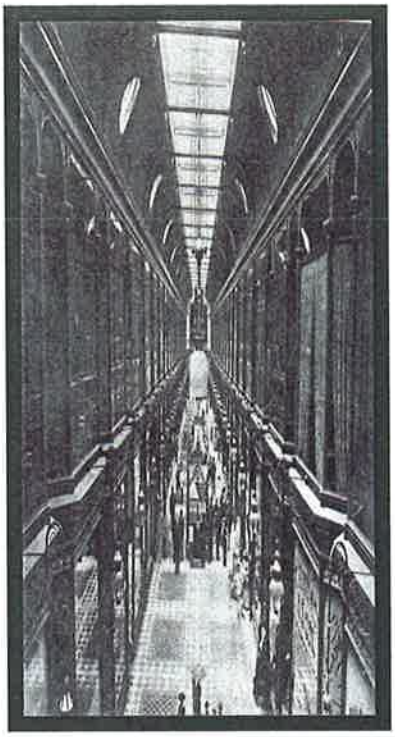

Maintaining Cultural Significance: An Interpretive Analysis of Architectural Conservation in South Australia

Kirsty Loveys

Department of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Urban Design
Adelaide University

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Abstract

According to the Burra Charter, the most widely accepted guidelines for architectural conservation in Australia, the aim of architectural conservation is to retain the 'cultural significance' embodied within the built environment.

However, problems arise in the interpretation and implementation of this aim as it remains inadequately defined in the Burra Charter, and related policy documents. In actual practice, the term 'cultural significance' tends to be interpreted in a variety of ways. One form of cultural interpretation may see the significance of the built environment in terms of its active construction of social practices, values and requirements. In this respect the built environment may develop gradually; change to the built form is dictated by social need. A second point of view locates the most significant culture of a place in its original historical conditions. The built environment is valued as a record of the past and may be conserved in order to maintain this representation. A third point of view regards the contemporary and future economic use of the built environment as the most significant measure of the cultural value of a place. In this respect the built environment may be conserved to accommodate a cultural need of the present. It therefore remains useful and has economic importance.

Such widely divergent views often result in equally divergent and sometimes conflicting outcomes. Whether such architectural conservation practices are affectively carried out determines if the cultural significance of the built environments in question is maintained. Therefore, the effectiveness of a set of guidelines such as the Burra Charter is put into question.

An interpretative analysis of particular examples of conservation practice carried out in and around Adelaide will look at the question of how relevant a term such as cultural significance is within the practice of conservation.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

I consent to the thesis being made available for photocopy and loan if accepted for the award of the degree.

Kirsty Loveys

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Figures

Note- all photos have been taken by the author unless otherwise stated.

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Introduction

Statement:

The aim of conservation is to retain the cultural significance of a place.
(The Burra Charter, Article 2.2)

Problem:

The Burra Charter is a set of guidelines used within Australia to define the basic principles and procedures to be followed in the conservation of places recognised as being of cultural significant. It is intended to be used by property owners, conservation professionals, government bodies or the general public.

Despite the Burra Charter stating that the aim of architectural conservation is to retain cultural significance, the term 'cultural significance' is ill-defined. This makes it difficult to assess what constitutes significance and therefore how to retain it within the built environment. In a recent ICOMOS document it was stated, "Cultural significance is the term used to encompass all the meanings (values) that a place may have to people, beyond its utilitarian value."[1]

Such a broad definition of this core term may result in an inconsistent connection between the prescriptive nature of heritage guidelines and the actual social practice that occurs within a cultural group. Therefore, a full understanding of the intended meaning of 'cultural significance' remains unclear. As a consequence of this definition, questions are often raised regarding what interpretation of culture is appropriate for a particular conservation project. The values seen as being culturally significant to one group of people may not be significant to another. If the values of one cultural group are overlooked due to the retention of another's, then one form of cultural significance may have been lost. As a result conservation may be regarded as unsuccessful.

[1] Australia ICOMOS, *Understanding the Burra Charter: A Guide to the Principles of Heritage Conservation in Australia* (ACT, Bodoni Studio, 1998), 4.

If considering the conservation of a building with ostensibly well established 'cultural significance', such as the leaning tower of Pisa, broad questions could be considered regarding what cultural group influenced the decision making process.[2] Why was the building conserved, in its leaning state? Was it to maintain its significance as a tourist attraction? Or rather, was it due to its representation of Italian society? Is it significant as an example of 12th century bell tower construction? Or does the conservation of the building in its leaning state represent a significant accomplishment in subsoil architectural engineering? If one cultural point of view alone is represented during the conservation process and others are neglected then has cultural significance, on a broad scale, been maintained? Has conservation been successful?

With this in mind it becomes apparent that the concept of cultural significance is problematic. Until 1999 the Burra Charter had the title *The Australian ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (The Burra Charter).* In 1999 the revised version of the Charter was titled *The Burra Charter. "The Australian ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance".* As is indicated in the naming of the Charters, both versions place considerable emphasis on the term 'cultural significance'. The term has been heavily deliberated upon by Australian ICOMOS in documents such as *The Burra Charter Australian ICOMOS Guidelines to the Burra Charter (1988): Cultural Significance* and The actual *Burra Charter.* The perceived need for these descriptive documents support the fact that within the practice of conservation interpretation and understanding of the term remains unclear.

Perceived problems with the application of the broad term 'cultural significance' in conservation practice is further indicated by the abundance of professional and academic literature and conferences concerned with this term in recent years. In 1992, for instance, a discussion paper was prepared by Chris Johnston titled *What is Social Value?*[3] In relating the concept of social value to conservation projects that have taken place in Australia, the paper explores the meaning of the built environment to a socially oriented cultural group and questions the existing definitions of cultural significance and social value. The relevance of cultural significance, on a social level is also the focus of an illustrated guide

[2] Construction of the leaning tower of Pisa began in 1173 and continued for 200 years. Its inclination is a result of sub-soil movement. In the past special construction devices have been used to stop further inclination of the tower. More recent intervention has been in treating the sub-soil foundations. (http://torre.duomo.pisa.it)

titled *Protecting the Social Value of Public places* by Meredith Walker.[4] This document states that social value is reflected in "... places highly valued by a community for reasons of religious, spiritual, cultural, educational or social associations."[5]

This compares very closely to the Burra Charter's definition for cultural significance. "Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value for past, present or future generations.[6]

The close relationship between the meaning of social and cultural value may indicate that cultural significance is represented most strongly in the 'social' manifestations of a cultural group. Social value, as defined by Amos Rapoport, relates to the family and kinship groups, institutions, social relationships, status, rituals and food habits of a cultural group.[7] Development of the built environment dominated by a social view is gradual and arrises through changing social or environmental conditions. This will be referred to as vernacular development in the present thesis.[8]

Social interpretation of cultural significance in isolation focuses on the present cultural use of a place and fails to fully take into account the historic archetypal importance of culture. The historic record that the built environment represents is a potentially important view of culture when considering the term cultural significance. As supporters of this view have argued, buildings, in their original form, reproduce cultural composition more effectively than if they were altered or developed.[9] The historic view of culture retains this hierarchy and forms a depiction of the way in which culture was formed. Within this thesis, conservation of a building dominated by this historic interpretation of cultural significance has been referred to as conservative conservation. This form of conservation aims to retain the historic fabric of the building in order to preserve the historic record of the past.

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[3] Chris Johnston, *What Is Social Value? A Discussion Paper* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Services, 1992).
[4] Meredith Walker, *Protecting the Social Value of Public Places* (Australian Council of National Trusts, 1998), 51.
[5] Ibid. 13.
[6] The Burra Charter, Article 1.2.
[7] Amos Rapoport, "On the Cultural Responsiveness of Architecture", *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol 41 Fall (1987), 10-15.
[8] Vernacular is a term that may be interpreted in a variety of ways. However, within the context of this thesis vernacular development refers to the process of change that occurs within the built environment. Vernacular development is dictated by social need.
[9] Kimberly Dovey, "Dwelling, Archetype and Ideology," *Dwelling, Centre, Journal for American Architecture* 8 (1993), 12.

In opposition to an historically orientated view of culture is one of adaptation resulting in resource and economic growth. This view implies that for a culture to develop and be continually relevant within its modern technological context, continual evolution and change to the built environment is vital. From this viewpoint it is argued that "the past should be forgotten in the face of this glowing future."[10] Historic structures are adjusted so that they have meaning within their current specific context. The built environment is adapted in order to encourage development and economic growth in the present and also in an anticipated future. This will be referred to as contemporary conservation in this present thesis.

As we have now discovered there are at least three different views through which 'culture' and hence the term 'cultural significance' can be understood. For Rapoport, such multiple perspectives arise necessarily from the multi-faceted notion of culture itself. He offers three distinct definitions of his own:

1. A way of life typical of a group
2. A system of symbols, meanings and cognitive schemata transmitted through symbolic codes,
3. A set of adaptive strategies for survival related to ecology and resources.[11]

However, such multi-perspectival notions of culture create confusion if we seek to establish what form of culture is truly significant as the object of good conservation practice. The example of the leaning tower of Pisa suggests that the multitude of views of culture makes the concept too global and too abstract to be useful. Cultural significance cannot be devised as a theory using the generalised term 'culture'. Cultural significance only applies to specific parts of culture. In conservation it is clear that it is uncertain which aspects of culture are the most important regarding the built environment and in which circumstances each aspect can be used. This raises questions of how the general term 'cultural significance' can be appropriately used when it is not known which interpretation of culture is the most appropriate.

There is an assumption by professionals using the Burra Charter that cultural significance will be interpreted from one particular cultural point of view. Within practice, this is not

[10] Sherban Cuntacuzino, *Re/Architecture, Old Buildings/ New Uses* (Madrid: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 30.
[11] Rapoport, "On the Cultural Responsiveness of Architecture", 10.

the case. Thus, there appears to be a significant gap between the interpretation and the use of a generalised term such as cultural significance as it relates to building conservation.

Aims

The aim of this thesis is to explore the effect of this gap within the practice of conservation in South Australia and thereby determine,

1. Examples where the culture of the present is able to grow and remain relevant while learning from and retaining the past;
2. The factors that contribute to appropriate or inappropriate building conservation with reference to the cases studied;
3. Which cultural variables have an impact on the design and use of the built environment and how these variables function during the course of the building's life-cycle;
4. Whether local legislation and practice adequately addresses the maintenance of the 'cultural significance' of buildings.

Substantive Objectives of this Study

This study specifically analyses building conservation work that has been, or is being, carried out under the guidelines of the Burra Charter in South Australia. It aims thereby to critically interpret the practice of conservation in the state and its impact on the 'cultural significance' of a regionally specific built environment, with particular regard to local criteria. The study articulates 'conservative', 'contemporary' and 'vernacular' approaches to conservation in the local context, and explores their implications for future conservation practices locally and Australia wide. This research will evaluate the extent to which cultural significance is adequately addressed with respect to social value in current literature and legislation in effect in South Australia, such as the Burra Charter and the Conservation Plan, and in practice by developers and councils. The research has the practical objective of advising the relevant heritage organisations regarding revisions to their professional guidelines and protocols.

The motivation for this research arose from an awareness of the confusion caused by the concept of cultural significance among the public and professionals during conservation work being carried out in South Australia. From an academic perspective confusion and debate is good because it means that old theory and practices are being challenged and may signify a time for change. This thesis does not claim to be the ultimate solution to the cultural debate on current conservation practice. However, in raising some of the issues

associated with conservation, it aims to generate discussion that might enhance understanding of both the potential and the limitations of some of these different approaches.

Whilst necessarily engaging the academic discourses surrounding these issues, this thesis is primarily written for practicing professionals in the field of conservation who work to conserve the National Estate. It acknowledges the fact that problems in conservation extend to issues such as sustainability and international influence. However, these are issues that extend beyond the scope of this thesis and may require further research. Thus, this thesis is a reminder to them to listen to and acknowledge differing perceptions of the cultural environment, affecting both the interpretations of significant places and the principles adopted to conserve them. It investigates ways of accommodating different values and conservation principles held among Australian people and practicing professionals.

With the aim of a theoretical framework derived from a critical analysis of recent conservation literature, as well as the broader literature of cultural theory, examples of recent and current conservation work within South Australia will be examined. In comparing the actual practice of conservation carried out in the case studies to the theories highlighted in the Burra Charter and current literature, it will be established if cultural significance is a concept which is difficult to interpret or is a term which is easily understood and benefits the built environment. Thus, the research will define if current guidelines provide adequate explanation to practitioners of conservation in the state, or if the guidelines are too broad, or too restrictive.

The thesis problem will be addressed in a structured format. Chapter One further develops the multi-perspectival approach to the problem of maintaining cultural significance introduced above. It concludes with a general discussion of the methodology of this study Chapter Two offers a critique of culture with reference to current heritage legislation and conservation. In examining recent theoretical research into the concept of culture, this chapter aims to form a more thorough understanding of culture and form a more appropriate interpretation of the concept with regard to the practice of conservation. Chapters Three and Four form the discussion of conservation techniques, conservative and contemporary. Chapter Five forms an analysis of vernacular environments. This analysis aims to form a standard template of gradual development in the built environment with

which conservation techniques and ideas of culture can be compared. The theoretical tools and viewpoints articulated in the three core chapters (three-five) will then be used to critically interpret the status of conservation in the Adelaide area with regard to 'cultural significance' in Chapter Six, Case Studies. Six cases will be analysed with regard to the research question. Chapter Seven is a further interpretative discussion of the cases studied with regard to the theoretical literature and current conservation practice and legislation. Conclusions are then made in Chapter Eight.

1. Maintaining Cultural Significance

1.1. Introduction

This Chapter expands on the preliminary discussion of issues in the practice of building conservation arising from the multifaceted characteristics of culture. It will analyse the problem highlighted in the introduction and how the lifecycle of a building is affected by this problem. The Chapter concludes with a discussion on the methodology of this study

1.2. The Implications of the Problem

The multitude of views and opinions within the current practice of building conservation, highlighted in the introduction has resulted in problems relating to the maintenance of the cultural significance of buildings. From a simple perspective, the conservation practitioner has at least three options. The first is to turn the building into a museum by purely restoring elements of the building to its former state. The practitioner may then be accused of making the building static and unchanging. The second option is to change a building and risk losing the historic record it provides to society. The third option is to leave the building in its current state either to fall gradually into a state of disrepair or to be changed through a natural progression of cultural use. How does the conservation practitioner decide between these conflicting approaches? How can conservation preserve the memory of past culture while still being relevant to the culture of the present? Within the practice of conservation there appear to be people who take a dynamic view of conservation, and wish to preserve the effects of social progression over time on the building. On the other hand, there are those who take a more static approach and seek to maintain the architectural detail of a given historical period.

1.2.1 Why is conservation necessary?

"Flow, continual flow, continual change, continual transformation, this is the way of the world."[1]

Although, as Brand states, the world is continually changing and transforming, Western architecture is built to remain in its original form. Thus resulting in an interesting relationship between the way the material world is and the way in which it is perceived.

[1] Stewart Brand, *How Buildings Learn: What Happens after They're Built* (London: Viking, 1994), 3.

Architecture is seen as being permanent. Due to this, the built environment reacts badly to change. This creates problems in a world that is continually changing.

Society is constantly changing. Despite this most historically significant buildings were built to last in their static state. Buildings such as these are fixed objects built for culture, culture being a phenomenon that is constantly changing and developing. How do buildings respond to this? Within a Westernised culture, architecture rarely adapts well; it is not designed to. When considering the conservation of a building, the architect is faced with decisions taken long ago for remote reasons. Thus, development of the built environment of the past is a form of compromise between the needs of the past and of the future.

In the early development of South Australia, buildings developed as the culture progressed. Occupation of a building varied according to location, class, available natural resources, seasons, climate, profession, age and gender. The buildings of South Australia followed the building styles of the settler's homelands. The buildings were built with little concern for architectural philosophy, but with strong attention to architectural requirement. The builders translated the building styles of their homelands for the Australian climate. They altered and extended as the need arose.[2] It is through this form of vernacular, 'cross-fertilisation' of architectural ideas that a culture develops a rich and varied environment. Once this is recognised, it becomes apparent that the links between different cultures are human, and that building types are the means of transmitting humans' beliefs, traditions and aesthetic needs within a particular environment.[3]

David Lowenthal's description of the destruction and rebuilding in the 1500s of St Peter's Cathedral in Rome illustrates the significance of the built environment in pre-modern Europe as an object of use in the present, rather than as an historical document. The loss of the old stones of the cathedral had little impact on the significance of the building as a whole. As Lowenthal states, it was the site that signified the church's indestructible permanence; the visible legacy going back twelve centuries was replaced with little regret.[4] These past building practices are contrary to the values placed on old buildings today. Currently, the material object is the element of significance in conservation. Thus, extreme measures are taken to retain the materials.

Modernisation has resulted in the change of these previous trends regarding the development of culture and the environment. Philosophical interpretations of this

[2] Robin Boyd, *Australia's Home* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1952), 15.
[3] Howard Davis, *The Culture of Buildings* (Oxford, New York: Oxford university Press 1999), 132.
[4] David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 13.

changing element of cultural growth imply that modernisation has interfered with and destroyed the diversity of the everyday. Henri Lefebvre, one such philosopher, wanted to ground philosophy and culture in the everyday; to place emphasis on the concrete and the real, humble and ordinary. His critique of everyday life reveals a world in which progression was a part of life. His analysis is a rejection of high cultural authority previously associated with historical interpretation. Lefebvre believes that earlier tradition possessed a symbolic value that linked all forms of material culture (buildings and artefacts) to cultural meaning on a very broad level, "To good and evil, happiness and misery, the perennial and the ephemeral."[5]

Similarly, these values were adaptable according to their cultural or historical circumstance: to social class, natural environment or cultural traditions and beliefs. The products of a culture were functional. Lowenthal states that there was a strong relationship between form and function.[6] As this is no longer as evident, often, in the lifecycle of a building, a culturally dictated decision needs to be made regarding the fate of a particular place. Lefebvre's theories concerning the everyday are referred to in greater detail in chapter four, Contemporary Conservation.

1.3 What is Conservation? How does it Affect the Resulting Cultural Object?

According to Diane Ghirardo buildings contain ideas about society and express the "cosmology of the culture"[7]. Buildings are a means of conveying the ideals and beliefs of society. Similarly, Venturi states that: "...architects is silent witness to all of the weakness, indulgences and self-absorption characteristics of modern culture."[8] Through the built environment, culture has access to a commentary of earlier lifestyles or on the current social situation.

However, problems are often encountered in understanding the commentary received through buildings. These problems may be reflected in turn in the practice of architectural conservation. The problems within the practice of conservation have been widely discussed in current literature. Through interpretation of this literature it becomes evident that for a comprehensive understanding of any environment a study of non-fixed feature elements should be included; these include people, behaviour, activity systems,

[5] As cited in Mary McLeod, "Henri Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life," in *Architecture of the Everyday,* ed. Steven Harris and Deborah Berke, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), 27.
[6] Ibid. 32-33.
[7] Diane Ghirardo, "Introduction," in *Out of Site: A Social Criticism of Architecture,* ed. Diane Ghirardo, (Seattle: Bay Press, 1991), 9.
[8] As cited in Ibid. 9.

perceptions, cognition, preferences and meanings. However, the significance of the understanding and interpretation of these elements is difficult to implicate in practice. Often emphasis is placed on the fabric of the built environment. In analytical research human behaviour is often not fully considered.

David Lowenthal, an established critic of the heritage industry, believes that these problems in understanding human behaviour and cultural significance can be attributed to the fact that few realise how the issue of cultural significance and heritage actually functions. Most people within Western culture either praise or criticise the concept and role of heritage. For this reason it has the potential to be viewed as either beneficial or detrimental to a society. "One understanding of conservation offers a rationale for self-respecting stewardship of all we hold dear, the other signals an eclipse of reason and a regression to embattled tribalism."[9]

This misunderstanding of the aims of conservation can be explained by the viewpoints put forth by Mete Turan. Turan believes that most historical exploration concerning buildings deal with individual buildings taken out of economic, ideological or political context; therefore, the historical discussion centres on the style or form of a building. The social relations and the role of the building are not considered.[10] The interpretation of a building purely within its physical context rather than its historical context may result in a diminished meaning of that building.

For this reason, an interpretive analysis of the built environment as it functions everyday in respect to conservation is important. This analysis takes several different forms. The first is that the everyday is not important; the past is what makes the present relevant. Another is that the everyday should be encouraged and the past forgotten.

The concept of the everyday illuminates the past because everyday life has always existed, even if in ways very different from that of the present. There is a strong relationship between the built form and the way in which it functions. Gradual development such as that dictated by the requirements of the everyday represents social values and needs.

[9] Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past*, 2.
[10] Turan, *Vernacular Design and Environmental Wisdom*, 8.

1.3.1 Vernacular Development

The material production resulting from everyday life is what may be called vernacular development. Buildings resulting from such processes of vernacular development are socially valued objects or places representing socially derived views of culture.

During the discussion of vernacular development for the purpose of this thesis, it is important to remember that the intended use of the concept of is to illustrate the way in which vernacular environments respond to the cultural requirements of a particular social group. It is not an approach to conservation rather, it is a process of growth and change. The relationship between form and function, previously mentioned, forms the basis of and can be interpreted as 'vernacular production'. Vernacular environments illustrate the development of society in the past, where human life was constructed in close relationship with the 'rhythms' of nature.[11] Vernacular environments are the material outcome of human intellect, experience and skills determined by the availability of environmental produce. The production of vernacular requires environmental perspicacity; that is a natural and accumulated knowledge of all the conditions, circumstances and influences surrounding and affecting the development of the built form. It is a response to the environment in terms of a society's needs. The vernacular product requires an understanding of the relationship between societies and their environments.[12]

The prevalence of technology has dramatically changed the progressive trends of vernacular production and has ultimately resulted in a need for conservation to preserve buildings as a record of the past. Morgan suggests that technological development is a means of monitoring the level of a society as a whole and that the social and cultural evolution of that society proceeds as a series of steps, connected by abrupt, revolutionary transformations.[13] An antithetical view to Morgan's is reflected in Cohen's suggestion that through technological advance, gradual and continuous change rarely occurs, and that some societies "Jump from the oxcart to the airplane."[14] He questions the relevance of developmental stages. In many areas of Western society gradual change has not occurred and has ultimately resulted in poor conservation practice. Buildings no longer develop and adapt to the current cultural climate. As David Stea states, they have missed a few steps in between and cannot keep up; therefore, vernacular development is no longer possible.[15]

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[11] Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society: The Information Age Economy, Society and Culture*, Vol. 2nd. (Oxford, Molden: Blackwell Publishers Inc, 1996,200), 145.

[12] Mete Turan, "Vernacular Design and Environmental Wisdom," in *Vernacular Architecture, Paradigms of Environmental Response,* ed. Mete Turan, (Brookfield: Avebury, 1990), 8.

[13] As cited in David Stea, *The Ten Smudge Pots of Vernacular Building*, ed. Mete Turan, Vernacular Architecture: Paradigms of Environmental Response (Brookfield: Avebury, 1990), 25.

[14] As cited in Ibid. 25.

[15] Ibid. 26.

Understanding of vernacular environments illustrate that earlier populations fused past with the present and change was gradual and constant. "Handing down modes of life and thought to descendants was more a matter of ingrained habit than of deliberate effort...few clung to artefacts that had outlasted practical or spiritual use."[16] Previously, records of the past, the material objects of society remained intimately involved with everyday life. The old became a part of the present; it could still be seen and touched and experienced first hand. As Lowenthal suggests, in earlier times the past was not a foreign country but simply another facet of the present.[17] However, as technology speeds up the process of change conservation has become a necessity in order to retain a record of the past. Now the new replaces the old, whereas in the past the new was just another aspect of the eternal. Today the new is in many cases extremely different from the old; if replaced the old is lost. In the past the necessity to preserve the old was not required; nothing was old. However, since the 20th century, if not saved the old is lost forever.

1.3.2 Conservative Conservation

When vernacular development is no longer possible, one possible way of treating the cultural object is a conservative approach to conservation. The purpose of conservative conservation is to distinguish between the definitions of heritage; it combines the historical fact with real places. Conservative views read the past as a single, unambiguous phenomenon that can or even should be the subject of attempts, professional or otherwise, to locate, define and stabilise.

Conservative conservation is often a result of close adhesion to the Burra Charter. The Burra Charter focuses specifically on the fabric of a place and advocates that retention of cultural significance is achieved through maintenance of fabric:

> Cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects.[18]

According to the Burra Charter, the material evidence of culture should be reflected in the conservation process of a building. Thus, Practitioners of conservative conservation advocate that the evidence the fabric of a building provides directly embodies actual historical events. In effectively restoring the fabric of a building, facets of the past can be explored first hand, not as translated by someone in the present. Certain human activities,

[16] Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past*, 13.
[17] Ibid. 13.
[18] Burra Charter, "The Australian ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance," Article 1.2.

particularly the tasks of making and doing, can afford the researcher an encounter of the third kind.[19] It provides data or evidence that may only be hinted at or may be missed in written or verbal communications on the past.

Jules Prown indicates that by understanding and restoring buildings as they were originally built,

> We can engage another culture in the first instance not with our minds, the seat of our cultural biases, but with our senses...This affective mode of apprehension, through the senses, allows us to put ourselves, figuratively speaking, inside the skins of individuals who commissioned, made, used or enjoyed these objects, to see with their eyes and touch with their hands, to identify with them empathetically, is clearly a different way of engaging the past than abstractly through written word. Instead of our minds making intellectual contact with minds of the past, our senses make affective contact with the senses of the past.[20]

With this in mind it should be understood that the interpretation of the past gained from the restored material might be inaccurate. Whether authentic 'contact' is made with the past through the buildings is dependent on effective restoration of the building.

Ghiraido addresses the problem faced when conserving the material culture of the past in Western society. She suggests that it is difficult to sustain the legitimate past meaning of architecture in a society that is constantly being pushed forward and changed by the innovations of technology.[21] Even though the main purpose of conservation is to sustain the past, it is difficult to justify conservation that adapts old buildings for use in current society when it is constantly evolving. Careful selection of appropriate buildings should take place. Restoration of the old to its former state, while perhaps preventing progression, retains the memory of the past and escapes the threat of becoming superseded by the latest technological change. The restored building is valued not because of its technological advances, but because of its estimable architectural and historical record. In attempting to conserve the past the diversity of the environment is retained. Diversity is desirable; a need to protect what is distinctive to a particular chronology or social identity is understandable. Conservative conservation maintains thing's individualistic qualities, and separates them from the mainstream. To sustain diversity it is important to have buildings of different heritages, not only one kind of representation.[22] As Bourdieu states, the built environment embodies division and hierarchies between things, people and practices; it

[19] Thomas. J. Schlereth, *Material Culture, a Research Guide* (Kansas: University Press, 1996), 10.
[20] As cited in Ibid. 12.
[21] Ghirardo, "Introduction," 19.
[22] Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past*, 248.

preserves and perpetuates social order. The built environment is the taken for granted context of social life. It reproduces social structures and ideology.[23]

Kimberly Dovey discusses conservative conservation within the context of ideological methodology. Ideological methodology is the critical analysis of the nature and source of architectural ideas. It is the pre-existing framework of ideas that constitute the built environment. Ideological analysis should not create a false understanding of the environment. It is necessary for obtaining a meaningful and reliable experience of the building's previous state. Ideological assessment sees buildings as a result of social situations, and is imminent in everyday life in the forms and structures of the built environment.[24] The ideological view reduces the social reality to certain unchanging essentials, these being the 'ideal', romanticised or glorified elements of reality, and thus risks making buildings static and stuck in time. A museum-like object is created.

The practitioner of a conservative approach to conservation should have be aware that the built environment plays a role in the production and perpetuation of social practice.[25] Through conservative conservation the approach taken is analytical and prescriptive. The material within the building is of great importance, and often the material is used to analyse the past rather than the actual use of the place.

1.3.3 Contemporary Conservation

In opposition to this approach is the belief that use is more important than material or history. This is reflected in a more contemporary approach to conservation. It could be said that contemporary conservation of old buildings gives the building's renewed value. The development of a place for a new use has been promoted as 'adaptive use'. If undertaken sympathetically, adaptive use may broaden the value of a place both culturally and economically.

> A building becomes more interesting when it leaves its original function behind. The continuing changes in function turn into a colourful story that becomes valued in its own right. The building succeeds by seeming to fail.[26]

The contemporary approach to conservation is not concerned with conservation exclusively as a product, but rather with the product's relation between a society, its economic viability and its environment.

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[23] Bourdieu, *Acts of Resistance* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 12.
[24] Kimberly Dovey, "Dwelling, Archetype and Ideology," *Dwelling, Centre, Journal for American Architecture* 8 (1993), 12.
[25] Ibid. 15.
[26] Brand, *How Buildings Learn*, 103.

Contemporary conservation is the accumulation of the ideologies prevalent in pre-consumer society. In pre-consumer society symbolic exchange was not the dominant cultural force; use value held sway over exchange or material value. The material was less significant than the cultural practice.[27] The culture living in the present was the element that formed cultural progress. However, progress in the 20th century is essentially due to consumerism. Consumerism is the set of social, cultural and economic practices based upon the notion of commodity exchange. It is a dominant force in the shaping of the modern environment and therefore is an important factor in the production of a building. Consumption is the, "...active, committed production of self and society through appropriation of elements in the world."[28]

Relating consumption to the architectural paradigm within present culture implies visual appreciation of the tactile properties of a building. The visuals are consumed, giving society a sense of location, cultural and personal identity. Thus, the consumed architectural artefact has practical use in everyday life. Consumer architecture combines aspects of appreciation or usage; it directs focus away from past use towards the diversity of Western society, consumer products and the significance of present society. Consumerism is the profession of production and progress; it gives the built environment a "political voice and place".[29]

Northrop Frye indicates that some material culture has, "...an imaginative element that lifts them clean of the bondage of history."[30] This progressive determination[31] indicates that the artefact is not shackled in time; it possesses a life of its own. "It seems quite clear that psychic needs evident in material artefacts cannot be explained through chronology."[32]

This view is often represented in present conservation practice; buildings are restored making no reference to the time or cultural situation for which they were built. It is this material restoration that could be seen to have initiated the view of contemporary conservationists. However, it should be remembered that an object, particularly a cultural object, has no relevance unless situated in time and in context. A building has no meaning without people and culture. Without 'culture' material culture is just material and is

[27] Sarah Chaplin and Eric Holding, "Consuming Architecture," *Architectural Design* 1/2.January-February (1998), 7.
[28] Ibid. 7.
[29] Rob Shields, "Architecture as Good," *Architectural Design* 1/2.January- February (1998), 9.
[30] as cited in Schlereth, *Material Culture, a Research Guide*, 18.
[31] Progressive determination can be defined as the descriptive study of objects without reference to time duration or cultural change. Marvin Harris, *Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 18.
[32] Schlereth, *Material Culture, a Research Guide*, 18.

therefore not significant. Put aptly by Thomas Schlereth "Out of site - out of sight". Without context, artefacts are little more than historical souvenirs.[33]

Similarly, surviving artefacts are not necessarily representations of the culture of their makers and users. In many eras and cultures, the men made most artefacts and therefore the women within that culture failed to be represented. Many of the stock of artefacts from the past were produced by the culture of the upper to middle classes; in like manner, the decisions of what to do with the artefacts are largely made by upper class men giving present culture greater importance.[34] Most buildings are built and appreciated by the broad culture. Contemporary views on conservation are that they should be kept relevant to all culture rather than being restored by, and for the use of, upper class culture.

Roderick Lawrence advocates that contemporary conservation is important because buildings are more than just a territorial core, as suggested by Porteous, and not just an ordering principle in space, as suggested by Dovey, but a complex entity that defines and is defined by cultural, sociodemographic, psychological, political, and economic factors[35]. In buildings human relations are equally as important, if not more important than physical variables. Buildings are not only places but also have psychological resonance and social meaning. It could be stated that the aim of contemporary conservation practice is to keep the social meaning current and relevant to the present culture. Buildings only remain relevant as long as they are part of the experience of dwelling, living, or as Lefebvre suggests, of 'the everyday'.[36] Meaning is given to a building through a range of cultural, sociodemographic and psychological dimensions and the relations between the dimensions. Lawrence states that the significance of a building to a culture is understood through its long-term architectural and social history within its specific location in relation to the short-term processes concerning the construction, decoration and maintenance of the buildings by the actual people who use the building.[37] In understanding the cultural significance of a building it is important to understand the meaning of a building to the current culture of which it is a part.

The emphasis placed on heritage within society is often accused of preventing the progression of the everyday, as was indicated in a letter to the editor in Adelaide's

[33] Ibid. 14.
[34] Ibid. 12-14.
[35] Roderick. J. Lawrence, "What Makes a House a Home," *Environment and Behaviour* 19.March (1987), 156.
[36] As cited in McLeod, "Henri Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life," 9.
[37] Lawrence, "What Makes a House a Home," 155.

Advertiser. "We have to replace the old with the new and move on...Why look backward when you can go forward and reap all the comforts of modern technology?"[38]

In support of this viewpoint, Lowenthal portrays a very negative opinion of heritage within society. Lowenthal states that while heritage links a culture with its ancestors and offspring, bonds neighbours and patriots, certifies identity and roots society in time honoured ways; it is also oppressive, defeatist, and decadent, miring into the obsolete. The 'cult of heritage' allegedly gives life the characteristics of museums and monuments. Lowenthal's argument escalates, and at its peak claims that heritage breeds xenophobic hate, that it debases the true past for greedy chauvinist ends. Heritage is accused of undermining historical fact with myth.[39]

Contemporary conservation is a reaction against the solidification of the past in the present. It illustrates a cultural view where the present is important. Growth, development and economic and social gain dominate the decision making process.

1.4 The Lifecycle of a Building

Throughout a building's lifecycle an historical process takes place. A building that begins its life as one particular object changes through an historical journey to become another related object (figure 1).[40] It may look the same, it may have the same cultural group as its occupants, or, it may look entirely different and have a different use. Whatever the status of the building today, historical events, cultural views and social trends alter that building thereby potentially changing its 'cultural significance' as well. This historical process results in problems in the interpretation of the cultural significance of a building and the way in which the building is treated during the conservation process.

FIGURE 1

[38] Max Nicol, "Replace the Old with the New," *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, 21.7.2000), 18.
[39] Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past*, ix.
[40] The figures used in this thesis are based on the theory called *unsophisticated-fused thought* described in: Robert David Sack, *Conceptions of Space: a Geographic Perspective* (London; Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1983), 27.

Many of the problems associated with the practice of conservation in and around Adelaide can be attributed to political and developmental decisions. It could be said that current guidelines exacerbate these problems. The Burra Charter states that "Conservation, may, according to circumstance, include the processes of: retention or reintroduction of a use; [or the] retention of associations and meanings."[41] This signifies that conservation may retain or reintroduce the old use. However, the Burra Charter also states that change is acceptable: "The amount of change to a place should be guided by the cultural significance of the place and its appropriate interpretation."[42] Article 1.5 illustrates another approach to conservation stating that "maintenance is another form of conservation providing continuous protective care of the fabric and setting of a place."[43]

The Charter condones both the retention of the past and the need for change. It is at this juncture that misinterpretation of the purpose and practical application of the Charter becomes apparent. The Charter fails to define 'culture'. Is present culture or past culture more significant? The amount of permissible change is ambiguous; what prescribes how much is too much? Similarly, what is the intended meaning of interpretation? Who does the interpretation? Is it the public, representing the present; the historian, using the building as a form of historical analysis; or the developer, seeing the building as a means of accumulating economic gain?

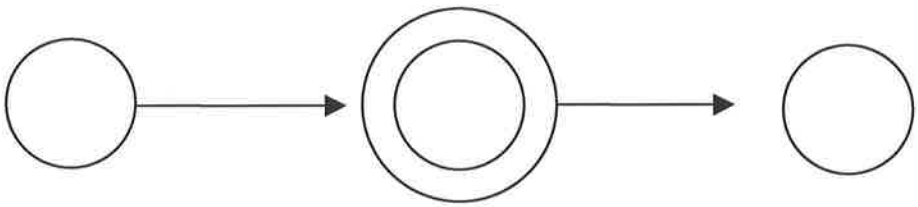
Interpreted these approaches to conservation highlighted in the Burra Charter indicate that there are at least three significant cultural perspectives. These have been discussed above and will be referred to as 'conservative', 'contemporary' and 'vernacular' conservation. Conservative conservation regards the culture of the maker as the most significant element in conservation; the building is seen as an artefact and is therefore the object of paramount importance. The 'contemporary' view implies that the living culture of today is of utmost importance and should be reflected in the conservation process of old buildings. Society is the important element in cultural analysis. Vernacular development is the natural growth of the environment according specifically to the requirements of a particular culture; it can be viewed as a form of maintenance rather than a means of 'saving' a place in the present. This third form of understanding cultural significance is a valuable means of understanding culture from a non-materialistic perspective. It has the potential to illustrate what makes the built environment important to a particular cultural group and therefore how to maintain 'cultural significance' on a social level.

[41] Burra Charter, "The Australian ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance" (Australian ICOMOS Inc, 1999), Article 14.
[42] Ibid. Article. 15.1
[43] Ibid. Article. 1.5

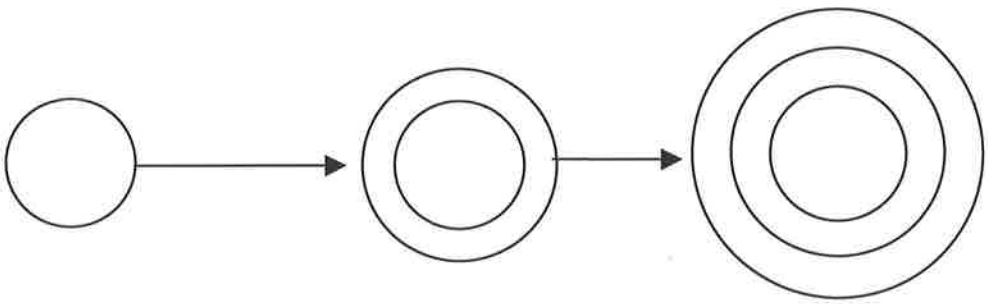
The three cultural viewpoints, and the way they impact on the building during the historical process, affect the way in which the building is used and looks in the present. (Figure 2)

FIGURE 2

2.1 Conservative Conservation (C1)



2.2 Contemporary Conservation (C2)



2.3 Vernacular Conservation (C3)

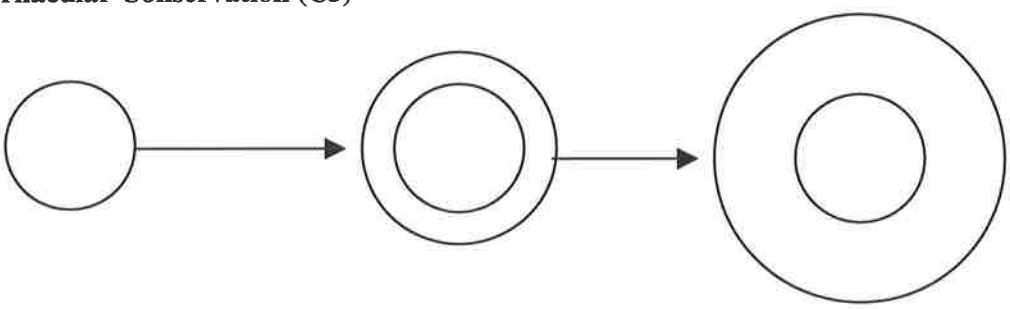
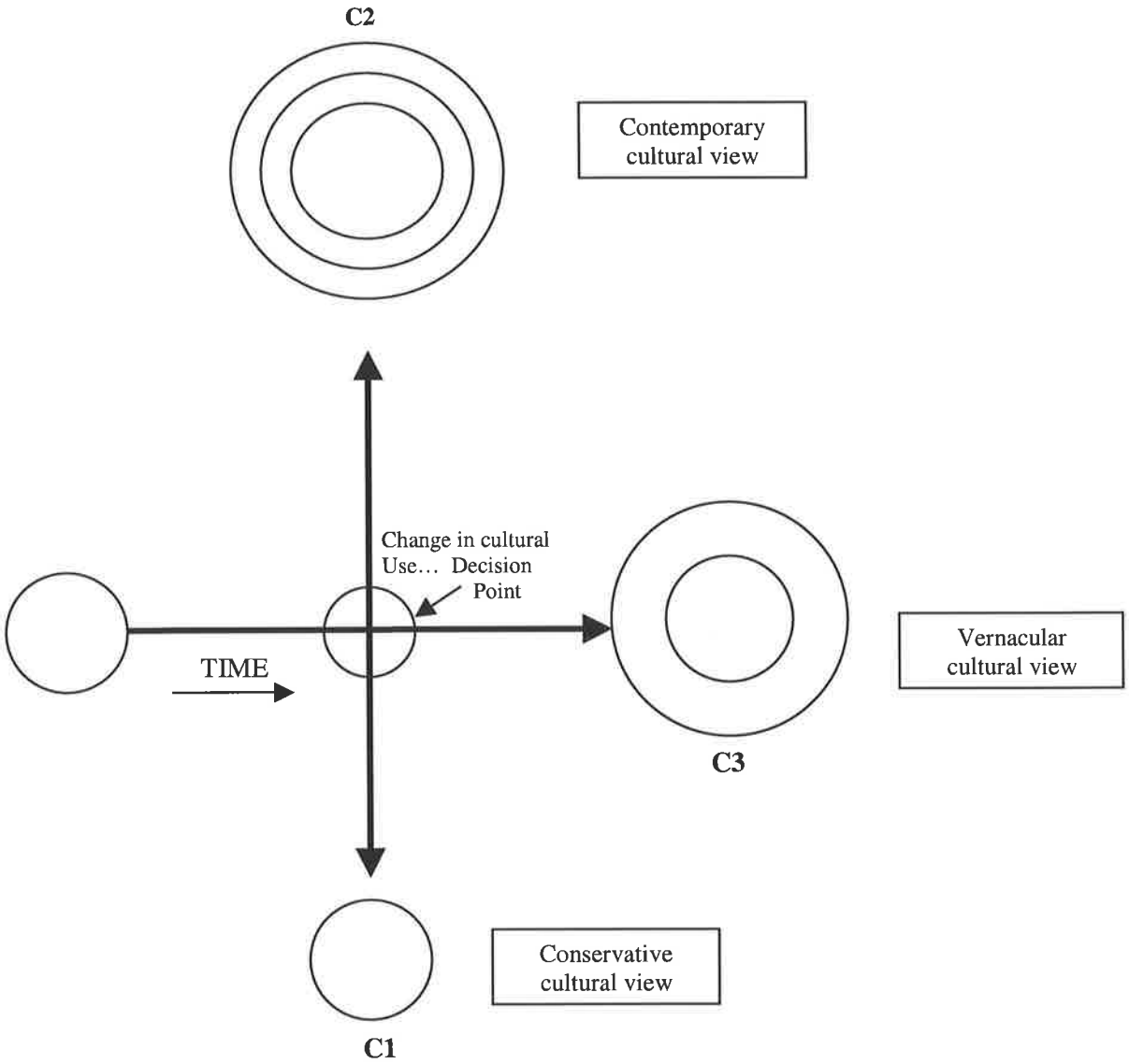


Figure 2 demonstrates the multiple interpretations of the term 'cultural significance'. Figure 2.1 illustrates the conservative form of conservation. Within this form of conservation the cultural object begins its life looking a particular way and is used by a particular cultural group. The prescriptive requirements of conservative conservation mean that although changes in use or form may have occurred to the building (B) the end result of conservation will return the building to its initial form (C1). Figure 2.2 illustrates the contemporary form of conservation. The contemporary view means that the cultural object can be altered to accommodate a new, sometimes entirely different cultural use. During the lifecycle of the building new cultural views layer upon the building (B), contemporary conservation builds upon these layers in order to find a new use for the building resulting in a building that is sometimes very different to its original form (C2). Finally, Figure 2.3 illustrates the vernacular form of conservation. This form of conservation is a gradual form of growth that means the building develops naturally always evolving to accommodate new cultural needs.

If a building continually grows and develops as the requirements of a society change, vernacular development has occurred, this is represented in figure 2.3. However, with the rapid and often violent nature of change- functional and cultural- under the experience of modernity such vernacular development has often not been possible. It is at this point where a more directive decision must be made regarding the fate of a particular building. The concept of cultural significance and the success or failure of a conservation project hinges on this decision point (figure 3).

FIGURE 3 – Conservation Decisions



Path A-C3 illustrates the vernacular form of development. The cultural use is constant and the built form adapts and changes in relation to the evolving cultural use. In this model the culture is living; it is continually growing and changing. The fabric of building C3 may look entirely different from that of A, but the cultural use of the place remains significant. It remains alive. Path A-C2 illustrates the contemporary form of conservation. In this model, the end or change of the cultural use or architectural or technological trends means that a new use has to be found for the place to remain useful. Therefore, the fabric of the place is retained as evidence of the past and a new use and built form is installed. Path A-C1 illustrates conservative conservation. Like the contemporary model the original cultural use is no longer apparent. Despite this, building A is valued as an illustration of cultural significance. Conservative conservation aims to retain the fabric of the past in its original state in order to retain cultural significance.

The various paths the professional has the option of taking during the decision time in the lifecycle of a building create problems in the interpretation of the cultural significance of a place. Irish states that for this reason few events create as much controversy in the design community as the construction of an architectural addition to an historic building.[44] Treatment and care of cultural resources raise many questions and it is important to approach any intervention with caution. The conservation rule of thumb states, "It is better to preserve than to restore and better to restore than to reconstruct."[45]

In changing heritage buildings to suit the current culture, one risks losing the individuality that a diverse range of historic buildings gives to the environment. With modernisation comes globalisation. In changing old buildings that represent past culture, society gradually conforms to a global trend. Hypothetically, all buildings in the world could become similar. Adelaide's heritage buildings are the living symbol of a colonial past. In losing them, or developing them to conform to the trends of modernisation, the representation of the civic heritage that shaped culture, language and traditions may be lost. As an Adelaide resident suggested in a letter to *The Advertiser*,

> It is vital that we preserve civic icons and institutions such as the Constitution, the flag and the national anthem lest we give the next generation the impression that the future can be subject to experimentation according to the latest cultural and political fashion, fad or whim.[46]

Adelaide's heritage buildings can be recognised as a proud statement of colonial, spiritual, cultural and institutional origins that can serve as a reminder of the past.

One may argue, however, that if a building is no longer relevant to the current culture it should be changed or run the risk of becoming a static object only useful as a museum. If a building cannot be used then what function does it have in its current form? In this respect, buildings can be seen as a reflection of the cultural development of human behaviour, not only in the past but also continually into the future. The conflict between these two approaches to conservation is prolific; to change is to lose identity, yet to change is to be alive.[47] A balance between tradition and modernity is difficult to achieve.

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[44] Sharon Irish, "Additions for Architects," *Design Book Review, Inventing our Heritage* 40.Fall (1999).
[45] Francis McManamon and Alf Hatton, *Cultural Resource Management in Contemporary Society: Perspectives on Managing and Presenting the Past* (London: Routledge, 2000), 16.
[46] Philpot, "Proud Statement of Our Origins," *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, 26.7.2000), 36.
[47] Brand, *How Buildings Learn*, 167.

The conservation process and the relevant strategic decisions are entirely dependent on the specific location or cultural significance of the building and on the decision maker. Local examples of conservation illustrate the close relationship between the approach taken and the individuality of the building. The restoration of the South Australian Mortlock Library (Figure 4) utilised the conservative approach. This was because the purpose for which the building was built is still as culturally relevant today as it was when it was built. This approach was also used to restore the facade of the Beehive Corner on Rundle Mall (Figure 5). The exterior of this building has strong architectural integrity and has significance as an independent artefact. Alternately, the recent development of the South Australian museum (Figure 6 & 7) can be viewed as contemporary conservation. The new entrance and cafe has been built in glass that contrasts dramatically to the original brick structure. The combination of the old and the new compliment one another, enhancing the original building by providing new services to the public of today, while at the same time not losing the evidence of the original building.

These examples illustrate that it is difficult to form prescriptive rules for the treatment of significant places. Each case is individual, which makes the practical application of legislation problematic.

Figures4&5
A conservative approach was taken to restore the facade of the Beehive Corner returning it to its former appearance. Emphasis is placed on the interpretation of the cultural past of the building.
(Figure 1- Adelaide Mortlock Library Archive collection- Ref. B21244)

Figures 6&7
A contemporary approach was taken to restore the Adelaide museum. The new entrance and cafe has been built in glass which contrasts dramatically to the original brick structure. The combination of the old and the new compliment one another and enhance the original building by providing new services to the public of today, while not losing the evidence of the original building.

1.6. Methodology

An interpretive approach has been taken in this study. Because the research involved has included an analysis of culture, that is the human element of society, a positivistic approach has been avoided. Interpretive methodology is unlikely to produce a final decisive solution; however, it invites further discussion and increased understanding.

The research has involved a detailed analysis of culture. Culture has been understood from three points of view. The first is an interpretation of culture from a 'social' perspective. Therefore, it has involved analysis of the views of the public concerning conservation issues. Newspaper articles, letters to the editor and local debates concerning heritage decisions have been considered. The second view of cultural understanding comes from a more prescriptive level. Analysis of this point of view has involved looking at the legislation imposed on conservation issues such as that found in local Development Acts, Heritage Acts and the Burra Charter. Thirdly, analysis has focused on an economically motivated cultural perspective. This has involved looking at the approach developers take during the conservation process.

The research has taken a subjective analysis of the different approaches to conservation practice, within the three viewpoints of cultural understanding, before proposing a better defined theory of the term 'cultural significance'. This theory has been based on a thorough analysis of case studies and is supported by current literature and conservation policy, and can therefore, be seen as one response to the research question. However, many other solutions may be found which will take other elements of conservation into account. There are multiple realities in the approach to conservation and these may be understood in a variety of ways depending on the context of the situation and the interpretation by the researcher of the social and linguistic response to the problem. The knowledge received through the research will be dependent on the process of discovery and the interpretive methods used to reliably draw conclusions from the knowledge. This knowledge is gained through an understanding of the beliefs and actions of others: those who are involved in the process of conservation and those it effects.[48]

Therefore, the research of this thesis has involved a thorough analysis of some examples of conservation currently being carried out within the built environment of South Australia. The purpose of this analysis has been to interpret the application of the various methods of conservation in order to define whether the purpose of conservation, as highlighted in the Burra Charter, is adequately being achieved. The findings of the analysis have enabled the thesis to make recommendations to professionals practising within the field of

[48] Uve Flick, *An Introduction to Qualitative Research* (London: SAGE Publications, 1998), 12

conservation; highlighting the effectiveness and ineffectiveness of current conservation practice. The field research has assisted in addressing the problem highlighted in the introduction and has resulted in initiating an understanding and interpretation of the problems the field of conservation is currently facing.

As a result of the elucidation of the literature reviewed, case studies have been selected in order to illustrate the key issues discussed regarding conservation. Thorough analysis of the procedures and techniques used to restore the buildings has taken place in order to decide if the approach taken is appropriate. This analysis has included a critical examination of the conservation work done in comparison with the guidelines highlighted in the Burra Charter and in James Semple Kerr's Conservation Plan, which is a guide to the preparation of conservation plans for places of European cultural significance. The analysis has included:

- An historical, social and architectural analysis of the cultural significance, researching the past cultural use;
- A detailed study of the fabric using photographic analysis and interpretation of technical drawings;
- An understanding of the current use, undertaking a post occupancy analysis;
- An interpretation of any existing conservation plans which prescribe what conservation practice is required at a place;
- An analysis of the conservation work actually done through contact with councils, heritage departments and architects;
- A critical analysis of the conservation work that has taken place with regard to current conservation theories and issues, as discussed above.

1.6.1 Case studies

This thesis has used case studies in order to test theories and answer the research question. Case study research has been chosen as an appropriate research methodology due to the fact that in analysing actual cases an intimate connection with empirical reality is provided. It is this that permits the development of a testable, relevant and valid theory that is used to answer the research question.[49]

Using case studies is a research strategy that accommodates the multitude of views and positions present within single settings. It takes into consideration that there is more than one level of analysis within a single study. The case studies used in this thesis have

[49] Kathlene M. Eisenhardt, "Building Theories from Case Study Research," *Academy of Management Review* 14.4 (1989), 532.

involved analysis of data collected in archives, interviews, observations and on site visits. This has been interpreted and supported with photographic records, architectural drawings and professionally devised Conservation Plans. The cases studied have been used to accomplish the aims of the thesis, provide description, and test the theory.[50]

The case studies used in this research have elucidated theories that have been developed through the review of literature and guidelines. The theories developed in this thesis have involved thorough cultural analysis and use of social theory. Social theory depends on interpretation. It is open-ended, therefore, there is no correct solution. Every theory develops and enhances the next and aims to enlighten the broad public.[51] The cases studied support cultural phenomena that are difficult to interpret without social relevance.

Social theory is important within this research because it addresses social problems and questions of the human condition in modernity. It places emphasis upon the moment of construction and on the contingency of meaning.[52] Social theory aids in the clarification of norms, values and ethics.[53]

Case studies create insight into contradictory arguments such as the debate between conservative and contemporary conservation. The results of case studies are testable with constructs that can be readily measured and hypothesised through other examples and literature.

This Chapter has identified three different points of view from which the notion of 'cultural significance' may be interpreted in cases of architectural conservation. It has used these points of view in order to explain the necessity of conservation. It has also discussed the methodological principles and approaches of the study. The following Chapter will expand on this background discussion with specific regard to issues arising in conservation legislation and relevant theoretical perspectives from the literature of cultural theory.

[50] Ibid. 534,5.
[51] Peter Beilharz, "Introduction," in *A Guide to Central Thinkers Social Theories*, ed. (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1991), 2.
[52] Ibid. 7.
[53] Ibid. 10.

2. Cultural Significance

2.1. Introduction

As established in the preceding introductory discussion of current conservation practice and issues, the 'maintenance of cultural significance' is the primary aim of architectural conservation. In order to appreciate the implications and meaning of this requirement however, a well-researched understanding of the concept of 'culture' is necessary. The aim of this chapter is to define the general term culture with specific regard to the practice of conservation. This will be achieved through a comprehensive review of current and past cultural theories, and a discussion of the application of these theories with reference to a society-based interpretation of the cultural discussion. The following three chapters will then relate the found meaning to the three varying viewpoints of culture that dictate the decisions made in conservation.

2.2 The Burra Charter

In 1964 an international conference of architects and other professionals interested in conservation was held in Venice. At this conference a charter was drawn up which aimed to prescribe appropriate approaches to preserve and restore monuments that were valued as being culturally significant.[1] The document was called the Venice Charter.

In 1977, Australia ICOMOS started to review the applicability of the Venice Charter in Australia. Australia ICOMOS is a non-government organisation that promotes good practice in caring for culturally important places. It does this by formulating and disseminating ideas and guidelines through seminars and workshops, and through publication of a newsletter and journal. The Australian national ICOMOS committee was established in 1976 and consisted of members from a broad range of occupations such as town planners, historians and archaeologists.[2]

In 1979, as a consequence of the review of the Venice Charter, a meeting was held in Burra in South Australia. This meeting resulted in the development of The Australian ICOMOS

[1] Peter Marquis-Kyle and Meredith Walker, *The Illustrated Burra Charter*, 2nd ed. (Brisbane: Prestige Litho, 1994), 6.
[2] Ibid. 5.

charter for the conservation of places of cultural significance (Burra Charter). The Burra Charter is based on the philosophy of the Venice Charter but was adapted to be more practical for Australia's heritage. The Burra Charter is generally accepted by professionals in the field of conservation as being the best guidelines for the preservation, restoration, reconstruction and adaptation of places with cultural significance. Its adoption and use is extensive throughout the states, territories and Commonwealth of Australia. It is also used in Latin America, North America, Europe and Asia. The Charter is quite regularly updated; the latest revision was completed in 1999.[3]

As discussed in the introduction, the Burra Charter states that conservation should retain use associations and meanings but can also adapt a place to accommodate a new use. In this respect the Burra Charter supports both conservative and contemporary forms of conservation. The Charter can be seen as a prescriptive solution to the conservation of places with cultural significance. However, the Burra Charter fails to adequately define the meaning of 'cultural significance', nor adequately relate the process of conservation to the practical or personal issues faced by developers and councils when determining the appropriate conservation approach. These issues include economic viability, social circumstance or future relevance.

This realm of problems has been discussed by Elizabeth Vines who argues that the physical changes made to a place need to improve amenity and economic viability of a place.[4] On a functional level, it is important that the changes made to a place result in it being more attractive and relevant to the social groups actively using the place, while also safeguarding the historic relevance of the place. This is the greatest area of conflict with the Charter. The lack of attention to the present cultural use of a place in conjunction with the historic record the place provides often results in the Burra Charter often being considered as having little relevance. Thus, it is often ignored by the public and professionals involved in the improvement of places.

Examples of the denial of the importance of the Charter can be observed in many restoration projects in and around Adelaide. The conservation work carried out in the state heritage area of Port Adelaide is an exemplary case. The work carried out in Port Adelaide included the planting of trees where trees never stood, the installation of public art and the

[3] Ibid. 8.
[4] Elizabeth Vines, "Townscape Improvement Strategies and the Role of Government: Are There Conflicts with the Principles of the Burra Charter," *Landscape Australia* 3.August (1993), 207.

use of bollards to highlight certain buildings (Figure 1&2). These additions have significantly changed the aesthetic appearance of the main street (Figure 3&4). Consequently, its current appearance is very different from the way it would have looked when it was used dominantly as a trade centre for the state. Similarly, the recent development of the Main Square in Victor Harbour involved the construction of a modern information office, construction of a fountain and the use of bollards to create a one way flow of traffic. The Development Plan for Victor Harbor states that the council aims to conserve and enhance items, areas and vegetation of significance to the zone's heritage, townscape and landscape.[5] However, it also states that the focus for development is to serve residents of and visitors to Victor Harbor. Similarly, in Moseley Square and Jetty Road in Glenelg, significant alterations have been carried out in the area since the early 1990's. Although this historical precinct has, in recent years, suffered from exploitation through tourist use, the original renovations that took place in the early 1990s initiated a greater use of the area by the general public. Mosely Square is significant because it is a result of land left over from Colonel Light's original survey of Glenelg in 1839. During the 1960-80s the Square slowly eroded in character with the gradual degradation of the perimeter buildings and the use of the square for car parking. Despite a major upgrading of the area in the 1960s, by the end of the 1980s the square was considered run down and unattractive. The council aimed to "create an image that incorporates the historic conservation of Moseley Square and reinforces the atmosphere of the historic city by the sea."[6]

Despite the historic significance of the area, it was proposed to plant 40 palm trees, erect a central pavilion restaurant, provide a large semi-circular colonnade, and rebuild an existing tram shelter. All of these proposals were in opposition to the original cultural use and look of the area and therefore, strictly speaking, conflicted with the Burra Charter. The reason for this conflict is that people use the square differently now than they did in the past. This new use must be considered for the council to improve the area and make it functional in its modern context. Thus, the historic form could not be maintained. Not many of the changes made in this area appear to conform to the original character of Glenelg, but the developments did enhance the pedestrian environment and gave the place more significance to the culture of the present.[7] (Figure 5-8)

[5] Victor Harbor Council, *Victor Harbor Development Plan* (Victor Harbor: Council, 2000). Objective 4.
[6] as cited in Vines "Townscape Improvement Strategies", 207.
[7] Ibid. 207.

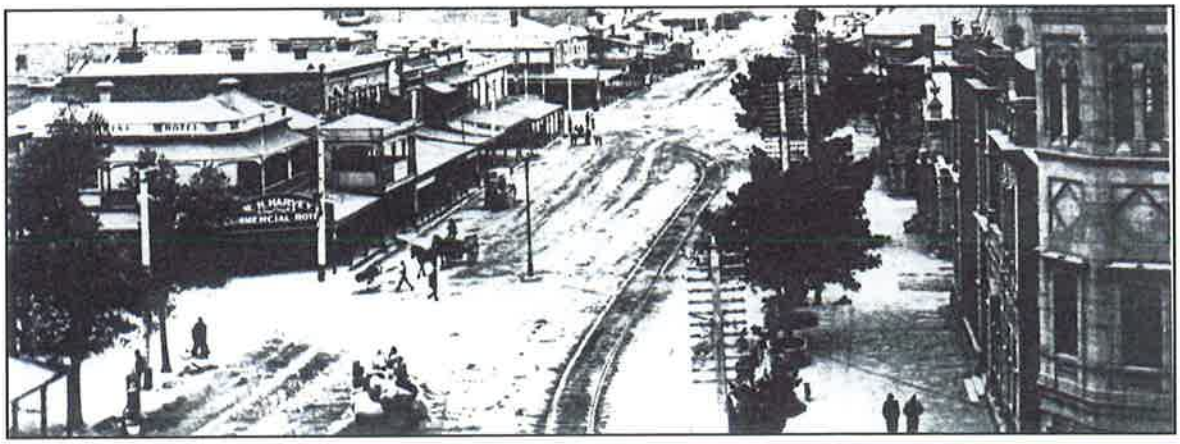
The changes to Port Adelaide, Glenelg and Victor Harbor could be viewed as adaptation. The areas have been adapted for their new use as a tourist area. Yet the Burra Charter states that adaptation is only acceptable where the adaptation has minimal impact on the cultural significance of the place,[8] and involves minimal change to the significant fabric. It should only be carried out after considering all alternatives.[9] Thus, problems arise in two main areas. First, they arise when considering who determines whether such improvements detract from the cultural significance of the area. Second, it is unclear whether the Charter is referring to detraction from past cultural significance, or from cultural significance of the present. These questions are rarely addressed during the decision-making processes of conservation. The most important issues to a council, developer or private owner are physical revitalisation and increasing attractiveness of a place, and their accompanying financial benefits.[10]

These examples raise the question of the Burra Charter's effectiveness in addressing the concept of cultural significance in a contemporary context both economically and socially. In the examples cited above the Charter has been ignored. However, the resulting heritage areas are still adequate historic records while also playing an important role in the social use of their areas within their modern contexts.

Ray Tonkin states that urban conservation and heritage controls are not highly prescriptive. In fact, he believes that they could be criticised as being too broad. Thus, calling on the development industry to produce schemes that conserve in an 'appropriate manner' where interpretation of appropriate conservation work depends on the desired outcome (often financial gain). As indicated above, the selected approach to development often makes little reference to the Burra Charter. This is due to the fact that the nature of the built

[8] The Burra Charter, Article 21.1.
[9] Ibid. Article 21.2.
[10] Vines, "Townscape Improvement Strategies", 208.

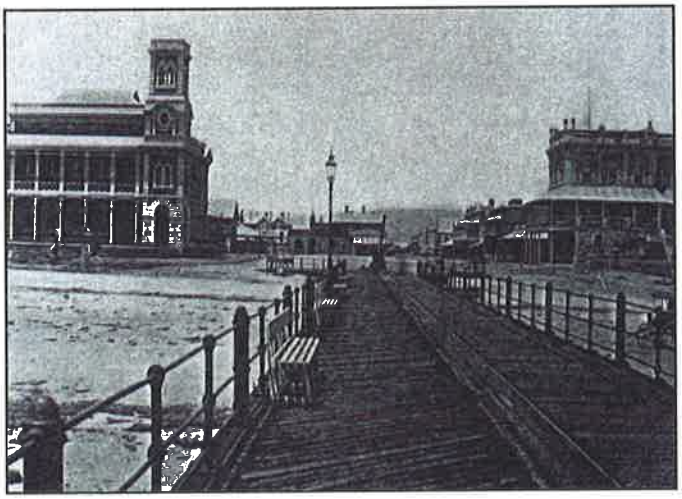
Figures 1&2
In Port Adelaide public art, street furniture and bollards are used to highlight certain buildings.



Figures 3&4
Figure 3 illustrates Commercial Road, Port Adelaide in 1911 (Colwell: 1974). Figure 4 illustrates the same road in 2001. Changes made in the area have substantially altered its appearance. However, reference to the Port's cultural past remains.

Figures 5&6

Figure 5 illustrates the shore front of Glenelg in 1880 (Pike: 1983, 65). Figure 6 illustrates the same position in 2001. Despite the plantation of trees and the alteration and addition of some of the buildings the appearance of the area retains its connection with the past.



Figures 7&8

Figure 7 illustrates the jetty at Glenelg in 1857 (Pike: 1983, 63). Figure 8 illustrates how the plantation of trees, alteration of street furnishings such as lamps and seating and the building of new buildings may change the look and use of the place. However, an impression of the past is retained.

environment, particularly when discussing the issue of cultural significance, is varied and continually changing. Each specific conservation project is distinctly different from every other. Therefore, guidelines cannot prescribe definite conservation approaches. Tonkin rightly interprets heritage as a specialisation within the architectural profession; hence, he believes professional guidelines should be provided to support practitioners. In this respect Tonkin is very focussed on the professional approach to conservation; however, it is important to remember that all elements of the built environment have an important cultural role and all points of views are equally important. Culture is forever changing and evolving, and professional guidelines are often unable to accommodate this element of the built environment, as is indicated in the examples cited above.[11] As James Sempel Kerr suggests;

> The increasingly common use of 'standard' or 'model' conservation plan briefs should be treated with caution and regarded only as a starting point and checklist. The actual structure and scope of the plan has to evolve to suit the particular place and its problems.[12]

Whether a conservation practitioner uses the Burra Charter or not, defining the cultural significance of the place is an essential first step in the work on a heritage place. However, this is often overlooked by many architects and designers of physical improvement strategies. Most strategies are strongly tied to the economic rejuvenation of places and therefore the cultural significance is not fully understood. Physical improvements are more concerned with improved people appreciation than with protection of elements of cultural significance.

In this respect the principles in the Burra Charter will not solve conservation problems regarding the interpretation of 'cultural significance'. However, if read in conjunction with an understanding of financial and social gain they may provide a framework within which individual problems can be contemplated. They will also enable practitioners of all disciplines to work with a common language. Use of the Burra Charter within the practice of conservation should aim to combine conservation practice, social values and physical infrastructure.

[11] Ray Tonkin, "Paying Lip Service to Guidelines," *Architect* August (1992), 7.
[12] James Semple Kerr, "Conservation Doctrine in Australia 1979-1984," *Heritage Australia* 1,2.Summer (1982), 72.

As James Kerr and Miles Lewis indicate, the Burra Charter is not intended as 'the Bible of conservation in this country'[13] nor is it intended as a 'holy writ'.[14] It is merely designed as a set of guiding principles. The Charter emphasises the need to understand what is significant about a place before the appropriate combinations of conservation treatments are selected.[15]

The Burra Charter was formulated because there are places worth keeping for the way in which they enrich the life of a community. This they do by helping it to understand past processes and conditions, by contributing to a pleasant environment and by providing a focus of community sentiment. However, the Charter poorly addresses the issue of community sentiment. Rather, the Charter focuses more specifically on the retention of the historic fabric of the place. The Charter places its faith in the idea that the fabric, setting and contents of a place embody its cultural significance and memories of association.[16] In reality, the treatment of a place depends a lot on the concept of value. The concept and assessment of value is loaded with cultural assumptions and cultural interpretations. Significance and value are multi-faceted. Assessment of cultural significance demands a careful balance between empiricism and the values of the varying cultural interpretations and requirements of the decision-maker.

Therefore, when dealing with a significant building, every decision is potentially a controversial one. This problem is magnified due to the fact that changes in planning controls and political pressure are so rapid that the decision-maker feels confused as to the correct approach to take. This is an issue that was of concern to the National Trust of South Australia in 2000. On 7th December of 2000, industry professionals and members of the government and the National Trust convened the Heritage Management Summit to discuss the problems associated with heritage management and understanding in the current political climate.

The Heritage summit highlighted the fact that the main problems associated with the practice of conservation involve the fragmentary nature of government. Heritage guidelines exist on global, international, continental, national, regional, district and local

[13] Miles Lewis, "Conservation in Practice," *Architecture Australia* 77 number 7.October (1988), 92-3.
[14] Kerr, "Conservation Doctrine in Australia 1979-1984," 72.
[15] Ibid. 72.
[16] Jane Lennon, "Why Stick to the Burra Charter?," *Architect* August (1992), 6.

scales[17]. In Australia, the top level of administration of heritage places is the Australian Heritage Commission. The Australian Heritage Commission was established in 1975. Its establishment followed the guidelines outlined in the *Australian Heritage Commission Act.* This Act was amended in 1976 and again in 1990. Section 30 of the Act outlines a set of obligations intended for Commonwealth ministers, departments and authorities to aid in the protection of the country's heritage places. This section of the Act was developed to prevent government bodies from taking any action that would adversely affect a place listed as being significant on the Register of the National Estate. However, this has little impact on whether a place is actually protected because the Act places no direct legal constraints or controls over the actions of state or local government or private owners.[18] Thus, the Australian Heritage Commission has little influence on legal or developmental decisions made regarding a place with heritage value. This role goes to the second level of administration that, in South Australia, is covered by the *Heritage Act 1993.* The *Heritage Act* is used by local government bodies to determine which places have heritage importance and to formulate rules concerning the treatment of heritage places that are outlined in each council's Development Plan. However, there is no legal obligation for councils to have heritage protection in their Development Plans. Every council area has different rules, guidelines and expectations of how heritage places should be treated. Despite there being a variety of heritage lists (the Register of the National Estate, State Heritage Lists, Local Government lists and National Trust Lists, all of which highlight the importance of heritage places and give them a superficial level of protection), a place is only protected to the extent to which its council area values its historic value. This lack of cohesion and inadequate legislation regarding heritage places contributes to the problem of understanding the real function of heritage and the concept of 'cultural significance'.

As previously stated, when making decisions regarding the future of a significant place, at any level of legislation, the first step is the interpretation of the cultural significance of the place. Lewis states that determining what constitutes cultural significance is a specialised activity and involves preparing a 'conservation plan'.[19] Lewis considers the Conservation Plan to be a 'critical' document because it determines whether a place is regarded as significant at all, and therefore, whether or not it will be subjected to conservation controls. The preparation of this 'critical' document is problematic due to the interpretation of the

[17] Peter J Fowler, *The Past in Contemporary Society: Then, Now*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1995), 82.
[18] www.environment.gov.au/heritage/protection/index.html
[19] Miles Lewis, "Conservation in Practice," 92-3

Burra Charter. In determining cultural significance the questions to be assessed are, first what is culture? Is it the culture of the past or of the present? Second, who determines what is significant? The professional, or the broad public? It is 'critical' but very hard to define. This may result in problems in the public or the professional's interpretation of the conservation plan.[20]

The practical implications of the Burra Charter are difficult to achieve within the confines of modern economic and social pressures. However, the most important element in the conservation of a place's built heritage is the retention and interpretation of cultural significance: *the aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations.*[21] Despite this the discussion above has highlighted the fact that there are problems in the way the Burra Charter is used in practice and the way it fails to be applicable to the changing requirements of people and their environment. This results in the necessity to look deeper into the meaning of culture and how the term can be used in different ways in order to be more useful within the practice of conservation.

2.3. The Interpretation of Culture

The interpretation of culture poses a variety of generic problems that must first be addressed before proceeding with the more specific conservation issues. Thomas Schlereth points out two basic sources of the problems: first is the multitude of definitions and second is the various different classes of culture. These classes range from high culture, popular culture and broad culture that embody the socially transmitted rules for human behaviour and ways of doing and thinking things.[22] Schlereth indicates that the term 'material culture' sounds like a word made up by a committee,[23] and the same could be said for the term 'cultural significance'. Terms such as these are devised to explain a concept; however, ultimately, through over-analysis and misinterpretation, they confuse the notion and leave it contingent to interpretation. For this reason it is important to define the meaning intended for a term or concept when using it within a particular context.

[20] Ibid. 92-3.
[21] The Burra Charter, Article 1.2.
[22] Thomas. J. Schlereth, *Material Culture, a Research Guide* (Kansas: University Press, 1996), 4.
[23] Ibid. 4.

2.3.1 Problems in defining 'culture'

In this thesis there has been no attempt to establish a substantive definition of culture. This is due to the fact that 'culture', as a western idea, has a very long history. There have been many definitions of culture produced by social scientists and cultural studies. There are also several different social positions from which culture can be understood- social, prescriptive and economic, being just three. Therefore, only by exploring these various definitions can a statement of cultural significance be well grounded and understood.[24] The main issue of culture in conservation is what Roland Robertson calls 'meta culture'; that is, ways of addressing the varying links between culture and social structure and between culture and individual and collective action. These relations are very volatile. Therefore, a definitive interpretation is not possible. However, a need for a systematic conception of the terms is necessary.[25]

The discourse of cultural studies has a strong position in the interpretation of architecture in that it covers the social processes involved in the production, transmission and reception of symbolic or cultural forms. Wilhelm Dilthey proposed that culture is the study of human science in opposition to the science of nature. When observing culture within the context of buildings, the human interaction with the building is what gives it cultural importance. Therefore, socially derived human views and use must be considered.[26] Cultural studies engage with the living detail of the everyday, the popular and sometimes the underside of culture. Culture is always fluid and vibrant because it is always being formed and reshaped in relationship with those who encounter, consume and interact with it.[27] Cultural studies are studies of culture carried out within a specific social, academic and national context.[28] They give a group of people significance by exploring the relationships between identity, power and everyday life.[29] In this respect cultural analysis involves the relationships among groups within a society.[30] The use of the term 'cultural' explains that the phenomenon to be discussed is of human origins. Therefore, for the purpose of conservation the study of culture is better than pure history or sociology. Cultural studies seek to go further than the disciplinary ethnic and natural boundaries. Cultural

[24] Roland Robertson, *Globalisation: Social Theory and Global Culture* (Landon: Sage Publication, 1996), 33.
[25] Ibid. 34.
[26] Held et al, "Introduction," in *The Polity Reader in Cultural Theory,* ed. Giddens et al., (Cambridge, Oxford: Polity Press, 1994), 1.
[27] John Storey, *Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture: Theories and Methods* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 1.
[28] Ibid. 3.
[29] Ibid. 124.

understanding involves a 'pan-human' science of society. Thus, the findings can be accepted on both logical and evidentiary levels.[31]

2.3.2 Problems in Understanding Class

Why is culture viewed as being significant? Why does society value the cultural reference evident in historic sites? Generally, places seen as being culturally significant are valued as a way of documenting history, providing a source of information, providing records and representing a broad section of its maker's culture. Contrary to this however, ICCROM defines culture as the refined understanding of the arts and other intellectual achievements; it is about high cultural customs of a particular age. Similarly, in his book *Culture and Imperialism,* Edward Said states that culture refines and elevates the best elements of a society, what is known and thought, it materialises all of the emotions and elements of an existence and differentiates 'us' from 'them', it is the source that gives society an identity.[32] Said's critique of culture implies that culture is a term that refers specifically to the 'best' elements of a society. This kind of meaning may contribute to the restoration of building that may become irrelevant and dysfunctional to the current culture. Conservation requires that the 'cultural' significance of the building be retained. If this is done in accordance with this interpretation of culture then all conserved buildings will only be applicable to the high intellectual cultural groups.[33] A comprehensive representation of culture in the broader sense of the word is not achieved.

All elements of culture are vital signs of how a culture is constructed and how culture constructs society. Notions of culture, and whether it is viewed from a social, prescriptive or an economic point of view, are ever changing and dependent on a particular social location or political climate. An example of this is given in Will Brooker's book, *Cultural Studies*. Brooker states that at the time of its production, the literature of William Shakespeare and Charles Dickens was intended for consumption by popular culture. The plays and novels were consumed in a manner similar to that of the television soapies or comics books today. However, today Shakespeare and Dickens are viewed by 'high' culture as being literary marvels.[34] Thus, all aspects of the cultural community are

[30] Marvin Harris, *Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 6.
[31] Ibid. xii.
[32] Edward W Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), 8.
[33] James Strike, *Architecture in Conservation: Managing Development at Historic Sites* (London/ New York: Routledge, 1994), 18.
[34] Will Brooker, *Cultural Studies* (London: Hodder Headline Plc, 1998), 2.

important. The ways in which different elements of culture view cultural objects are valid and should be taken into consideration in the discussion of cultural significance.

This example illustrates that culture comprises the concrete sets of signifying practices and the modes of generating meaning that creates social status. Thus, cultural production plays an active constitutive role in the creation of ways of life and overall forms of social organisation. Buildings are a medium of communication for culture. Problems arise when a definition between mass culture and high culture becomes apparent, as it does in the discussion of architecture. In contemporary Western society, the design and decisions concerning the built environment are usually made by high culture, but the outcome is experienced by mass culture. The formation of culture involves changing power balances and interrelationships between the varying viewpoint of the various cultural groups, these being social, prescriptive and economic.[35] Culture, in its widest sense, is an important characteristic of historic sites.

Within its most broad definition, culture has a strong ability to represent a society. Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis, culture is not defined solely by the culturally educated, or 'high cultural' groups. Discussion that only includes this group can eliminate the other equally important cultural views that are still an integral element in the discussion of cultural significance. A broad definition of culture blends together and incorporates the culture of common people with selected elements of high culture. It is not observed as being fixed or static.

2.3.3 Representation

The idea of culture is made up of properties, prototypes, schema, models and theories. These provide a representation of how the environment is viewed. A culturally based representation of the environment has significant effects on the perception, memory and reasoning of the past. The result of cultural representation is that of interactionism, where each cultural point of view mutually affects all others.[36] There are two systems of representation. The first gives meaning to the world by constructing a relationship between people and objects, events and ideas, and concepts. The second is a more materialistic

[35] Giddens, *Introduction*, 2.
[36] Roy D'Andrade, *The Development of Cognitive Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 182.

form or representation that corresponds to the objects that represent concepts.[37] The aim of conservation should be to combine these two systems of representation.

Meaning, language and representation are critical elements in studying culture. Every culture has different meanings, language and representation. Therefore, if, through conservation, these things are changed then the cultural representation is lost.[38] A society remembers its environment through the way in which it is represented. It relies on this representation to be accurate. Part of the price of representation is memory bias. If a representation becomes inaccurate through poor understanding of cultural significance then the memory will be transmitted inaccurately.[39]

Representation is the production of meaning through language; or to use Saussure's expression, signs are used to communicate meaning. A culture has specific meaning, it is a concept; the object is the vehicle used to communicate the concept. Cultural significance is a concept and it cannot be communicated without the cultural material, which is the building's fabric. Buildings are a system of representation. They are signs organised into various relationships. Codes are used to translate the relationship. The codes are a result of social conventions. Each cultural viewpoint has different codes and methods of translating the codes.[40]

Thus, in Saussure's theory a building is a signifier, the meaning of the building is the signified. Every time a person sees a specific building it correlates with the person's association or memory of it. In changing the form the correlation is gone and so is the relationship. Since both signifier and signified are required to produce meaning, it is the relationship between them that sustains the representation of the building.[41]

If the relationship between the signifier and the signified is the result of a system of social conventions specific to each society and to specific historical monuments then all meanings are produced within history and culture. This is why conservation is important. However, meaning may change historically. The meaning we take as viewers, readers or audiences is never exactly the meaning that has been given by the designer, speaker or writer. Although

[37] Stuart Hall, "Representation, Meaning and Language," in Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying practice, ed. Stuart Hall (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 19.
[38] Ibid. 19.
[39] D'Andrade, *The Development of Cognitive Anthropology*, 216.
[40] Hall, *Representation, Meaning and Language*, 28.
[41] Ibid. 31.

heritage cannot always be completely accurate, the aim of conservation is to make the interpretation as accurate as possible. This may be achieved through understanding the true purpose of conservation, which is the maintenance of cultural significance.

2.3.4 Cultural 'Theories'

Philosophical debate concerning the meaning of culture has been constant. A more thorough understanding of the meaning of culture may be developed with reference to the theories of some key theorists on the topic. Key cultural theorists introduced in this section are Theodor Adorno, Raymond Williams, Pierre Bourdieu, John Burger and Stuart Hall; each of which will be referred to individually as the discussion of conservation progresses and the different approaches to conservation are explored.

Adorno's cultural theories are a critique of 'mass' culture, or as he describes it, the 'culture industry'. As indicated above, mass culture, is the cultural viewpoint taken by the general public. It is the culture of vernacular progress and gradual change. The problem in the interpretation of 'mass' implies that audiences are inert, undifferentiated heaps. It often implies a one-way flow of messages from the transmitter to the receiver. The recipients have relatively little capacity to contribute to the course and content of the communication process.[42] "The total effect of the culture industry is one of anti-enlightenment in which... progressive technical domination, becomes mass deception ... a means of fettering consciousness."[43]

The product of this 'culture industry', in Adorno's view, is standardisation and pseudo individualisation; and therefore, globalisation. From this point of view culture becomes a consumable commodity.

Adorno believes that consumer culture has resulted in fetishisation. Culture is not appreciated for its use value but its exchange value. Adorno draws on the Marxist theory of commodity fetishism, where consumer products are valued solely in themselves, not through the labour they took to produce. Social relations are dominated by things or possessions.

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[42] John Thompson, *Social Theory, Mass Communication and Public Life* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994). pg 24-25

[43] Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, (New York, Horkheimer, 1944).

Fetishisation is all about collecting and hoarding the right cultural commodities. Relating Adorno's theories to conservation, it could be argued that a culture's need for conservation is a form of fetishisation. Social groups collect buildings because they represent something; however, they may have no functional use within their current context, they stand purely as a status symbol. The consumers' genuine needs are disguised by the false needs of socially developed values.[44] This argument supports the contemporary approach to conservation in that the building should be functional in current society; otherwise its only function is as a status symbol. However, the danger of contemporary conservation is highlighted in Adorno's use of Marxist ideas about fetishism, consumers and profit value. In changing a building to suit a new use the developer is purely conforming to a perceived need. In the long term, what is the product used for? Is it really needed? What effect does the new use have on society as a whole? Today buildings are built or changed for a commercially fabricated use. This new use may have merely been created by market research and advertising.[45] Poker machines are an example of the operation of this theory in the current architectural situation in Adelaide. There is a commercial requirement for hotels in Adelaide to accommodate gaming rooms. Hotels are being refurbished for this new use that is a result of the pokie fetish.

Adorno disputes the belief that individuals possess one specific identity relating to their class or social standing. This is referred to as 'identity thinking' or assumed identity. Adorno believes that it is not possible to compartmentalise into general categories. This form of thinking links things to an 'ideal existence'. Alternately, 'non-identity thinking' examines the relation between the object and its concept in order to discover the hidden reality of meaning behind an object; thus, finding the truth. Viewing the object from different angles allows the inner history to emerge.[46]

Within this frame of thought, and in relation to the contemporary form of conservation, Adorno suggests that cultural objects should be viewed as progressive elements, rather than complete entities. He resists totality stating that progression is more important. This places importance on a places specific cultural meaning rather than simply its form.[47] Adorno suggests that a building can only be read as a true cultural object when it is understood

[44] Theodor Adorno, *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 1991), 17.
[45] ibid pg 37
[46] Kerr, "Adorno, Theodor (1903-1969)" in *The AZ Guide to Modern Literary and Cultural Theorists* ed. S Sim (Hertifordshire: Prentice Hall/ Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1995), 6.
[47] Ibid. 7.

within this theory. Looking at buildings as static entities, their true meaning cannot be fully understood.

The belief that culture cannot be short sighted, that it should possess a broad view and consider progression, is shared in the cultural theories of Raymond Williams. Williams expresses concern with the individual nature of culture and the growing blindness the individual has concerning their role in a wider society. Williams believes that this mentality has flourished in the gaps left by a lack of community and a failure to see a wider context beyond an individual's actions. If this form of development continues Williams believes culture will become increasingly selfish, and a sense of community will wither.

Williams believes that society has lost its sense of community, common purpose and a feeling of shared culture. This has resulted in it being difficult to define cultural significance. Williams uses cultural ideas of the past to encourage reflection and change. "There are ideas, and ways of thinking, with seeds of life in them, and there are others, perhaps deep in our minds, with seeds of general death. Our measure of success in recognising these kinds, and in naming them making possible their common recognition, may literally be the measure of our future".[48]

Williams therefore, describes two paths for cultural progression, one to an advanced future and one to a spiritual death. The importance of commonality and collective understanding of recognising a shared history and a shared responsibility forms a description of each element of every cultural period.[49] Williams talks about the recovery of these genuine cultural periods. The actual living sense of a community is recovered through understanding the traces that remain of it. Once the community has passed on, society can reconstruct them through analysis of their documentary culture.

Williams' definition of culture embraces all elements of culture implying that vernacular growth of the built environment can recapture a 'genuine' example of a specific culture. His interpretation does this by making links between political and social history in order to sketch the 'social character' of a particular time.[50] Therefore, Williams sees society as

[48] Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780-1950,* (New York, Harper and Row, 1966, 1958), 338.
[49] D. Amigoni, "Williams, Raymond (1921-88)" in *The AZ Guide to Modern Literary and Cultural Theorists*, ed. S Sim (Hertfordshire: Prentice Hall/ Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1995), 403.
[50] Ibid. 404.

having a 'common culture'; one that values diversity in community, has a pride in one's position and respect for others. In such communities, all cultural points of view are equal.[51]

In understanding Williams' theories it should be recognised that a community is much more than its documents, or within conservation, its buildings. However, the documents are essential to understanding of cultural meaning. Cultural institutions and forms play a powerful role in selecting which documents will be preserved as they are produced. In preserving buildings from particular times and cultures, future cultural groups will have the material that can be used to interpret past culture. The preserved buildings represent traditions, meanings, values and interests that express a particular cultural identity. Cultural meaning is to be interpreted as a structure of feeling which is a manifestation of a form of lived experience.[52]

Similarly, John Berger sees a work of art, or in this case the building, as a record of something seen in the past. It is 'a relic or text from the past'. Buildings therefore, have documentary value. They provide records and interpretation of a culture. The building's image is an expression of its creator's personal imagination and experience. It is not simply a neutral record. However, a culture's perception of the building is influenced by received ideas gained through the presentation of the building. These ideas are interpreted through perceptions of beauty, genius, civilisation, form, status and taste. These are a result of the way a building has been understood during its conservation.[53] The culture of the present influences the interpretation of the culture of the past.

Pierre Bourdieu looks at culture from the individual's viewpoint or status within society, and the elements that influence cultural perception. His theory is referred to as 'habitus'. Habitus is the practices, systems and rules picked up by habit. Habitus begins primarily in the family home (primary habitus). It is then modified and built on by the individual's movement through education, work and other social environments (secondary/tertiary habitus). Habitus is a way of understanding and dealing with the culture that is acquired through experience. An individual's habitus is unique, but also relates to social position and the environment in which the individual grew up.[54]

[51] Ibid. 403.
[52] D. Amigoni, ed., "Williams, Parmond (1921-88)," 403.
[53] John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), 131.
[54] Richard Shusterman, *Bourdieu: A Critical Reader* (Oxford; Manchester: Blackwell Publishers inc., 1990), 59-9.

Bourdieu believes that primary habitus is fundamental to understanding and perception despite the fact that later experience transforms economic or cultural possessions or 'capital'. However, habitus is not a prison. It determines options but also allows for the possibility of individual mobility. Habitus constitutes various factors, including class, ethnicity, gender, education and status. Habitus provides a system of classification and identifies specific aesthetic lifestyle choices or tastes. Like Williams' theories of common culture, habitus aims to make individuals comfortable with their style of living or class.[55]

Within Bourdeau's cultural theories, class distinction is acceptable. It is a part of life. It is a natural result of the acquired dispositions of habitus as they are inherited. Habitus defines a system of 'taste'. It reinforces and legitimises social separations and social hierarchies.[56]

Bourdieu believes that his definition of culture is significant in interpreting the struggle between the dominant and subordinate classes in society. Arbitrary ways of living are transmitted into the legitimate way of life. Culture interprets social function and makes social differences legitimate. It implies that there is a connection between taste and class. Within Bourdieu's theories, an individual's cultural 'place' is their cultural capital, the currency of social distinction. If an individual has 'good' currency then they can dominate.[57] In Bourdieu's view, high culture is seen as the most important; thus, culture is reduced to a single function.[58]

Relating Bourdieu's habitus to conservation, it could be said that understanding of a culture is achieved through understanding the individual's primary habitus, which ultimately determines the meaning of a culture. The individual's views regarding the interpretation of cultural significance in conservation (social, prescriptive and economic) are a result of habitus.

Stuart Hall sees culture as a result of ideological myth, or as Samuel describes it, popular memory.[59] It results in the subordination of the powerless by the dominant classes, and it

[55] Pierre Bourdieu, "A Reflecting Story," in *Rediscovering History, Culture Politics and the Psyche,* ed. Michael S Roth (Stanford; California: Stanford University Press, 1994), 371.
[56] Ibid. 377.
[57] J Storey, "Bourdieu, Pierre (1930-)," in *The AZ Guide to Modern Literary and Cultural Theorists,* ed. S Sim (Hertfordshire: Prentice Hall/ Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1995), 58.
[58] Ibid. 61.
[59] Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (London and New York: Verso, 1994), 6.

controls social imbalance.[60] As culture is a result of ideology, cultural objects are a result of the manipulation of social relations. Culture is the site and result of a struggle over meaning. Cultural objects are not inscribed with meaning. The meaning must be extracted from the object. Meaning is always a social production, a practice. The world has to be made to mean.[61] Objects can have varied meaning depending on a particular social group's ideological interpretation.

However, Hall also states that ideology does not mask the real nature of culture. Ideological culture has specific meaning of its own. Thus, it needs analysis on its own terms.[62] The ideological struggle consists of attempts to win new meanings for particular concepts or practices and attempts to disarticulate other concepts and practices from their location in competing discourses. Hall's theories form an accurate description of the problems encountered within conservation. They imply that culture is a site of ideological struggle. Within conservation, issues of 'cultural significance' are a constant battlefield as different cultural points of view contend for recognition.[63]

By looking briefly into the complex theories of the cultural debates indicated above, it can be understood that society cannot be reduced to a single model. The culture of a social group is a network that is governed by a complex interaction of cultural conventions and class dispositions. There is no short-term or shortsighted anarchical description of culture. Users of culture make innumerable and infinitesimal transformations of and within the dominant cultural economy adapting it to their own interests and values. It is adaptable and changeable. Thus, the interpretation of cultural significance is dependent on the discipline (i.e. 'conservation') in which one is situated.

[60] Stuart Hall, "The Work of Representation," in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices,* ed. Stuart Hall (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 19.
[61] Storey, "Hall, Stuart (1932-)," in *The AZ Guide to Modern Literary and Cultural Theorists*, ed. S Sim (Hertfordshire: Prentice Hall/ Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1995), 195.
[62] Ibid. 194.
[63] Ibid. 196.

2.4. Social Significance

One of the most important viewpoints when considering the definition of culture is that of the people living within a community. This can be classified as 'social significance' and is an important element of cultural interpretation that, as was highlighted in the first part of this chapter, is often overlooked by prescriptive and legislative restrictions. Therefore, within the aim of this thesis social significance should be explored in detail in order to interpret why the term cultural significance is misinterpreted. Social significance comprises the distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise a society or social group. In this respect culture can be understood as the socially produced elements giving the built environment meaning and understanding.[64]

Within this context, a culture's surroundings are more than their physical form and history because they are an embodiment of ideas. A culture's built environment has attached meaning known specifically to the individuals that comprise the community. The meaning attached to a place can be interpreted as 'social value'. To really know the social value of a place one needs to be part of the community. This raises questions about the processes used to retain the social value, or cultural significance, and articulate value.[65]

The *Australian Heritage Commission Act* describes places that are of social significance as, "having aesthetic, historic, scientific or social significance or other special value for future generations as well as the present community."

Similarly, the Register of the National Estate states that places are of social significance because of, "strong or special association with a community for reasons of religious, spiritual, cultural reasons." (Section G) and have importance as, "places highly valued by a community for reasons of religious, spiritual, cultural, educational or social associations."[66] (Section G.1)

Although the issue of social significance is addressed in heritage documents, the actual creation of heritage lists is dependant on compliance to explicit criteria that uses a rigorous and prescriptive process. Judgement is rational and objective and it is carried out by professionals in the field; there is little understanding of the emotions and sentiments that

[64] Richard White, *The Australian Experience: Inventing Australia* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), xi.
[65] Chris Johnston, *What Is Social Value? A Discussion Paper* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Services, 1992), iii.
[66] ibid pg 1

inspire a community to love a place. Society has little input during the decision making process.[67] Lists often fail to include places that have social value because places of social importance are valued by the community not only for their unity, their physical presence and their fabric, but for their meaning to the people associated with their actual and potential use, as symbols of the place, its history and community.[68] These elements are not fully addressed or interpreted in heritage documentation.

The role of a place in people's everyday lives is a measure of social value. The Australian Heritage Commission states that a nostalgic or sentimental attachment to the past, or resistance to change is not sufficient reason for a place to be classified as being culturally significant. Thus, the Heritage Commission fails to recognise the socially derived viewpoint of culture. Nostalgia is the regretful or wistful memory of an earlier time. Sentiment is the sum of what one feels on some subject, a tendency or view based on or coloured with emotion.[69] Both of these definitions of 'nostalgia' could be said to accommodate the importance of social value. This deep sense of attachment to place has not been adequately defined by current heritage assessment methods and conservation techniques.

Due to the fact that many places of social significance are dismissed as being insignificant by experts and are not protected by heritage lists, it is necessary for communities to speak up about places that they value. Attachment to a place is fundamental but may be unconscious until it is threatened. Then it is too late. This is a phenomenon that has occurred repeatedly in Adelaide since the initial recognition of built heritage in the 1970s.

One such example occurred in 1983. On 1st December 1983, the Adelaide City Council gave approval for the Aurora hotel to be demolished due to the re-development of Hindmarsh Square (Figure 9). The hotel, although viewed by professionals as lacking in architectural merit or individuality, was valued socially as a prominent community asset. Therefore, the demolition of the hotel caused considerable uproar from the public who picketed the hotel 24 hours a day, formed petitions and committees in an effort to save the

[67] ibid pg 3
[68] Meredith Walker, *Protecting the Social Value of Public Places* (Australian Council of National Trusts, 1998), 51.
[69] Johnston, *What Is Social Value? A Discussion Paper*, 15.

hotel.[70] (Figure 10) Despite their efforts the hotel was demolished and Adelaide lost a building that had considerable social significance.

Despite the regretful loss of the hotel, it was recognised that;

> The furor which has erupted over the plans to demolish the 124 year old Aurora Hotel in Hindmarsh Square is a healthy sign that South Australians care about their environment. The hotel, while not the most attractive Victorian building in the city, has the affection of people who are prepared to back the Save the Aurora Action Committee and even get out of bed to prevent a 3am demolition attempt... The Aurora occupies a prominent site and a place in the hearts of those people who are stressing the hotels historic and environmental claims to continued existence.[71]

As a result of the Aurora hotel debate it became apparent that developmental decisions can affect both the progress and the character of Adelaide, and that heritage lists are provided to protect significant places. However, the lists are rarely sufficient or comprehensive and do not account sufficiently for the feelings of the community. Community affection should be an ingredient, together with the historical element, in any decision on the fate of a building.

The Aurora hotel was perhaps not culturally or architecturally significant enough to warrant heritage listing, "All the professional evidence points to the fact that the hotel is not considered worthy of preservation".[72] However, socially it was of great importance as was indicated by the reaction its demolition received.

Another similar, more recent example is the demolition of the Union Street wall in Adelaide's East End (Figure 11). Despite strong resistance from the National Trust and community groups, in December 2000 the Adelaide city council approved the demolition of the wall. The wall, which faced onto Union Street and Grenfell Street, once formed the front section of a 1920's building that was a part of the Adelaide Fruit and Vegetable markets. The loss of the wall as a material object was not specifically significant; rather, the loss was felt most keenly for what it represented. The wall completed the boundary that once encircled much of the East end markets. Despite the loss of the function of the

[70] Aurora Heritage Protection, *Time Gentlemen, Please!! The Story of the Fight to Save the Aurora Hotel* (Adelaide: 1983).
[71] Advertiser 1.11.83 as cited in Aurora Heritage Protection, *Time Gentlemen, Please!!*
[72] R. J. Mierisch, Chairman of A. W Baulderstone, as cited in Aurora Heritage Protection, *Time Gentlemen, Please!!*

markets the wall retained some of the reference to the past use and formed a sense of unity to the area.[73] The demolition of the wall was lamented by a broad section of the community, from professionals to residents and retailers. Petitions failed to prevent the demolition and as a result the needs and values of the community were ignored.

The problems associated with these examples have resulted in the recent formation of a group called Save Our Adelaide Suburbs (SOAS). The purpose of SOAS is to give the general public of Adelaide a voice in the decisions made by councils regarding development. The committee aims to work with Planning SA, architects and lawyers to devise a policy for urban regeneration, to improve the current trend of demolition and inappropriate development.[74] The committee aim to make current planning guidelines, such as *Development Acts*, more stringent in their approach to planning approvals and heritage listings. The committee acknowledges that current problems associated with heritage management and development are a result of the fact that the decisions made by planners are dominated by the financial requirements of developers rather than social views. Thus, planning decisions are not directed by the needs of the public and the environment but rather by developers for personal financial gain.[75] If development guidelines were comprehensive, the problems associated with inappropriate development and demolition, such as that in Union Street and the old Aurora example may be avoided and the public would be better represented.

The examples cited above illustrate that human connection with a place means that the reaction to change or demolition will be emotional. This is because it is the people's emotions that are touched by the connection. This emotional motivation to protect places

[73] Tim Lloyd, "Our History Built into the Walls," *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, 27.1.2001).
[74] Rosalie Disney made this statement at the SOAS Meeting held in Mile End on 27 March 2001
[75] Steven Fisher made this statement at the SOAS Meeting held in Mile End on 27 March 2001.

Figures 9&10
Figure 9 pictures the Aurora Hotel in 1938 (Aurora Heritage Protection: 1983, 7). Figure 10 illustrates an example of the picketing and demonstrations that took place during the Aurora demolition. (Ibid. 36)

Figures 11&12
The far section of the wall pictured in Figure 11 displays the Union Street wall during the initial stages of its demolition. Figure 12 illustrates the wall during demolition.

may never be represented by experts because emotions do not lend themselves to professonalisation. If a place has been the subject of any community action or protest, its importance to the community has been demonstrated.[76] Therefore, to prevent loss of socially significant places it is important to use community planning, participation and advocacy so that particular communities are able to identify, clarify and advocate their values. It is stated by Johnston, and is illustrated in the examples above, that current assessment practice is too narrow and does not reflect the entire scope of social interest. Currently the concept of social value tends to refer to the values expressed by community that fall outside professional frameworks. Social value needs to come into the mainstream of heritage assessment.[77]

This issue has been addressed by various overseas heritage organizations with comarable mandates to Australian ICOMOS. The Mexican committee of ICOMOS has prepared a declaration on *'Cultural Heritage in Daily life and its Conservation Through Community Support'*. This declaration seeks to respect the community's role in creating, maintaining and giving life and meaning to places. These places are then recognised as being of heritage importance. The declaration seeks to build a role for a community in conserving the place. In doing so, both its meaning and its fabric are retained. The Declaration states that those who create and use the built environment have the best understanding of how to conserve it. It maintains continuity of traditional practice.

Similarly, The Sri Lanka ICOMOS 1988 *'Charter for the Conservation of Historic Villages and Rural Areas'* advocates the connectedness of people and place and the need to recognise social unity as well as architectural fabric.[78]

These ICOMOS documents recognise that the imposition of specialist roles and formal guidelines in defining heritage and practising conservation may endanger heritage due to the neglect of the values of the social group using the place. Current practice of conservation often imposes outside values onto social significance. The decisions concerning heritage buildings are handed to professionals; the general public is not informed until it is too late.[79]

[76] Walker, *Protecting the Social Value of Public Places*, 21.
[77] Johnston, *What Is Social Value? A Discussion Paper*, 4.
[78] Ibid. 6.
[79] Ibid. 5.

Social value may be attached to a place as the embodiment of cultural practices and traditions. The nature of culture means that these practices and traditions change and evolve over time. Therefore, the changing traditions may gradually change the place.[80] This change could be seen as natural and is an important aspect of the social significance of a place. However, many places lose their connection with daily life by being allocated new uses for economic reasons. The loss of traditional activity, which can be observed in Port Adelaide, often means that such places are allocated to meet the needs of visitors rather than locals. This form of development may increase the disconnection between a community and its environment.[81]

Social value gives a community a sense of identity. Identity is something formed through an unconscious process over time, it is a vernacular process. It always remains incomplete, is in process, and is always being formed. It is not possible to think of identity as a finished thing; rather, it should be thought of as identification, an ongoing process.[82] This explains why social value is difficult to define. Social value is problematic because of its transitory nature. Values are constantly changing.[83]

2.5. Discussion

In seeking to understand the various cultural points of view, the elements that give a culture its significance need to be observed. This means understanding cultural traditions from the past, cultural identity in the present, and cultural aspirations for the future. It should be asked how conservation could create, retain and give meaning to the environment.

It has been established that in the past, legislation has not been able to ensure continuation of the ongoing relationship between a place and the people who created and nurtured it. Nor can the legislation of today. Legislation does, however, assist in the conservation of the fabric, although in doing so the particular relations that created its social value may be lost. If legislation is to protect social value and cultural significance, it needs to give priority to maintaining relations between people and place. This is the primary function of conservation. However, this relationship is often misunderstood. Some people within the community believe that conservation of culturally significant buildings may freeze development and limit progressive and innovative planning.[84] Therefore, in addition to

[80] Ibid. 12.
[81] Ibid. 6.
[82] Stuart Hall, *The Question of Cultural Identity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 122.
[83] Johnston, *What Is Social Value? A Discussion Paper,* 16.
[84] Ibid, 25.

recognising social significance, legislation needs to accommodate change so that the built environment has the capacity to evolve along with its community of uses. The Burra Charter gives some guidance on importance of continuity of use in recognising that use may be part of what gives place significance (Article 1.2) and that continuation of present use is important.[85] However, despite addressing owners' needs (article 6.3) and participation by the users of the place in the conservation process (article 12), the charter cannot implement these principles in practice.

The only way for social value and cultural significance to be fully protected is by an informed and politically active community. This community also needs the support of legislation. Social value concentrates more on use than fabric. This is due to the fact that social value is experiential; it is rooted in everyday life. Thus, conservation should be based on community concern. Only in communities where people take responsibility for their own environment will social value be accommodated and recognised.[86]

As advocated by Johnston and is being implemented through SOAS, a new awareness of social value is important when compiling heritage lists. Social value is found in places that provide spiritual or traditional connection between the past and the present. They display affection between the past and the present, and give the community a sense of its history and identity. The place should play a role in everyday life and therefore have a community function.[87]

Social value arises from popular opinion, and therefore can be assessed by the general public rather than purely through careful analysis by professionals.[88] Current heritage practice fails to recognise many aspects of 'people's history', particularly if they are not recognised in heritage lists. As Meredith Walker suggests, community involvement in decisions about places is appropriate irrespective of their heritage value.[89] Social value may only be expressed through an understanding of environmental elements that define the character and quality of place through collective views of a community with a common bond.

[85] Ibid. 23-24.
[86] Ibid. 24.
[87] Ibid. 6.
[88] Ibid. 16.
[89] Walker, *Protecting the Social Value of Public Places*, 21.

There are two kinds of experience of buildings. The primary experience, one that triggers an immediate emotional response, and one that accumulates over time, forming an attachment to a place. These two approaches are highlighted in the Australian Heritage Commission paper, *What is Social Value?* in which it is stated that there are two contradictory forms of criteria for a building to be culturally and socially significant:

The first recognises that the continuum of feeling by a particular community for a place is important and not simply a transitory attachment. The second acknowledges that significance lies in the associations a place has with present and future generations rather than with past communities only. Thus, social value of the past, present and future are equally important; however, is it possible for all three to be represented in the conservation process?

2.6 Summary

The discussion above has attempted to clarify the understanding of culture with regard to conservation, thereby making an understanding of the function of conservation more practical and applicable to a society-based interpretation of culture. The way in which culture is interpreted from a class based point of view, the way in which it is represented, and the impact cultural theorists have on the practice of conservation all impact on the way in which cultural significance is maintained. Refining the understanding of the concept of culture by incorporating different cultural points of view, conservation becomes more relevant to a greater section of the community. Legislation should then be developed which takes the differing views of conservation into consideration. The purpose of conservation may then be understood by a larger section of the community. The following three chapters take the varying cultural theories highlighted above and apply them to the three approaches to conservation highlighted in chapter one.

3. Conservative Conservation

3.1. Introduction

One form of cultural interpretation materialises in a conservative approach to conservation. As previously discussed in the introduction, this approach to conservation illustrates a prescriptive interpretation of the conservation process where, as advocated in the Burra Charter, the fabric of the building forms a description of the cultural significance of the past. This is what is retained in the conservation process. This chapter aims to form a thorough interpretation of the conservative approach to conservation. It will use current literature in order to discuss the benefits and down falls of conservative conservation.

Conservative conservation treats the historic fabric of the building as a valuable exemplar of past culture. The optimum results of conservation links past culture with recent ancestors and offspring, it bonds the past with the present, gives a culture an identity and gives society an indication of traditions from the past; thus, it could be said that buildings with cultural significance are entrenched in 'culture',[1] or as described in Chapter 2, 'meta culture'. Cultural significance is addressed in Article 1.2 of the Burra Charter in the statement that cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, association, meanings, records, related places and related objects. Conservative conservation retains the fabric of the built environment in order to retain cultural significance.

Therefore, within the practice of conservative conservation it is understood that the patterns of events that occur in a place give them meaning, and cannot be separated from the space where they occur. Thus, it is important for a building to remain connected with its original cultural use.[2] Once a building has been recognised as being significant, its cultural use is viewed as being very important. As Alexander suggests heritage buildings are keepers of secrets. Therefore, they have earned the stature of rarity. The building is respected, and in theory, is given recognition and longevity.[3]

[1] David Lowenthal, "Material Preservation and Its Alternatives," *Perspecta 25* 67 (1990), 67.
[2] Christopher Alexander, *The Timeless Way of Building* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 73.
[3] Ibid. 90.

Through conservation people develop an appreciation for old buildings. Within the conservative mindset, modernist architecture and urban renewal is resented. This is due to the fact that recent buildings display a global look that could be said to be unwelcome in tradition enriched environs.[4] Thus, conservative conservation aims to retain the diversity heritage buildings provide to the built environment. Old buildings were built to last. They have a sense of permanence, they resist alteration.[5] In conservative conservation the built form is retained and the living culture surrounding the place fits into the historic built fabric. Conservative conservation is encapsulated in Winston Churchill's statement, "We shape our buildings and afterwards our buildings shape us."[6]

Within Western culture it will always be important to have a memory of the past; a memory of the past is what gives society a sense of place and pride.[7] Material culture can be seen as the frame within which the memories of the past are materialised, and given substance and meaning. With this understanding it becomes apparent that the customs, symbols, rituals and artefacts of a culture are important in retaining a reference to the past. Retention of the artefacts, in effect, retains the memory. "Culture as a mnemosyne is affected as a whole by the winds from its own beyond."[8]

3.2. The Notion of Conservative Conservation

A place's built heritage has the potential to be a dynamic cultural indicator. Conservative conservation advocates that a building's fabric is the medium through which the attitudes and customs of a particular culture are understood. Therefore, a community keeps them as a means of indicating identity. Conservative conservation asserts that it is this characteristic of buildings that should be respected in conservation guidelines and consequently in any restoration work.[9] A building, like any other document, takes on significance in relation to a society's expectations of its ability to communicate meaning. It takes on significance because of the questions that are asked of it. These questions reveal assumptions about human nature and society.[10]

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[4] Alexander, *The Timeless Way of Building*, 92.
[5] Ibid. 91.
[6] Churchill (1924) as cited in Stewart Brand, *How Buildings Learn: What Happens after They're Built* (London: Viking, 1994), 3.
[7] Ivan Illich, *In the Mirror of the Past: Lectures and Addresses 1978-1990* (London: Marion Bogars Publishes, 1992), 182.
[8] Brand, *How Buildings Learn: What Happens after They're Built*, 184.
[9] Mohyla Schink, *Hotel Master Planning: Refurbishing Hotels for Profit and Tourism* (Adelaide: Graphic Services Ply Ltd, 1991), 56.
[10] Graeme Davison, "Reading a Building," in *A Heritage Handbook* ed. Graeme Davison (Sydney: Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd, 1991), 180.

The buildings within a society can be read as 'material culture', that is the "outward signs and symbols of particular ideas in the mind."[11] Conservation aims to utilise the material culture of the surroundings to understand the culture of the past, this in turn enhances the culture of the present. The concept of material culture began in 1875 with Lane-fox Pitt Rivers writings about Evolution of Culture and has been followed up in recent years as a tool in cultural analysis by scholars such as Henry Glassie and Thomas Schlereth. 'Material culture' looks at the human implications of a building and also the physical data; it accepts the strong interrelation between the physical object and human behaviour.[12]

3.2.1. Material Culture

In his book, *Material Culture: a Research Guide,* Schlereth discusses the methods early American anthropologists and folklorists used to understand culture. The first was ideological and was evident in oral or written data. The second was sociological involving observations of human behaviour and the third used the study of the material produce of a particular culture such as ceramics, tools or houses. These materials were produced according to the requirement of culture.[13] Material cultural studies involve understanding within the disciplines of art, architecture, decorative arts, cultural geography, technology, folklore, archaeology, anthropology, and cultural and social history. The multitude of varying disciplines within the discourse of material culture leads to a variety of different interpretations of the importance and definition of material culture.[14]

However, within the discipline of conservation, material culture includes the 'artefacts', 'objects' or 'things' produced by a community. These, often vague terms, initiate confusion regarding the interpretation of material culture. They should be used with specific regard within the confines of cultural discourse.[15] When looking into the various definitions scholars have articulated for material culture it becomes obvious that misunderstandings and poor interpretations may occur. Take the following definitions:

- Material culture entails the actions of manufacture and use, and the expressed theories about the production, use, and nature of material objects.[16]

[11] Ibid. 1.
[12] Thomas. J. Schlereth, *Material Culture, a Research Guide* (Kansas: University Press, 1996), 3.
[13] Ibid. 2.
[14] Ibid. 6.
[15] Ibid. 2.
[16] Ford (1937) as cited in Schlereth, *Material Culture, a Research Guide*, 2.

- Material culture is that segment of a community's physical environment that is purposely shaped by the people living there according to culturally dictated plans.[17]

- Material culture is the idea about objects external to the mind resulting from human behaviour as well as ideas about human behaviour required to manufacture these objects.[18]

- Material culture is the segment of human kinds biosocial environment that has been purposely shaped by people according to culturally dictated plans.[19]

If taken on face value these definitions strongly support the conservative view of conservation and give full importance to the fabric of the building, implying that the evidence of a culture is fully represented in the material products of that culture.[20] However, such a cursory analysis may produce false conclusions, because the fabric of a culture cannot independently represent the cultural practice of that culture.

These definitions refer to the 'things' and 'objects' that a culture produces. These are inanimate terms. The term 'artefact', on the other hand, refers to *arte* meaning skill and *factum* meaning something done.[21] The use of the word artefact in relation to material culture provides human implication; the artefact is produced by the people within the culture for the use of the people. Artefacts embody meaning as well as convey meaning; thus, material culture is a resource for effective cultural understanding. Human history is not just about past cognitive and behavioural activity but also previous aesthetic and sensory experience.[22] Therefore, for the understanding of material culture within conservation, as discussed in this thesis, material culture will be interpreted as:

The artefact that is a product of human needs and actions which derives its meaning from the context in which it was produced or the context in which it is currently being used

[17] Deetz (1979) as cited in Schlereth, *Material Culture, a Research Guide*, 2.
[18] Osgood (1940) as cited in Schlereth, *Material Culture, a Research Guide*, 2.
[19] Schlereth, *Material Culture, a Research Guide*, 5.
[20] Ibid. 1.
[21] Ibid. 2.
[22] Ibid. 13.

3.2.2. Ideology

Conservative conservation of a society's material culture provides an ideological interpretation of the environment and of cultural practice. It involves analysis of the elements of a culture that are normally taken for granted, in order to interpret a culture's framework of ideas. Therefore, it often results in an idealistic understanding of the built environment. Ideological assessment sees the dwelling as a social construct; it takes the experience of dwelling in everyday life and transforms it into an object of cultural significance. Thus, an ideological interpretation of material culture is said to reduce the social reality of the built environment making it unchanging, giving buildings a mythical quality.[23]

In conservative conservation, no matter how different the mythical artefact, or the building, at the beginning of the conservation process, the result is the formation of a pure signifying element of the built environment which offers a sense of place and identity.[24] With myth the actual meaning of the object is sometimes altered, and the artefact acts as a representation of a past event, something that may no longer be relevant. Relating this to Saussure's theory, the signifier is the same but the signified has moved and is different.[25]

Myth has the task of communicating events from the past. It serves to justify the past. Therefore, it gives the past the ability to be understood in the future. Myth removes the direct human meaning of buildings, and in doing so makes buildings objects that signify past human importance.[26] In this respect the function of myth is to take away the humanistic reality embodied in buildings. Myth depoliticises the environment and makes things neutral.

Despite this, mythical conservation does not necessarily deny buildings their meaning. Its function is to act as a dialogue between the past and the present. Myth purifies buildings and makes them innocent. It gives them justification that can sometimes be seen as natural and eternal. Thus, conservative conservation has the potential to give buildings clarity; their external appearance can be read as a statement of fact. Myth acts economically, it simplifies the complexity of human acts, by centring on what is immediately visible, giving artefacts meaning within themselves. Conservative conservation maintains the built

[23] Kimberly Dovey, "Dwelling, Archetype and Ideology," *Dwelling, Centre, Journal for American Architecture* 8 (1993), 12.
[24] Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (London and New York: Verso, 1994), 246.
[25] As cited in Roland Barthes, "Myth Today," in *Visual Culture: The Reader,* ed. Stuart Hall (London: Sage Publications, 1999), 53.
[26] Ibid, 57.

environment's individual nature by displaying it in a simple and clear way.[27] Conservative conservation maintains the diverse nature of the built environment. It conserves elements that are specific to the building and its locality. In doing so it has the ability to counter the invasive uniformity of modernity, giving it a romantic attraction and maintaining local traditions and myth.[28]

3.2.3. Sensory connection

The conservative approach to conservation is sympathetic to the fact that the built environment can be experienced through senses other than purely through sight; the other senses are often ignored in conservation. The ears, nose and touch make connections that may be different to what the eye experiences.[29] They perceive a landscape to which the individual material composition of the building is irrelevant; other aspect such as smell, temperature, sounds or texture make up the experience of the building. The conservative approach strives to be aware of as many methods of perception as possible and the senses through which the perception is received. It is important for the conservationist to be fully aware of these elements that form the cultural identity of a building. Conservative conservation illustrates the combination of the fabric of the building with the sensual experience of it.

In this respect material culture is the most reliable representation of culture. It provides a much more comprehensive understanding of culture than other media such as writing or speech. Therefore, due to its three dimensionality a wider representativeness and more effective understanding is provided. For this reason, it is important for material culture to be maintained. In historic research material is often the only means of understanding a culture. Material culture is the oldest form of communicating history and in some cultures it predates writing and speech by 1000s of years.[30] Material culture provides cultural understanding to a broad cross section of society and extends the sources of cultural information beyond written or statistical records. As Thomas Schlereth advocates, it is no longer possible to hear a 16th century Spanish folk hymn as it was originally sung or a 17th century New England Puritan Sermon as it was originally preached. However, the artefact has durability which can be experienced now as it was then: "Artefacts offer a

[27] Ibid. 57.
[28] Brand, *How Buildings Learn: What Happens after They're Built*, 100.
[29] Dell Upton, "Architectural History or Landscape History," *Journal of Architectural Education* 44.4 (1991), 196.
[30] Schlereth, *Material Culture, a Research Guide*, 8.

temporal range of data that allows us to explore human behaviour [culture] over a much wider pattern of cultural change than written record."[31]

However, understanding of culture based purely on material should not be exaggerated. All artefacts can wear out, become damaged or be removed from their original location; thus, the cultural implications may be altered. It should be taken into consideration that many examples of material culture are not the same as when they were originally fabricated. This is why conservation is important and is why the conservative form of conservation is beneficial. In using material culture for historical evidence it is important to be aware of all segments of a particular culture, not just to make reference to the high cultural examples.[32] Objects are evidence of ways of living and working from a broad section of the community. They are a culture's means of self-expression and believing.[33]

3.2.4. Material and Memory

> If you want to preserve a building, you will try to make it in materials which last and last forever. You will try to make sure that this creation can be preserved intact, in just its present state forever.[34]

The concept of architecture implies permanence. Due to this, in the contemporary view, almost no building adapts well; they are designed not to. Despite this, all buildings adapt anyway, however poorly, because the usage in and around them is constantly changing. Through their materiality, a building has the ability to provide a reliable indication of past culture. When a building is conserved, an understanding of attitudes and decisions taken long ago for remote reasons can be gained. In the conservative approach to conservation the built environment is viewed as being permanent: buildings are not meant to change.[35] This theory implies that a building *cannot* change. Once it is no longer useful is should be demolished, it dies. Conservation is a process used in order to prevent the thought and fact of death. If protected through conservative conservation the past can never be lost. "What is past is not dead; it is not even past."[36]

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[31] Ibid. 9.
[32] Gaynor Kavanagh, "Objects as Evidence, or Not?" in *Museum Studies in Material Culture,* ed. Susan M Pearce (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1989), 125.
[33] Ibid. 126.
[34] Alexander, *The Timeless Way of Building*, 153.
[35] Brand, *How Buildings Learn: What Happens after They're Built*, 2.
[36] Christa Wolf as cited in Mary Pepchinski, "The Landscape of Memory," in *Drawing Building Text,* ed. A Kahn (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1991), 136.

Through conservative conservation, the past continues to inhabit the present. Conservation is an active form of remembrance; it maintains the environment through continual care and attention.[37]

Conservative conservation implies that cultural significance is represented in the fabric of the building, as the earlier citation of Article 1.2 indicated[38]. The material composition of a building can be one of the most reliable representations of past times. Much of a culture's everyday life takes its shape and meaning from the houses, offices, shops, factories and churches in which it is conducted. Past lives are also evident within the fabric of particular places, buildings and rooms.

The buildings that a community inhabit offer more than functional public or private shelter. They also embody emotion and meaning and mirror the collective memory of people. Conservative conservation aims to retain this memory through the retention of fabric. It implies that the mass production of modern housing and buildings loses the understanding of place that old buildings provide and replaces it with a more globalised experience of culture. New development, particularly in places with historic and cultural significance, results in the denial of history and shared memory that may initiate a growing sense of placelessness. As Mary Pepchiniski implies, buildings of memory are not just buildings but are a synthesis of art, landscape and buildings. Historic buildings combine these things and engage personal experience. Thus, emotional release arises, caused by direct confrontation with the past.[39] The material configuration of historic buildings can be read as an important information source.[40] From the conservative point of view, the building is a prompt to provide cultural information; it is more than merely a material object.

Old buildings embody history. Using old buildings, it is possible to experience the world, as previous generations would have.

> History gives us distance from the present, as if it were the future of the past. In the spirit of contemplation it releases us from the prison of the present to examine the axioms of our time.[41]

[37] Brand, *How Buildings Learn: What Happens after They're Built*, 137.
[38] Davison, *Reading a Building*, 179.
[39] Pepchinski, "The Landscape of Memory," 138.
[40] James Strike, *Architecture in Conservation: Managing Development at Historic Sites* (London/ New York: Routledge, 1994), 24.
[41] Brand, *How Buildings Learn*, 90.

Old buildings present experience directly, not through words. Conservative conservation acknowledges that current culture is a necessity; however, it suggests that culturally significant elements of the physical environment should represent the past.[42] The conservative view illustrates that heritage provides the 'aesthetic infrastructure' that is required for the present to grow on. Heritage means that the world can be modified progressively using the remains from the past as a reference. Present culture can pinpoint their location in time alongside the marks of history.

3.2.5. Symbolism

The architectural material of a building often makes cultural implications through symbolic representation. An object in itself may be a signal or symbol and acts as a trigger to emotion or memory. Symbolic objects are visual shorthand. The understanding of the symbol may depend on the social or personal memory of the object.[43] If the symbolic representation of a building is changed through conservation, then the cultural meaning of the building may also be changed. Thus, in some cases the materialistic composition of a building is sometimes important to its cultural meaning.

Different architectural features create different symbolic meaning. For example, a spire on a building suggests that the building may be a church; this then symbolises religion, Christianity, Western or 'white' culture. Symbols are a trigger for perceptive recall. They suggest a particular characteristic, idea or emotion. For example, a building constructed in solid stone implies permanence, whereas timber implies less permanent rural buildings.[44] Symbols also have the ability to change meaning through different associations. For example, the Swastika was once a symbol of good luck, but now it is despised due to its association with the Nazi regime.

The interpretation of architectural symbolism is the most striking instance of the difficulties involved in attempting to read buildings for their historical significance. Style can make cultural implications and be used as a means of reading a culture. A building may be the only historic document an historian has to refer to, and he or she must assess the general mood or feel the style of the building generates. Judgement of cultural significance is based not on rules but a feel for the entire body of evidence and the actual building itself. If the symbols are altered then the cultural interpretations will be incorrect.[45]

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[42] Ibid. 102.
[43] Gaynor Kavanagh, *Objects as Evidence, or Not?* 130.
[44] Ibid. 25.
[45] Davison, *Reading a Building*, 193.

An object's individual form and cultural value is a result of the accumulated history of the societies that make and use them. When looking at the material culture of a society, a view of the complete cultural system is obtained.[46] In this sense the resemblance of a building plays a constructive role in the knowledge of Western culture. Knowledge of all cultural elements, both visible and invisible, is controlled by what represented them.

Representation of a culture is not received from a natural object in a natural setting. It is a natural object moved or shaped for the use of a human culture.[47] It is the product of these human-altered objects and their effect, rather than the activity required to make the object that is important in understanding culture through representation. The historical artefact is viewed as a 'thing' to which the maker's intention was attached, not as a documentary record of activity. In conservation, using material culture is a way to re-enact what happened in the past, with the emphasis on the material evidence produced by the culture. "The maker of the picture or building is someone addressing a problem of which the product is the solution."[48]

Material culture provides specific access to a culture, physically. An intimate acquaintance with the material culture of a particular cultural group aids in the understanding of that culture. The goal of conservation is to interpret and reconstruct material culture in its cultural context.[49]

Material and social surroundings offer a wealth of evidence of the means through which people express themselves. They illustrate their views and experiences. Objects are the physical indicators of ideological forces and social positions. However, the object in isolation provides little information. So, studying an object in isolation serves no purpose. The study of the object must be in context in order to understand its content and its symbolic meaning. Understanding the significance of culture within conservation does not involve the interpretation of the external cultural elements, but rather the ideologies and values that comprise the core of the culture. Thorough understanding is gained from the

[46] Susan M. Pearce, "Objects in Structures," in *Museums Studies in Material Culture*, ed. Susan M. Pearce, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1989), 48.
[47] Thomas. J. Schlereth, *Material Culture, a Research Guide* (Kansas: University Press, 1996), 5.
[48] Micheal Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention* (New York: Yale Press, 1989), 14.
[49] Hans Jorg Furst, "Material Culture Research and the Curation Process," in *Museum Studies in Material Culture,* ed. Susan M. Pearce (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1989), 99.

object's context, the ideas behind it, its location and relationship between the object and its surroundings.[50]

Any surviving building is a monument providing a memory of the past. Remaining monuments offer a direct critique of social, political and architectural policies that shape a culture.

> One can say that the city itself is the collective memory of the people, and like memory it is associated with objects and places. The city is the locus of the collective memory... certain artefacts become part of its memory, new ones emerge. In this entirely positive sense great ideas flow through the history of the city and give shape to it.[51]

The material of a building is the medium through which cultural significance is understood. Without the cultural significance the material is meaningless. The material may be valued as objects, aesthetically, but they can no longer be called heritage items because they have no cultural significance.

3.3. The Benefits of Conservative Conservation

The buildings of a culture are often ignored as a way of understanding the context of social life. Buildings, in their original form, reproduce cultural composition more effectively than if they were altered or developed.[52] As Pierre Bourdieu states, the built environment embodies division and hierarchies between things, people and practices. It preserves and perpetuates social order.[53] Conservative conservation retains this hierarchy and acts as a depiction of the way in which culture was formed.

3.3.1. Gradual growth

As vernacular examples illustrate, prior to the Industrial Revolution most Western societies developed gradually. Change was natural and quite slow. Generations passed down traditions, religion and their culture. Heritage was not of great importance because history and culture were understood on a practical level. In contrast, in most modern Western communities change is rapid and heritage is required to recall the past and how the process of modernisation occurred.

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[50] Kavanagh, *Objects as Evidence, or Not?* 127.
[51] Aldo Rossi as cited in Mary Pepchinski, *The Landscape of Memory,* 13.
[52] Kimberly Dovey, "Dwelling, Archetype and Ideology," *Dwelling, Centre, Journal for American Architecture* 8 (1993), 12.
[53] J Storey, "Bourdieu, Pierre (1930-)," in *The A-Z Guide to Modern Literature and Cultural theory,* ed. S Sim (Hertfordshire: Prentice Hall/ Harvesheaf, 1995), 58.

Originally, characteristics were passed from building to building via builders and users[54]. The problem is that many cultures have been taken over too much by modernity and are no longer open to accepting or learning the benefit of previous techniques.

Previous traditional environments recognised cultural practice as an evolutionary process; culture of the past was understood and was relevant in the present. The past was fused with the present. The production of artefacts was a cyclical recurrence; this disguised the process of change. There was little distinction between the old and the new, or between the useful and the obsolete. Any thing old remained intimately involved with everyday life, bonding with anything new. As Lowenthal states, in the past the past was not a foreign country but simply another facet of the present. Alternately, now the new replaces the old; in the past the new was just another aspect of the eternal. In Western society, the new is often very different from the old, and through the process of producing the new the old is lost.[55] Conservative conservation is necessary because in the past the need to preserve the old was not evident because nothing was considered old. However, now if not saved the old is lost forever.

The theories behind conservative conservation rely on the fact that the material composition of a building is non-reactive and that buildings are permanent. Western architectural philosophy implies that buildings do not change over the process of time. Buildings are durable things; the built fabric of the building still exists even when their culture of origin is no longer living.[56] This aspect of the built environment creates problems in the field of conservation. It is obviously difficult to sustain the legitimacy of a building in a society that is constantly being overwhelmed by the innovations of technology and changing culture[57]. Therefore, it is difficult to justify conservation for modern society when it is constantly changing.

3.3.2. Diversity

Despite this, conservative conservation is necessary to retain the diversity of the built environment. Presently, Western society is developing buildings that conform to the economic and functional standards that are dictated on a national and world scale.[58] As the economy and social practice of a particular culture conform to a world standard, cultural

[54] Brand, *How Buildings Learn,* 132.
[55] David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 13.
[56] Furst, *Material Culture Research and the Curation Process*, 97.
[57] Diane Ghirardo, "Introduction," in *Out of Site: A Social Criticism of Architecture,* ed. Diane Ghirardo (Seattle: Bay Press, 1991), 19.
[58] Brand, *How Buildings Learn*, 56.

needs become similar. Global trends cause buildings to gradually become more alike across the world. Traditional cultural requirements are becoming less important.

Thus, the built environment of today is constantly changing to conform to global trends. There is a danger that the diversity cultural requirement provides is being lost. Diversity enhances the built environment of a community; a culture rightly admires what is distinctive to their particular environment. Conservative conservation keeps things different and separate from the mainstream. To sustain diversity a community requires comparable heritage, not only one kind of cultural representation.[59] Good planning acknowledges that examples of the past are required for the new to be appreciated.

Conservation of a particular era of buildings means that buildings can be read as a stage. This implies that the building facilitates rather than determines the nature of the cultural significance it represents.[60] Looking at a conserved building as a stage, it is easier to see how the organisation of space symbolically represents a culture. Reading a building in this way shows the building as a symbol. The design of the building and its decoration represent certain social ideals.[61]

Conservative conservation results in maintenance of cultural values. "The holding of particular values meets particular needs related to psychological and emotional well being and self esteem, group identity and acceptance."[62] Conservation gives a sense of identity.

Thus, practitioners of conservative conservation recognise that the cultural 'meaning' of a building gains importance when it is realised that the built environment goes beyond instrumental or manifest functions. Meaning is central to an understanding of how environments work. Meaning is not something apart from function but gives function relevance.[63] The meaning a building gives to the environment is critical and central; buildings form an externally consumed presentation of character in establishing group identity. Physical elements of the environment make cultural elements visible and stable.[64]

Conservation forms a philosophy of the time of the past. It is responsible for communicating the cultural characteristics that influence and embellish the future.

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[59] Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past*, 248.
[60] Davison, *Reading a Building*, 187.
[61] Ibid. 189.
[62] Joan Domicelj and Duncan Marshall, *Diversity, Place and the Ethics of Conservation: A Discussion Paper* (Australian Heritage Commission, 1994), 6.
[63] Amos Rapoport, *The Meaning of the Built Environment* (California: Sage Publications, 1982), 14.
[64] Rapoport, *The Meaning of the Built Environment*, 15.

The optimum outcome of conservative conservation is a cultural group that feels solidly rooted in its own history, culture and place.

3.4. The Problems Associated with Conservative Conservation

One of the main problems associated with conservative conservation is that is easy for the preservationist to make assumptions and poorly researched interpretations of past cultural significance. It is easy to impose the dichotomies of current culture upon the analyses of other societies. Making assumptions about past cultural relevance often ends in misappropriation.[65] This is an issue addressed by James Kerr in the Conservation Plan. It is stated that, "to be of value a conservation plan must be founded on as definitive an examination of all relevant data as is practical."[66]

Assumptions made through use of inaccurate or irrelevant information can take away from the authentic cultural significance of a place. Often irrelevant information regarding the cultural significance of a place is valued and relevant information is ignored.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Barthes explains the social construction of myth. Mythical interpretations of the past can contribute to misappropriation that is sometimes evident in conservative conservation. Ideological representation of the past sometimes raise the cultural importance of unimportant examples of dwelling and therefore display an inaccurate representation of the building. As Kimberly Dovey suggests, one example of a myth is that of the single nuclear family owning a detached house. This ideological image of the family was created and in turn this myth determines the way in which society is shaped.[67]

Practitioners of conservative conservation should be aware that the built environment plays a role in the production and perpetuation of social practice. The more the results of conservation are seen as archetypal then the more it predetermines culture through mythology. This occurs through the treatment of its fabric, the methods used to create it and the image it produces.[68]

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[65] David Stea, "The Ten Smudge Pots of Vernacular Building," in *Vernacular Architecture: Paradigms of Environmental Response,* ed. Mete Turan (Brookfield: Avebury, 1990), 22.
[66] James Semple Kerr, *The conservation plans: A guide to the preparation of conservation plans for places of European cultural significance, National Trust.* (NSW: Star Printery Pty Ltd, 1996), 2.
[67] Dovey, "Dwelling, Archetype and Ideology," 12.
[68] Ibid. 15.

3.4.1. Museums

"Fantasy versus reality versus preservation." [69]

The problematic result of conservative conservation that is greatly criticised by the public is the view that heritage conservation makes the built environment static and resistant to modernisation and development, "mummifying the present as well as the past." [70]

It is often considered that conservation makes buildings into museum-like objects, having little functional use in present society. Conservative conservation is renowned (and often resented) for its attention to extreme detail and in discouraging alterations to buildings recognised as having cultural significance. Conservative conservation and heritage listing are seen as barriers to the adaptive qualities of buildings, and thus the inhabitants feel as though their privacy and property rights have been invaded. On the other hand, conservation guidelines are necessary due to the fact that seemingly small incremental changes to old buildings can accumulate over decades resulting in dramatically altered buildings.[71]

Stewart Brand uses the architecture designed by Frank Lloyd Wright to illustrate the problems associated with the creation or conservation of buildings as art forms. Wright's buildings were so thoroughly designed right down to the screws which all face in the same direction. Any change made to this building would be changing the way Wright intended the building to be read. Thus, it could be said that to live in a Wright house is to be the curator of a museum. [72] The inhabitant could not even think of altering anything the 'master' has touched. The inhabitant is not living in a home but a piece of petrified art.

Brand's example typifies the problem encountered through the conservative approach to conservation. A museum-like approach to the conservation process may be applicable if the building is to be used as a means of educating present culture about the past. However, this education is only beneficial if the historic representation is accurate. Conservation of a building in the present in order to restablish the fabric of the past, creating a museum-like environment is often poorly accepted by the general public. Change and development is restricted and therefore the requirements of present culture are neglected.

[69] Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (London and New York: Verso, 1994), 260.
[70] Ibid. 260.
[71] Brand, *How Buildings Learn*, 92.
[72] Ibid. 58.

3.5. Summary

Conservative conservation interprets the concept of cultural significance as being a representation of the cultural influence of the past. This past influence is demonstrated through the fabric of the built environment. However, it is becoming increasingly obvious that adaptive re-use is the destiny of most buildings. Buildings of the past are often not functional in their present context. The only way to retain them as useful buildings is to adapt them to modern standards. Within the contemporary approach to conservation, the aim is to design new parts that will endear themselves to preservationists in the future. "The wisdom acquired looking backward must be translated into wisdom looking forward."[73]

Conservative conservation is applicable in some situations, which will be highlighted in case studies. For it to be successful, in that it remains functional to current culture, conservation work should cater to the needs of present culture while not stripping the evidence a building provides for the past culture.

Conservative conservation is a valid and beneficial form of conservation, putting a prescriptive and academically based interpretation of culture into practice. However, due to the problems the conservative approach has in relating the culture of the past to the present, it has become clear that often conservative conservation, in isolation, may not be an appropriate approach to the maintenance of cultural significance. Other forms of cultural interpretation need to be considered.

[73] Brand, *How Buildings Learn*, 109.

4. Contemporary Conservation

4.1. Introduction

One response to conservation that aims to accommodate the requirements of the present cultural community is contemporary conservation. The practitioner of contemporary conservation takes a more practical view towards the question of cultural significance. The aim of contemporary conservation is to adapt the cultural buildings from the past to make them useful from an economic and sociological perspective. The past is developed to become relevant in the present. The aim of this chapter is to review current literature on the growth of communities and buildings, from a cultural perspective, in order to assess when and where contemporary conservation is an appropriate form of conservation. It will assess what indications the practitioner has to know if it is the appropriate approach to take. The discussion will analyse the benefits and downfalls of contemporary conservation.

Contemporary conservation is a paradigm for the personal experience of a culture; it has the ability to display what makes the built environment relevant and practical on a day-to-day basis. Appropriate practice of contemporary conservation recognises that in order to gain a full understanding of the cultural implications of buildings, the fabric cannot be observed in isolation. Documentation, letters, newspaper articles, photos and the behavior of the occupants themselves needs to be considered.[1] All forms of cultural significance are embodied in the form and design, and the material and substance of the built environment; these elements are easily preserved. However, significance is also evident in the use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, spirit and feeling of buildings.[2]

Unlike conservative conservation, the contemporary approach does not invoke an idealised past through retention of romanticised historic themes, past cultural practice and past

[1] Graeme Davison, "Reading a Building," in *A Heritage Handbook,* ed. Graeme Davison (Sydney: Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd, 1991), 185.
[2] UNESCO, "Proceedings Published by UNESCO, World Heritage Committee ICCROM and ICOMOS," *Nara Conference on Authenticity* (UNESCO World heritage committee ICCROM and ICOMOS, 1995).

mythologies. Contemporary conservation appeals to economic progress, people, reason and science.[3]

4.2 Heritage

Architectural conservation is carried out on buildings that are recognised as being important as an example of a particular cultural, architectural, social or spiritual group. At the point when a place's significance is recognised it can be seen as having 'heritage' importance. It forms an important part of a place's heritage.

The concept of heritage has expanded to environments and artefacts that, in the past, would have been regarded as falling beneath the dignity of history because it was too recent, trivial or common.[4] For this reason the issue of 'heritage' is scrutinised by scholars and professionals in the field of conservation. This has become apparent because often the process of heritage conservation is mistaken as being an act of historical record. In reality, heritage conservation is the act or process taken to protect history, it may take several different approaches, thus, representing history in a variety of particular ways. The concept of heritage cannot be mistaken as an authentic historical process. The purpose of heritage conservation is simply to represent the past so that it can be understood in the present.

The conflict between the process of heritage conservation and the representation of history has resulted in criticism of the heritage industry and its tendency to misrepresent history. David Lowenthal, one author who criticises the process of heritage conservation, states that through heritage, the past is theoretically preserved; however, in practice it is ruined. This may be true if one understands 'heritage' as a commercialised process used to conserve the past for consumption by the present. However, Lowenthal fails to define what his intended meaning of heritage is. As has been illustrated throughout this thesis, heritage conservation can take many different approaches. To criticise heritage as a generalised concept may cause confusion. The aim of heritage conservation is specific to each particular site. Generalised comment on heritage as a singular process may inaccurately represent the actual purpose of conservation. On a surface level, the aim of heritage is to convert the historical remnants of a place into an authentic record of the past that is then displayed to current culture. However, Lowenthal claims that often heritage alters the past or ignores it entirely through the alteration of the fabric. This then changes the image and authentic

[3] Bourdieu, *Acts of Resistance* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 35.

record of history.[5] Lowenthal's criticism is fuelled by the recent surge in the heritage movement, particularly in places such as Britain. He claims that the emphasis placed on the product of heritage conservation has resulted in society clinging to heritage, consuming it as an authentic record of the past. Unfortunately, it is common for preservationists to steal, forge and invent much of a culture's heritage in a desperate effort to fix the past.[6] The need to invent the past is due to the thought that heritage is what links a culture to its past. In reality it is history, tradition, memory and myth which links a culture to its past. Heritage conservation should then be used simply to safeguard these things.

Through the result of heritage conservation, the past is not seen as a prelude to the present but as an alternative to it. In order to establish effective conservation practice that maintains cultural significance, it must be understood that heritage should be used to protect the past while enhancing the future, not to purely replicate the past. It should not result in a new assumed or invented view of reality, or 'hyper-reality'.[7] "Worship of bloated heritage invites passive reliance on received authority, imperils rational inquiry, replaces past realities with feel-good history and saps creative innovation."[8]

Viewed this way heritage conservation simplifies the past and makes it kitsch, something to be consumed by tourists, instead of representing the authentic object. As a result a 'disneyfied'[9] version of history is preserved which makes heritage a form of entertainment rather than a means of education or historical record.

Heritage should not be confused with history. Lowenthal defines the role of history as seeking to convince by truth or factual information. Heritage conservation is the process used to protect history. In doing so heritage conservation often exaggerates elements that are easily consumed and omits things that are difficult to understand. It could be said that heritage has the ability to thrive even when practiced by the ignorant. Heritage is flexible and can be changed to suit a particular requirement be it economic, social or historical.[10] Thus, despite the common opinion promoted by developers and councils, heritage is not a

[4] Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (London and New York: Verso, 1994), 208.
[5] Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), xii.
[6] Ibid. xii.
[7] Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, 242.
[8] Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past*, 12.
[9] Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, 259.
[10] David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (London: Clays Ltd, 1996), 120.

culture's sole link with the past. History and tradition is what joins people with what has passed. What was once termed 'history' or 'tradition' is now 'heritage'. The process of heritage conservation is confused with the result. Understanding conservation in this way implies that heritage is a product that has become a thing in its own right, often unrelated to history or culture.

Lowenthal's approach discredits heritage as an appropriate form of historical record. He understands heritage conservation from one cultural point of view, that being a conservative form of conservation. Lowenthal therefore supports contemporary conservation as a more appropriate form of representing heritage. His argument suggests that a culture's interaction with history and the role history plays in the present form can be seen as a more accurate record of the past. This is definitely the case, if the process of conservation and the meaning of the term cultural significance can be understood from a broader range of cultural points of view, not purely from one point of view such as that seen by Lowenthal. It is this singular way of interpreting the process of heritage conservation that results in the loss of cultural significance and the misrepresentation of the past that Lowenthal laments.

4.3 Development

In South Australia conservation became a necessity during the 1970's when the 'untrammelled future'[11] was valued over the memory of the past. Many significant buildings were demolished and replaced by modern structures. Heritage lists became established in order to protect the past in a time when the environment was viewed as being disposable. The continual protection of sites and objects served as a link with the past. During this time if something was valued as being significant it was protected by being made into a museum or by giving it to the National Trust. However, it is now recognised that this is not an adequate solution for retaining the past. Also, it has become apparent that the lists are not extensive enough and the criteria for listing not broad enough. Significant buildings continue to be demolished because they were not listed; even if something is protected through listing it is never fully protected from demolition or poor development. This is controlled by economic requirement.

The ideas behind contemporary conservation advocate that for a culture to develop and be continually relevant within its modern technological context, continual evolution and

[11] David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past*, 1.

change to the built environment is vital. However, it is continually apparent that if there is one issue that is likely to stir up debate, it is that new architecture can be built at historic sites; that new architecture can be successfully built next to an historic building.[12]

Good design provides a 'responsive environment' where the continuous development of the individual or the community and their culture is the fundamental goal. Lynch states that good urban design enhances the continuity of a culture and the survival of its people. It increases a sense of connection in time and space, and permits or spurs individual growth; good design allows continual development through continual connection between the people and the place. Development needs to occur as long as it keeps within the constraints of continuity in time.[13] Continuity is beneficial as long as reference to the past is retained.

Lynch advocates that it is possible to retain the historic reference of a building while catering to the needs of current culture. Good design is continuous and connects the past with the present. Good design is, "Design grounded in local characteristics and needs, so much that it is often hard to notice, being distinguished by natural fit with site and context."[14]

This is an issue that is being addressed by the SOAS committee. SOAS advocates that the visual continuity of the historic built environment is possible without the prevention of development. The committee asserts a humanistic viewpoint on to the development decisions currently being made within the built environment. It aims to conserve the current environment using legislation and Development Acts that are socially relevant and adhere to the views and needs of the general public.[15]

4.3.1 The Relevance of Fabric

Contemporary conservation results in the built environment being viewed as a 'place' rather than an object. A place is given importance through a culture's existence there. Society's existence in that part of space has special meaning to the person using it; it gives accommodation to the person.[16] The material composition of the place has little impact in

[12] James Strike, *Architecture in Conservation: Managing Development at Historic Sites* (London/ New York: Routledge, 1994), 1.
[13] Kevin Lynch, *Good City Form*, 7th ed. (Massuchusetts: MIT Press, 1990), 6.
[14] Prime ministers Urban Design Force "Urban Design in Australia" (Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 1994), 5.
[15] Save Our Adelaide Suburbs Committee, *SOAS Constitution* (Adelaide: SOAS, 2001).
[16] Kimberly Dovey, "Dwelling, Archetype and Ideology," *Dwelling, Centre, Journal for American*

the illustration of cultural significance when compared to the practical and spiritual use of the place.

Places that have the quality of being 'alive', in that they are relevant to current users and hence have constant cultural significance, invite the people using the space to be 'alive'. When a group of people are evolving and progressing they feel content and this is reflected in their surroundings. Therefore, retention of cultural significance has a self-supporting, self-maintaining and regenerating quality.[17] As Alexander states, if a place is continually developing and changing to suit its culture 'quality' is given to life. Therefore, the built environment remains culturally significant to the people who reside there.

This theory is reflected in many Asian cultures' traditions and belief systems. Many indigenous Asian cultures place little value on material objects. For example, in China, history is recorded and is transmitted through words and actions rather than objects. The memory of China's material culture, rather than its physical persistence, dominates the ideology of Chinese consciousness. Therefore, new creation is encouraged; old works give way to the new. Tradition never lets itself be trapped into set forms or static objects. Ancient cities became heritage sites through passing of stories rather than retention of objects.[18] Similarly, Korea cherishes artifacts such as masked plays, musical genres, performers, craftsmen and skills like knot making, brass smelting and pot glazing. The living culture of Japanese admires ancient forms and skills; however, old buildings are shunned and temples are regularly rebuilt over the centuries to ensure the survival of their form rather than the actual fabric.[19]

The pattern of events, and the way in which things are used initiates a mental connection with a symbol of place. Thus, an object would be meaningless without an event.[20] "The life which happens in a building or town is not merely anchored in the space but is made up from the space itself."[21]

Architecture 8 (1993), 15.
[17] Christopher Alexander, *The Timeless Way of Building* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 53.
[18] Kimberly Dovey, Dwelling, Archetype and Ideology. *Dwelling, Centre, Journal for American Architecture* 8 (1993), 20.
[19] Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past*, 19.
[20] Alexander, *The Timeless Way of Building*, 71.
[21] Ibid. 74.

4.3.2 Reuse

The core concept of contemporary conservation nearly always involves the reuse of existing buildings. Buildings have always adapted and developed in order to accommodate an evolving, developing community. Despite this, in the 19th century, legislation, rooted in historic philosophy, began to emerge with the aim of protecting old buildings. This originated the notion of conservative conservation. This Ruskinian notion means that there is an irreplaceable imprint of the past contained within the fabric of an old building.[22] Contemporary conservation opposes this form of preservation and asserts the theory that buildings should be useful in their current economic and social context. Contemporary values imply that academic historians should remove themselves from the decision making process and let the built environment develop and change naturally. All buildings are transitory. Therefore, it is important to allow them to grow with economic demands and not be smothered with the sigma of historical significance.

Ruskin and Morris valued buildings as 'the mark of man (sic)', as the illustration of the impact of successive generations. They accepted that buildings must change as societies change. They encouraged radical social transformation and believed that every generation should build according to the needs and manners of its own age. As Louis Sulliva stated, "...form ever follows function."[23]

In this respect Ruskin and Morris supported the contemporary form of conservation; however, Ruskin was opposed to restoration in that he believed that a building could not be restored. Restoration was a lie, and demolition was preferable to restoration.[24]

These views illustrate that there is a growing awareness of the acts of use and appropriation, how these effect cultural and social practices, and how changes can alter the meaning of buildings over time. Changes in the use of the built environment are due to change in economy, culture, ethnicity, and class. Contemporary conservation recognises these changes and makes the built environment viable to the current culture.

4.4. The Theoretical Base of Contemporary Conservation

[22] Kenneth Powell, *Architecture Reborn: The Conservation and Reconstruction of Old Buildings* (New York: Rizzoli), 9.
[23] Sulliva, (1896) as cited in Stewart Brand, *How Buildings Learn: What Happens after They're Built* (London: Viking, 1994), 3.
[24] Powell, *Architecture Reborn*, 10.

As previously stated, Ruskin believed that the craftsmanship of a building is the most important quality giving the building identity. The memory of the building as it was originally built is of dominating importance. Buildings should reveal a presence of the past and can only do so when nothing is changed or added to them. Ruskin believed that a building that is no longer relevant or useful should be demolished in preference to restoration. He believed that old buildings should make way for new ones. This view, while supporting the contemporary need for progress and transition, neglects conservation's need to represent the cultural significance of the past. Contemporary conservation implies that remembrance should be broken, tradition rejected and new conditions of life embraced. The past is only relevant if it has significance within its present surroundings. This encourages the formation of new architecture. Therefore, contemporary conservation encourages development. As Sherban Cuntacuzino states, "The past should be forgotten in the face of this glowing future".[25] While the contemporary view of conservation would support this approach it should be stressed that conservation should never entirely neglect the past.

The contemporary approach is not concerned with conservation exclusively as a product. It is concerned rather with its relations between a culture and its environment and between a culture and its continual use of a place, creating a socially and economically productive environment. This is because there are a variety of factors giving the building significance within the built environment; these factors can be seen as the things signified and the things that give the building its significance. The appearance and functioning of a building work together; the way a building looks and the way it is used are interdependent. One without the other would result in a useless object.[26] Thus, contemporary conservation focuses specifically on the way in which the environment is experienced on a social and an economic level, "when we are truly experiencing we are growing by a reflexive process."[27]

From a contemporary point of view, a culture's significance is due to growth and progress; this can be reflected in buildings. As Dovey suggests, places do not exist as places in

[25] Sherban Cuntacuzino, *Re/Architecture, Old Buildings/ New Uses* (Spain: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 30.
[26] Roderick Lawrence, "Vernacular Design," in *Vernacular Architecture: Paradigms of Environmental Response,* ed. M Turan (Brookfield: Avebury, 1990), 161.
[27] Frederick Turner, "Reflexivity as Evolution in Thoreaus Walden," *Value Centre* 11 (1999), 61.

human terms until they become significant through human interaction or influences, even if only at the perceptual level.[28]

Therefore, buildings, rather than being viewed as protected art forms, as they are from a conservative viewpoint, should be viewed as mobile, functional objects, significant to the entire population. Some theorists view the architecture of mass, low or popular culture as 'non-architecture'.[29] This implies that the only buildings of any value are those produced by architects. This is contrary to the views of contemporary conservation. Conservation is necessary to retain examples of all architectural forms for all cultural groups. If the only buildings viewed as being culturally significant were those designed by architects the record of the past would be inaccurate in that only high cultural representation would be gained.

4.4.1 Cultural Position

Currently conservation has cultural implications. Through the differing viewpoints of culture, conservation has the potential to divide cultural groups. This is an element that causes problems within the way in which buildings are preserved. The built environment tends to be divided into two categories. Stuart Brand refers to the first category as 'low road' buildings. These are buildings that are not valued historically and have the ability to change and adjust according to demand. 'High road' buildings are 'permanent' buildings that resist change. It is commonly accepted that low road buildings are utilised by low cultural groups, where as high road buildings are for the use of high culture. Generally, it is these buildings that are protected and valued as being culturally significant.[30] If a low road building is preserved, its original cultural significance is often lost, transforming it into a high road building. Thus, a building may undergo a number of different shifts of meaning and reading from its creation to its ultimate destruction or loss. The purpose of conservation should be to retain a building's cultural significance, while recognising the relevance of all cultural examples.[31]

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[28] Greg Missingham, Peter Downton, and Kim Dovey, *Place & Placemaking* (Melbourne: Association for people and Physical environment Research, 1985), 27.
[29] Diane Ghirardo, "Introduction," in *Out of Site: A Social Criticism of Architecture*, ed. Diane Ghirardo, (Seattle: Bay Press, 1991), 11.
[30] Brand, *How Buildings Learn*, 24.
[31] Gaynore Kavanagh, "Objects as Evidence, or Not?" in *Museum Studies in Material Culture*, ed. Susan M Pearce (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1989), 131.

It is important to be aware that the built environment plays a role in its political, social, economic and ideological surroundings and therefore must be understood within these surroundings.

> Whatever problems, flaws or weaknesses one might discern in non-architectural buildings- or low art- ignoring them, dismissing them out of hand, or failing to analyse the relationship between high and low art in effect means that one is not engaging in the act of criticism, but rather acting to preserve a particular status quo.[32]

The built environment should be viewed as a major part of the material representation of culture. Cultural representation is applicable no matter what part of society is being represented. Current conservation makes a strong distinction between high and low culture. The flaw with this approach is that one cannot be critically objective on a topic as a whole when viewing it within a 'class' orientated position. Examples of all cultural groups are beneficial to the understanding of the past and the appreciation of the built environment. As indicated in the vernacular examples, 'non-architecture' is a rich source of learning.

Despite this some academics are of the opinion that architecture of the low cultural section of the population is worthless. In her book *Out of Site,* Diane Ghirardo cites the "disturbing fact"[33] that only 20% of the built environment is the work of an architect. By saying this, the author is suggesting that 80% of the built environment is not recognised as architecture, and is therefore not worth recognition. This form of opinion results in some of the problems experienced within the field of heritage caused by the misinterpretation of the term 'cultural significance'.

4.4.2 Renewal

In the past, people thought the human race was universal and changeless. Past events were closely related to those of the present. This is no longer apparent, as now the past seems foreign and is an exotic place where people did things differently. It is viewed as something that will never be fully understood.[34]

[32] Ghirardo, "Introduction", 11.
[33] Ibid. 17.
[34] Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past,* x.

This is something that the concept of contemporary conservation does not regret. Mete Thoreau calls upon culture to,

> Renew thyself completely each day, do it again and again, and forever again... Man (sic) who does not believe that each day contains an earlier, more sacred, and auroral hour than he has yet profaned, has despaired of life, and pursuing a descending and darkening way.[35]

Therefore, a building that is the product of an original culture should be redefined so as to unite the meaning of the past with that of the present.[36] A building is only viable if it is a functional and meaningful object in the present. This means that the material world will remain relevant to its users. The users make an opinion on the building and utilise the building that then becomes a meaningful source of cultural knowledge. Cultural interaction with a building gives understanding and symbolic meaning to the environment.[37]

Problems occur when buildings are objectively ill adapted to the present conditions. This occurs when buildings are adapted for conditions that no longer exist. This form of misadaptation is a result of a belief that cultural significance can outlive the economic and social conditions in which they currently exist in.[38] However, problems also occur when the adapted building loses all connection with the past. Once the past cultural significance is lost it is very difficult to recapture later on and the culture of the present is denied its connection with the past.

4.5. The Importance of 'Everyday'

The architectural practitioner and the user of the product have very different reactions to the environment. In contemporary conservation it is the users reaction and the economic productivity of the place that is of importance. The way people interact with their environment gives meaning to the everyday use of the building.[39] The professional reacts to the environment in perceptual terms, interpreting means, where as the public react to the environment in associational terms.[40]

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[35] Thoreau, *Walden and Civil Disobedience*, ed. Owen Thomas (New York: W. W. Norton & Co inc, 1966), 60.
[36] Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1990), 55.
[37] Ibid. 52.
[38] Ibid. 62.
[39] Ibid. 15.
[40] Ibid. 19.

This is a philosophical stance examined by the French philosopher, Henrie Lefebvre. Lefebvre's theories originate in a rejection of avant- escapism, pretension and heroism[41] (in a sense, conservative conservation) in favour of a more sensitive engagement with people's everyday environment and lives.

The most basic interpretation of Lefebvre's 'real life' grounds philosophy and culture in the everyday. It is reflected in the world experienced here and now. Thus, in utilising the processes of everyday, emphasis is placed on the concrete and the real parts of life; the humble and ordinary are valued as being relevant. In valuing these mundane elements of culture conflict and tension arise. These conflicts are illustrated in the various views of cultural interpretation. Awareness of the everyday highlights the contradictory nature of culture; interpretation of the everyday is philosophical while aiming not to be philosophical. It can be stable and certain while also being transitory and unfixed. It is sometimes repetitive but can also be renewed. It is monotonous and routine while also being festive and playful.[42]

Lefebvre theories portray an opposition to Marxist philosophy in that they seek 'the concrete' and the 'real' interpretation of culture. Lefebvre broadens Marxist ideology that also influenced attitudes towards architecture and conservation.[43] As such, Lefebvre embraces all aspects of a culture from its biology, to its spirituality, creativity, emotion and personal development.[44] Lefebvre's theories aimed to generate new forms of urban contact and sociability.[45]

Everyday is defined as a set of functions that connect and join together. The everyday is a product; it is the "most universal and the most unique condition, the most social and individualised, the most obvious and best hidden."[46]

In the past material culture was built by a community as it was required and each thing existed in relation to accepted morals and social reference. Since the 20th Century these

[41] Mary McLeod, "Henri Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life," in *Architecture of the Everyday*, ed. Steven Harris and Deborah Berke (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), 9.
[42] Ibid. 13.
[43] Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life.* (London: Verso, 1947, 1991), 171.
[44] McLeod, "Henri Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life," 12.
[45] Ibid. 25.
[46] Ibid. 34.

morals and social references have changed. For this reason a renewed understanding of the everyday is required.[47]

The everyday is meaningless without the interaction of time with people. As Ferdinand de Saussure's theories state, "material culture is a system of interdependent artefacts in which the value of each artefact results solely from the simultaneous presence of the others."[48] A building is meaningless without people.

It is the everyday noises and movement of people in the built environment that give a place significance. "These lacerations of silence attest to the physical punctuation of space by the voice, the body. It is the body that provides a fundamental gestural grammar."[49]

The economic and social functionality of a place is a vital attribute, the ways in which available elements are arranged and utilised have the ability to make space functional, and therefore culturally relevant.

> It is the people around us, and the most common ways we have of meeting them, of being with them, it is, in short, the ways of being which exist in our world, that make it possible for us to be alive. We know, then, that what matters in a building or a town is not its outward shape, its physical geometry alone, but the events that happen there.[50]

Alexander describes an environment that is functional in the everyday as being 'alive'. If the environment is alive the people living in the environment will also be alive. Alexander states that if a world is healthy, whole, alive and self-maintaining then the people living there can be alive and self-creating. Alternately, if the environment is disjointed, people cannot be alive. They will inevitably themselves be self-destroying and miserable.[51]

Thus, a culture, living within its specific surroundings, can only come alive to the extent that the buildings that it lives among are alive. What a building is and how it is perceived is governed by what happens there and how it functions within modern economic and social requirements. It could be said that currently conservationists tend to forget easily

[47] Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life,* 42.
[48] Susan M. Pearce, "Objects in Structures," in *Museums Studies in Material Culture*, ed. Susan M. Pearce, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1989), 48.
[49] Borden, *Strangely Familiar*, 56
[50] Alexander, *The Timeless Way of Building*, 65.
[51] Ibid. 25.

that all the life and soul of a place, and all of the events that occur there, depend not simply on the physical environment, but on the events that have been experience there, and may be experienced in the future.[52]

In order to carry out effective conservation of a building it should be understood that every place is given its character by certain patterns of events that recur there over the process of its life.[53] In understanding this theory, it becomes apparent that in contemporary conservation the emphasis has shifted from accurate and reverential restoration to a freer and more creative attitude to the changes that an old building may undergo. Rather than interpreting the building as a piece of art, it is seen as the product of a whole socio-economic system.[54] Effective contemporary conservation represents the cultivation a living culture. "This stands in strong contrast with the earlier, specialist, less-mature concept of 'preserving', of embalming a mummy, pinning a butterfly in a box."[55]

In understanding the cultural significance of an historic building, the social meaning should be read in conjunction with all forms of cultural practices. The everyday lifestyle that makes a building 'alive' encompasses cultural practices such as the production and consumption of food, kinship, language or religious practices: the elements that constitute the act of dwelling. Conservation practitioners should define the cultural variables that have an impact on the design and use of buildings and how these variables function in a cultural sense during the course of the life cycle.[56]

In understanding a building, the reciprocal relations between the affective and spatial dimensions of built environments, during the course of history, should be taken into consideration. It is important to understand how specific psychological dimensions relate to the design, the meaning, and the use of the building. One must consider how cultures dwell within their environment and how changes occur during the life cycle of the building.[57] "Dwelling is not just where you live but how we live and who we are."[58]

[52] Ibid. 62.
[53] Ibid. 55.
[54] Cuntacuzino, *Re/Architecture, Old Buildings/ New Uses*, 9.
[55] Danald Insall, "Cultivating a Living Continuity," *The Architects' Journal*. May (1999), 41.
[56] Lawrence, *Vernacular Design*, 157.
[57] Ibid. 163.
[58] Heidegger as cited in Dovey, "Dwelling, Archetype and Ideology," 9.

The nature of dwelling is embedded in the experience of being in the world. Authentic interpretation of a culture and its built environment lies in the understanding of how a culture dwells. True understanding results in an authentic connection with a place. If there is no connection between people and the place then the conserved building cannot be seen as being authentic.[59] A building needs to conform to the demands of its culture.

The theories of dwelling can be summarised in the Marxist derived term 'effective demand'. This term is in opposition to 'demand without effect', and is based on need and desire. Social conditions of acquisition and realisation have a better chance of satisfying the needs and desires of a culture. This makes a building culturally and economically significant to current culture.[60]

4.5.1 Process

Strangely Familiar was written as a result of the failure of architecture to relate to the 'reality' of today. In the book Lain Borden states that buildings "seems permanently stuck in a backwater of archaeology and attribution."[61] Rather, buildings should be seen as a process instead of a series of monuments. When architecture is viewed as a process, the significant buildings are just one stage. Thus, buildings can be read as 'congealed ideology'. An historical understanding of a building should be concerned with researching a building not purely as a finished product but as a process. This is because understanding of a building is not only achieved during the act of making. A building is not made just once; rather, it is made and remade over and over again, each time it is represented through another medium, each time its surroundings change, each time different people experience it. Good conservation is about the interpretation of people's social experience within buildings.[62] Thus, buildings are a material example of meaning. They make comment on earlier cultural practice or on current social situation. Buildings can be viewed as an intervention into the environment indicating social, economic and political influence, while also being an illustration of self-expression and cultural growth.[63]

The built environment is the result of production and reproduction. It involves more than design and planning professionals; it is the scenery of a culture's life. In understanding

[59] Ibid. 9.
[60] Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, 65.
[61] Borden, *Strangely Familiar,* 7.
[62] Ibid. 7.
[63] Ghirardo, *Introduction*, 4.

this, conservation needs to take buildings away from a highbrow, high cultural image and relate them to the people and the public, for which they were intended.[64]

For contemporary conservation to be successful, the practitioner should be aware that lifestyle and culture is continually changing. It is inevitable that at some stage the original use of a building will change. The problem being faced is that culture is dynamic by nature. However, the buildings and artefacts a culture produces are largely static. For this reason it is valuable to learn from vernacular examples which are less static than the formal buildings of recent cultures.

4.6. The Benefits of Contemporary Conservation

The advantages felt as a result of contemporary conservation begin most strongly with the psychological benefits gained by culture and its environment. Conservation that takes the needs of society and its everyday functions into account encourages a feeling of wholeness and purpose. The built environment becomes significant to the culture of the present and makes the users of the buildings feel they have a place within their society. In countries such as Greece, the people and their dwellings are sometimes indistinguishable. *Domus* means house, and refers not only to the fabric of the building but also to the people living within the house.[65] The house and its residents are read as one entity. The place and the people are the same.

With the concept of *domus* in mind, Lefebvre's theories of space become relevant. Lefebvre believes that space is ultimately more important than time, because it is spatial arrangements that determine the actions of humans which in turn give relevance to time. Space rather than time provides a basis for the understanding of human history. Human need results in different ways of organising space and the ways space is experienced, be it practical, cognitive or artistic.[66]

Thus, Lefebvre and the theories behind contemporary conservation are not interested in 'abstract' space but 'practical' or social space. That is, space created by human groups in specific locations. Importance lies in the specific modes of production and the ways in

[64] Borden, *Strangely Familiar,* 9.
[65] Brand, *How Buildings Learn,* 23.
[66] Hayden White, "The Production of Space: Henri Lefebvre," *Design Book Review* 29/30.Summer & Fall (1993), 90.

which collective exertions of the economic, social and political kind are used to achieve purposes of human kind. The built environment is seen as being very functional.

Contemporary conservation sees the renovation of existing buildings as acceptable. To merge the old building with new materials and designs is seen as beneficial. This is due to the fact that it produces a vibrant and positive result that has the ability to strengthen the original fabric of a place; thus, enhancing the quality of life of the public and uniting the culture of the past with the present.[67] It also results in a continually economically productive built environment.

Buildings are built for a specific purpose. However, when considering the cultural significance of the building it is accepted that buildings possess more than just a functional purpose.[68] Once the cultural significance is understood, it must also be understood that buildings contain feeling, emotions and cultural representation. Buildings become worthwhile because they capture the essence of a culture through a particular need and context at a particular time.

4.6.1. Anti-Prevention of Growth

Effective contemporary conservation is beneficial as a mode of development. It provides a process from the past to the present. Buildings become objects of knowledge if they have been physically constructed for a specific cultural need. This practice of construction orientated towards practical function is contained in Pierre Bourdieu's habitus.[69] Habitus and contemporary conservation are concerned with 'real' activity. They relate the practical environment to the theoretical world. Habitus enables society to understand an object outside of history, and this is necessary within the social world.

Therefore, habitus implies that production of thoughts, perceptions, actions and growth, which are inherent in a cultural group, are important. The preserved product of habitus is determined by the thoughts, perceptions, economic requirement and actions of a culture rather than the constraints and limits set by history. In turn habitus provides an environment

[67] Peter H Smith and Peter H Smeallie, *New Construction for Older Buildings: A Design Source Book for Architects and Preservationists* (Canada: John Wiley and Sons inc, 1990), ix.
[68] Cunnungham, *Modern Movement Heritage*, 13.
[69] Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice,* 52.

in which products, thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions can be generated. Limits only exist through the historically and socially situated conditions of a place's production.[70]

Contemporary conservation adjusts historic structures so that they have meaning within their specific context. The built environment is adjusted to become applicable in the present and also in an anticipated future. This future is encouraged to grow and develop because it is directly associable in the present. It therefore provides harmony between the psychological meaning and the function of an environment.[71] The benefit of this harmony is the production of an environment that is significant within its current context and results in the congruence of the needs of the public and the built environment in the present.[72]

Contemporary conservation involves the skilled integration of intelligence and resources in order to provide built forms that meet the existing and future requirements of a culture. This implies that conservation is both a process and a product. The importance of a building is established through requirements that dominate the design as well as the product that is a result of the design.[73]

The built environment should reflect the evolution of culture in which the objects within the culture have the ability to modify themselves and change according to the requirements of the current economic and social cultural point of view. In conservation each era can be seen as an extension of the whole. Good conservation occurs where the continuity of the environment is maintained by allowing it to change progressively.[74]

[70] Ibid. 55.
[71] Ibid. 64.
[72] Ibid. 58.
[73] Marronceeli, "Urban Design Strategies for the Redevelopment of Public Housing," 1.
[74] Ibid. 5.

4.6.2. History

While contemporary conservation places importance on the cultural use of the environment in the present, it is important for the conservation expert and the public to retain the historic cultural significance evident within the built environment. Knowledge of the past is beneficial for the culture of the present, if lost, lessons fail to be learned and history is not accurately understood.

The destruction of history by conservation is evident ubiquitously from developmental products to tourist ventures. As Lowenthal believes, heritage conservation has the ability to destroy history. However, in some aspects it also has the ability to recreate new elements of society today, making history relevant to recent modern culture. "While corrupting heritage by distorting it, altering it we also can breath new life into it for ourselves and our inheritors by fabricating heritage anew."[75]

If the methods of contemporary conservation are accepted, benefits should be felt by the current image of the result of heritage conservation. A new awareness becomes apparent where heritage is not fixed but changes in response to a culture's needs. It may be recognised that the needs of the present are integral to a creative involvement with history. Thus, it will be learned that heritage can be valued, rather than resented as a means of preventing development. It may then be accepted that heritage is not a burden but is part of everyone's life and history. "Salvaging the spoils of history, heritage crusades are amazed to find history itself still in splendid health."[76]

When making decisions concerning the conservation of an old building, the issue to be addressed most thoroughly is not how to conserve the material but how to re-use the building. If the building is being adapted for a new use, does the new use make reference to the cultural significance of the past? Is it possible for the new cultural use to function alongside the old use? If the answer is no, then the new use is not appropriate.

[75] Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, xii.
[76] Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past*, 250.

4.7. The Problems Associated with Contemporary Conservation

Contemporary conservation may be carried out with the specific aim of providing financial gain. The emphasis of economic gain within the practice of conservation often results in inadequate attention to the cultural significance of the past. Therefore, contemporary conservation has the potential of losing the historic record the building provides. This is probably due to the fact that historical realities are enigmatic and, while appearing to be self evident, are difficult to decipher,[77] particularly when the decisions being made are dominated by economic rather than cultural requirement. It is infinitely easier to take up a position for or against an idea, a value, a person, an institution or a situation, than to analyse what it truly is, in all its complexities. Conservation's primary concern is often governed by the need to conform to economic and legal pressures and therefore, often, the historical relevance of a building is sacrificed. Despite the Burra Charter stating that changes to historic buildings should be reversible,[78] this is often not possible. Once a building has been developed through contemporary conservation it will often remain in its new form for the remainder of its life. Thus, the problems in conservation defined by the contemporary view are not easily solved.

It is likely that the developer of an historic building may be praised for making something of an old building, though also attacked for any attempt to alter the character of a historic monument.[79] As Vitruvius states, "I think it certain that diminution or additions should be made to suit the nature or needs of the site, but in such fashion that the building lose nothing thereby."[80] This is the biggest challenge for the practitioner of conservation.

4.8 Summary.

Contemporary conservation uses the past to anticipate what is required in the future. It acknowledges that change is an inevitable part of life, a part that should be celebrated rather than neglected. In essence, contemporary conservation is a reaction against a fabric based approach to conservation such as that advocated in the Burra Charter. Social use and economic sustainability is important. Glorification of the 'heritage' of a place is resented,

[77] Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, 23.
[78] "The Burra Charter," Article 15.2.
[79] Powell, *Architecture Reborn: The Conservation and Reconstruction of Old Buildings,* 10.
[80] Vitruvius, *The 10 Books on Architecture*, 175-4.

change and adaptation is seen as being vital for continual growth of a culture. The Burra Charter's resistance to adaptation and change is resented and therefore is often ignored.

Contemporary conservation is a valid and beneficial form of conservation making a society's cultural heritage functional, both economically and culturally, in the present. The theoretical discussion above illustrates that this is an appropriate form of conservation. However, if not practiced with an appropriate interpretation of the cultural influence of the past, contemporary conservation has the potential to adapt the past; thus, failing to maintain cultural significance. Contemporary conservation, in isolation, may not be an appropriate approach to the maintenance of cultural significance. Other forms of cultural interpretation need to be considered.

5. Vernacular Design

5.1. Introduction

The two approaches to conservation previously discussed highlight two distinctly different cultural views. The conservative view is a very prescriptive view guided strongly by the principles highlighted in the Burra Charter. It is a materialistic approach to conservation in that it advocates that retention of material results in retention of cultural significance. The contemporary approach to conservation is more concerned with a cultural interpretation dominated by economic and social growth and development. Its aim is to develop society through financial gain and continual use. The historic fabric is used as a means of selling a re-vamped version of the past to be used in the present. Both forms of conservation are valid depending on the particular situation in which the historic building is situated and the desired outcome of the conservation process. However, in practice, often one approach is carried out in isolation; thus, one cultural view is overlooked and one form of 'cultural significance' is lost.

In order to address this problem it could be asserted that a purely social view to conservation should be considered. A social viewpoint can be much broader and encompass a more even understanding of the issue of culture, appreciating the importance of the cultural influence of the past while also having cultural needs in the present. Cultural significance becomes an issue of continual growth where the past is important as an historical record; this in turn has an impact and influences the culture of the present. For the purpose of this thesis , this form of continual growth of a particular cultural group can be referred to as 'vernacular design'.

Conservation is a section of a building's lifecycle. If a building has the opportunity to develop continually through the requirements of its culture then conservation is not a necessity. However, the changes that occur in modern Western society are so swift that gradual change rarely occurs. Inevitably, there comes a point in a building's lifecycle when a decision must be made as to which approach, conservative or contemporary, is suitable for a building to continue its functional life. In looking at the vernacular environment, in

which change is gradual and conservation is a natural process, a standard is provided through which the two extremes of conservation can be compared.

As previously discussed in Chapter Two, the significance of culture within conservation cannot truly be addressed without an understanding of the importance a society places on its built environment. One effective method in the interpretation of this element of cultural significance is the research of vernacular environments.

> The study of vernacular design offers a most useful entry-point to the study of environment-behaviour relations... Having understood certain environment-behaviour relationships, and the mechanisms involved, that apply in the case of vernacular design; these can then be sought, identified, traced, studied and, if need be, modified in the case of other types of environments.[1]

This chapter will look at the definition of vernacular; the reasons why vernacular can be used as a tool for learning about culture and the built environment; the problems currently associated with the understanding of culture, and the ways in which this misunderstanding may be rectified through an understanding of vernacular. These issues will then be related to the thesis problem.

Vernacular environments have long been accepted as a valid form of architectural expression. Current literature on the topic varies greatly. The literature starts from a basic level describing the various examples of vernacular and the methods used to conserve them, and ends in multi faceted and complex arguments concerning the variety of meanings and interpretations of vernacular. All of these points of view are beneficial to the understanding of pioneer building techniques. However, for the purpose of this thesis the study of vernacular environments will specifically concentrate on the cultural implications that the vernacular concept provides to historians and architects. The purpose of studying vernacular is not to recreate a romanticised version of past traditions, or imply that these traditions should be replicated or even preserved. It is not to look at vernacular as a manifestation and expression of nostalgic, romantic and mythical attitudes, or to provide

[1] Amos Rapoport, "A Framework for Studying Vernacular Design," in Culture, *Ideology and Social Process: a Reader,* ed. T Bennett (London: London Batsford Academic and Educational in association with open University Press, 1981), 55.

direct solutions to the problems associated with mainstream buildings.[2] The study of vernacular aims to formulate an understanding that there cannot be architecture without people, and that the human element of building is of utmost important in the understanding of the built environment.[3] It aims to reinforce the concept that human requirement can constantly change the form and function of a place while not reducing its cultural significance. Thus, the importance of understanding vernacular is not to retain the material fabric of vernacular examples, rather to learn about how these buildings have the ability to evolve and be constantly changing. The vernacular displays the evolution of built heritage and gives an understanding of where it came from.

Vernacular theories demonstrate the impact of non-material factors on building design. They explain how variables such as family size, traditions, climate, landscape, lifestyles and private or social intercourse influence design, and also the conservation process.[4] Each variable alters within different cultures, making generalisations about vernacular, and conservation, impossible. In understanding the vernacular, and similarly to undertake sympathetic conservation, it is important to establish how non-material factors are implicated in the design of the built form. This study is not concerned with vernacular design exclusively as a product. Rather, it is concerned with the relationship between people and their environment. Vernacular design can best be understood if one looks deeper, past the external appearance of the built environment. The fundamental characteristic of vernacular is not the substance of a place but its relation to its culture.

Amos Rapoport approaches the study of vernacular from the perspective of environment behavior studies, that is, taking on a study of how people and environments interact. Thomas Hubka states that understanding of vernacular environments involves knowledge of one specific field of cultural values.[5] Hubka labels this formulation of ideas as bricolear. This is in opposition to a more controlled, scientific understanding of the built environment that involves the values of a multitude of sources. These may range from councils, owners, historians, bankers or the general public. Thus, the study of vernacular raises valuable questions concerning a particular culture and its built environment. What bio-social,

[2] Mete Turan, "Vernacular Design and Environmental Wisdom," in *Vernacular Architecture, Paradigms of Environmental Response,* ed. Mete Turan (Brookfield: Avebury, 1990), 4.
[3] Ibid. 19.
[4] Ibid. 10.
[5] Thomas Hubka, "Just Folks Designing: Vernacular Designers and the Generation of Form," *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Dell Upton and John Micheal Vlach (Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 430.

psychological and cultural characteristics of people, as members of a group or individuals, should influence how the built environment is shaped? How, and to what extent, does the environment affect peoples behavior; how important are certain aspects of the built environment for whom? What elements of the built environment link people and environment?[6] An awareness of these questions is beneficial in the practice of conservation.

5.2. Definition

In line with Rapoport, the issue of vernacular within this thesis will be referred to as *vernacular design.*[7] This is because, as a valuable learning aid in understanding cultural significance, 'vernacular' does not depend entirely on buildings alone but rather on the entire environment. The study of vernacular is the study of cultural landscapes that are the result of human action on the pre-existing environment. The people, landscape and spiritual side of the environment are very important in understanding vernacular. Vernacular design is dependent on the particular setting that acts as a stage upon which the activities of a culture take place. Using these concepts it is possible to understand how environments are used and relate directly to the cultural group living in them. As a result, an understanding of the human elements of high style architecture, conservation and design can be gained.[8]

Scholarly literature on the definition of the term 'vernacular' is unresolved and varied making it difficult to discern clear-cut categories and distinctions along the lines of chronology or discipline. Fahrive Scancar and Theano Koop suggest that there are two categories to be aware of in the understanding of the definition of vernacular design. The first is concerned with capturing the surface attributes of the thing to be defined, that is, its functional aspects. The second is more concerned with capturing the essence of the object. It goes beyond appearances and thus describes what it represents or symbolises as part of a larger system of meanings. This category acknowledges the purpose and world-view of the vernacular product as part of the definition.[9]

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[6] Rapoport, *A Framework for Studying Vernacular Design,* 53.
[7] Ibid. 54.
[8] Ibid. 54.
[9] Fahriye Hazer Scancar and Theano Terkenli Koop, "Proposing a Behavioural Definition of the "Vernacular" Based on a Comparative Analysis of the Behaviour Settings in Three Settlements in Turkey and Greece," *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 12.2.Summer (1995), 142.

The understanding of vernacular design is problematic because it does not fit into any traditional academic category. It is the architecture of the common, ordinary people with repeated patterns at the artefact, building or settlement scale. Its development is not usually designed or even influenced by schooled architects. Therefore, it does not represent universally understood characteristics like formal architecture does. The patterns of vernacular design, particular to a culture, appear as regional accents rather than universal traits, making interpretation of it difficult. Thus, vernacular design has a special relationship between people, the environment, and the means used to produce these forms. It is the adaptive response of a culture to its environment. Vernacular design is a means to an end; it is a requirement of culture that is instigated by nature and the environment. Scancar and Koop suggest that when a local or regional architectural grammar is discovered, it merits attention and preservation since it probably is responsible for sustaining a successful, adaptive way of life.[10] Any existing vernacular environments should be recognised and utilised as useful learning tools.

The process of forming a definition of vernacular design aims to highlight how the vernacular environment is sustained and how it relates to cultural significance. It uses the concept of environmental meaning to explain the evolution and existence of the vernacular. Vernacular design is dynamic and incorporative rather than static and dichotomous.[11] It is therefore meaningful to its inhabitants beyond appearances; it is viewed as a medium reflecting cultural thought and everyday experiences. These meanings produce cultural behaviours and feelings such as 'sense of place', which in turn sustains the cultural environment. This parallels the aim of conservation.[12]

Within the two categories of understanding vernacular there are a number of useful definitions when relating it to an understanding of cultural significance. Despite being beneficial to the understanding of the vernacular concept, the multitude of definitions may cause confusion regarding the reason vernacular is a valid concept in architectural research. Some definitions of vernacular design are as follows:

- Vernacular is defined by the presence of discernible grammar or pattern in terms of physical form and human interaction, activities and behaviours. It is the material

[10] Ibid. 142.
[11] David Stea, "The Ten Smudge Pots of Vernacular Building," in *Vernacular Architecture: Paradigms of Environmental Response*, ed. Mete Turan (Brookfield: Avebury, 1990), 29.
[12] Koop, "Proposing a Behavioural Definition of the 'Vernacular', 143.

combination of behaviour settings in a community or a locale. These behaviour settings represent the community's way of life to an observer. Inferences about the development of social life in a community can be drawn by considering the changes in its behaviour settings.[13]

- Vernacular can simply mean domestic or indigenous environments.[14]

- Vernacular is anything built by a non-architect, it is the built environment of the non-professional or the non-architect.[15] Therefore, vernacular design puts the production of the built environment into a wider perspective. It provides links between design and social relations. It is useless to view vernacular design in a bounded system of cultural values, environment factors or behavioural patterns. Vernacular design only makes sense when viewed within the confines of the relation between it and its society.[16]

- The term vernacular design forms a description of the characteristic that refers to the ways in which the environment is created. It is unselfconscious, without architect, using a previously used model with variations. The vernacular product forms a description of the nature, qualities and attributes of the environment and the society for which it was produced.[17]

- Vernacular design is immersed in its culture and its region. It incorporates generational knowledge about long-term problems. It is profoundly cautious and imitative.[18]

For the purpose of this discussion the concept of vernacular design will combine these varying definitions. It will simply be expressed as: *the material expression of a cultural group determined by spiritual, environmental and lifestyle requirements.*

[13] Ibid. 144.
[14] Jack Bowyer, *Vernacular Building Conservation* (London: The Architectural Press, 1980), 5.
[15] Stewart Brand, *How Buildings Learn: What Happens after They're Built* (London: Viking, 1994), 132. Turan, "Vernacular Design and Environmental Wisdom," 7.
[16] Turan, "Vernacular Design and Environmental Wisdom," 13.
[17] Rapoport, "A Framework for Studying Vernacular Design," 52.
[18] Brand, *How Buildings Learn*, 132.

5.3. The Importance of Vernacular Studies

Vernacular studies are a useful tool in the understanding of cultural significance because vernacular design is an expression of the relation between people and their built environment.

A study of vernacular design provides an understanding of the division between the built environment and behaviour. Once one understands this division it becomes self-evident that for a full understanding of any environment, one must include this broad variety of variables affecting the division between the built environment and behaviour. These variables include elements such as people, behaviour, activity systems, perceptions, cognition, preferences and meanings: the elements forming a culture. Often in analytical research or within the practice of architecture, these elements of human behaviour are not fully considered. In studying vernacular traditions, a better understanding of these variables becomes apparent.[19] Therefore, as a result of a thorough understanding of the variables, a better understanding can be gained of the complex inter-relationships among land, labour, production, and population density that influence the material product of a culture.[20]

The importance of the environment, culture and lifestyle on vernacular design means that the vernacular environment is easy to relate to, it is stable and self-assured and contains a more complex cultural story that conserved buildings often lose.[21] It is this cultural story that makes the understanding of the vernacular beneficial in understanding cultural significance in the built environment and therefore, should be understood in relation to conservation. The production of a building involves action that is carried out for a purpose. Thus, buildings are the materialisation of the practical needs of a society. Vernacular design requires an accumulation of knowledge of the context and form for which it is intended. This is displayed in the activity in conception, design and execution, and ultimately in the product. As a product, vernacular design can provide information and reason for the form and the ideas behind a community. The actual production of a building and its relational qualities does not fall within the logical structure of formal design. In vernacular, form and content are inextricably united. Vernacular design has relations

[19] Amos Rapoport, "Defining Vernacular Design," in *Vernacular Architecture, Paradigms of Environmental Response,* ed. Mete Turan (Brookfield: Avebury, 1990), 80.
[20] Stea, "The Ten Smudge Pots of Vernacular Building," 28.
[21] Turan, "Vernacular Design and Environmental Wisdom," 3.

within itself, and these relations reveal the interaction between a culture and its environment.[22]

As Mete Turan states the practical quality of vernacular involves "insight, circumspection and innovation,"[23] which can be summarised as environmental wisdom. It involves human action with reference to built form. In this respect the practicality of vernacular gives it a character that can benefit all forms of architecture. Therefore, vernacular environments are a good learning tool.

> The whatness of a product depends on the ends pursued and the means employed in producing it. Where there is instrumentality there is also causality. Whatness is learnt from whyness, knowledge of an object is based on understanding and recognising the causes of it.[24]

Thus, vernacular design can be used as a template for constructing architectural theory that relates directly to human needs and the environment. Conservation that relates the product to its culture in terms of dwelling, traditions and use of space becomes apparent.

5.3.1. Space

Vernacular traditions conceptualise the built environment as 'space'. Unlike material objects and nature, within the context of conservation, space is an experience of socially produced entities and the socially organised relations of them. The space in which cultural significance is found is a product of human use, tradition and understanding.

Space is inhabited by living beings. Therefore, space is responsive to human behavior and can be altered in order to be relevant to human use. History is the chronological location in which societies based on different modes of production produce distinctive spaces. In space different kinds of social practices take on material forms. Within vernacular development history is viewed as a combination of different kinds of socially organised spaces rather than as a sequence of historical periods.

Social spaces are a product of a culture's relationship with its environment. In conservation there are two kinds of space: the old that is specific to a particular place and culture and the

[22] Ibid. 11.
[23] Ibid. 8.
[24] Ibid. 9.

new that is more general and is recognised on a global scale. Thus, conservation should be conceived as a result of a conflict between the new social space and the old social space.

This conflict results in the question that dominates conservation. When determining cultural significance, whose culture is being interpreted? Which cultural group is making the interpretation? Usually, when a decision of cultural interpretation is made it is the professional who takes control. It is the professional's decision that is final. However, according to vernacular conservation the most important question that should be asked is: what meaning does the built environment have for the inhabitants and the users, or the public, or the various publics, since the meaning of a building, like the environments that communicate them, are culturally specific and hence culturally variable? Cultural significance of many environments is generated through personalisation or possession. Thus, an interpretation of the general public's opinions is most likely to find an answer to this question. For example, newspapers stress the element of conflict between users and designers. Thus, newspaper accounts, reflecting on heritage issues, are one means of accessing the views of the public.

5.3.2 Dwelling

To dwell is human. Humans are the only beings who perceive the formation of the built environment as an art form; the art of dwelling is part of the art of living. Previously, habitable traces of a community were as evolutionary as its inhabitants. Buildings were never completed. They constantly evolved as the lifestyles of the inhabitants evolved. This contrasts to contemporary building design, which is only used once it is finished.[25] In vernacular design cultural requirements and practice is more important than material, culture is the essence of the built environment. Roderick Lawrence uses Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus to illustrate this point. Habitus is an organised action, a way of being, a habitual state, a predisposition, a tendency, a propensity or an inclination. A society within its predisposed position personalises the built environment and thus determines the social conventions and past residential experience of a culture. When habitus is applied to the analysis of house and home life, it provides a framework that integrates rather than ignores group and individual differences. For example, cooking and eating are not defined just by national or cultural conventions but by values and customs of diverse social groups.[26]

[25] Ivan Illich, *In the Mirror of the Past: Lectures and Addresses 1978-1990* (London: Marion Bogars Publishes, 1992), 55.
[26] Roderick Lawrence, *Vernacular Design*, ed M Turan, Vernacular Architecture: Paradigms of Environmental Response (Brookfield: Avebury, 1990), 225.

Habitus implies that vernacular architecture is an outcome of human intellect, experience and skills operating in family and community relations within the environment. Knowledge of the environment through vernacular design is a natural and accumulated knowledge of all the conditions, circumstances and influences surrounding and affecting the development of the built form. It is a material response to the environment determined by intellectually derived theories concerning societies and culture.[27]

Understanding of the act of dwelling is a reliable means of relating the product of conservation specifically to the social use of a place on a day-to-day basis. The product therefore is more likely to be culturally significant from a social point of view.

5.3.3 Traditional Vernacular Cultures

In understanding vernacular design from other cultures, it is understood that emphasis should not only be placed purely on the materiality of a building but also on its cultural importance. Within vernacular cultures modes of production bear a clear relationship with the social structure of a society. This is particularly prevalent in vernacular examples of indigenous societies in Asia and Australia. Production is incorporated into the ethno science of people; it bears a continuity or maintenance function related to elements such as the structure of family or the definition of gender roles within a culture. It is part of the cultural core.[28]

In Southeast Asia, Buddhist spiritual belief is a dominating influence in the design of the built environment. This implies that everything is transient, and nothing lasts forever. For this reason reconstruction of buildings is favoured over preservation. There is little thought given to the decay or demolition of what, in some Western eyes, would be a classified as an historically significant building.[29]

In Southeast Asia house building is a social and religious activity. The raising of the building's timber frame is a communal process. It is done either with community help or by hiring a local carpenter's services. During the building process many rites are performed to ensure the prosperity of the building. The most important rites take place the day before initial construction asking permission from the spirit of the ground to build a

[27] Turan, *Vernacular Design and Environmental Wisdom*, 8.
[28] Stea, *The Ten Smudge Pots of Vernacular Building,* 28.

house in the chosen location. The erection day for the frame is chosen according to astrological manuscripts. The dweller must perform rites for the two principle posts of the house and later respect the sacred places in the house. In constructing and using a building, the community is placing itself in a highly symbolic physical world. This implies that the construction and maintenance of a building and its authentic life time does not depend upon the material of the building, which is the case in western societies, but in locating the members, orientating the house in a particular direction and deciding which day to build the building.[30]

Similarly in Japan, traditional Shinto practice means that the Ito shrine is totally rebuilt every twenty years. The rebuilding process is carried out with meticulous accuracy and entirely new materials. The reconstruction process implies renewal of culture[31] and is a means of honoring the gods. Buildings are living entities. Their meaning is continuous and is received through knowledge and respect by their human inhabitants.[32]

Within Australia, the broad population's understanding of Aboriginal cultural heritage is largely ill informed. To much of the population, the cultural significance associated with Aboriginal material culture is thought to be depicted within the paintings and artifacts produced by the Aboriginals. Alternately, the aboriginals believe that the significance of their cultural heritage is located within the landscape and their verbal stories.[33]

> To us, the history and spirituality of a place is more important than the art itself. If the art is destroyed by natural processes this does not destroy the importance of the place to us, only to white people. We feel it is more important to protect the surrounding landscape and associated sites than to preserve the art.[34]

Indigenous beliefs such as those indicated above highlight the parallels between the beliefs of societies from different cultures. They illustrate the problem associated with different cultural interpretations of significance. Thus, questions are raised concerning the Western conservation concept of focusing specifically on the physical fabric of a building.

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[29] Ibid. 24.
[30] Paul Oliver, *Encyclopedia of the World*, vol. 2 Thailand and South East Asia, 3 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1997), 1047.
[31] Howard Davis, *The Culture of Buildings* (Oxford, New York: Oxford university Press, 1999), 90.
[32] Joan Domicelj and Duncan Marshall, *Diversity, Place and the Ethics of Conservation: A Discussion Paper* (Australian Heritage Commission, 1994), 11.
[33] Ibid. 12.

In understanding the need to focus on the essence of the concept of 'cultural significance', rather than on material maintenance, from a Western perspective one could look at the emphasis Australians place on public holidays. The reasons for having public holidays are based on cultural practice. In this example the significance of culture is based on the emotional side of culture rather than something that involves a tangible element. Public holidays are a means of celebrating the memory of a significant event that occurred in the past and this is also the purpose of conservation. The celebration of an event such as Anzac Day promotes a strong emotional and patriotic connection to an event in the past, even for people who have no actual connection to that event. This connection has no material basis on which to rely in order to communicate cultural significance. The connection is made through a relay of memories, feelings and emotions from one generation to the next. In relating to the stories of the past, new generations gain a second hand insight into the horror of war and thus gain an understanding of Australia's cultural past. Successful conservation uses examples of the traditional built fabric from the past to generate this form of connection and understanding of past cultural significance.

In a similar manner, an understanding of vernacular environments is not specifically about the material composition of the buildings. The construction of vernacular buildings is governed by tradition and accompanied by ceremonies, which may precede both the construction and occupancy of a structure. The use and production of the building is related to a community's social configuration.[35] Therefore, the dynamic, interconnected process of construction is one of the major constituents in vernacular environments. A building or town grows directly as a result of the inner nature of the people and the environment. It is this process that allows a person and their community to grow and flourish, which is important in sustaining meaningful life and culture.

The cultural beliefs of some vernacular communities assert that the existence of a group, since its foundation, is sacred. The past and the present are intertwined. The full significance of a place can only be known by the community that lives there, those who are a part of the belief system that gives the place meaning.[36] When traditional knowledge and ritual itself is sacred and its transfer is dependent on traditions passed from one generation to the next, then the identity of a place, its cultural significance, becomes a part of the

[34] As cited in Marshall, *Diversity, Place and the Ethics of Conservation*, 12.
[35] Stea, *The Ten Smudge Pots of Vernacular Building*, 28.
[36] Marshall, *Diversity, Place and the Ethics of Conservation*, 10.

society and their traditions to which it is so intimately related. In understanding vernacular design, and design from other cultures, cultural 'meaning' is given to the built environment. The built environment will sustain itself as long as it is 'meaningful' in everyday life. The source of perceived meaning is the interaction of the inhabitants with each other and with their environment. Therefore, one would expect the presence of meaning and a sense of place to be manifested by the nature of human interaction in the environment.[37]

Without this human interaction a place is little but a cultural shell. No external scientific study, careful material repair or physical maintenance can fully recapture the religious or cultural significance of a community. Joan Domicelj and Duncan Marshall believe that without its inhabitants, the built environment is dead and should be respected as such. A similar sentiment was implied by Dr Etherington in his Eulogy for the Aurora Hotel. "I suppose that the words that should be spoken over a dead building are similar to the words one would speak over a dead body."[38]

Domicelj and Marshall state that in this respect, heritage conservation seems like present culture trying to assert ownership of something that is not theirs, which is immoral.[39] However, in many cases where past cultural use is no longer valid, conservation is the only means of retaining the memory of the past. In this respect conservation cannot be viewed as totally immoral, because a reminder of a culture may be better than a total loss of its memory.

Without the conservation, or simply recognition, of vernacular built environments, one of the most useful entry points to the study of environment and behavior relations would be lost. As stated earlier in this chapter, lessons can be learnt from the cognition that is received through vernacular design. These lessons include the ability to design for specific groups in specific locations; how environments are created that reinforce identity and the nature of the relationship between the identity and physical elements of the cultural landscape; the ways culture and environments are related, and how buildings should respond to climate, comfort and energy use. It is used to develop theory and change

[37] Koop, "Proposing a Behavioural Definition of the 'Vernacular'", 143.
[38] Aurora Heritage Protection, *Time Gentlemen, Please!! The Story of the Fight to Save the Aurora Hotel* (Adelaide: 1983), 47.
[39] Marshall, *Diversity, Place and the Ethics of Conservation*, 10.

understanding of certain concepts. Thus, it answers questions regarding cultural significance.[40]

> In vernacular human needs come first, in skilful hands new appropriate and beautiful forms may emerge from an architecture which, discarding style, lets the house grow from the inside outwardly to express the style within.[41]

The people of a community form groups that represent different interests. Each group has certain roles. This group formation devises concepts, ideas, values and institutions.[42] An understanding of vernacular environments leads to an understanding of how buildings work, how cultures work and how to read the building as it functions within a culture. It is the analysis of the physical evidence of what happened and when and why.[43] It cannot be understood if viewed from the outside as a museum-like environment. Understanding comes through knowledge of broader society and cultural formation of the vernacular inhabitants. Knowledge gained through vernacular design is broad. This is due to the diversity of vernacular culture, as space and structure reflect the richness of human situations. This richness gives the vernacular environment an individual character in the lifestyle and events that occur there.[44]

Relating the vernacular environment to modern society, the cultural landscape should be conceptualised as a system of settings. This does not only include fixed feature elements (built and natural) but also the non-fixed and semi-fixed elements (people and animals). The vernacular environment is viewed as a multitude of cultural attributes on a variety of different levels.[45] The lessons derived from vernacular studies become applicable to the full range of environments and assist in solving the problems encountered in understanding cultural significance. Vernacular studies are not so much about restoring and retaining vernacular examples but about preserving the lessons and principles that such environments embody.[46]

[40] Rapoport, *A Framework for Studying Vernacular Design*, 55.
[41] Brand, *How Buildings Learn*, 157.
[42] Turan, *Vernacular Design and Environmental Wisdom*, 12.
[43] Brand, *How Buildings Learn*, 135.
[44] Koop, "Proposing a Behavioural Definition of the 'Vernacular'", 162.
[45] Rapoport, *A Framework for Studying Vernacular Design*, 54.
[46] Ibid. 55.

5.4. The Vernacular Connection to Cultural Significance.

In cultural research and design, the relationship between a culture and its environment is often not taken into consideration. There is a tendency to study them independently, which may make their interpretation inaccurate.

This problem is enhanced by the fact that there are obstacles in cultural responsiveness, through pluralism. The presence of multiple groups and sub cultures within a community causes confusion in the interpretation of cultural significance. Within vernacular environments the community was a homogenous group, and there was a congruence of culture and the built form.[47]

Following the vernacular approach, all architecture is cultural, and all cultures are different. Building's design and conservation are difficult without a specific culture in mind.[48] This can contribute to the loss of cultural significance during conservation. It is difficult to interpret and represent all cultural groups influencing the design from the past and the present. In vernacular traditions the people who use the building are involved in the design. Thus, in conservation, which aims to maintain cultural significance, it is important to understand the culture responsible for making a building in order to understand how to conserve it. A place cannot be understood if viewed in isolation and out of context.[49] Within vernacular environments the meaning of the building is specific to its local or regional culture and should be understood within its specific cultural group.

The vernacular environment is effective and functional. If it is no longer necessary then it is changed or demolished. The physical conditions that constitute a building are of secondary importance; they are not explicit enough to allow a grasp of their effectiveness on the built form. Construction of the physical condition is purely a purposive activity. Its goal is to provide a spatial organisation for a specific function. The action of building has a specific purpose that leads to the completion of a functional object.[50] Thus, it could be stated that if a building is no longer applicable to its intended culture then it is no longer culturally significant. Conservation of the cultural significance of a place is required in order to keep buildings continually relevant.

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[47] Amos Rapoport, "On the Cultural Responsiveness of Architecture," *Journal of Architectural Education* 41.fall (1987), 12.
[48] Henry Glassie, "Vernacular Architecture and Society," in *Vernacular Architecture: Paradigms of Environmental Response*, ed. M Turan (Brookfield: Avebury, 1990), 282.
[49] Rapoport, "Defining Vernacular Design," 81.

In the past, persistent academic and professional mythology has caused confusion rather than informing theoretical architecture.[51] This is sometimes due to attempts to gain an understanding through speculation and perpetration rather than by research and factual accuracy. Speculation produces myth regarding architectural understanding. These myths represent the general clash of Western modes of thought with non-Western, and in particular, the application of categorical systems derived from high architecture to vernacular. Similarly most history about architecture deals with individual buildings taken out of economic, ideological or political context. Style or form is isolated as being of primary importance, and social relations and their role are not considered. Analysis of style and form in isolation is not appropriate in vernacular studies because of the importance of the surroundings and people. The same could be said for the practice of conservation. Buildings are often dealt with purely in historical context with little attention paid to their current surrounding context. This may result in the loss of meaning and relevance of the building.[52] Accumulation of knowledge of vernacular traditions brings interpretation of architecture back to the original intention of architecture, to be specific for human use. Architectural myths are thus exposed.[53] This is beneficial in interpreting the cultural importance of a place. However, in practice vernacular knowledge is often difficult to apply. This is due to the fact that within current conservation practice, a place is preserved using modern methods. The original building techniques and materials are often no longer available. Alternately, maintenance of a building within a vernacular environment involved the use of materials and methods that were well known and proven. They were tailored specifically for that place.[54] Although it is very difficult to implement, conservation should be aware of original building methods and avoid broad, purely modern concepts.

Mete Turan's theories also acknowledge the problem of defining rules for the conservation of cultural significance. Turan states that attempts to specify separate cultural wholes and distinct boundaries and treating buildings in these terms, overlook or deny the processes generating the structures of that culture.[55]

[50] Turan, *Vernacular Design and Environmental Wisdom*, 10.
[51] Stea, *The Ten Smudge Pots of Vernacular Building*, 20.
[52] Turan, *Vernacular Design and Environmental Wisdom*, 8.
[53] Stea, *The Ten Smudge Pots of Vernacular Building*, 21.
[54] Brand, *How Buildings Learn*, 132.
[55] Turan, *Vernacular Design and Environmental Wisdom*, 12.

In the past a largely psychological approach to the interaction of environment and behaviour has been accepted. The divide between contemporary and vernacular culture was accepted but not addressed. An understanding of vernacular environments incorporates consideration of the contextual elements of architecture: these concern the social, political and economic environments within which a vernacular environment grows or decays.[56] Vernacular environments are communal. Therefore, if using vernacular development as a learning tool, conservation should reflect the ideals of a whole community considering specific cultural groups.

5.4.1. Diversity

Early environments were orientated around a vernacular existence; there were local speech and customs that in turn produced local buildings. Communities had individual style and methods. Each cultural group was strongly distinguished from the other. Over time, generational knowledge was shared by a community. Artisans became skilled in the use of local materials, thus learning how local material could be best used to suit the needs of the culture.[57] The environments produced reflected the restrictions of local products, as they were limited by the natural materials, the climate and geology.

In vernacular environments a relationship can be found between the environmental characteristics and physical integration of the social element of culture. This illustrates specific behaviour patterns, physical habitat, and overall characteristics that give diversity and richness to a community. Vernacular forms are well adjusted to the natural context, functional needs, and social aspirations of a community. They are repetitive, reflecting the shared aspects of life and the survival of optimal support solutions. Vernacular forms owe their existence to the continuity of the demographic, social and behavioural aspects of a community.[58] The behaviour settings previously allowing for individual initiative are not as apparent as they once were. This may encourage the further degradation or loss of vernacular and cultural individuality.

It has been established that variables such as family size, traditions, climate, landscape, lifestyles and private and social intercourse influence design and the conservation process. Rather than being the result of a straightforward accumulation of these variables, vernacular architecture involves an understanding of a complex structure where diversity

[56] Stea, *The Ten Smudge Pots of Vernacular Building*, 21.
[57] Bowyer, *Vernacular Building Conservation*, 5.

and intricacy of social relations create a highly complex and extremely variable architectural product.

The prevalence of technology has dramatically changed the progressive trends of vernacular production and has ultimately resulted in a perceived need for conservation to preserve buildings as a record of the past. In many areas of Western society, gradual change has not occurred and has ultimately resulted in the poor practice of conservation. Buildings no longer grow and adapt to the current cultural climate, they miss the steps that occur between cultural change and hence lose their cultural importance.[59] Therefore, technological advance is not always good or better, particularly when looking at vernacular communities.

Buildings go on from lifetime to lifetime. Each person becomes a vernacular builder and a vernacular speaker by learning from the previous generations. A vernacular dweller 'generates' the space they inhabit.[60] A vernacular designer creates a building to be used for a specific function within society. The building design changes in a natural progression to suit human needs and activities. The vernacular environment has a strong meaning and purpose for the people for whom it was created. It represents gradual change and cultural habits.[61] The use and design of the building are not interpreted generally but are context-specific.

5.4.2 Gradual change

Unlike the built environment of contemporary communities, the existence of vernacular design does not imply an unchanging environment; rather, it implies a continuing process of evolution. Evolution creates a "balanced tension between the past and the future, the local and the outsider, and tradition and innovation."[62] Vernacular studies support the theory that conservation should help maintain the gradual evolution of architecture.

Every element of a vernacular environment could be referred to as 'work in progress'. It begins in the imagination of the people who build it and then changes as need requires. As suggested by Stuart Brand, every house is a living museum of habitation and a monument

[58] Koop, "Proposing a Behavioural Definition of the 'Vernacular'", 142.
[59] Stea as cited in Turan, *Vernacular Design and Environmental Wisdom*, 26.
[60] Illich, *In the Mirror of the Past: Lectures and Addresses 1978-1990*, 56.
[61] Glassie, *Vernacular Architecture and Society*, 279.
[62] Koop, "Proposing a Behavioural Definition of the 'Vernacular'", 161.

to all the lives and aspirations that have lived within it.[63] All of the changes made to the building have little to do with the aesthetic needs of a community but rather to do with a functional requirement. A building is an organisational device that means it is a communication device. It is volatile, never static.[64]

The gradual sequence of changes that occur within a culture is an organic process of growth and repair. Vernacular buildings evolve, becoming finely attuned to local environmental conditions and society. In this respect vernacular design is the most fluid physical expression. People respond to the new needs and desires with direct vernacular action.[65]

5.5. Summary

The study of vernacular is part of a larger body of evidence, not to be studied by itself or for itself.[66] Vernacular studies are only really useful if used in conjunction with another theory. Within the context of this thesis the use of the vernacular development indicates the natural progression of the built environment. However, when a building is no longer functional in its current form and context, or is in need of reconstruction due to age, a decision is necessary regarding how best to conserve the building without destroying the cultural significance of the past. Knowledge of vernacular traditions allows the conservation architect a point of reference as to which approach would best achieve the outcomes necessary for good conservation.

In understanding vernacular environments it becomes apparent that gradual transformation of cultural use is important for a society to remain connected to its environment. If a place has one cultural use, and then suddenly changes its cultural use to something different and unrelated, the social connection of the present may be lost due to the loss of the cultural significance of the past. In opposition to this, if transformation of a place is stopped immediately and growth no longer occurs then the social relevance of the present may diminish and the culture of the past may seem outdated and unimportant.

The modern built environment is built to last in its original form for an extended period of time. In this respect buildings are predictions of what may happen in the future. Most of these predictions are inaccurate and need to be altered. In conserving and designing

[63] Brand, *How Buildings Learn*, 163.
[64] Ibid. 164.
[65] Ibid. 159.
[66] Rapoport, *A Framework for Studying Vernacular Design*, 60.

buildings it should be kept in mind that most places will require adaptation. Vernacular traditions can be followed in order to understand how changes can be made. Ultimately, it should be understood that buildings are never finished, and will constantly change.[67]

It is apparent that the principles underlying vernacular architecture are simple and unsophisticated, that they are the property of all members of a culture, passed down through oral tradition. This may be the case; however, the theories underlying vernacular design illustrate the values, needs and beliefs of the general public. The cultural view of society is represented.

Vernacular development appears to be a simplistic form of conservation responding entirely to the requirements of the social side of culture. Buildings retain their connection to the past while developing according to the requirements of the present. However, often in modern society gradual development rarely occurs. For this reason the above discussion does not imply that vernacular development can be practically applied as a form of conservation, it is merely a means of understanding culture and the term cultural significance from a social based point of view. It is not possible to consciously carry out gradual change. However, an awareness of the cultural advantages of gradual change may benefit conservative and contemporary approaches to conservation.

Vernacular examples highlight that the social view is only one approach to the cultural question. Culture is also required to respond to economic and legal requirements. The vernacular discussion is a valuable means of illustrating the 'ideal' cultural lifecycle of a building. However, due to the fragmentary nature of culture, vernacular development cannot be interpreted in isolation. Conservative and contemporary conservation approaches also need to be considered.

[67] Brand, *How Buildings Learn*, 178.

6. Case Studies

6.1. Introduction

The previous three chapters have presented a theoretically-based discussion of three approaches to conservation with respect to cultural significance. As these discussions have highlighted, one isolated approach to the conservation process is an insufficient response to the requirements of cultural significance. The purpose of this chapter is to relate the three cultural views to the actual practice of conservation within a regionally specific area. To this end, case studies have been carried out at locations in and around Adelaide's CBD.

Case studies are an effective method of assessing the practical application of a theory. Within the framework of this thesis the case studies are used to assess:

- Which forms of conservation are being used during the treatment of heritage buildings in the Adelaide area according to the cultural points of view highlighted in this thesis;
- Whether the form used is appropriate for the building and the future use of the building;
- Whether the conservation adheres to the conservation requirements, with regard to the cultural significance of the building, as outlined in the Burra Charter and the conservation plan?
- Which cultural viewpoint dominates in the decision making process: the public, the heritage professionals or the developers.

The case studies aim to highlight whether the significance of the culture has been enhanced or destroyed through the selected approach to conservation, and whether current guidelines are effective in maintaining cultural significance.

The case studies chosen for this research are:

1. Adelaide and Gay's Arcade
2. The Kent Town Brewery
3. The Hackney Tram Barns
4. Queens House at the Queen Victoria Hospital
5. Leigh Street

6. The Colonist Tavern

The methodology used in the case studies consists of:

1. Location of site using site map;
2. A thoroughly researched statement of significance. This analyses both the aspects of the place that resulted in it being heritage listed, and extent to which the original fabric reflects its significance. This will involve historical, architectural and environmental issues;
3. Provision of evidence of past cultural significance using old photos, references and other documentation; and
4. Identification and interpretation of the conservation technique used. The interpretation will consider how the newly conserved fabric reflects the cultural significance of the building.

The analysis seeks to establish the current cultural significance of conserved places. In this process the following issues will be considered:

- If the place were reassessed for heritage listing today, would it remain on the list?
- Does the recent conservation work make due reference to the past cultural significance (which put it on a heritage list), the use, design and integrity of the place?
- Are the alterations functional for today's use?
- was the analysis of culture a significant step in the decision making process?

6.2. Adelaide Arcade and Gay's Arcade

6.2.1. Location

Adelaide Arcade runs between Rundle Mall and Grenfell Street on the Hindmarsh Ward Town Acre.[1] Gay's Arcade runs at 90 degrees to Adelaide Arcade and opens out on to Twin Street. (Figure 1)

[1] Dept of planning and Development, *City of Adelaide Heritage Study. The Heritage Register-Definition of Items, City of Adelaide Heritage Survey, 1984* (Adelaide: Dept of planning and Development, 1986).

6.2.2 Statement of significance

In citing the criteria listed in the Heritage Act 1993 (Appendix 2), Adelaide and Gay's Arcades are significant because:

1. **They demonstrate important aspects of the evolution of retail shopping in South Australia (a)**
2. **They are rare as one of the last remaining shopping arcades in Adelaide (b)**
3. **They are a valuable example of Italianate architectural design built in Adelaide during the late 1800s (e)**

Shopping arcades became fashionable in Britain in the early 1800s when consumer shopping became a popular way of obtaining goods. Arcades were designed in order to allow people to browse among shops without interruption from bad weather. They provided high-density small shops. They usually consisted of a passageway with shops on either side with skylights or a fully glazed roof.[2] The success of this style of urban planning led to its adoption in Australia, yet few Adelaide examples remain. Adelaide and Gay's Arcades form one remaining example. (Figure 2)

Adelaide and Gay's Arcades have had continual cultural significance from their original conception in the 1880s until now. Their past cultural significance is attributable to their construction in the 1880s, a time of architectural advance in Adelaide. During this time Rundle Street was undergoing its transformation into the focal retail area in the city. The original 1881 proposal for an arcade was to be located on North Terrace, but this development never took place. Four years later, on 11th June 1885, the foundation stone of the present arcade was laid by Mayor W. Bundey, Esq., J.P. The building was completed during the height of the depression, the sight of progress in the face of financial hardship provided an important boost to public moral. One observer noted,

> One of the most cheering signs of a tendency to turn the corner of commercial depression has presented itself of late is the evidence of enterprise and confidence in the future shown in the erection of such a structure as the Adelaide Arcade.[3]

[2] Margaret Mackeith, *The History and Conservation of Shopping Arcades* (London: Mansell Publishing Ltd, 1986), 3.
[3] "Opening of Adelaide Arcade", *The Adelaide Observer* (Adelaide, 19.12.1885).

Further, the building of the arcade contributed to reduced unemployment and a stimulated economy:

> The erection of this large building has not only caused the circulation of many thousands of pounds and given employment to scores, if not hundreds, of men who would otherwise have been idle, but it must indirectly act upon the sluggish arteries of trade by producing competition, which is the life blood of business. [4]

The two hundred workmen engaged to carry out construction were contracted from W Pett and Sons.[5]

Five months after construction began, on 12th December 1885, Adelaide Arcade was opened. The opening of the Arcade proved to be a significant social event and as a symbol of change and wealth. The Arcade gave encouragement to the population of Adelaide about the future of the city.

> The public generally will feel gratified at knowing that the syndicate of promoters are proving that their faith in the future of the colony is not likely to be in vain, as the shops are rapidly becoming tenanted and numbers of men are now engaged in making the shop fixtures and fittings.[6]

The opening event was celebrated with the composition of a polka named *The Arcade Polka* by Signor R Squires.[7]

The Arcade's construction also resulted in a patriotic sense of place. "In the construction of the Arcade, colonial material has been used as far as possible."[8] The brick was from the Metropolitan Company, and the front marble slabs were from Kapunda.[9]

Adelaide Arcade exists as one of the last examples of the architecture of an extremely progressive architectural firm, Withall and Wells. Wells was firmly established as one of Adelaide's leading architects. He worked for Bayer and Withell that later took on Wells' name to became Withall and Wells. Withal and Wells built many significant buildings in

[4] Ibid.
[5] *History of the Adelaide Arcade* (Adelaide: Adelaide Arcade), 1.
[6] "Opening of Adelaide Arcade."
[7] "History of the Adelaide Arcade." 1.
[8] "Opening of Adelaide Arcade."

the city including the Jubilee exhibition building, Birks store, Adelaide racing club grandstand, the Commercial travellers club in North Terrace, Adelaide's first power station, churches, banks, commercial buildings and town halls.[10] Wells' design for the Adelaide Arcade and the exhibition building were the only two domed buildings in Adelaide built during this time. His use of cast iron and plate glass, electric lights and new construction techniques led the way for future architects in the city and gives the Arcade significance as a primary example of the architectural technology of the time.[11]

The success of the Adelaide Arcade encouraged a furniture salesman named Patrick Gay to build Gay's arcade in August 1885. The site, which was the site of Gay's burnt out showroom, fronts on to Twin Street and joins on to the existing Adelaide arcade. Thus, the design of the new arcade needed to be in keeping with the design of Adelaide Arcade.[12]

The Twin Street frontage displays a three-storey building with five shops on the ground floor. This frontage opens on to an Arcade with twelve shops that then opens on to Adelaide Arcade at 90 degrees. The Arcade is significant in the first instance because its architect, Cummings, was a leading architect in Adelaide at the time. Cummings arrived in Adelaide in 1846 and worked in a drapery business in Hindley Street until he became an architect. He designed several noteworthy residences and warehouses, the Draper Memorial Church in Gilbert Street and the Bethlehem Lutheran Church in Flinders Street.[13]

6.2.3 Architectural Significance.

Today, the Arcades are significant because they are one of the last remaining examples of the of 1880s boom period that transformed Rundle Street into a retail area. The Arcades illustrate the historical urban approach to retail shopping. All other original examples of Adelaide's shopping arcades have been demolished or rebuilt: John Martins has been replaced, Charles Birks was replaced by the original David Jones store and only the façade remains of the Myer Arcade.[14]

[9] "History of the Adelaide Arcade."
[10] Michael Page, *Sculptors in Space, South Australian Architects 1836-1986* (Adelaide: Gillingham Printers Adelaide, 1986), 117.
[11] *City of Adelaide Heritage Study. City of Adelaide Heritage Survey, 1984*, 54.
[12] Ibid. 54c.
[13] Page, *Sculptors in Space,* 22.
[14] Ibid. 54.

The Arcades provide a significant record of the architecture being produced at the time. Adelaide Arcade's façades, on both Rundle Mall and Grenfell Street, were built in Italianate design (Figure 3&4) with a decorative dome and a coat of arms featuring a sheep, a sailing ship, a pick and shovel and an anchor, underneath which are sheaves of wheat and grapevines (Figure 5). The coat of arms was originally designed for Australia to represent the land of opportunity but it was rejected just before federation in 1901.[15] The design of the Arcades nevertheless provides strong patriotic symbol for the city. The external façades are largely unaltered. The original shops were intended to retail from the ground floor with an internal staircase that was used to access the upstairs workroom (Figure 6). The Arcade itself had three fountains placed along the main walkway (Figure 7) and there was an underground chamber used as tearooms.[16] The original Arcade had a Turkish bath in the south east corner where warm baths were available for a shilling and Turkish baths for four shillings.[17]

When Adelaide Arcade was built in 1885 it comprised 50 shops and now has over 100 specialty retail outlets. This significant growth has meant that both arcades now provide significant evidence of the changes in style and shopping fashions since their original construction. 'Fashionable' renovations in the 1930s, 1950s and 1960s saw the Arcades alter gradually from their original look. In May 1935 Netter and Solomon took over the lease of Adelaide Arcade and central stalls were built to increase the shop space. Box electric lighting was also added. More substantial alterations took place in 1968 with the addition of a mezzanine walkway at the first floor level and the replacement of the ground floor shop fronts (Figures 8&9). These alterations transformed the single two storey shops into two single storey shops. As a result most of the internal stairways were lost and much of the original surface materials and finishes were replaced. For example, in 1970 the existing floor tiles needed replacing, but the original tiles could not be lifted so the new tiles were placed on top of the original ones in a similar style. Another incident that resulted in the loss of the architectural significance was a fire that took place on 3rd August 1980 which significantly damaged Gay's Arcade.[18] Adelaide Arcade was also affected by smoke and heat.

[15] "Historic High Point." *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, 1.12.2000), 26.
[16] "History of the Adelaide Arcade." 3.
[17] Ibid. 4.
[18] Ibid. 5.

6.2.4. Conservation Plan

In May 1999 a conservation report was devised which highlighted the heritage expectations of Arcade owners Brian Wadham and N I Conrad regarding the conservation of the Arcades. The conservation plan for these Arcades is quite different to most heritage-listed buildings in that the owners have been pro-active in addressing the heritage element of the building. As a result the work done is sympathetic to the heritage requirements of the building and is largely in keeping with the Burra Charter.

The conservation report states that the redevelopment of the Arcades is linked with the ongoing future development of Adelaide Arcade. Since listing in 1985, the owners have undertaken a refurbishment strategy that has focussed on the reconstruction of the Arcade with an emphasis on its earliest architectural style. The architectural importance of Adelaide and Gay's Arcades has been preserved whilst continuing to incorporate the latest dynamics of retailing standards. The aim of the conservation work was to retain a viable heritage retail precinct without loss of its historic record. The refurbishment strategy aimed to provide a greater depth to the retail fabric of Adelaide.

The current owners of the Arcades are well aware of the importance of Adelaide's historic built environment. They realise that heritage buildings have the potential to act as a catalyst for economic momentum.[19] The conservation plan states that the Arcades have the potential to enhance the development of the retail and tourist capacity of the city.

6.2.5. Interpretation of conservation

In June 1984 Von Schramek and Dawes Pty Ltd were hired to prepare a proposal to upgrade both Adelaide and Gay's Arcades. It was recognised in the proposal that it was necessary for the upgrade to re-assert the prominence of arcade shopping in Adelaide. This was to be achieved by bringing the appearance of the arcades nearer to, and more in keeping with the original style and feeling of the Arcades. The aim of the upgrade was to achieve, "...a reinstatement as far as possible to the condition and appearance as conceived and built some 100 years ago."[20]

[19] N I Conrad, *Background to Gay's Arcade Refurbishment* (Adelaide: Adelaide Arcade Pty. Ltd, 1999).
[20] VonSchramek and Dawes PtyLtd, *Forward planning proposal for the upgrading of the Adelaide and Gays arcade complex* (Adelaide: VonSchramek and Dawes Pty Ltd, 1984), 3.

In addition to this, the renovations also aimed to,

> ...add such refinements of today's technology, which are incorporated in inept contemporary copies of such historical arcades, as fire safety, good lighting, air conditioning and positive smoke exhaust so as to render the arcade complex up-to-date in every respect.[21]

This was achieved by being particular about the colour scheme used, the detailing of balconies, balustrades and bridges, the use of reflective glass in the skylights, signage and flooring.

The overall result of the upgrading of the Adelaide Arcade has been largely successful, maintaining its significance as an historical example of arcade shopping from the 1880s, but has also retained its functional and continual use in today's culture (Figure 10).

Von Schramek and Dawes' approach to the conservation of Adelaide Arcade can be recognised as a conservative form of conservation, because the work has made strong reference to the original style of the building. It pays great attention to the buildings past use and appearance, while harmonising it with the requirements of modern building regulations such as fireproofing and air conditioning. The arcade displays the gradual change that has occurred in retail shopping since the Arcade was built but has not detracted from the way the original Arcade looked and functioned.

In 1999 Walter Brooke Architects renovated Gay's Arcade. Like the renovations in Adelaide Arcade the architect aimed to re-establish the look of the Arcade from the past. In doing so the significance of the past remains accessible and can be understood. The work done in Gay's Arcade was in keeping with a 'master maintenance plan' devised by Adelaide Arcade Pty Ltd. It focuses on the reconstruction of the Arcade with an emphasis on its earliest architectural style.

The architect's intention for the refurbishment of Gay's Arcade was for the conservation work to be in a, "... sympathetic manner to consolidate the importance of the Adelaide Arcade Heritage precinct as a significant tourist and retail attraction."[22] The Architect's

[21] Ibid. 4.
[22] Walter Brooke, *Gays Arcade: A Resplendent Past a Revitalised Future* (Adelaide: Walter Brooke Architect, 1999).

statement for the Arcade illustrates that the conservation of the Arcades are not intended to transform them into a museum, "Their display of history is more implicit than explicit. However, like any historic building it can be seen as a document, a piece of vital evidence about the past society that created it."[23]

The conservation of Gay's Arcade aimed to make the arcade a focal point in itself, because, unlike Adelaide Arcade, it was rarely used simply as a thoroughfare. Thus, it had to be transformed into an interesting eye catching place, one that had importance in its own right, not simply as a section of Adelaide Arcade (Figures 11&12).

As with the conservation of Adelaide Arcade, it was important for Gay's Arcade to incorporate the necessities of modern building such as fireproofing. A sprinkler system was installed to replace the fire hoses and extinguishers required by fire regulations. Other requirements highlighted by the owners were to improve the ground floor pedestrian area making it appealing and safe. New floors were laid using tiles that were evident in early photos and became apparent during excavation work (Figure 13). In the 1950s a double staircase was constructed at the Twin Street end of the Arcade (Figure 11), but was removed because it was not evident in the original design. The remaining requirements of the conservation work were structural. The rising damp in the external walls was treated by underpinning and replacing the lower 5-10 courses of original brickwork. The walls were then clad in plasterboard. This was not pinned directly onto the brick face for both structural reasons and also to retain access to the original wall for future archival or archaeological requirements.

The owner's desires to return the Arcade to its historic style was problematic due to the lack of existing original detailing and lack of original drawings and photos. The Burra Charter states that:

> The cultural significance of many places is not readily apparent, and should be explained by interpretation. Interpretation should enhance understanding and enjoyment, and be culturally appropriate.[24]

[23] Ibid.
[24] Burra Charter, "The Australian ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance," (1999), Article 25.

The trusses, columns, the window and shop fronts at the Twin Street entrance were original. Information gained from these remaining elements, and existing photos and drawings, were used to interpret what the Arcade would have looked like (Figure 14). Elements such as lighting, window detailing and colour scheme were also interpreted to give an impression of the original appearance of the building (Figure 15).

While the conservation work aimed to maintain what was original in the design, in some areas this was not possible. As a 1950s photo indicates, the original design did not have a mezzanine walkway. The architects considered converting the Arcade back to its original single shop frontage, but this proposal would have been too expensive. To compensate for the inability to recreate the original design completely, the architect has deliberately made most of the modern design elements appear new and separate from the original design. For example, the balustrades on the mezzanine, which was not originally there, were designed in modern glass. The use of glass allowed visual access to the first floor shop; also, the use of glass indicates that the balustrade is not original (Figure 16). The Burra Charter states that:

> New work such as additions to the place may be acceptable where it does not distort or obscure the cultural significance of the place, or detract from its interpretation and appreciation[25], and that new work should be readily identifiable as such.[26]

Other materials, such as timber and cast iron, were chosen to give a feeling of the heritage aspect of the design.[27]

The recent conservation work that has been carried out in Gay's and Adelaide Arcade, has taken a conservative approach to the refurbishment. It has retained its intended use and has tried, where possible, to maintain or reintroduce the historic elements of the original building. This is an approach that is advocated in Mackeith's book The History *and Conservation of Shopping Arcades.*[28] Mackeith suggests shopping arcades are ornate representations of the lifestyles of the upper class. In conserving such structures the traditional appearance should be retained. Thus, careful removal of modern additions should reveal the original design, this should then be conserved in a conservative style.

[25] Ibid. Article 22.1.
[26] Ibid. Article 22.2.
[27] Ian Hore of Walter Brooks Architects supplied this information during an interview on 21 March 2001.
[28] Mackeith, *The History and Conservation of Shopping Arcades,* 154.

The conservative approach to conserving the fabric of the arcades has been effective due to an awareness of the requirements of today. In conserving the Arcades in this way they continue to be a significant example of retail shopping in Adelaide in the 1800s while remaining relevant to the present needs and trends in retail shopping in the present.

- **Has the conservation approach been successful in maintaining cultural significance?**

For the conservation process to be successful it is important to check if the current use of the place has retained the Arcade's significance from the past.

As was stated in 6.2.2, Adelaide and Gay's Arcades are significant because:

1. **They demonstrate important aspects of the evolution of retail shopping in South Australia (a)**
2. **They are rare as one of the last remaining shopping arcades in Adelaide (b)**
3. **They are a valuable example of Italianate architectural design built in Adelaide during the late 1800s (e)**

The Arcades retain reference to the evolution of the trends of retail shopping from the past and will continue to into the future. The Arcades still exist as an example of shopping Arcades in Adelaide. Despite the retention of the additions made to the Arcades in the 1960s, the conservation process has retained the architectural style of the arcades. The original detailing is still evident, the retention of the more recent changes contributes to the understanding of the evolution of shopping trends. The retention of the three criteria giving the Arcades significance imply that the conservation process has been successful.

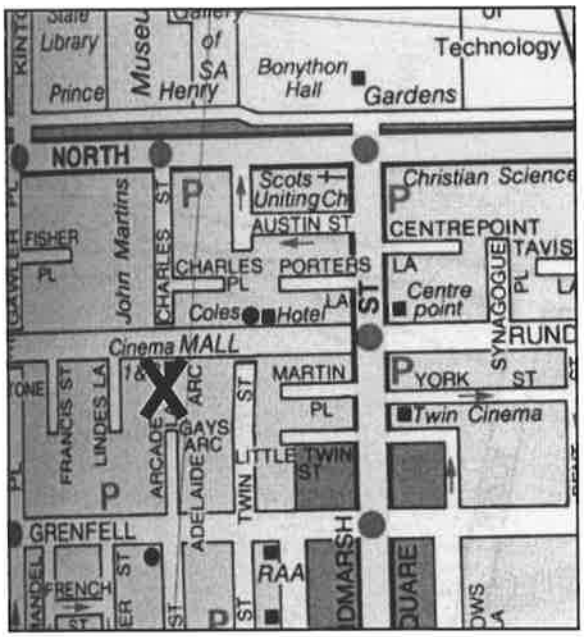


Figure 1
Location map of Adelaide and Gay's Arcades

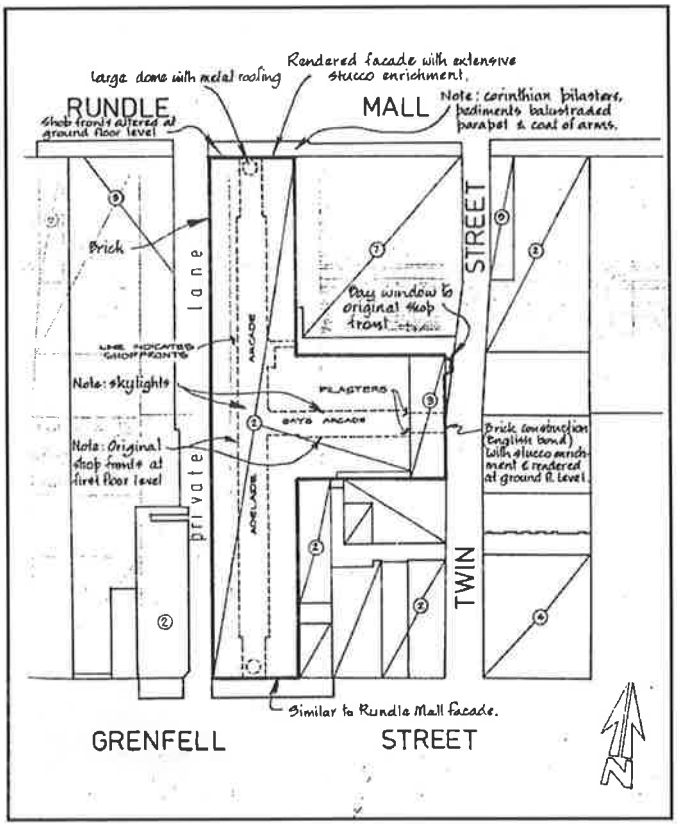


Figure 2
Adelaide and Gay's Arcade plan (Conservation report: 1984)

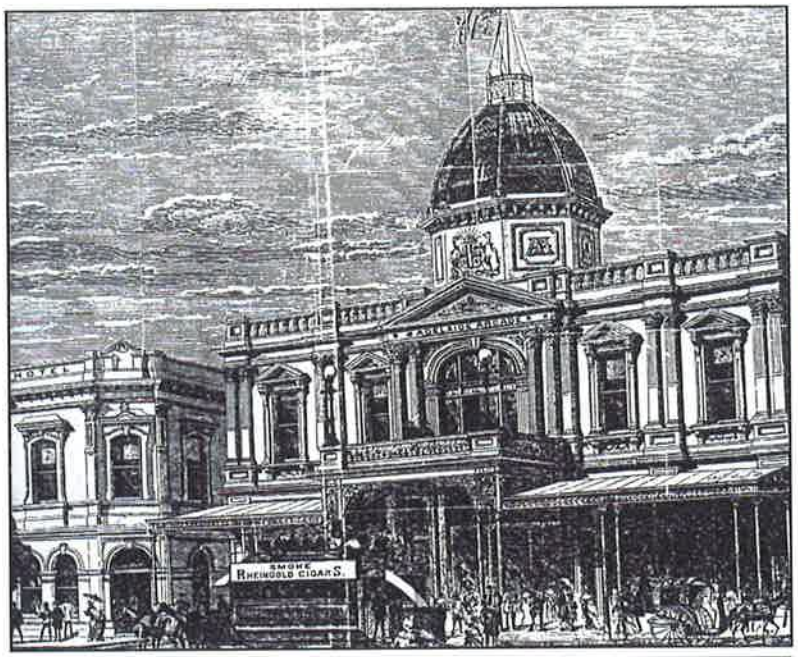


Figure 3
Sketch of façade of Adelaide Arcade, illustrates the Italianate design (History of Adelaide Arcade)

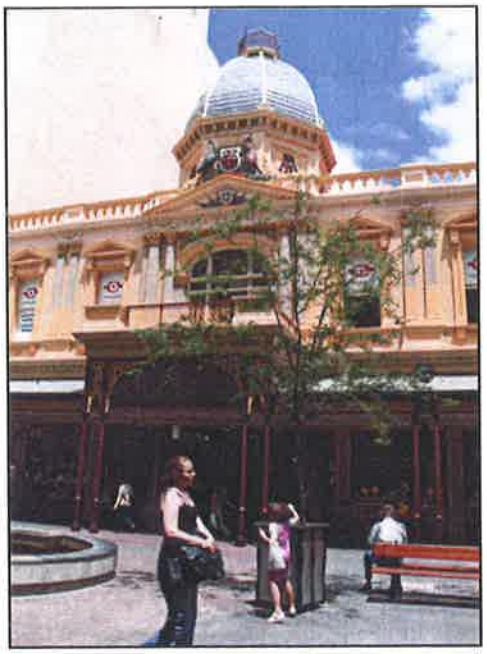


Figure 4
Façade of Adelaide Arcade as it appears today

Figure 5
Adelaide Arcade coat of arms

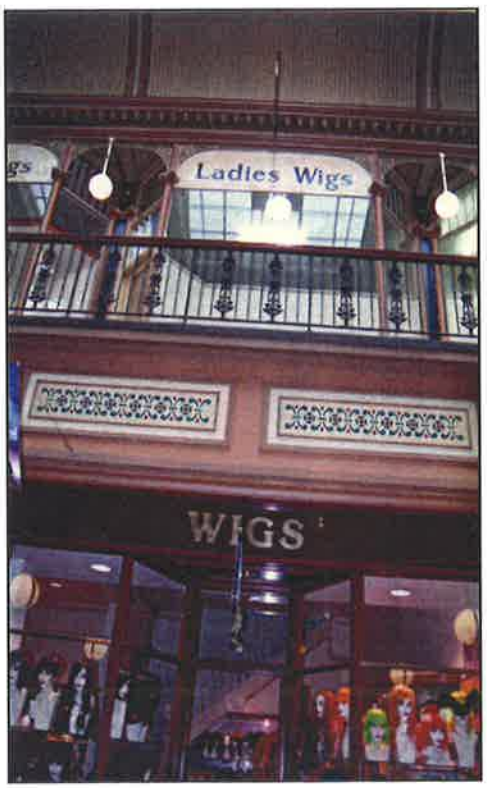


Figure 6
The wig shop is the only remaining shop that has retained its two story layout

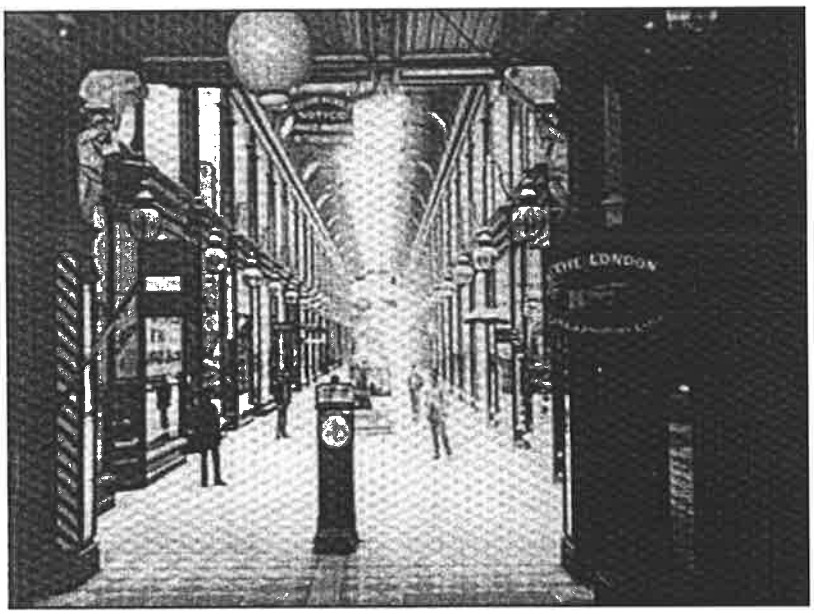


Figure 7

Adelaide Arcade in 1890. Originally, the arcade did not have the central stall shops. There were fountains in the middle of the arcade. (Mortlock B13274)

Figure 8

Adelaide Arcade in 1886. Originally the arcade had no mezzanine walkway. The shops were two levels. (Pike: 1983, 35)

Figure 9

In 1968 a mezzanine was added at the first floor level. The two story shops became two single story shops; thus, the number of the shops in the arcade doubled. (Pike: 1983, 34)

Figure 10

The overall result of the upgrading of the Adelaide arcade has been largely successful.

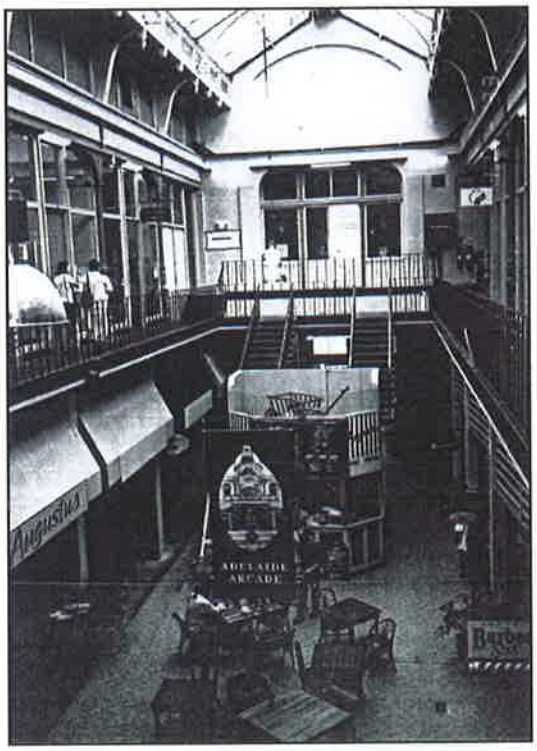


Figure 11
Gay's Arcade until it was refurbished in 1999. (Walter Brooks Photo file)

Figure 12
Gay's Arcade as it appears today. The aim of the restoration was to make the Arcade more appealing and functional.

Figure 13
Photos were used to identify the original flooring and detailing.
(MortlockB13364)

Figure 14
Drawings were also used as a source of information regarding detailing.
(Pictorial Australia, Nov 1885)

Figure 15
The remaining original columns were used to design new detailing.

Figure 16
A glass balustrade allows visibility of the top level.

6.3. Leigh Street

6.3.1. Location

Leigh Street bisects the town acres 76 (fronts Hindley Street) and 111 (fronts Currie Street). (Figure 17)

6.3.2 Statement of Significance

In citing the Heritage Act 1993, Leigh Street is significant as:

1. **The only area in Adelaide being owned by one cultural group for the first 150 years of its establishment (b).**
2. **A means of understanding the development of the Church of England in South Australia (c).**
3. **An outstanding representation of the development of some of Adelaide's primary industries (d).**

Leigh Street is significant in the development of the city of Adelaide due to its unusual characteristic of being owned by one cultural group for the first 150 years of its establishment.

William Leigh (1802-1873) was the son of a rich trader in Staffordshire, England. In 1837 Leigh bought 7 town acres in Adelaide. In 1839 he became involved with the founding of the church in Adelaide by being on the committee of the South Australian Church Society in London. This society worked with the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts (SPG).[29]

It was due to Leigh's involvement with the church that, on 6th April 1840, he gave the SPG two of his Adelaide acres (76 and 111), valued at £150. From that time on the land was to be held for the purpose of the Church of England. Leigh stayed in England but continued his association with South Australia and his support of the Adelaide Church.
Leigh's gift was vital in assisting the establishment of the Church of England in South Australia. However, in 1844 his association with Leigh Street ended when he converted to Roman Catholicism. During its establishment Leigh gave the Catholic church many grants in the way of cash and land in North Adelaide, Gawler and Adelaide. One such grant of

[29] McDougal and Vines, *Leigh Street Conservation and Urban Design Report* (Adelaide: McDougal and Vines Architects, 1998), 2.

land is located on the corner of Grote Street and West Terrace. This is where St Patricks (1846), the first Roman Catholic Church in Adelaide, can be found.[30]

Leigh Street's main significance lies in the fact that the street itself, and the buildings, have always been in a single ownership since the land was donated in 1840. The church managed Leigh Street until 1929 when the Leigh Trust was established.[31] Thus, due to its unitary nature, Leigh Street stands out as a good example of the social culture of the Central Business District in Adelaide.[32]

There are eleven buildings on the site, four of which are on the State heritage register, and five are on the local register.

6.3.3 Development of Leigh Street

Leigh Street was named on the Kingston map in 1842. It was declared a road for public use in 1849[33]. At this time the land was subdivided, the allotments were leased out and buildings were built on the site. The first building to be built was the church office of attorney for the SPG in 1861. In Smith's Survey[34] of 1880 Leigh Street contained a number of properties, warehouses and hotels. These included the Black Horse Hotel and the Wellington Inn (Figure 18). At the time the church office was the most substantial establishment.[35]

Like most streets in Adelaide, Leigh Street benefited from the 1880s building boom and became more Victorian in appearance during this time. Many of the buildings were rebuilt and extended from single storey to two storey establishments. The church office building remained unchanged. By 1873 the street housed the church office, the Black Horse Hotel, plumbers, accountants, landbrokers, boot makers, locksmiths, bell hangers (sic) and leather merchants; they all worked in conjunction with one another and leased their properties from the same owner. By 1886 there were more food merchants and more storage was required, so buildings expanded. During this time the church's role in the street also expanded with the development of the Methodist book depot and the Adelaide Benevolent and Strangers

[30] Ibid. 2.
[31] Ibid. 2.
[32] Paul Stark, Susan Marsden, Patricia Sumerling, ed., *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: An Illustrated Guide* (Adelaide: Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1996), 105.
[33] Vines, *Leigh Street Conservation and Urban Design Report*, 5.
[34] Smith's Survey is a trigonometrical survey of the city of Adelaide made under the direction of Charles W. Smith in 1880.
[35] Vines, *Leigh Street Conservation and Urban Design Report*, 5.

Society. In the 1900s the Hoopers furniture warehouse opened as did a cigar maker, both buildings expanding the scale and standing of the street.[36]

Over time early buildings were replaced with more modern structures. On the west side of the street none of the 1880s buildings remain, as all were replaced in the early 1900s. The eastern side of the street remains quite original, and the historic detailing of the buildings still remains.[37] (Figure 19)

The importance Leigh played in the establishment of the street is evident in the names given to the buildings. These relate directly to William Leigh, his life in England and the properties with which he was associated. 23-25 Leigh Street is Stafford House, named after Leigh's hometown Staffordshire. 13-17 is Aston House and number 27 is Woodchester House both of which are town names in England.[38]

Leigh Trust continued to manage the properties in Leigh Street for the church until 1997 when both town acres were sold to Ipoh Ltd. The street remains a private road that is dedicated to public use.[39]

6.3.4. Conservation Plan

In 1997 Leigh Trust sold Leigh St to Ipoh Ltd (a Sydney based investor and developer) that, for the first time, took the management of the street out of the hands of the church. A 1998 master plan made recommendation for positive incremental change for the street and buildings at a cost of $1m by the Adelaide council and Ipoh Ltd.[40] The new owners of the street wished to transform the street into a thriving commercial and retail precinct with dynamic uses and attractive physical qualities based on the historic qualities of the streetscape.

In February 1998 McDougal and Vines were commissioned to undertake a Conservation and Urban Design Report for Ipoh Ltd.

This conservation report recommended that the buildings be steadily upgraded from the time of the writing of the report until the scheduled opening by the Lord Mayor in October

[36] Ibid. 5.
[37] Ibid. 7.
[38] Ibid. 7.
[39] Ibid. 10.

1999. Due to the intact historic character of the street, it was suggested in the conservation plan that the upgrading of the area be managed as a whole under the *South Australian Heritage Act 1993*. It was proposed that it should be declared as a Historic Conservation Zone.

It was stated in the report that the development of Leigh Street would form a catalyst for further regeneration in the west end. It was expected that the conservation process would take the needs of the current culture into consideration; developing a perceived improvement in the area that would increase its use by the public and encourage further growth in other areas.

The report aims to achieve this result not through elaborate and complicated design but through incremental change. This gradual form of change should improve the identity of the street. The means through which change should occur are by streetscape enhancement programs, gradual upgrading of buildings, landscaping, upgrading of streetscape, public art and use of a logo to give the place visual identity. The proposed changes included creation of one way traffic, focus points placed at points of entry and exit, footpath widening, carefully designed street furniture and public art.

The essence of the development of the street as highlighted in the conservation report was,

> ...to create a thriving dynamic and active precinct which capitalises on the strong heritage character and unique cultural history of the street. This will be achieved by undertaking carefully designed streetscape improvements, conserving, restoring and adapting all the heritage buildings, refurbishing the two 'modern' building, attracting new and interesting uses and improving pedestrian amenity.[41]

This was to be achieved under the principles of the city of Adelaide Development Plan, "Development of heritage items shall conserve the substantial whole of the items."[42] Thus, it was stated that, "Development shall neither detract from nor destroy the cultural significance."[43]

[40] Ibid. 1.
[41] Ibid. 1.
[42] Ibid. 11.
[43] Ibid. 11.

The report also attempted to address the implementation of the street development being a 'catalyst' for future development in the area. The report suggests that,

> ...efforts should be made to establish strong links with existing hotels within the area. Ensure that Leigh Street becomes a destination for tourists through its inclusion in city and state tourist information publications.[44]

6.3.5. Interpretation of the conservation

The 'Re-vitalisation' of Leigh Street took place in 1999. As indicated in the conservation report this project has introduced one-way traffic flow, wider footpaths and upgrading of buildings. All alterations make the street appear clean and bright and pay due reference to the past cultural significance of the area. The project has also introduced street furniture such as lamps, benches and bollards, and public art that was also suggested in the conservation report (Figure 20). These street features have been designed to replicate the style of streetscaping from the past. They are obvious replicas of a time past and seem out of place in their modern context. At the entrance and exit points of the street are light posts. On the base of the posts are plaques with historic information regarding the street (Figure 21). These plaques read like an information board in a museum and also appear out of place within the context of a city street. Most of the modern signage and advertising has been banished from the street, and apart from a small section of out door cafe tables, the culture of the present seems to have been ignored.

An article on the restoration claimed: "the restoration project aimed to reinforce the established character of the street while contributing to the new, vibrant nature of the area as a thriving central city neighbourhood."[45] While elements of the project have enhanced the quality of the street and its monument to the past, the installation of the elements highlighted above have seemingly erased from the area all current cultural importance and has installed a feeling of romantic nostalgia. As a result the street seems to have been 'De' rather than 'Re' vitalised.

The work carried out in Leigh Street follows the principles outlined by Elizabeth Vines, of McDougal and Vines, in *Street wise: A Practical Guide*. Vines states that many of the heritage buildings, such as those originally found in Leigh Street, are barely recognisable due to being covered with signs, verandas and overhead powerlines. Vines suggests that

[44] Ibid. 11.
[45] Jenny Palmer, "Leigh Street Trusts Heritage Appeal," *Heritage Living*, Spring (1999), 9.

there is a potential to re-establish the former elegance and grandeur of traditional shopping streets. The book lists the principles used to 'enhance' the cultural significance of a place as being: to understand the historical development of a place, to develop strategies that respect the heritage significance, to minimise the visual clutter of signs, overhead wires and unnecessary structures, to select street furniture that reflects the character of the place, and to continue historic avenue planting.[46] However, an issue that is not addressed is that in taking away the cultural influence of the present, such as signs and verandas, the buildings may become lifeless and poorly accepted by their present owners. It is important for heritage buildings to be protected, but it is also important not to strip them of their current cultural use.

As indicated in the conservation report, Leigh Street has the potential to be a vibrant and intimate heritage precinct relevant to visitors and tourists. The conservation report states that at the time of purchase the restaurants in Leigh Street were, "only open at lunch time and close in the afternoon so that there are long periods of time when the street has no activity."[47] The conservation of the street aimed to improve this and transform the street into an active cultural area. However, the restaurants' hours of business remain the same and the majority of people using the street seem to do so as a thoroughfare to the train station and surrounding businesses. Another attempt to improve the public profile of the street was the proposal for weekend markets to take place in the street.[48] The markets were to take place in the street on Sundays from 10am-4pm in spring and autumn from the beginning of December 1999. This kind of community focus for the street may have improved its profile within the public. However, the markets have never taken place and plans for them seem to have diminished.

The conservation report stated that,

> ...by improving visual amenity of the street, restoring the nine heritage buildings with in the street, and providing mechanisms to understand the important historic character and cultural history of the buildings and street, the current drab character of the street will be transformed.[49]

[46] Elizabeth Vines, *Streetwise: A Practical Guide* (Norwood: Peacock Publications, 1996), 3.
[47] Vines, *Leigh Street Conservation and Urban Design Report*, 10.
[48] McDougal and Vines, *Proposed Leigh Street Markets, Statement of Effect* (Adelaide: McDougal and Vines Architects, 1999).
[49] McDougal and Vines, *Leigh Street Conservation and Urban Design Report* (Adelaide: McDougal and Vines Architects, 1998), 24.

The historical information provided in the plaques and reference to previous style of streetscaping addresses the important historic character of the street. However, it could be said that the current drab character remains due to a lack of reference to current cultural needs.

The conservation process that has taken place in Leigh Street has taken the guidelines in the Burra Charter, the Development Act, and therefore, in the Conservation Plan very literally in that the past has been replicated through the use of material cultural elements. A conservative form of development has taken place and, as indicated above, the result has made reference to the cultural significance of the past (Figures 22 & 23). However, this has little purpose if the present population is reluctant to use the area because its cultural requirements have not been fully understood or catered for.

The addition of unauthentic elements, such as imitation lighting, street furniture and bollards, to give a place a sense of age often detaches the place from reality. This form of conservative conservation is,

> ...well-intentioned development that sets out to create a non existing past based on some romantic and false image... In the end the whole area becomes kitsch - a devalued mockery of the original place.[50]

While developments such as this may be beneficial from an aesthetic perspective, it is important to recognise that the development has not re-created 'then', rather, it has created another version of 'now'.[51] Another layer has simply been added to the fabric of the street producing a purely visible effect. In Leigh Street a purified form of the original street has been provided. To cite Barthes' views on ideology (Chapter 4), Leigh Street has become a mythical product. The humanistic reality embodied in the street has been removed which has in turn depoliticised the environment, giving it a neutral external appearance. As a result the actual meaning of the original street has been altered, and the restored street is mythical a representation of a past event, something that is no longer be relevant. In Saussure theory the signifier is the same but the signified has moved and is different.[52]

[50] Schink and Mohyla, *Hotel Master Planning: Refurbishing Hotels for Profit and Tourism* (Adelaide: Graphic Services Pty Ltd, 1991), 55.
[51] Peter J Fowler, *The Past in Contemporary Society: Then, Now* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 5.
[52] Roland Barthes, "Myth Today," in *Visual Culture: The Reader*, ed. S Hall and J Evans (London: Sage Publications, 1999), 53.

Thus, in some situations, conservative conservation could possibly contribute to the neglect of current culture. As Vines implies in *Street wise: A Practical Guide* and also in the conservation report, conservation such as that which has taken place in Leigh Street must allow for incremental change within an overall framework, with clearly stated and understood long term objectives.[53] This is achieved through consultation with the cultural group using the area. Community consultation during a conservation project is important because it gives the occupants a sense of ownership of the work being done.[54] The Leigh Street development began early in 1998 and was completed at the end of 1999. This is a limited amount of time for 'incremental change' to occur. Community consultation was possibly restricted and the community has poorly received the result.

As Bourdieu aptly states,

> Nothing is more misleading than the illusion created by hindsight in which all the traces of a life, that is architecture, art, literature, appear as the realisation of an essence that seemed to pre-exist them.[55]

- **Has the conservation approach been successful in maintaining cultural significance?**

For the conservation approach to be successful it is important to check if the current use of the place has retained the significance from the past.

As was stated in 6.3.2. Leigh Street is significant as:

1. **The only area in Adelaide being owned by one cultural group for the first 150 years of its establishment (b).**
2. **A means of understanding the development of the Church of England in South Australia (c).**
3. **An outstanding representation of the development of some of Adelaide's primary industries (d).**

[53] Elizabeth Vines, *Streetwise: A Practical Guide* (Norwood: Peacock Publications, 1996), 4.
[54] Ibid. 5.
[55] Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1990), 55.

While the street is still an example of an area being owned by one cultural group for the first 150 years of its establishment and forms an understanding of the development of the Church of England, the conservation process has been unsuccessful in maintaining the streets reference to its original primary industries. The project has tried to draw people to an area through its original use. These original uses being businesses such as boot-making, leather manufacturing and bell hanging. The project has tried to recapture the look of the street during this time. Due to the loss of these primary industries the use of the street has changed from being an industrial centre to a thoroughfare. The buildings are now used as offices and retail outlets. The street is no longer a representation of the development of Adelaide's original primary industries. Rather, the street is an example of current cultures interpretation of the past.

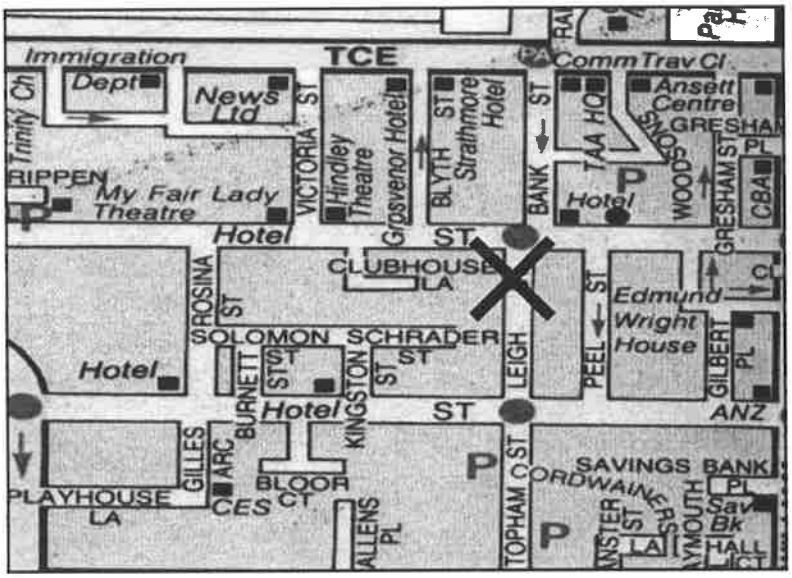


Figure 17

Location map of Leigh Street, located between Hindley and Curry Street.

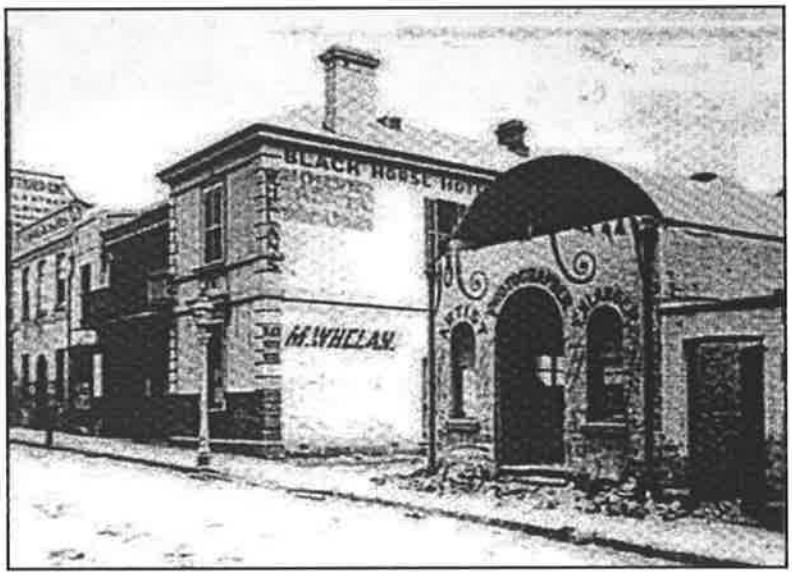


Figure 18

The Black Horse hotel was one of the first businesses in Leigh Street, 1885. (Mortlock B8098)

Figure 19

West and East elevation of Leigh Street as it appears today. (McDougal and Vines: 1998)

Figure 20
Public art and replica street furniture have been used to create an old fashioned look.

Figure 21
Replica light posts and plaques are used to tell the story of Leigh Street.

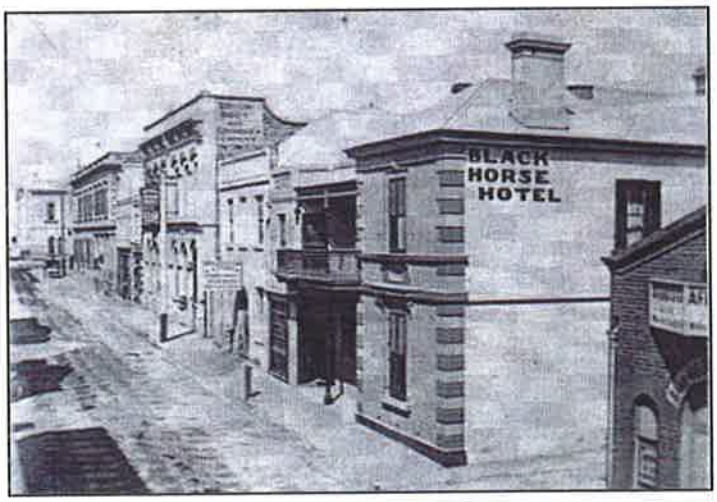


Figure 22

Leigh Street as it appeared in 1907. (Mortlock B8484)

Figure 23

Leigh Street as it appears today. An attempt has been made to replicate the look of the past.

6.4. Kent Town Brewery

6.4.1. Location

The Kent Town Brewery is located on the corner of Dequetteville Terrace and Rundle Road on town acre 255 (Figure 24).

6.4.2. Statement of significance

In citing the Heritage Act 1993, the Kent Town Brewery is significant because:

1. **The brewery was established at a time of rapid growth. It illustrates the development of the SA Brewing Company. It has had continuous involvement in beer making for over 100 years (a).**
2. **At the time of its listing, the Brewery was the only functioning brewery that was established in the late 1800s (b).**
3. **It is a representation of the development of brewing and malting in South Australia and provides a connection with the states primary industries (c).**
4. **It is the most intact example of brewing and malting of the 1800s (d).**
5. **It is an example of industrial architecture of the 1800s and displays fine detailing and composition unusual for industrial buildings (e).**
6. **The building provides links with the former employees. It provides a landmark feature for a wide section of the community (f).**

In May 1840, Dr B. A. Kent arrived in South Australia and occupied a wedge shaped wheat paddock in section 255 of the city of Adelaide. Immediately, Kent set up machinery to produce bricks; not long after his production began Kent was asked by Governor Gawler to use his machinery for grinding corn. This mill was the first mill in the colony. In 1853 Charles Robin subdivided section 255. The new township was named Kent Town after its first resident, Dr Kent. In 1856 Kent Town was designated a residential area. Dr Kent continued to live in his timber framed cottage on its original site, the site that later became the location of the Kent Town Brewery.[56]

In 1853 Mr Edwin Smith (later Sir) migrated to South Australia from Staffordshire in England on the *California*. Smith originally worked as an importer until 1860 when he went into partnership with Edward Logue of the Kent Brewery located on King William

[56] "Preserve Kent Town Association: A Walk through Old Kent Town," (Adelaide: 4 Hour Printing Services pty ltd.).

Street. When, in 1862, Logue died, Smith continued in his role as the owner of Kent Brewing. In addition to this role, Smith was Mayor of Kensington and Norwood in 1867-70 and also in 1971-73. During his role of mayor Smith devoted himself to the modernisation of Kent Town. In 1875 Kent Brewing was moved to the site of Dr Kent's original residence in Kent Town. The Kent Town Brewery was built at the cost of £17000 (Figure 25).

The newly completed Brewery (Figure 26) was officially opened at 11am on 2nd June 1876. More than 200 people, including members of the House of Assembly and Legislative Council, attended the opening of the building designed by English M.L.O. The contractors were Messrs Brown and Thomson. The opening of the brewery was an auspicious event and was used to mark an important event for the cultural group living in the area at the time. Smith gave tours of the brewery with full descriptions of the brewing process. It is believed that during the opening, beer from the brewery was pumped across the road to a fountain that stood in the junction of Rundle Road, Dequetteville Terrace and Rundle Street. This fountain was removed in 1979 and now stands in the shopping mall in Norwood Parade.[57] The visitors to the opening were, "unanimous in their expressions of pleasure and the commodiousness of the rooms and the ingenious contrivances with which they were filled."[58] At the time of its opening the brewery was regarded as an impressive gateway to Kensington and Norwood and was a symbol of progress.

It was stated that the scale and optimism of the brewery and the nine workmen's cottages built on the site reflected the energy and enterprise of E T Smith. An article published after the opening of the brewery stated that the development,

> gives an air of commercial importance to the populous suburban township of Kensington and Norwood... Such a large, conspicuous, and substantial erection as the Kent Town Brewery standing at the entrance of one of the main streets has a most advantageous effect[59] (Figure 27).

[57] Daniel Manning, *Former Brewery and Malt house, Dequetteville Terrace, Kent Town* (Kent Town: The City of Kensington and Norwood, 1989).
[58] "Kent Town Brewery," *South Australian Chronical* (Adelaide, 4.6.1876).

6.4.3 Architectural Significance

The architect of the brewery building was Thomas English who was described as an 'eminently practical man'.[60] He lived in Adelaide from 1859 to 1884. English's practical nature was reflected in his work that was very functional in its design. In addition to the brewery, English built the old telegraph station in Port Adelaide and the South Australian Institute for the Blind Deaf and Dumb.[61]

The 216ft X 210ft site of the Kent Town Brewery building abuts the East Parklands. The front elevation of the brewery faces onto Dequetteville Terrace. The wall of this side forms the entrance to the brewery. It has a centre gateway that is 14ft wide and 15ft high and consists of bold pilasters, cornice and pediments in the Grecian order of architecture (Figure 28). It is finished with Portland cement dressings. The original Rundle Road face of the Brewery displays a wall of face bluestone from the Mitcham and Glen Osmond quarries, with red brick detailing.[62] The original site consisted of nine workers cottages and a chimneystack;[63] but these were demolished in 1920 when the concrete silos and the white washed additions on the Rundle Road façade were built (Figure 29).

6.4.4 Present Significance

Brewing has had a strong part in the development of Australia's history and has a particularly strong role in the cultural heritage of the country due to its emergence as one of the leading pioneer industries. As it did at the time of its construction, the Kent Town Brewery has significance in its present state due to its standing:

> ...in a prominent position, it is an imposing structure and has been a significant landmark since the building was completed... [The building gives] an air of commercial importance to the populous suburbs of Kensington and Norwood.[64]

The Brewery illustrates the gradual transformation of the brewing industry in the state. Elements of the development can be observed in the Kent Town site. In 1888 Kent Town and West End breweries combined to form the SA Brewing Company. The West End plant undertook the brewing and Kent Town the malting. In 1896 Messrs W Barret and A O and

[59] "The Kent Town Brewery," *The Observer* (Adelaide, 3.6.1876).
[60] Page, *Sculptors in Space,* 81.
[61] Ibid. 80.
[62] "The Kent Town Brewery," *Illustrated Adelaide News* (Adelaide July1876).
[63] "The Kent Town Brewery," *The Observer* (Adelaide, 3.6.1876).
[64] Richard Ward, "The 'Brewer Knight'," *SA Statewide* (Adelaide, 9.11.1995).

A Barrett leased the malt house and in 1914 the partnership was changed into a private company trading as Barrett Bros Pty Ltd. This company undertook many changes including the building of the silos in 1920, and the rebuilding of the Rundle Street frontage in 1951. In 1990 brewing commenced again for three years.[65] The brewery played an important role in the establishment of the Kent Town area, originally as a residential area and then for commercial purposes until the brewery officially closed in 1997.[66]

6.4.5. Conservation Plan

Due to the problematic sale of the site, two Conservation Plans were drawn up for the Kent Town Brewery. The first was compiled in 1990 and the second in1995. Later in May 1998 the Norwood and St Peters Council hired consultants to draw up fresh planning rules for the site. The new plans were, "designed to maintain flexibility for developers while outlining the councils aspirations for the property."[67] The plans aim to reassure developers that they would not be bound by planning restrictions and to give them 'maximum flexibility' to develop the site.

1990 Conservation Study

The 1990 Conservation Plan's primary aim was to outline the constraints heritage listing had imposed on the ability to adapt the Kent Town Maltings.[68] The constraints and limitations associated with the redevelopment of the brewery were due to the fact that it is a state heritage item. Thus, it cannot be changed without the approval from the Heritage Branch, and new structures must be designed so as not to detract from the original building and fabric. The plan acknowledges the fact that the building was originally a brewery and later a malt house and therefore contains a lot of additions and alterations. These additions are readily identifiable and should be valued as they illustrate the changing methods of beer brewing.

The Conservation Plan reiterates and supports the State Heritage Branch's position that all building fabric of the original brewery complex should be retained and conserved. Interiors should be conserved where possible. Any adaptive use should aim for minimum change to

[65] Ibid.
[66] Lisa McIntosh, "Last Drinks at Landmark," *Sunday Mail*, (Adelaide, 16.2.1997).
[67] Andrew Faulkner, "Mystery Bidder for Kent Town Brewery," *The Messenger* (Norwood, 13.5.1998).
[68] Danvers Architects, *Kent Town Malting Conservation Study* (Adelaide: Danvers Architects, 1990), 6.

original fabric. New development adjacent to the heritage building should be contemporary and sympathetic and should be undertaken in a way that reinforces the original fabric.[69]

The aim of conservation work at the brewery is to retain the 'feeling' of the place as a brewery.[70] The plan states that the site is of cultural significance as an example of an industrial complex. The additions that have previously been made to the site make reference to the slow development of the brewing industry. The site is also significant as a landmark. Any future development should not detract from or damage this cultural significance. Thus, the Conservation Plan states that any development should aim to reinforce and enhance these qualities by maintaining the general scale of the complex and reveal as much of the original profile of the brewery as possible.

The conservation plan states that future uses and development of the site should be feasible and compatible with the cultural significance. This points towards activities that do not involve major structural change and do not pose a threat to the architectural qualities of the site. Expansion could be possible by closing Little Capper Street, acquisition of privately owned maisonettes on southern boundary and acquisition of housing trust land on the eastern boundary.[71] Retention of the open floor space, and the industrial quality and use association is vital. The Conservation plan reads: "It is recommended that a purely residential development would be an unsuitable interpretation of the site."[72] Activities of a commercial nature would be preferable.

Factors that affect the interpretation of the complex include treatment of the fabric and access and use of introduced materials. The architects noted that the historical and industrial qualities of the Brewery site,

> should be seen as an indicator to which avenues to take in terms of future use and interpretation... It is important to retain architectural (and technological) elements of the site associated with its use and function as a 19th century brewery.[73]

[69] Ibid. 8.
[70] Ibid. 10.
[71] Ibid. 12.
[72] Ibid. 11.
[73] Ibid. 1.2

The Conservation Plan stated that, "future use of the site may allow for greater public access than is currently available."[74] And that, "any adaptive use should respect the character of the building and aim for minimum change to the original fabric."[75]

1995 Conservation Plan

The 1995 Conservation Plan thoroughly addresses the issues of architectural, historic and social significance:

1. Architectural value

Thomas English, one of the colony's most prominent architects, designed the brewery. English designed many significant public and private buildings and was a Member of Parliament. The Brewery was typical of his work with red brick detailing; face stonework and classical forms. His use of Victorian Romanesque, reinforcement of the relationship between function and form, his thorough attention to scale, detailing and combination of local materials confirms this. The use of a courtyard provides security and efficiency of use of space and creates a sense of place. The Brewery is architecturally significant due to its attention to scale.[76]

The site of the Brewery indicates the central location and Smith's status in society and in brewing. At the time of the development of the 1995 Conservation Plan, much of the original fabric and character of the four 1876 Brewery wings remained. They were of high architectural significance. This was due to their aesthetic qualities, their example of architectural style in South Australia, their historical importance and example of the process of beer production in the development of the state.[77]

2. Historic Value

The Kent Town Brewery provides a visual reminder of South Australia's beer industry's early success and growth due to its long association with one of the earliest secondary industries.[78]

[74] Ibid. 12.
[75] Ibid. 1.3
[76] Bruce Harry and Associates, *The Former Kent Town Brewery Conservation Plan* (Adelaide: Bruce Harry and Associates, 1995), 72.
[77] Ibid. 73.
[78] Ibid. 73.

3. Social Value

The Brewery has strong social value because it was a long operating commercial business, contributing to the colony's wealth and as a place of employment. The Brewery provides a link between the past and present brewery operations and as a reference point for understanding the economic development of the industry in South Australia. Its prominent siting and scale have contributed to its high level of familiarity within the local and wider community, giving the complex a higher social value than other historic buildings. The building has landmark value that is reflected in its wide community recognition as an Adelaide icon.[79]

The heritage value of the Brewery was given statutory protection in November 1983. It was formally registered in 1995. Thus, any development is subject to local planning authority.

The statement of cultural significance in the conservation plan identifies the period of use of the building as a brewery as of paramount importance. The plan therefore aims to: Prevent damage or deterioration, retain integrity and intactness of the site; allow cultural significance to be understood; and allow better functions or uses that do not affect cultural significance.[80]

To this end, the conservation policy states that :[81]

- All building fabric of the original brewery complex should be retained and conserved;
- Interiors should be conserved where possible;
- Any adaptive use should aim for minimum change to original fabric;
- Adjacent development should be sympathetic and reflect the diversity of forms and textures of existing complex and retain landmark qualities; and
- New development and heritage elements should be identified as discrete entities.

The courtyard is the most significant design element of the Brewery because it displays English-derived design and was the focus for Brewery activities. Any development should restore the courtyard visual and functional context and original architectural composition. Building interiors should be maintained so as to retain as much as possible of the fabric and

[79] Ibid. 75.
[80] Ibid. 80.
[81] Ibid. 81.

structure of each building. Any development should not affect the original structure. Floors should be retained to demonstrate industrial structure and construction. Any exterior development should retain the site, structure and spaces as an integrated whole. Reconstruction of earlier elements such as roofline is recommended. The aim is to retain the 'feeling' of the place as a Brewery.

6.4.8 Interpretation of conservation

In 1980 Barret Bros and Burston Pty Ltd purchased the Kent Town Brewery from SA Brewing. In 1984 SA Brewing re-purchased it and then, in 1988, leased the property to Joe White Malting of Port Adelaide who, at the prospect of selling it, stated, "The building has no historic or architectural interest, but could provide a solid shell for conversion as part of an overall re-development proposal."[82] (Figure 30)

Despite a general misunderstanding of the sites cultural significance, it was recognised that the building's interior was virtually intact with all original beer making equipment and pipe work still in place. In 1993 it was owned by Lion Nathan Pty Ltd, by which stage attitudes towards the historic significance of the site had changed slightly.

> SA Brewing considers the idea of converting the Kent Town Malting site into a brewery/ wine/ spirit museum an opportunity to resurrect a random but heritage site into a tourist hub close to the east end, combining the two industries seems logical as both have similar historical backgrounds and processes and use similar technology. They're both derived from natural raw ingredients.[83]

Ward continued,

> The old brewery is already a unique beer museum in its own right, then following restoration of the whole complex to its original grandeur, multiple uses including beer, wine and spirit museum/ promotions, restaurant, courtyard cafes and perhaps even a basement nightclub would seem an excellent way, sensitively done, to re-discover a vital part of the early history of this town.[84]

The suggested developments stated above would appear to be in accordance with the recommendations covered by the Conservation Plans. However, years of problematic

[82] Ward, *The 'Brewer Knight'*.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.

attempts at sale have finally resulted in the Brewery being developed into a high profile apartment complex, the 'Brewery Apartments'. The first notice of sale occurred on 13th December 1995.[85] However, the Brewery was not officially sold until October 1998.[86] The new owners are Ambitio Pty Ltd and Pinako Pty Ltd.[87] In August 1999 the proposed development designed by Bruce Harry and Associates was approved.[88] The design comprises of 88 units in four buildings including two new seven storey towers (Figures 31-34).

Since the sale of the site, development has been stringently covered by the media promoting the sale of the apartments and glorifying the retention of the blue stone heritage sections of the brewery. Various reports have said:

- *"This development will rehabilitate and revitalise an obsolete industrial site noted for being ugly and run down"*[89]

- *"We have found that people are drawn to the heritage character of the development, its strong use of blue stone and the location... The developers proceed with the mission of preserving as many of the historical elements of the building as possible"*[90]

- *"I applaud the development in many respects, particularly in the way it pays due reference to the heritage buildings".*[91]

Despite the thorough description of the requirements of the heritage quality of the Brewery and the cultural significance of the site, the proposed development has largely ignored the requirements listed in the conservation plans. The Brewery Apartments promote the heritage value of the site despite the fact that the heritage value is largely lost due to the fact that the cultural significance of the past has been demolished through a change in use from the industrial to the residential. All reference to the brewing process is taken away.

[85] "Brewery Site for Sale," *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, 13.12.1995).
[86] "Brewery Remains a 'Mystery'," *The Advertiser,* (Adelaide, 14.10.1998).
[87] Andrew Faulkner, "Something Brewing at Landmark," *The Messenger* (Norwood, 28.4.1999).
[88] Andrew Faulkner, "Brewery Site Apartments Start 'within Months'," *The Messenger* (Norwood, 4.8.1999).
[89] Mayor Laurie Fioravanti as cited in Faulkner, *Brewery Site Apartments Start 'within Months'.*
[90] Mr Tony Mathews as cited in "Brewery Apartments Selling Quickly," *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, 27.11.1999).
[91] Cr David Cree as cited in Faulkner, *Brewery Site Apartments Start 'within Months'.*

As Samuel states in his book *Theatres of Memory*, 'heritage' is a nomadic term. It can live in many different places and have many different meanings. "It puts down roots in quite unpromising terrain, it stages its spectacles in a promiscuous variety of venues, turning maltings into concert halls, warehouses into studio flats."[92] The meaning of heritage can be moulded to conform to a particular need.

The Brewery development commercialises heritage and increases public awareness of heritage sites and of the commercial viability of the heritage industry in the state (Figure 35). This is not undesirable. However, commercialisation as demonstrated in this development portrays an unrealistic notion of heritage that is grounded in material rather than culture and results in the loss of original cultural significance of a building. If this form of development becomes popular and commercially viable to councils then the occurrence of these developments may increase, making the process of heritage listing impotent.

As indicated in the statement of cultural significance from the 1990 Conservation Plan "architecturally the Kent Town Brewery is significant as the only brewery (later malt house) remaining in the inner metropolitan area of the period and represents an early secondary industry of importance". Other examples of Adelaide's breweries are the West End Brewery, which has been demolished, and the Lion Brewery in North Adelaide that has been altered considerably. "As the Kent Town brewery has not undergone major redevelopment, the early bluestone buildings on the site are significant to an understanding of early brewing architecture and technology."[93]

This statement forms a significant part of the explanation of the cultural significance of the brewery. It is stated that new development on the site should not take away from the cultural significance. However, the proposed Brewery Apartments will ultimately alter the Brewery significantly and will therefore devalue their historic reference as has occurred at the Lion Brewery.

The 1990 Plan also states that it is important to retain the architectural (and technological) elements of the site associated with its use and function as a 19th century brewery.[94] It is stated that "a purely residential development would be an unsuitable interpretation of the

[92] Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (London and New York: Verso, 1994), 20.
[93] Danvers Architects, *Kent Town Malting Conservation Study*, 1.
[94] Ibid. 12.

site", and that activities of a commercial nature would be preferable.[95] Although the fabric of the original building has been retained, the use of the site for purely residential use results in the loss of understanding of the function of the original character of the Brewery. This is contrary to the Conservation Plan assertion that, "any adaptive use should respect the character of the building and aim for minimum change to the original fabric."[96]

The statement of cultural significance identifies the period of use of the building as a brewery to be of highest significance. Conservation work should therefore: Prevent damage or deterioration, retain integrity and intactness of the site, allow cultural significance to be understood, allow better functions or uses that do not affect cultural significance. The reference of the building to its use as a brewery has not been retained; thus, the cultural significance of the site is no longer evident.

It is interesting to note that in 1975, when the issue of heritage management was just beginning, a concerned a group of Kent Town residents met to form the Preserve Kent Town Association (PKTA). The formation of this group was a result of a fear that Kent Town's residential areas were in danger of being broken up by commercial development and inappropriate high-density residential blocks. The PKTA wanted to ensure that development did not bring about the end of one of the most historic suburbs of the state. The association wanted to "preserve the many magnificent buildings left to us by the earlier settlers."[97]

The early aim of the PKTA was to have zoning changed from R3 to R2. This was achieved and "after submissions from the PKTA the council rejected a proposal to erect an eight story building in Dr Kent's Paddock" (land adjacent to The Brewery Apartment site).[98] The PKTA contributed to the Development plan in 1994. "All development should compliment existing historic buildings."[99] PKTA's awareness of the destructive qualities of large developments, such as the Brewery Apartments, to areas of heritage significance highlights the fact that social understanding and requirement should be a part of heritage guidelines. However, it should be asked why community bodies such as the PKTA were less vocal towards the Brewery development.

[95] Ibid. 11.
[96] Ibid. 13.
[97] *Preserve Kent Town Association: A Walk through Old Kent Town.*
[98] Ibid.

The Brewery Apartments proposal can be classified as contemporary conservation. It has made no effort to replicate original detailing or forms and has changed the use of the place (Figure 36). This conservation approach may possibly be the only option for a site such as the Brewery. The previous use is no longer required and many of the original functions of the building have been updated. The use of the site as a residential area contradicts its original use; rather, the site would have been better suited to a commercial use with particular reference to South Australia's secondary industry such as food, wine or beer production. In these cases an industrial feel would be maintained and cultural significance may have been retained to a greater degree.

As the proposal currently stands, the Conservation Plans, the Burra Charter and the Development Act have largely been ignored. The social requirements such as those indicated by the PKTA have been lost. The cultural significance of the past has been lost. Therefore, the culture of the present has lost its material reference to Adelaide's brewing past, its original scale and landmark quality, and has had the surrounding parklands overshadowed. Since the Kent Town Brewery is heritage listed, and therefore these elements protected, it must be asked; why was the development allowed? Within the discussion of heritage this is an issue of considerable importance and could become the subject of another study.

- **Has the conservation approach been successful in maintaining cultural significance?**

For the conservation process to be successful it is important to check if the current use of the place has retained the significance from the past.

As was stated in 6.4.2, the Kent Town Brewery was significant because:

1. **The brewery was established at a time of rapid growth. It illustrates the development of the SA Brewing Company. It has had continuous involvement in beer making for over 100 years (a).**
2. **At the time of its listing, the Brewery was the only functioning brewery that was established in the late 1800s (b).**
3. **It is a representation of the development of brewing and malting in South Australia and provides a connection with the states primary industries (c).**

[99] Ibid.

4. **It is the most intact example of brewing and malting of the 1800s (d).**
5. **It is an example of industrial architecture of the 1800s and displays fine detailing and composition unusual for industrial buildings (e).**
6. **The building provides links with the former employees. It provides a landmark feature for a wide section of the community (f).**

The conservation process has been unsuccessful because all of the criteria listed above no longer apply. The use of the Brewery as apartments results in the loss of its continuous involvement in the beer making industry. The brewery is therefore no longer an illustration of the development of the SA Brewing Company. It no longer represents the development of brewing and malting in South Australia. The use of the site for residential accommodation loses any connection with the primary industries of the state. The development has resulted in the loss of the intact nature of the Brewery. The development takes away the industrial quality of the architectural design. Finally, all links to the past employees of the Brewery are lost.

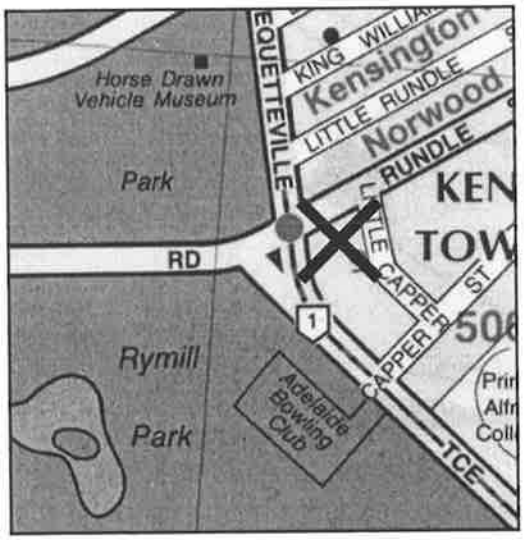
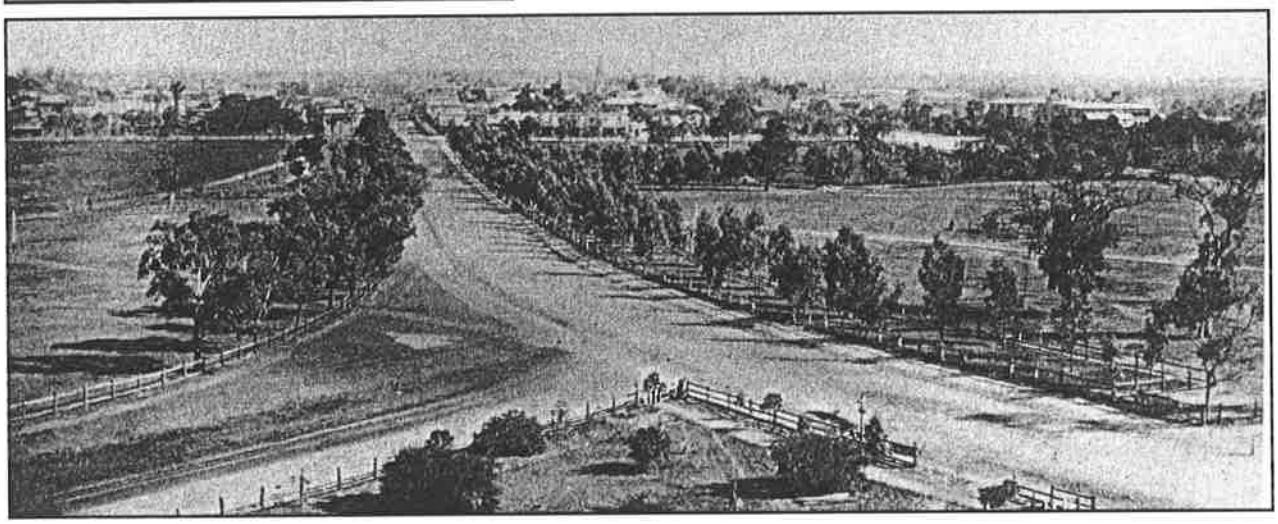


Figure 24

Location map of the Kent Town Brewery. The brewery is located on the corner of Dequetteville Tce and Rundle Road on town acre 255.

Figure 25

The site of the Kent Town Brewery looking towards the city centre, 1876. (Pike: 1983, 90)



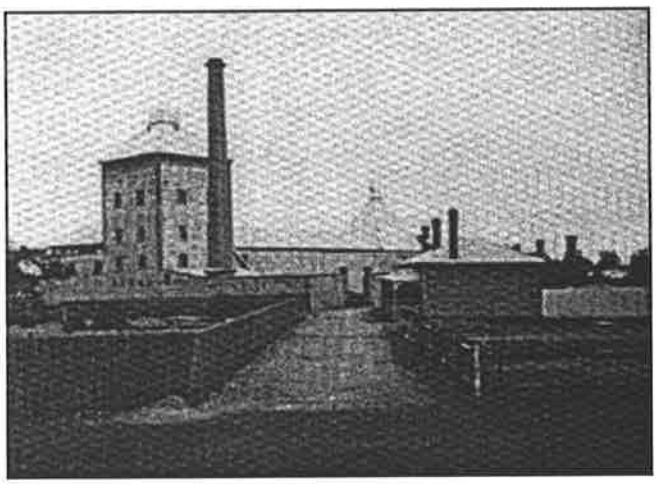


Figure 26
The Kent Town Brewery in 1878 after it was officially opened at 11am on June 2, 1876. (Mortlock B11664)

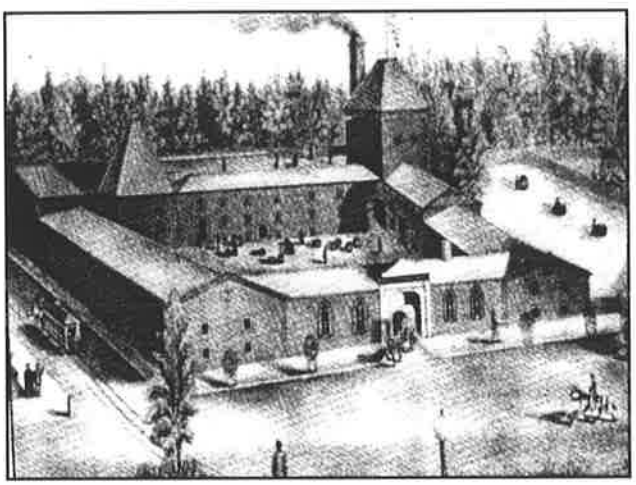


Figure 27
An artist's impression of the Brewery during the height of its use. Giving Kent Town commercial importance. (Ward: 1995)

Figure 28

The Kent Town Brewery has a central gateway that is 14feet wide and 15feet high. It consists of bold pilasters, cornice and pediments in the Grecian order of Architecture

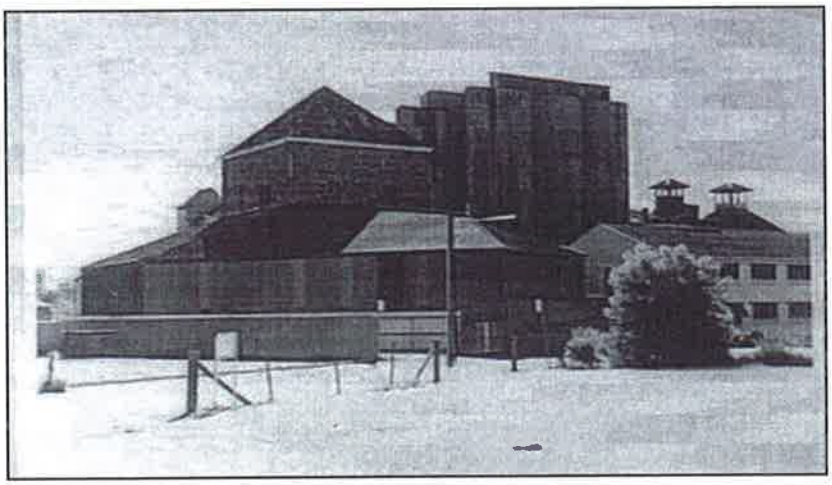


Figure 29
In 1920 concrete silos were constructed. This photo taken in 1984. (Mortlock B44109)

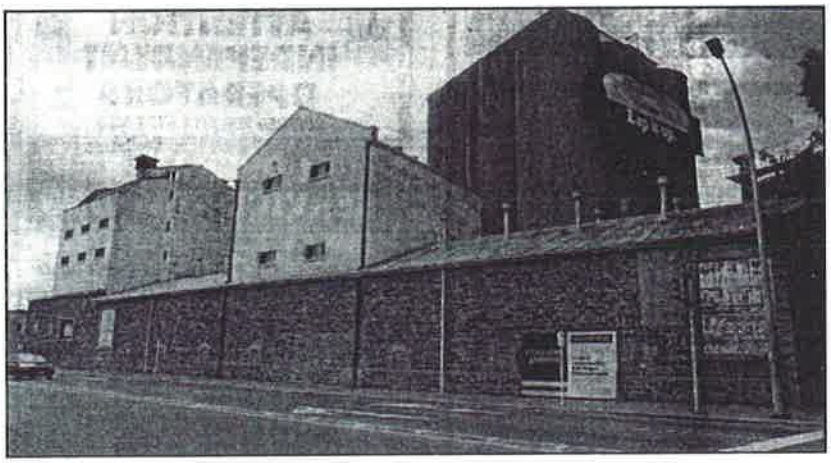


Figure 30
At the time of its sale the brewery was not recognised as being significant architecturally or historically (*Advertiser*, Dec 13: 1995, 37)

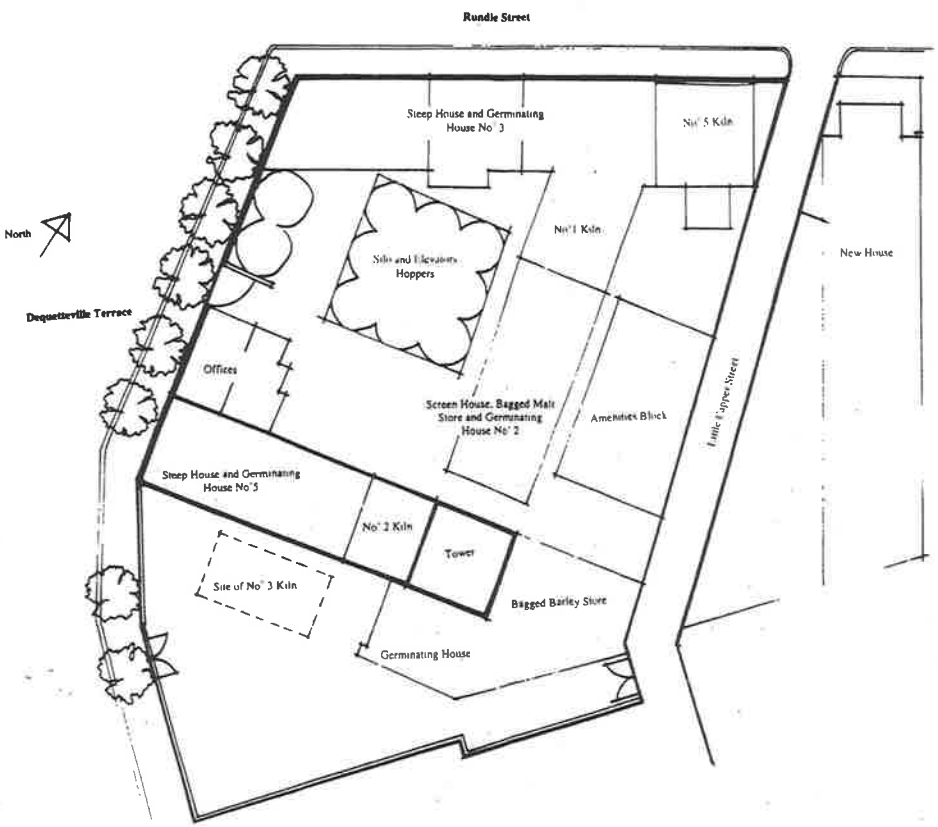


Figure 31
Site plan of the original Kent Town Brewery (copied from Danver's Conservation Plan)

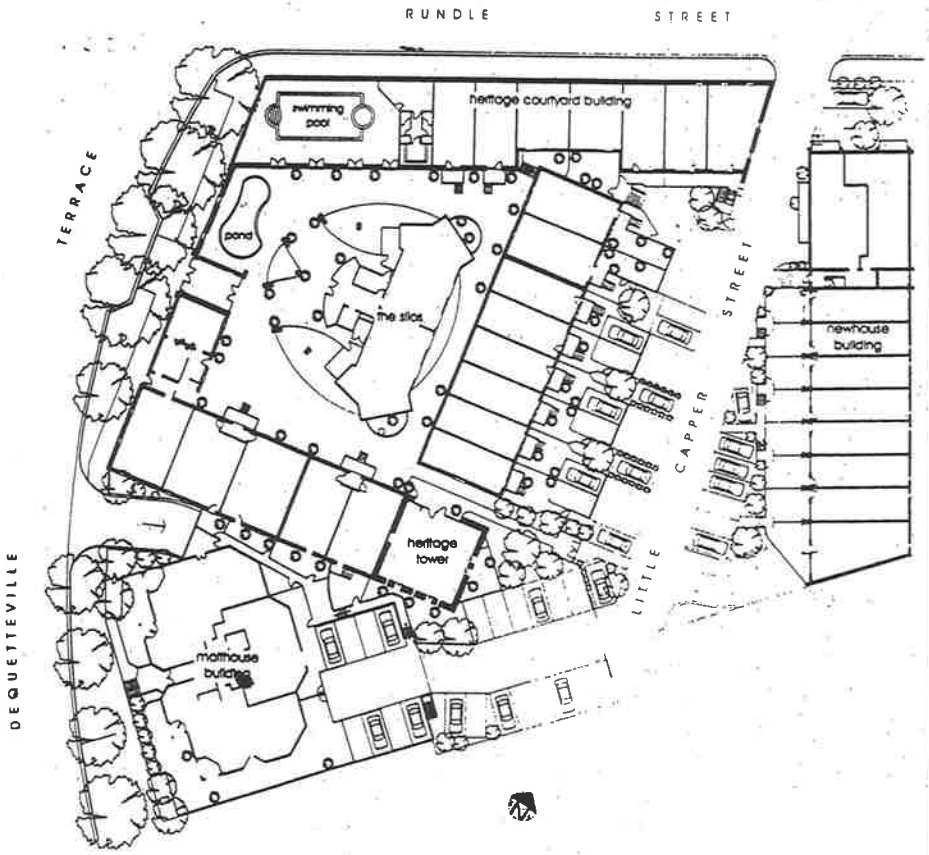


Figure 32
Proposed site plan for the 'Brewery Apartments'. (Bruce Harry Associates 1998)

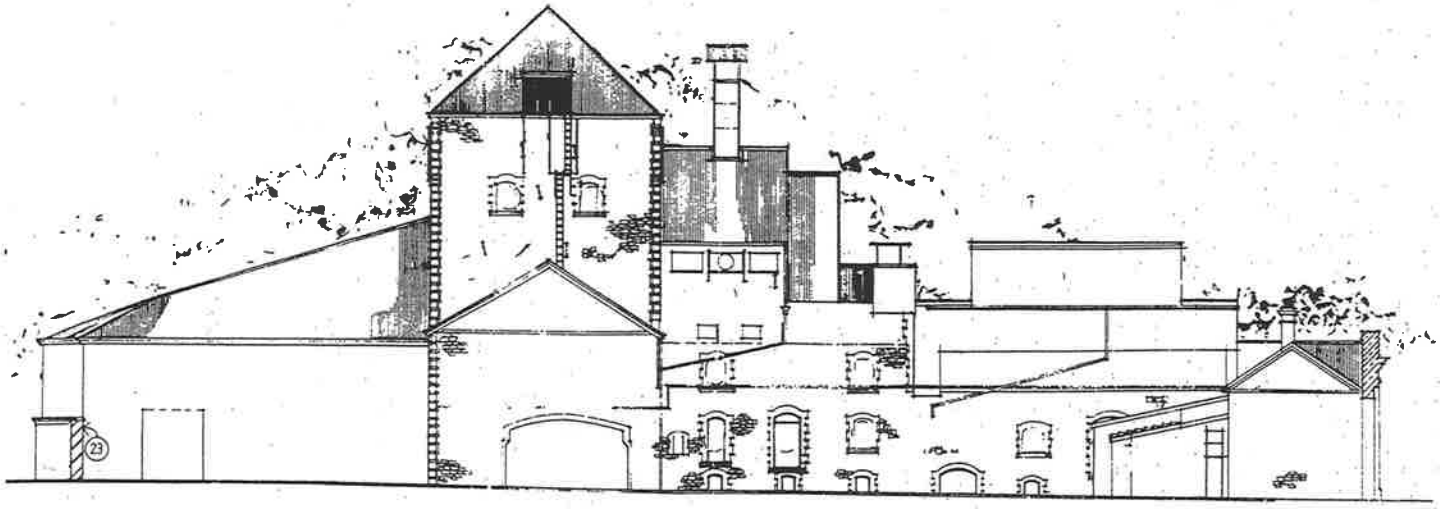


Figure 33
North elevation of the original brewery.
(Danver's Conservation Plan)

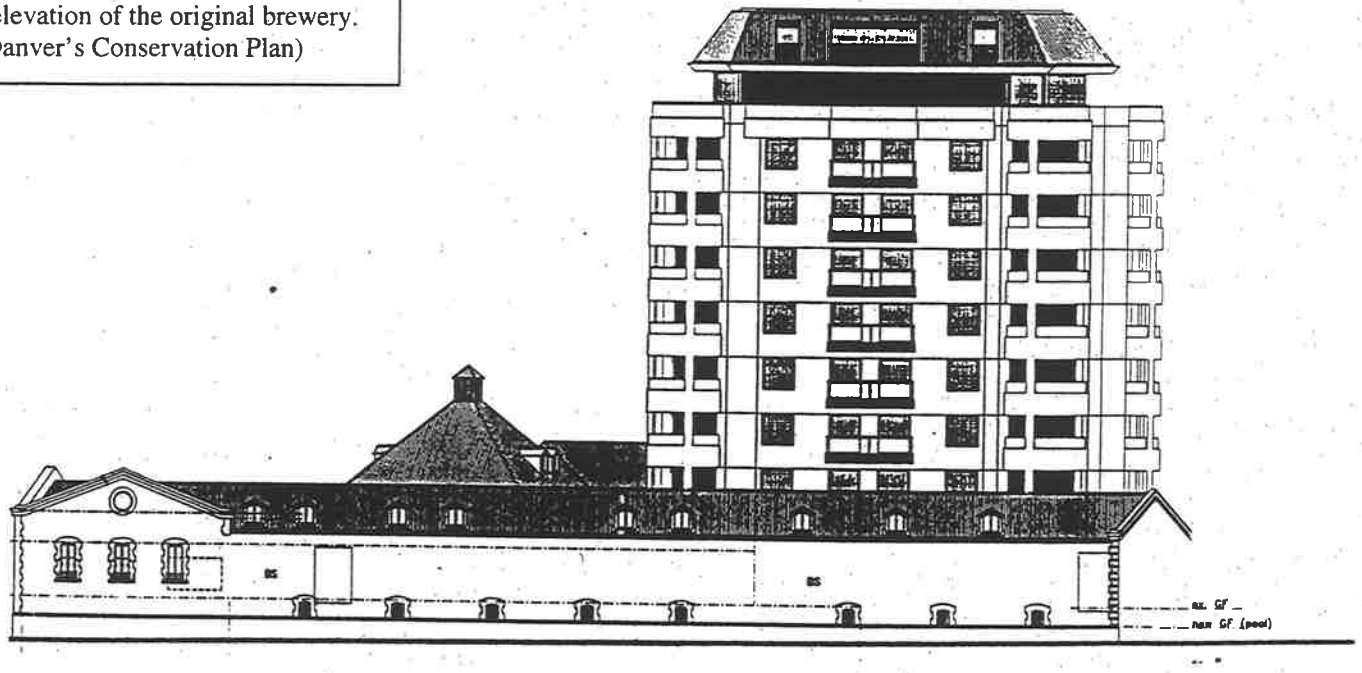


Figure 34
Proposed north elevation of the 'Brewery apartments' (Bruce Harry Associates 1998)

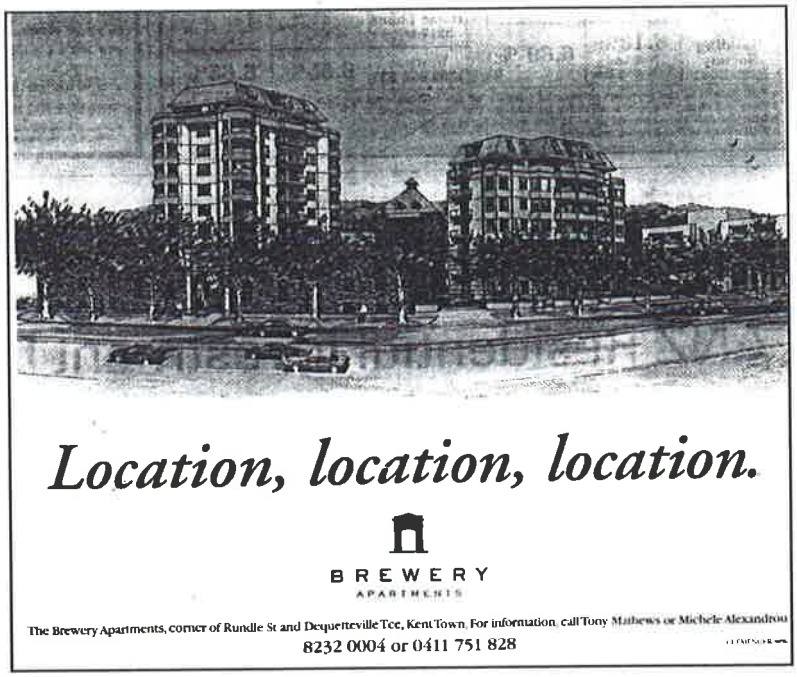


Figure 35

The Brewery development commercialises heritage and increase public awareness of heritage sites. This then increases the commercial viability of the heritage industry within the state. (*The Advertiser*, Sept 25, 1999, 37)

Figure 36
The Brewery site as it appears prior to its completion, 2001

6.5. Hackney Tram Barn

6.5.1. Location

The Hackney tram barn is located in the Parklands that face onto Hackney Road (Figure 37)

6.5.2. Statement of significance

In citing the Heritage Act 1993, the Hackney Tram Barn is significant because:

1. **It is the last remaining example of a working building associated with the Adelaide electric tramways (b).**
2. **It yields information that will contribute to an understanding of the development of public transport in Adelaide during the early 1900s (c).**
3. **It is an outstanding representation of the working class of Adelaide during the early 1900s (d).**

"It is a matter of history that urban growth and progress are inseparably connected with the question of transit."[100] (Figure 38)

A dominating element in Colonel Light's design of Adelaide was the need for adequate provision for a suitable means of communication in and around the city and the suburbs.[101] Therefore, it stands to reason that Adelaide was the first city in Australia to develop a permanent horse tram system. The first tramline to be established in the state was the Port Adelaide line that was in operation in January 1855. The Adelaide tram system did not eventuate until, after a trip to observe the tram system in England, Sir Edwin Smith and Mr W.C Buik made plans for a comprehensive transport system.[102] In 1876 an Act was passed which authorised the construction of ten miles (65chains) of tram track from Rundle Street to Kensington and from North Terrace to North Adelaide. By 1881 the Act was extended and became the *Adelaide and Suburban Tramway Extension Act* that expanded the scale of the system to eventually cover over 82kilometers.[103] The tramline was the main connection between Adelaide and its suburbs. At the time of its original construction the system was considered to be the most modern and comprehensive system possible and was a great

[100] Gresham Street Vardon & Sons Ltd, *The Tramways of Adelaide, Past Present and Future* (Adelaide: Vardon & Sons Ltd, Gresham Street, 1909), 3.
[101] Ibid. 3.
[102] Ibid. 4.
[103] Ibid. 7.

source of pride for the public of the city.[104] Thus, the trams gave the residents of Adelaide public spirit and the energy and means to initiate private enterprise, resulting in substantial growth in all areas of the city's economy, and provided a sense of community.[105] By 1883 there were eleven independent companies operating horse trams. On 28th March 1906, the government purchased the tram system in each separate council area and the whole system was vested in the Municipal Tramways Trust (MTT).

In May 1906 the MTT hired an engineer and General Manager, Mr W G T Goodman. Goodman's first aim in his appointed position was the preparation of a report for the electrification of the tram system. The electrification of the system required substantial infrastructure such as the conversion of the existing tracks, new cars, underground feeds, battery and electric equipment for converter stations (Figure 39). These stations and accommodation for the cars required the development of a site for the MTT headquarters, which consisted of running sheds for the trams and an administrative building.[106]

The MTT established a depot on a nine acre section of the parklands, facing onto Hackney Road, which was given to the company through a Crown lease. As the developers noted, "The Municipal Tramways Trust have been particularly fortunate in obtaining such a magnificent site for their car depot and offices."[107] In 1908 the construction of the tram barns was undertaken by the architects Charlick Sibley and Woolridge of Adelaide, the plans were drawn up on 12th May 1908 (Figure 40). The car depot was designed to be in keeping with the Goodman building. It was lit with electricity and had a supplementary gas service. It accommodated the running sheds, tarred metal mixing sheds, bicycle shelters, two foremen's residences and emergency housing, "the whole forming a very complete and up-to-date block of buildings."[108] (Figures 41 & 42)

The building was finished in 1910 and was later extended south in 1929 and also in 1937. In the 1950s the electric trams were replaced with motorbuses and in 1958 the central section, B and C, was demolished and a bus servicing building was constructed on the south section of the site. In 1985 a section of the western area of the site was taken over by

[104] Ibid. 7.
[105] H. T. Burgess, *The Cyclopedia of South Australia*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Adelaide: 1907), 200.
[106] Vardon & Sons Ltd, *The Tramways of Adelaide, Past Present and Future,* 17.
[107] Ibid. 25.
[108] Ibid. 25.

the Botanic gardens and the 1908 boundary building was demolished and the conservatory was built.[109]

Until their replacement by buses in the 1950s, trams were the primary means of transport around the city. Thus, a large source of employment for the 'blue collar' population of the city was the tram industry. The trams provided a vital service for the population of Adelaide, a role which is unlikely to be regained given the current popularity of travel in private cars. The tram running shed has considerable cultural significance as the last example of a working building associated with the Adelaide electric tramways system.

6.5.3. Conservation Plan

McDougal and Vines developed a Conservation Plan for the Hackney Tram depot in 1991. The Conservation Plan states that since the Running Shed Bay A (1908) is the last remaining example of a working building associated with the Adelaide electric tramways system, it should be retained as a free standing architectural element. Its adaptation to other appropriate use was recommended.

It was originally intended that once the transportation function of the area had ceased, the area would be returned to parkland use. The running shed was retained because of its cultural significance, but this proved problematic when it came to deciding upon possible re-use functions for the building (Figure 43). The parklands were originally set aside for use by the general public. This, in addition to the original cultural use of the tram running sheds primarily by the public sector, would indicate that the building's new use would be best suited to accommodate a public need. At the time of the development of the Conservation Plan the site was annexed to the Botanic Gardens and administered under the *Botanic Gardens Act 1978.* During this time it was proposed that the sheds could possibly be used as workshop facilities for the Botanic Gardens. The Conservation Plan also states that, "appropriate uses would include storage or exhibition spaces associated with the Goodman building."[110] Adaptive uses such as these would be in keeping with the industrial function of the building and retain the cultural significance as a working class establishment relevant to the broad public.

[109] McDougall and Vines, *Saco Conservation Study of Hackney Bus Depot* (Adelaide: McDougall and Vines, 1991).
[110] Ibid.

6.5.4. Interpretation of conservation

Despite the recommendations of the Conservation Plan, in 1998 the Running Shed A was renovated by the Council for the use of the Botanic Gardens as a Herbarium. Substantial alterations were made to the fabric of the building in order to convert the tram barn into an office building and to provide storage facilities for the herbarium's collection of plant samples. Contrary to the suggestions made in the Conservation Plan, the new use makes no connection with the cultural significance of the tram barn. Access to the building is restricted to the employees of the herbarium; thus, all reference to the industrial working class who originally used the building is gone. All that remains is the material evidence of the original use, void of cultural significance. (Figure 44-46)

The firm of architects that designed the development of the tram barns were Cox Grieve Architects of Pirie St in Adelaide. The architect was Paul Gillett. Not only is the adapted use of the tram barn inconsistent with its cultural significance, the functional use of the new building is also problematic due to bad design. Although this is not a conservation issue, it does impact on the way in which the culture of the present interact with the building. The employees of the herbarium are very environmentally conscious and are therefore reluctant to use excessive air conditioning.[111] The glass-clad walls at the front of the building have resulted in an excessive heat load generated through the glass. In summer, air-conditioning is essential to compensate for the heat. The open plan of the barn has been retained with all of the offices being designed not to take away from the original open space. The offices have no ceilings and as a result any noise made in the offices carries throughout the entire building making private conversations impossible. The open spaces have also result in occupational health and safety problems. The mezzanine walkways have no foot guards, so it is highly likely that objects can drop from the walkway or upstairs offices into the offices below (Figure 47).

The retention of Running Shed A was consistent with the heritage listing of the building. From the time of its listing until the herbarium development there was substantial public debate as to the most appropriate use for the building. This can be observed in the media coverage of the debate.

[111] Graham Bell of the Botanic Herbarium provided this information at tour of the building on 2 February 2001.

- *"Can we justify the retention of the old Tram Barn A at Hackney, which to me, is a terrible eyesore with little architectural merit?"*[112]

- *"The government decision must not be unduly influenced by the pressures of such bodies as the National Trust, with foolish arguments for the retention of the tram barn... The intention to retain the hideous tram barn would continue to thwart the desire of the botanic gardens board to beautify that area of the garden"*[113]

- *"At the conservatory opening in 1985 the premier stated that the tram barn would be demolished. The ugly tram barn should be demolished"*[114]

- *"let's demolish Tram Barn A and forget about it all together"*[115]

Much of the publicity the development of the tram barn received was negative. This indicated that the general public had little desire to retain the building; however, and despite the difficult decisions regarding suitable use for the tram barn, it remains. As M F Maitland stated, "The car barns were converted and subsequently mutilated to the point where all we see today are the sorry remains of that once proud car barn A."[116]

Contemporary conservation has taken place at the Hackney tram barn. This approach was possibly the most appropriate for this building due to the fact that the original use is no longer required. However, the conservation work at the Hackney Tram barn failed to adhere to the recommendations of the Conservation Plan; thus, the resulting building fails to convey the cultural significance of the past. Also, the building has little significance to the culture of the present both because its historic reference is lost and the new occupants find it non functional. Unless a more appropriate use can be found for the Hackney tram barn, such as an industrial or more publicly accessible purpose, or the original cultural significance could be revived through the interpretation of the original use of the building, as a consequence it must be acknowledged that the most appropriate solution for the building may have been documentation and demolition. Heritage relies on the existence of cultural and social significance; if this is lost all that remains is bricks and mortar. The

[112] "Madness." Letters to the editor, *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, 6.15.98).

[113] Denis Winterbalton, "Idiotic idea." Letters to the editor, *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, 12.12.96).
[114] Brian Polomka, Letters to the editor, *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, 6.6.97).
[115] Joan Clark, Letters to the editor, *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, 7.3.95).
[116] M F. Maitland, Letters to the editor, *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, 2.8.95), 14.

building can no longer be classified as being culturally significant and thus has little heritage value.

- **Has the conservation approach been successful in maintaining cultural significance?**

For the conservation process to be successful it is important to check if the current use of the place has retained the significance from the past.

As was stated in 6.5.2, the Hackney Tram Barn is significant because:

1. **It is the last remaining example of a working building associated with the Adelaide electric tramways (b).**
2. **It yields information that will contribute to an understanding of the development of public transport in Adelaide during the early 1900s (c).**
3. **It is an outstanding representation of the working class of Adelaide during the early 1900s (d).**

The conservation of the Hackney Tram Barn has been unsuccessful because the building is no longer a working example of a building associated with the Adelaide electric tramways. It no longer contains information that forms an understanding of the development of public transport in Adelaide and it no longer exists as an example of the working class of Adelaide.

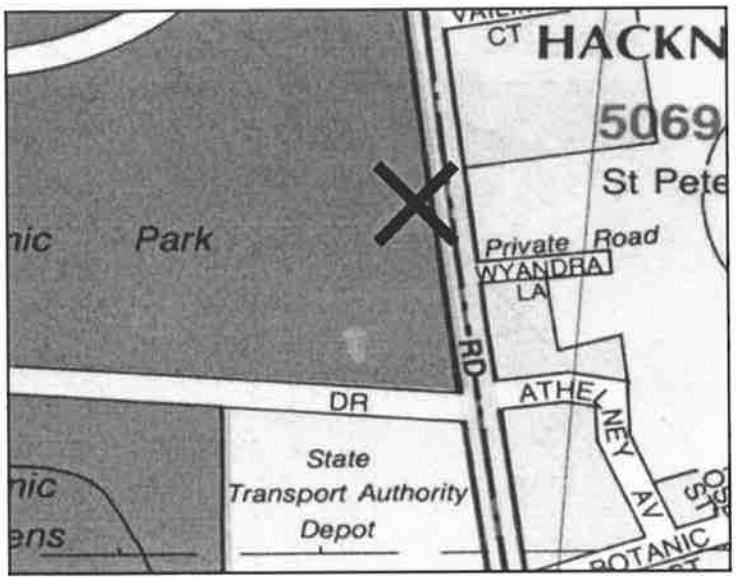


Figure 37

Location map of the Hackney tram depot. Situated in the parklands that face onto Hackney road.

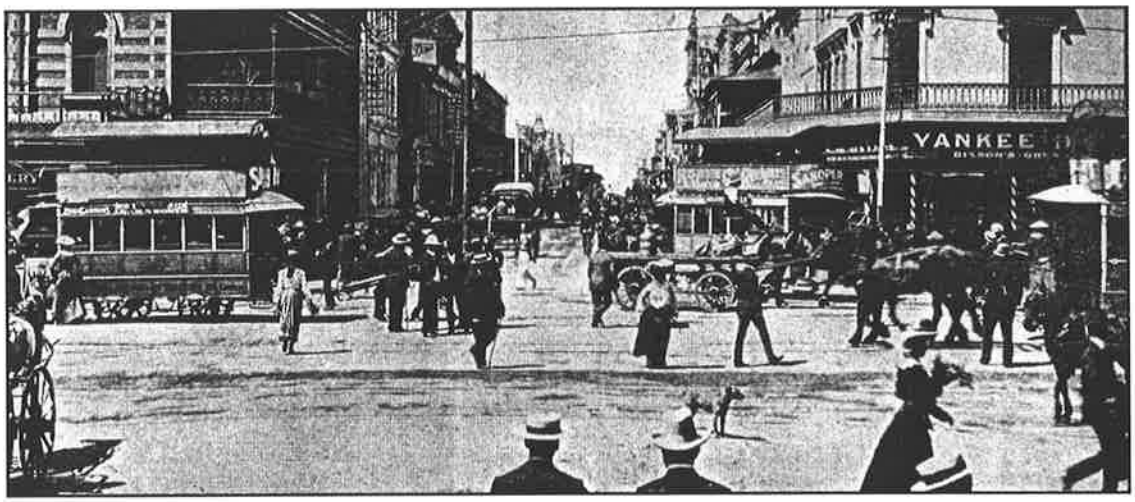


Figure 38

During the 1800's Adelaide was the home of one of the most efficient tram systems in Australia. (Vardon & Sons Ltd: 1909, 6)

Figure 39

Laying of the electric tracks in King William Street. (Vardon & Sons Ltd: 1909, 7)

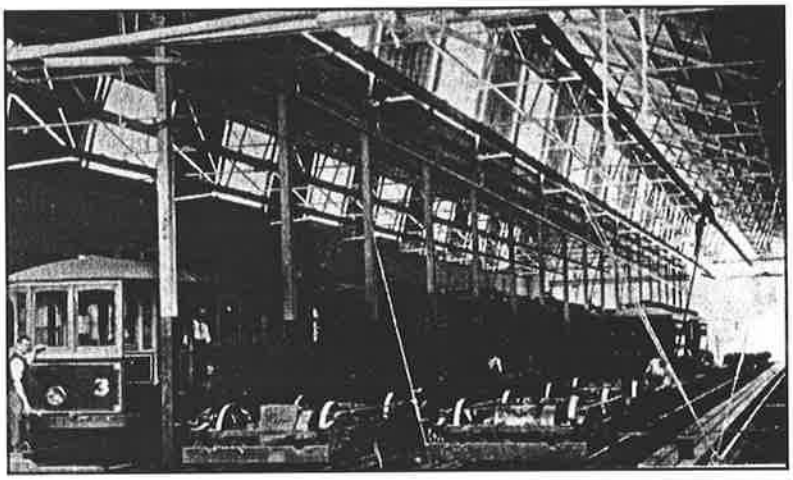


Figure 40

The Tram barns during construction in 1910. (Vardon & Sons Ltd: 1909, 20)

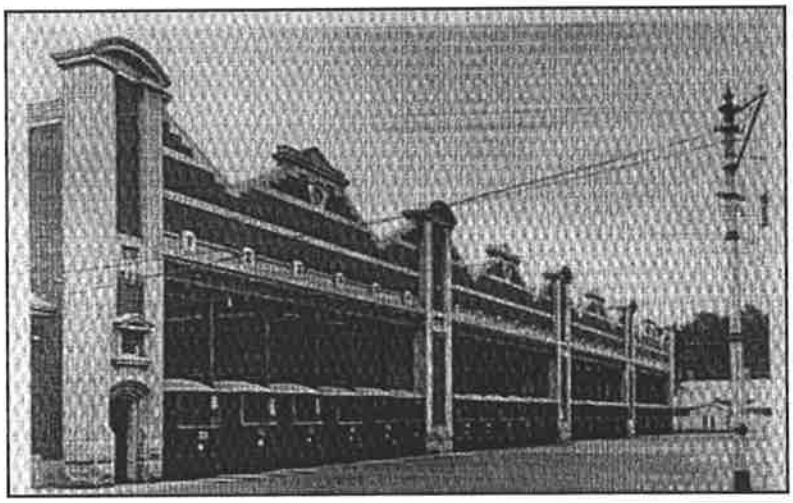


Figure 41

The "very complete and up-to-date block of buildings", the Hackney Tram Depot. (Mortlock B28098)

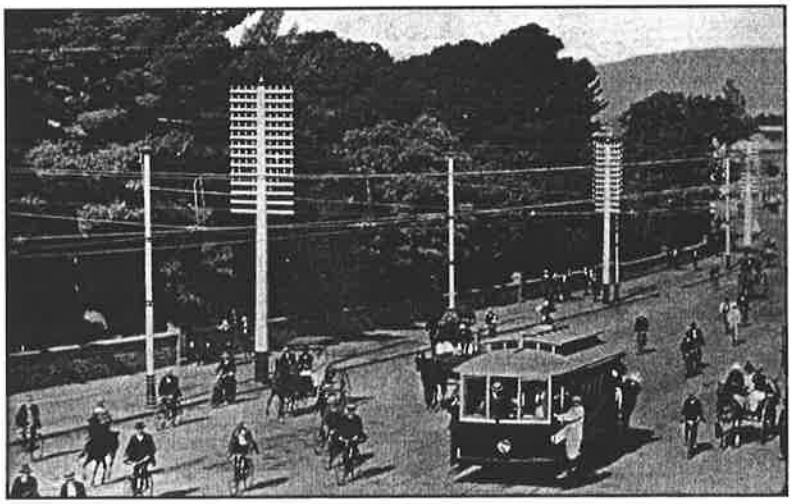


Figure 42

The running of the electric trams in King William Street in the early 1900's. (Vardon & Sons Ltd: 1909, 6)

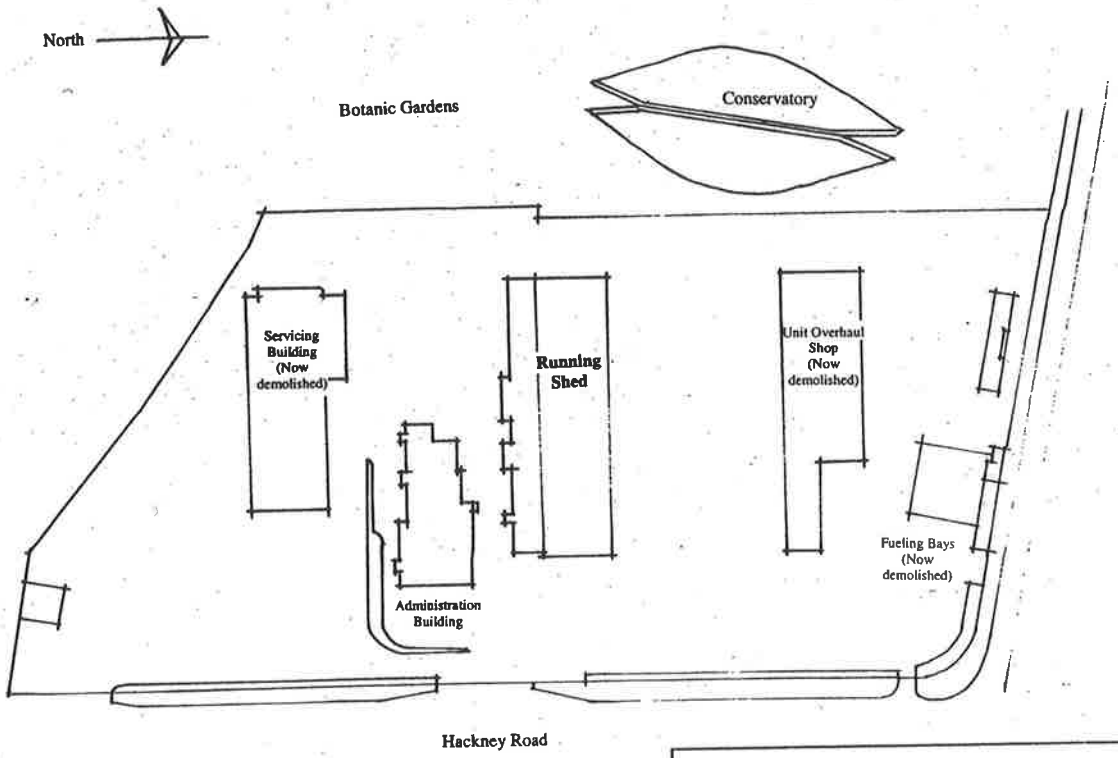


Figure 43
Hackney Tram Depot Site Plan 1990. The tram barn is surrounded by parklands. (Plan copied from Conservation study)

Figure 44

Front elevation of the remaining tram barn as it appeared 2001.

Figure 45

Rear elevation of the remaining tram barn as it appeared 2001.

Figure 46

Side elevation of the remaining tram barn as it appeared 2001.

Figure 47

The adaptation of the tram barn for offices and plant storage involved the construction of a mezzanine walkway.

6.6. Queen's Home

6.6.1. Location

The Queen's Home is located on an allotment of land in the southwest corner of section 262.[117] This land is on Fullarton Road in Rose Park and was donated by SA Company (Figure 48).

6.6.2 Statement of Significance

In citing the Heritage Act 1993, the Queens Home is significant because:

1. **It displays aspects of the evolution of the history of the medical services provided for mothers and babies (a).**
2. **It has rare or uncommon qualities in that it is the earliest purpose-built hospital in the state (b).**
3. **It represents particular construction techniques of the federation period and was designed in Gothic revival style by a notable architect (e).**
4. **It represents an historic event in that it was built to commemorate the life and death of Queen Victoria (g).**

At the end of the 1800s, ninety percent of the babies born in Adelaide were born at home. A midwife was hired to assist in the birth.[118] However, if the family was not wealthy, this service was not possible. Women without the resources to have their babies at home were forced to use the services provided by the female refuge or the Salvation Army. Both of these places were often full and the rate infant death was high. Thus, it was recognised that the services available to pregnant women were not adequate.[119]

In the mid 1800s the voluntary system used for founding private hospitals became successful. During this time several private hospitals became established. In 1874 the Institute for the deaf and Dumb was established and in 1875 the St Margaret's Convalescent Hospital in Semaphore was opened. 1876 saw the establishment of the Adelaide's Children's Hospital and in 1879 the Home for Incurables was founded.

[117] Ian L D. Forbes, *The Queen Victoria Hospital, Rose Park South Australia, 1902-1987.* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1988), 12.
[118] Ibid. 9.
[119] Ibid. 10.

In the early 1880s the concept of care specifically for women and children was initiated. Audrey Tennyson (wife of Sir Hallan Tennyson, Governor of South Australia 1899 to 1904) became aware of the need for birthing care during her tours to the outback where conditions were especially bad. Tennyson wanted to see care for nursing mothers increased. She believed this could be provided in an independent hospital, separate from the North Adelaide Children's hospital. The development of a hospital such as this was seen as essential for care and research into the health of mothers and babies.[120] On 6th December 1900 Tennyson held a meeting at Government House to initiate a campaign to raise money for a new private hospital.[121] People such as Robert Barr Smith and Edwin and Lady Smith donated money for the proposal. Funds were also raised through Children's Hour school collections, the Register's shilling fund and private donations.[122]

The proposed hospital was initially to be called the Lady Tennyson Maternity Home. However, when, in 1901, Queen Victoria died, the proposed name changed to Queen Victoria Hospital as a memorial to her. The government proposed to put the hospital on the same site as the Children's Hospital. Lady Tennyson considered this unacceptable so asked for, and was granted, a block of land by the SA Company.[123]

Construction of the hospital began in 1901. The Duke and Duchess of York and Cornwall were at the foundation stone ceremony 13th July 1901.[124] On 24th May 1902 the North wing of the hospital was opened by Lady Tennyson. Five hundred invitations were sent out for the opening and one thousand extra people paid sixpence to have a look at the first private hospital in Adelaide provided specifically for mothers and babies.[125] The first patient admitted to the Queen's house was in June or July in 1902.[126](Figure 49-51)

Initially the hospital was intended for people who could not afford at home care. However, later, due to funding problems, a sum of money was negotiated. The fees for the hospital were determined according to the families income. Initial accommodation was in the North section where 16 married patients paid between one and five shillings per day, depending on the income of the husband. The negotiated scheme of charging patients was devised so

[120] Mc Dougal and Vines, *Queens House, Rose Park.* Conservation Recommendations and Heritage Impact Statement (Rose Park. 1999).
[121] Forbes, *The Queen Victoria Hospital,* 11.
[122] Vines, *Queens House, Rose Park*
[123] Forbes, *The Queen Victoria Hospital,* 12.
[124] Vines, *Queens House, Rose Park*
[125] Forbes, *The Queen Victoria Hospital,* 24.
[126] Ibid. 26.

as not to take work away from the home care doctors and midwives. The maximum income for a patient to be able to earn was forty shillings per week.[127]

Doctors and donors of funds insisted that the hospital should only accommodate people who could not afford their own care. This made expansion difficult because, "doctors and philanthropic public sought reassurance that their charity was not being abused."[128] It was feared that other nursing homes and doctors would lose patients. Tennyson was disappointed at this and thought that her intended purpose for the hospital was not being fulfilled. The Hospital was managed by a voluntary committee and was funded through donations and fundraising. This made running of the hospital difficult and in 1910 government support was sought. However, support was refused because there was a new maternity wing at Adelaide hospital,[129] and the government was already subsidising maternity research.

In 1912 the Federal Health Department provided a £25 baby bonus that meant the hospital could charge a regular amount of money. The increased income meant that in 1927 the south wing was finally completed. The delay was due to funding, changing internal facilities and war. On 9th November 1927, Dame Nellie Melba opened the new section. The Government contributed £2500.[130] In the 1930s a renewed concern for child health was growing. Thus, the government donated £9200 to the hospital in 1935. With this money, and £1000 donated from the Nuffield Foundation, plans for upgrading the hospital were drawn up by E.H. McMichael and this was called the Lord Nuffield Nursery.[131]

In 1938 the Queen Mary Wing was opened and the hospital was renamed the Queen Victoria Hospital Inc. After World War II the importance of the South Australian health system was recognised and the Queen Victoria Hospital became a public hospital. In 1949 the two storey Wilson Wing fronting Swaine Avenue was built. In 1987 the functions of the hospital amalgamated with the Adelaide Children's Hospital and the Queen Victoria Hospital was closed.[132]

[127] Ibid. 20.
[128] Ibid. 36.
[129] Vines, *Queens House, Rose Park*
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid.

6.6.3 Architectural Significance

Queen's House was built in 1901-02 and was designed by F W Danker Of F.W. Dancker & Son. Danker's other works include the nine-storey Slater House on King William St,[133] the prestigious dwelling 'Adare' in Victor Harbor and St Paul's Lutheran Church in Hahndorf.[134]

Queen's House was constructed in sand stone with red brick detailing. The design is symmetrical Tudor Gothic Revival style with four Tudor arches, heavily mullioned windows and cast iron veranda balustrades. In 1905 canvas blinds were installed on the veranda. The building was fitted with gas until 1930 when electricity was installed as a result of work done after fire damage. In 1937-38 the earlier sections were modernised and the kitchen and washhouse were demolished. Evidence remains of a front entrance porch that can be seen on early photos, but it is not known when or why this porch was demolished. The biggest and most unsympathetic alteration to the building was the addition of the two storey southern Wilson Wing in 1949 (Figure 52). Despite this and other small changes that have occurred through out the life of the hospital its architectural and cultural integrity remain.

6.6.3. Conservation Plan

The design, materials and cultural use of the Queen's Home are of great significance. Therefore, it is recommended that, "The overall two storey form and any original fabric which remains should be retained."[135] Moreover, the Conservation Report reiterates the need for the retention of the cultural significance of the place. The report states, "It is essential that works are undertaken with input from conservation architects experienced in restoring buildings of this age and with knowledge of suitable restoration techniques for materials used."[136]

The main architectural significance of the place lies in the fact that it is an example of federation period architecture and the Conservation Report is quite specific in its recommendation of the conservation work to be carried out on the site. It is recommended that the southern extension should be demolished to re-expose the original elevation and to re-establish this section. The original picket fence at the front of the site should be

[133] Page, *Structures in Space*, 148.
[134] Ibid. 102.
[135] Vines, *Queens House, Rose Park,* 8.
[136] Ibid.

reinstated and a semi-circular driveway should be provided with no car parking in front of the building. The report also states that the original porte-cochere should be re-constructed. Any work to the hospital should retain the overall integrity of the original design, external form and detailing. External work should show evidence of original layout.

6.6.4. Interpretation of Conservation

In February 1994 the Queen Victoria Hospital was one of the seven SGIC private hospitals purchased by the Victorian based hospital operator Healthscope Ltd for $3.5 million. In 1996 the Burnside War Memorial hospital bought the Queen Victoria for $2.5 million. During this time the Burnside Hospital Chief Officer Mr Nick Warden said the site opened up a range of opportunities for future development of private health services.[137]

In 1998 the developer Harwood Investments (now called Queen Victoria Apartments) took over the ownership of the site. During this time it was proposed that the vacant Queen Victoria Hospital be conserved for the purpose of an English language school to be called Queen Victoria College. The development was to be a joint venture with a Chinese consortium. The proposed college was to have apartments to house 85 overseas students aged between 15 and 18. The Queens home was to be the school and the nurses tower the accommodation.[138] This proposal was never developed.

In 1999 Haywood Investments developed a new proposal for the Queen Victoria hospital site. The new development was a $10 million residential project. The new proposal envisages converting the nurses tower into fifty apartments and penthouses. Seventeen town houses will be built, as will a cafe, a gym and a business centre. Mr Wood of Harwood Investments has indicated that the development will be sympathetic to the neighbourhood and fully observe the heritage listing of the freestone and red brick quoin Queen's Home.[139] The Queen's home building will be converted into twelve luxury apartments with double garaging and private gardens.[140]

Construction of the Apartment development began early in 1999 and is to be completed late in 2002. McLoughlin Architects Pty Ltd has undertaken the design for the refurbishment of

[137] Barry Halshore. *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, 9.21.96)
[138] Leonie Mellor, "Queen Victoria may become a college," *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, 11.12.98)
[139] Karen Michelmore and Marie Sulda, "Hospital rebirth: landmark set to become $10m apartment block," *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, 1999)
[140] Harvey Hooper of Victoria Hospital Apartments supplied this information during a tour of the Queens Home on 15 February 2001.

the Queen's Home. The design for the apartments has included the demolition of the 1940s southern addition and the Wilson House at the rear (Figure 53). Other than these demolitions, which were recommended in the Conservation Report, the development has required very little alteration to the original form of the hospital. The floor plan for the development indicates that the original lay out of the internal walls has been maintained with few having been built or demolished (Figure 54). The central hallway and entrance hall, which make strong reference to the previous hospital form, remain untouched, resulting in a strong feeling of the buildings original use (Figures 55-57). However, the new development makes no attempt to replicate the original detailing of the building. The change in intended use of the Queen's Home from its original use indicates that the conservation work to be carried out can best be interpreted as an example of contemporary conservation.

Culturally, the Queens Home was used by the general public as a residence when in need of hospital care. People carried out day-to-day activities such as eating, sleeping, cooking, working and cleaning in the building. The new cultural use of the building is similar in this respect. The cultural significance of the past can still be observed in the use and material form of the building and the cultural use in the present has been enhanced through the development (figure 58). Because of the continuation of a cultural use and the development's compliance with the requirements of the Conservation Report, the Burra Charter and the Development Act, the Queen's Home work can be said to be an appropriate development in terms of cultural significance (Figure 59).

- **Has the conservation approach been successful in maintaining cultural significance?**

For the conservation process to be successful it is important to check if the current use of the place has retained the significance from the past.

As was stated in 6.6.2, the Queen's Home is significant because:

1. **It displays aspects of the evolution of the history of the medical services provided for mothers and babies (a).**
2. **It has rare or uncommon qualities in that it is the earliest purpose-built hospital in the state (b).**

3. **It represents particular construction techniques of the federation period and was designed in Gothic revival style by a notable architect (e).**
4. **It represents an historic event in that it was built to commemorate the life and death of Queen Victoria (g).**

While the building is no longer being used as a hospital the approach taken to adapt the fabric of the building has retained the example of the history of medical services the building represents. It retains its architectural form that implies it was used as a purpose-built hospital. It has retained its Gothic revival style and maintains its connection to Queen Victoria in the retention of the name Victoria. Conservation has been successful.

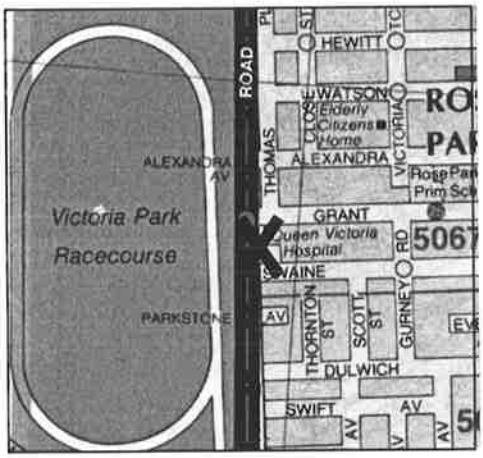
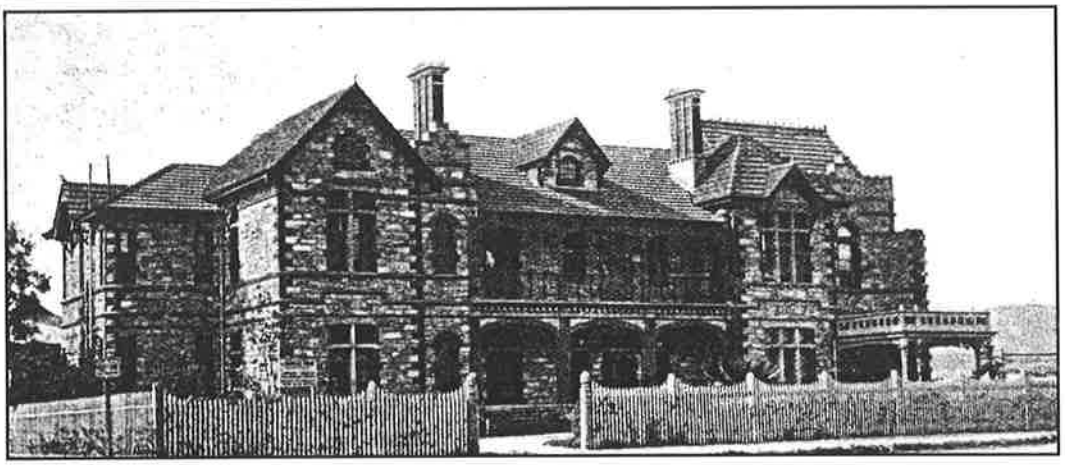


Figure 48
Location map of the Queens Home, opposite the Victoria racecourse.

Figure 49
The Queens Home as it appeared at the time of its construction (Burgess: 1907, 69)



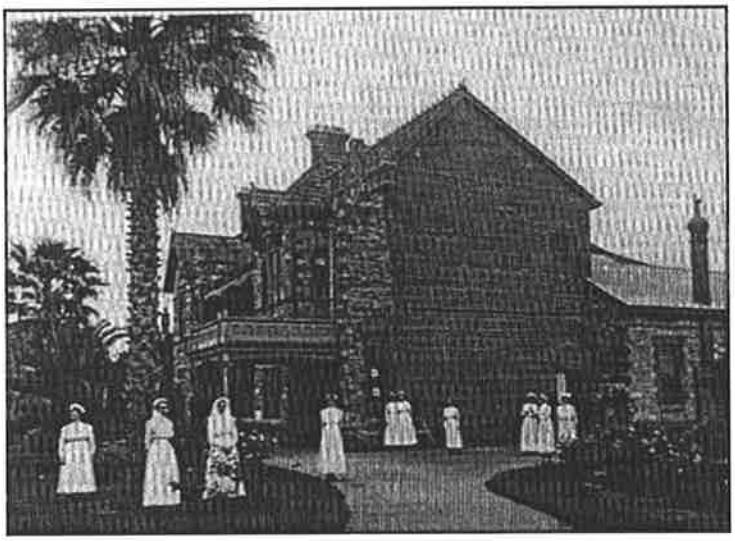


Figure 50

Side elevation of the Queens Home and its resident nurses, 1918. (Mortlock B2728513)

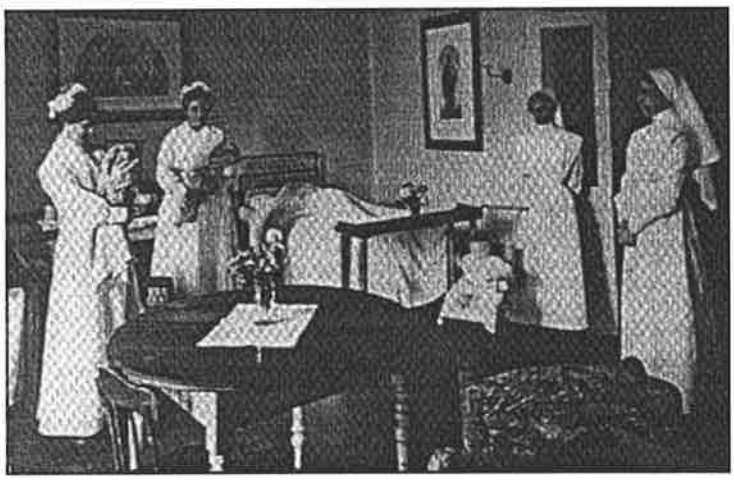


Figure 51

The Queens Home in use, a typical room, 1918. (Mortlock B2728515)

Figure 52
The Wilson Wing (built 1940) covered the south elevation of the original building. Photo taken 1943. (Mortlock B61174)

Figures 53

The Conservation report recommended the demolition of the Wilson Wing. The original south façade will be restored, 2001.

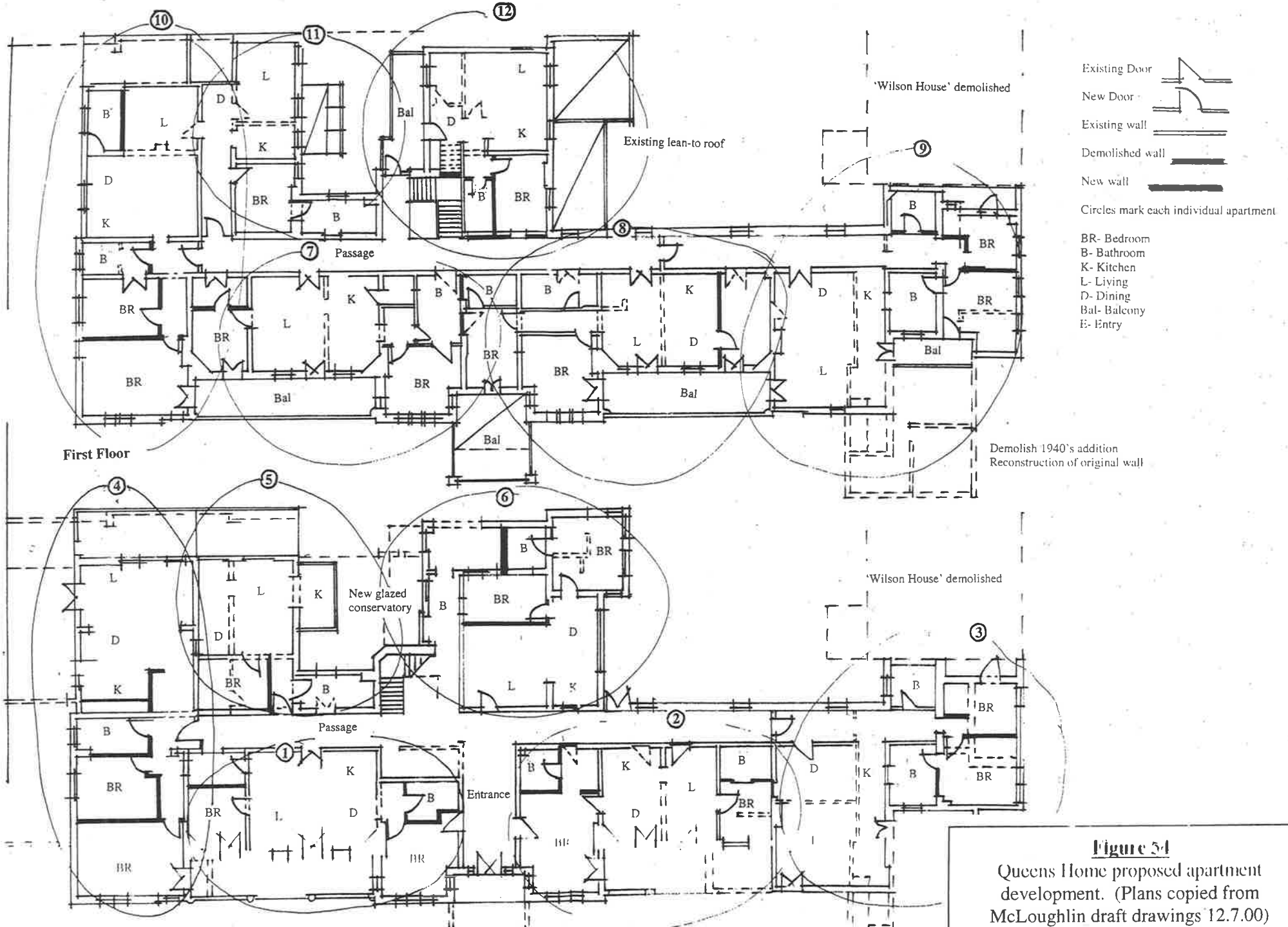


Figure 54
Queens Home proposed apartment development. (Plans copied from McLoughlin draft drawings 12.7.00)

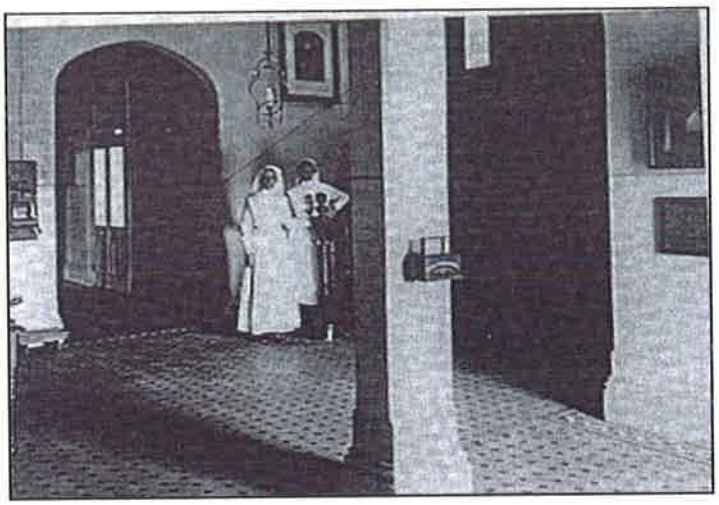


Figure 55

The entrance to the Queens Home, 1918. (Mortlock B2728514)

Figures 56&57

The proposed restoration of the Queens Home has retained the original layout of the building.

Figure 58

The Queens Home apartment development involved the restoration of the concrete detailing around the windows and the walls.

Figure 59

The Queens Home as it appears February, 2002

6.7 The Colonist Tavern

6.7.1 Location

The Colonist Tavern is located on the corner of the Norwood Parade and Sydenam Road in Norwood (Figure 60).

6.7.2 Statement of Significance

The Colonist Tavern is only recognised and having significance on a local level.

It is significant because it conforms to the criteria of the Development Act 1993 (appendix 2)

1. **It is associated with the growth and development of Norwood from the 1850s to the 1880s (a).**
2. **It is indicative of the way of life in Norwood at that time (c).**
3. **It remains an attractive building that contributes to an important group of buildings located on the Parade (d). (Despite the numerous changes the pub has undergone)**

"Pub culture is continually in flux. Publicans and owners need to constantly adapt to the changing demands of the public and of legislation."[141]

The significance of the Colonist Tavern lies in the fact that, like most Adelaide pubs, it has played an important role in the social and economic development of the state. The Colonist is particularly significant in that it is the only hotel in the area that has retained elements of each developmental stage it has undergone since its establishment in 1850.[142] For this reason, according to the definition of vernacular development articulated through out this thesis, the Colonist is an excellent example of vernacular development.

Adelaide's local pubs can be described as 'living culture' in that pub culture has played an important role in South Australian society from the 1840s right up until today. Although the way in which people frequent pubs and the way pubs look and operate have changed and developed since their establishment, the pub has always been a place to relax, meet friends, drink and eat. The cultural tradition is essentially the same. The culture is still living.

[141] Patricia Sumerling, *Down at the Local: A History of Hotels in Kensington, Norwood and Kent Town.* (Wakefield Press, Adelaide:1998), 37.
[142] Ibid. 51.

The Colonist Tavern is located in Norwood. During the 1840s, land in Norwood was subdivided for residential and commercial use. The suburb developed dramatically during this period as entrepreneurial settlers to the new state utilised the newly available land to build businesses. Land located on the corners of main roads was highly prized as appropriate pub land and many pubs were established in the area. Examples of these are the Norwood Hotel established on the Parade in 1850, The Britannia Hotel on the corner of Kensington and Fullarton Roads in1850, the Kent Town Hotel on Rundle Street in 1856, and the Bath Hotel on the Parade in 1856, the Marryatville Hotel on Kensington Road in 1857, the Family Hotel on the corner of William and George Streets in 1858 and Vintage Shades on the corner of William and Elizabeth Streets in 1859.[143] Frederick Hobbs built the Old Colonist during this boom period. It was opened on the 3rd April 1851. It was a single story structure with six rooms on four acres of land. Hobbs borrowed the £450 it took to build the pub from Sir George Maclean, but Hobbs never repaid the money. In 1855 Hobbs sold the pub for £700 making quite a large profit, but was forced to repay the debt in 1872 when Sir Edwin Smith, the new lessee of the hotel sued him after repaying the loan himself.[144]

The scale and style of the Colonist was typical of pubs at this time. Early pubs consisted of a simple, single storey cottage built in any available materials such as pise, wood, brick, stone and shingles of timber or slate.[145] They looked like private dwellings except that they had a taproom where liquor and accommodation was located. To have a pub licence at the time was quite expensive, costing £100 for the owner and £50 for two of his or her friends. For this reason, the actual construction of the building was of lower importance.[146] Many hotels had no windows and were poorly constructed.

This soon changed in the 1870s when pub design and licensing developed significantly. The changes that occurred during this time were largely due to the fact that brewing companies were trying to dominate in their trade. If a brewing company owned the licence to a pub they could sell their products exclusively.[147] Sir Edwin Smith, the owner of the South Australian Brewing Company, held the licences of several of the pubs in the area. In

[143] Ibid. 12.
[144] Ibid. 52.
[145] Ibid. 19.
[146] Ibid. 19.

1860 he owned the Alma, the Kensington, the Marryatville, the Norwood, the Robin Hood, the Rising Sun and the Colonist.[148] For this reason the South Australian Brewing Company became very powerful within the brewing industry. Smith was in partnership with Edward Logue. Once Logue died, Smith incorporated the pubs and breweries to form the South Australian Brewing Malting and Wine and Spirit Co Ltd, which became South Australian Brewing Company in 1891. The licensing bench of this company controlled development, licensing and planning of pubs. It formed regulations concerning room size, accommodation requirements and roof heights. Strict regulations meant that existing owners could not afford to update, and this excluded small operators from the industry, to the obvious advantage of the larger breweries

The new hotel regulations meant that in the 1880s a lot of the old pubs were updated and new ones were built. A lot of the original pubs were rebuilt in brick or stone. Ornamentation on the newly renovated pubs was still minimal other than small parapet construction and detailing along the roofline.[149] Like most of the pubs in the area the Colonist underwent substantial upgrading in 1879 when Smith commissioned Thomas English and Rowlans Rees to develop the hotel (Figure 61). The hotel remained a single story building but the use of blue stone and stucco ornamentation made the hotel appear more significant. The renovations cost £300.[150] The new façade was described by a reporter for a local newspaper as, "representing a striking contrast to the unpretentious structure that formerly existed at the corner of Sydenham Road."[151]

Between the 1870s and the early 1900s there was a substantial boom in the states economy, which is reflected in the architecture of the period. Hotels renovated or built during this time were usually Italianate, Queen Anne and Edwardian in design with stucco ornamentation.[152] By this stage pubs were now quite grand buildings. They usually consisted of two storeys, had chamfered corners with ornate balconies and verandas, with well-known architects becoming involved in the design of the buildings. In 1912, the Colonist had a second storey added to it (Figure 62). The addition was designed to blend with English's 1979 design. The design included parapet walling with a hipped roof and

[147] Ibid. 13.
[148] Ibid. 14.
[149] Ibid. 20.
[150] Ibid. 51.
[151] Ibid. 52. as cited in Licensed Victualler's Gazette 1872.
[152] Ibid. 21.

gable stucco decoration. In 1928 a new balcony and veranda were added. This was removed in 1954.[153] (Figure 63)

The time between 1900 and the 1950s saw the most substantial changes to occur in pub culture. The main development of this time was the imposition of six o'clock closing time for pubs. This law was enforced from 1916 to 1967,[154] and changed the way pubs operated dramatically. Men would stop at the pub after work and buy several rounds of drinks quickly before the bar closed. The time between the end of the working day and six o'clock was referred to as the 'six o'clock swill' when crowds in pubs were very drunken and raucous. Consequently, pubs evolved to accommodate the crowded messy atmosphere that the six o'clock swill generated. One adaptation made was the locally known concept of the 'front bar'. This was a small section at the front of the building where men would stand and drink and where women were unwelcome. The design of the front bar accommodated the drunken nature of the people frequenting it. The walls were tiled and the floors were made of terrazzo with gutters at the base of the bar. Shelves were built along the walls for the patrons to rest their drinks on because there was often standing room only.

During this time the pub was a very male orientated establishment. In 1908 legislation was introduced which meant that only wives, mothers, sisters and daughters of the licensee was allowed to serve at the bar,[155] which was extended in 1915 to include widows. In the 1950s lounge bars were introduced into hotels. This was where husbands brought their wives to avoid sitting in the front bar. On 27th September 1967 women were allowed back in and behind the bar. It was during this time that food was introduced to pubs, introducing a new social life orientated around the local pub.

The most recent changes to the hotel industry are largely due to the fact that people are more mobile and willing to travel from their homes to a hotel that offers what they want. This means that pubs have to be more competitive in what they offer in the way of entertainment, food and drinks. Pubs often offer a fine dining atmosphere, and many pubs have removed walls separating the front bar from the lounge areas that were necessary during the six o'clock closure time to create the open plan that is fashionable now. The necessity to accommodate poker machines now means that many pubs have a separate

[153] Ibid. 52.
[154] Ibid. 23.
[155] Ibid. 33.

room designated for gaming machines. Hotel accommodation is no longer a priority, so the top storey of many hotels are vacant or are used for functions other than accommodation such as office space or function rooms. The 'local' pub as a place to meet neighbours and work mates is no longer common. Despite this the essential role of the pub is the same.

The Colonist illustrates many of these changes that have occurred in pub culture. From 1996 until September 1999 Heinz Keimerier owned the Colonist.[156] This owner made changes to the pub throughout its ownership such as the establishment of a bottle shop at the rear of the building, a gaming room to accommodate the poker machines, outdoor dining and live bands. In September 1999 the Saturno group bought the Colonist.[157] The Saturno group, or 'Booze Brothers' as they are known, own several pubs and bottle shops in the area including the nearby Norwood Hotel. The Saturnos have made several changes since their ownership. These include re-establishing a car park and a new entrance at the rear of the building, involving the closure of the bottle shop and also a controversial decision to cut down a 200 year old river red gum.[158] A new lobby and an on-site laundry facility are planned (Figure 64).[159]

6.7.3. Interpretation of the Developmental Process

Because the Colonist Tavern has, at no particular stage, had conservation carried out on it it is not necessary to determine if it is still culturally significant. Change has been gradual, for this reason the criteria giving the building significance as listed in 6.7.2 remain. These were:

1. **It is associated with the growth and development of Norwood from the 1850s to the 1880s (a).**
2. **It is indicative of the way of life in Norwood at that time (b).**
3. **It remains an attractive building that contributes to an important group of buildings located on the Parade (d).[160] (Despite the numerous changes the pub has undergone)**

The gradual development that has occurred at the Colonist Tavern can be referred to as vernacular development. It reflects the cultural needs of the time. The fabric of the pub

[156] Ibid. 54.
[157] John Merriman, "200 years to grow, 90 minutes to go." *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, 2.11.2000), 7.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Emily Osborne, "Car park to replace 200-year-old gum tree." *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, 6.29.2000), 22.
[160] Mark Butcher Architects, *Heritage Survey: Kensington & Norwood.* (Norwood, 1994), 455.

has undergone substantial change from being a single storey dwelling to a two-storey building. Despite this the pub has always been used as a pub. It has always been a meeting place for people to spend time together, relax, eat and drink. The fabric of the building contains a living culture. The fabric grows and develops alongside the culture that uses it.

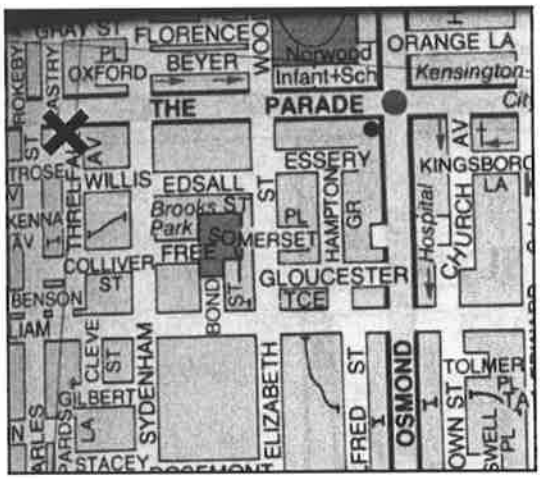


Figure 60

The Colonist Tavern is located in Norwood on the corner of Sydenham Road and the Parade.

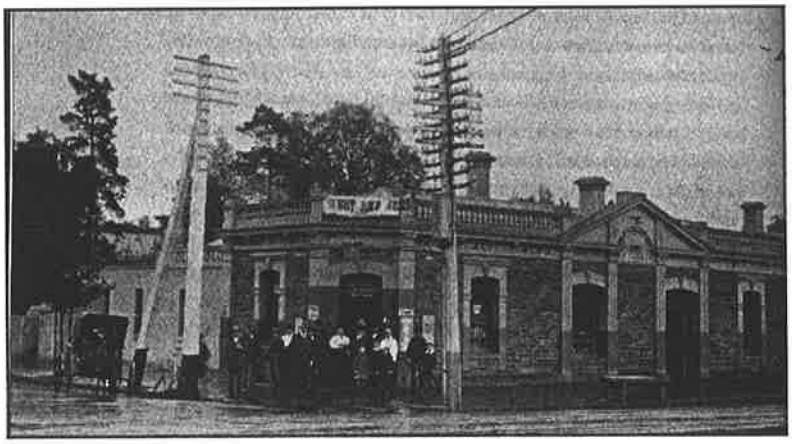


Figure 61
In the 1880's a lot of pubs were rebuilt and became slightly more ornate. (Sumerling: 1999, 22)

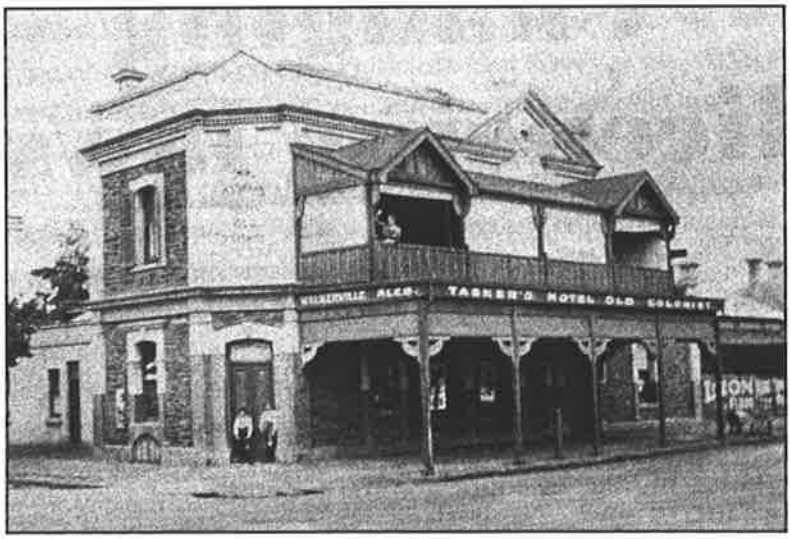


Figure 62
In 1912 the Colonist has a second story and balcony added. (Sumerling: 1999, 23)

Figure 63
In 1954 the balcony and verandah was removed (Sumerling: 1999, 52)

Figure 64
The Colonist, 2001

6.8. Summary

In its vernacular style of development, the case of the Colonist Tavern provides an optimum result of the maintenance of cultural significance. This form of development was not possible in the other five case studies due to the loss of the places original cultural use. Due to the loss of a cultural use at each particular site a decision was made regarding the conservation process to be taken. The case studies illustrate that this decision is often a difficult one and if the wrong decision is made, conservation can be seen as being unsuccessful and 'cultural significance', on a broad level of interpretation has not been maintained.

As was observed in the case studies, conservation often requires a place to adapt for a new use. Adaptation is thoroughly addressed in the Burra Charter and should therefore, in theory, be an effective form of conservation.

Article 1.9 states that adaptation means modifying a place to suit the existing use or proposed use. Therefore change is acceptable. Article 15.1 states that change may be necessary to retain cultural significance but is undesirable where it reduces cultural significance. The amount of change to a place should be guided by the cultural significance of the place and its appropriate interpretation. Similarly, Article 21.1 states that adaptation in acceptable only where the adaptation has minimal impact on the cultural significance of the place. The Charter also accepts the addition of new work to a place. This is also only accepted if the cultural significance is retained. Article 22.1 states that new work such as additions to the place may be acceptable where it does not distort or obscure the cultural significance of the place, or detract from its interpretation and appreciation. Finally, article 22.2 states that new work should be readily identifiable as such. In using the previous interpretation of cultural significance. Adaptation is only an appropriate form of conservation if the culture of the past is not lost.

The examples of the Hackney Tram Barn and the Kent Town Brewery have largely ignored these guidelines. Decisions made regarding these projects were dominated by a concern for political and economic issues rather than cultural significance, resulting in the loss of the latter. If the Burra Charter had been followed, in combination with the view of economic gain, as occurred at the Queen's Home, the important cultural influence may have remained and the conservation process may have been more successful.

Alternately, conservation does not always involve dramatic change to the original fabric of the place. Article 24.1 of the Charter states that significant associations between people and a place should be respected, retained and not obscured. Opportunities for the interpretation, commemoration and celebration of these associations should be investigated and implemented. Article 25 states that the cultural significance of many places is not readily apparent, and should be explained by interpretation. Interpretation should enhance understanding and enjoyment, and be culturally appropriate.

The work carried out at Adelaide Arcade and in Leigh Street makes strong reference to these principles. Adelaide Arcade's interpretation of these guidelines adheres to the requirements of the past cultural use but also incorporates the necessities of modern technology and use. The work at Leigh Street has thoroughly adhered to these principles. However, inappropriate interpretation of the needs of the cultural views of economic gain has resulted in the projects poor acceptance by the broad public.

According to the results of the case studies, successful conservation work makes strong reference to the cultural use of the past which, in turn has a strong connection with the culture of the present and remains functional in its contemporary context. The requirements of society, the Burra Charter and developers are all taken into consideration. This has occurred at the Queen's Home and in the Adelaide Arcade. Conservation work can be viewed as unsuccessful if it makes little or no reference to the previous cultural use of the place, such as has occurred with the Tram Barns or the Kent Town Brewery. Similarly, conservation that makes little or no accommodation for the culture of the present, such as the work carried out in Leigh Street, can also be seen being unsuccessful and should be avoided if one of the three cultural views is not addressed.

7. Interpretation of Conservation Case Studies

7.1 Introduction

The case studies presented in the previous chapter suggest that some approaches to conservation may be more successful than others with respect to the maintenance of cultural significance. This chapter will explore this point in greater depth. With further reference to the case studies, it will analyse how different understandings of cultural significance are interpreted within the practice of conservation and which approaches appear to be more appropriate within their specific context and why.

7.2 The Role of Architectural Conservation

As has been highlighted throughout this thesis, a central aim of conservation is to maintain cultural significance. The first consideration in the conservation process are the factors making the building significant. With this in mind it is essential to remember that for conservation must formulate an environment that is relevant to every section of the present culture, while also retaining the reference that the built environment makes to the cultural use from the past. It is important for the general public to realise that it is possible for the past to be retained while the views and requirements of the cultural present develop. Present society should develop an awareness of their environment not only as a single link in the lifecycle of a building, but also as an important section in the growth of the future. Each cultural period has an effect on the next. As James Strike states, current trends seem to imply that each cultural group has the potential to annihilate the opinions and lifestyles of its predecessors.[1] This usually occurs through the misinterpretation of the core function of conservation, which is the maintenance of cultural significance. Practitioners of conservation should aim to portray the built environment as an important part of the evolutionary process of culture.

[1] James Strike, "Cultural Significance," in *Cultural Conservation,* ed. S. Sullivan (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1994), 7.

Currently there seems to be an aesthetic tension between modern detailing and historic fabric, and in many cases the cultural significance of the past is lost. Thus, councils and developers should be aware that the past has a vital role in the present. The culture of the past must be allowed to play an important role in the continuation and evolution of the built environment. A 'developing' culture should be aware that an historic building only has meaning when situated within its intended context. Something, that may be meaningful in one context, may be meaningless in another. For example, the Kent Town Brewery is meaningful within the context of brewing but is meaningless within the context of mass apartment style housing. It has meaning as an example of the working class and industry from the past but is meaningless when interpreted for purely financial gain.

Therefore, the main step in the conservation process is to determine what gives the place its heritage value or cultural significance. The criteria used to put the place on the State Heritage List need to be considered. These are outlined in the Heritage Act (Appendix 2). In most of the cases studied, the reason for being listed was their significance as examples of social groups, occupations, religion or lifestyle. Unless the fabric is of extraordinarily excellent quality, it is rare for a place to be listed specifically for its material composition. The fabric is simply the tangible element that transmits the message of the significance. When determining whether the cultural significance of the past has been maintained one should look at how the original fabric reflects the original significance. As was illustrated in the interpretation process of the case studies, it is important to consider whether the 'conserved' fabric, use and context still reflects the original significance. Re-assessing the place according to the criteria listed in the Heritage Act can do this. If the answer is yes, and the fabric still represents the past, then conservation has been successful. If it is no, then why? Perhaps the cultural view or conservation approach taken is inappropriate for the particular site. If this is the case then the place should no longer remain on the State Heritage List.

For example, in 1995 the Kent Town Brewery was placed on the State Heritage List due to its compliance with criteria a, b, c, d, e, f and g of the Heritage Act 1993. As Figure 1 illustrates, since its recent development all of these criteria are no longer satisfied and therefore the Brewery should not be State Heritage Listed.

Figure 1

CRITERIA	1995	2001
a. evolution	The brewery was established at a time of rapid growth and development in the state's history. It illustrates the development of the SA Brewing company. It has had continuous involvement in beer making industry for over 100 years.	The use of the brewery as apartments results in the loss of its continuous involvement in the beer making industry. The brewery is therefore no longer an illustration of the development of the SA Brewing Company.
b. Rare, uncommon, endangered	It is the only functioning brewery that was established in the late 1800s	The Brewery site is no longer a brewery.
c. States history	It is a representation of the development of brewing and malting in South Australia. It provides a connection with the complementary primary production of barley and as a reference point for understanding the economic development of barley production.	It no longer represents the development of brewing and malting in South Australia. The use of the site for residential accommodation loses any connection with the complementary primary production of barley.
d. Example of class	It is the most intact example of brewing and malting of the 1800s.	The brewery is no longer intact
e. Technical accomplishment	It is an example of industrial architecture of the 1800s. The original structure displays a fine degree of careful detailing and composition unusual for industrial buildings.	The new development takes away the industrial reference the original material illustrated.
f. Spiritual association	The building provides links with the former employees and families. It provides a landmark feature for a wide section of the community.	The site no longer represents a brewery therefore the link with former employees and families are lost. Although the site will remain a landmark, its landmark features have been changed from being a significant historic architectural feature to being a landmark through its dominating scale.
g. Connection with a person	Sir Edwin Thomas Smith, Architect Thomas English and SA Brewing	The loss of the site's reference to brewing in turn loses its connection with Sir Edwin Thomas Smith. The dominance of the new development has overshadowed the original architectural value. There is no longer any connection with SA Brewing.

The above example illustrates the fact that within the practice of conservation in Adelaide, the concept of cultural significance is misunderstood. The prevailing belief is that the retention of fabric is enough when conserving a place. However, the fabric is usually

not the dominating element of significance in the heritage value of a place, as reflected in the Hackney Tram Barn. This site was heritage listed because of its symbolic representation of the life of Adelaide working class life during the time when trams were the main form of transport in and around the city. The architectural merit of the building itself had little to do with the actual listing of the building. Therefore, conservation has been unsuccessful despite retention of the building's fabric, because the cultural representation of the past has been lost. Such buildings should no longer be heritage listed.

These findings illustrate the need for an inclusive cultural perspective which incorporates all three cultural viewpoints. These three viewpoints were discussed in Chapter One. However, because of the findings received through the case studies and the literature view, a more comprehensive understanding of the implications of these views can be elucidated.

The first viewpoint is the position from which the general public would view culture. With respect to conservation, this is the culture of progress and change determined by environmental and sociological requirements. In this respect, as illustrated in Chapter Five, this viewpoint can be linked to vernacular values. As highlighted by Adorno's theories, society's input into the conservation process often implies a one-way flow of messages from the practitioner to the public.[2] This was observed during the review of the public opinion generated through the adaptation of the Hackney Tram Barn. The public had obvious objections to the conservation project. Despite this, the conservation architect carried out the development with little attention to the views of the public. The recipients of the conservation process have relatively little capacity to contribute to the course and content of the communication process that takes place during a development project. The poor result of the Hackney Tram Barn development illustrates that the views of the public should be considered in addition to professional and economic points of view in the interpretation of culture and how the end result is accepted. However, the views of the public are rarely considered and have little impact in the conservation process. This aspect of the conservation process is problematic and is apparent in Williams' concern with the

[2] John Thompson, "Social Theory, Mass Communication and Public Life," in *The Polity Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Giddens et al., (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 24-25.

inefficient interpretation of the view of the individual and their role in a wider society.[3] The lack of understanding of the views of society has resulted in a lack of adhesion between the actions taken and the views of individuals and more powerful and influential groups. This indicates that conservation practitioners appear to respond more readily to prescriptive regulations or economic criteria than to community concern.

The second viewpoint of understanding in conservation is conservative conservation. It aims to reproduce a faithful representation of the past; it is a more conservative and prescriptive understanding of cultural significance. The use of prescriptive conservation guidelines, such as the Burra Charter, dominates decisions made from this cultural viewpoint. The actual fabric of the built environment is used in order to represent the culture of the past. As implied in the Leigh Street case study, this approach to conservation in isolation can be ineffective. The Burra Charter takes a very level and broad approach to the meaning of culture and aims to be applicable to all sections of culture. In this respect the Burra Charter is particularly suited to Williams' definition of culture. Williams embraces all elements of culture. He believes society needs a 'common culture'; one that values diversity in community, has a pride in one's position and respect for others. In such a community, all cultural viewpoints are equal.[4]

The third viewpoint is that of developers, councils and planners. This section of a culture has the responsibility of making the built environment functional from an economic perspective. It is at this point of view where the views of Hall and Samuel become relevant. The Kent Town Brewery case is a good illustration. In this respect, culture is a result of the developmental or economic view. Cultural objects are manipulated to accommodate the requirements of economic and technological advance. Within this cultural point of view cultural objects are the site and result of a struggle between cultural meaning and cultural growth. This third point of view implies that cultural objects are not inscribed with meaning, the object is articulated for meaning, meaning which, in this

[3] D. Amigoni, "Rarmond Williams, (1921-88)," in *The AZ Guide to Modern Literature and Cultural Theory*, ed. S Sim, (Hertfordshire: Prentice Hall/ Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1995), 403.
[4] Ibid. 38.

respect, materialises in economic gain. As Hall states, "...the world has to be made to mean."[5]

Relating these cultural views to the pathways that conservation can take, it becomes apparent that if a building continually develops, altering gradually to suit cultural needs, then vernacular development occurs. This reflects the social view and was evident in the Colonist Tavern case study. However, at some point in the path a decision may need to be made regarding the future of the place. This may be because the place has been recognised as having heritage value or because the original cultural use is no longer relevant. It is at this point that it could be said that significance had been 'invested' into the cultural object. Significance has been invested because the historical importance of the place is recognised. Whichever cultural group has made the investment has made a commitment to devote their cultural point of view to the future protection of the place.

At the point where significance has been invested into the cultural object a decision must be made regarding the fate of the building, the decisions available will lead to either conservative or contemporary conservation. Once this decision has been made the changes made to the building are dictated by this cultural view. The decision pathway was graphically represented in Figure 2 in Chapter One. However, this model fails to accommodate the complexities associated with the concept of cultural significance. The results of the case studies have shown that conservation is a combination of attitudes and a physical process, perceptions and actions, and living culture and historical record. Conservation cannot be thought of as purely a fabric-orientated process. It involves the emotions, requirements, opinions and points of view of several, distinctly different cultural groups. The process that takes place during the lifecycle of a building is never smooth and continuous. It is influenced by a variety of different cultural, social and economic processes and therefore the resulting building reacts to these influential forces. For conservation to be successful an understanding needs to be developed that deals with people, their intentions, beliefs, actions, experiences in conjunction with the building, the

[5] J Storey, "Hall, Stuart (1932-)," in *The AZ Guide to Modern Literature and Cultural Theory,* ed. S Sim, (Hertfordshire: Prentice Hall/ Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1995), 195.

setting, the meaning, history and future.[6] Thus, after a journey through time with a variety of cultural influences affecting the growth of the building, the resulting building may take several forms (Figure 2), as was indicated in Chapter 2. The form the building takes is a result of the culturally dictated decisions that impact on its growth.

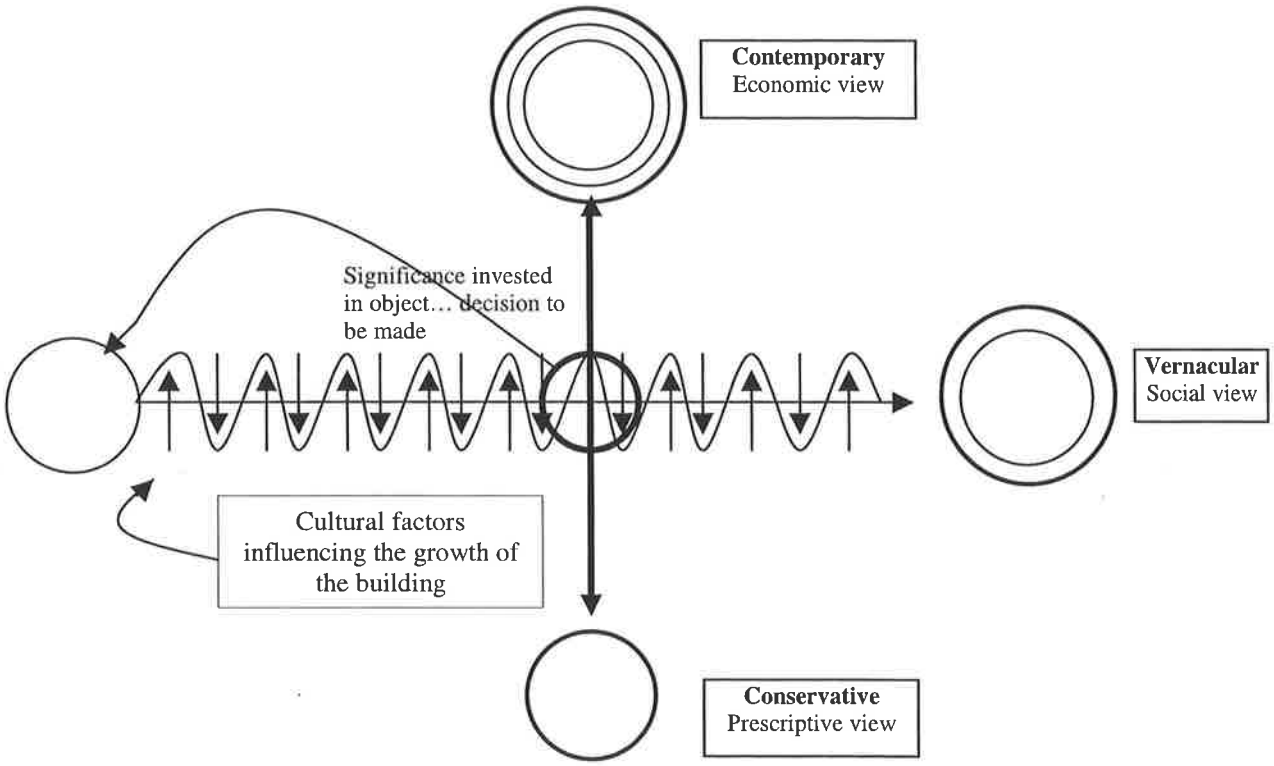


FIGURE 2. Conservation Pathways

In relating the various cultural points of view to the cases studied it becomes apparent that successful conservation combines elements of each cultural perspective, has a comprehensive understanding of the cultural requirements of both the past and the present and also displays a coherent understanding of legislation. For example, the conservation of

[6] Downton, *Place & Placemaking*, vii.

Leigh Street was dominated by cultural view C1. A prescriptive approach was taken in the conservation process, closely adhering to the guidelines of the Burra Charter. The result appears to be unsuccessful, being poorly accepted by the general public. Similarly, The Hackney Tram Barn conversion occurred due to emphasis being placed on the heritage importance of the building. The prescriptive nature of heritage guidelines made the retention of the barn essential. The eventual solution to keeping the building was unsuccessful, ignoring the requirements of the first view, that of the public and also ignoring developmental and economic requirements. The development of the Kent Town Brewery was dominated by cultural view C2. The apartment development is entirely governed by economic requirement. Although advertising for the development promotes the heritage value of the site, the only view that is fully represented is that of the developers. Hence, the development is unsuccessful in maintaining the cultural significance of the past.

Alternately, the developmental process that has continually occurred at the Colonist Tavern in Norwood takes social needs into account, conforms to heritage requirements and is also economically viable. The conservation process that took place at Adelaide and Gay's Arcades also combines elements of all three cultural points of view. The requirements of the public are represented in the Arcades providing a valuable environment for the general public. The Burra Charter and heritage requirements have been addressed and the owners of the Arcades have gained an economically productive business. Thus, conservation has been extremely successful. Similarly, the development of the Queen Victoria Apartments satisfies the requirements of the public, by making the building useful in its contemporary context. The Burra Charter and heritage requirements have also been fulfilled, the record of the past has been maintained and the new apartment building will provide financial benefits to the developers and the council.

As the cases illustrate, the multi-perspectival interpretation of conservation, and the multitude of definitions and classes of culture, are an interesting but problematic aspect of conservation as it often leads to the overemphasis or loss of one particular cultural point of view. The cases studied in Chapter 6 illustrate that the main function of the concept of

'cultural significance' in conservation is to address the varying links between 'culture' and socially determined requirements and between culture and the requirements of economic and legislative demands. 'Good conservation' involves changing power balances and interrelationships between the varying viewpoints of culture. As the case studies indicate, it *is* possible for all points of view to be represented, allowing the present to develop while retaining the record of the past. However, problems in the interpretation of the requirements of heritage often result in the denial of the views of one cultural group in favor of another.

7.3 How to Achieve 'Good Conservation'

Good conservation maintains cultural significance. Success can be gauged on the effective use of a place rather than its appearance. The process highlighted in path A-C3, the vernacular or society based point of view, is the most appropriate approach for achieving this aim. Vernacular development will conserve the culture living within a place. The place remains alive. However, vernacular change is not easy to grasp within a professional sense. Evolution is not easy to carryout in practice. This is where the Burra Charter has limitations. Thus, it is important to consider where the conservation professional fits into a vernacular form of development. In the context of the globally integrated economy and society of contemporary Australia, it is apparent that the built environment cannot always respond in a vernacular way. This is why active conservation measures may be necessary. Unfortunately, as the case studies have indicated, the conservation process may also result in the conservation architect inserting his or her own cultural views on to the building. These views are either prescriptive or economic and often result in the loss of cultural significance.

Despite whether significance has been invested in a building or not, social change is inevitable. A vernacular process of change is the best means of retaining cultural significance because it accepts that change will occur and allows culture to grow with it. To facilitate this form of gradual change the conservation professional should be continually involved in the design, building and lifecycle of the place from the beginning, allowing for incremental change rather that conservation intervention.

For the process of heritage listing and conservation of buildings to be successful, it is important for the general public to become aware of what constitutes 'good conservation'. The actual role of heritage listing, regarding cultural significance, should be central to the education and enlightenment of the public. If the public is educated and aware of the necessity of conservation that interprets significance from multiple cultural viewpoints then the political decision-makers will be forced to form tighter controls on the development that takes place at heritage sites. Therefore, more and better public education and outreach is required to accomplish this goal. Heritage issues concerning the importance of cultural interpretation and the importance of the Burra Charter need to become relevant to a broader audience. A broader recognition of the importance of culture may then lead to the development of strong national policies for protection and preservation.[7] This may then be reflected in the actions of developers undertaking conservation.

The main problem for the maintenance of cultural significance within South Australia's built heritage originates from the unawareness of the availability of vernacular, conservative and contemporary conservation approaches. All approaches have the ability to be effective and relevant. Conservation is read as one singular process this results in the poor image and management of the historic built environment. Confusion arises from the varying viewpoints in the interpretation of the core concept of cultural significance. Each point of view is instead taken in isolation. For example, the views of the public have little influence in the views and actions of the developers. This problem is compounded even further by the fragmentary nature of legislation and management. To address this complex problem and to increase the effectiveness of the conservation of heritage buildings public policy regarding this issue should, on a primary level:

1. make a strong statement regarding the State's responsibility to protect and preserve places which have been recognised as important cultural places;
2. have political support in their implementation;
3. be accessible to the general public.

[7] Francis Hatton and Alf McManamon. *Cultural Resource Management in Contemporary Society: Perspectives on Managing and Presenting the Past* (London: Routledge, 2000), 15.

As the cases studied indicate, the most effective conservation projects had a general awareness of the Burra Charter. Therefore, decisions made regarding significant places should demonstrate an awareness of the Charter. However, interpretation of the Charter should be allowed with reference to the desired outcomes of the conservation work and the specific cultural use. In Chapter Two, examples were cited which addresses the question of whether the Burra Charter is actually functional in dealing with the concept of cultural significance in a contemporary context. The conservation work that was carried out in Glenelg, Victor Harbor and Port Adelaide made very little reference to the Charter. The town centres were altered through use of plantings, street art and furniture and traffic conditions. The use of the towns has been adapted to accommodate the requirements of tourists, a type of adaptation deemed inappropriate by the Burra Charter. Despite this, the resulting heritage areas are still adequate historic records while also playing an important role in the social use of their areas within their modern contexts. Thus, it is the role of the conservation plan, developed prior to any decisions being made; to assess to what extent the Burra Charter should be consulted during the conservation process.

As Alison Blake comments,

> Within a critical humanist approach to the built environment, the essential task becomes that of empathically interpreting the difficult structures of meaning associated with particular buildings or places.[8]

It is important for any conservation decision to address a broadly framed understanding of the significance of environments in people's lives addressing all three viewpoints in order to maintain cultural significance in the present and the past. Built environments need to be appreciated and understood in terms of the social context in which they have been produced and used. The built environment must remain living within culture.

Therefore, the aim of good conservation is to maintain 'living culture'. This is a difficult aim to achieve due to Western culture's apparent need for material evidence to remember

[8] Blake, "Aspects of Significance," in *Cultural Conservation,* ed. S Sullivan (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1995), 240.

the past. To Western society, the built fabric acts as proof that an event once occurred. This results in a fabric based approach to conservation. As was highlighted in Chapter Four, different cultures value other things more than fabric. Within these cultures, significance lies in the location, process, style or timing of a building or place. This understanding of cultural significance has the potential to faithfully maintain culture on a philosophical level, and keep it living, more than a fabric based conservation approach.

Being a document used in the Western world, the Burra Charter places great emphasis on the retention of fabric. Although the Charter states that the conservation process should first determine what makes a place culturally significant before treating the fabric of the place, in practice this is often neglected. The treatment of fabric is given priority. Therefore, the perpetuation of 'living culture' is greatly neglected. The Burra Charter fails to recognise that heritage objects can still be evolving within the context of living culture. Objects that continue to function within a living culture continue to gain cultural heritage value. Objects that are removed from the living culture through conservation stop gaining cultural value. Therefore, they die and may eventually lose cultural significance. If significance lies in a place's symbolic or associative value, which is the case with most heritage assessments, then fabric-based conservation, such as that outlined in the Burra Charter may not be effective at preserving cultural significance.

Thus, good conservation practice is primarily based on:

1. The examination of the built environment on a practical level using approaches which promote increased awareness and appreciation of environment; thus, expanding community participation and promoting a dialogue between people and their past. This broad awareness of environmental and social requirements can be observed at the development that is taking place at the Queens Home in Rose Park. The environment has benefited through the retention and restoration of an aesthetically pleasing building which impacts on the public, who have retained a significant historic building which is useful for them in the present.

2. Public participation that encourages constructive input during the decision making process, not just after the fact, when it is too late. It is important for councils and heritage bodies to make heritage decisions understandable and accessible to the whole community. Therefore, it is important to have legislation that addresses this issue. This is an issue put forth by Blake in 1995 and is also supported by the cases studied for this thesis. The restoration of Adelaide and Gay's Arcades involved significant interpretation of the requirements of the public using the Arcades. The result has been a building that has regained its stature and functional applicability to the people using it. This in turn gives the Arcades economic viability, while not losing the record of the past. Cultural significance has been retained from every cultural point of view.

7.4. Legislation

Legislation is the formal recognition of the major concerns of a society.[9] The cases studied imply that dissemination of clear, effective information about heritage legislation in South Australia is currently lacking. In 1975 South Australia began to produce legislation following the lead of Victoria and New South Wales. During this time South Australia's approach was seen as being very broad-minded and hence very successful.[10] South Australia's approach to conservation began with historical guidelines devised by Susan Marsden in 1980. These guidelines identified fourteen historic regions. A comprehensive history was prepared for each area in which significant places were highlighted and appropriate conservation approaches recommended. The cases studied for this thesis have found that these guidelines have undergone little development since their original formation. This is an issue that has become a concern to heritage professionals in the state and resulted in the National Trust Heritage Summit that was referred to in Chapter Two. This summit found that the lack of development within South Australia's guidelines contributes largely to the misunderstanding of the concept of cultural significance. The 'pecking order' of important values in conservation is continually adjusted; adjusted over a

[9] Sullivan, "Introduction," in *Cultural Conservation,* ed. S Sullivan (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1995), 5.
[10] Peter James, "Cultural Significance," in *Cultural Conservation,* ed. S Sullivan (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1995), 8.

period of time, and adjusted according to philosophical, political and religious beliefs.[11] Conservation attitudes and requirements are variable and therefore it is important for legislation to develop and change in order to address the varying points of view.

In addition to legislation's neglect of different cultural views is legislation's frequent lack of provision to stop unsuitable developments in articular places, coupled with a lack of criteria by which to judge such suitability. Peter James uses broad scale examples to illustrate this problem. In Tasmania in the 1980s wood chipping of some very significant woodlands took place. At this stage Tasmania had no legislation so the wood chipping could take place with little legal opposition. Similarly, in Queensland a national park was sold to a development company because there was no legislation to stop the sale. During this same time, in the 1980s, New South Wales had comprehensive heritage legislation; despite this, when a proposal was put forth for the development of a sport stadium on Darling Harbour the legislation was useless in preventing the development taking place and as a result Sydney lost the material record of 170 years worth of their heritage.[12] These examples indicate that some developers and councils are supportive of conservation and incorporate conservation into their Development Acts; however, if the legislation put in place does not suit a particular proposal then they simply enact the necessary legislation to enable the projects to proceed regardless of the importance of the conservation issues. This is a fact that is supported in the cases studied in this thesis.

For example, Objective 2 of the Kensington and Norwood City Development Plan, the council area responsible for the Kent Town Brewery, states:

> Development should conserve and compliment existing historic buildings including the use of appropriate landscape settings and traditional building elements... Development should restore and rehabilitate existing historic buildings and may incorporate compact extensions to buildings of a scale bulk and external appearance which is sympathetic to the historic

[11] Strike, *Architecture in Conservation: Managing Development at Historic Sites* (London/ New York: Routledge, 1994), 6.
[12] James, *Cultural Significance*, 9.

> character of the building... Development should conserve, maintain, enhance and reinforce the existing streetscape.[13]

The outcome of the Brewery case study demonstrates that these objectives listed in the Development Plan have largely been ignored. The new development fails to compliment the use and setting of the original brewery. The development is not compact nor does it have an external appearance that is sympathetic to the historic character of the building. Thus, it does not maintain the existing streetscape. The financial benefits of the development dominated the decisions made regarding the design of the brewery apartments. The historic requirements highlighted in the council's legislation were ignored.

Similarly, Objective 31 of the Adelaide City Development Plan states that it is a requirement to:

> Ensure that development in the proximity of places and areas which contribute to the heritage of the city does not diminish their heritage and built form contribution to the character of the city.[14]

Heritage buildings are ones that have cultural significance. The development that has taken place at the Hackney Tram Barn site substantially diminishes the cultural significance of the building. Thus, losing its heritage contribution to the character of the city. The legislation in place to protect heritage is inadequate. Development takes place regardless of whether the Development Plans permit it or not.

The problems currently being experienced in the field of conservation in South Australia are three fold. They are political in that the decisions made regarding conservation development are by councils and developers. Therefore, the decisions are dominated by economic requirement rather than sociological needs. The problems are also administrative in that often heritage issues are ignored due to them being too difficult to administer by

[13] Kensington and Norwood (city) Development plan, the Development Act 1993, Consolidated July 5 2001. Objective 2, 65.
[14] Adelaide (city) Development Plan, the Development Act 1993, Consolidated March 8 2001. Objective 31, 21.

Heritage or Planning SA. Thirdly, the problems are legal. As stated previously, legislation is easily ignored or manipulated to suit a particular conservation project. Once a decision becomes political the legislation in place has little influence. Thus, the aim for the future of conservation is to draft legislation in such a way that it takes heed of the fact that cases can become political. The fact of politics currently means that there is no way legislation can ensure bureaucrats will adhere to legislation and take the values of the public and the significance of the past into account. Currently there is a lack of consistency in heritage decisions. For example, the council refused to demolish the Hackney Tram Barns, while the Union Street wall was demolished with little prior notice. As James implies, the best response to this problem would be to make legislation simple and involve a minimal number of decisions.[15]

The notion of preparing large comprehensive strategies and plans to guide conservation is unsuited to the political and bureaucratic nature of communities. A more pragmatic approach is needed which embodies and reflects the reality of conservation, philosophy and objectives.[16] It has become apparent that planners and developers can ignore or work their way around heritage listings. Economic advance dominates over heritage legislation. This is a problem because when the cultural motivation behind building and development is exclusively concerned with financial profit other important cultural elements are neglected.[17] Conservation projects that assume that financial profit is inherently desirable inaccurately interpret the core purpose of heritage listing. Culturally significant buildings are important to provide a record of the past and also give the present culture a sense of place. Thus, conservation should be a 'process' primarily concerned with the maintenance of cultural significance. This process should therefore be stringently monitored, documented and put under public scrutiny.

7.5 Conservative, Contemporary and Vernacular Conservation

The research has used three forms of conservation in order to interpret how practitioners and the public understand cultural significance. Conservative conservation was used at

[15] James. *Cultural Significance*, 10.
[16] Walker, "State Conservation Plans; an Overview," in *Cultural Conservation,* ed. S Sullivan (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing service, 1995), 103.
[17] Davis, *The Culture of Buildings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 91.

Adelaide Arcade and at Leigh Street. This form of conservation aims to be faithful to the representation of the past cultural use of the place through the retention of the built fabric. Contemporary conservation occurred at the Hackney Tram Barn, the Kent Town Brewery and at the Queens House in Rose Park. This form of conservation aims to benefit the culture of the present by making the significant building relevant in its current social and economic context. Vernacular development can be viewed as a transformation process rather than a definite stage in the lifecycle of the place. This form of development has been observed at the Colonist Tavern. The evolution of this pub has been gradual. Alterations and adaptations occurred gradually as social, economic and environmental demands became apparent. The changes cannot be read as a conservation technique, a practitioner cannot consciously carry out a vernacular process. Rather, vernacular development is a process used as a means of understanding the multitude of views the term 'cultural significance' can contain.

For a conservation document to be functional within architectural practice it is important for it to address at least these three forms of conservation. The broad, sweeping promotion of the Burra Charter as the 'Charter for the conservation of places of cultural significance' implies that the Charter is the site where the views of society and the actual practice of conservation combine. The general use of the concept of cultural significance results in an open interpretation of the word. For this reason emphasis should be placed on the Burra Charter only as a guiding tool for the action taken in the conservation process. However, currently the Burra Charter is often interpreted quite literally, as was the case in the Leigh Street development. The Charter is very thorough in prescribing the methods in which significant places should be conserved with regard to the treatment of the fabric. Therefore, it is often difficult to relate the prescriptive nature of the Charter to the contexts within which most preservationists find themselves, these being the need to accommodate social requirements and economic gain. It does not take the dominating political and economic factors into account. With respect to the maintenance of cultural significance, the Charter only really considers the culture of the past as significant in the conservation process. This makes the Charter difficult to follow in a contemporary context. The Charter needs to be more aware of the requirements of the present, and that vernacular,

contemporary and conservative conservation approaches are valid and appropriate in retaining the cultural significance of the past while being important in the present.

Ultimately, the things that give a place significance in the past and also in the present should determine how to look after it and what changes are appropriate. It has become evident that currently there are no standard formulae that adequately specify the most appropriate course of action. The public and professionals in the field are the best judges of the success of conservation. Whatever changes are made should not detract from the significance of the place to them.

The Burra Charter is very aware that changes made without regard for cultural significance can be very damaging, as was the case in the conservation of the Hackney Tram Barn and the Kent Town Brewery. Skilled investigation, analysis and decision-making, taking all cultural views into account, are the keys to retaining cultural significance. Thus, understanding and interpretation of the cultural importance of a place is the first major stage of a conservation project. It is important to consider issues of cultural significance separately from issues of management. The conservation policy should relate directly to cultural significance and the issues concerning the future of the place.[18] As Article 7 states, the conservation policy will determine which uses are compatible. The choice of compatible use is often essential to the survival of significance.[19]

The Burra Charter adequately addresses the requirement of past cultural significance. However, conservation guidelines and legislation needs to form better ways of addressing the need for smooth, gradual growth making buildings relevant in a contemporary environment from a humanistic perspective, not purely through economic requirement, as was the case in the Kent Town Brewery case study. This humanistic element becomes evident in the use of vernacular examples. Vernacular environments are altered as the human needs of the society using the place alters. Change is gradual and functional. Although vernacular environments are normally seen as being rural or indigenous to a particular cultural group, vernacular development can be observed in modern society. The

[18] Ibid. 34.
[19] Ibid. 35.

development of the Colonist Tavern has been gradual and has largely been dictated by the requirements of the people using the place. This can be interpreted as vernacular change. Vernacular examples are rare and are sometimes not even recognised as being examples of conservation because the change is gradual and natural. Therefore, it is difficult to establish theories, rules and guidelines based on vernacular themes, despite the benefits vernacular knowledge offers. Human requirements are difficult to quantify and to represent by general rules and theories that accommodate their unpredictable nature. Thus, Legislation should be broad and aim to provide guidance that takes this 'human' element of the built environment into account.

7.5 Summary

The points that should be highlighted when addressing the problems in maintaining cultural significance during conservation are:

- Finding appropriate uses and treatments for heritage places;
- Elevate the importance and effective use of conservation plans. Councils, developers and planners should be held to the decisions made by the professionals, who are aware of the views and requirements of the public;
- Public education concerning conservation is important. It is important to reestablish people's faith in heritage protection;
- It is important for conservation work to be assessed on a personal, professional and political level.

The result of this study stresses the importance of the humanistic element of culture. The success or failure of each conservation project cited depended on the interpretation of the humanistic requirements both from the past and the future. Developments such as the Kent Town Brewery, Leigh street and the Hackney Tram Barn paid little attention the how the developments affected the representation of the social significance from the past, or how the society of the present would use the conserved place. Successful conservation considers the requirements of people. Material retention alone is not a sufficient approach to conservation. Thus, the study concludes that the cultural significance of the

built environment is the product of human culture. As Alexander suggests, culturally significant buildings are ones that are loved by their occupants. Loved buildings are the ones that work well, that suit the people in them and that show their age.[20] Buildings that are conserved with no consideration of the culture around them become irrelevant.[21] Ultimately, conservation is a vital part in the lifecycle of a building. Buildings have to be challenged and refreshed otherwise the built environment will become irrelevant and unchanging.[22] As the Colonist Tavern case study illustrates, vernacular change is the natural process of change within the built environment and is therefore the most successful means of addressing the cultural requirements of a place. However, gradual change within modern western society is rare. Change is usually sudden, determined by technological advance. Therefore, for conservation to be successful vernacular traditions should be considered as examples of cultural requitement from every viewpoint. It should be recognised that buildings are a material representation of the traditions of a culture and that the conservation carried out should maintain the culture's connection with the actual form and functional use of the place. The Contemporary environment should aim to remain alive and draw on the past in order to develop into the future. It appears that conservation currently leads to the cultural death of a building. The culture contained within the building is no longer living. This was the case in the Hackney Tram Barn of which the culture using the building has been last and therefore the building can be seen as dead. This was also the case at the Kent Town Brewery and Leigh Street. Ultimately, the aim of conservation is to keep a building alive.

The outcome of the case studies, with respect to the theories derived through the literature review, imply that it is possible for the cultural significance of the past to remain while the culture of the present is allowed to develop and grow from three main points of view, these being social, prescriptive and economic. This is the optimum result of conservation and can be tested by reassessing the heritage value of a place against the criteria listed in the Heritage Act. If the place still conforms to the criteria originally used to indicate its significance then conservation has been successful. If the criteria are no longer represented

[20] Ibid. 209.
[21] Davis, *The culture of Buildings*, 89.
[22] Brand, *How Building Learn*, 209.

then the conservation process has been unsuccessful; the place no longer has heritage value and should be taken off the heritage list.

8. Conclusion

As the Burra Charter states, the aim of conservation is to retain the cultural significance of the built environment. Amos Rapoport's views have been used in order to illustrate that Vernacular development is the most effective means of achieving this aim (Chapter 5). Vernacular development involves a natural progression of human requirements that are ultimately reflected in the built form. The Building remains alive and culturally significant to all cultural views. However, if vernacular development is not possible then cultural significance is threatened. It has become apparent that this places great importance on the point in the building's lifecycle when a decision must be made regarding how to conserve it.

This thesis has highlighted that there are distinct issues to consider at this decision point regarding the maintenance and interpretation of 'cultural significance'. Thus, a more clearly defined understanding of the notion of cultural significance is central within the practice of conservation. This thesis has considered what the possible results of this decision may be. It has looked deeply into which cultural views may dominate the decision, these being social growth, economic development or prescriptive requirement. It has illustrated that the process of conservation is dependent on the appropriate cultural view dominating the decision making process. Ultimately, if the cultural significance from the past is retained and the culture of the present can continue to utilise a building then conservation has been successful.

If revisiting the example of the leaning tower of Pisa cited in the Introduction, through this research, it could be stated that the conservation of this building was dominated by the economic point of view in its preservation for tourist use, while also being quite conservative in its fabric based approach to maintaining its physical form. This example highlights that the concept of 'cultural significance' can have a variety of meanings and interpretations, depending on which cultural view is making the decision. Every conservation project is different, desired outcomes vary and as a result cultural significance

on every level may not be fully represented. While this may not be a perfect solution to the maintenance of cultural significance, the most important aspect of conservation should be the acknowledgement of many cultural views so that as many cultural groups can accept the resulting building as possible. Although 'cultural significance' is the core focus of conservation this thesis has found that the use of such a broad, all encompassing term within the Burra Charter is not fully appropriate. One single term cannot represent the multitude of views a concept such as 'culture' can signify.

Such findings suggest that cultural significance needs to be interpreted broadly incorporating multiple cultural points of view. Thus, it is difficult to have one singular meaning of culture. All forms of culture are important and all make a different impact or have a different understanding of what culture is. Therefore, it is difficult to ensure that culture, as a whole, has the ability to influence the cultural interpretation of the building in the best way. Buildings that are culturally significant, from every cultural perspective, reinforce and establish cultural feeling and style. The process of living within the built environment is very individual to each person and to the cultural group. This illustrates that appropriate conservation of the built environment has the potential to re-create spatial relations, strengthen a person or an institution's social or economic place and can indicate religion and power and reinforce community and institutional identity. Whatever determines the decision of what, where and how to conserve is a strong indication of culture and makes links between society as a whole and the fabric of the built environment itself.

Unfortunately, current conservation practice fails to make the appropriate links between the separate sections of society. The connection between the built fabric and society is lost. This thesis has highlighted three problems in the interpretation of cultural significance. The first is the lack of understanding of the meaning of cultural significance. It is commonly believed that conservation purely involves the restoration of the built fabric. Conservation that does not recognise the social, religious and contextual significance of the place and focuses purely on the retention of fabric is largely unsuccessful. The result is a building that no longer has heritage value; it is no longer culturally significant. The second problem is the multi-perspectival way of understanding culture. Successful conservation addresses the varying links between culture and social structure and between culture and the built fabric. Often the three individual viewpoints of culture are only considered in

isolation. The third problem involves the confusion created through the differing levels of heritage management and legislation. The fragmentation of heritage legislation from a national, state, and local level makes the concept of conservation difficult to understand and manage.

As has been illustrated through the cases studied, the Burra Charter plays an important role as the 'middle ground' between what society sees as being important and what councils and developers want. The theories and use of the Burra Charter has the potential to be effective in retaining cultural significance. However, the interpretation of it is often inaccurate. The general public finds it, and the other forms of legislation, difficult to understand and read it as an inappropriate form of dealing with current culture. On the other hand developers find it too restrictive and tend to ignore it in practice. Thus, the current problems associated within the practice of conservation in South Australia is a result of the lack of understanding of the issue of cultural significance, and its multiple viewpoints. There is a general lack of understanding of the implications of heritage listing, what conservation actually should aim to achieve, and what is actually required by the public.

The case research has illustrated that good conservation practice recognises that tradition and modernity are contradictory but complimentary concepts. Whichever approach is taken, the aim is to give the building the most appropriate form for its culture, within its living context. Whether a building is changed or not, it is important for the evolution of the building to be smooth. The interpretation of culture cannot be short sighted, it is important for it to possess a broad view and consider all cultural views as being equally important.

This thesis has illustrated that conservation has a very important role. The future and the way the past is understood in the future has, to a certain extent, been pre-programmed by what, in the present has been kept and what has been destroyed. What has gone and what will be there in the future will determine what, and how accurately, the past is viewed. No matter what the public requires, what legislation stipulates, or what developer's design, it will never be possible to create or re-create the human element of the past. Accurate representation of the past is vital in order to gain a faithful representation of the past that is significant to all sections of the culture in the present.

If there is one thing that has become apparent through the research of this thesis it is that culture is a multi-perspectival phenomenon that requires careful consideration to be maintained in a meaningful way. It has highlighted that there is a gap in between the way legislation prescribes the means through which culture can be retained and how culture is actually interpreted in practice. This thesis has aimed to illustrate this point through a careful description of the conservation process. It has not aimed to find a definite solution to this problem, but to make practitioners in the field of conservation more aware of the importance of the concept of cultural significance and the multitude of options available at the point in the life of a building when a decision must be made.

Appendix

The Burra Charter

(The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance)

Preamble

Considering the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (Venice 1964), and the Resolutions of the 5th General Assembly of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) (Moscow 1978), the Burra Charter was adopted by Australia ICOMOS (the Australian National Committee of ICOMOS) on 19 August 1979 at Burra, South Australia. Revisions were adopted on 23 February 1981, 23 April 1988 and 26 November 1999.

The Burra Charter provides guidance for the conservation and management of places of cultural significance (cultural heritage places), and is based on the knowledge and experience of Australia ICOMOS members.

Conservation is an integral part of the management of places of cultural significance and is an ongoing responsibility.

Who is the Charter for?

The Charter sets a standard of practice for those who provide advice, make decisions about, or undertake works to places of cultural significance, including owners, managers and custodians.

Using the Charter

The Charter should be read as a whole. Many articles are interdependent. Articles in the Conservation Principles section are often further developed in the Conservation Processes and Conservation Practice sections. Headings have been included for ease of reading but do not form part of the Charter.

The Charter is self-contained, but aspects of its use and application are further explained in the following Australia ICOMOS documents:

- Guidelines to the Burra Charter: Cultural Significance;
- Guidelines to the Burra Charter: Conservation Policy;
- Guidelines to the Burra Charter: Procedures for Undertaking Studies and Reports;
- Code on the Ethics of Coexistence in Conserving Significant Places.

What places does the Charter apply to?

The Charter can be applied to all types of places of cultural significance including natural, indigenous and historic places with cultural values.

The standards of other organisations may also be relevant. These include the Australian Natural Heritage Charter and the Draft Guidelines for the Protection, Management and Use of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Cultural Heritage Places.

Why conserve?

Places of cultural significance enrich people's lives, often providing a deep and inspirational sense of connection to community and landscape, to the past and to lived experiences. They are historical records, that are important as tangible expressions of Australian identity and experience. Places of cultural significance reflect the diversity of our communities, telling us about who we are and the past that has formed us and the Australian landscape. They are irreplaceable and precious.

These places of cultural significance must be conserved for present and future generations.

The Burra Charter advocates a cautious approach to change: do as much as necessary to care for the place and to make it useable, but otherwise change it as little as possible so that its cultural significance is retained.

Articles	Explanatory Notes
Article 1. Definitions For the purposes of this Charter:	
1.1 *Place* means site, area, land, landscape, building or other work, group of buildings or other works, and may include components, contents, spaces and views.	The concept of place should be broadly interpreted. The elements described in Article 1.1 may include memorials, trees, gardens, parks, places of historical events, urban areas, towns, industrial places, archaeological sites and spiritual and religious places.
1.2 *Cultural significance* means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations. Cultural significance is embodied in the *place* itself, its *fabric*, *setting*, *use*, *associations*, *meanings*, records, *related places* and *related objects*. Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups.	The term cultural significance is synonymous with heritage significance and cultural heritage value. Cultural significance may change as a result of the continuing history of the place. Understanding of cultural significance may change as a result of new information.
1.3 *Fabric* means all the physical material of the *place* including components, fixtures, contents, and objects.	Fabric includes building interiors and sub-surface remains, as well as excavated material. Fabric may define spaces and these may be important elements of the significance of the place.
1.4 *Conservation* means all the processes of looking after a *place* so as to retain its *cultural significance*.	
1.5 *Maintenance* means the continuous protective care of the *fabric* and *setting* of a *place*, and is to be distinguished from repair. Repair involves *restoration* or *reconstruction*.	The distinctions referred to, for example in relation to roof gutters, are: • maintenance — regular inspection and cleaning of gutters; • repair involving restoration — returning of dislodged gutters; • repair involving reconstruction — replacing decayed gutters.
1.6 *Preservation* means maintaining the *fabric* of a *place* in its existing state and retarding deterioration.	It is recognised that all places and their components change over time at varying rates.
1.7 *Restoration* means returning the existing *fabric* of a *place* to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material.	

1.8 *Reconstruction* means returning a *place* to a known earlier state and is distinguished from *restoration* by the introduction of new material into the *fabric*.	New material may include recycled material salvaged from other places. This should not be to the detriment of any place of cultural significance.
1.9 *Adaptation* means modifying a *place* to suit the existing *use* or a proposed use.	
1.10 *Use* means the functions of a place, as well as the activities and practices that may occur at the place.	
1.11 *Compatible use* means a *use* which respects the *cultural significance* of a *place*. Such a use involves no, or minimal, impact on cultural significance.	
1.12 *Setting* means the area around a *place*, which may include the visual catchment.	
1.13 *Related place* means a *place* that contributes to the *cultural significance* of another place.	
1.14 *Related object* means an object that contributes to the *cultural significance* of a *place* but is not at the place.	
1.15 *Associations* mean the special connections that exist between people and a *place*.	Associations may include social or spiritual values and cultural responsibilities for a place.
1.16 *Meanings* denote what a *place* signifies, indicates, evokes or expresses.	Meanings generally relate to intangible aspects such as symbolic qualities and memories.
1.17 *Interpretation* means all the ways of presenting the *cultural significance* of a *place*.	Interpretation may be a combination of the treatment of the fabric (e.g. maintenance, restoration, reconstruction); the use of and activities at the place; and the use of introduced explanatory material.
Conservation Principles	
Article 2. Conservation and management **2.1** *Places* of *cultural significance* should be conserved.	
2.2 The aim of *conservation* is to retain the *cultural significance* of a *place*.	
2.3 *Conservation* is an integral part of good management of *places* of *cultural significance*.	
2.4 *Places* of *cultural significance* should be safeguarded and not put at risk or left in a vulnerable state.	
Article 3. Cautious approach **3.1** *Conservation* is based on a respect for the existing *fabric*, *use*, *associations* and *meanings*. It requires a cautious approach of changing as much as necessary but as little as possible.	The traces of additions, alterations and earlier treatments to the fabric of a place are evidence of its history and uses which may be part of its significance. Conservation action should assist and not impede their understanding.
3.2 Changes to a *place* should not distort the physical or other evidence it provides, nor be based on conjecture.	

Article 4. Knowledge, skills and techniques **4.1** *Conservation* should make use of all the knowledge, skills and disciplines which can contribute to the study and care of the *place*.	
4.2 Traditional techniques and materials are preferred for the *conservation* of significant *fabric*. In some circumstances modern techniques and materials which offer substantial conservation benefits may be appropriate.	The use of modern materials and techniques must be supported by firm scientific evidence or by a body of experience.
Article 5. Values **5.1** *Conservation* of a *place* should identify and take into consideration all aspects of cultural and natural significance without unwarranted emphasis on any one value at the expense of others.	Conservation of places with natural significance is explained in the Australian Natural Heritage Charter. This Charter defines natural significance to mean the importance of ecosystems, biological diversity and geodiversity for their existence value, or for present or future generations in terms of their scientific, social, aesthetic and life-support value.
5.2 Relative degrees of *cultural significance* may lead to different *conservation* actions at a place.	***A cautious approach is needed, as understanding of cultural significance may change. This article should not be used to justify actions which do not retain cultural significance.***
Article 6. Burra Charter Process **6.1** The *cultural significance* of a *place* and other issues affecting its future are best understood by a sequence of collecting and analysing information before making decisions. Understanding cultural significance comes first, then development of policy and finally management of the place in accordance with the policy.	The Burra Charter process, or sequence of investigations, decisions and actions, is illustrated in the accompanying flowchart.
6.2 The policy for managing a *place* must be based on an understanding of its *cultural significance.*	
6.3 Policy development should also include consideration of other factors affecting the future of a *place* such as the owner's needs, resources, external constraints and its physical condition.	
Article 7. Use **7.1** Where the *use* of a *place* is of *cultural significance* it should be retained.	
7.2 A *place* should have a *compatible use.*	The policy should identify a use or combination of uses or constraints on uses that retain the cultural significance of the place. New use of a place should involve minimal change, to significant fabric and use; should respect associations and meanings; and where appropriate should provide for continuation of practices which contribute to the cultural significance of the place.
Article 8. Setting *Conservation* requires the retention of an appropriate visual *setting* and other relationships that contribute to the *cultural significance* of the *place.*	Aspects of the visual setting may include use, siting, bulk, form, scale, character, colour, texture and materials.

New construction, demolition, intrusions or other changes which would adversely affect the setting or relationships are not appropriate.	Other relationships, such as historical connections, may contribute to interpretation, appreciation, enjoyment or experience of the place.
Article 9. Location **9.1** The physical location of a *place* is part of its *cultural significance.* A building, work or other component of a place should remain in its historical location. Relocation is generally unacceptable unless this is the sole practical means of ensuring its survival.	
9.2 Some buildings, works or other components of *places* were designed to be readily removable or already have a history of relocation. Provided such buildings, works or other components do not have significant links with their present location, removal may be appropriate.	
9.3 If any building, work or other component is moved, it should be moved to an appropriate location and given an appropriate *use.* Such action should not be to the detriment of any *place* of *cultural significance.*	
Article 10. Contents Contents, fixtures and objects which contribute to the *cultural significance* of a *place* should be retained at that place. Their removal is unacceptable unless it is: the sole means of ensuring their security and *preservation*; on a temporary basis for treatment or exhibition; for cultural reasons; for health and safety; or to protect the place. Such contents, fixtures and objects should be returned where circumstances permit and it is culturally appropriate.	
Article 11. Related places and objects The contribution which *related places* and *related objects* make to the *cultural significance* of the *place* should be retained.	
Article 12. Participation *Conservation, interpretation* and management of a *place* should provide for the participation of people for whom the place has special *associations* and *meanings*, or who have social, spiritual or other cultural responsibilities for the place.	
Article 13. Co-existence of cultural values Co-existence of cultural values should be recognised, respected and encouraged, especially in cases where they conflict.	For some places, conflicting cultural values may affect policy development and management decisions. In this article, the term cultural values refers to those beliefs which are important to a cultural group, including but not limited to political, religious, spiritual and moral beliefs. This is broader than values associated with cultural significance.
Conservation Processes	
Article 14. Conservation processes *Conservation* may, according to circumstance, include the processes of: retention or reintroduction of a *use*; retention of *associations* and *meanings*; *maintenance, preservation, restoration, reconstruction, adaptation* and *interpretation*; and will commonly include a combination of more than one of these.	***There may be circumstances where no action is required to achieve conservation.***

Article 15. Change **15.1** Change may be necessary to retain *cultural significance*, but is undesirable where it reduces cultural significance. The amount of change to a *place* should be guided by the *cultural significance* of the place and its appropriate *interpretation*.	When change is being considered, a range of options should be explored to seek the option which minimises the reduction of cultural significance.
15.2 Changes which reduce *cultural significance* should be reversible, and be reversed when circumstances permit.	Reversible changes should be considered temporary. Non-reversible change should only be used as a last resort and should not prevent future conservation action.
15.3 Demolition of significant *fabric* of a *place* is generally not acceptable. However, in some cases minor demolition may be appropriate as part of *conservation*. Removed significant fabric should be reinstated when circumstances permit.	
15.4 The contributions of all aspects of *cultural significance* of a *place* should be respected. If a place includes *fabric*, *uses*, *associations* or *meanings* of different periods, or different aspects of cultural significance, emphasising or interpreting one period or aspect at the expense of another can only be justified when what is left out, removed or diminished is of slight cultural significance and that which is emphasised or interpreted is of much greater cultural significance.	
Article 16. Maintenance *Maintenance* is fundamental to *conservation* and should be undertaken where *fabric* is of *cultural significance* and its *maintenance* is necessary to retain that *cultural significance*.	
Article 17. Preservation *Preservation* is appropriate where the existing *fabric* or its condition constitutes evidence of *cultural significance*, or where insufficient evidence is available to allow other *conservation* processes to be carried out.	Preservation protects fabric without obscuring the evidence of its construction and use. The process should always be applied: • where the evidence of the fabric is of such significance that it should not be altered; • where insufficient investigation has been carried out to permit policy decisions to be taken in accord with Articles 26 to 28. New work (e.g. stabilisation) may be carried out in association with preservation when its purpose is the physical protection of the fabric and when it is consistent with Article 22.
Article 18. Restoration and reconstruction *Restoration* and *reconstruction* should reveal culturally significant aspects of the *place*.	
Article 19. Restoration *Restoration* is appropriate only if there is sufficient evidence of an earlier state of the *fabric*.	
Article 20. Reconstruction **20.1** *Reconstruction* is appropriate only where a *place* is incomplete through damage or alteration, and only where there is sufficient evidence to reproduce an earlier state of the *fabric*. In rare cases, reconstruction may also be appropriate as part of a *use* or practice	

20.2 *Reconstruction* should be identifiable on close inspection or through additional *interpretation.*	
Article 21. Adaptation **21.1** *Adaptation* is acceptable only where the adaptation has minimal impact on the *cultural significance* of the *place.*	Adaptation may involve the introduction of new services, or a new use, or changes to safeguard the place.
21.2 *Adaptation* should involve minimal change to significant fabric, achieved only after considering alternatives.	
Article 22. New work **22.1** New work such as additions to the *place* may be acceptable where it does not distort or obscure the *cultural significance* of the place, or detract from its *interpretation* and appreciation.	New work may be sympathetic if its siting, bulk, form, scale, character, colour, texture and material are similar to the existing fabric, but imitation should be avoided.
22.2 New work should be readily identifiable as such.	
Article 23. Conserving use Continuing, modifying or reinstating a significant *use* may be appropriate and preferred forms of *conservation.*	These may require changes to significant *fabric* but they should be minimised. In some cases, continuing a significant use or practice may involve substantial new work.
Article 24. Retaining associations and meanings **24.1** Significant *associations* between people and a *place* should be respected, retained and not obscured. Opportunities for the *interpretation*, commemoration and celebration of these associations should be investigated and implemented.	For many places associations will be linked to use.
24.2 Significant *meanings*, including spiritual values, of a *place* should be respected. Opportunities for the continuation or revival of these meanings should be investigated and implemented.	
Article 25. Interpretation The *cultural significance* of many *places* is not readily apparent, and should be explained by *interpretation.* Interpretation should enhance understanding and enjoyment, and be culturally appropriate.	
Conservation Practice	
Article 26. Applying the Burra Charter process **26.1** Work on a *place* should be preceded by studies to understand the place which should include analysis of physical, documentary, oral and other evidence, drawing on appropriate knowledge, skills and disciplines.	The results of studies should be up to date, regularly reviewed and revised as necessary.
26.2 Written statements of *cultural significance* and policy for the *place* should be prepared, justified and accompanied by supporting evidence. The statements of significance and policy should be incorporated into a management plan for the place.	Statements of significance and policy should be kept up to date by regular review and revision as necessary. The management plan may deal with other matters related to the management of the place.
26.3 Groups and individuals with *associations* with a *place* as well as those involved in its management should be provided with opportunities to contribute to and participate in understanding the *cultural significance* of the place. Where appropriate they should also have opportunities to participate in its *conservation* and management.	
Article 27. Managing change **27.1** The impact of proposed changes on the *cultural significance* of a *place* should be analysed with reference to the statement of significance and the	

policy for managing the place. It may be necessary to modify proposed changes following analysis to better retain cultural significance.	
27.2 Existing *fabric, use, associations* and *meanings* should be adequately recorded before any changes are made to the *place*.	
Article 28. Disturbance of fabric **28.1** Disturbance of significant *fabric* for study, or to obtain evidence, should be minimised. Study of a *place* by any disturbance of the fabric, including archaeological excavation, should only be undertaken to provide data essential for decisions on the *conservation* of the place, or to obtain important evidence about to be lost or made inaccessible.	
28.2 Investigation of a *place* which requires disturbance of the *fabric*, apart from that necessary to make decisions, may be appropriate provided that it is consistent with the policy for the place. Such investigation should be based on important research questions which have potential to substantially add to knowledge, which cannot be answered in other ways and which minimises disturbance of significant fabric.	
Article 29. Responsibility for decisions The organisations and individuals responsible for management decisions should be named and specific responsibility taken for each uch decision.	
Article 30. Direction, supervision and implementation Competent direction and supervision should be maintained at all stages, and any changes should be implemented by people with appropriate knowledge and skills.	
Article 31. Documenting evidence and decisions A log of new evidence and additional decisions should be kept.	
Article 32. Records **32.1** The records associated with the *conservation* of a *place* should be placed in a permanent archive and made publicly available, subject to requirements of security and privacy, and where this is culturally appropriate.	
32.2 Records about the history of a *place* should be protected and made publicly available, subject to requirements of security and privacy, and where this is culturally appropriate.	
Article 33. Removed fabric Significant *fabric* which has been removed from a *place* including contents, fixtures and objects, should be catalogued, and protected in accordance with its *cultural significance.* **Where possible and culturally appropriate, removed significant fabric including contents, fixtures and objects, should be kept at the place.**	
Article 34. Resources Adequate resources should be provided for *conservation.*	The best conservation often involves the least work and can be inexpensive.
Words in italics are defined in Article 1.	

Appendix

CRITERIA FOR STATE AND LOCAL HERITAGE REGISTERS

STATE HERITAGE REGISTER	LOCAL HERITAGE REGISTERS
Heritage Act 1993	*Development Act 1993*
Part 4 Registration of Places Division 1 Criteria for Registration Section 16 Heritage Value	Part 3 Planning Schemes Division 2 Development Plans Subdivision 1 Creation of Plans Section 23(4) Development Plans
A place is of heritage value if it satisfies one or more of the following criteria:	**A Development Plan may designate a place as a place of local heritage value if -**
(a) it demonstrates important aspects of the evolution or pattern of the State's history; or	(a) it displays historical, economic or social themes that are of importance to the local area; or
(b) it has rare, uncommon or endangered qualities that are of cultural significance; or	(b) it represents customs or ways of life that are characteristic of the local area; or
(c) it may yield information that will contribute to an understanding of the State's history, including its natural history; or	(c) it has played an important part in the lives of local residents; or
(d) it is an outstanding representative of a particular class of places of cultural significance; or	(d) it displays aesthetic merit, design characteristics or construction techniques of significance to the local area; or
(e) it demonstrates a high degree of creative, aesthetic or technical accomplishment or is an outstanding representative of particular construction techniques or design characteristics; or	(e) it is associated with a notable local personality or event; or
(f) it has strong cultural or spiritual associations for the community or a group within it; or	(f) it is a notable landmark in the area.
(g) it has a special association with the life or work of a person or organisation or an event of historical importance.	

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Illustrations

Unless otherwise stated, all photos taken by the author.

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