Ghosts in the City: Redevelopment, Race and Urban Memory in East Perth

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Abstract

In this paper we discuss the material-semiotic production of urban landscapes of 'difference', using the East Perth Redevelopment Project as a case study. Focusing on the processes of constructing 'multicultural consent' in urban places, we examine how sites of contestation are smoothed over into deceptively cohesive 'aestheticised' social surfaces. We scrutinise the ways in which narratives and representations of the past (such as East Perth's Aboriginal and industrial heritage) are reproduced through new modes of urban governance and inscribed upon the urban landscape. The creation of special planning agencies with unique powers prescribed by customised legislation, such as the East Perth Redevelopment Authority, is central to this process. These representations are actively constituted as part of the urban landscape most notably through public art, the development of parkland, the designation of heritage sites and through promotional literature. What is especially striking about the ways symbolic and material representations of 'multicultural consent' are fashioned in urban landscapes is the way in which representations ostensibly promoting diversity and celebrating difference are naturalised. Not only does this have the effect of masking the history of colonialism and racism in Perth, it also points to the ways in which the colonial past has not really been displaced, but rather has been incorporated into popular multicultural representations of place.

Keywords: racialised landscape, East Perth, colonialism, urban memory, gentrification

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Acknowledgements

Introduction

In this chapter we explore the role of State-sponsored gentrification in the racialisation of an Australian inner city landscape. It is appropriate to begin with an image by Aboriginal artist Christopher Pease titled *Nyoongar Dreaming*. Pease's work, which portrays Peter Farmer, nephew of football 'great' Graham 'Polly' Farmer, standing on an incomplete stretch of freeway named after his uncle, tells a compelling 'postcolonial' story about a modern inner city landscape in East Perth.[1] Standing under a lurid yellow and green sky[2], Peter Farmer 'holds his ground' in the otherwise desolate spectacle of East Perth's urban technological infrastructure.[3] What is particularly evocative about Pease's visual narrative is that it captures both the 'presence' and 'absence' of Aboriginal culture, memory and history in Perth's contemporary inner city landscape. Peter Farmer's ontology of 'presence' is at once disruptive to the austere, sanitised space of East Perth's major traffic artery and yet, at the same time, his presence is also 'haunted' by the glaring silence that surrounds it. The time and space discontinuities evoked by *Nyoongar Dreaming* speak to what Ken Gelder and Jane Jacobs refer to as the 'uncanny effects' produced in the modern Australian nation through the imposition of settler spaces on previously inhabited Indigenous ones.[4] For Gelder and Jacobs, one 'effect' produced through postcolonial landscapes is a condition of 'haunting' which destabilises the white versions of historical continuity.[5]

[*Insert Figure 1 somewhere around here*]

Figure 1   Nyoongar Dreaming (Christopher Pease), Art Gallery of Western Australia.

The trope of 'haunting' has particularly unsettling consequences for the myth that modern Australian nation state is a collective and culturally coherent 'imagined community'.[6] Over the past two decades, Australia's 'imagined community' has been irrevocably unsettled in a number of national, legal, archival and symbolic registers. The Mabo decision which legally granted native title to Indigenous Australians, the emergence of Pauline Hanson's racist One Nation Party, and the 'Sorry Business' evoked by the testimonies of the *Stolen Generation*, have all been recent sites through which 'Australian' identities, memories and histories have been circulated, challenged and contested. Under these present national conditions of memory and identity 'crisis', dominant constructions of whiteness as being synonymous with 'Australianness' have been both reinforced and radically destabilised. As cultural critics such as John Stratton and Tony Bennett have emphasised, the Australian 'national symbolic' has historically been imagined through practices that have naturalised whiteness and European authority through narratives of continuity, unity and cultural homogeneity.[7] For Stratton in particular, this has been embodied by the systematic denial of the racial state as being racial, despite the centrality of race in the project of Australian nation making:

> Historically, race has been a central concept in the formation of the Australian nation. It has operated here, as it has in other 'Western' countries, as a marker to exclude those who were not considered to be eligible to be members of the nation. Simultaneously, it has worked as a guarantor of a particularised homogeneity. Homogeneity of language and culture as well as race, was throughout the nineteenth century until very recently, the most basic concern of the nation.

If race has historically been a central ontological category in the project of Australian nation making, it has also been crucial to the fashioning and selective remembering of

national, regional and local 'pasts.'[8] Many writers on Australian popular culture have emphasised the legal, territorial and discursive doctrine of *terra nullius* (the idea that Australia at the time of European invasion 'belonged to no-one') as a powerful narrative in the establishment of originary myths of white national development.[9]

As a legacy of colonization, this discourse has also shaped the racial formation of both Aboriginal and white Australians.[10] Although many colonial discourses have served to reinforce the power relations that sustain *terra nullius*, perhaps the most enduring is the representation of Aboriginal people as 'primitive' and native to the bush and the untamed frontier.[11] A key narrative that we critically interrogate in this chapter, which complements such representations of Aboriginal people, is 'deep time'. By this, we mean that 'timelessness' as a distinctly Aboriginal quality, consigns Aboriginal people to the 'always-past'. Indeed, in the light of such temporal and spatial displacements, for many white Australians the idea of urban Aboriginals is both oxymoronic and anathema. Largely invisible to white Australians and to many researchers on contemporary urban landscapes, urban Aboriginal people are paradoxically hidden in plain view.[12] Thus, while *terra nullius* has become a fairly tenuous legal 'memory' (especially in post-Mabo Australia), we argue that it remains a significant symbolic narrative in dominant representations of Aboriginal cultures and histories in modern Australian cities. However, we also suggest that despite attempts at marginalisation, incorporation and erasure, Aboriginality 'exceeds' the official strategies of containment practised by planning authorities in a disruptive challenge to the discursive and material work of gentrified inner city spaces.

We argue in the chapter that the fashioning and selective remembering of national and local 'pasts' by the East Perth Redevelopment Project (East Perth Project), racialises the cultural and material landscape of inner city Perth in highly specific ways. In particular, we focus on the conspiracy between urban planning processes and the media in the marketing and promotion of East Perth as a multicultural landscape of 'difference'. We assert that mainstream articulations of diversity and difference which have signalled the 'multicultural' landscape through public art, urban design and promotional literature work to 'mask' East Perth's alternative Indigenous, immigrant and working class memories. The construction of 'multicultural consent' in gentrified inner city areas betrays the signs of race and class contestation that have often lurked behind popular representations of multiculturalism in Australia.

Following from a radical critique of popular, middle-class multiculturalism, which we contend has not effectively displaced dominant white identities, we examine how the construction of 'multicultural consent' in East Perth leaves out as much as it reveals.[13] As Kay Anderson suggests, despite the inclusive claims of popular multiculturalism, such narratives have also functioned as a discourse of exclusion in a similar manner to processes of colonialism and assimilation. [14] In this regard, popular multicultural narratives, by promoting a blanket 'inclusiveness' and a patina of cultural negotiation, deny the prior claims to inner city spaces of Aboriginal people, as well as the more recent struggles and memories of ethnic, working class, immigrant and sexual minorities. Ultimately such expressions of 'multicultural consent' in inner city landscapes map a 'fundamental continuity in understanding about the formation of the Australian nation between policies of assimilation and multiculturalism'.[15]

It is within this context that we chart a shift in the material and semiotic terrain of *terra nullius* that inscribed colonial and assimilationist Australian landscapes as 'belonging to no-one', to a modern 'multicultural' Australian landscape that 'belongs to everyone'. The redevelopment of inner-city East Perth draws heavily on such re-enactments of *terra nullius*, which have attempted to either incorporate or erase Indigenous landscapes within its symbolic and territorial structure. We attempt to redress this issue by examining the creation and enforcement of a racialised landscape in East Perth. This involves examining the ways in which racist ideologies are inscribed upon the symbolic and material terrain of the inner city, and how such practices labour to erase competing representations and memories of place in order to legitimise new development.[16] Employing techniques from critical discourse analysis, such as those used by Aran Stibbe[17], we analyse narratives present in the media, academic and promotional literature about the East Perth Project to demonstrate how racialised places are bounded, policed and remade. We assert that both the media and the State Government, often acting together, sought to entrench specific representations of East Perth as a particular kind of place. In this sense we draw loosely on the work of Herman and Chomsky who argue in their propaganda model that the media serves 'powerful societal interests' and permits and co-opts dissent as a strategy of incorporation and peripheralisation.[18] One important theme throughout their work, which we utilise here, is the idea that the media acts to promote and support lifestyles of consumption. This is particularly evident where multiculturalism is co-opted through processes of gentrification, and relegated to the realms of cultural and consumer performances of place, such as food and festivals.[19]

Marketing the Inner City: The East Perth Redevelopment Project

Throughout this chapter, we survey the ideological work of the East Perth Project and its effort to create an urban landscape of multicultural 'difference'. Landscape, as Don Mitchell argues, 'is an important ingredient in constructing consent and identity…for the projects and desires of powerful social interests'.[20] Since the symbolic work of landscape is 'fully mystified', the material landscape itself is duplicitous in the sense that it does not necessarily declare power relations in any direct way.[21] Our purpose here is to examine how the enactment and representation of 'multicultural consent' in the gentrified inner city landscape of East Perth works to 'mask' practices of exclusion, power and privilege behind a veneer of diverse and collectively held history in urban space.

Contemporary East Perth has been marketed as a mix of innovative housing, open space, community shopping, 'generation X lifestyles' and diverse public art. These signifiers of middle and upper class consumption are typical of inner city, waterfront re-development projects in Australia.[22] Luxurious apartments, cafes, boutique shops, restaurants, hotels, convention centres and art galleries occupy space that was once an inner city industrial enclave and a contiguous Aboriginal cultural landscape – a site of both everyday inhabitation and spiritual significance.[23] Especially noticeable in redeveloped East Perth is the absence of people of colour, the working poor, youth, the unemployed and immigrants that once characterised this place. This is not accidental. Rather it is the product of a concerted effort on the part of the Western Australian government, acting in the capacity of the entrepreneurial State, to showcase what it packaged as a 'model' of inner city living. In the process, not only did the government 'decontaminate' a landscape polluted by toxins from East Perth's industrial past and 'tainted' by cultural memories that would rather be

forgotten, it also erased many traces of that past, including the prior residents who were themselves regarded as toxins of a sort.

An overview of the project

Established in 1873, East Perth was a predominantly working class residential area. In the early 1890s, gold was discovered in Western Australia, and during the ensuing gold rush East Perth filled with migrants seeking a better future. By 1894, the suburb had doubled in size to a population of 1,300, growing to 6,000 by 1904.[24] East Perth was quickly characterised by its density of development, which was seen to be responsible for periodic outbreaks of disease such as cholera and typhoid.[25] Towards the end of the 1890s, East Perth had attracted a range of industries. These included timber mills, upholsteries, brickyards, two tanneries, laundries, breweries, a glassworks and a soap factory. Later additions included a gas works, a foundry, cement factories, a tile factory and a large sewerage treatment plant and power station. Later still, automotive mechanics, panel-beating premises and other light industries located in the area.

From inception to completion the development spanned a mere decade. The East Perth Urban Renewal Project was first proposed in the early 1980s under a Labor State Government headed by Premier Brian Burke.[26] In 1985, a $250,000 report was commissioned by the State Government, examining the possibilities for urban renewal.[27] However, the 146-hectare (360.7 acres) project, earmarked to be the largest urban redevelopment project in Australian history,[28] initially stalled due to the high development costs - A$100 million (US61 million).[29] Much of this cost was associated with the need to ameliorate soil and water contamination on the site – a legacy from the area's industrial past. Funding was made available through the Federal Labor government's 'Building Better Cities' program, which required the provision of affordable housing, efficient transport, the upgrading of infrastructure, and the integration of services.[30] The federal program aimed to '…achieve improved urban environments and more livable, ecologically sustainable and equitable cities…'.[31] The first official government visions of East Perth's revitalization were articulated in 1989. The mandate was to develop at little or no cost to the taxpayer, and to provide a significant public housing component comprising a third of the overall development.

The project was instigated as an effort to 'revitalise' a degraded industrial area and bring 'life' back into the inner city. At the time, a coalition called Cityvision had been promoting efforts to entice people back into the Perth Central Area, which was said to hold few attractions after dark. The project was envisaged as a mixed-use inner city residential area – a showcase for government policy for urban consolidation.[32] The then State Premier Mr. Peter Dowding linked the high-density housing that was planned for East Perth with attempts to combat urban sprawl, which at the time was a topical concern. However, late in 1989 *The West Australian* newspaper reported that a new vision for East Perth was emerging. The property development arm of the State Government – LandCorp, was considering making a bid for the futuristic Multi-Function Polis, which was envisaged as a $30 billion dollar joint venture between Australia and Japan.[33] It was proposed to design and build a city from the ground up, which would incorporate the latest technological and industrial developments.[34] It would cater for over 200,000 people; a marked contrast to the 5,600 envisioned in earlier redevelopment plans.

The image of East Perth as a high-tech and up-market inner city residential area rapidly won favor with politicians and government officials. This was regarded as a desirable alternative to the 'deteriorated', 'run down and neglected', 'unsightly, inaccessible, polluted and forgotten' suburb that East Perth was believed to be.[35] Celebrated as 'Australia's most exciting urban renewal project',[36] the East Perth Project was touted as being: 'Bigger than Sydney's Darling Harbour'.[37] According to government promotional material: the 'derelict past [was] well and truly behind' East Perth.[38] In 1991, the East Perth Redevelopment Act was passed by Parliament and gazetted. The Act made provision for the creation of a planning agency - the East Perth Redevelopment Authority, to oversee the project. The Authority, responsible to the State Government Minister for Planning, acting under powerful, custom-built legislation, had absolute control over land use and development decisions within the project area, and was able to override municipal ordinances and local planning decisions. The agency was charged with the responsibility of facilitating development and enabling the transfer of land from public to private ownership. Perth was not unique in this sense, and many other Australian cities experienced a similar erosion of traditional planning powers under the program of neo-liberal reform that eviscerated Australian planning in the 1990s as Glen Searle's example from Sydney demonstrates in this volume.[39]

It was clear from the beginning that proponents of the East Perth Project were resistant to community involvement in the redevelopment. With its customised legislation and special planning powers, the East Perth Redevelopment Authority (EPRA) was well positioned to fast track the development. An editorial in *The West Australian* newspaper in October, 1990 foreshadowed conflict with the local community and Aboriginal people in particular. The editor argued that: '[s]pecial care must be taken to consult with Aborigines (sic) to prevent a repetition of the fiasco that has stymied the brewery redevelopment'.[40] Within a week of that editorial, the Perth City Council had refused to grant planning approval to a proposed Aboriginal hostel in the area, replacing one that had been compulsorily acquired for the first stage of the East Perth Project.[41] Only a matter of days following that, protests erupted over proposals that would detrimentally impact upon Aboriginal sites within the project area.

Reacting vehemently to calls for compensation, WA Labor Premier Dr. Carmen Lawrence stated: '[a]lthough we recognise that there are some areas that have traditional links with Aboriginal people, no group has a special claim on that area and the Aboriginal Heritage Act will not be used to frustrate that program'.[42] Indeed, Dr. Lawrence asserted, incorrectly, that the Aboriginal Heritage Act of 1972 was only intended to protect sites in rural areas. She proposed sweeping amendments to the Act to circumscribe Aboriginal claims for site protection in urban areas.[43] Shockingly, Dr. Lawrence premised her arguments on the idea that '[y]ou cannot turn back the clock'.[44] Needless to say, the Premier's proposal was greeted with anger and resentment. This neo-colonial artifice of conflating Aboriginals with 'deep time' is a point that we shall return to later in the chapter.

By December of 1990, *The West Australian* began to emphasise 'culture' as an important component of the project.[45] A 'cosmopolitan image' of the project was heralded as a major draw-card to international investors. Revealingly, the newspaper's tone changed about three years into the project. With increasing numbers of articles in the business and real estate sections of the paper, East Perth proved to be good business. All semblance of objectivity evaporated and was replaced with boosterism,

which promoted the East Perth redevelopment as transforming a 'forgotten wasteland' into an 'urban village' with a 'cosmopolitan lifestyle' and 'renewed vitality'.[46]

There was also a change in tone with the EPRA consultation process. Initially the East Perth Project Team's newsletter '*Looking East*' had large sections written in Russian, Vietnamese, Greek and Italian reflecting the long-term diversity of residents living in the area. With the creation of the East Perth Redevelopment Authority (EPRA) in 1991 however, the style of community contact changed. '*The Easterly*' a corporate-style publication of the EPRA emphasised business connections, commercial development, property sales and good governance. It generally downplayed allusions to multiculturalism, with the exception of an occasional reference to a 'new Chinese Consulate' in the area, 'lasagna at a local café' or public art pieces. Instead the EPRA preferred to emphasise the industrial heritage, public art, parks and more generally, the 'revitalised' East Perth. Clearly 'multiculturalism' in East Perth had become conflated with 'cosmopolitanism'. In other words, multiculturalism was reinterpreted by East Perth's 'place entrepreneurs' as pertaining not to people but instead to consumption of an 'urban' lifestyle.

East Perth now is a place for the wealthy. House prices are certainly not affordable. For example, the Fini corporation's Majestic Quay development commanded prices in the late 1990s which started at $423,000 for a 107.4 square metre apartment ranging to just over one million dollars for a 219.8 square metre apartment. Prices have been increasing on average at approximately five percent per annum, falling slightly from the initial seven percent per annum growth rate. Comparisons with recent house prices reveal that this trend is set to continue. A new 90 square metre apartment in the Braxton Apartments complex is currently fetching $300,000. Around the corner at Luxe 113, an apartment of approximately 100 square metres floor area is selling off the plans at $350,000. Established dwellings are not cheap either. A nine year old three level, two bedroom, one bathroom 100 square metre townhouse is currently on the market for $329,000. Slightly larger apartments in the 150 square metre range are selling for $365,000 and serviced studios start at $149,000 ranging to approximately $250,000.[47]

There are also very few people of color living in the project area. Statistics for race and ethnicity are currently unavailable, but demographic information from the City of Perth permits an overview of East Perth residents. There were 4,488 residents living in East Perth at the time of the most recent census. Of these people 40.2% were born in Australia, 12.4% were born in South East Asia and 11.8% were born in Europe. Of the balance, well below one percent (only 125 residents) were Aboriginal people. Almost half the residents (43%) did not speak English at home, with the main language spoken being one of the Chinese languages. Almost half the residents (47.2%) were also relatively young - in the 20-39 age-group. The next highest category, comprising almost a third of residents (27.1%), was the 40-59 age-group. As far as older residents are concerned, just below twelve percent fell in the 60-79 age-group, whilst less than two percent were over eighty years of age. About two thirds of residents (62%) did not have children. A further 19% were couples with children and 9.4% were single parent families. Most residents (70.2%) lived in apartments, and were relatively affluent. Over a third earned more than $700 per week, and only 3.3% of residents were unemployed. Furthermore, many households (47%) also had a computer at home. Just below twenty percent (16.4%) of residents were attending a tertiary education institution in 2001 and under five percent (3.4%) were in primary or secondary education. Before examining the implications of these demographics for

representations of multiculturalism and inclusiveness in East Perth, we wish to outline the connections between landscape, race and urban memory, as this offers an interesting insight into practices of multicultural consent in urban redevelopment projects.

Landscape, Race and Urban Memory

Smriti Srinivas writes that the city continually signals its emergence. 'In the process of constructing the urban' she observes 'older sites are forgotten, their representations censored or recombined with nascent ones through political action, ritual, collective desire, or fantasy to produce different configurations of meaning'.[48] Cultural geographers have paid substantial attention to the enactment and representation of memory in urban and rural cultural landscapes.[49] Much of this work has focused on the contested cultural meanings produced through monuments, memorials and heritage places. However, Srinivas' observations point toward a growing literature on the ways in which cultural memory in cities is 'entangled' and performed through other 'sites', such as the media, collective public art projects, social movements and urban redevelopment.[50] Such perspectives both challenge and extend the notion that 'memory attaches itself to sites, whereas history attaches itself to events', focusing instead how cultural productions of history and memory are increasingly 'entangled'.[51] Thus, while cultural memory may indeed be embedded in particular places and place-making projects, it also 'travels' through multiple sites, medias and circuits of power.

What we wish to emphasise here is how cultural memory operates through planning practices, the urban environment and the media in order to create a landscape of 'multicultural consent' in East Perth. As Srinivas suggests, 'whether landscapes of urban memory emerge from the annals of city planning, the workings of capital, or the practices of different communities within the city, they require control, classification and naturalization'.[52] In this regard, practices of place-making concomitant with gentrification via inner city redevelopment projects, draw upon 'selective memories' that produce and naturalise racialised meanings about multiculturalism in highly specific ways. The effectiveness of this kind of 'consent-building' through a popular multicultural vocabulary and selective remembering of the past is achieved through the material and semiotic work of landscape. The idea that landscape, as a mode of representation, is deceitful is certainly not new.[53] This 'duplicity' of landscape lies in its appearance as natural and inevitable. As art historian WJT Mitchell observes:

> Landscape as a cultural medium thus has a double role with respect to something like ideology: it naturalises a cultural and social construction, representing the artificial world as if it were simply given and inevitable, and it also makes representation operational by interpellating its beholder in some more or less determinate relation to its givenness as sight and site. [54]

While landscapes are rich in symbolic and exchange value and organise cultural meanings and practices spatially, they are also highly abstracted. This has led landscape theorists to liken the production of landscapes to the production of commodities.[55] Like commodities, landscapes often operate as fetishised objects that obscure the 'origins' of their production within circuits of capital and within ideological state apparatuses. Indeed, as Mitchell suggests, this takes on particular resonance for thinking about landscape as a 'place of amnesia and erasure' that denies

the historical violence of its symbolic and material formation.[56] Thus, Mitchell contends that while it is important to 'retrieve the memories and excavate the depths of landscape, one must register as well the sense in which landscape is all about forgetting, and getting away from the real in ways that may produce astonishing dislocations'.[57]

Urban landscapes, as we have already suggested, are particularly evocative sites of erasure and collective 'forgetting'. Redevelopment projects such as East Perth are especially demonstrative examples of this sort of architecture of erasure. According to Mitchell, the 'imperial landscape' inscribes a teleological narrative of progress as inevitable and natural to the development of place and identity. The imperial landscape legitimizes conquest and dispossession through the double gesture of symbolically 'emptying' Indigenous landscapes of their meaning and following this with the physical removal of Indigenous people. Neil Smith in the *Revanchist City* proposed that a similar set of processes to that of the imperial landscape are at work in the gentrification of inner cities.[58] As with imperial landscapes, gentrified places erase the signs of their own production as they obscure the lived geographies of previous inner city communities, such as racial minorities, the working poor, unemployed and homeless. The inner city under this schema becomes a 'wilderness' derivative of the colonial frontier, an empty wasteland eagerly awaiting 'improvement' by enterprising whites.[59]

In Australian cities, 'the structures of racism and inequity derived from the colonial frontier', operationalise *terra nullius* as a specific technology of forgetting. Constructing 'blighted' inner city areas as social and industrial 'wastelands' reenacts *terra nullius* by casting these landscapes as 'empty spaces' awaiting civilization and development.[60] Such practices ultimately suppress both the Indigenous past and the social realities of the multicultural present. Ultimately, this produces a racialised landscape of profound social inequity, which bolsters white identities under a guise of 'sensitivity to difference' while simultaneously erasing actual difference through the marginalisation and exclusion of racial and ethnic communities.[61]

Racialised Landscapes

If the ideological work of landscape is to obfuscate the signs of its own production, then this takes on particular resonance for thinking about how racisms are emplaced and naturalised in urban settings. It has been our argument that the East Perth Project has produced a particular kind of racialised landscape through its contradictory appeals to popular multiculturalism and the colonial past. The point we wish to make here is that the carefully choreographed 'presence' of the East Perth Project relies on a partially suppressed geography of racism. These 'darker geographies' of the inner city Perth as Affrica Taylor notes, also rely on 'acts of forgetting' that are 'sanctioned by selective historical narratives'.[62] In this regard, racisms embedded in the inner city landscape either pathologise these places as dangerous and unruly, or reproduce whiteness through selective and sanitised versions of the past.[63] It is important to emphasise that cultural and discursive expressions of racism and white privilege are underwritten by powerful economic interests. As we go on to discuss in the next section, inner city racial landscapes draw heavily upon encoded meanings such as pollution, darkness and blight as signifiers of the presence of racial minorities and as justification for urban redevelopment. Significantly, such representations and enactments draw upon a hidden socio-spatial history of race relations in Australia.

Following from critical race theory, we contend that 'racialised landscapes' are the expression of the 'sedimentation of racial inequity' that is reproduced through the economic, political and cultural practices of the racial state.[64] According to Omi and Winant racism may be activated through ideological and legal state apparatuses such as land use decision-making, residential segregation, police authority, building codes and exclusionary zoning.[65] We use the term 'racialised landscape' to refer to all of the economic, legal and social modalities that are used to create and enforce racialised places and spaces.[66] The East Perth Project exemplifies the collusion between the racial state, planning practices and the media in producing an urban development that touts values of tolerance, openness and diversity associated with cosmopolitan lifestyles on the one hand, while reproducing racial inequality on the other.

Building a Landscape of Multicultural Consent

Recently redeveloped cultural landscapes such as East Perth can be regarded as products of the collaboration between urban processes, the cultural politics of memory, and the media in the marketing of various symbols and lifestyles.[67] In keeping with the performances of 'multicultural Australia', which denotes a nation recently sensitive to racial, sexual and ethnic 'difference', inner city development projects, such as East Perth, market cosmopolitan narratives of 'openness' and 'diversity' as features of contemporary Australian urban everyday life. In an attempt to mask a history of prior occupation, and to garner widespread public appeal for the project, the East Perth redevelopment Authority has sought to foster a cosmopolitan façade of multiculturalism. Despite the obvious Anglo-Australian pretensions clearly signified in some pictorial representations and advertising for the project; and the emergent largely white demographic of the suburb, ideals of diversity and openness were frequently promoted by the EPRA and the media (see **Figure 4**). This is particularly evident in the staging of the annual Claisebrook Carnival by the East Perth Redevelopment Authority, designed to promote the supposedly multicultural character of the place.

The Claisebrook Carnival is a 'multicultural festival' of food and performance, designed to attract people to the area and to celebrate Perth's newfound diversity. In March 1999, *The Easterly* (newsletter of the EPRA) stated that the annual carnival: 'reflect[s] Perth's cosmopolitan culture'.[68] The 2000 Claisebrook carnival featured Chinese dragon boat racing, a Scottish bagpipe band, African music, Aboriginal dancers, Ninjas, and a Latin dance and music group. Although the carnival attempted to evoke multicultural themes, the actual message was one of conspicuous consumption, where diversity was just another item on the menu. In essence this festival amounted to an act of 'ventriloquising…the ethnic'.[69] The 'multicultural performances' of place reflected in the Claisebrook Carnival and in the promotional literature of the East Perth Project, depict a visual representation of inclusion and openness that has not been realized.

[Insert Figure 2 around here]

Figure 2   Aboriginality in East Perth, source: The West Australian

In their groundbreaking study of multiculturalism, Castles, Kalantzis, Cope and Morrissey map the development of a multicultural imaginary in mainstream Australian politics and society that has put forward a 'conveniently restricted' notion of culture.[70] Overly simplistic expressions of diversity and pluralism in popular,

middle class multiculturalism do not address the deeper structural problems of the racial state, that reproduce racial inequity and white privilege through the ownership and control of territory, capital and media representations. Neither do such representations address the complexities of cultural processes at work in contemporary Australian everyday life. Indeed, many Aboriginal people have been critical of attempts by white Australians to redraw the circle to include Aboriginality as an example of Australia's cultural diversity.[71] Such practices can intentionally and unintentionally misrepresent injustices done to Aboriginal people and even expect Aboriginal people to overlook this history in order to give up the last vestiges of their cultural, territorial and spiritual distinctiveness to the national multicultural 'whole'.

The articulations of multiculturalism put forward by the East Perth Project highlighted such restrictive versions of culture and history in both definition and practice and attempted to contain ethnic and Indigenous identities in a way that diffused any real cultural or territorial claims to the inner city landscape. In fact, it is our argument that the deployment of multicultural narratives by the East Perth Project only thinly veiled a set of colonial narratives more in keeping with 'revanchist' modes of gentrification. For example, images of Aboriginals circulating through photographs and public art of the East Perth Project and representations of Aboriginality in the Claisebrook Carnival, have focused upon 'tribal dancers' thus evoking a version of indigeneity that reinstates notions of 'deep time', where Aboriginal people are cast as part of the pre-colonial past.[72] Ultimately, the outcome of the effort to build a cosmopolitan 'urban village' of difference from the ground up has reinforced rather than destablised previous versions of the racial landscape in East Perth. In the following section we discuss in greater detail this re-inscription of the 'urban frontier'.

Outback Downtown: Inner City Aboriginal Spaces and the Urban Frontier

Like many cities in Britain, the United States and Canada, the term 'inner city' in Australia has become an index for a racialised urban landscape.[73] A typology of urban landscapes often reveals terms such as 'blighted', 'degenerate', 'crime-ridden' and 'poverty-stricken' which are used to racialise the space of the inner city and stigmatise it as a place of palpable 'social pathology'.[74] Such terms situate the inner city in direct contrast to the supposedly healthy, safe, clean, white middle class suburbs.[75] These axiomatic views of the inner city are readily called upon to legitimise social exclusion and economic marginalisation, creating what Dear and Wolch refer to as 'landscapes of despair'.[76] Such symbolic representations are indicative of the social and material 'devalorisation' of inner city spaces, concomitant with systematic structural disinvestment.[77]

For many commentators, the inner city is a 'dead space' that needs to be resurrected, revalorised or otherwise resuscitated. Since the late 1970s, there has been a concerted effort at revalorisation of the inner city as a desirable residential locale, particularly for urban elites living in Australian capital cities.[78] The revalorisation of inner city spaces of Australian Capital cities was the product of a program of 'state sponsored investment'.[79] Indeed, Blair Badcock argues that in Australia, 'gentrification has been seized on…as a measure for bringing the inner city 'back to life' and staging an urban renaissance'.[80] Tied to global economic restructuring and the creation of technical and professional jobs in the new information economy, the 'revalorisation' of inner city spaces has been achieved through unprecedented gentrification and the semiotic recoding of the inner city landscape.[81] It has largely

been a project of aestheticisation and the marketing of 'urban' lifestyles to promote middle-class consumption.[82] Gentrification here refers not just to the incremental actions of individuals and households, often white and upper class, purchasing houses in so-called degraded 'frontier' neighbourhoods and restoring them for personal profit. It also encompasses large-scale reinvestment by property development firms and the State.[83] The social consequences of gentrification result mainly from the displacement of established inner city communities. Although the issue of race is often overlooked in discussions of gentrification, the apposite relationship between class and race merits giving closer attention to gentrification as a distinctly racial project. Gentrification, as a material and semiotic agent of landscape change, more often than not has a disproportionate impact on people of colour. [84] In Australia, this connection is further complicated by a discourse that positions the landscape of the inner city within the colonial imaginary of the frontier.

'Bringing it all Together': Race and the Urban Politics of Cultural Memory[85]

As argued above, the leitmotiv of Australian inner-city redevelopment projects has centred upon the portrayal of the inner city as a site of social and environmental degradation and contamination. David Sibley has commented that depictions of the 'tainted' inner city are predicated upon media portrayals of 'the polluting' as being more often than not socially and spatially marginalised minorities.[86] Notions of purity and defilement are also fundamental to processes of social and spatial exclusion that have operated throughout Australian colonial history to marginalise Aboriginal people.

A distinctive socio-spatial discourse is identifiable in Australian society about the place of Aboriginal people. Dichotomised in the Australian neo-colonial imaginary, constructions of Aboriginality have been premised upon conceptions of a 'civilised', settled and white south, contrasted against a wild northern, Aboriginal frontier.[87] Attendant to this division were British narrative portrayals of Aboriginal people as nomads to be settled, primitive savages to be civilised, living fossils to be added to museum collections, and as wild animals to be domesticated. Other portrayals constructed Aboriginals as a 'child-like' race requiring supervision and training, a 'dying race' requiring compassionate care to ease its passing, and as degenerates to be avoided, lest they contaminate white purity.[88] Arguably the most enduring of all narrative portrayals of Aboriginal people though, and one that has particular importance for East Perth as the new urban 'frontier', is that of Aboriginals as a 'timeless' people or belonging to 'deep time'.[89] It is important because it invokes a temporal schism that acts to camouflage spatial exclusion and signifies extinction. Consequently acts of dispossession are masked because the Aboriginal present / presence is always necessarily past and thus rendered absent.

All of these depictions of the 'incommensurability' of Indigenous and 'settler' spaces convey a specific history of socio-spatial meanings and cultural displacements.[90] Relegated to the prison, the mission or the fringe camp, Aboriginal people have occupied marginalised and coercive spaces in white settler society. Indeed, Henry Reynolds documented the use of the spatial metaphor as it related to colonial practices of subjugating Aboriginal people, quoting phrases such as 'letting the blacks in', 'keeping them in their place', and 'putting them down'.[91] This 'moral' topography, rooted in the process of colonization, supported a discourse that amounted to a discursive and territorial vanishing act. Confronted by the unavoidable Aboriginal presence in Australia, settlers acted to translate 'conceptual dispossession'

into 'physical dispossession' rendering Aboriginal history and culture absent from the landscape through practices of displacement, miscegenation, genocide and assimilation. [92] Leslie Head has characterised this predicament as 'outside time and absent from place'.[93]

However, there were contradictions inherent in the simultaneous deployment of these narratives, which served to profoundly disrupt the often-tenuous British settlers' notions about their own place. For example, in characterizing Aboriginal people as savage, equating them with nature, their presence in the domesticated and civilised space of the city became inherently disruptive.[94] We argue that the spectre of the urban Aboriginal has largely gone unnoticed in discussions of Aboriginal places in Australia, and urban Aboriginals have been treated for the most part as 'historical aberrations'.[95] It is all the more important then that an examination of the work undertaken in the physical and allegorical transformation of the landscape of East Perth gives particular attention to the ways that the 'purification' of urban space is complemented by, and enacted through, discursive and physical transformations of place.

East Perth: Urban Renewal as 'Reconquest'

We now turn our attention to examining some contemporary portrayals of the East Perth landscape, and the ways they have served to erase the Aboriginal presence. The cultural landscape of East Perth reflects successive changes based upon the cultural imaginaries of its respective authors.[96] This has led scholars such as Affrica Taylor to describe the East Perth landscape as a 'palimpsest', which reflects the erasure of Aboriginality.[97] East Perth has been framed in the cultural imaginary of the settlers in several ways. It was first portrayed as an Aboriginal landscape (in the eyes of the settlers a place of nature and danger). Once the land was cleared for white settlement, the landscape underwent an idyllic or pastoral transformation. In the 1890s, it was briefly transformed into an itinerant camp for workers en route to the goldfields. Thereafter East Perth morphed into a mercantile-industrial settlement. It is now principally a post-industrial landscape of consumption.[98]

Physical Erasure: the Architecture of Denial

The physical erasure of Aboriginality from East Perth occurred through a variety of modalities: the demolition of buildings, the removal of facilities, the closure of parks traditionally used by Aboriginal people and a reduction in affordable housing both through the demolition of old houses and the construction of new dwellings with exorbitant prices both for rental and owner-occupied properties. Vivian Hillyer asserts that the East Perth Redevelopment Authority actively sought to have Aboriginal people removed from urban parks, which were prominent meeting places, because they were seen as dangerous and unruly.[99] Aboriginals who used parks within the project area were displaced as these parks were redeveloped for the first stage of exclusive housing. Moving to nearby Wellington Park, Aboriginals were subsequently evicted from that park too, when it was 'improved' through landscaping. Public toilets were deliberately closed and people were arrested for indecent behaviour, despite the lack of facilities.

Furthermore, Aboriginal hostels were relocated, as were emergency accommodation, a rehabilitation centre, boarding houses and medical facilities. Traditional camping areas were levelled.[100] In addition, wine bars, houses and local

hang-outs were all destroyed in the frenzy of redevelopment, and the Salvation Army soup kitchen bordering Wellington Park was moved because the new East Perth residents found it to be unsightly and a source of annoyance. Some important heritage buildings with strong meanings attached to them by Aboriginal people were also destroyed. An example was Bennett House – formerly known as the East Perth Half-Caste Girls Home, a structure of considerable Aboriginal significance due to its links with the *Stolen Generation*. It was illegally demolished following orders from the East Perth Redevelopment Authority.[101] Furthermore, there was a distinct lack of consultation with Aboriginal people, both prior to and during redevelopment.

The increase in property values concomitant with the redevelopment of the area, and its 'revalorization' as a residential locale, placed private rental accommodation beyond the reach of most Aboriginal tenants. For example, weekly rentals for small apartments of only 90 square metres in floor area currently start at $180.00 per week and climb as high as $325.00 per week.[102] Similarly, the State's failure to provide an appropriate mix of affordable housing, despite being allocated a considerable sum of Federal funding from the Building Better Cities Programme for just that purpose, has meant that residential opportunities for Aboriginal people have effectively evaporated. Former State Member of Parliament Dr. Ian Alexander reported that although one thousand units were initially proposed for affordable housing in East Perth, a change of government and a redesign of the project, together with the deliberate exclusion of the State housing agency – Homeswest, drastically reduced the affordable housing component.[103]

There are now just fifty units of affordable housing planned for East Perth, of which at the time of writing only nineteen had been constructed. A further thirty units are scheduled for completion, and the Perth Inner City Housing Association received a subsidy on a lot they purchased, but this is a far cry from the original plan for a community with well-integrated affordable housing.[104] Indeed, affordable housing officially comprises a mere five percent of the entire development.[105] More troubling still is the recent proposal for the construction of thirty-seven 'low-cost housing units' in a five-storey complex on East Parade, upon a site of possible residual contamination, that is sandwiched between a freeway, a rail line, a bus wash down area - which generates high noise, and a diesel storage facility.[106] This raises the ugly prospect of environmental injustice as a further insult to people of colour and low-income earners residing in East Perth.

Tunnel Visions: Re-imagined Pasts

Aboriginal author and tribal elder Paddy Roe once encouraged anthropologist Steve Mueke to 'dig little bit more deep, you been diggin' only white soil, try and find the black soil inside'.[107] The physical erasure of the Aboriginal presence in East Perth has been accompanied by discursive and semiotic transformations. These included public art projects, toponyms and the use of narratives in media, government and developer portrayals of the project. In this final section of the chapter, we attempt to excavate some of the partially erased meanings that lie barely submerged beneath East Perth's smoothly textured surface of aestheticisation and commodification. We look at how some of these meanings have been selectively remembered and reworked into the fabric of the redevelopment project, and how others have been buried in attempts to forget. In so doing, we consider three key narratives that have framed media and developer's portrayals of the anabiosis of East Perth. These are 'deep time', 'the colonial past', and the 'urban village'. Each of these narratives is supported by second

order significations. The narratives are indicative, in the words of Sharon Zukin, of an urban 'façade of power'.[108] They denote a cultural politics of re-conquest at work in the East Perth Project.

Deep Time

Earlier in the chapter we pointed to a pervasive discourse at work in Australia, which signifies Aboriginal people as belonging to the past or 'deep time'. The trope of a timeless Aboriginal culture conveniently allowed settlers and their descendents to 'empty' the landscape of Aboriginality. The East Perth Project has similarly acted to discursively elide the Aboriginal past, by ossifying the Aboriginal presence, rendering it inert.[109] Symbolic cues that were integrated into the urban fabric, included building materials, paving, roads and signs and colour schemes. They have operated in concert with public art, toponyms and narratives to reconfigure East Perth as a predominantly white urban space. Whilst appearing to recognise Aboriginal claims to East Perth, artefacts such as street names and public art actually serve to occlude them. Jane Jacobs has argued that these strategies function to 'placate Aboriginal protest' and as 'regimes of aestheticization' … represent only a 'façade of inclusiveness'.[110]

The East Perth Project has garnered considerable national acclaim for the generous use of art throughout the public domain, winning a civic design award. A total of one percent of all landscaping expenses for the project was directed towards public art.[111] Many of these public art projects were funded by the State, to commemorate East Perth's Aboriginal heritage, and Aboriginal artists produced some of these artworks.[112] Public artwork, like all cultural productions, produces unintended meanings outside the original intentions of its authors. In East Perth, these art-works have served as powerful mediators, and have emplaced cultural meanings that 're-imagined' East Perth's past landscapes in highly specific ways. In many instances, the repackaging 'the Aboriginal' in East Perth as 'heritage', has historicized Aboriginality as a means of legitimising and naturalising white authority.[113]

Public art has thus taken on a metonymic quality, which has had the effect of casting traditional custodians as 'natural artifacts'. For example, according to the East Perth Redevelopment Authority:

> 'The foreshore was a meeting and camping place for the Noongar (sic) People, it was abundant with food such as fish, waterfowl and tortoises – a piece of history which has been preserved through public art.'[114]

There is no doubt that East Perth was a site of religious and ceremonial significance as well as an important hunting and camping area.[115] What is missing from the 'deep time' narrative though, is the post-invasion Aboriginal history of this place. By relegating Aboriginals to 'deep time', much of their lived experience in East Perth has been marginalized or outright ignored. Selective representations of Aboriginal people and Aboriginal memories of place have thus been incorporated into the dominant culture of East Perth.

Another example, the 'Niche Wall Mural' is even more alarming. It is an art piece described on the East Perth Redevelopment Authority web page thus:

> it 'interprets the evolution of East Perth from its origins in the Bibbulmun nation, to settlement with the arrival of the Europeans, its industrial and horticultural growth, a phase of dormancy, and its renewal as a place of community and harmony of the human spirit'.[116]

The commemorative aspect of this description together with the emphasis on 'community and harmony' in the evolution of the suburb, can be read as naturalising the transition of East Perth from Aboriginal to white space. Tony Bennett calls this teleological strategy 'a never-ending story'.[117] It is also important to note that the artist Joanna Lefroy Capelle has been widely criticized for this piece.[118] Its grotesque and primitive characterization of Aboriginal people, together with its placement on the wall of a sewerage pump-station, denigrates the Aboriginal presence.

Other artworks can more appropriately be considered as sites of resistance. A mosaic by a collaboration of Aboriginal artists, including Sandra Hill, 'tells…a Noongar (sic) Dreaming Story which originated three million years ago'. The piece depicts a 'giant evil-spirit woman [who] stole children'. The irony of this piece is probably not lost on survivors of the *Stolen Generation* who used to live in East Perth.[119] This is a place well known its notorious connection to institutions that once separated Aboriginal children from their parents under the guise of 'protection'.[120] For example, Bennett House, mentioned above, was a way station for children in transit to Mogumber - the Aboriginal detention and reform centre at Moore River, some one hundred kilometres to the north of Perth.[121] Much of this history has been purged from white memories of East Perth. The tunnel vision afflicting official portrayals of East Perth's past can only be seen as a form of neo-colonial amnesia. Tellingly, many of these pieces are subsumed within the fabric of Victoria Gardens - the restored colonial garden originally planted in the 1870s.

The 'Ngango Batta's Moonditcher' by Aboriginal artist Toogarr Morrison is another artwork that depicts Aboriginal connections to place. It represents a 'dreaming track' depicting the lakes that now lie buried beneath the city. This piece exceeds official versions of the deep time narrative. 'Ngango Batta's Moonditcher' might commemorate a vanished sacred attachment, but it must be noted that like many of these pieces, it is deeply ambivalent. The central element of the piece is a circle of stones, redolent of Anglo-Celtic, Neolithic menhirs at sites like Stonehenge. Although it purports to 'commemorate' Aboriginal claims to place, multiple readings of this art are possible. For example, evoking a European prehistory could be seen to cement colonial claims to space. However, this art could just as easily be interpreted as subversive, whereby the artist is alluding to a European and Aboriginal common heritage, using European monumental motifs to reassert Aboriginal claims to place. Alternatively, it could be seen as another artifice of the 'deep time' narrative or a technology of erasure, as menhirs are sometimes associated with sites of ancient death.[122]

The Colonial Past

Complementing the narrative of deep time is the discursive representation of East Perth as reflective of what the East Perth Redevelopment Authority called a 'by-gone era'.[123] This narrative portrayal of East Perth depicts the project area as a site of European historical significance. It is an artifice imbued with a strange nostalgia and selective remembering that harks back to supposedly 'better days', in which East Perth is depicted as an industrial 'community', where all the residents were ostensibly mates, battling against the odds. The omission of much of the gritty industrial nature of East Perth's past in favour of a memory that 'combin[es] modern elegance with history' is a historical illusion.[124] It is a vision free of the disease, pollution, pestilence and even violence that once characterised East Perth.[125]

This sanctified version of the past was partly achieved by carefully manipulating the built form through design guidelines. Only those buildings which incorporated building materials such as corrugated iron, red brick, glass and steel, seen to be evocative of a romanticised industrial sense of place, would be approved.[126] Another strategy was the selective preservation of industrial architecture. A good example is the 'sympathetic' preservation of two heritage cottages, the East Perth primary school, the old Boans department store warehouse and an electricity sub-station, because they were considered to be representative of the 1800s industrial fabric. In many ways though, just the opposite is true. Much of the original fabric consisted of noxious industries such as glassworks, tanneries and cement factories, which have long-since been removed. Roof pitch, building elevations, protrusions such as balconies or awnings, paint colours, type of brick, window treatments and plantings were all strongly controlled by design standards in an effort to convey a 'quaint' notion of industry and simultaneously to contain the history of labor in the landscape. That this place was not long so ago characterised by stained, red-brick buildings, triangular-shaped grey, asbestos roofs, wild oats pushing up through cracked bitumen and discarded paint cans is conveniently overlooked (see **Figure 3**).

[Insert Figure 3 around here]

Figure 3   The crystal glass works, East Perth. Source: the Battye Library.

The use of toponyms, such as street names, is another colonial device of erasure. Vanguard Terrace, Victory Terrace, Renaissance Avenue, all evoke images of European glory, conquest, domination and success. To some extent this pattern was set early in the life of the suburb, with the first street names – Nelson Crescent, Trafalgar Road, Waterloo Crescent, Royal Street, Kensington Street and Nile Street evocative of the British Empire. In contrast, and somewhat incongruous with this reading, Bakery Lane and Lawson Retreat connote a more parochial local history, but one that is nevertheless distinctively white and colonial.

New urbanism and the urban village

Arguably the most consistently employed narrative throughout representations of the East Perth Project is that of the 'urban village'. However, it is marked by strong ambivalence wherein East Perth is portrayed simultaneously as exciting and secluded; hi-tech and village-like; traditional and modern; a resort and a workplace. In an article titled 'East End's Urban Village', *The West Australian* newspaper described the characteristics of the urban village as '[c]ycle paths, footbridges, elegant garden areas displaying public art and sculptures combine[d] with attractive street landscaping to imbue a sense of community.'[127] Other elements included in the urban village imaginary are harmonious streetscapes, a cosmopolitan lifestyle, decreased car reliance, a compact urban form, preservation of heritage elements, and provision of affordable housing.[128] The urban village narrative thus draws upon themes central to 'New Urbanism'.

In a cogent article on the origins of the urban village concept, Bridget Franklin and Malcolm Tait note that it is integral to place-making efforts associated with the revitalisation of degraded urban areas. They assert that it is predicated on the 'backward-looking', mythologised qualities of 'villageness' that is: intimacy, vibrancy, mixed use, walking oriented and centred upon traditional values. More often than not however, the urban village idea caters to the consumptive demands of 'the affluent and urbane' and carries with it the ideological freight of improvement and

moral uplift.[129] In a similar fashion, Jeffry Zimmerman has asserted that the urban village concept and its connection to *New Urbanism* is a racialised discourse in urban planning, employing semiotic cues through its representations of traditional, white villages.[130] The project architects in East Perth used the urban village idea to garner support for the project and then inveigled this notion by recasting it as a consumptive rather than lived experience.

East Perth is often depicted in promotional and media representations as a friendly, white, suburb with a long entrenched, active community spirit. Images celebrate regency-style mansions and exclusive tree lined promenades, where the 'well-heeled' spend quiet evenings strolling and socializing.[131] For example, one promotional brochure stated: 'superb multi-level homes nestle amongst beautiful, long-established trees and a true sense of community is already flourishing amongst the locals on the hill'.[132] Photographs within the brochure are also revealing (see **Figure 4**). One takes up a full page. It depicts a well-dressed Anglo-Australian family of two parents in their late 30s or early 40s with two children – a boy and a girl between 10 and 12 years of age. They are sitting on a picnic blanket (red tartan of course), on immaculately manicured lawn, with a champagne bottle and glasses. They are looking at another couple who are waving to them whilst walking along a path next to Claisebrook Inlet. Behind them, over the water, and just out of focus are the newly constructed town houses.

[Insert Figure 4 around here]

Figure 4   Portrait of an East Perth family. Source: the EPRA.

These representations jar awkwardly with one another. When plans were first mooted for the urban renewal of East Perth, one of the original and most durable conceptions for the revitalised suburb was the technology-oriented place. East Perth is still frequently portrayed as technoburb. It is a vision of East Perth as a place wired into the global information economy. It portrays the project as modern and exciting. The East Perth Redevelopment Authority's town planning scheme text enacts this vision through several provisions that aim to facilitate a technology-based local economy. An overriding objective of the redevelopment has been to foster the development of an employment base that is more closely tied to current changes in the global economy – particularly the information economy. Indeed, the Authority was successful in negotiating the move of the Australian Broadcasting Commission to East Perth from its current Adelaide terrace site, and has marketed the development as having the most advanced technology available to service residences and businesses. The existing 'silver city' Department of Education complex and futuristic-looking College of Technical and Further Education promote the high-technology motif. In addition, the Fini Corporation even provided a computer to purchasers of some of its apartments within the project area. These residential apartments came equipped with 'satellite speed internet access, free to air and pay TV, video streaming digital screens, pre-tuned radio stations, CD music, video intercom viewing and your private e-mail address'.[133] The awkward and unlikely fit between the urban village and high technology narratives is compounded by a competing vision of East Perth as a 'luxury playground'.

The portrayal of East Perth as a lifestyle or even a holiday village is most conspicuous in literature promoting the lifestyle attributes of the redevelopment. The resort theme is garnished with images such as an artist's sketch showing a luxury fishing boat, complete with marlin fishing rods trailing in Claisebrook Inlet. The

cruiser, deftly moored in front of the Majestic Rise five star resort complex, is an unlikely event given the ornamental nature of the rather shallow lagoon, rendered all the more strange by allusions to a tropical resort next to the Perth Central Business District. According to the December 1999 edition of *The Easterly* the resort is a 'lifestyle concept that includes a concierge, shopping, and restaurants'. Indeed as Con Delacos – one of the resort developers quoted in *The Easterly,* said: 'people don't have to leave home to have a great time.'[134]

Conclusions

That some people did have to leave their East Perth home though, as displaced and marginalised former residents, is central to our story. In this chapter we have sought to highlight some of the ways that State sponsored gentrification produces racialized landscapes of inequality. Although we have been somewhat critical of how the East Perth Project turned out, it has not been our intention to disparage the idea of reworking inner city landscapes. It is important to remember that the East Perth Project began with good intentions. Instead, we have sought to expose some of the ways in which visions of sustainability, liveability and multiculturalism are all too easily co-opted to serve powerful interests and support development that is the antithesis of many of the ideals of the Building Better Cities program. So whilst in some ways it is difficult not to be impressed by the scale of the transformation of East Perth, it is troubling to contemplate what has become of this place, especially when one considers what it could have been like if the original vision for the redevelopment had been realized.

Unfortunately the East Perth that exists today bears little resemblance to the community that was first imagined when the project was conceived – a troika of affordable housing, multiculturalism and integration. Clearly the State Government had the ability to produce an outcome where the original residents were integrated into the new development, and where a range of affordable housing was made available to new lower-income residents. However, this kind of place would not have been in keeping with the high technology, affluent, exclusive, white development that the government decided was appropriate for the showcase East Perth Project. Instead, East Perth has been re-imaged and refashioned through strategies that have employed a series of semiotic cues and visible boundaries – something Jacobs refers to as the 'anxious politics of re-territorialisation'.[135] Narrative portrayals of the project have acted as ordinates, signifying this urban space as being (in)appropriate for Aboriginal people. The discourses that have been mobilized in support of the East Perth Project reveal what Kay Anderson has referred to as telling 'geographies of Aboriginal [dis]entitlement'. [136] These discursive and territorial ploys have in a sense recreated *terra nullius*, shifting Aboriginal people to the social and spatial fringe, and marking them as permanently out-of-place, outcast and marginalised.[137]

That the East Perth Project put forward increasingly restrictive versions of multiculturalism to hide practices of exclusion beneath a veneer of collective history is particularly concerning. We have shown how cultural memory operates through planning praxis, urban landscape and media representations to sanitise the past whilst simultaneously manufacturing multicultural consent. These strategies of incorporation and erasure have moved *terra nullius* from performing the ideological task of 'belonging to no-one' to 'belonging to everyone'. In so doing, lifestyles of consumption are promoted by the media and powerful societal interests, reflective of

the *Revanchist City*, to effectively create a racialized landscape. Strategies such as the Claisebrook Carnival and public art have been mobilized to mask the exclusionary nature of the redevelopment and to smooth over potential conflict.

However, we have also shown that Aboriginality will not be contained. Despite the racist actions of both the government and private developers, an Aboriginal presence does endure in East Perth. Like the defiant Peter Farmer, Aboriginal people are holding their ground. Artworks function both to unsettle the observer and to remind residents that East Perth has an enduring Aboriginality. To this end, the ways that Aboriginal people have resisted neo-colonial devices of erasure would be an excellent subject for future research, but that is another story. The lesson to be learned from East Perth is that 'gentrification', 'renewal', and 'revitalization' all carry a heavy baggage in the possessive investment in whiteness and in the wider colonial project of racialisation, marginalisation and segregation. [138] We call for a renewed commitment to the ideals of grassroots and community driven city building, and to efforts that support environmentally and socially just urban development.

End Notes

[1] B L Croft. *Indigenous Art: Art Gallery of Western Australia*, Art Gallery of Western Australia, Perth, 2001. Also see K Gelder and J Jacobs 'The postcolonial ghost story' in P Buse and A Stott (eds), *Ghosts, Deconstruction, History*, St Martins Press, London, 1999.

[2] There is perhaps a subversive play on the Australian national sporting colours by the artist here, whereby nationalist fervour is equated with pollution.

[3] Ibid.

[4] K Gelder and J Jacobs *Uncanny Australia: Sacredness and Identity in a Postcolonial Nation*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton South.

[5] Steve Pile, drawing on the psychoanalytical theory of Freud, recently argued in his insightful paper on *Spectral Cities* that ghosts represent a return of the repressed. Pile asserts that ghosts are about disappearance, have links to memory of places and events, and are connected to acts of violence and injustice, challenging the living to right wrongs committed against the dead. He states that 'calling on ghosts of the pasts is a way of naming and shaming contemporary Australia'. See S Pile, 'Spectral cities: where the repressed returns and other short stories', in J Hillier (ed.), *Habitus: A Sense of Place*, Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot, 2002, p. 16.

[6] B Anderson *Imagined Communities*, London and New York, Verso, 1983.

[7] J Stratton, *Race Daze: Australia in Identity Crisis*, Pluto Press, Sydney, 1998. See also T Bennett *'Out of Which Past?' Critical Reflections on Australian Museum and Heritage Policy*, Griffith University, Institute for Cultural Policy Studies, 1988. The concept 'national symbolic' comes from L Berlant, *The Anatomy of National Fantasy: Haethorne, Utopia and Everyday Life*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1991.

[8] B Cope, 'The language of forgetting: A short history of the world' in M Fraser (ed.), *Seams of Light: Best Antipodean Essays*, Allen and Unwin, St. Leonards, 1998; C Cunneen and T Libesman, 'An apology for expressing regret?', *Meanjin*, 1, 2000, pp 145-154; Bennett, op. cit.

[9] T Bennett, op. cit. See also R Howitt and S Jackson, 'Some things do change: Indigenous rights, geographers and geography in Australia', *Australian Geographer*, 29(2), 1998, p 155-173.

[10] The term 'racial formation was coined by Omi and Winant see M Omi and H Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States from the 1960s to the 1990s*, 2nd. edn, Routledge, New York, 1994.

[11] We use the preferred terms Aboriginals, Aboriginal people and Aboriginal Australians interchangeably, in place of the grammatically acceptable but derogatory 'Aborigines', in accordance with the preferences of the Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander Commission (ATSIC), the national representative organization of Aboriginal people.

[12] A similar observation was made by Howitt and Jackson, op. cit.

[13] See G Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*, Pluto Press, Sydney, 1998; J Stratton, op. cit.; S Castles, M Kalantzis, B Cope and M Morrissey, *Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism and the Demise of Nationalism in Australia*, Pluto Press, Sydney, 1988.

[14] K Anderson, 'Thinking 'Postnationally': Dialogue across multicultural, Indigenous, and settler spaces', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 90(2), 2000, p. 381-391. See also S Perera and J Pugliese, 'Wogface, Anglo-Drag, contested Aboriginalities…Making and unmaking identities in Australia', *Social Identities*, 4(1), 1998, p. 39-72.

[15] J Stratton, op. cit., p 95.

[16]. L Pulido, 'Rethinking environmental racism: white privilege and urban development in Southern California', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 90(1), 2000, p 12-40. See also R T Ford, 'The boundaries of race: Political geography in legal analysis', in K Crenshaw, N Gotanda and G Peller (eds), *Critical Race Theory: the Key Writings that Formed the Movement*, New Press, New York, 1995.

[17] A Stibbe, 'Language, power and the social construction of animals', *Society and Animals*, 9(2), 2001, p 145-161.

[18] E S Herman and N Chompsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, Pantheon Books, New York, 2002, p xi.

[19] J Jupp, 'The institutions of culture: Multiculturalism' in T Bennett and D Carter (eds) *Culture in Australia: Policies, Publics and Programs*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001; J Stratton, op. cit.; and S Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1991.

[20] D Mitchell, *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 2000, p. 100.

[21] WTJ Mitchell, 'Imperial Landscape', in *Landscape and Power*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1994; S Daniels 'Marxism, culture and duplicity of landscape', in R Peet and N Thrift (eds) *New Models in Geography, Vol 2*; Unwin Hyman, 1989, p. 196-220.

[22] G Searle and J Byrne, op. cit.

[23] V. Hillyer, 'Bennett House: Aboriginal heritage as real estate in East Perth', *Urban Policy and Research*, 19(2), p. 147-182.

[24] G Seddon and D Ravine, op. cit.

[25] M Thomas, 'East Perth 1884-1904: A suburban society' in J W McCarty and C B Schedvin (eds) *Australian Capital Cities: Historical Essays*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1978.

[26] S Greive, R Jeffcote and N Welch, 'Governance, regulation and the changing role of central Perth: Is there room for affordable housing?', *Urban Policy and Research*, 17(3), 1999, p. 225-233.

[27] *The West Australian*, February 10, 1990, p. 39.

[28] *The West Australian*, April, 6, 1988, p. 2.

[29] This conversion was accurate at the time of the project. Currency devaluation has since inflated this figure considerably.

[30] I Alexander, 'Better cities: for whom?', *The Western Review*, September, 1994, p. 4.

[31] Anonymous, 1991, 'Building better cities', *Habitat Australia*, 20(4), 1991, p. 27-34.

[32] *The West Australian*, June 2, 1989, p. 30.

[33] *The West Australian*, February 2, 1990, p. 39. For an overview of the philosophy and issues behind the Multi Function Polis see H P M Winchester and B S Chalkley 'The Japanese-Australian Multifunction Polis: context and issues', *Urban Studies*, 27(2) 1990, p. 273-282.

[34] *The West Australian*, October 3, 1989, p. 49.

[35] East Perth Redevelopment Authority, *The Renewal: East Perth (brochure)* Government of Western Australia, Perth, undated, p.1.

[36] ibid.

[37] *The West Australian*, April 6, 1988, p. 2

[38] East Perth Redevelopment Authority, op. cit., p. 1.

[39] J Allison and J Keane 'Positioning planning in the new economic landscape' in B Gleeson and P Hanley (eds) *Renewing Australian Planning? New Challenges, New Agendas*, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, Canberra,1998; B Gleeson and N Low, *Australian Urban Planning: New Challenges, New Agendas*, Allen and Unwin, St. Leonards, 2000; G Searle and J Byrne, op. cit; and P Stein, '21st. Century Challenges for Urban Planning – The demise of environmental planning in New South Wales' in B Gleeson and P Hanley op. cit.

[40] *The West Australian*, October 12, 1990, p. 10. The Brewery project brutally destroyed a site of sacred significance to the local Aboriginal custodians.

[41] *The West Australian*, October 17, 1990, p. 12

[42] *The West Australian*, October 23, 1990, p. 1

[43] The Western Australian Government's Department of Indigenous Affairs (formerly the Aboriginal Affairs Department), register of Aboriginal sites lists three sites (3048, 3536 and 3697) that are in the East Perth Project Area, two of which were harmed by the redevelopment.

[44] Ibid.

[45] *The West Australian*, December 30, 1990. Note that this was a very suspect use of the term 'culture'.

[46] *The West Australian*, August 13, 1999.

[47] These prices were quoted by a representative from Centrepoint Realty.

[48] Srinivas, op. cit. p. xxvi.

[49] D Harvey, 'Monument and myth', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol 69 1979, p. 362-81; D Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985; R Peet, 'A sign taken for history: Daniel Shays' memorial in Petersham, Massachusetts', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol 86, 1996, p. 21-43; D Cosgrove and D Atkinson, 'Urban rhetoric and embodied identities: City, nation, and empire at the Vittorio Emanuele II Monument in Rome, 1870-1945', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88(1) 1998, p. 28-49; K E Till, 'Staging the past: Landscape designs, cultural identity and Erinnerungspolitik at Berlin's Neue Wache', *Ecumene* 6(3) 1999, p. 251-283.

[50] The idea that memory is 'entangled' in cultural medias, narratives and identities as opposed to being grounded in specific places is indebted to M Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, The Aids Epidemic and the Politics of Remembering*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1997. For examples of the ways in which memory has been applied to 'other' sites such as social movements and urban renewal see also D Houston and L Pulido, 'The work of performativity: staging social justice at the University of Southern California' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 20(4), 2002, p. 401-424. See also N M Klein, *The History of Forgetting: Los Angeles and the Erasure of Memory*, Verso, London, 1997; and R Villa, *Barrio Logos: Space and Place in Urban Chicano Literature and Culture*, University of Texas, Austin, 2000. Also refer to D Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban landscapes as Public History*, The MIT Press, Cambridge (Ma.), 1995.

[51] P Nora, 'Between memory and history: Les Liex de Memorie', *Representations*, 26, 1989, p. 7-25. The idea that history attaches itself to events, and memory to sites, is credited to P Nora. See also Sturken, op. cit.

[52] Srinivas, op. cit.

[53] S Daniels, op cit. 1989

[54] WJT Mitchell, op cit, p. 2. 1994.

[55] see WJT Mitchell op. cit; D E Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape,* 2nd. edn, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1998; and D Mitchell, *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 2000.

[56] WJT Mitchell, 'Holy Landscape', *Critical Inquiry*, Winter, 2000, p 196.

[57] Ibid.

[58] N Smith, *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*, Routledge, London, 1996.

[59] N Smith and C Katz, 'Grounding metaphor: Towards a spatialised politics' in M Keith and S Pile (eds) *Place and the Politics of Identity*, Routledge, New York, 1994.

[60] R Howitt and S Jackson, op. cit.

[61] A similar point was made by S Smith, 'Residential segregation and the politics of racialization' in M Cross and M Keith (eds) *Racism, The City and The State*, Routledge, London, 1993.

[62] A Taylor, 'The sun always shines in Perth: a post-colonial geography of identity, memory and place', *Australian Geographical Studies*, 38(1), 2000, p. 27-35.

[63] G Searle and J Byrne, op. cit. Also for example, *terra nullius*, whereby white improvement of the Australian landscape was justified on the basis of 'underutilisation'.

[64] L Pulido, op. cit.

[65] M Omi and H Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States from the 1960s to the 1990s*, 2nd. Edition, Routledge, New York, 1994, p. 55.

[66] While there is also a sense in which the racialised landscape 'exceeds' official and state deployed racisms in sometimes unpredictable ways, for example through the formation of

grassroots social justice coalitions, our purpose here is to highlight the enactment of racism through narratives of popular, middle-class multiculturalism in a gentrified landscape.

[67] See S Srinivas, *Landscapes of Urban Memory: The Sacred and the Civic in India's High-Tech City*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 2001; and G Searle and J Byrne, 'Selective memories, sanitised futures: Constructing visions of future place in inner Sydney', *Urban Policy and Research*, 20(1), p. 7-25.

[68] East Perth Redevelopment Authority, *The Easterly – An Update on the Urban Renewal of East Perth*, vol 10, 1999, p. 1-6.

[69] S Perera and J Pugliese, op. cit.

[70] S Castles, et al., op. cit.

[71] Ibid.

[72] According to Kay Anderson, the notion of 'deep-time' was coined by Martin Rudwick. In this discourse the Aboriginal presence is conflated with natural history. See K Anderson, 'Science and the savage: the Linnean Society of New South Wales, 1874-1900', Ecumene, 5(2), 1998, p. 125-143.

[73] See K Anderson, 'Place narratives and the origins of inner Sydney's Aboriginal settlement, 1972-1973', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 19(3), 1993, p. 314-335; P Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1991; C L Ross and N G Leigh, 'Planning, urban revitalization, and the inner city: An exploration of structural racism', *Journal of Planning Literature*, 14(3), 2000, p. 367-380; Smith, 1993, op. cit; and W J Wilson, 'Social change and social dislocations in the inner city' in *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, The Underclass and Public Policy,* The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1987.

[74] K Anderson, op. cit: 1993, p. 314, S Smith, op. cit.

[75] K Anderson, 'Sites of difference: Beyond a cultural politics of race polarity' in R Fincher and J M Jacobs (eds) *Cities of Difference*, The Guildford Press, New York, 1998; L Aponte-Pares, '"What's yellow and white and has land all around it?" Appropriating place in Puerto Rican barrios' in A Darder and R D Torres (eds) *The Latino Studies Reader: Culture, Economy and Society*, Blackwell, Malden (Mass.), 1998; L Pulido op. cit.

[76] M Dear and J Wolch, *Landscapes of Despair: From Deinstitutionalization to Homelessness*, Princeton University Press, Princeton (NJ), 1987, p. 255.

[77] G Waitt and L Head, 'Postcards and frontier mythologies: sustaining views of the Kimberley as timeless', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol 20, 2002, p. 319-344; Smith, 1993 op. cit.; and also G Waitt, 'Playing games with Sydney: Marketing Sydney for the 2000 Olympics', *Urban Studies*, 36(7), 1999, p. 1055-1077.

[78] Smith, 1996 op. cit; Badcock, op. cit.

[79] Blair Badcock, 2001: 1561, see B Badcock, 'Thirty years on: Gentrification and class changeover in Adelaide's inner suburbs, 1966-96', *Urban Studies*, 38(9), 2001, p. 1559-1572.

[80] B Badcock, ibid, p. 1559. See also J M Jacobs, 'Staging difference: Aestheticization and the politics of difference in contemporary cities', in R Fincher and J M Jacobs (eds) *Cities of Difference*, The Guildford Press, New York, 1998.

[81] Neil Smith in particular, deals with the ways that the State acts as an agent, furnishing capital, creating favourable zoning, modifying laws and smoothing the way for developers, including the 'entrepreneurial local state'. He observes, '…gentrification is emerging as an increasingly widespread and trenchant set of processes in the urban landscape embracing culture and economics as well as socio-structural change'. See N Smith, 'Gentrification', in R J Johnston, D Gregory, G Pratt and M Watts (eds), *The Dictionary of Human Geography,* 4th. edn*,* Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 2000, p. 295.

[82] Jacobs, 1998 op. cit.; Searle and Byrne, op. cit.

[83] Susan Smith, 'Residential segregation and the politics of racialization' in M Cross and M Keith (eds) *Racism, The City and The State*, Routledge, London, 1996).

[84] Aponte-Pares op. cit; Jacobs 1998 op. cit; Smith 1996, op. cit., p. 138.

[85] 'Bringing It All Together' is the official motto for the East Perth Project.

[86] D Sibley, *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*, Routledge, London, 1995.

[87] This was partly the result of a discourse about the appropriate climate for white settlement, based on 19th century notions of environmental determinism. Leslie Head makes a compelling case for climatic colonization in Australia. She discussed Australian geographer Griffith Taylor's portrayal of Aboriginal space in the *remote*, hot, *unproductive* north whereas he saw white space as being confined to the cities, towns and farms of the cool South-Western and South-Eastern seaboards, because the cooler south was seen as more appropriate for the genteel British, whereas the north was inimical. See L Head, *Second Nature: The History and Implications of Australia as Aboriginal Landscape*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse (NY), 2000. Such a discourse is also identifiable in other British colonial encounters. For example, Judith Kenny identified the ways the hills of India were discursively and materially constructed as the proper place for white colonisers. Kenny, 1995, p. 698, outlining the links between colonialism and climate in India, noted that the British imaginative geography, predicated on 19th century notions of environmental determinism, served to '…reinforce the their sense of superiority'. J T Kenny, 'Climate, race and imperial authority: The symbolic landscape of the British hill station in India', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 85(4), 1995, p. 694-714.

[88] K Anderson 1993, op. cit; L Head, op. cit.; H Reynolds op. cit. & G Waitt and L Head, op. cit.

[89] T Bennett, op cit.

[90] K Anderson, op. cit., 1999.

[91] H Reynolds, op. cit., p. 63 & p. 69-70.

[92] It also legitimised dispossession, genocide, incarceration, forced labor, rape and kidnapping, culminating in the heinous 'S*tolen Generations*' policy of the Australian government. See F Gale, 'The Endurance of Aboriginal Women in Australia', in J Hillier (ed.) *Habitus: A Sense of Place*, Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot, 2002; P Read, '*Stolen Generation*s' in R Nile (ed.), *The Australian Legend and its Discontents*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia (Qld.), 2000 and H Reynolds, *Frontier: Aborigines, Settlers and Land – Reports from the Edge of White Settlement*, Allen and Unwin, St. Leonards (NSW), 1996.

[93] L Head, op. cit., p.61.

[94] K Anderson, op. cit., 1999, p 70.

[95] J Scougall, 'Away from the Wadjelas: The significance of urban place for the Tkalka Boorda Aboriginal community', *Urban Policy and Research*, 20(1), 2002, p. 57-72. Notable exceptions to this include the works of Anderson, op. cit, Jacobs, op. cit and F Gale assisted by A Brooking, *Urban Aborigines*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1972.

[96] George Seddon describes how Aboriginals vanished from colonial landscape paintings of Perth as the city came to be regarded as progressively more civilised. See G Seddon, 'Figures in the Landscape' in *Landprints: Reflections on Place and Landscape*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997; and also G Seddon and D Ravine, *A City and its Setting: Images of Perth, Western Australia*, Fremantle Arts Centre Press, Fremantle, 1986.

[97] A Taylor, op. cit., p. 30. The palimpsest metaphor has also been used by D Mitchell op. cit. and R H Schein, 'The place of landscape: A conceptual framework for interpreting an American scene', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 87(4), 1997, p. 660-680.

[98] S Zukin, op. cit.

[99] V Hillyer, op. cit., p. 149. See also Tim Cresswell, who has noted the ways that metaphors are deployed to label people as 'out of place'. T Cresswell, 'Weeds, plagues, and bodily secretions: A geographical interpretation of metaphors of displacement', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 87(2), 1997, p. 330-345.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Hillyer op. cit., p. 153.

[102] These figures were obtained from the property listings of Centrepoint Realty and L.J. Hooker for March, 2003 rentals. Both of these real estate agents have offices in East Perth.

[103] Alexander op. cit., see also Grieve et al, op. cit.

[104] The lot was valued at Aud $730 000 and was sold to the PICHA by the East Perth Redevelopment Authority for Aud $300 000. Insofar as Homeswest housing is concerned, it is the redevelopment Authority's policy that Homeswest can purchase land within the redevelopment area at market rates for affordable housing – hardly a feasible proposition.

[105] R Armstrong, 'Reurbanisation in Perth: East Perth and Subiaco contributing to a growing trend towards a more sustainable Perth' in R Armstrong, S Ruane and P Newman (eds) *Case Studies in Sustainability: Hope for the Future in Western Australia*, CD, Institute for Science and Technology Publications : Murdoch University, Perth, 2002.

[106] *The West Australian*, March 19, 2003, p. 43.

[107] Quoted in K Benterrak, S Mueke and P Roe, *Reading the Country: Introduction to Nomadology*, Fremantle Arts Centre Press, Fremantle, 1996.

[108] S Zukin, op. cit.

[109] This is partly a result of the 'cult of forgetfulness' identified by Richard Baker where prior occupation is conveniently erased through the process of selectively remembering the past. See R Baker, *Land is Life: From Bush to Town – The story of the Yanyuwa people*, Allen and Unwin, St. Leonards (NSW), 1999.

[110] J Jacobs, op. cit., p. 267.

[111] East Perth Redevelopment Authority, op. cit., 1999.

[112] For a discussion of the 'fossilising' power of heritage, see C Healy, 'Race portraits and vernacular possibilities: Heritage and culture' in T Bennett and D Carter (eds) *Culture in Australia: Policies, Publics and Programs*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002.

[113] Ibid.

[114] East Perth Redevelopment Authority, *1992 to 1997 – A Five Year Retrospective*, Government of Western Australia, East Perth, 1997, p. 2.

[115] Ibid.

[116] East Perth Redevelopment Authority web page, http://www.epra.wa.gov.au/.

[117] Bennett, op. cit.

[118] Hillyer, op. cit.

[119] Source: East Perth Redevelopment Authority, public art web page, accessed via the Internet, http://www.epra.wa.gov.au/sites/project.asp?ProjectID=42&location=East%20Perth. It should be noted here that multiple readings of this artwork are possible. Indeed, there is a subversive element to the art, indicating a subtle politics of resistance may be at work.

[120] Vivian Hillyer 2001, p. 155, noted that the Aboriginal presence in East Perth was often stereotyped through pejorative terms such as 'skid-row conditions' see V Hillyer, 'Bennett House: Aboriginal Heritage as Real Estate in East Perth', *Urban Policy and Research*, 19(2), 2001, p. 147-182. This lead to a discourse on the inherent unsuitability of East Perth as a site for moral and economic "uplift" in accordance with assimilation policy doctrine. Problems attached to the place included alcoholism, poverty and sexual predation by white men upon young Aboriginal women. Ibid.

[121] S Maushart, *Sort of a Place Like Home: Remembering the Moore River Native Settlement*, Fremantle Arts Centre Press, Fremantle, 1993.

[122] See C Scarre, 'A place of special meaning: Interpreting pre-historic monuments in the landscape' in B David and M Wilson (eds), *Inscribed Landscapes: Marking and Making Place*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2002, p. 165.

[123] East Perth Redevelopment Authority, *The Easterly – An Update on the Urban Renewal of East Perth*, Vol 10, 1999.

[124] Op. Cit., p. 2.

[125] Seddon and Ravine, 1986, p. 166, op. cit., quote a letter by Australian poet Henry Lawson, a visitor to East Perth in 1896. Lawson, who camped briefly in the makeshift tent-city overlooking Claisebrook at the time of the gold rush, depicted a much different East Perth

than the one 'remembered' today. He described a decidedly unromantic vista. East Perth was a 'tent city without running water' and Claisebrook was one of the city's 'natural sewers'.

[126] East Perth Redevelopment Authority, 1999 op. cit., p. 2.

[127] *The West Australian*, August 13, 1999 p. 6 (habitat liftout).

[128] East Perth Redevelopment Authority, 1999, op. cit., p. 18.

[129] B Franklin and M Tait, 'Constructing an image: the urban village concept in the UK', *Planning Theory*, 1(3), p. 250-272.

[130] J Zimmerman, 'The 'Nature' of urbanism on the New Urbanist frontier: sustainable development, or defense of the suburban dream?', *Urban Geography*, 22(3), p. 249-267.

[131] The Regency period has been invoked not just through artists illustrating proposed development in the area, but also through a Fini corporation building in East Perth imaginatively called 'the Regency'.

[132] East Perth Redevelopment Authority, *The Renewal: East Perth (brochure)*, Government of Western Australia, Perth, undated. Also note that lot sizes range from $180m^2$ to $309m^2$ and prices in comparable parts of the project area, for example around Majestic Rise, range from A \$621,000 to A \$1, 098 500 (Fini, undated).

[133] Fini group, *A Pure Vision of Sophistication, Luxury and Independence* (promotional brochure for Majestic Quay), Perth, undated, p. 22.

[134] East Perth Redevelopment Authority, *The Easterly*, December, 1999, p. 5.

[135] J M Jacobs, *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*, Routledge, London, 1996.

[136] K Anderson, 'Reflections on Redfern' in E Stratford (ed.), *Australian Cultural Geographies*, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, 1999, p. 70.

[137] L Head, op. cit, p. 61.

[138] Lipsitz, op. cit.