working with Contested Values*

Contested values about place have been the focus of a number of studies (Anderson,1993; Auge,1995; Burgess et al,1991, Hewison,1987; Macnaughten & Urry,1998; Pratt,1998; Shields,1991; Urry,1995). In this study, contested values emerged in both the broad overview, evident in the two workshops, and in the in-depth work. It became clear that the application of current conservation policies is likely to meet with opposition when applied to migrant heritage places.  While commonalities emerged in in-depth discussions, strong differences were evident when representatives of the migrant groups discussed the issues (Armstrong,1993b).  Migrant place values are *political and dynamic* and the values related to some sites are highly contested.  In discussions with Greek, Croatian, Vietnamese, Lebanese and Turkish representatives, it is clear that there are complex political allegiances within each group predominantly related to the political issues in the countries of origin at the time of migration.  It is important to locate place values in the political context of a particular migrant group. Planning with cultural pluralism is far more complex than the recognition of different nationalities.

Competing values held for migrant places by insiders, migrant groups, and outsiders, other people who value evidence of migrant groups, raise areas of contestation related to the *aesthetics* of cultural representation. This was particularly evident in the Greek community where conflicting values were held about the addition of Greek columns to houses. Some Greek participants valued such Mediterranean elements while others considered they degraded Greek culture. Similarly the Paragon Cafe in Katoomba, NSW was seen as representative of characteristic Greek cafes found in Australian country towns and therefore an important element in the cultural landscape. Other Greek participants saw it as an example of 'high kitch' and that it was not an appropriate place to record as Greek cultural heritage in Australia (Armstrong,1993b). Clearly there are differences, both within migrant groups and by outsiders, about the meanings attributed to migrant places.

Other contested values relate to places which have *multi-layering of values*. The current building used by the Australian Chinese Cultural Association in Surry Hills, Sydney was previously the site of the Italian community's first welfare centre in Sydney. During the period of Italian use a benefactor contributed to the creation of opulent Italianate interiors. Now it is an active and highly valued centre for the Chinese community who may find it unacceptable to recognise this building as part of the Italian heritage in Australia. Likewise, King St, Newtown poses problems where examples of 19th century Anglo-Celtic Australian shops with intact interiors have been altered to accommodate cultural expressions in different migrant shops. Cabramatta, Sydney, is currently a Vietnamese centre but until recently had significance for Greeks, Lebanese and Turkish. Most of the physical evidence of these groups has disappeared within the last five years. Multi-layering of values is characteristic of many areas with high migrant populations and this raises issues of what are appropriate ways to manage such urban cultural landscapes.

There are also conflicting heritage values about the conservation management of *housing heritage,* particularly in inner-city areas with altered older housing. If migrant heritage is acknowledged, then the restoration of much of this housing stock will involve the loss of migrant cultural alterations which may now have social significance for that group and others. As well, a number of Greek migrants expressed a desire to

restore their houses to the former 19th century Australian character thus removing the changes they had made (Armstrong,1993a).

Issue of management and *conservation* of migrant heritage places are contentious within migrant groups.  Many participants in this research felt it was enough to record the stories rather than sustain the physical fabric of places.   Others felt the perpetuation of cultural practices was more important than conservation of places.   Such concerns are not confined to migrant groups and much of the work on social significance (Johnston,1992) is leading to broader ideas of conservation.   Cultural continuity, particularly continuity of uses of places, are the current challenges for heritage planners.

The concept of conservation for many migrants raises ambivalent feelings about heritage in their adopted country.  For migrants from an Old World, conservation of heritage inevitably is seen in terms of antiquity.  Australia, in contrast, is seen as 'a land of opportunity', where property, unfettered by bureaucratic controls, is a means to increased material assets.  This is particularly true for post-WWII migrants of the 1950s-60s.  It is therefore understandable that heritage conservation, which interferes with property change and development, results in conflict for many migrants.

Issues of *cultural equity* are other contested areas.  In Australia, arguments appear to be centred on the empowering/patronising debate, whereas inclusiveness is the issue in the United States.  Antoinette Lee's overview on issues about managing cultural diversity within heritage planning in the United States (Lee,1992:36) refers to the management implications when cultural groups view heritage resources in different ways. Spennerman  (1993:24) has taken the discussion further by suggesting that individual cultural groups should manage their cultural heritage places.   This raises problems for places which Lee describes as 'multiply-esteemed' (Lee,1992:36).  In my study, some migrant leaders considered that there should be affirmative action for migrant heritage places where heritage planners could  *'redress the balance of listings and cultural representation'* (Galla in Armstrong,1993b.6).  This attitude is derived from the concern that migrant communities do not know what heritage in Australia means and that an active program of information should be implemented.  In contrast, other migrant leaders consider empowering migrant communities is patronising.   Others feel

empowerment needs to be inter-generational because some second and third generation Australian migrants have been denied their cultural heritage because their parents and grandparents concealed such heritage due to the tyranny of assimilation activities (Armstrong,1993b).

Ironically, contested values now arise from the growing interest by the wider Australian community in places which reveal cultural diversity within Australia. Places reflecting the rich encoding of different cultures are now seen as the '*exotic other*' by many Australians. As such, their conservation may be preferred by outsiders rather than the migrant groups themselves. This conflict is similar to the continued problem heritage conservationists face when heritage is valued initially by a small group in the community and not necessarily by the majority. It is only some time later that the greater community recognises the value of such heritage. It can be anticipated that the same process will apply to migrant heritage places.

Apart from conflicting cultural values between 'insiders' and 'outsiders', there is also conflict within particular migrant communities. Paddy's Market in Sydney is a case where the Chinese community values the area as cultural heritage and yet the developer of the site is also Chinese. Many Sydney migrants see the importance of Paddy's and Flemington Markets where migrant groups are both consumers and producers. The market place is a meeting-place, social place, work place and for many migrants resembles the tradition of bazaars in their country of origin. Paddy's Market, however, has been redeveloped as a site for '*yuppie consumption*' (Milner,1993:135), thus changing its migrant heritage significance.

*Significant individuals and their setting* pose difficult heritage planning challenges. How does heritage planning address the significance of the Greek delicatessen in Marrickville where a Greek woman has presided for the last thirty years, helping members of the Greek community and now the Vietnamese community? Is the heritage only associated with the woman and her services, or is the physical location of the site the heritage? Under the aegis of social heritage significance, should community counselling continue in that location? Similarly, European migrants have indicated the importance of coffee shops and delicatessens, both as meeting places and suppliers of the food which has been such a strong part of their cultural life. Examples in Sydney include No.21, Double Bay, seen as a cultural heritage place for the Austro-Hungarians, as is Cyril's Delicatessen in Haymarket. There are many similar examples in other Australian cities, particularly Melbourne and Fremantle. Is it possible to recognise the heritage significance in such places when their significance is so closely aligned with particular owners? What does listing mean in planning terms? Does No 21 have to continue as a coffee shop and Cyril's, a delicatessen? Can planning codes protect such continued uses?

Finally, there is the complex issue of *sustaining heritage for countries of origin*. There are places in Australia that are seen as European heritage such as the work of outstanding European architects who fled to Australia after the War. This is particularly the case for Czechoslovakia where early work done in Australia by Czech architects is considered to be an outstanding form of Czechoslovakian architecture (Jeans in Armstrong,1993b). Does the AHC's criteria allow for the 'community or cultural group' referred to in Criterion E (Aesthetic Significance) and G (Social Significance) to be in another country? In a similar vein, Australia is the custodian of cultural practices long relinquished in the countries of origin. This important aspect of migrant heritage is not addressed comfortably under AHC Criteria because communities for whom it has most value are communities in other countries.

As with all phenomenological research the deeper one probes into phenomena the more the complexity in the essences of life-world is revealed. This is the case in migrant cultural landscapes. The search for a simple application of a method of identification and management of values will continue to be challenging when dealing with the dynamic situation of cultural pluralism. This leads to the final major issue for heritage planning addressed here, accommodating planning procedures within the 'space-in-between'.

**Planning Within the Space-in-Between.**

The 'space-in-between' in this study is where the 'particular' is in tension with the 'universal' and where the 'orthodox' meets the 'unorthodox'. Some heritage planning theorists (Armstrong,1994c, Pearson & Sullivan,1995) suggest planning practice should

resist the confines of orthodox codes and rules, which have been shown to act against rather than for heritage conservation. Integrated planning is a move in this direction but it does not go far enough to enable planners full engagement with the complexity involved in cultural pluralism.

It is the space-in-between, a post-modern space (Meyer,1994; Soja,1996), which allows for flexibility and multiple values and as such eludes rigid planning control. In this space planners can work differently. Unfortunately, the research in this study does not provide strategies for planners to work in the space-in-between. Instead, it is a theoretical space for understanding some of the dynamics involved in cultural pluralism. The insights gained from this space should assist planners to resist the pressure for

simplistic image-making. It is also the space to provide opportunities for planners to work with others to achieve innovative heritage planning.

### *Working with Others: Community Arts as Heritage Planning*

In planning terms there is an important role for community arts and cultural mapping. Marrickville has pioneered the use of community arts as a way to assist migrants to express their values about the localities in which they live. The 'Mapping Marrickville' art project was seen as a successful method of opening up the process of heritage identification which had previously been the domain of heritage planners. Dolores Hayden (1995) and the Common Ground movement in Britain (Clifford and King,1985,1993,1996) have also explored the role of community arts to identify and sustain locally valued places. Building on the work of Common Ground and Creative Village (Armstrong,1994e), Greg Young has produced a *Guide to Cultural Mapping* (1995). The concept of cultural mapping can be extended to include narrating sites. The writer, Amanda Lohrey, a key speaker at the migrant representatives workshop, reflected

> *... my ideas about heritage sites are* [that they]*are rarely adequately narratised. Such enormous amounts of time and resources – money- goes into preserving, buying, or restoring places and yet if you visit these sites there is not even a simple stand to tell you the history of the place.... The capacity to tell the necessary stories and make the necessary links has been a big problem. ... at the national level there is a process of assessing national narratives. This process and the rewriting and reinventing of these narratives has been accelerated since 1988 and the Bicentennial.... This is characteristic of Anglo-Australians. Anglos in Australia are constantly reinventing themselves and retelling their own narratives or deviate from the standard narratives. Each generation of Anglos tries to come up with a new version of themselves ...*
>
> <div align="right">Lohrey in Armstrong,1993b: 49-50.</div>

Other cultural theorists commenting on Australian heritage such as Malouf (1998), Manion (1991) and Morris (1993) support this observation.

Community arts have been shown to be effective in sustaining networks of places which reflect living heritage of everyday life (Clifford & King,1985,1993,1996). The community arts worker in the 'Mapping Marrickville' project, Sue McHattie, suggested

> *... the community can make decisions about development in the community. Conservation decisions should be made in the same context as other decisions made in the community. The important issue is how to develop*

*community          structures          which          facilitate          such decisions.*(Armstrong,1993b:47).

She also criticised the impact that gentrification, so strongly associated with heritage conservation, has on migrant communities, noting that,

> *...some communities choose to leave, but other communities are in a situation where originally they didn't have a choice about coming to Australia...and are now being moved on, again through the process of gentrification. Heritage is one of the things that contribute to that process.*
>
> (MacHattie in Armstrong,1993b:48).

The implications of these different positions highlight how inadequate orthodox planning is for migrant places. There is potential to address these problems by working creatively with thethe 'space-in-between' with its many authored places of conflicting values. The post-modern status of the space-in-between, while providing flexibility and inclusiveness, also makes it vulnerable to other aspects of post-modernity in particular commodification and consumption.

### Avoiding 'Image' Planning: Integrity vs Commodity

The new reflexive theory of place coincides with intense discussion about the role of heritage in contemporary society and the growing phenomenon of the 'heritage industry' (Hewison,1987; O'Hare,1997). Debates about differences between history and heritage surface at a time when former parallel heritage impulses - a concern for rigour, a concern for inclusiveness and a concern to commodify heritage - collide, causing confusion and in many cases a retreat to former orthodoxies. The heritage industry has seen economic potential in the commodification of so-called 'ethnic places' for the tourist industry (Anderson,1993; Fowler,1992; Urry,1995). Thus not only are heritage places many authored realms, their heritage interpretation are also strongly contested. Distortions of concepts of heritage, described by Lowenthal in his book *Possessed by the Past* (1996), occur in all areas related to heritage, but more particularly at the popular level when heritage is associated with tourism. Migrant cultural heritage is not immune from this phenomenon. The dilemma for migrant heritage places is that many of them are marginal economic enterprises created to fulfil minority cultural needs. They are vulnerable economically and physically, often to be replaced by bigger brighter versions of a commodified ethnicity. As Urry (1995) points out the 'imagined

community' has now become a new focus of production for tourism. Migrant places are at risk of losing their subtle and complex identity in order to represent, self-consciously, a simulacrum of their former culture in the form of the 'exotic other'.

Harvey (1989) also explores the issues of time and the consumption of place. He suggests that because of the post-modern time-space compression and the resultant homogeneity in 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). But as I have suggested earlier, 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. Fowler's work (1992) on the 'invisibles' in the landscape and their subtle relationship to space and time adds weight to the value of working with phenomenological time. It is therefore alarming that superficial aspects of migrant places are becoming sites for consumption, often under the aegis of planning, before these places have been fully understood. Fortunately there is other work on the consumption of place which is providing valuable theoretical support for the importance of different approaches to planning.

In many ways, Australia has been the crucible of these issues in the 1990s. Australian society reflects the complexity of the ancient and the modern found in New World places such as United States and Canada, but it is both more ancient in terms of its indigenous culture and more recent in terms of cultural pluralism and all that is entailed in the interpretation of the cultural landscape. There are opportunities for Australian planners and theorists to contribute to an understanding of how to work within the complexity of the space-in-between.

## Summary

The importance of migrant places as part of the character of Australian cities means that planning and heritage planning in particular, are key areas which can address the continued contribution of migrant places to Australian culture. This requires a shift in

heritage planning techniques in order to embrace the difficult area of managing social significance. Inherent in this process is the recognition of contested values and ways in which multiple values can be negotiated.

Conservation issues arising from an active program of identifying and assessing migrant heritage places are likely to be contentious. Migrant groups have expressed interest in understanding their heritage in Australia, but are not necessarily interested in conserving places. As well, a number of conflicting values are likely to become evident which will need to be dealt with sensitively.

A further conflict may emerge where the greater Australian community values some migrant heritage places while migrant groups themselves do not hold the same values and do not want potential redevelopments to be constrained by heritage provisions. Many of these issues are common to all heritage practice in Australia, but some are particularly pertinent to migrant places and cultural diversity.

A key to working in a negotiated field is the revision of current theoretical positions. This last chapter in this study has looked at how the process of understanding the experience of migration to Australia by working with migrant groups has enabled new insights into existing theories about place, heritage, cultural landscapes, migration, and identity.