Building an institution with emotional labour:
Analysis of a post-industrial art centre, beyond the creative industries

Nina Serova
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Department of Gender and Cultural Studies
School of Philosophical and Historical Inquiry
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
The University of Sydney

Declaration

I declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institute of higher learning, except where due acknowledgment has been made in the text.

Nina Serova

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Abstract

Once established, institutions become systems that imply the naturalness of their political and cultural dynamics. But how are institutions produced? This thesis presents an analysis of the Sydney post-industrial art centre Carriageworks. I argue that Carriageworks' institutionalisation is enabled by social investment – specifically, the emotional labour of those separately involved in establishing, managing and working at the centre, as well as its publics. Given its location in a former industrial railway workshop adjacent to Redfern, a suburb famed for its Indigenous political activism, the establishment of Carriageworks would typically be read either as a welcome answer to urban decline, tied into place competition; or critically, as displacement in the name of cultural regeneration. However, I shift the focus from these creative industries formulations to argue that the establishment of Carriageworks was by no means a historical given. Ethnographic detail of this centre's formation reveals the crucial role of emotional labour (a term I adapt from its beginnings in Arlie Hochschild's work), in allowing this institution to exist and subsequently thrive. In presenting diverse instances of Carriageworks' development, from instantiation to policy formulation, I also emphasise the affective power of its building in not only establishing the centre as an institution, but broadening the terms on which places like it can be valued. In the process, I explore how we can 'deal with' middle-class success, without immediately slapping it down with all analysis suspended, to consequently question the complex ways in which people relate to creative place.

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Introduction

This project looks at the role of emotion in shaping the discourse around cultural centres and their spatial impact. By taking the case of post-industrial art centre Carriageworks in inner Sydney, this study builds on the normative narrative that might conceive of a place like this as urban renewal through creative industries, by introducing the role of emotional labour as a key element that formed this centre into an institution. I argue that rather than assessing such places as having successfully supplanted the economic deficit left behind by the decline of mass-industrial production with cultural industries (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002), or denouncing them for doing so and thus contributing to urban displacement via gentrification (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2013; Ley, 2003; Peck, 2005), by tracing the emotional labour of the key actors involved in the establishment and maintenance of these places, we can gain insight into their process of formation, as well as institutional entrenchment.

This thesis helps us acknowledge the psychic acts of individuals and groups that usher any monumental architecture into existence. This method of understanding policy considers how the emotions of decision-makers, particularly arts bureaucrats, are shaped, complicating existing narratives of creativity and urban regeneration strategies. My approach to studying place introduces nuance to our knowledge of how spatial inequality occurs, without assuming that all people displaced by what we call 'gentrification' are suffering, or even benefitting, in the same way. This study also opens up the frame of reference for understanding human attachments to creative spaces (and even places more broadly), pointing to connections that are more than intellectual. Ultimately, this thesis complicates perceptions of institutional power as an omnipotent dominator, offering insight into how certain conceptions of place and societal norms become allowed or disallowed.

To make its case, this study crafts a particular interpretation of emotional labour by revisiting the birth of the concept with Arlie Hochschild (2012 [1983]), who theorised the

emotional effort of service workers as labour that functions under capital. Emotional labour is pulled out of Hochschild's legacy is bent towards an engagement with literature that considers the function of emotion in narrating place, policymaking and consumption.

Emotional labour at Carriageworks is variously articulated. It can be detected in the romanticised way in which Carriageworks' inception is recounted and the conviction with which a discourse around it is created, with both kinds of telling reducing this complex site to a singular story of success. It shows up in the investment of the bureaucrats who brought the centre into being by forming consultation panels, turning to expert advisers and seeking high-level support when they could have just as easily been indifferent and not 'championed' the project to win over their stakeholders.

It is evident in the testimonials of artists who, inspired by the possibilities of the site's soaring heights, crafted their work in response to the space and shook with frustration about what they saw as imposing corporate interests, all with a compelling notion of Carriageworks' identity and a commitment to their role in making this institution come to life. Emotional labour is seen in the dialectic, which I articulate using Deborah B. Gould's (2009) concept of emotional habitus, between the disaffections of artists refusing commercial imperatives and the government representatives demanding a return on investment, who, in their apparent contest, nonetheless equally enthusiastically 'consume' Carriageworks as a place and, through their engagement are co-constitutive of each other's subject positions and connection to the site. It even appears in the behaviour of the public, which, captivated by the site's post-industrial charisma, enjoys the experience the building conjures. If understood through Adam Arvidsson's (2005) work on consumption labour, in doing so, the public upholds cultural entrepreneurship and architectural authenticity as ideas and catalyses their function as perceptual norms.

As I will explain in the methodology section to follow, the emergence of emotional labour as a theoretical thread was borne out of Carriageworks' seemingly near-universal captivation. This thread refused to recede as a key question driving this thesis: how do we critically account for the centre's middle-class success without immediately slapping it down on

these very terms? Is there anything we can learn from Carriageworks about how urban change happens in its particularity? What rouses desire for particular kinds of space? How are institutions actually formed? In the case of the object of this study, it is the significant emotional response evoked by Carriageworks, both building and organisation, that gets us closest to answering these questions. Although today Carriageworks is influential, charged with values that function as norms — in other words, in a way that implies the naturalness of their existence (cf. Mary Douglas, 1986) — this institution's acclaim was by no means a historical given. It follows that if we look at the ethnographic detail of how a place like Carriageworks is instantiated and the way in which it acquires its reputation, we can illuminate the structural and discursive power that shapes the process of institution-making itself. This is the missing dimension in creative industries critiques: exploring institution-building through close analysis of the detail of formation, including the different forms of labour, affect and investment involved.

By focusing on Carriageworks' various emotional commitments in the following chapters, this thesis does not seek another model that evaluates the adaptive reuse of post-industrial buildings as creative centres, nor does it argue for Carriageworks' exceptionalism at the expense of detecting the impact of broader structural changes or agenda-driven policymaking. Instead, by drawing attention to the detail of Carriageworks' formation, it bypasses the dualisms that often pervade creative industries theorising; whether between art and capital (Caust, 2003), government and capital (Atkinson and Easthope, 2009), or past and present (Taksa, 2003). Such polarities ultimately limit the terms by which the value of a place can be assessed.

To claim that emotional labour is instrumental to institution-building, I draw on a variety of theoretical and disciplinary perspectives, from Stephen Ball's (1993) writing on policymaking, to Adam Arvidsson's (2005) concept of the function of immaterial labour in brands, to social anthropologist Mary Douglas' (1985) work on institutions, among others. Influenced by the work of Doreen Massey (1992), Edward Soja (2008) and Edward Casey (1993), who argued that spatial processes shape social form as much as society shapes space, underlining the use of these concepts is a resolve to maintain a spatial dimension.

These authors help me conduct an analysis of success which takes the relationship between humans and buildings seriously.

Before bringing in my case material, in Chapter 1, I will introduce Carriageworks as a site, revisiting the creative industries argument to assert its contributions and limits to the analysis of Carriageworks, and then moving onto a definition of my thinking behind the emotional labour approach. After establishing the historical context of the site's prehistory as the Eveleigh Railway Workshops and locating the art centre in the history of its local area Redfern in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 reveals the obscured labour in Carriageworks' establishment as a policy, the institution's formative years and the tussle between artists and bureaucrats over its identity. Chapter 4 concludes with a discussion of how emotional attachments drive the public to shape Carriageworks' reputation, probes the affect of the building's built forms and analyses how the site functions within the context of the specific cultural moment which enables some narratives while stifling others.

Chapter 1
Methodology and literature review

Significantly for this thesis, the Carriageworks art centre is situated in a building formerly belonging to the Eveleigh Railway Workshops (operational from 1887–1989), the New South Wales icon of the type of sooty, clanging production that characterised 20th-century industry. In its time, Eveleigh's labour force powered the state rail network and established the terraced suburbs that are still to be found in Darlington, Newtown and Redfern to this day. The workshops' heavy metal past is remembered through sentimental accounts of its scope of manufacture and workplace culture.[1] Among these is former Eveleigh worker Richard Butcher's personal reminiscence, the epilogue for which reads:

> [Eveleigh] provided the fabric to be creative; to make 'a man from a boy'; to give men strength to allow them to give, in turn, to others less fortunate. Whether in depression or war, in an age when 'Steam was King', that expendable energy, like a white shivery ghost, could do work and turned the wheels of not only steam trains but industry itself…She is a dormant Queen awaiting a revival. (Butcher, 2004: vii)

With the building's state-led reinvention as an art space in 2008, Eveleigh's formerly Fordist[2] output was replaced by creative industries. As one of the last sites of mechanical production from inner Sydney was farewelled, Carriageworks, an organisation that creates value from cultural activity, public participation and engagement, took its place. Steelworkers made way for theatre makers (please refer to Appendix 1 for a timeline overview).

Between the two moments of active industrial and successful creative production — from 1887 to 1987, then from 2008 onwards — the Eveleigh site was officially dormant, although its empty buildings were used by artists in the informal economy, a point I will return to. This transformation from one mode to another requires its own descriptive register that accounts for contemporary appeal. Where the industrial yield of its

predecessor was usually captured in enumerated outputs (number of parts manufactured or trains fixed), a quantitative measurement, of say, theatre shows each year, would not reveal Carriageworks' breadth of capacity nor its social and cultural influence. This institution's significance lies in the successful generation of image and affect and the degree to which these qualities are authorised by its cultural and economic context. These 'outputs', I further maintain, are sustained by an invisible quotient, which for convenience, I call emotional labour.

Bringing this labour to the foreground reveals two things: how attachments to place happen and the necessary but contingent means by which institutions are formed. It also enables a way of dealing with middle-class 'success' without immediately dismissing such on these very grounds (that is, that the success is middle-class) and suspending further analysis in favour of cynical disapproval. This is significant, given Carriageworks' rising financial prosperity (Taylor, 2016b) and almost universal appeal among diverse social groups.[3] In the words of the arts ministry worker responsible for Carriageworks' construction, now in a senior role at the local council, 'It's got to be Australia's leading contemporary art space. It's just fantastic.'[4]

Methodology

If I were to follow the analytical path laid down in the literature on the phenomenon of post-industrial art spaces like Carriageworks, my focus of enquiry would hone in on the spatial inequalities that arts-led urban change can create; or, to put this in familiar language, Carriageworks' role in the gentrification of formerly working-class areas. For decades, planners, academics, journalists and artists have grappled with the complexities of the exclusion that gentrification generates and the paradoxical role of artists in this process (Rosler, 2010; Smith, 1996; Zukin, 1982). The argument goes something like this: with the decline of manufacturing, capital leaves the urban centre. Artists seeking cheap rent are drawn to these often-abandoned, formerly industrial spaces and over time, re-shape the reputation of the area as interesting and culturally vibrant. In turn, investors are attracted to the area's new bohemian character and the artists, along with other displaced residents,

are driven out by rising rent (Ley, 2003; Rosler, 2010; Zukin, 1982). In its most recent iteration, critical analyses pursuing this process of unfolding identify a shift from incidental to strategic, with governments using artistic activity to implement urban renewal and limit protest (Binns, 2005; Harvey, 1989; Jakob, 2010, Lim, 1993).

In tracing the evolution of former industrial buildings into cultural sites, a narrative known broadly as urban renewal via creativity tends to highlight the impact of economic shifts that moves capital out and then back into areas formerly sustained by mass-industrial production; and assess the effect of this process on the built environment, the economic activities in the area, its character and of course, the people living there. Post-industrial art centres are typically seen as a nimble evasion of an economic downfall left behind by deindustrialisation (Landry, 2000; Markusen, 2010), or critiqued as the neoliberalisation of culture (Gordon-Nesbitt, 2009; Jakob, 2010) and as the velvet tool of urban redevelopment that displaces vulnerable populations (Chatterton, 2000; Peck, 2005).

While providing fertile ground for critical thinking, when it comes to thinking about Carriageworks' place in its rapidly changing neighbourhood, the application of this framework pulled my analysis into a frustrating impasse. While one could legitimately condemn Carriageworks as an exclusive bourgeois space, my data hummed with an almost universal fondness for the centre, which could not be so easily dismissed. Theoretically, I found myself in a closed loop that proffered a celebratory 'how to' on the way in which creativity can rescue post-industrial spaces and propel cities into the 'new economy', or demanded a story told in the negative that denounced the space entirely based on its commercialisation and perceived inauthenticity. In this thesis I argue that the site's 'success' needs to be analysed in a less dualistic fashion. In the process of my research, neither the pro-market instrumentality of the former, nor the hypercritical search for the supposedly 'truer' subtext in the latter, satisfied. I was plagued by terms that classified Carriageworks as either 'good' or 'bad', and the need to circumvent these reference points.

A similar predicament of dominant discourses presupposing analysis extended to my empirical enquiry. To better understand Carriageworks' development and its reception by

various social groups, I conducted semi-structured interviews with twelve people who were at various points involved with the centre. My interviewees included three representatives from Arts NSW (then known as the NSW Ministry for the Arts), the state government agency charged with the renovation of the site; the administrator responsible for Carriageworks' construction; the current manager of strategic initiatives (who at the time of Carriageworks' establishment, looked after approval and development and brought together a panel of future artistic tenants and relevant experts to consult on the building design); and the current manager of infrastructure policy. To obtain context on local government strategy, I interviewed a City of Sydney Council officer involved in the development of its first-ever cultural policy. I interviewed Carriageworks staff: its first director/CEO; front-of-house manager and its present-day programming director, as well as the architects who led the design work. I also spoke with the curator of Performance Space, one of Carriageworks' founding tenants, and with the inaugurator of the independent arts festival 'Underbelly' (one of the first art events at Carriageworks), as well as with the assistant director of commercial operations of Sydney Contemporary, a commercial art fair that has been held at Carriageworks in recent years. Finally, to better understand the experience of change in Redfern, I interviewed a local Aboriginal man who grew up in the area (it is, of course, not sufficient to quote one Aboriginal person as a representative of all Indigenous people in Redfern, but as with all of my interviews, a more substantial sample was not within the realms of this project).

Informed by a methodological approach prevalent in sociology, the discipline in which I started this project, I used grounded theory to code my data in the hope that my critical angle would emerge. Grounded theory is a methodology that, in contrast to applying an existing theoretical framework, aims to extract new theory through data classification and categorisation (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) (I elaborate on my methods further in Appendix 2).

Systematically coding my interviews, first to determine the key themes in the interviews, and in a second drill, to draw connections between those themes and pull out metanarratives, I analysed what each respondent offered in relation to the various

concepts that emerged from my data, including terms such as 'gentrification', 'cultural policy' and 'community'. This generated some common issues brought up by most of the people interviewed. For instance, many commented on the mismatch between the size of the Carriageworks building and the audiences its artistic tenants were able to generate, and what this implied given the high costs of maintaining such a cavernous space.[5] Some reflected on a perceived usurpation of the centre's artistic purpose by commercial activity, or its role in the changing socio-economic makeup of the area. More often, the interviewees held contrasting viewpoints about the history and operations of Carriageworks, with some pushing commercial outputs and others advocating the needs of creative producers against that same push.

Instead of bringing out a vernacular 'theory', this approach pulled me into a trap of assuming categorisation was doing the work of analysis. The more I scrutinised my interviews piece by piece, the more I was reducing Carriageworks to a sum of its elements — here 'displacement', there 'commercialism'. Although each of the interviewees had a unique and distinctive relationship to the site that was worth probing, using only the preset analytical terms of celebration or condemnation, it was difficult to make sense of how these various perspectives coalesced to shape Carriageworks as an institution.

By paring down candid interviews, abundant with often contradictory reflections on Carriageworks (both as organisation and building) into a collection of themes, I was overlooking the most intriguing detail that bound my disparate respondents together: namely, their forthright opinion and clear passion for this place regardless of vantage point. In retrospect, I realised that it was incredibly easy to find people to interview. Everyone seemed to want to talk about Carriageworks. Similarly, with acclaim in media coverage, government documents and everyday talk, it is clear Carriageworks exerts a 'pull'. However, I found that the process of classification presupposed the theoretical emphases. It wasn't until I rejected the method of 'keywords' that the unifying emotive features became apparent.

As the next section of this chapter will detail, the urban regeneration through the creative industries rubric often assesses the effect on post-industrial spaces with all details assumed, skipping over the messy ways such spaces were established initially and progressed over time. The approach assumes an original master plan, a form of policy intentionality, with the task of analysis being to trace the positive or negative impacts on the ground (Lea, 2012). It omits the process of policy making itself, which is crucial to understanding the complexity of Carriageworks, and the subsequent immersions that make or break a reinvented place. These become assumed, almost magical effects. And if the transformation succeeds in becoming something the middle class colonise, then it is dismissed. This academic outlook is what Gibson-Graham (2008: 618) describe as being 'tinged with skepticism and negativity' and what Bruno Latour likens to conspiracy theorising:

> It is the same appeal to powerful agents hidden in the dark acting always consistently, continuously, relentlessly. Of course, we in the academy like to use more elevated causes — society, discourse, knowledge-slash-power, fields of forces, empires, capitalism — while conspiracists like to portray a miserable bunch of greedy people with dark intents, but I find something troublingly similar in the structure of explanation, in the first movement of disbelief and, then, in the wheeling of causal explanations coming out of the deep dark below. (2004: 229)

When closer attention is paid to how the renewal of a place like Eveleigh into Carriageworks was given effect, there is no blatant villainy or heroism. Beneath the broadbrush economic changes that can be described as post-industrial cultural renovation, we find chance, coincidence and unique contexts created by a convergence of multiple events and the strong force of conflicting investments from different actors in a dialectical relationship with each other. Instead of an ineluctable destiny there is a series of happenstances, including mundane administrative inputs, each of which requiring different forms of emotional commitment. As Stephen Ball (1993: 11) argued of education policies, 'There is ad-hocery, negotiation and serendipity within the state, within the policy formulation process'. At the same time, the physical fabric of post-industrial buildings is

taken for granted in creative industries critiques — even though it is acknowledged that this quality attracts artists with its creative possibilities, and then, with ensuing cultural capital, real-estate investment (Ley, 2003; Zukin, 1982).

This study offers a view on how this process happens by pausing to consider the power of the material conditions that typify post-industrial buildings: the affect of big spaces and atmospheres created by exposed brick and corroded steel. It pauses to ask what power, beyond simply cultural capital, Carriageworks' material conditions might hold in creating its 'success'. In so doing, this thesis accounts for what my interviews reveal as some of Carriageworks' most significant features, recognising them as vital aspects of the assemblage of the experience-making that makes this centre a sought-after place.

Between gentrification and a hard place

Part of the difficulty of writing about creative industries is that they are often positioned as a self-evident explanation for how art is being hijacked by capitalists with a plan to make a real-estate profit, when, at closer inspection, the ideas embedded in their logic are much more complex and culturally determined. Although, as I will show shortly, the former is a common position for critics to take in discussions about post-industrial art spaces, this point of view is not necessarily natural or absolute. To extend understanding of the creative industries beyond their conspicuous appearance as scions of neoliberalism,[6] it is useful to contextualise their pragmatic beginnings in the middle of the 20th-century.[7]

If 'creative industries' seems like an oxymoron, this is in part due to its roots in the Kantian intellectual tradition, in which creativity is derived from aesthetics and represented in the ideal of the 'creative genius' (Hartley *et al.*, 2013: 66) — a figure averse to the market. Creative industries policies nonetheless have ties to the more recently changing relationships between culture, the state and industry. Prior to its widespread popularity in policy and academic circles, the term 'culture industry' was first conceived by Adorno and Horkheimer (2002 [1944]). These Marxists used the concept to critique what they saw as the debasement of the once-autonomous field of culture by the mass market, which they

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saw as promising a false democratisation while instead enacting powerful ideological control.[8]

The significance of culture as an economic driver began to emerge towards the end of the 20th-century, when writers like Daniel Bell (2008 [1974]), Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2000) and others turned their attention to the way in which information, culture and human capital were taking the place of material production in some economies. More specifically, coupled with rising literacy levels, leisure time and the availability of technologies such as the television, the place of culture in policy could not be ignored (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005: 4). On a global level, UNESCO signalled the economic dimension of culture by including it as a factor in the inequality of resources between the north and south of the world. In a local government sphere, which continues to make the most use of the idea of creative industries, culture was first instrumentalised by the Greater London Council[9] and the city of Sheffield to address the effects of deindustrialisation (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005). It was Sheffield that coined the concept of the 'cultural quarter' (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005), which eventually bore the 'creative city' rationale that sees urban development projects as a tool to gain competitiveness on a global scale. But it wasn't until the administration of the New Labour[10] party in the UK in the late 1990s that culture was positioned as having an economic role in itself (Hesmondhalgh, Oakley, Lee and Nisbett, 2015).[11] Although the two are often used interchangeably today, it is at this point that 'cultural industries' shifted to 'creative industries', reconstructing the national understanding of culture from public-funded 'core arts' and heritage to industries that have an economic agenda and encompass media and technology (Garnham, 2006).

Garnham (2006) writes that 'creative industries' was chosen to encompass 'information society' industries such as computer software, technological innovation (a theory within which new products created new markets) and the service industry. The lines between cultural policy and creative industries were blurred deliberately by the New Labour government to justify claims about the sector's growth and potential. This shift transformed the traditional understanding of a citizen as being in need of cultural

education into a consumer who shapes culture with their preferences, thus challenging the high-art elitism designated by the state. This perspective is an alternative one to the belief founded in the tradition of Adorno and Horkheimer (2002 [1944]), which sees culture as being entirely overrun by commodification. I am making this aside to demonstrate that although the commodification of culture is frequently called in to criticise creative industries, this view is not absolute. A wider conversation may condemn funding for the arts as being determined by the market on different grounds — if the success of the industry is measured in economic gain, why does it need to be publicly funded — but also acknowledge the democratisation of culture the creative industries can afford by asking the public, rather than a state authority, what constitutes culture (Garnham, 2006).

At any rate, this new approach was attractive to governments around the world looking to legitimise their management of national economies in the eyes of its public, while simultaneously adopting policies for economic globalisation. Down 'south', creative industries were seen in economic development documents in Singapore (Kong *et al.*, 2006) and in Paul Keating's Australian Labor government's first cultural policy *Creative Nation*, which, similar to the UK, took the form of an economic policy but also stressed national identity and incorporated film, radio and libraries into its remit.[12] Greenfield and Williams (2013: 36) write that as well as being explicitly positioned as a social, cultural and economic policy, *Creative Nation* was 'not simply overdue recognition of a self-evident truth but a concerted shaping and remaking of culture *as* centre-stage'.

So what do creative industries have to do with building projects like Carriageworks? As noted, the concept of cultural quarters that preceded the national interpretations of cultural policies advocated for the reinvention of derelict post-industrial sites with strategies to attract consumption (Mommaas, 2004). With global flows of finance, people and technology increasingly concentrated in cities, city authorities began to aspire for the status of 'global'[13] to attract investment. The economic opportunity of this was captured in the early 2000s by two highly influential authors/consultants, Charles Landry and Richard Florida. UK-based Charles Landry (2000) devised a 'toolkit for urban innovators' to renovate depressed, formerly industrial urban centres, while American Richard Florida

(2002) emphasised the revitalising potential of what he called the 'creative class'. Florida's creative class inverts the usual economic strategies that invest in industrial-scale infrastructure to suggest that regenerative goals can be achieved by attracting creative people with lifestyle-based amenities, such as cafes and art venues. Both Landry's *The Creative City* (2000) and Florida's *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002)[14] have enjoyed spectacular popularity among city authorities (Peck, 2005), including that of the City of Sydney Council, which has used the logic of the creative city to inform its long-term Sustainable Sydney 2030 plan.[15]

While the above draws out the origins of the specific creative city concept, the connection between symbolic capital and urban development is not new. Lewis Mumford (2016 [1938]) and Jane Jacobs (1961) both saw public engagement and creativity, coupled with diversity, as the makings of a good city. Sharon Zukin (1982) is the author best known for making the link between cities and culture in her book *Loft Living* in the 1980s, where she described the process of urban change in SoHo. Zukin teased out the structural elements specific to this part of New York that caused the transformation — artists moving into cheap buildings originally used by small-scale manufacturing, to be eventually priced out by the cost of real-estate when the middle class returned to the city. Zukin describes a dialectical relationship between the supply and demand of housing stock, in which demand is closely tied up with aesthetic qualities and changing lifestyle values. Her work has been used by writers like Martha Rosler (2010) to suggest that the popularity of creativity as a discourse is in part a result of its contrast to the more banal complexity of urban policy.

A great deal of literature debates the implications of the creative city rationale, covering its iterations across different geographic and policy contexts (Evans, 2009), critiquing its effects on the arts (Caust, 2003) and cultural workers (Donegan and Lowe, 2008; McRobbie, 2004), its role in shaping infrastructure (O'Connor, 2004), urban governance (Healey, 2004) and gentrification (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2013; Ley, 2003; Peck, 2005), as well as representations of place (Ratiu, 2013) and rights to the city (Novy and Colomb, 2013). While patrons of the Landry and Florida argument are less common in academic writing (they still maintain popularity in government),[16] discussions persist around how

these ideas can be applied (Hospers and Van Dalm, 2005), their potential (Cameron and Coaffee, 2005), as well as their various take-up by local authorities (Bayliss, 2007; Vanolo, 2008; Zimmerman, 2008). Critical readings assiduously test creative city as a concept (Chatterton, 2000; Gibson and Klocker, 2005; McGuigan, 2009, Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2011). Evans (2005) carried out a detailed analysis of major cultural projects in order to show that a meaningful evaluation model is needed. Ley (2003) has produced work that considers the implication of artists in gentrification, highlighting the role of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) as a mainstay of the process. There is also a feminist critique of creative city thinking that considers the concept's ingrained partialities to existing power structures (McLean, 2014).

While together comprising a comprehensive, diverse and multilayered interrogation of the creative city concept, these authors prefer to do so on a policy or city level, focusing on an implicit dichotomy between art and commerce, leapfrogging over the process of instantiation of particular places. Of course, a minority group of exceptions exist. Andres (2011) contributes by detailing the administrative process involved in the renovation of a former factory into a theatre space, drawing attention to the necessity of alliances and stakeholder engagement. Also useful to my analysis is Lees (2012), who calls on gentrification research to consider the similarities and differences between cities in the global south and north to overcome the predominant positing of the north as universal.

At first blush, I assumed that the creative industries literature, which takes specific places as the objects of study, would be more relevant to my thesis by providing greater detail on how specific cultural renovations took place. Such studies usually take the form of a focus on flagship projects, the most well-known being the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao (Plaza, 2006). Grodarch (2010) helpfully underlines the need to pay attention to localised complexities instead of following broad analyses. Jakob (2010) examines the results or ends of regeneration through culture by looking at an 'arts walk' initiative set up by a neighbourhood management organisation, ultimately arguing that the creative city strategy is an extension of existing urban entrepreneurialism that reinforces exclusion. Closer to home, Wirth and Freestone (2003) demonstrate how Sydney suburbs are being recrafted

for consumption. While these authors effectively evaluate their case studies' involvement in gentrification or debate the role of art and culture in enacting urban change, this is usually done on terms that leave no room for other types of dynamics. Within this structure, it is difficult to interrogate what it means for Carriageworks to evoke such a palpable reaction from its various interlocutors and how this even occurs. It seems that, while the focus might be on place, the tools offered by creative industries don't offer a *sense* of place, nor do they depict the spatial qualities of their sites, how these are constructed and what they mean to the different people who create such places through their different types of participation.

Susan Luckman's (2009) work, which argues for the importance of the environment to fostering creative thinking, brings us closer to this. Through an empirical study, Luckman found that 'environment' and 'vibe' were some of the critical qualities that were identified by artists working in Darwin as enabling their creativity. This has also been suggested by Drake (2003), who in arguing for increased attention to individual creativity, pointed towards location as a source of aesthetic inspiration. Drake is conscious of how individual emotions, perceptions and beliefs, as well as the way in which these function in the collective imagination, construct place. This is helpful for my quest to consider not only creative workers but also other publics who have an intense and passionate relationship to the place in question.

To summarise points thus far: because normative creative industries and renewal theorisations are unable to alone explain the visceral appeal of post-industrial spaces beyond their economic rationales, I have turned to various other literatures to explore what gives spaces their power. Vital to Carriageworks are the sensations and emotional states that are rendered by the social positions and agendas of those involved in its development, the building's own size and post-industrial aesthetic, as well as the climate within which these operate. Carriageworks' various forms of value are central to its institutionalisation. We can interpret these through the investments that people have in the centre, charging it with ideology and political energy. But how do we express the intention or emotional labour of those who make these investments and why this works within their

cultural context? There's something within the various positions people occupy in relation to Carriageworks that propels them to action. To understand this, it is necessary to twist what emotional labour theory allows me to say.

Working with emotional labour

Let me establish my own use of emotional labour with a brief historical overview. This thesis is concerned with a form of labour that may be found within Marx's process of material production. It was first introduced in the late 1960s by Anglophone socialist feminists who challenged the classification of labour as existing within capitalist relations of production, or work for a wage. Their most notable milestone was the argument that because reproductive activities, care and housework are essential to social reproduction, they assist capitalism and should therefore be acknowledged as labour (Weeks, 2007). This thinking is the crucial juncture at which the category of labour was expanded to account for immaterial or non-paid work, if not yet for an account of how emotions can function in economic production, or contribute to the composition of an institution, which is my focus.

Arlie Hochschild's *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (2012 [1983]) is the seminal text that argues for the indispensable role of emotion in capital creation.[17] Hochschild constituted emotional labour as a resource by showing that an employer is able to make money out of the worker's ability to manipulate their own feelings.[18] Workers in specific occupations use techniques of emotional management to serve a company's financial purpose (Hochschild, 2012 [1983]).[19] She describes a flight attendant, who as part of her training for the job is exhorted to smile because, according to her crew pilot, her 'smile is her biggest asset' (Hochschild, 2012 [1983]: 20). Hochschild thus demonstrates how a worker's capacity to induce or suppress feeling and act 'nicer than natural' is harnessed managerially. Put simply, emotional labour is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value on the market (Hochschild, 2012 [1983]: 29).

To an analysis of Carriageworks, the role of emotions as a resource is essential. However, Hochschild's study is focused on uncovering the impact of emotional manipulation on the

individual worker — namely their ability to generate work-appropriate emotional displays (Hsieh, Yang and Fu 2012: 2). It is here that my use of emotional labour diverts from its foundations in service and caring professions, or its applications to other specific occupations. Rather than investigating the individual impact of what it takes to perform this emotional labour, which is the focus of Hochschild's work and its uptake, this study is concerned with the value this kind of emotional work can create: in this case, a 'successful' art institution. I take up the term for two reasons; firstly, because it allows me to explore the nexus between workers, their emotional investments and what this means in relation to a place. Secondly, this particular wording allows me to hang on to the transition of Carriageworks as one type of site of production, a railyard, into another, a centre for contemporary art. In this thesis, emotional labour formulates a range of experiences: from the persistence required by Carriageworks' creative producers to petition for artistic use of the space, to the determination of bureaucrats to 'work' through the hurdles of their administrative tasks to get the place approved and funded, to the managers' exhausting need to focus on minutiae while keeping enthusiasm for the big picture, to finally, the investments of the centre's 'consumers' that were and remain to be necessary to building Carriageworks' reputation as a 'go-to' place.

There is also distinction to be made between 'emotion' and 'affect', which has been widely acknowledged in the literature. In her book *Cruel Optimism*, Lauren Berlant (2011: 15) defines affect as shared, rather than solitary — 'a common historical experience sensed but not spoken' (ibid: 65) — whereas emotion is experienced at the level of subjective experience. Da Costa (2016: 4) elaborates that affect is 'intelligence that is sensed, but has not been signified in knowable forms (such as ideology, mode of production) and determinate structural positions'. For geographer Nigel Thrift (2004), this opens up political possibilities by looking to the senses to understand phenomena that 'precede language, representation and discourse' (Da Costa, 2016). For him, it is a move to a state of being that doesn't preference human emotions. Similarly, in their introduction to the *Affect Theory Reader*, the authors define affect as:

the name we give to those forces — visceral forces beneath, alongside, or generally other than conscious knowing, vital forces insisting beyond emotion — that can serve to drive us toward movement, toward thought and extension, that can likewise suspend us (as if in neutral) across a barely registering accretion of force-relations, or that can even leave us overwhelmed by the world's apparent intractability. (Gregg and Seigworth, 2010: 1)

Rather than being the property of a single person, the emphasis is on the relations between bodies within an active and changing world, wherein different bodies and objects have different affects (Kraftl and Adey, 2008: 215).

The decision to stay with emotion for the majority of this thesis is deliberate. In all instances, other than those specifically indicated to denote public affect (see Chapter 4), this study refers to an individual experience of emotion, rather than a collective one. Moreover, it is critical that these emotions are perceived within the biographical and ideological forces that form them.

Theoretical work focused on the productive value of emotional labour can be found in the work of philosophers belonging to the Italian Operaismo movement,[20] Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt.[21] Hardt and Negri usefully gesture towards the escalating prevalence of what they call 'immaterial' labour in their ambitious book *Empire* (2000) as well as in subsequent publications *Multitude* (2004) and *Commonwealth* (2011).[22] The authors identify a new type of worker within an era they see as characterised by the provision of services and manipulation of information, in contrast to a former capitalism constituted by the might of industrial production (Hardt and Negri, 2007). One of the three trends Hardt and Negri (2011: 132) see as reconstructing labour in this new paradigm is the growing ubiquity of symbolic, aesthetic and social qualities in the process of creating value for commodities within capitalist production. They suggest that images, information, knowledge, affects, codes and social relationships are beginning to outweigh material commodities (ibid: 132).[23]

This seems to neatly fit the transformation of a railyard into an art centre, the function of which is to tell stories and thus produce meanings that can be capitalised upon in commercial terms — particularly if considered from the perspective of cultural industries, where artistic producers are often pegged as new economic drivers. However, the more compelling aspect of Hardt and Negri's thinking is their emphasis on this immaterial labour being that of both the 'head and the heart' (Hardt and Negri, 2004: 108). One is 'primarily intellectual or linguistic, such as problem solving, symbolic and analytical tasks' and the other, corporeal and affective, or 'labor that produces or manipulates affects such as a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement or passion' (ibid: 108). Neither operates in isolation, so a distinction between body and mind, or rationality and emotion, is not required. Despite a frustrating absence of a practical application of their concepts (and some conceptual slippages),[24] in relation to the labour involved in Carriageworks' formation, this approach allows us to query the normative divide between policy as rational and creativity as illogical or even frivolous.

This point is critical to the discussion in Chapter 3, which explores the emotional states of various professionals, both artistic and administrative, involved in constructing Carriageworks as a policy and organisation. While in literature on emotions in the workplace, feelings and affective states are sometimes framed in opposition, or as inferior to rationality (Elster, 1999 in Fineman, 2006: 11), my intention is to draw out emotion as a driving force without distinguishing it from reason. Beliefs and feelings are mutually constitutive (Fineman, 2006: 11) and together influence the decisions of the policymakers, artists and managers who shaped Carriageworks. This acknowledgement of rationality and emotion together is necessary because cognitive behaviour is inevitably tied to politicised discourses in which it takes place (Fineman, 2006: 12). That is to say, decisions are always influenced by their settings, which are imbued with various forms of hierarchical control, power contests, cultural clashes and existing biases (Neff, forthcoming). All of these require an emotional stake. Considering how the critical decisions that shaped Carriageworks' construction were thus made in these emotionally-laden settings, Gould's (2009) concept of emotional habitus can help us understand the significance of the actors' affective investment. Gould extends Bourdieu's (1986) habitus — a social understanding or schema

that provides people with a 'sense of the game' and structures individual and social practices — to encompass the realm of feeling (Gould, 2009: 33).

Emotional habitus operates beneath conscious awareness to provide people with a sense of what to feel, affording some feelings a natural quality and making other emotional states unintelligible or inexpressible (Gould, 2009: 34). Gould suggests that in this relationship between the body and the social, individual affective states are influenced by their emotional habitus. This concept is useful to my analysis in three ways: it theorises the emphatic relationship of the artists and managers/bureaucrats to Carriageworks and each other; opens up room for the role played by the building's affect or 'pull' that is more than intellectual or pragmatic; and helps us justify emerging stereotypes within stories that are told from memory and therefore reflective of cultural influence in the midst of the telling.

Building on this body of work, I will argue that emotional labour from various actors is crucial to not only bringing a policy intervention like Carriageworks into the world, but providing life support for it to continue. Emotional labour can be observed in all participants, despite traditional conceptions of the function of their role in institution-building. At the risk of invoking the superficiality that underlies corporate jargon such as 'creative management', I argue that canny thinking and an emotional investment were central to the policymakers' manoeuvring, which secured almost $50 million for the construction of a public art space. I also see these qualities in the work of the artists, who were inextricably linked to Carriageworks' establishment and thus lay claim to it as a place that needs to be guarded from intervening commercial presence. Emotional work is present in the negotiations required from its two directors to navigate and herd the often-opposing claims to this space made by various stakeholders. Finally, it can be seen in the public's corporeal response to the Carriageworks building — which I cast via an encounter with the 'sublime' as proposed by Kant (1997 [1764]), among others — as well as in its consumption labour (Arvidsson, 2005), which is offered by people who are performing an idea of culture (Yúdice, 2003). So far, I have referenced the key writers whose work has influenced my thesis, but as specific ideas come into view, I will refer to further literature that informs my argument.

Before I finish, I will acknowledge that alternative means of theorising Carriageworks might have been via literature that explores more-than-human relations, conceiving of the centre as an entanglement of interactions between multiple entities, including inanimate ones. One way to do this would be through the work of Nigel Thrift (2008), a geographer whose non-representational theory accounts for movements, performances, affects and more, all the while bracketing human cognition as the only way to access the world. In discussing atmospheres of fear in cities, Thrift gestures towards the existence of an affective force.

Or, it could take the direction of Bruno Latour, one of the first proponents of the actor–network theory that preceded Thrift's theorising, whose book *Aramis, or, The Love of Technology* (Latour, 1996) is an excavation of a French train transit system that never came to be. In this book, Latour undertakes a 'postmortem' of Aramis, the beginnings of which were fuelled by government and public fanfare; Latour charges the system that never materialised with a 'voice' of its own. While this thinking opens up questions around the capacity of non-human agents to hold power and the way in which this power impacts access to resources (in my case, the reality of a major intervention coming to fruition), it doesn't conclusively resolve how humans respond to these inanimate bodies.

More inspiring, although like Latour's work existing outside of the field of the built environment, is Ash Amin's (2014) thinking on infrastructures. Amin considers infrastructures such as roads, underground piping or electrical systems as socio-technical processes with agentic capabilities (Amin, 2014). He writes that 'the circulation of sights, smells, sounds and signs, or the assemblage of buildings, technologies, objects and goods, are seen to shape social behaviour as well as affective and ethical dispositions' (ibid: 139), suggesting that the human interior and the environment around it needn't be separated. In writing about the affective and aesthetic qualities of urban infrastructure, Amin is conscious of the way public sentiments are attached to iconic structures (ibid: 138). This methodology, also endorsed by Brian Larkin (2013), incorporates political as well as poetic modes of infrastructure — a balance which was difficult to strike in my study of Carriageworks. While Amin in collectively shared affects make the present liveable (ibid:

157), in future work I could make infrastructure analogous to buildings and employ this thinking as an access point to understanding the process of an art centre's institutionalisation.

Notes on discipline

No single model offered a template for how to write about Carriageworks as a place. Writing that combines critical thinking and journalistic, even literary expression, such as the work of Andrew Ross and Rebecca Solnit, offered inspiration. Ross' *The Celebration Chronicles* (1999) is an account of Disney's foray into housing development with a town called Celebration, built in the 1990s. The book's glaringly profit-driven subject matter could have resulted in a cynical account of the perils of private suburbanism. Yet Ross' perceptive analysis approached Celebration with pointed nuance that considered the town's multiple, interrelated elements, from architectural styles to the force of the media in affecting public sentiment. The author achieves this without ever forgetting the influence of Disney's unique position as an entertainment behemoth and the pervasive power of its brand in entrenching its company values in the town.

Although I did not execute a year-long ethnography like Ross, his approach to the 'actors' in his story is encouragingly conscientious: Celebration residents appear self-aware and active in shaping their town's destiny rather than being positioned as a one-dimensional mob on the lookout for a real-estate deal. Ross is interested in the temporal flux of Celebration's establishment years. In his account, the town is full of contradictions that together form a story of a fascinating place. Ross picks at the backstage detail of why this is so, involving analyses of Celebration's aesthetic peculiarities, infrastructural troubles and the political and cultural context that shaped the town's existence. This book helped me appreciate the multidimensional, often conflicting nature of Carriageworks, in lieu of attempts to iron these out; it also suggested the different lenses through which a place can be analysed, from it pressing into peoples' identities, to the guiding dynamics of the housing market.

Rebecca Solnit helped me consider how power structures are embedded into cities and other types of landscapes. She blends the historical and the contemporary and often commits pages to describing objects and atmospheres. What is crucial is the merger of the political and the symbolic and to reflect this, Solnit's language moves between factual and fictional prose. Her use of evidence is indiscriminate but always crucial to driving an argument and opening up to multiple perspectives, meaning that Solnit can reference Hannah Arendt, American photographer Richard Misrach and a Navajo medicine person seamlessly and purposefully in the one essay (Solnit, 2007: 146–159).

As mentioned earlier, this study commenced in sociology. However, the project did not truly get its groove until it found its home in cultural studies. This transition paralleled my theoretical and methodological conundrum. Departing from an established creative industries approach, which favoured broad theorisations over particularities, meant experimenting with ideas borrowed from various fields. For this reason, this intellectual trajectory warrants a rationale.

My objective to understand Carriageworks as a place and its implications in its local area was limited by a standard formulation that positioned the centre as a case study of a well-documented phenomenon: that of arts-led gentrification. A cultural studies method allows me to account for both the special qualities of this place and the overarching forces that shaped it. Rather than searching for evidence to prove a 'theory' of urban change, I took Carriageworks as my first access point and explored the way things worked in this place in particular.

In an essay in which he defines cultural studies, Lawrence Grossberg (1997: 255) states that 'an event or practice (even a text) does not exist apart from the forces of the context that constitute it as what it is'. We cannot assume that the movement of capital in and out of the inner city has shaped Sydney's urban landscape in the same way that it has in Neil Smith or Sharon Zukin's New York; context allows us to borrow ideas around art and gentrification selectively and sensitively.

Moreover, an analysis of the context and power structures that shaped Carriageworks exposes more than how post-industrial art centres are constituted. It shows us the specific ways in which spatial inequality is articulated, how attachments to place happen and what institution-building can look like. According to Grossberg:

> [Cultural studies] rejects the notion that people have some authentic original experience that defines the truth against which power is an external mystifying divine force…But if we could challenge and change these structures of perception and experience — by understanding the apparatuses of power that have produced these particular binarisms — we would not get back to some original untainted truth; there is no such thing. (1997: 260)

To follow, it is necessary to find a way to avoid an essentialist view of Carriageworks as strictly a capitalist space — where because of the centre's entrepreneurialism, it can only be judged on these terms. And yet, cultural studies is a discipline that was founded in Marxism (Hartley, 2003: 88), opposed to ideas of culture as only existing in the forms constituted by dominant classes (ibid: 33), and used to arguing from the position of the underdog (specific to the field's understanding of policy, this has often led to evaluations of the effect of policy on its intended, likely disadvantaged, recipients (O'Regan, 1992: 409)). This makes the task of critiquing a place that is 'successful' from the perspective of the middle-class, difficult.[25]

What cultural studies does do, however, is allow me to incorporate various approaches, the structural and the sensory, without reducing one human practice at the expense of another (cf. Grossberg, 1997: 255). This field enables the minutiae of the everyday — such as the lived experience of formative administrative work — to be seriously considered as a vital element in the making of this place. In the end, fulfilling a grounded theory approach, I listened to the data, but I did so by letting go of any expectations of uncovering a 'totalising theory', inspired by a reframing of academic subjectivity as proposed by Gibson-Graham (2008). They suggest that as a means of getting theory to yield something new, a method that reduces reach and 'refuses to know too much', could help us better understand mundane forms of power (Gibson-Graham, 2008: 619).

They say:

> Weak theory could be undertaken with a reparative motive that welcomes surprise, tolerates coexistence, and cares for the new, providing a welcoming environment for the objects of our thought. (Gibson-Graham, 2008: 619)

Aided by a discipline which, methodologically, not only encourages experimentation but sees this as implicit to how research can be done, this thesis presents Carriageworks as the kind of place which in Doreen Massey's words is a:

> meeting-place, of jostling, potentially conflicting, trajectories. It is set within, and internally constituted through, complex geometries of differential power. This implies an identity that is, internally, fractured and multiple. (Massey, 2007: 89)

Chapter 2
Background on railway past and Redfern

When you walk into Carriageworks, you immediately feel small. Its architecture has an almost therapeutic effect, as if the expanse around and overhead invites relaxed introspection. Being here alone is comfortable. The building's acoustics subdue foot scuffles and if visited outside a weekend or special event, the space can be enjoyed in an almost solitary way. Although the building itself looks angular and grey, it is illuminated by warm, friendly light that filters through the ceiling and windows. Pushing the heavy glass doors at entry, you walk into the main foyer to which all of the centre's theatres are attached. There is ample seating and magazines strewn across a long communal table, so even if not attending an exhibition or heading for the in-house bar, you can be comfortably idle. The front desk is situated quite a distance from the entrance, removing any pressure to explain one's presence or interact with staff. This space is essentially, 'public'. There are no immediate obligations to perform as the visiting stranger. There's even free wi-fi.

Counter-intuitively, it is the size of the building, originally built at a scale fit for trains not people, that feeds this inviting atmosphere. As Carriageworks' associate director 'Lana' attests: 'Everyone walks in and goes, "Oh my God, the architecture".'[26] In part, this references the award-winning architectural work behind the building's reinvention, but mostly, Lana is talking about the heritage skeleton left behind by the Eveleigh Workshops. 'Adrian', the architect who led the conversion captures the building's poetry in his own way:

> There's this atmospheric quality that the building has. The social history of the site, the factory, the transformation from industrial place to art...When I look at a site, I consider partially its physical [elements], but it's also the voices of history. Who were those people? What were their values? What were their experiences?[27]

Adrian is attuned to Carriageworks' geographical positioning within what at the time of construction was considered to be the city's emerging 'creative corridor'. He also sees the art centre as a metaphor for the evolution of Sydney, where sweaty manufacturing gave way for cultural production, 'opening up' the restricted factory building to the public for the first time.

> At first we thought we [just] inherited this enormous space, a great shed with incredible light. But as we looked some more, we realised that it was never seen like that because it was a factory full of these great timber hulks that moved through the carriages to construction. It was a building full of incomplete structures. And that's now part of this narrative, the terminology from the factory that is used to name the various performance spaces.[28]

Not least of all, he is touched by the striking cosmetic features of the inherited structure, such as its spectacular ability to take in natural light.

> With the sun coming through the roof, a shadow [from the original structure] casts light on the new building, [creating] a 'mother and child' dynamic — there is this ethereal relationship. The light also has a poetic overlay, moving during the day like a sundial. When I go to Carriageworks and see the shadows and their differences, I can tell it is afternoon because of the way the sun sweeps across.[29]

Fig 1. *Sydney Buddha* (2015) by Zhang Huan. Image credit: media-cdn.tripadvisor.com/media/photo-s/07/38/1e/1b/carriageworks.jpg

Moving away from these allegorical interpretations, Adrian describes the practicalities of his approach. He deliberately placed the theatre spaces inside the scaffolding in a way that doesn't obstruct anyone's view of it, so the inside of the original building can be exhibited in its entirety. This 'anti-theatre' design acknowledges the liberal nature of street theatre and performance artists for whom Carriageworks was purportedly established, by disrupting the conventional division between audience and back-of-house.[30]

As compelling as the architecture is the art presented within it. Taking the last couple of years as an example, Carriageworks has hosted influential international artists, whose exhibitions have installed gigantic scaffolding with a rattling conveyor belt of baby photographs, a five-metre Buddha made from ash (pictured on p.27), and covered the floor with the entire contents of an artist's mother's home. The centre's various spaces have been made pitch black and immersive, the floor lighting up in tandem with a piercing electronic composition, presented a powerful dance performance charged with complex cultural politics, and hosted massive parties curated by queer artists who challenge ideas around gender. All of Sydney's high-profile art festivals have a presence at Carriageworks, as do big-budget commercial events like Fashion Week and an art fair that sells works for hundreds of thousands of dollars.

The programming is critically praised, diverse in creative form and has an impressive geographic reach. In one day, you could attend a pickling workshop run by a local independent artist and see a famous act like Grace Jones. The centre is often a venue for music festivals, as well as intimate artist talks, and every Saturday, thousands of people and their pet dogs stream in to buy artisanal cheese, fresh flowers and produce from New South Wales farmers. With its weighty physical form, palpable working-class biography and at once prestigious and experimental, local and international and often socially-minded artistic offerings, there's a sense of integrity about Carriageworks.

It is a seductive place and depending on one's position, offers rich material with which to acclaim or critique. Even as a researcher I give myself away in being coaxed in by Carriageworks, my attempt to portray its affect slipping into clichés. Who can argue against

Carriageworks' spectacular architecture? Or its ability to host grand art festivals and independent producers, all at a relatively low cost? For some, Carriageworks, as an institution, represents the democratic ideals of art and cultural citizenship, adorned in a contemporary and appropriately gritty aesthetic. Yes these qualities could be read from the opposing perspective just as well, conceiving of its post-industrial design as trite, its public as exclusively bourgeois and the centre's very presence as a predictable consequence of Sydney's gentrification. Instead of evaluating Carriageworks on these terms, I stress that the emotive nature of such arguments is in itself productive of insight. Many of these sentiments are today implicit in forming powerful attachments to this institution, from governments to wider publics.

Indeed, the Carriageworks 'site' has never been a dispassionate place. The Eveleigh Workshops and their wider local area, Redfern, are both notable for their specific, sometimes intersecting working-class, ethnically and culturally diverse and politically-charged histories. Emotional retellings of these histories shape Sydney's collective memory of them, but have also been taken up by Carriageworks as cultural resources that help narrate the centre's inclusively creative present, forming part of the centre's institutional identity and claims to authenticity.

This chapter is an account of Carriageworks' prehistory and key events and tensions in its suburb, Redfern. Rather than taking Carriageworks' industrial past as a now-defunct but historically significant component of Sydney's urban, political and economic development based on its manufacturing achievements, or indulge in nostalgia about a bygone era, I want to revisit Eveleigh with special attention to the metanarrative of its tellings: the fondness with which Eveleigh is regarded by its workers. This affection is the reason why former employees continue to reminisce about their time there and until recently, regularly gathered at Eveleigh to commemorate the old workshops and share stories from the past.

Similarly, the indisputable economic and cultural transformation that is sweeping through Redfern today is not only significant for straightforward reasons of displacement or spatial justice based on everybody's 'right to the city' (Harvey, 2008). The emotional attachment of

those being expelled and those replacing them reveals resonances that are specific to this area. Beneath the various discourses that have been deployed about Redfern — its working-class legacy, its Aboriginal political and cultural marrow, its real-estate value 'waiting' to be realised — are emotional responses, which help us discern how conceptions of the Carriageworks site and its neighbourhood have formed. To take just one example, if we pause to closely consider the appetite for real-estate for dilapidated inner-city building stock, we can analyse how urban change in Redfern happens and what this means for Aboriginal people living there, in the process deepening our understanding of the context critical to Carriageworks' absorption of Indigeneity into its 'authentic' image, as examined in Chapter 4. The contest for the Carriageworks space was never just between independent arts and big government corporatisation. The other voices of this place are those of former workers and long-term residents of Redfern, who are being both symbolically incorporated and physically excluded.

Emotional attachments show us exactly why this place matters beyond its manufacturing output and why the building's future matters too. It is the reason people commit emotional labour to preserving Eveleigh's memory according to their own intentions and agitate for a continuing Aboriginal presence in the area. Pursuing emotional labour is what allows us to resist perceptions of these claims as universal, thus pulling analysis out of justifying one group's interest over another's. For example, in my interview with the manager of strategic initiatives at NSW Ministry for the Arts (I will refer to her as 'Ellen'), I suggested that former workers had intentions to preserve Eveleigh's memory by turning it into a rail museum (this information had been shared with me by another interview respondent, 'Sam').[31] Irritated, presumably from having to repeatedly respond to such claims, Ellen rebuffed the idea, saying that 'social history should not be a rationale for a dull site.'[32] This poses questions of how we evaluate whether a place is dull, or who should have the power to determine it so — a quandary to which there is no objectively 'right' answer. Emotional labour allows glib judgements. This isn't to say that all demands for Carriageworks and Redfern are equal, but to argue the exact opposite: that the site's ever-contested nature can show that rationales that at first glance seem singular and self-evident are in fact always

subjective and dynamic. It is the particular interaction of these subjectivities that renders this place meaningful to people.

Romancing the railway

Every day, thousands of train commuters heading into the inner city from the west or south of Sydney pass the brown bricks of the former Eveleigh Railway Workshops. Their charming zigzag-topped facades stare back at the passengers. Altogether, the workshops sit on either side of the rail lines, as if they are a gateway into Sydney's commercial centre. In fact, built to service the railway, these buildings were deliberately designed to address the tracks. The entire site is large and open, enabling a passer-by to see the majority of the buildings from their train window.

From the beginning, the Carriageworks space has commanded passionate adherence. Eveleigh is special for its former workers, many of whom had built their careers and identities around their former trade there. It is also a place of significance for trade unionists and labour historians, who appreciate its role in establishing workplace mandates that have nationwide importance to this day. Eveleigh is also an extraordinary site for steam-era romantics, who count among themselves heritage specialists, blacksmiths, photographers and authors. For them, the site is a cathedral of steam-age technology and Victorian architecture that was built to last.

Fig 2. Brand new locomotive 5801 on display at Eveleigh. Image credit: Sydney Morning Herald

Long before its renovation into an art centre was even suggested, people committed efforts to carving out a narrative for Eveleigh's future. A reverence for the Workshops as a symbol of homegrown industrial production and workers' rights, mobilised people to make the preservation of its heritage a salient issue. Following Eveleigh's closure in 1989, various interested groups agitated for the workshop complex to be listed on the state and federal heritage registers. There was also talk of it being conserved as a rail museum.[33] Although this never happened, its industrial legacy and social history have since been documented in volumes (see Barrell, 2005; Milliken, 1996; Taksa, 1999; 2000; 2003; 2005; 2009).

There are many reasons why Eveleigh's legacy is so passionately upheld. Its fabric was built to endure decades of grunt work necessary to keep the state's expanding rail network moving. Providing employment on a huge scale, it was a place of unusual class acceleration, driven by the workers' ability to organise and rally for better conditions (Taksa, 2000). A connected social world sprawled outside its walls as workers set up the homes that form the terraced suburbs that remain to this day.

Prior to Eveleigh's establishment, there were no other facilities for the construction of locomotives in NSW, despite the pressure created by the rapid expansion of the state's railway. There was a repair site at Redfern Station (today's Central Station), but this was soon deemed too small and the NSW Government purchased 62 hectares of land from the estate of John Chisholm to build new workshops. These were positioned on both sides of the railway line leading to the city's main terminal. Eveleigh opened in 1887, however the development of the Workshops continued into the 1890s. The Workshops were entirely government-funded, an anomaly of civic pride, given the famously private, venture capital-driven railways in Britain and North America. Its vision was to be a completely self-contained hub capable of fulfilling every kind of locomotive requirement (Milliken, 1996: 21). The Workshops even had their own power supplies, hydraulic, steam and compressed air, as well as dedicated water and electricity to feed these systems (Australian Technology Park, 2016). For over 100 years, Eveleigh assiduously assembled, overhauled and maintained rolling stock, manufactured metal components and upholstered and painted carriages. Although it was responsible for the full manufacture of some locomotives, two

particular models of which (the C36 and C38 Classes) are regarded as feats of Australian engineering (Milliken, 1996: 25), for the most part the focus was on maintenance and production of tools and machinery.
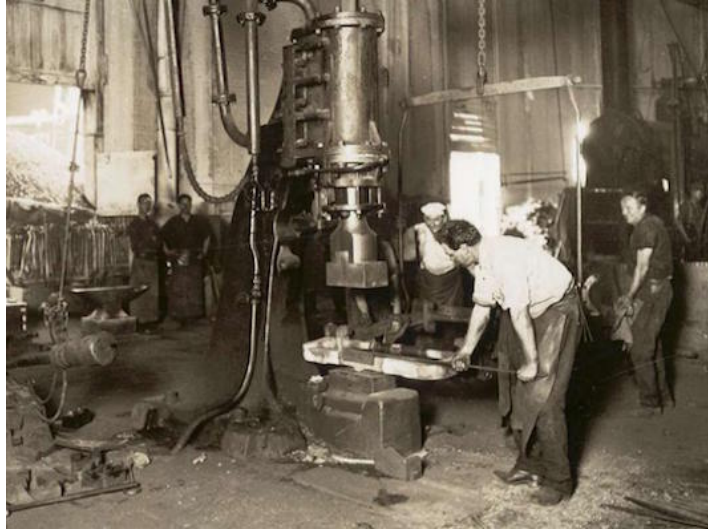
Fig 3. Metal forging at Eveleigh Railway Workshops, 1926.
Image credit: State Records New South Wales (NRS17420 601/32 2317 15948)

Today, Eveleigh is depicted as the poster child of the glory days of industrial production and colonial prowess that modernised the state. This is expressed in detailed accounts of its scale of manufacture and technically complicated descriptions of machinery and architectural forms. Lucy Taksa, a labour historian who has written about Eveleigh extensively, states that the Workshops were some of the largest and most advanced of their time (Taksa, 2005: 8). For the NSW Office of Environment and Heritage (2016), they 'represent the pinnacle of manufacturing achievement in NSW…the equipment was once (and remains to be) the best collection of heavy machinery from the period'. The register also adds, '[t]he Eveleigh Locomotive Workshops are the largest surviving, intact railway workshops dating from the steam era in Australia, and possibly the world' (ibid). Eveleigh can boast an international accolade too, with the Smithsonian Institute in the United States recognising it as having global heritage significance (ibid). Vivid descriptions of Eveleigh's sounds often provide an additional sensory dimension to the memory of this place.

As well as posthumously, Eveleigh's technological aptitude was praised in its day. During their working life, the Workshops fuelled a debate around whether Australian manufacturing was capable of building its own locomotive models, given the NSW Government Railways still imported stock from Britain and North America (Milliken, 1996). Eveleigh also enjoyed impassioned proclamations about its manufacturing grandeur in journalistic accounts. Milliken (1996: 21) quotes this 18 July 1891 edition of *Illustrated Sydney News*:

> Here is an undertaking in which the State, as an employer, eclipses and overshadows all private contemporary enterprises…for the perfection of its machinery and appliances, its equal is not to be found in the Southern Hemisphere…for a large model industry, conducted on profitable lines, we do not know where to look for a happier illustration than the workshops at Eveleigh.

The entire Eveleigh site encompasses multiple buildings: the main Locomotives Workshops, Foundry, Large Erecting Shop, The Manager's Office, Coppersmiths, Welders and other smaller shops on the south side of the tracks, which were redeveloped into Australian Technology Park (ATP) in 1991; and the Carriage Workshops, the Blacksmiths, Paint Shop and other smaller facilities on the north side. The former Carriage Workshops and Blacksmith' Shop are the buildings used by the present Carriageworks art centre. Whereas the facilities on the south side focused on locomotives and rolling stock, as its name implies, the Carriage Workshop was used to repair and design train carriages and wagons. It was predominantly a timber workshop, counter to the mostly metal works over the other side of the rails. Richard K. Butcher, who started at Eveleigh as an apprentice tradesman and went on to work as an engineer, describes the handcrafting process:

> New carriages were designed and made here, with their parts fashioned from now-rare Australian forest timbers; all varnished, stained, or French polished and meticulously assembled by master craftsmen. Painters applied intricate scrolled motifs to carriages, gold foil to carriage identification numbers and worked hard to create fine hand painted

carriages. Carriage trimmers added that luxury interior finish to car compartments. (Butcher, 2004: 12)

From early on, Eveleigh was a site for expertise in steam-powered locomotives, with its workers — blacksmiths, boilermakers, fitters, turners — highly advanced craftsmen with specialist knowledge (Milliken, 1996: 23). And just as the workers' labour was the crux of this industrial megalith, so did Eveleigh play a significant part in shaping its peoples' identities around Eveleigh's industry. Many men who started as apprentices and tradesmen rose through the ranks to become senior managers, thus the Workshops started careers that became a life's pursuit (Otto Cserhalmi and Palmi, 2003). Milliken (1996: 25) quotes an author of a 1984 Conservation Study of Eveleigh:

> They were among the brightest from what was known as the upwardly mobile working class, men who, a couple of generations later, would have gone on to university education. There was a mystique about the railways then, and they snapped up the best apprentice material.

The workers took pleasure in wielding their mastery and shared a sense of patriotism, as Eveleigh's work indicated to the nation that its industrial reliance on the 'mother country' could be circumvented (Barrell, 2005). According to Butcher (2004), for the people that worked there, Eveleigh was not merely a workplace but a whole way of life. It represented a belief in the future made by the toil of the working man and woman and a government that enabled it. In the epilogue of his personal recollections of his life there, Richard Butcher eulogises the Eveleigh Workshops with great devotion:

> Eveleigh had a 'heart and soul'. She forged friendships that would last a lifetime for the men and women who served there. To these everyday Aussies, she was an inspiration for another day; a gentle giant who, under her old wrought iron roof, sheltered and protected as well as united, men from all walks of life, including the hundreds of overseas migrants who came to our shores…Her long alley ways, disappearing into a void or mist and the warmth from her forge fires warmed the heart… (Butcher, 2004: viii)

Fig 4. Group portrait of workmen. Image credit:
City of Sydney Archives (SRC25006,
2013/386449)

Although there was some housing already in the area, residential growth was spurred by
Eveleigh workers settling in cottages surrounding the workshops. Dense living encouraged
interaction, as did common religious beliefs and union and committee picnics, which were
all important parts of peoples' calendars. Drinking at local hotels provided further social
lubrication (Taksa, 2000: 26). Kinship networks at Eveleigh were common too, among
women upholsterers and cleaners (Taksa, 2000: 19) and through the tradition of sons
following their fathers into the railway (ibid: 21).

> My father was a railway man, my namesake uncle, he was a railway man. My brother was a
> railway man. I became a railway man. Two of my daughters became railway women. In fact,
> my elder daughter became the secretary to the Chief Mechanical Engineer. Then when I got
> appointed Chief Mechanical Engineer she became my boss and so, yeah, it was a big family, a
> lot of people put a lot by it. It was an industry that you were proud to be involved with.
> (Casley, 2012)

A community was built based on political affiliations (Taksa, 1999). Eveleigh was highly
unionised and many of its workers belonged to the Australian Communist Party and were
supported by the emerging Labor Party.[34] Workers successfully mobilised to establish an
eight-hour workday, a five-day week, minimum rates of pay and better sanitary conditions.

Union talks were given in an area in the main Locomotives building, which was unofficially dubbed 'Red Square'. An event telling of Eveleigh's working culture was the 1917 strike. The strike was roused in opposition to a Taylorist timecard system and was large enough to spill over into industries other than rail. Thousands of workers walked off the job for two months. The strike ended in a sweeping defeat and strikers were sacked or if re-hired, done so with harsh penalties. Strikers were vilified by loyalists as 'lily whites' for years to come, with opponents refusing to share meals and conversations (Barrell, 2005).

Fig 5. Eveleigh Workshops during the 1917 strike.
Image credit: State Archives & Records
(15309_a015_000010)

Eveleigh's role in the lives of its workers is often portrayed poetically and the workshops affectionately anthropomorphised ('she was a gentle giant', 'pumping life-blood'). Former workers like Butcher, who campaigned for Eveleigh to be preserved as a rail museum, see the Workshops' closure as the loss of a time when Australia could call itself a 'world-beater' in technological excellence, making way for the 'easiest and cheapest route forward' (Butcher, 2004: 3). He says:

> Perhaps in this new millennium, Eveleigh shall be an inspiration for another generation who will view the world in another, again, creative way…To those politicians who have let her vibrant workshops fade, let me say here that her heart and soul will remain and she shall linger! (ibid, 2004: 3)

Yet, inevitably, other industrial heritage accounts point towards more nuanced interpretations of Eveleigh's working culture. Through an oral histories project aimed at capturing Eveleigh's work life, Taksa points out that women were employed more or less consistently to undertake tasks such as upholstery, laundering and clerical work, as well as to assist in munitions manufacturing during WWII, despite accounts that emphasise the Workshops' exclusive masculinity (2003: 81). Just after the Depression, Aboriginal people who moved into Redfern from rural areas were given work, although their numbers and experiences were not well-documented, aside from suggestions that they were on 'boy's wages' and mentions of attempts by the socialists to improve their conditions along with everyone else's. After the 1950s, migrants from Europe were given jobs, most likely low skilled. Again, there is little evidence to gather their perspective, but according to one worker interviewed for the *Carriage Workshops' Conservation Management Plan*, initial resentment about newly arrived employees undercutting existing conditions was trumped by Eveleigh's generally socialist ideals (Otto Cserhalmi and Palmi, 2003: 203).

While most of the workers in Taksa's interviews focused on technology and workplace relations, her work uncovered multiple layers of attachment and division 'based on occupation and skill, spatial and functional arrangements, religious and political affiliations, gender and ethnicity' (2003: 79). One of the employees at the Carriage Workshops said,

> There was a bit of jealousy about the loco side and the carriage side. There was a dozen
> train tracks in between but it could have been a mile wide... I only mean that in a peripheral
> sense. In the real sense there was unity between the workers. (Taksa, 2000: 19)

All workers emphasised the dirt, smoke, noise, poor sanitation and danger that characterised their working conditions. There were no indoor toilet facilities until 1910, and wash basins didn't replace buckets until 1950 (Taksa, 2005: 16).

We washed in buckets for thirty years and, personally, it was disgusting, whereas down in the head office they used hand basins – they never washed in buckets – and we're out in the dust and the grime and the heat. (Johnson, 1996)

In 1914, the Department of Railways was one of Australia's largest employers and Eveleigh had 10 per cent of all railway workers in the state (Milliken, 1996: 25). More than 3,000 people worked there at its peak. Things remained this way into the 1950s, until dieselisation began to take its toll on Eveleigh's capacity to produce (Taksa, 2003: 77).[35] Once steam was abandoned in 1963, Eveleigh was lumbering towards its end. Attempts at modernisation and the reorganisation of its duties to other sites could not revive its steam-era tradition or stop the downing of tools for once and for all in 1989.[36] However, the microculture produced by Eveleigh, with its craftsmanship, hierarchies and special breed of morale, would re-emerge in the subsequent activism around Eveleigh's heritage.

Modern-day sacred land[37]

Taksa argues against the privileging of material elements in Eveleigh's heritage assessments and the emphasis on a particular type of working culture, which she sees as eliding the meaning the workers themselves had in the place (2003: 81). Without the social history, she says, 'Eveleigh might well be construed as a theatre of memory, but it has become little more than a stage full of props, devoid of historic drama and actors' (Taksa, 2009: 95). This does not diminish the force of Eveleigh's industrial activism, its well-documented camaraderie, nor even its desirability as a prestigious workplace, but it does point towards different tellings of its history.

What I want to direct attention to here is how petitioning the state to list Eveleigh on the heritage register, commemorating the place in artistic work and urging for a more nuanced interpretation of its labour legacy, are all forms of administrative labour. Further, all of the people sustaining the memory of the Workshops in this way have advocated for particular interpretations of its significance. Readings of Eveleigh that itemise its industrial achievement, or even explain the significance of the 1917 strike — despite adequately

affirming its importance as an urban site of production — do not capture the tenderness with which a former worker remembers the Workshops, or the extent of research efforts undertaken to capture working conditions there and their implications. Although the type of emotional labour I am describing here differs from Hochschild's (2012 [1983]), where workers are paid to regulate their emotions during interactions with others, the input of some of the workers' emotional accounts of Eveleigh contributes to the way the Workshops are remembered and the way this history is absorbed by Carriageworks in present day. This emotional investment shows us that there were other claims to the destiny of this place, an alternative history that never came to pass. This valuable detail transgresses the possible reading of this site as a natural progression from hard production to creative industries. It opens up room for an exploration of the power structures and moments that shaped its transition into contemporary Carriageworks and more importantly, forms of value that do not fall within the normative framework of creative industries.

Emotion also reminds us that Eveleigh is not an abstract symbol of economic shifts but a real place made of steel and brick, as its affordance of mass meetings was central to the organisation and resistance of its workers. Thus its material, as well as symbolic qualities are testament to the value of this place for its people. Size plays a big role in Carriageworks' history, not only in attracting artists' imaginations to engage with its big open spaces, but later, becoming a funding sticking point and still later again, allowing the types of monumental artistic and commercial work that make the centre a success today.

Carriageworks is just as heavily embedded in its geography as it is in its history. In what follows, my aim is to stress emotional attachments to the area that, similar to Eveleigh's heavy industry past, might be surmised as the predictable backdrop to the transformation of a dilapidated neighbourhood into one characterised by creative industries. Again, I recount the emotional detail necessary to an understanding of this site and its role in the institutional evolution of Carriageworks. The geographic context of Redfern is relevant to the Carriageworks story for three reasons. First, understanding the racial contest in Redfern suggests that there were and continue to be investments in this area outside of the arts and as I will explain, that these claims have been made on grounds that are more than

rational. Second, race was used to 'authorise' a remarkable level of state government control that had consequences in Carriageworks' early years (discussed further in Chapter 3), while Carriageworks' connection with Aboriginal people in Redfern today forms part of the authenticity which is central to the centre's institutional image (briefly touched upon in Chapter 4). Finally, this historical detail is documented because the presence of Aboriginal people in Redfern, a place saturated with half a century of black struggle for land rights, is now fading, making it a notable event in the ongoing effects of Australia's colonisation.

Let's return again to Carriageworks' spacious foyer. You leave the building. Farewelled by a chorus line of banner-bearing beams, you take a set of stairs upwards and reach street level. It's Wilson Street. Turning right, you'll head north-east, roughly in the direction of Redfern Station. A ten-minute walk takes you to Eveleigh Street in Redfern, which along with Caroline, Hugo and Hudson Streets loosely defines a small area by the railway tracks known as 'The Block'. You'll know you're looking in the right direction if you see an Aboriginal flag painted on a building which bookends a patchy plot of grass, with Sydney's high-rise skyline in the distance overhead.

Fig 6. Redfern's Aboriginal flag mural. Image is my own

You could keep walking across the railway bridge, embellished with a mural that reads *40,000 years is a long long time / 40,000 years still on my mind*. Painted in 1983 with the

help of people from the community, its once-spirited colours showing an Aboriginal flag and rainbow serpent are beginning to fade.[38]

Fig 7. *40,000 years* mural. Image is my own

Crossing through a wind tunnel past a police station, you find yourself on the corner of Regent and Redfern Streets. If you have never visited the suburb and don't know much about its history, the mural's reminder that you're walking on Aboriginal land might seem like new news, for Indigenous faces are barely visible. At this intersection, Redfern Street is more notable for a succession of incoherent businesses: a discount linen store, a TAB, a chemist, an almost-empty bar, a cafe.

Fig 8. Redfern Street, taken from Regent Street. Image is my own

Further along, Redfern assumes all of the familiar 'symptoms' of gentrification, creating an area barely recognisable from what it was even 10 years ago when it regularly made the news for being overcrowded and impoverished, idle and agitated from unemployment, drug and alcohol abuse. It was also unmistakably black.[39]

For better or worse (depending on who you ask), situated in the epicentre of 'modern' white Australia, Redfern is a meaningful gathering place for many Indigenous Australians.[40] According to the 2011 Australian Census, around one third of the country's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population lives in major cities (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016a); and no part of urban Australia [is] more closely identified with Aborigin[al people] than Redfern' (Kohen in Connell, 2000: 90). Redfern was built on the land of the Gadigal people, part of the Aboriginal nation of Eora, at the time mostly wetland sand dunes. White settlement in 1788 began the dispossession of this area from its Indigenous owners.

Fig 9. Early painting of Redfern Station. Some of this area is The Block today. Image credit: State Library of New South Wales (John Rae, a928444)

In modern times, the most significant presence of Aboriginal people in this area was established by the influx of arrivals from across the country, spurred by cheap accommodation, proximity to transport via the railway and the prospect of unskilled employment on the Eveleigh Railyards.[41] When work became scarce in regional Australia following the Depression and the world wars, Aboriginal people came to Redfern to seek

opportunity through friends and distant relatives. Towards the 1960s, many were arriving in Redfern with the post-traumatic stress from life in state institutions. Redfern was able to provide apprenticeships in factories and for some, refuge in the safety of the Aboriginal community (SBS, 2010).[42]

By the middle of the century, Redfern was nationally the urban area most densely populated by Aboriginal people[43] and living conditions were desperate.[44] By the 1970s, dissatisfaction with housing conditions and institutional racism was beginning to boil over and social, political and intellectual movements were established by local Aboriginal people to push for change.[45] A 9.30pm curfew led to a surge in arrests (Shaw, 2013: 261) and without the means to fight the charges, people were pushed into a revolving door of detention at staggering rates. In 1970, with help from white solicitors, a group of Aboriginal leaders organised to provide legal representation; their work created the first Aboriginal Legal Service, an organisation that still exists today (Aboriginal Legal Service NSW/ACT, 2016; Shaw, 2013: 262).

Resolute in taking ownership of the lives in their own community, activists and other professionals established other social welfare and cultural services, including the Aboriginal Medical Service in 1971 (National Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Organisation, 2016), the Aboriginal Children's Service in 1975 (NSW Office of Environment and Heritage, 2016) and the Black Theatre Company in 1972 (Barani Sydney, 2016). Inspired by the Black Power movement in the United States,[46] local people were doing radical work to not only cement Aboriginal leadership but challenge racist representations through performance and satire.

Fig 10. The Black Power salute given by Aboriginal activists Chicka Dixon, Paul Coe, and Bob McLeod in 1972. Image credit: Audio Visual Archive, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies

A pivotal moment in Redfern happened in 1973, when control over a piece of inner-city land was acquired by Aboriginal people. A collusion of interests between the Redfern Aboriginal community in desperate need of housing, local Anglican priests, the NSW branch of the Builders Labourers Federation (a union) and the new Whitlam Labor government, which needed a way to articulate their policy of Aboriginal self-determination, resulted in the Commonwealth granting funds for the purchase and restoration of six terrace houses in Redfern.[47] These houses were handed to Australia's first community housing organisation, the Aboriginal Housing Company (AHC) and became known as The Block (Shaw, 2000: 291; Creative Spirits, 2016). In the following decade, the AHC procured and renovated around seventy-five houses in total, forming an Aboriginal community of about 400 people by the 1980s (Pitts 2009 in Begg, 2009: 117). In the coming decades, this small group of terraces became the site of bitter ideological combat.[48]

By the 1990s, heroin use became prevalent in Redfern[49] (Maher, 2004; Shaw, 2007: 63) and media regularly attributed crime and drug dependency to race (Shaw, 2000: 301). Acute tensions between local people and police culminated in a riot in 2004, following the death of a young man named T.J. Hickey in a police pursuit. Before shifting scale to discuss the policy implications of this event and its ramifications for Eveleigh, I want to relay the

way in which race in Redfern played out in the everyday through an example of how one person navigated the streetscape. One of my interview respondents, 'Lucas', an Aboriginal man who grew up in the Redfern area, and Glebe nearby, describes his memory of this day as follows:

> I used to work at Australia Post in the city and I'd start my shifts at 5.30am while studying at university. One morning I walk up here to cut through The Block to get to the train station and there seemed to be lots of sirens, so I decided to walk around The Block. I walked past the Glengarry [pub] and saw the roads blocked off and the flashing lights — so my automatic reaction was to not walk close enough to be potentially accidentally implicated in something. Growing up, I would go down the street and get picked up for no reason, get harassed by the police. So, when I saw that I turned back and caught the bus into the city.
>
> That was a major point that had an impact on that community. I know there were always police raids at The Block, but during that period of time when the Redfern riots happened, there were raids all the time. The Block would be closed off and police would just come down and get people from the community who they thought were criminals and harass them.[50]

This brief interlude to Lucas' telling of this story shows us the emotional embodiment of racial harassment within Redfern's terrain. Lucas' reflection — as well as other anecdotes he offered in our interview, in which he and his friends are often 'moved along' or harassed by police (Spark, 1999) — can be read as showing an emotional 'knowing', a racialised habitus, that urges his decision to turn away. Stopped cars and police lights affected his behaviour in a way that seems instinctive, exemplifying what anthropologists like Gillian Cowlishaw call interpellation.[51] The emotional drive behind Lucas' navigation of Redfern is telling of the way racial injustice can become embedded in geography. As I argue at the end of this chapter, this emotional relationship needs to be considered as one of the various ways in which people lay claim to place.

Following the riots, Redfern was deemed an area of 'state significance' and in 2004, after a parliamentary enquiry, became the only suburb in the country to have its own state

government minister and department charged with fixing its problems (Begg, 2009). The dereliction of The Block under Indigenous leadership was determined a 'failed experiment' of self-determination (Anderson, 1993), a view that was used to sanction the installation of a special body called the Redfern Waterloo Authority (RWA). The establishment of the RWA evaded the usual process of implementing urban renewal via the City of Sydney council (which was unsympathetic to the state government) and the Authority seized power as landowner, consent authority and developer all in one. The RWA could acquire private land, bypass heritage and planning laws and delegate command to private subsidiary corporations (Cordell, 2005).[52] It took control of two suburbs in which half of the housing was public — The Block just a small portion (Searle, 2005). RWA's plan was to address social issues by annexing control from the local council and in conjunction with development corporations, self-fund development through mixed-use facilities on public land (cf. Urbis for Redfern Waterloo Authority, 2008; Searle, 2005). This meant reducing commitment to residential buildings in favour of facilities for commercial use.[53]

The instantiation of the RWA betrays the hefty development agenda looming over the suburb, if Redfern is understood in the context of the rising property prices of surrounding inner city suburbs, where the state government owns the majority of land[54] and is increasingly reverting to private-public partnerships as a planning mechanism (Farrelly, 2016; Searle, 2005).[55] But The Block is a parcel of land that is privately owned and black.[56] Searle (2005) argues that the RWA is part of a broader Sydney inclination to accelerate urban development to further the city's global competitiveness, a narrative found in the creative industries discourse, in which art institutions and the presence of a 'creative class' generate tourism and foreign investment (cf. Florida, 2002). Searle writes that under this model, 'the role of "public" land changes from being a necessary by-product of the welfare state to being an instrument for capturing global investment profits and generally facilitating intensification of development' (Searle, 2005: 8).

The events at The Block were used by the state government to legitimise the exceptional power of the RWA, the agency that disrupted Carriageworks' original funding model by giving away a part of the building to a private entity and thus spelling years of uncertainty

about the centre's future, to be discussed in detail in the following chapter. In other words, RWA's actions are part of Carriageworks' very constitution. Secondly, it can be argued that the proximity of Redfern's Indigenous people to Carriageworks, with The Block's activist past and fierce racial stigmatisation by the media (Shaw, 2000: 294), leave a guilty residue for the suburb's incoming white residents, something that I argue Carriageworks absorbs into its institutional positioning. While this is not an uncommon trait of white art institutions in Australia, which almost always include an Indigenous program of some type, Carriageworks directly allies itself with Redfern's Aboriginal community. As Carriageworks' programming director Lana explains:

> We have a really good connection with Yaama Dhiyaan [an Aboriginal organisation], which is out the front, where they do training for hospitality. There was talk about doing a historical project on the history of Carriageworks within the labour movement and we are talking about doing a project about The Block at the moment, because there's all this controversy about the mural being taken down. We're thinking about doing a big Redfern project. All that stuff feeds into the people that used to work here in the building and their story and that's how we keep going back and looking at stories. We try to do a social history project each year.[57]

Chapter 4 will speak more to how this plays to the centre's image of authenticity; but for now, I want to stress that there are many ways to narrate Redfern. While I can rely on the substantive work of those that have done so already, it is important to admit that my doing this 'properly' would require a separate project and consideration around whether this should be done by a non-Indigenous person at all. For the explicit purposes of this thesis, however, I emphasise the various attachments and representations of Redfern in relation to Carriageworks to argue that claims to space can be based in symbolic and emotional connections, as well as more strategic, political ones. I explore these in more detail in the remainder of this chapter.

Redfern's tumultuous history exposes the power of language in shaping the identity of place, especially because the place in question is in the process of transformation, with its

possible futures still open for contestation (Anderson, 1993: 4). Yet, even though Redfern is often corralled into a dramatic biography that casts The Block as a triumph of self-determination for its Aboriginal inhabitants to oppose the dominant development discourse that sees it as a lucrative lot of 'empty' land, Gillian Cowlishaw, who conducted an ethnography of the lives of Indigenous people in the outer west suburb of Mount Druitt, reminds us that 'a mythic history of pain can wreak more havoc by encasing Aboriginal people within a single stylised narrative' (2009: 110). She continues:

> Individual stories of misery are not, in and of themselves, interesting unless associated with some possibility of remediation. This is where public history grasps at simple themes and moral resolutions that override the complexity of personal and community meaning, in [Mount Druitt's Aboriginal community's] case, the intimate experience of family disruptions and other emotional consequences. (Cowlishaw, 2009: 110)

While Cowlishaw takes up family life, I want to refer to an emotional experience of a different kind: the complicated and multi-faceted nature of attachment to place. In the interest of making this point concisely, I refer to Indigenous people in Redfern collectively, but at the same time acknowledge that they are not necessarily a homogenous group (Anderson, 1999: 82).[58] Whittaker (2016) writes:

> Redfern is at once place and race; therein lies its significance to Aboriginal NSW. By virtue of our Aboriginality, we will never be more than a diaspora in Redfern, except those of us who are Gadigal. It can never just be race or nation alone.

I also consider Shaw's caution against a reading of Redfern as reduced to black and white (Shaw, 2013). An academic and (white) Redfern resident, Shaw writes about Redfern as a place where many Aboriginal 'worlds' have existed within a wider, dominant culture, worlds which can be perceived at an 'everyday' level and move beyond representation (2013: 265; see also Anderson, 1999: 79). Shaw argues that more than representing a politics of postcolonial survival, attending to lived experiences can carve out more cognisant and grounded understandings of race and class. I think this applies to the idea of

home too (Shaw, 2013: 266). Referring to a man she knew from the neighbourhood who was living 'rough' on The Block or nearby, Shaw writes, 'he was far from without a home as many, particularly those with conventional housing on The Block, cared for him' (Shaw, 2013: 264–265). Anderson similarly complicates understandings of home in Redfern, writing from her ethnography:

> Sociability has always been both fractious and friendly. Some tenants saw The Block as 'home'; others perceived their place of birth as home; most considered they had multiple homes, including Redfern. (1999: 83)

Speaking to this collective tendency, Spark (2003: 60) writes that Aboriginal people invoke their emotional 'caring and sharing' to assert their 'difference to whites',[59] thus suggesting a Redfern that is constituted by their presence.

Like any other place, Redfern is not just an arrangement of bricks that form shelter, with strips of asphalt in between. Emotional ties run deeper than access to housing, if one's presence is suffused with the activist legacy of their predecessors and a sense of Redfern before it was 'Redfern'. 'We know what happened at Botany Bay just down the road…[Redfern] remembers, too. It's got murals, signs; it's got oral histories and oral rememberings of the frontier,' writes Whittaker (2016). The area makes life familiar for its long-standing residents and has reach beyond its immediate geography, having served as a landing place for Aboriginal people around the country, seeking familial and social ties (Anderson in Spark, 1999: 57). In other words, it is loaded with the corporeal memory of its past and present inhabitants, a memory of both loss and survival that which shape the community's politics and relationship to Redfern today. Spark (2003: 33) writes that Redfern is frequently represented as embodying 'absolute displacement', both through associations with drugs and dilapidated housing and is at the same time positioned within constricting dichotomies of what constitutes as 'authentic Aboriginality'.[60] Lucas expresses the entangled forms of belonging experienced by his community, one that is rooted in self-identity, and another that speaks to other Indigenous communities across the country. He says:

On the surface, some people in the community are okay with [the state's gradual rehoming of Aboriginal people from Redfern to other parts of Sydney]. But underneath, people aren't happy about it. I hear people say stuff sometimes, which I think is pretty offensive — but they feel like they have a belonging to this area and now that it's being pulled away it's taking that identity away from the area. Especially because it's such a well-known area in the Aboriginal community across Australia, so it's like we're losing our foothold of this really strong point where lots of milestones have been achieved and where lots of great things have happened. There's this whole perception of 'how does it reflect on us, here in Sydney?' My argument to that is that we need to bring people along on our journey. I think that's an important thing.[61]

Citing Dundi Mitchell, Spark writes that Aboriginal women have conceptualised ill health as the perforation of racism into their bodies; she does this to suggest that the control of space is a 'mutual violation' of both body and space (1999: 58). Further, emphasising the emotional elements on which claims to place can be made, Spark argues that The Block is a place where embodied 'person-in-place'[62] is denied: 'Through its relation to the lived body, the block can be thought of as a homeplace, which, though mutable, enables Aboriginal belonging' (1999: 62).

Redfern's irreducible complexity is as much racial, classed and laden with varied individual experience, as it is political. The AHC is a controversial body.[63] In 2015, a group of women and men assembled the Redfern Aboriginal Tent Embassy which stood for over a year in protest to the AHC-led *Pemulwuy Project,* which plans to redevelop The Block into retail and offices, followed by affordable housing for 62 families and a childcare space for 60 children, on the grounds that this plan is not giving Aboriginal housing priority.[64] Touching on these internal fractions but here talking more generally about the changes in Redfern over the last decade, Lucas says that the state's involvement has divided the community:

There's a little bit on both sides — in fact, it's spilt the community. There are a few people supportive of it and there are people who are very much against it. And I have heard views from both sides…the community is so small, everyone knows each other. I think the state needed to intervene — but there could have been a better way to do it. All they're doing is

going in, ripping out the people they're not happy with — just removing them and putting them into another place.[65]

Fig 11. The Redfern Aboriginal Tent Embassy at The Block, 27 August 2015. Image credit: AAP

Yet gatherings like the Tent Embassy demonstrate the highly emotional convictions in agitating for an Aboriginal presence in Redfern. The Sisyphean task of protest in the face of an uncertain future is far from placid; the participants' remaining at the campsite for over 15 months shows conviction and resolve. With its emotional labour and rhetorical power, the Tent Embassy is one of the many ways in which The Block has sent out a message of unfaltering resistance across the country.[66] Positioned by the train tracks, in plain sight of the thousands of (we can assume, largely non-Indigenous) passengers travelling into the commercial heart of Sydney each day, it has served as allegorical ground for the ongoing struggle for affordable housing, on the terms of its Aboriginal community.[67]

Even as the population is being atrophied, the suburb remains firmly linked with Indigenous politics. A Tent Embassy member interviewed by National Indigenous Television (NITV) says of The Block: 'This is the birthplace of black power and land rights and self-determination as we know it. You get rid of the Aboriginal faces here, you get rid of the Aboriginal faces everywhere' (Booth, 2015). The means to retain a home in Redfern is more than meeting an individual need, but it is felt in the context of what is and will

continue to be possible for others in the community, a matter of 'postcolonial survival'
(Anderson, 1999: 84).

Emotional associations with Redfern are multiple, from the memory of 1970s political
optimism (Foley, 2001), to the need to bear the affront of the dominant public (Shaw, 2007:
106), to the desire of real-estate developers to make a profit. Two relatively recent
examples make this case. Writing about the 2013 ABC mini-series *Redfern Now*, Collins calls
Redfern a 'living, breathing, sensory space' (2013). She argues that the series is exceptional
in its decolonising representations of Redfern. It achieves this by featuring Indigenous
directors, writers and characters and shifting the viewer's vantage point to one of
'assimilative spectatorship', where the audience is asked to respond to the 'present call of
others, even those others whose fierce vulnerability might cause us harm' (Collins, 2013:
221). This portrayal contrasts the connotations laid out in the state government's current
redevelopment plan for the area, which is permeated with templated bureaucratic terms
('active streetscapes', 'attractive public spaces to support local diversity', 'a place that
harnesses new opportunities to enrich the community' (UrbanGrowth NSW, 2016)).
Through various mediums, from conversations to media reports, advertisements and arts
projects, a discourse about Redfern is shaped that has material consequences on how the
suburb is inhabited.

In 2013, *Redfern Now* screened in a park near The Block to an audience of Indigenous and
non-Indigenous people, marking the area's transition. Lucas saw this as a potential
opportunity to build the incoming residents' understanding:

> There's definitely going to be a non-Indigenous component down there, which is good. I
> think the most important thing is that there is a recognition that, yes, that is Aboriginal land
> — it's not necessarily 'we own it so we rule it', but it's more that there's a respect for [the
> land] and the culture of the area, as well as the history.[68]

Coming back to Carriageworks, the art centre's connection with Redfern is explicit and
ambiguous. In its time, Eveleigh, along with its surrounding manufacturing industry,
attracted Aboriginal people to Redfern from all around the country. Redfern is also in

Carriageworks' DNA. The establishment of the RWA, entitled by the need to regulate the suburb, impacted the way the centre was funded, causing frictions between staff and tenants. Yet, how much of a relationship does (or should) an art institution like Carriageworks have with The Block? Again, albeit relying on the opinion of only one voice, we can glean something from Lucas:

> I don't necessarily think that I have my finger on the pulse of everything that's going on in the community, but when I found out about [Carriageworks] I was like 'What, this new space is popping up, this is a surprise to me.' It wasn't communicated well, it wasn't far-reaching — they reached out to the people that they thought they needed to reach out to, to representative-type bodies, and that is supposed to have done the job.

> I look at that, the marketing, the way they do things and think 'It's not a warm place'. Not necessarily for everyone, but I guess in my view and for Aboriginal community activities. I've been invited to a couple of events down there that are Aboriginal-based and I have not gone. I don't have a sense of welcome to the area and to the space. I think it feels a bit tokenistic. This is because, in my view, a lot of things are promoting the space as being for Aboriginal people — in fact, I went down for the markets about two years ago. I went there and felt 'this isn't the area. It's too funky'. I can respect it being that way, but it seemed like an egotistical type of environment where people are walking around with a bit of swagger.

> They're creating this community and this environment down there, how can you feel welcome when you're from The Block or something, when you're not so well to do socio-economically. And you're not going down there to be around people who want to talk to you and respect your culture, they're just down there to sell organic food and make a buck. It's losing that community feel about it, it doesn't have that community aspect.[69]

Today, the ground that in 2015 was alight each evening by a flame around which Tent Embassy participants gathered is quiet, and the progress of AHC's controversial proposal remains to be seen. However, major developments that will transform Waterloo and by extension, neighbouring Redfern, are making themselves emphatically present. Eight days before Christmas in 2015, the state government unveiled plans for an extensive

development called *Central to Eveleigh,* which will demolish four social housing towers, removing its Aboriginal and largely elderly residents out of the area to make way for mixed-use housing and a brand-new train line (Davies, 2015; UrbanGrowth NSW, 2016; Coultan, 2015). The timing of the announcement was no doubt conscious of media understaffing in the holiday period and the decision's indelible nature indicated by the imposing scale and progressed stage of the development.[70]

I purposely leave descriptions of Redfern in this pregnant state. While Chapter 3 is the next chronological phase in Eveleigh/Carriageworks' life, the period in which the former railway is developed into a burgeoning art centre, it departs from Aboriginal Redfern. In Chapter 4, I return to Carriageworks as it exists now, a comprehensive 'success' enabled in part by its proximity to the area, as well as the affect created by the style of urban redevelopment just mentioned. My intention in this chapter has been to emphasise that this place is not an indifferent setting. Carriageworks' post-industrial skeleton holds the memory of a factory that has implanted itself into generations of workers and its local area continues to be live with colonial combat. Without 'animating the bricks' with hyperbole, I want to draw attention to the symbolic heft of Eveleigh's history and spatial positioning to show that this is a place that has been and continues to be propelled by emotional attachment, which has labour sitting in its genes, and that this type of detail allows us to expand our understanding of Carriageworks as a place beyond the pole-frogging accounts offered by the creative industries narrative.

Chapter 3
Early years at Carriageworks

A State Premier and a French theatre director take a helicopter ride

Carriageworks' inception is sometimes told as a parable of justice for space-starved artists. It involves a helicopter ride taken by the then-NSW Premier and Arts Minister Bob Carr and French stage director Ariane Mnouchkine, founder of the avant-garde ensemble Théâtre du Soleil. Mnouchkine, as one of the world's most influential theatre makers, was in town for the 2002 Sydney Festival with a production that required a building of grand scale, character and flexibility (Sheer, 2007). Her company was working out of the Royal Hall of Industries in Moore Park, a venue that is affectionately self-titled the 'Showbag Pavilion' in reference to it hosting the Royal Easter Show throughout the better part of the 1900s. Given the ingenuity required to bring the celebrated stage director to Australia in the first place,[71] and Mnouchkine's international acclaim as a pioneer of theatre making in large-scale, non-classical spaces (she set up her Théâtre du Soleil in an old armaments factory outside of Paris), the venue that was historically home to the best well-bred sheep contest seemed comically incongruous. Around the same time, a fraction further west, the Eveleigh site was being used temporarily, without the official approval of the state, by multiple groups of artists — including Legs on the Wall, Stalker Theatre and Belvoir St Theatre, called Company B at the time — whose work, similar to Théâtre du Soleil, had a profound engagement with their performance space. Some of these artists were assisting with Mnouchkine's show and tipped her off about this cavernous industrial space not far from the city.

The story goes that Carr was taking Mnouchkine on an aerial tour of Sydney and conversation strayed into art spaces. By this point, the Premier had already been lobbied to turn Eveleigh into a rail museum, but rejected this proposal on grounds that this would make for a sterile site (Sheer, 2007). Mnouchkine told Carr that he would be crazy if he didn't give this place to artists, and the seed was sown (Sheer, 2007). From this, it would

seem that it took an exchange between an acclaimed French theatre director and a sympathetic Labor leader to buoy the ambition of Sydney's physical artists to get access to an appropriately sized inner-city space. With the patronage of Premier Carr, the NSW Ministry for the Arts purchased the Eveleigh site from RailCorp that year and soon after began the adaptive reuse work under the name of Carriageworks.

Although this anecdote is likely told and heard with a grain of salt, the fact that a state-developed art institution even has such an idealistic origin story provides insight into the level of attachment this place generates. The origin story reveals two things: the public's optimism for a public art institution in the face of an ingrained expectation that 'under-utilised' space in inner Sydney is destined for corporate development (discussed in detail in Chapter 4) and a desire to conceal the detailed effort that was really required to establish Carriageworks. A less cursory look into where it all began reveals a much more prosaic affair, but one that is distinctly sustained by the emotional labour of the actors involved.

At crucial biographical points like this, it is necessary to follow Lea's advice to 'people' the bureaucracy (Lea, 2008: vi) in order to arrive at a more balanced conception of how policy happens. While it is tempting for different publics, depending on their political predisposition, to read Carriageworks' backstory as political opportunism leading to the rare victory of artists over forces that instrumentalise and restrict their work, or conversely, as a red flag for an intended gentrification of the area, uncovering the detail of Carriageworks' implementation suggests a less sinister plot.

Here I am turning attention to the policy formulators in order to better understand their playing field. Were they zealous proponents of art as a form of urban renewal? Or, is it possible that unconcerned with the debates happening in this area on an academic level and overseas, they were busy fulfilling the requirements of their respective roles in the arts funding department? Having these questions in mind when analysing the site would reveal an anthropology of Carriageworks' formation that doesn't assume political decision-makers are all-knowing elites with a plan, then either skip to an evaluation of the end product, or to the experience of those who are the 'targets' of their policy (such as artists or Sydney

cultural patrons), in order to measure its success. A more interpretive analysis that frames bureaucrats as implementers, workers and flesh-and-blood, emoting, people, emphasises Carriageworks' evolution as a site of social contestation and also allows for the influence of subjectivity, improvisation and mistakes.

Carriageworks wouldn't have been built if it not for the encounter between a group of individuals that exerted an appropriate level of influence, and 'sector need'. The State Premier Bob Carr, who was also Minister for the Arts, was enthusiastic about the possibility of an arts centre at the Eveleigh site (in fact, from the way it is discussed by some of the interview respondents, I got the feeling that the project was his 'baby'); as was the Premier's Director General, who also held a senior position at the NSW Ministry for the Arts. The head of the arts ministry was highly supportive too. Simultaneously, Sydney's circus and physical theatre artists undertook a letter-writing campaign to the Premier, soliciting for suitable space for rehearsal and performance. Interdisciplinary arts organisation Performance Space,[72] a long-term client of the department, required a new location as they were working out of a near-dilapidated building on a commercial lease. Other stakeholders were the Redfern Waterloo Authority, who acted as landlords for that whole area, looking after the urban regeneration of Redfern and Waterloo. Finally, RailCorp, who owned the former Eveleigh Railway Workshops site at the time, just wanted to get rid of the building.[73]

While at first glance the alignment of necessary decision-makers appears to be a fortunate coincidence, I argue that if it wasn't for the knack of key arts ministry workers bringing the right combination of stakeholders together, nothing may have materialised. Understanding who needs to be brought to the table signals a savvy navigation of the 'playing field' — and in it we can observe the workings of emotional labour. The government workers 'cared' enough to ferry the project from its inception as the Premier's idea, through an extensive and cumbersome design and construction, into establishment.

Using emotion to conceive of the 'energy' or human effort involved in the process of policymaking is not new. In his paper on the role of emotion in agenda setting and policy

formation, political scientist Christopher Neff (forthcoming) argues that an emotional lens is meaningful because it highlights how feelings can focus political action. This might mean internal pressure on a bureaucrat to give attention to a particular issue, if it is rendered temporarily acute or representing a 'problem that matters, to the people that matter, at a time that matters' (Neff, forthcoming: 1). The emotional or affective nature of the issue results in increases in salience, which can influence media attention, mobilise the public and distribute a range of documented pressures towards political actors. Yet, I argue that emotions have an even more significant role to play in political decision-making. Not only do they structure the environment in which political action happens, as suggested by Neff, but they are central to agitating people into performing their bureaucratic roles. The personal becomes political, or in this case professional, and a crucial part of this is the expression of emotional labour. My analysis of the bureaucrats' emotional work later in this chapter will support this claim.

Pulling the right strings to set up a big art centre away from its traditional placement on the harbour doubtless took crafty manipulation by enterprising bureaucrats at the arts funding department. In fact, Carriageworks' first director, 'Marie', says that the meeting between Bob Carr and Ariane Mnouchkine was constructed by the NSW Ministry for the Arts, who deemed the site perfect for redevelopment into an art space because of its longstanding use by individual artists and at the knowledge that RailCorp wanted to pass the building on. According to Marie, 'The Ariane conversation with Bob was one of those things where the bureaucrats got a well-known artist to say what they want said.'[74] With a significant construction budget and presumably, the insight that cultural centres often attract crowds simply off the back of their architectural cachet (Kunzmann, 2004), they engaged an award-winning architecture firm, Tonkin Zulaikha Greer (TZG) to do the design.

There is also an analytical red herring that completes this picture. Prior to Sydney Festival and Mnouchkine's arrival in Australia, the Eveleigh Carriage and Blacksmith's Workshops building was already unofficially occupied by artists, who had an arrangement with the owner of the site at the time, the state rail authority.[75] In addition to its use by theatre companies, the site was expanded by the Sydney Olympic Park Authority for physical

theatre and circus artists to build floats and rehearse for the opening and closing ceremonies. There was an informal arrangement between the artists and RailCorp to use the building. With this in mind, we could attempt to tailor the presence of the Olympics in Carriageworks' timeline to the well-documented script that exposes the aspirations of state and city authorities to leverage the Games to obtain private investment and urban regeneration (García, 2004; Davidson and McNeill, 2012: 1627). If we did this, we might feel as though we're extracting the state's 'real', sordid motivation for the centre — Carriageworks as an attempt at arts-led urban regeneration in the name of gentrification.[76] This is particularly enticing, given the influence of the urban regeneration agency Redfern Waterloo Authority on the area (Searle, 2005). However, in my interview with the manager of strategic initiatives at NSW Ministry for the Arts (or 'Ellen', her pseudonym in this thesis), this idea is flatly shut down. Ellen was charged with obtaining development consent and managing the Carriageworks construction, but also involved in determining the types of organisations that would be relocated to the then-future Carriageworks. She says:

> I don't think it was thought of — ever — as an urban renewal project…If you went and talked to Bob Carr, Roger Wilkins [the Premier's Director General at the time], Jenny Lindsey (the Head of NSW Ministry for the Art at the time), any of those kind of people, I don't think any of them would say it was part of urban renewal policy or planning. We did it standalone — we did not partner with UrbanGrowth, who are doing the roads there now and redeveloping with Meriton, or, Planning NSW, or anybody like that.[77]

Ironically, Ellen says that it was not until after the games had finished, that her department received a message from arts officials in Canada who were working on their winter games, enquiring about the legacy the Sydney Olympic Games had left behind for the arts in NSW.[78] Ellen elaborates:

> We sat around and thought we weren't doing anything. But around the same time, we were developing Carriageworks. So we said 'now that we come to think about it, if those artists weren't using the spaces for the Olympics, it would never have happened in that way. When

Bob Carr saw the Opening Ceremony, he got our then-CEO Evan Williams to put an ad in the papers with a photo thanking the artists of NSW. I like to think Carriageworks was the one actual legacy from the Olympics — one thing that was given to the city of Sydney.[79]

Even though Carriageworks ultimately has a role to play in Redfern's urban renewal (Creagh, 2007; O'Toole, 2006), and is today well-aligned with the commercial activity happening in the area, to analyse a policy's intention after the fact in this way, especially as specific language around it has become 'naturalised', may miss the process of creation that carries vital clues. In this case, we could allow the possibility that the bureaucrats involved in Carriageworks were not motived primarily by the rhetoric of 'creative city', despite the terminology today appearing almost as a cliché. In contrast to intentionality that is assumed to lurk behind their decisions may instead be an effort to adapt as best they can to a rapidly changing policy environment, the influence of other sector needs or altogether alternative motivations. In order to avoid such assumptions, I return again to my ethnographic detail.

A Rolls Royce model stalls

When construction began, the Carriageworks project revealed itself to be an ambitious undertaking. According to 'Ainsley', the arts ministry officer responsible for overseeing the process, the purchase of the Eveleigh building and its redevelopment was priced at around $50 million. Ainsley, educated in fine arts, is well acquainted with the internal world of Australian governments, having worked in arts policy at all three levels. Although her enthusiasm for her sector is observable, years of experience have awarded Ainsley with an ability to deploy the right dose of cynicism where appropriate.

Carriageworks was imagined according to what Ainsley calls a 'Rolls Royce' model, describing the considerable effort taken to erect the centre's largest performance space, Bay 17. Forming the focal point of the entire building, Bay 17 was placed into the Eveleigh structure separately from the building's outer 'shell' to ensure the performance space was not disturbed by noise and rattling from the adjacent railway. Ainsley recalls:

A big hole was dug and foam was laid, so the box could sit completely separate to the building. [This was done to ensure we didn't] get any vibration from the trains whatsoever, or noise. That was an extraordinary effort. They underestimated that it was going to cost over a $1 million to get rid of all the contaminated soil. So the top two inches of the whole property had to be swept away, because it was contaminated with lead and all sorts of crud from its days working. So there was lots of things that they discovered as they started looking under rocks and going 'Oh, what's that?'[80]

According to all three respondents from the state arts funding department, the grandiose ambition for Carriageworks was no accident. To drive the feasibility of the construction, the department engaged specialised project management consultants Root Projects. The arts ministry also assembled a Key User Reference Group (KURG) to guide the design of the building. The KURG comprised of Carriageworks' future artistic tenants and technical specialists and had representation from the then-director of Performance Space and experts in lighting and other aspects of creating large spaces. The arts companies involved included project-based performance groups Gravity Feed and Theatre Kantanka, arts making companies Erth, Stalker/Marrugeku and Legs on the Wall and producing organisations Performance Space and Sydney Festival. According to the Performance Space director who facilitated the move of her organisation to Carriageworks, the KURG was asked to articulate their needs, ideas and ambitions for the spaces:

We all represented the same discipline (broadly speaking), so the discussion focused specifically around contemporary performance practices – their various physical and social imperatives and how a building might not only accommodate that, but generate new possibilities. It was a lively process of open debate and problem-solving – encompassing the pragmatic and the conceptual.

We negotiated about appropriate heights and depths of spaces, about acoustics and light, about what kind of workshop was needed to construct designs and ensure workable access between front and back of house. We discussed desirable spatial relationships between the making and the presenting spaces and we shared what worked and didn't work in our own and other spaces. We responded to the various drafts of the design by the team at TZG (the

architects) and prioritised what had to stay and what had to go when the budget couldn't accommodate all our needs.

So the KURG was not only dealing with the physical spaces, but the ways in which people inhabit them. Given this was a project beyond the scale of any of the participating delegates' experience, our ideas and aspirations were interpreted very generously by the architects and project managers, who listened attentively, brought back their concepts and ideas in a culture of knowledge sharing and respect. (Winning, 2009)

Root Projects compiled submissions from the arts companies that included detail beyond the use of the space to create artistic work — for example, Performance Space made reference to community engagement and the need to integrate into the local Aboriginal community. Most importantly, however, the panel was petitioning for large spaces that would accommodate the full breadth of their practice — from the conception of the work, to rehearsal, to its performance. The Eveleigh building's enormous size ignited the exceptional possibility of housing all of this in a handsome venue close to the city, funded by the state. Although the NSW Government is generally not distinguished for upholding democratic ideals around major development projects (McGuirk and O'Neill, 2002; Searle, 2005), in the case of Carriageworks, we observe a seemingly genuine dialogue with the sector they're charged with servicing. Much like the startup of Carriageworks that required the right combination of players, we can observe wilful alliance-building (Latour, 1999: 104) in the assembling of the KURG.

However, despite thoughtful planning, Carriageworks' initial years of operation were fraught with obstacles. Construction lagged, so when it finally opened for Sydney Festival in January 2007, the building still so much resembled a construction site that staff said they were arriving in black pants and going home in grey for the first six months. 'Kristina', who was one of the first four Carriageworks staff along with its director Marie and people looking after administration and finance, remembers this troublesome teething stage:

It was a massive project and it wasn't really ready to go when it opened the door, but big shows were booked in from overseas for the Sydney Festival. It was in a phase where the building work was being checked out and any things that weren't working had to be rebuilt.[81]

Kristina says a lot of the time, the operational staff were just 'winging it'. Bay 17, Carriageworks' centrepiece theatre, was supposed to have automatic doors, but these weren't properly operable. Despite a busy Sydney Festival period, the staff had to use a semi-manual accounting system for ticket sales. There were makeshift signs and cobbled-together ploys to help people get inside, show them where to go and where to park their car. Front-of-house staff came to work knowing things might not work out that day, so keeping up morale was tough. She says that given the uncertainty and level of improvisation required, staff were making a huge investment when coming into work, having to maintain a sense of purpose in order to overcome the unease that comes with a sense that one might soon lose their job. According to Kristina, the first year was consumed by getting a 'feel' for the building and figuring out Carriageworks' ethos as an organisation.[82]

It was Carriageworks' ethos or identity as an art institution that emerged as one of the biggest challenges for all involved: the people charged with operating the organisation, the state government, the artists for whom it was built and less directly, for audiences. As soon as Carriageworks opened its doors, a critical mismatch of scale became apparent. The enormous building was incredibly costly to run and the independent organisations within it were not able to cover the operational costs associated with heating, cooling, securing and maintaining such a cavernous entity. Ainsley remembers:

The reality of it was a bit of a shock to some people, so I think that's why there was a bit of a false start, if you like. It was just fraught. The idea was fantastic, the passion behind it was very real and idealistic and the reality of it was that it was a very expensive building to run.

It was interesting how it evolved, because everybody was so adamant, they were quite specific about what they wanted: 'We want mega ceilings and big black boxes, we've gotta have workshops spaces, it's gotta be big.' It was interesting [that] once it was built, they all shied away from it, saying, 'Oh my god, it's too big. How on earth are we going to use it? We can't do that, we're only little...'[83]

The physical impediment of the building's size and the pragmatics of its operations floodlighted the urgent need to bring in extra funding to keep Carriageworks functioning, in a climate of uncertain financial backing. When interviewed, Carriageworks' director, Marie, who has held multiple managerial arts management roles before Carriageworks, chuckled at the government's initial allocation of $500,000 a year for two years to run the venue. She insisted that the arts ministry would need about three times this amount and was able to secure more while simultaneously working on a business strategy to bring in additional funding. This strategy was predicated on the ministry's original intention to develop the site with an arts centre on one end, and a commercial space for hire on the other. Once limited government funding was exhausted, the intended revenue stream for funding the arts programming was to be money raised from the corporate hires, confined to a separate part of the building. However, when Frank Sartor became Arts Minister and the Minster for Redfern Waterloo, the site earmarked for commercial use was instead handed at no cost to production company Kennedy Miller Mitchell under an agreement arranged by NSW Trade and Investment to undertake post-production on the film *Happy Feet*. This company operated with its back to Carriageworks, was closed off to the public and is acknowledged as one of the key culprits responsible for the financial troubles that subsequently plagued the infant centre. Looming over all this was a cultural chasm between the tenant companies and the centre's management.

Rather than assessing the viability of the original funding plans, or probing into why the scaling of the tenant companies' capacities and expectations against a building into which a $50 million investment was being made was not done prior to its opening,[84] I take this incident as evidence of the human reality of policymaking. Policy implementation is seldom linear and coherent but, as Ball reminds us, is always contested and changing, rarely the

work of a single author and contingent on its interpretation by different readers (Ball, 1993).[85] Helpful is Greenfield and Williams' view of policies as:

> the work of varied and non-unified actors and their acquired capacities; of the shaping up of objectives as internal to policies, rather than instrumentally imposed from the outside by 'the State'; of an array of institutional and organisational policies; of unpredicted as well as calculated outcomes. (2013: 34)

As such, we should explore its evolution and varied interpretations. One way to do this is to analyse the affective states that may have influenced the policy's formation and reception. As a site of tension, I will use the funding debacle to theorise how the emotional work of different social groups involved in Carriageworks shaped its evolution. Indicative of the omnipresence of emotional labour is the oppositional framing of the artistic companies by government and vice versa. Two conflicting narratives emerge in my interview respondents' telling of their perception of Carriageworks' foundational years.

Managerialism versus artists' furphy

As noted already, when artistic tenants moved to Carriageworks, they found themselves dwarfed by the building's tremendous running costs. The responsibility to keep the centre alive was borne by the director, Marie, and for the others the financial pressure manifested in a 'top-down' managerial approach. According to 'Ingrid', who founded Underbelly Festival,[86] one of the first events to be hosted in the venue, such an approach was 'in direct opposition to the D-I-Y culture of artists'.[87] With her background in the independent art scene, Ingrid was used to operating creatively in spaces that sit outside proper licensing and legalities. She worked with volunteers to coordinate a festival of 200 artists, none of whom she was able to pay, and her frustration with having to smuggle sandwiches into the kitchenette as an alternative to paying for the unaffordable but mandatory in-house caterer was palpable. Carriageworks, she later summarised, was never a realistic home for those of her ilk: those who prefer to operate in the informal underground, fostering the countercultural ingenuity of independent artists.

This view is supported by the experience of Sam, curator-at-large at Performance Space. The director has a well-rounded grasp of not only her immediate experience at Carriageworks, but the history of her organisation and the wider position of the arts sector in Sydney, including the politics of independent artists in the 1990s and the present day. Performance Space has a more complicated relationship with Carriageworks than Underbelly, because its move from its original venue was an instrumental part of Carriageworks' establishment. According to Sam, at some point in negotiations with the arts ministry, there was hope that Performance Space would manage Carriageworks — however, a competitive institution ('Carriageworks Inc') was established to run the venue and programming of the space. Having the organisation's initial stake in Carriageworks abruptly diminish heightened the hostile relationship between Performance Space and Carriageworks' management, detailed here by Sam:

> Ahhhh, the relationship with the previous Carriageworks organisation was incredibly antagonistic because they refused to give any priority to the programming that was coming from us or other people, so we would basically have the hire on the part of one part of the public space and then Carriageworks would just announce that they were putting in an advertising exhibition five steps away from it. It was an incredibly confusing space for audiences.[88]

While Sam is sympathetic to the director's unenviable position, Marie was still resented for preferencing corporate hire at the expense of the presenting companies' artistic virtues. Sam says emphatically:

> At every exhibition opening or program opening you'd be like, 'What the fuck is going on out there?' Honestly, you wouldn't believe some things that were happening because no one bothered to tell you.[89]

She continues:

A whole bunch of other things that happened here were a bit more community-focused, I guess. Not really a grassroots community thing, more of a marketing community thing. It was quite a difficult first few years because we just felt that our capacity to present things with integrity was diminished.[90]

For the artists, the state arts funding department and Carriageworks' director did not understand their creative needs. Ingrid and Sam's position towards Carriageworks can be conceived as follows: the centre would have never existed if it wasn't for artists using the space outside of state sanctions prior to and throughout the Olympic Games. It was created with an explicit view to provide a home to independent artists and yet their ability to properly use the space was inhibited by a lack of government foresight, insufficient funding, political interference and an inappropriate managerial structure that welcomed disruptive corporate involvement.

Unsurprisingly, the perspectives of the director Marie, as well as Ellen from the arts ministry, are vocally different, on respectively pragmatic and conceptual grounds. Marie was inducted around six months prior to the building's completion and tasked with finishing construction and creating a business plan that somehow managed to fund the art centre with revenue from commercial hire. Her job was complicated by an onerous lease arrangement with RailCorp, which according to the bureaucrats Ellen and Ainsley, prevented the arts ministry from truly establishing commercial space. The specifics of the land ownership of the site inhibited its subdivision, which meant that despite paying for and developing the land, the arts ministry didn't fully own it at that time.[91] Marie also battled the Redfern Waterloo Authority to legitimise the importance of an art centre on land that, for developers, holds a high commercial value. Lastly, Marie negotiated the changing political landscape, such as Minister Sartor's gifting of commercial space to a film director, which made Carriageworks a 'real political football, [if] on a tiny scale.'[92] She explains:

The interesting thing was that in the four years I was there, I had something like four different directors general, five different arts ministers, four different Premiers...so

Carriageworks got tossed to and fro. There was a lot of feeling about its future, various ministers weren't necessarily that thrilled about it and the next minister Frank Sartor was not all that positive towards it.[93]

Marie's solution was to bring in commercial and marketing ventures like a children's festival, Finders Keepers Markets, Network Ten program *So You Think You Can Dance*, as well as spruiking Carriageworks as a location for gala events and a set for advertisements. Some of these strategies were put in place to address a geographical drawback — Carriageworks' out-of-the-way location[94] meant that audiences weren't stumbling into the centre as part of a larger arts or entertainment precinct and had to be attracted en-masse. She describes her fervent effort to create a substantial, day-long imperative to form the 'critical mass' required to sustain the centre. Marie frames this question of an arts/commercial matrix, as well as the economics that balance the scale and culture of independent arts inside a big policy intervention like Carriageworks, as an interesting theoretical proposition. Yet her take on her time at Carriageworks is not abstracted or dispassionate. Referring to the independent arts festival founded by Ingrid, which the latter described as ill-fated, Marie tells me that she is very proud. During our interview, a decade on, she told me she had an aerial image of one of the festival's installations pinned above her desk: 'It was incredible for us to deliver something that had hundreds of artists involved and a couple of thousand people coming,' she says.

The plan to fund the arts through commercial hires was broadly criticised, regardless of position. To illustrate the absurdity of pure self-sufficiency, Marie says, 'They [arts ministry] put it there, but it's always going to be subsidised one way or the other if you want to make it as great as it is'. Carriageworks' current associate director Lana agrees:

when the organisation was started, someone — some genius somewhere — thought that the institution could run from money from commercial hires. And I don't think there's any other institution in the world that runs like that.[95]

Even so, Ellen, seasoned in the area of theatre and performance from multiple senior roles at the arts ministry and in academia, regards it as a sensible strategy and considers any argument that suggests that investment should be made by government to ensure an institution is not only built, but that it can afford to program, to be 'simplistic, ill-informed and naive.' She rejects the criticism that runs through most of my interview respondents, that an adequate investment should have been made into 'soft' aspects of Carriageworks' operations, such as programming, as well as 'hard', meaning the physical infrastructure:

> This is another artists' furphy! The fact of the matter remains, and people in the sector don't seem to understand, that the money comes in two points: one is capital and one is ongoing allocations to government agencies. And capital is always a separate budget. And you get capital, you get it one-off and you use it — you don't get it contingent on you then getting another $50 million to somehow fill the space, it doesn't work like that. From my point of view, these are very simplistic, ill-informed and naive kinds of perspectives. The point is that this lack of understanding lends itself to a culture of constant whingeing, which is actually not good for companies' relationship with government, because government does not want to hear — [especially] when they've gone and stolen money from somewhere else to do something — 'we don't like it and it's too expensive'. Even though it was all designed to their specifications.[96]

In an article that offers a 'toolbox' for understanding policy, Stephen Ball makes the point that the translation of crude simplicities into interactive and sustainable practices involve 'productive thought, invention and adaptation' (Ball, 1993: 12). If we read the establishment of Carriageworks, including its proposed funding model in this way, analysis begins to allow for the intrusion of unforeseen circumstances and the influence of individual actors, troubling the dualistic paradigm of a cultural space that poses artistic sensibilities against the parsimony of neoliberal government. To put this another way, the construction of Carriageworks to its grand scale and the subsequent funding plan may have been logical on paper, but rather than serving as a devious alternative motive, the idea mutated due to changes in political leadership and the inevitable contingencies of

implementation — contingencies which also involve the familiar postures of artistic freedom against economic rationalism.

There is something formulaic about this unfolding, and in how it is narrated, which I want to probe, connecting it to the necessary emotional work that brought Carriageworks through its birthing travails. Gould makes the point that affect, feeling and emotion are fundamental to the processes and actions that make up political life (2009: 3). In Gould's terms, it was the prospect of future change that gave AIDS activism in the United States in the 1980s and 1990s its heightened emotional state, even as mourning was channeled into an angry desire to act. This emotional intensity was crucial to the formation of collective opinion and subsequently, action (Gould, 2009: 440). Gould points towards a sense of political possibility and impossibility (an emotional state) that galvanises commitment around an issue. The charismatic narration of Carriageworks' formation and the stereotypical roles attributed to its protagonists are evidence of this commitment and in turn, the emotional investment that surrounds the centre. The bureaucrats and managers were fulfilling their presumed duty to the arts sector, while the artists were attempting to make the best use of the space they could in the absence of other options for accessing creative space. Albeit different, the various actors had compelling emotional motivations for Carriageworks that impacted their attitude towards it. These interests clashed, coalescing into an organisational problem. Let's return to Sam, the Performance Space curator who felt so much conflict with the corporatisation of Carriageworks:

> We were always going off to the pastizzi joint in the old days [at Performance Space's Cleveland Street home, pre-Carriageworks] — free food for everyone, cheap beer, etcetera — and here and you get charged $1000 for some cheese. It was a very difficult thing. We still haven't properly figured it out. We can't properly pay our artists, so we're not going to pay that much for food.

And:

I guess for me Carriageworks has never really been affordable to independent artists, not even when it was cheap to hire in comparison to what it is now. So really, you'd have to be independently wealthy to hire it commercially or come on with a presenting organisation.[97]

Pulling the lens out wider, she sees this as endemic of a larger problem of undemocratic urban development in Sydney. Sam sees the production of moral visions as an important part of her role as an artist. Just as Jacobsson and Lindblom (2013) stress that activists undertake emotion work, such as containing others' frustration when faced with opposition, venting their own irritations, or accepting persistent guilt as a normal reality in order to confront the norms of their society so they can advocate for change, so would artists expel a degree of effort in response to the pressure resulting from their transgression, even if it is their choice to do so. Speaking about a major harbourside commercial development project that displaced social housing that had been home to low-income residents for almost a century, Sam says that Sydney is a 'nightmare that is tearing out its own heart'.[98] The experience of Carriageworks is perceived as congruent with the over-capitalisation of inner city space and a tendency of commercialism to encroach on already-limited stock of affordable, autonomous facilities in which to make art. Sam's 'transgression' is baulking at this reality, rather than rationalising Sydney's commercial development as a positive force from which the city's inhabitants stand to benefit, as is the position expressed by state government and the media. If inner city space is so rapidly exploited for profit, then the use of 'underused' land for a state-of-the-art facility for independent artists might seem a hard complicity.

Ingrid of Underbelly Festival reiterates this even more categorically. She reflects on a very strong counter-cultural art scene that is partially predicated on the artists' ingenuity in creating space to work, when most of it was restricted by alcohol licensing and building code regulations. Carriageworks never bridged the gap between illegal warehouses and state-venerated venues (the Sydney Opera House, Sydney Theatre Company and the like). She admonishes it for attracting and representing a 'gentrified' crowd — as opposed to a D-I-Y setting where milk crates are the seating. Her critical position has a corresponding emotional norm; a caution towards government and a suspicion of people representing a

'business' approach, who are seen in opposition to ideals of independence, social critique and free expression. If understood as operating within Gould's concept of 'emotional habitus', which the author defines as 'socially constituted, prevailing ways of feeling and emoting, as well as the embodied, axiomatic understandings and norms about feelings and their expressions' (2009), we can see how Ingrid's response was naturalised by her social position. The artists' identities as rebellious and their work as an honourable contribution to the sociopolitical health of a community are in an adverse stance to the bureaucratic work on which they depend, yet disavow.

The emotional labour of officers like Ellen and Ainsley — who are personally familiar with deciding who gets money, how and when (Lasswell, 1950) — is even less often brought into a creative industries frame, despite their equivalent essentiality to action. I could sense Ellen's frustration when she refuted what came across as my insinuation that Carriageworks overlooked artists' needs:

> The thing is, [what] people have to understand is artists ask for things and don't seem to understand that they cost money. Artists will tell you for years that they're sick of pissing in a bottle behind the stage at Performance Space, because once you were there you couldn't get out and go to the toilet, but at the same time, when you build a space that has more women's toilets than any other facilities in Sydney…every specification in that space was taken with those peoples' advice. You can write and theorise about people's ambitions but nine times out of ten there's a gap between that and reality.[99]

Ellen clearly takes pride in her department's involvement of artists in the design of the building and their foresight to ensure half of the centre's patrons are offered lavatory justice. Years of ushering long policy documents into the world, which often means labouring over the minutiae of their wording (Riles, 1998), petitioning senior decision-makers for their time and agreement, sitting through numerous meetings and all the time negotiating the state's funding apparatus, also creates a particular emotional habitus. The government worker's role becomes partially conceived by a contraposition to the artists whose cause is being championed.

Another way to look at the emotional work that these actors deployed would be to assess how the social role of the bureaucrat is performed in the humdrum of everyday work behind the desk, with its repetition, frustration and stress; work that involves protracted timelines and the need to accommodate multiple agendas, including those of changing political leadership. In a paper describing an ethnography of the distribution of academic grants, anthropologist Donald Brenneis (1994), who himself was involved in the process, describes being socialised to assume the role of a 'nonce bureaucrat' — and even enjoying it — but without taking this on as a new 'self' in a psychological sense (ibid: 33). He performed this character by orienting himself cognitively and emotionally to the temporal interaction with the process of grant distribution and others involved in it. In this example, we can see how emotions can compel people to carry out norms and the necessity of these norms to making policy happen; Brenneis' shares that fulfiling his new role was motivated by emotion and not, say, financial compensation or the prospect of career advancement. This is important to remember when considering the capricious nature of policymaking. As Ball says:

> Policies do not normally tell you what to do; they create circumstances in which the range of options available in deciding what to do are narrowed or changed. A response must still be put together…thus the enactment of texts relies on things like commitment, understanding, capability, resources, practical limitations, cooperation and (importantly) intertextual compatibility. (Ball, 1993: 12-13)

Marie was operating within these conditions. She lacked cooperation from her artistic tenants and the incumbent minister and was battling the practical limitations of small audiences in a giant space — yet, she maintained a passionate commitment to pushing for impact. For both Marie and Ellen, there may even be a sense of loss related to the unacknowledged labour they respectively devoted. Perhaps they grew tired of being 'the bad guy' when circumstances evaded their control, or of standing behind a public figure like Minister Carr who accepts accolades for a policy which they had made happen. There's a view that bureaucracy privileges rationality, with emotional experience juxtaposed against it as marginal, something to be minimised (Putnam and Mumby 1993 in Mastracci

et al., 2006: 125). They do not own the cultural capital afforded to creative, risk-taking artists who are praised for their ability to reinvent our understanding of the world despite material discomforts, their emotional commitment thus foregrounded and acknowledged. Read one way, the story of Carriageworks' emergence is a tale about how the arts should be funded or engaged by government. However, what it also reveals is a commitment to an oppositional argument that either privileges the claims of under-supported but managerialised artists, or assumes a supposedly pragmatic perspective that, in the absence of other options, supports the necessity to use commercial strategies. This devotion to a normalised conflict belies the emotional labour that formed Carriageworks. Yet this invisible work offers the analytical thread that allows for the formation of institutions like Carriageworks to be read outside of the normalised creative industries framework.

A tale of two directors

In Chapter 4, we will jump ahead in time to Carriageworks as it is today. We will immerse ourselves in a dark room for an experimental music show, while attendees of a corporate gala mingle in an adjacent venue, and visit its thriving farmers' market — but for now, it is important to mention that this motley mix is an expression of Carriageworks' success, falling largely under the administration of its current director Lisa Havilah, who took over from Marie in 2011. Lisa is responsible for so many triumphs and acquisitions for the centre that in 2013 she was given a 'SMAC of the Year' award by local radio station FBi (this award acknowledges 'culture makers who keep Sydney's creative heart beating').[100] Havilah's name seems synonymous with Carriageworks' exponential growth (Christopher, 2016). Visitor numbers have doubled every year for the past four years[101] and even the Deputy Premier and Arts Minister, Troy Grant, praised Havilah's entrepreneurial spirit:

> Carriageworks is an exceptional example of what can be achieved when an entrepreneurial approach is taken and Lisa Havilah is the driving force behind what makes Carriageworks so successful…Ms Havilah is doing an exceptional job at Carriageworks and I believe she has a bright future in NSW. (Taylor, 2015a)

All of my interview respondents hold Havilah in similarly high esteem.[102] She is credited as a talented curator, who established an artistic program for Carriageworks, rather than simply operating a space for hire, as the early years are now categorised. This allowed the centre to foster a more meaningful exchange with its artistic tenants and also, according to official reporting, engage deeper with the local Aboriginal community. Havilah's lauded entrepreneurial talents secured commercial partnerships with Mercedes-Benz Fashion Week Australia, art fair Sydney Contemporary and major festivals like the Biennale of Sydney, which in contrast to previous years, are not viewed as an impediment to Carriageworks' artistic production. She has also reclaimed the Eveleigh Markets (today called Carriageworks Markets) — which were run by the Australian Technology Park on the other side of the tracks and thus increased and diversified visitation to the site. Says Sam:

> Lisa obviously has a very strong vision about the space, she is one of the best curators in the country. So in terms of what the venue is presenting now, it's actually a lot more sympathetic to Performance Space's programs. But Carriageworks is a force unto itself in terms of being a curated program... [We have a] much better situation now because it has the integrity of contemporary art as its core value and that is what Lisa has brought to the space... I have lots of admiration for Lisa and how she's managed to change the relationship to the site. She's managed to make the relationship with us a lot more fluid, professional and respectful. So even though it's more expensive for us, in a lot of ways the experience is better because we get other sorts of values back from that relationship.[103]

Havilah herself is self-reflexive in this regard, acknowledging not only the deliberate strategy in her approach to funding sources but this being a divergence to Sydney's other major art institutions:

> It's not like the business is over here and the art is over there. They are fully integrated. I think that is part of why Carriageworks, not just me, is seen as this sort of new generation [of] cultural institution. The old silos that sit within the more established, sandstone institutions, that historical practice doesn't exist here. (Christopher, 2016)

There's a clear emphasis on supporting artistic ideas, diversity and ambition. In the words of the director herself, her role is to be in service of others. Havilah elaborates:

> Right now I'm thinking about how we maintain that [growth] without becoming too institutionalised, how we remain risky and brave, and open to new ideas...Sometimes, the bigger and more established a place gets, the more it shuts down...You don't want to be doing the same things you did last year because that worked well. (Christopher, 2016)

Although Lisa Havilah clearly emerges as multitalented curator, arts manager and strategist, what deserves attention is the repeat desire to reduce Carriageworks' biography in terms of such singularities: Bob Carr was depicted as the instigator of the centre, Marie as the overbearing manager who did not understand the artists, and Lisa arrived as sole saviour. Without demoting Lisa's achievements, I return again to the contingent nature of institutional development. In relation to issues — or in my case with Carriageworks, places — in which people have considerable emotional investment, stories of redemption or individual heroism are tempting. Yet, histories configured around notions of 'sole genius'[104] ignore the myriad networks and multiple actors, along with the happenstance and make-do involved in most achievements. Indeed, I have suggested that such narrative habits, along with the identity constructs of liberated artist or budget-wary bureaucrat, are essential to how the complex ingredients behind Carriageworks' instantiation get sidelined, even by its own contributors.

Ball grapples with ways to understand policy without conflating their specific or generic effects (1993: 15). In Carriageworks' case, this means a tension between the appeal of applying the normative logic of adaptive reuse of old buildings, a pro-market cultural policy script or its criticism, or over-privileging specific details about Carriageworks at the expense of ignoring a pattern in how policy functions. He suggests a cross-sectional analysis that traces policy formulation, struggle and response from within the state through to its various recipients. This approach must account for struggle, compromise and ad-hocery (Ball, 1993: 16) in order to eschew simple problem-solving questions (such as, how to establish a successful arts centre in a formerly industrial site?) in favour of critical

ones (how do we understand the value of places like this without being vacuous or hypercritical in conventionalised terms?). Narrowing Carriageworks to, say, a contrast between its successes and shortcomings under the administration of both directors puts us in danger of analysing the centre based only on its results — or the 'effects' of Carriageworks as sole-authored policy. This overlooks the contingencies that shaped both eras of development; and with it, the different types of labour involved. Lisa's clearly intelligent work, much like Marie's, is part of a collective effort that needs a positively valanced environment in order to be sustained and eventually instituted as the new norm. In the next chapter, I investigate the cumulative feat that is Carriageworks' current context, focusing on the productive power of its publics and the cultural and spatial context that makes its presence so receptive.

Chapter 4

Carriageworks now; major Sydney institution

One Wednesday evening in April 2015, I was meeting a friend at Carriageworks. As I arrived (typically) late, my friend phoned, unable either to find me or the location of the ambient music show we were going to. Trying to find it together over the phone, she described her surroundings. Carriageworks' expansive front foyer was full of people and a line of floor-length ball gowns and tuxes was forming at the front entrance. Inside was a red carpet leading to a lit-up banner, the photography backdrop for capturing guests at the ornate party. The building's unpretentious exposed beams and mechanical reminders did not undercut the extravagance of the congregation but enhanced it.

In contrast, our show was held in one of the medium-sized theatres to the side. Curated by a Brisbane sound art collective and headlined by American composer William Basinski, it featured drone and other experimental electronic music. By no means 'underground', it was nonetheless a relatively small performance, with a couple of hundred people lounging on the floor of the performance room. In between sets, New Yorker Basinski observed how great the Carriageworks space was and how wonderful it was to be here and not at the Opera House. Based in the city that made the idea of warehouse lofts famous, and old enough to have lived and worked in New York's heyday when such spaces were still affordable for artists like him, Basinski deemed Carriageworks a legitimate enough space to warrant the authenticity compliment.

Later, I found a glossy brochure in the bathroom: the program for the gala we had navigated earlier. The celebration was the launch of Barangaroo, a controversial 22-hectare, $6-plus billion waterfront precinct of offices, luxury apartments, parks, restaurants and entertainment facilities (Barangaroo Delivery Authority, 2016) with a proposed 70-storey high roller casino (Raper and Glanville, 2016). The people directly responsible for constructing one of the most elite private buildings Sydney has ever seen chose Carriageworks as the setting for its symbolic launch. Apparently, Carriageworks was

authentic enough to make gambling and tourism more palatable, while at the same time, somehow avoiding being the type of touristic venue that would have deterred Basinksi. Clearly, Carriageworks was not a passive backdrop. It was no longer the case that it had to allow worlds to collide in order to survive; it was now popular enough to invite all of its friends to the party. It was a success.

Carriageworks' early days of wrangling funds and audiences as best it could, as much a venue for hire for advertisements as for creative works, are far behind it. It can host Sydney's powerful business and development crowd, gathered to celebrate one of the biggest building projects in the city's history, and be praised by a composer of Sharon Zukin's generation for its non-commercial vibe, without incongruence. Carriageworks' visitor numbers are billowing, bringing it in line with Sydney's two main state-owned art institutions, the Art Gallery of New South Wales (AGNSW) and the Museum of Contemporary Art (MCA).[105] In 2015, Carriageworks brought in 0.79 million visitors (Boon, 2015),[106] which, considered in terms of venue scale, is not too far off Art Gallery of New South Wales numbers, which reported 1.16 million visitors in 2013/14 (Taylor, 2015a). This visitation number comes close to over 1 million if Carriageworks' 300,000 farmers' market shoppers are taken into account. These numbers were achieved on $1.98 million in government funding (Taylor, 2015a), a fraction of the $39.5 million awarded to AGNSW (Art Gallery of New South Wales, 2016).[107] The City of Sydney Council is on board, funding and co-presenting three projects,[108] art press refers to Carriageworks as 'one of three of Sydney's biggest cultural institutions'[109] (Daily Review, 2016) and commercial partners confidently piggyback its global cultural profile.[110]

The centre still features some independent work, but is best known for hosting major festivals and international artists — no doubt an uneasy compromise for its original tenants, who have independent arts in their blood. In any case, Carriageworks' future is secured and necessary to its installation as an institution. People like it. As I have argued throughout this thesis, the fact that people are positive towards Carriageworks is not simply the logical consequence of its development or a trivial detail, but a condition that requires analysis. While Carriageworks' exponential growth is owed in large part to a

strategic repackaging of its identity, more compatible commercial alliances and other managerial work masterfully carried out by Lisa Havilah and other emotional labourers (as explored in Chapter 3), its success is not as simple as clever marketing. Set in an area that is far from dispassionate — dispossession around The Block continues nearby and former workers' desires for railway remembrance are still unmet — and propelled through its early years by the symbiotic emotional labour of its founding members, Carriageworks continues to solicit affective contributions that are central to its evolution. We can now detect productive capacity in the commitment of the wider public: arts patrons, media, local and state government.

I this chapter I argue that more than its financial prosperity and success in the press, Carriageworks' institutionalisation lies in social participation, which, using the work of Arvidsson (2005), I cast as emotional labour. In this chapter, I consider an aspect of the centre's evolution that a typical analysis of a creative space might overpass: the substantive force of public investment, induced by a particular relationship to space. Moving away from an analysis of the centre's organisational underpinning, as was the focus of Chapter 3, the frame of reference in this final chapter will focus on the way the Carriageworks building, and the manner in which it fits into the spatial arrangement of broader Sydney, elicit emotional labour from the centre's publics.

Before elaborating on the details of this argument, I want to ground the idea that institution building is a social process in the work of Mary Douglas (1986: 45). Her book *How Institutions Think* (1986) is helpful for reflecting on how our thinking depends on institutions. Douglas writes that an institution's position is established through its ability to naturalise values that otherwise seem implicit: 'an answer is only seen to be the right one if it sustains the institutional thinking that is already in the minds of individuals as they try to decide' (Douglas, 1986: 4). Douglas' work specifically explains how institutions are able to express a sense of the world back to their publics by drawing analogies.[111] People seek meaning from the things they do and a part of this process is expressing certain tastes. In engaging in discourse with others about these preferences, we create institutions (Douglas, 1986). She writes,

For better or worse, individuals really do share their thoughts and they do to some extent harmonize their preferences, and they have no other way to make big decisions except within the scope of institutions they build. (Douglas, 1986: 128)

If we applied this idea to the contemporary context of Carriageworks, questions that ask how attending particular events or living in a specific neighbourhood makes people feel and whether this affect is related to what others think about these circumstances, have implications beyond individual decisions. If consumption practices (Zukin, 2008) and notions of taste create distinctions and centres of power (Bourdieu, 1984), understanding the emotional work required to sustain these can help us learn how dominant discourses are formed in this quasi-inarticulate space between buildings and viewers. Examining the nature of institutional formation in this way helps to avoid thinking that power functions in an exclusively top-down way. Douglas says:

[Institutions] fix processes that are essentially dynamic, they hide their influence, and they rouse our emotions to a standardized pitch on standardized issues…Any problems we try to think about are automatically transferred into their own organizational problems. (1986: 22)

In a more conventional study of an art centre like Carriageworks, emergent 'organisational' problems would concentrate on what constitutes a valid funding model or how the creative work of artists is impeded by the state or the market, to name just two. These are legitimate questions to ask, but if we look beyond Carriageworks' organisational concerns, or even those of the arts industry or city planners, to ask what assumptions are being made and which parameters are normalised, we begin to reveal the detail of how institutional power grips minds. If Carriageworks has achieved sufficient authority to evolve the idea of 'normal' over time, the problem then becomes understanding what forms of life will be rendered appropriate and what will be unthinkable. This is to consider precisely what this means for Carriageworks' normalisation of entrepreneurialism and authenticity as co-existing ideals, which are enabled by an economy that is based in consumer experience.

As I will explain, the social process that enables institutionalisation at Carriageworks in part lies in the consumption practices of its middle-class arts patrons and market shoppers (I refer to them collectively as the centre's 'public'). To theorise the productive capacity of this process, I build on the work of Arvidsson (2005: 238), who by referencing Hardt and Negri (2011), suggests that consumers generate an 'ethical surplus'[112] — a social relation, a shared meaning or a sense of belonging — which contributes to brand value, a significant commodity in modern capitalism. Arvidsson uses Hardt and Negri's notion of immaterial labour (2004: 108), which usefully points to the non-physical aspects of the capitalist production process, in which image, communication and social interaction play a role.

As noted in Chapter 1, my use of emotional labour shares this foundation, but is also intended to accentuate the non-economic aspect of this transaction: namely the personal investment made by Carriageworks' public. I also make another important distinction in my use of Arvidsson's concept (2005). While he broadly explores the function of brand capital, only briefly touching on the role of architecture and design in this commercial experience (2005: 246), I focus precisely on the conducive role of the spatial environment. I argue that the various emotive states induced by Carriageworks' built forms solicit participation and consumption labour from people, which over time, have shifted the art centre from a venue for hire to a fully-fledged cultural institution.

Although these emotional responses are undoubtedly conceived by a complex interaction between individual mind-states, personal and collective memory, the identity of the individual involved — including racial, gender, class, ability intersections (see Pain (2001) on how fear in the city is experienced by different social identities) — and many other factors to do with one's corporeal, intellectual and social life, my specific interest in this chapter is to do with the affect of Carriageworks' building, its presence in the wider context of Sydney development and the rhetorical power of an authentic experience, in the life of the labouring public.

To make my argument, I will next turn to an analysis of Carriageworks' spatial elements and their cultural, political and economic context, to understand why people relate so

strongly to this place. I first lay down Sydney's broader geographical arrangement, focusing on the city's rapid privatisation, which I argue has a stifling affect from which Carriageworks offers reprieve. The centre's cavernous building provides a vent within the city's compressed urban conditions and related contestations over space. I then investigate how Carriageworks makes a claim to authenticity, which allows the public to 'perform culture' and thus render this a valued norm and by extension, cedes the centre an authority. This process has spatial and experiential aspects, both contained in Carriageworks' post-industrial structure: its material form engenders a captivating corporeal feeling, which, coupled with the type of contemporary art presented there and the consumption experience offered by the centre's weekly farmers' market, creates a sense of authenticity as the overall effect.

Putting this another way, I consider two ways in which people discern space, be it the composition of the city, or how one feels *inside* the Carriageworks building, to argue that both relations are productive of Carriageworks as an institution because they obtain emotional 'buy-in' from the public. I should also note that despite my opening with an anecdote that could be about artistic programming, my analysis will be of Carriageworks' spatial components. These very dimensions enable an honouring of non-commerciality and a celebration of the commercial to cohabit on the same night without apparent contradiction.

The affect of spatial privatisation

To begin, let me register Sydney's current commercial and infrastructural developments, as well as two instances in which independent art and cultural spaces have been subdued, to suggest that the Carriageworks building enhances a spatial affect if conceived in the context of the built environment of its city. Though funded on a public/private model, the centre commands a substantial amount of space that is physically accessible to the public and dedicated to art, a pursuit that is still popularly perceived as less profit-driven than private developments such as luxury apartments and retail districts.

The pressure on Sydney's public space has been around for some time. Describing property prices 30 years ago, Daly writes that 'Sydney has the most expensive real-estate in Australia, by a very big margin' (1982: x). He continues:

> Since World War Two, Sydney has also been subject to more frequent and more violent bursts of inflation in property prices than any other Australian city. Despite various efforts of governments, the system seems to have run out of control and the inflated values have become institutionalised. No one seems to understand fully why the market behaves as it does. (Daly, 1982: x)

In *Sydney Boom Sydney Bust*, Daly describes how the expansion of corporate interests into building development, an influx of immigration and population growth and changes in the global financial system, were factors in one of the spikes (1982: 2). This was followed by a spectacular plummet in value due to a volatile state of money supply (to crudely simplify Daly's detailed analysis)(1982: 134).[113] Both of these events caused the price of residential property and the sprawl of the city to exceed the means of government control. Daly writes, prophetically: 'Investment patterns began to become divorced from the realities of demand. Sydney would never be the same again' (1982: 36). Currently, median house prices are close to $880,000, having doubled in a decade (Bieby and Tan, 2016). The latest report from the Australian Bureau of Statistics lists Sydney as having the most expensive housing in the country (ABS, 2016b).

Over the last decade, Redfern's geographic proximity to Sydney's business centre and the ongoing erasure of the racial history that was once used to stigmatise the suburb have attracted investment and today, the area is gripped by what Leonie Sandercock calls Australia's national hobby: land speculation (Sandercock 1997 in Allon, 2006: 3). According to auction results on property site realestate.com.au, a 2-bedroom Redfern apartment adjacent to the railway tracks — depending on vantage point and height, with Carriageworks possibly in sight — sold for $1,130,000 (realestate.com.au, 2016). However, as we learnt in Chapter 2, investment in Redfern and other parts of inner Sydney wasn't always this steep. In what follows, I offer two examples from the city's spatial history to

argue that autonomous use of space has a tendency to be shut down, leaving behind what I argue is a longing for public, non-capitalised territory in inner Sydney.

Ingrid, founder of Underbelly Festival, remembers a 'really strong underground [arts] culture' that was enabled by the availability of warehouses and other undercapitalised buildings in the 1990s. She says that because artists were not able to afford the likes of the Opera House and Belvoir St Theatre, many art spaces were operating outside of licensing and building code legalities.

> For years and years before Carriageworks, the Sydney art scene was very underground, everything was happening in warehouses at places like Lanfranchi's. That's where you went to see cutting edge, non-mainstream art.[114]

Ingrid is here referring to Chippendale artist-run space Lanfranchi's Memorial Discotheque — named after the mythologised shooting of a Sydney crime personality by a corrupt NSW Police officer — which was set up to 'create and facilitate interesting new projects which cannot afford to hire conventional spaces, or which simply don't fit the restrictions normally imposed' (lanfranchis.com, 2016). Lanfranchi's closed in the same year Carriageworks opened[115] because it failed to fulfil regulatory obligations and the landlord at the time had plans to redevelop the warehouse into student accommodation.[116] It is described by 'Harry', who contributed to the development of the City of Sydney's cultural policy, as follows:

> I remember when Lanfranchi's was around and that got shut down — well, I don't know the full story exactly — they had some issues with council and things like that. But that was a very active cultural space that grew organically that was very, very much a part of the cultural area.[117]

Fig 12. Lanfranchi's Memorial Discotheque. Image credit: Alex Davis via Flickr. flickr.com/photos/alexdavies/sets /72157594295921163/

Subversive use of space for cultural purposes existed at different times in other parts of Sydney too. In the late 1980s to late 1990s, beneath the as-yet unfinished structure of the Anzac Bridge, artists and musicians put on all-night raves at the decommissioned Glebe Island silos. Paralleling the spatial practices of electronic music scenes in Europe and North America (Berlin, Chicago, Detroit, Britain) that exploited the utility and affect of post-industrial spaces, Sydney ravers describe this time as such:

> This was our playground, there's never going to be anything like it again because it was so new and exploratory…It's very interesting seeing it [the Glebe wharf area] now, looking all pretty and clean, expensive boats around — that's where the first *Psychosis* [name of party] was…most of [the wharf area] wasn't developed. A lot of the industry down that part of the city had died out at that stage and was being redeveloped for the Maritime Museum and Darling Harbour and it allowed artists and musicians to get together and put something on and not be restricted by the rules of a nightclub or a pub…(Freyne, 2014)

Fig 13. Glebe Island silos. Image credit: Siologen via Flickr. flickr.com/photos/59203598@N00 /albums/72157645614431241/wit h/14439780890/

And speaking about the way these places felt:

> You could run amok in these abandoned places….I remember the music bouncing off the water, giving a good warehouse sound when it came back to the old rafters and sheds. There were trip hazards and holes…Just huge massive caverns. (Freyne, 2014)

Gibson and Pagan (2006) write that dance events of this era were involved in a material and symbolic struggle against state-imposed representations of public space. The authors suggest that a media moral panic around drug use allowed the NSW Government to condemn these spaces for breaching licensing regulations, which, in combination with other factors, led to their eventual diminishment.

With this example, I want to point to the way in which Sydney finance and governance have functioned to restrict the repurposing of public space to favour those that are able to bend this space to their needs. This affects how independent artists, the group for which Carriageworks was purportedly created, as well as the arts-enjoying public, conceive of state governance of Sydney's urban development and the possibilities they have to participate in this process. In spite of the obvious contrast drawn earlier between underground art space Lanfranchi's, which was forced to close while commercial behemoth Carriageworks just opened nearby, it is because Sydney is so aggressively capitalised upon that people still finds reprieve in Carriageworks — a large public space dedicated to culture.

This is hardly hyperbole, given the development of Carriageworks' immediate area. The state government's current *Central to Eveleigh* project will redevelop the area from Central Station through Redfern to Macdonaldtown Station, which according to the state development agency is 'lying idle' (UrbanGrowth NSW, 2016). Its plans for the patch of space next door to Carriageworks include a cluster of 20-storey buildings that will hold 600–700 new apartments, none of which will be social or affordable housing (there is an existing affordable housing block of 88 apartments for essential workers at the site, funded by developer contributions) (Anderson, 2014). The City of Sydney's mayor estimates this

will increase density to 70,000 people per square kilometre, a number unprecedented in Australia (release.com.au, 2016). The plan includes 'private open space' and 'retail activations' (UrbanGrowth NSW, 2016).[118]
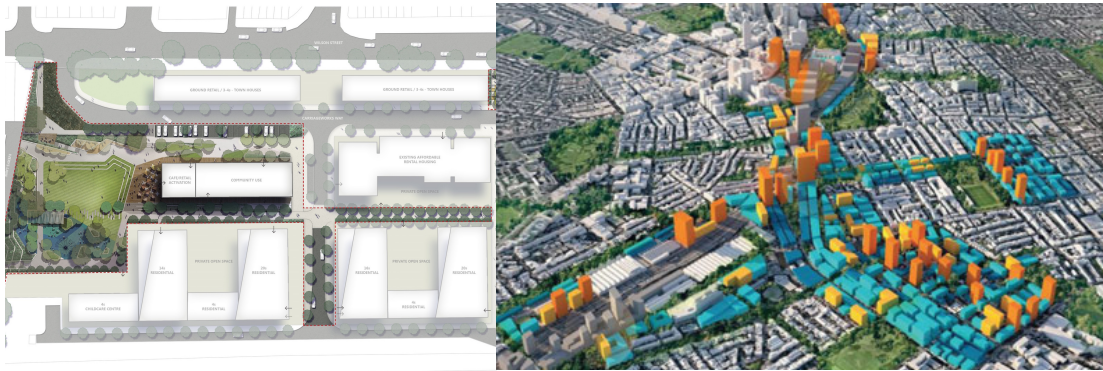
Figs 14 and 15. The Central to Eveleigh development plans: render of area next to Carriageworks and projection of building for the entire project, showing building heights. Image credits: 1. UrbanGrowth NSW information booklet and 2. City of Sydney

Looking to the other side of the tracks to Chippendale, old terrace houses, warehouses, a pub and the building formerly belonging to the Kent Brewery have already been converted into designer apartments, offices, shops, restaurants, a hotel and student accommodation collectively called Central Park. Nearby, the billionaire founder of Asian art gallery White Rabbit is building a $32-million private art gallery, garden and performance space (Taylor, 2015b). Moving north towards the harbour, the Barangaroo development is using formerly public harbourside land to build a high-rise, $6-billion waterfront precinct. Barangaroo, as well as the largest transport initiative in Australia, WestConnex, are both accused of a lack of transparency around process, disregard for expert analysis and a collusion of government and developer interest (Farrelly, 2016; Hewson, 2015; Saulwick, 2015; Seccombe, 2016).[119]

Fig 16. Lendlease's Barangaroo South. Image credit:
lendlease.com/projects/barangaroo-south/?id=b7d8e348-d6fa-
45f3-be0e-e502b5aba8a7

State government's liquor licensing laws, which led to the closure of clubs and late night drinking venues in the former red-light district of Kings Cross, are praised for a 25 per cent surge in residential housing prices (Irvine, 2016). A consortium of property owners is looking to sell to developers a stretch of Kings Cross land valued at $200 million (Saulwick, 2016). Among this, Sydney's skyline may soon become more concentrated, if the City of Sydney's plan to increase building height limits succeeds in their bid to accommodate further commercial development (Saulwick and Visentin, 2016). To reaffirm the disparity highlighted earlier between rising property prices and the closure of independent art spaces, I will note that the number of full-time practising artists is actually in decline (Throsby and Zednik, 2010). A Australia Council for the Arts study states:

> artists' incomes have remained fairly static in real terms...over a time when the real
> incomes of other workers have risen. It can be concluded that as a whole, practising
> professional artists have not shared in the real earnings growth that most occupations have
> enjoyed during the past several years. (Throsby and Zednik, 2010)

When space is continuously represented purely in terms of its economic value, an affect of restriction is created that spills into how people perceive space in the city.[120] Sam shares her view:

> The whole Miller's Point / Barangaroo thing [the transformation of harbour-side public
> housing into private residences] is pushing poor people further out and further away from
> culture. And the same thing happened in Redfern. There's still a lot of community housing
> out there but you don't know when the tide will change…So, I think we've been pushed into
> apathy around these things and it's difficult to get people engaged [in spatial politics]. But
> art is a way you can do that![121]

Accustomed to seemingly inexorable privatisation, with anxiety about future housing
security amplifying, it is possible that people in Sydney treasure the apparent anomaly of
Carriageworks. Despite the centre's clear entrepreneurial approach, it operates as a
symbolic space that not only resists apartments but makes a stand for public art and public
access.[122]

Assisting with this perception is the Carriageworks' building itself. Its architecture
produces a physical experience, which, depending on the individual, can carry various
connotations that render the space meaningful: through offering emplacement to those
whose lives are connected to Carriageworks' former life as Eveleigh, an enticing encounter
with spatial expanse and a feeling of being 'anchored' to place. It is designed to symbolise
authenticity, an idea that corresponds with Carriageworks' artistic programming and
commercial ventures.[123] In order to make the argument that Carriageworks' materiality
influences the behaviour of its publics, I will acknowledge the theoretical turn that placed
space at the foreground of social research.

Post-industrial charisma

First, let's recall that with grand ambition the Eveleigh Workshops were purpose-built to
fulfil an economic and social need — to industrialise the state's pastoral economy through
the maintenance and construction of locomotives (Transport Heritage NSW, 2016). Its
massive, train-scale sheds were involved in shaping the potent political life of its workers,
allowing them to congregate *en masse* and contest restrictive workplace practices. In the
site's transitional phase, it was again the sheer size of the building that attracted social

activity, providing desired heights for the aerial and physical theatre artists who needed spaces to swoop their bodies through. This same factor became a major aggravant in Carriageworks' early years, incurring maintenance costs which created an urgent need to raise funds by reorienting the new art space to commercially successful activities. Today, I want to argue, it is Carriageworks' aesthetic and affective conditions that also cause people in Sydney to form an emotional attachment to the centre, thus establishing its institutional status and influencing representations of its wider local area. In other words, just as the social shaped Eveleigh's and later, Carriageworks' spatial qualities, so did the spatial shape its social form (Soja, 2008).

This thinking, broadly characterised by an 'assertion of the ontological parity of time and space' (Soja, 2008: 18), is derived from the work of Henri Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) and Michel Foucault (1986). Two decades later, it became the main focus of geographers Edward Soja (1989) and Doreen Massey (2013 [1984]), among others. These writers confronted the longstanding disposition in Western social thought to assume that 'social causality and the force of human will was carried only by time and history, with space and geography merely reflecting the social drama, the essentially historic narrative' (Soja, 2008: 19). Soja notes that within this paradigm shift, two predominant modes of spatial thinking prevailed. These were the tendency to fixate on material and measurably empirical findings, obscuring underlying causal forces; and on the other hand, too heavy a focus on representational modes of space in which 'the imagined took precedence over the real' (Soja, 2008: 19). This dualistic approach parallels a theoretical conundrum in this study. On the one hand are theorists like Neil Smith (1996; 2008) and David Harvey (2008) who proffer materialist and economic causes of urban change, but de-prioritise cultural, aesthetic or psychological elements. On the other are poetic and philosophical renditions in the vein of Gaston Bachelard (1994 [1958]), which evade or underplay analysis of how such elements shape politics. Neither perspective alone allows me to interpret the way in which space moves people to feel, and how this drives their social behaviour, eventuating in such arrangements as the institutionalisation of a place like Carriageworks.

I'll also mention that, from the disciplinary perspective of geography, a considerable amount of work has focused on bridging the visual and material qualities of buildings and the urban landscape more broadly, taking into account the social processes that construct them (Latham *et al.*, 2009: 80).[124] While geographers have examined the 'mobile and relational production of architecture, and the technological systems that underpin its design, construction and maintenance' (Latham *et al.*, 2009: 87), I ask what the emotional underpinnings of these structures are and question their relationship to power. Aside from two notable studies discussed further in this chapter, what this literature doesn't allow me to easily diagnose, is how Carriageworks' physical structure — namely its 'post-industrial' building and cavernous spaces — affects the way people feel and the investments they make as a result, taking into consideration that this affect (or lack thereof) depends on the historical and cultural perspective of the interpreter which is itself culturally conditioned (Casey, 1993).

While Carriageworks' architecture routinely appears in discussions about the centre and thus solidifies its institutional image, the reason why it is so salient is not commonly dwelled upon. I propose that Carriageworks' spatial power is expressed twofold, through the cultural currency of its building's post-industrial aesthetic and via a more corporeal response that people have to the space. More specifically, the post-industrial look has a recognised association with art that offers cultural capital, but in the context of Carriageworks, it has an emotive impact derived from materiality too.

When it comes to spatial aesthetics, the very term 'post-industrial', with its connotations of urbanity and contemporaneity, has become such a salient quality it escapes further scrutiny. A well-recognised style in architecture discourses, it is frequently associated with contemporary art.[125] Commercial discourses have appropriated this design style from the longstanding history of artists making dilapidated buildings that were once used for manufacturing into their homes and studios. As with the example of Sharon Zukin's SoHo, struggling artists had a monetary imperative to move into these commercially undervalued buildings; cheap rent was required to live and produce work. But as well as economic revaluing, another type of transaction occurred in the transition of buildings from decrepit

to desirable. It involved a shift of value propelled by changing symbolic and emotional attachments.

David Ley (2003) helps us to make sense of this process, conceptualising it as a movement of the meaning of a product or place from junk to art to commodity, with the figure of the artist responsible for the renegotiation. Ley sees the figure of the artist as analogous to Walter Benjamin's two archetypal urban characters, the rag-picker and the poet, each of whom derive their 'heroic' status from gathering the 'unwanted scraps' of the city and transforming them into valued objects: 'The poets find the refuse of society on their street and derive their heroic subject from this very refuse' (Benjamin, 1983: 79). This conversion is most famously associated with 1970s and 1980s New York, but has since evolved the post-industrial look into a marker of commercial success associated with thriving cultural activity.[126] The artist-led transformation of ideas about spaces frequently appears in cities with sizeable artistic communities, related creative industries and the type of populace that drives and serves these audiences — Richard Florida's 'creative class' (Florida, 2002) — cropping up in cities as geographically distant as Montreal, Amsterdam and New York, where post-industrial spaces form homes, studios, offices, restaurants, galleries and more.

An infatuation with the post-industrial has a cultural cachet that has started scenes, travelled between continents and shifted global capital. Shaw (2006) argues that, by the time it reaches Sydney, this design has been stripped of its cultural context and fetishised. In the proliferation of Manhattan-style apartments in Sydney, we can see the sale of a 'metropolitan fantasy of a cosmopolitan, and globally generic, urbanity' (Shaw, 2006: 185). Shaw acknowledges the local history of students and artists seeking cheap housing (a 'scene', which unlike New York was mostly illegal and unrecorded) and the oversupply of city buildings during the 1970s and 1980s that enabled this occupation (2006: 187–188), but highlights that the 'loft living' marketing rhetoric has become a new lifestyle form which does not rely on particular local cultural anchors to have its appeal (Shaw, 2006: 197). According to Shaw, this fantasy is used to discursively divert Sydney from its vernacular past to produce an exclusionary urbanism, based on the consumption of cosmopolitanism (2006: 185).[127]

Fig 17. The Goods Line in Ultimo. Image credit: ASPECT Studios. aspect.net.au/?p=384

But having been abstracted into the mainstream,[128] has post-industrial architecture been diminished to nothing more than a transportable image to be capitalised upon, reducing it to a shallow, stylised version of its culturally-rooted beginnings? And if so, does Carriageworks in Sydney hold nothing more than the confected appeal because of its vicarious associations with a gallery in an old bunker in Berlin or a Williamsburg loft? Or is it possible that it offers a corporeal feeling, related to what Immanuel Kant and other aesthetic thinkers called 'sublime',[129] through other means?

I argue that part of Carriageworks' material power which so strongly moves people to emotionally attach to it, lies in its ability to provoke a physical feeling when in the space. If we take the building's ability to rouse emotion, or in other words, control the perceptive system of an individual via environmental stimuli, an effect Buck-Morss calls 'phantasmagoria' (1992: 22),[130] Carriageworks can shift perceptions and behaviour. It is therefore useful to recall that the etymology of the word 'aesthetics' is grounded in the Ancient Greek word *aisthitikos*, which means 'perceptive by feeling' (Buck-Morss, 1992: 6). Buck-Morss also draws attention to the phenomenology of our bodies' ability to 'feel'; how incorporating the world through seeing, hearing, touching, feeling, smelling operates pre-linguistically and therefore, before meaning and logic (ibid: 6). As proposed in the introduction, it was only during the course of Western modernity that the term 'aesthetics' became synonymous with art.

Having accepted the economic capital that comes attached to the aesthetics of these spaces, I'd like to pause to further consider their material detail and the atmospheres and emotions they elicit. Writing on ruins offers an inroad, enabling us to think through the connection between an embodied experience with the matter of buildings and the perceptions we form of these spaces.

At first glance, the symbolic value of ruins and industrial buildings made available for on-trend commercial adaptations seems discrepant, despite a shared proclivity for exposed brick. In their pre-renovated or 'ruined' state, the Eveleigh Railyards' rusting instruments might have been read as a critique of optimistic versions of progress in which mechanical technology is king; once-ambitious machinery now signifying a redundancy of vision. Yet Carriageworks leaves little room for such reflections. Being an art centre, it is a living and breathing model of contemporary evolution, seeming to affirm the idea that society is now advanced by the postmodern vehicles of culture and image (cf. Hardt and Negri, 2011). While a ruin can act as a symbolic statement that space is not 'empty', that it continues to exist even if an entrepreneurial use for it has not been determined, a building that has been refurbished for new use no longer offers such freedoms of imagination. In Mary Douglas' (1986) terms, the repurposed use is already telling us what to think. Any sense of melancholia about the impermanence of existence invoked by decrepit machinic architecture is outshone by the spectacle of artistic performance. It raises the question: if industrial ruins can be seen as monuments to the failure of capitalism's promise of eternal production, a graffitied backdrop for punk (cf. Solnit, 2007), is a post-renewal building a metaphor for an aestheticisation of politics and the pacification of space for the modern-day consuming bourgeois?

That may be so, but I argue that the embodied experience must also be accounted for. As Lefebvre condemns the rationality of modern urban planning in the excerpt below, so the sensual realm, the connection between the body and the space around it, must not be overlooked in a study of a contemporary art institution. He writes:

[modern space] overlooks the core and foundation of space, the total body, brain, gestures, and so forth. It forgets that space does not consist in the projection of an intellectual representation, does not arise from the visible-readable realm, but that it is first of all heard (listened to) and enacted (through physical gestures and movements). (Lefebvre, 1991: 200)

Edensor (2007) suggests that the disorder of ruined matter and unfamiliar objects brings to the foreground an awareness of the materiality of things. Although in the Carriageworks building, 'ruined' matter is very carefully ordered, its hefty, dense fabric — exposed steel scaffolds, heritage brickwork and wooden beams — may still be a reprieve for audiences who might otherwise be contained in office buildings that were built quickly during the boom of commercial opportunism of the 1960s to 1980s, with little consideration for light and open space (Daly, 1982: 65). Punter holds similar views of various design regulation and intervention decisions that have impacted inner Sydney's landscape, chastising these for having often

squandered [Sydney's] natural advantages, succumbing to spectacularly ordinary commercial development that has destroyed much of its heritage, darkened its narrow streets, blocked views of the harbour and overshadowed its parks and public spaces (2004: 406).

He cites an even more venomous depiction of Sydney by Peter Carey as 'a vulgar crooked convict town' (2004: 406). By contrast, Carriageworks' enduring structure, which over time has acquired its own acoustics and scents, may also offer an elusive sense of gravitas. As Samuel (1994: 120) writes about Victorian brickwork,[131]

brick represents a craft material in an age of mass production. In recoil from the 'faceless' buildings of functionalist architecture, they [partisans of 'new-vernacular' architects] invest brickwork with almost human qualities. It is tactile, textured and grainy where modernism's surfaces are flat…'warm' where glass and concrete are cold…it grows old gracefully where curtain walling stains.

Much like the romantics' concept of the ideal ruin as 'well enough preserved (while retaining the proper amounts of picturesque irregularity) to produce the desired mix of emotions in the beholder' (Roth, Lyons and Merewether, 1997: 5), Carriageworks' post-abandonment architecture is emotionally evocative because of its imposing proportions yet non-manicured feel. Says director Lisa Havilah in a YouTube clip promoting the centre:

> What I love about Eveleigh is how unconstructed it is and how it can be both utterly contemporary and completely historic at the same time. Carriageworks as a building, both its developed and undeveloped sections — it's always a surprising place to work in. The reason I love Carriageworks so much is that it has these extraordinary buildings that have a scale and an integrity to them that you don't see anywhere else in Sydney. (Havilah, 2012)

While bare brick clearly holds a great deal of cultural capital, the visceral, embodied experience evoked by the building suggests an additional angle from which this place can be appreciated. As Lefebvre writes, 'Tangible spaces possess...a basis or foundation, a ground or background, the olfactory realm (1991: 197). The point I am making is similar to an assertion previously made by Tim Edensor (2011) Kraftl and Adey (2008), who argue for the ability of spaces and atmospheres to arouse affect, which can sometimes be operationalised. Through his ethnography of a festival of light in Blackpool, Edensor explores this immaterial or nonrepresentational aspect of place, arguing that spatial atmosphere creates a 'flow of experience', created by 'affective and emotional affordances, historical resonance and social practices' (2011: 1119). Similarly, Kraftl and Adey (2008) describe two instances in which architectural design is used to engender affect, in their case, homeliness, writing that this affect can sometimes be politicised and thus influence the way spaces are inhabited.

Carriageworks' immersive stillness, the silence of its antique iron machinery, roughness where there is usually smooth, its ability to make a visitor feel physically small, all help create an affect that solicits affective attachments which, over time, shapes people's relationship to not only the building, but the institution itself. If we think about the Carriageworks' building phenomenologically, considering bodily connections with

architecture, its tactile, olfactory and aural sensations would complement its visual offerings. All of these senses are embedded in creating an experience frequently associated in aesthetic theory with the 'sublime'.

Considered a higher emotion by the romantics, in Kant's words: 'The sublime moves, the beautiful charms' (Kant, 1997[1960]: 26). This movement may be experienced viscerally and according to Burke's version of the concept (in Roskill, 1997[1933]: 158), sublimity is found in infinity, vastness, magnificence and obscurity. Following this line of thought, Nesbitt (1995: 101) writes that architecture's manipulation of scale, monumentality and light can invoke the sublime. And, in addition to visual and corporeal effects, the experience of the sublime may also be thought to create a temporal awareness. Thus for modernists, 'The avant-garde task is to undo spiritual assumptions regarding time. The sense of the sublime is the name of this dismantling' (Lyotard 1982 in Nesbitt, 1995: 104). This speaks to the possibility of bodily and other unconscious connections to architecture, including those that are activated by memory, as I elaborate below.

Enduring for over 100 years, Carriageworks' building is an artefact of a time to which most 'users' of the building have little other connection. The materiality of the structure, which has outlasted human life, offers contact with a world now gone. But the way the past is interpreted involves social participation. While we may well read agency in non-human entities (Thrift, 2008), what is relevant here is the way connotations of the past are valorised in the present. As David Lowenthal reminds us, 'no physical object or trace is an autonomous guide to bygone times; they light up the past only when we already know they belong to it' (1985: 238).

For some, Carriageworks connotes architectural and artistic status. For others, this site may offer a sense of historical significance — as if, the longer the time in which this building has existed, the more validated our presence and elongated the reach of our lives. Particularly for those for whom the spaces contain echoes of personal biographies, like Eveleigh's railway workers, the feel of a particular part of the building evokes memories of youth and new beginnings, or hardship, boredom and trauma and at the same time, open

up a moment of reflection on how this fits within their whole life. The point is that the corporeal and symbolic effects of place are culturally determined; the meaning of this industrial building depends on the beholder and is socially shaped at the same time.
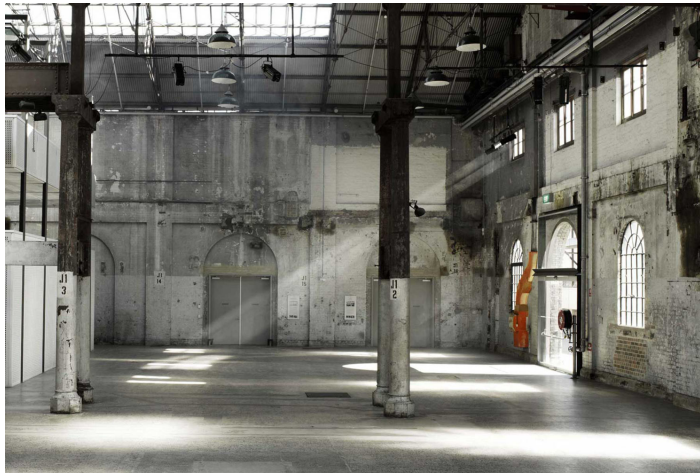
Fig 18. Carriageworks interior. Image credit: carriageworks.com.au

If habituation and biographical imprint enables us to understand what lies around us, inextricably connecting space and self together (Casey, 2001), someone who worked at Eveleigh may seek to preserve its memory in order to stabilise the rapidly changing present with something familiar. By connecting Eveleigh workers to their past, the site continues to play an important part in the formation of their identity: 'Ability to recall and identify with our own past gives existence meaning, purpose and value' (Lowenthal, 1985: 41). In the commemorative book *Railways, Relics and Romance: The Eveleigh Railway Workshops* (1996), photographs of Eveleigh's fossilising buildings and machinery are partnered with reflections from former workers. One such comment, positioned next to a picture of a steam locomotive, reads:

> In the old days you used to have your driver, your fireman and your locomotive, and none of them could work without the other two. Drivers and firemen would work together for years. My dad was a fireman and was with the same driver for 14 years. (Moore, 1996: 62)

Casting events in 'the old days' and mention of the 14-year period of family connection to the workshop not only denotes the passing of time but anchors contemporary attachment to ageing remains.

The importance of memorialisation for people whose identities and social bonds are bound to a place is relatively easy to understand. But why are post-industrial spaces evocative for those with no biographical claims? And what form of investment, or labour, does such resonance assume? In part, one could argue it is a cultivated effect. In a very different but equally passionate perspective on the same structure, we can see how the Carriageworks architect's artistic sensibilities detected beauty in the old Eveleigh structure. For Adrian, personal recollections of a time now past was replaced by an aesthetic discernment nonetheless filled with temporal awareness. This was his architectural creative vision for Carriageworks:

> This idea of 'interstitial space', meaning the space 'in between', is interesting because [this allows] you to change the function of a building over time. When we designed this building, we wanted to have lots of very interesting interstitial space that people would take over. [There is empty space]…deliberately between rehearsal rooms [which artists can make into] great spaces.[132]

Adrian's architectural concept cuts across physical *space*, which can be shaped so that people can 'fill' it with activity, as well as *time*, in the sense that it reverberates the social world from history:

> That Proustian value of all periods of living in the city at one time is why cities are so exciting. You can walk down the street, look at buildings from the 19th and 20th Centuries and think, 'that building could be thought of as a crystallisation of a conversation from 200 years ago and it represents a set of values from that time.[133]

Whether spaces allow people to attain temporal awareness, indulge in nostalgia, or simply physically orient themselves, emotional labour is performed. Says Adrian:

We read architecture at different levels, even when we subconsciously think about where the front door is. What's going on in our heads to make that happen? Buildings have the ability to be read in a number of different levels. And that's a very liberating thing because somebody can navigate their way through this building reading no more than the handles, the signs, the old bits, the new bits and then other people might start to see that connection [operating] between the new building.[134]

The process of spatial production is reciprocal. An architect can design a structure, but it takes other people to read these forms and imbue them with meaning. People form attachments to places for different reasons, relating to the psychic and social elements of their subjectivity. Not least of these reasons is based in the way spaces 'feel'. I will pose this in a different way. Carriageworks is not the only art institution in Sydney to use a repurposed building, but through a comparison of their different architectural styles and the histories that determined these, we can speculate about how atmospheres can influence public perceptions.

The National Art School (NAS) offers one such comparison, although it is a visual arts school with a focus on studio practice and not an exhibition space and theatre like Carriageworks.[135] NAS is situated in the heritage-listed old Darlinghurst Gaol, Sydney's main colonial prison, which was constructed in the early 1800s. The prison's design intentions, inspired by ideas of reform rather than punishment, were thwarted by an administration eager to finish delayed construction and accommodate as many prisoners as possible. As a result, conditions were dire: a pond of sewage outside the main entrance exuded fumes, rations were meagre and over many years, the Gaol experienced issues with security, disease and drainage. Seventy-nine executions were conducted there, often in public (Dictionary of Sydney, 2016). According to NAS, it was a 'place of abject misery' (National Art School, 2016). Today we see the former Gaol's curved sandstone buildings, soaring walls and unique steel staircase as charming. The site is heralded as 'one of Sydney's oldest and best-preserved examples of colonial architecture' (ibid), well-suited to a boutique institution with a history of award-winning graduates that include some of Australia's most iconic artists.

Without empirical data, it is difficult to make any claims concerning the affective impact of the symbolic loadings contained within this building and yet we can speculate about the emotions to which both the NAS and Carriageworks architectures are affixed. While the NAS building was initially created to detain and rehabilitate, the Carriageworks space existed to drive progress through collective physical labour and technological aptitude. By modern standards, to be tied to either place would mean a harsh existence, but by the end of the 19th-century, the Gaol was widely criticised for being regressive (National Art School, 2016), whereas Eveleigh was a poster child of colonial accomplishment. Darlinghurst Gaol meant confinement or demise; Eveleigh offered job prospects and a chance to craft your own destiny. In the present day, Carriageworks has successfully channelled its post-industrial building into its business model, while NAS faces absorption into a major university with corporate objectives, and the potential loss of its independent governance and ethics (Morgan, 2016; Boney, 2016; Taylor, 2016c).[136]

Of course, these institutions have different functions — one exhibits and presents, the other educates — and to claim that architectural affect and symbolic associations have alone determined their fates would be a colossal stretch. And yet, it is possible that Eveleigh both spatially and metaphorically represented what continues to be understood as social progress and individual advancement, ideas that Carriageworks has rolled over into the 21st-century. If we consider Mumford's (2010 in Larkin, 2013: 337) division of history into periods that privileged particular technologies, and with them, building materials, we can read these industrial periods and their political processes as having the power to create particular aesthetic spaces: 'Where stone resists compression, masses into piles, and closes off space, iron can be stretched and drawn, holding tremendous weight to create soaring open spaces' (Giedion 1995 in Larkin, 2013: 337).

Moreover, there is a semiotic affinity between 19th-century mass industrialism and the creation of new areas of commodity display, where 'large crowds central to the emergence of new spaces of capital' circulated (Larkin, 2013: 337). In Eveleigh's era these new spaces were train stations, department stores and exhibition halls (Giedion 1995 and Benjamin 1999 in Larkin, 2013: 337), but in Carriageworks' generation, these same materials have

taken on new meaning to denote a space where a visitor can have a multi-sensory cultural and consumer experience. Remembering the city's privatisation patterns described earlier, the threats to NAS engender among the art-appreciating public in Sydney the fearful sentiment that the availability of space for arts purposes is dwindling (Boland, 2016). That Carriageworks receives more praise for its post-industrial building and discerning entrepreneurialism in regard to funding and experience-focused programming (Cosic, 2015), sits adjacent to, and perhaps benefits from, exactly this fear.

As I have argued so far, in its aesthetics and as a space within the context of Sydney's built environment, Carriageworks is enticing for the public. These qualities, put simply, give people 'a reason to care' about this art centre, forming the necessary attachment or force that feeds Carriageworks' institutional 'success'. In the next section, I turn from the affective to the experiential nature of Carriageworks, the qualities that make it so porous to public participation. I argue that, together with the spatial effects described above, Carriageworks' associations with its labour past and racially-charged geography, the participatory style of its programming and weekly farmers' market, all make a claim to authenticity, a notion sustained by the logic of 'the experience economy' that characterises contemporary capitalism (Pine and Gilmore, 1998). I also explore why the public so happily commits emotional labour to sustaining this idea by arguing that authenticity allows people to perform an alliance with the alternate, which fulfils their sense of self within the midst of consumerism.

Performing authenticity

In analysing various interpretations of post-industrial design, I have discussed how Carriageworks' building offers people an encounter with the past. Yet, as Samuel (1994: 131) contends in his analysis, although brickwork signifies regional and ancestral belonging, the very fact that this architectural coding exists means that this material has contemporary currency. This suggests a crucial link between narrations of a place's past and its institutional formation in the present. In Douglas' words:

When we look closely at the construction of past time, we find the process has very little to do with the past at all and everything to do with the present. Institutions create shadowed places which nothing can be seen and no questions asked… To watch these practices establish selective principles that highlight some kinds of events and obscure others is to inspect the social order operating on individual minds. (1986: 69–70)

Carriageworks' building holds rhetorical significance for the centre because Eveleigh and Redfern's histories can be used to legitimise its existence. Carriageworks' director Lisa Havilah regularly refers to Eveleigh's rich history and sees the centre as a channel from the past to the present, giving what she calls 'the Redfern community' its sense of place. She says:

Organisations like Carriageworks can really engage with the history of a place while bringing it forward into the future. Carriageworks can hang onto history but also provide local context as Redfern goes through significant change. And I think the arts can play a significant role in grounding communities and connecting communities with place. This is interesting in Carriageworks because it already has rich cultural and historic connections to Redfern, so we can provide a number of different ways to interpret the generational connections that the community has with Carriageworks. (Havilah, 2012)

Together with its time-worn building, Carriageworks' working-class ancestry in an area infamous for its racial tensions, a community spirit and social diversity, have powerful allegorical connotations for the art centre. They conjure a rawness that contrasts the marble museums of elite culture on the harbour; at least in image, if not in how power functions there. Shaw (2007) criticises this type of celebratory urbanism on the grounds that it produces exclusionary spaces designed to resonate with whiteness. She argues that Sydney's preservation of industrial heritage valorises selective ideas of the past, in which class tensions and race relations are subdued, while simultaneously commodifying Manhattan-style cosmopolitanism for the middle classes:

> The Block's continual reinvention as Sydney's own inevitable 'black ghetto' is also part of the evolution of Sydney into a big international city; after all, big international cities have (racialized) ghettos. (Shaw, 2007: 137-138)

While I feel this is somewhat reductive of the many forms of urbanisms that exist in Redfern and make up inner Sydney's cultural psyche, Shaw's proposal that this type of cosmopolitanism is a cultural resource is useful to my analysis of Carriageworks. The art centre absorbs Eveleigh's illustrious blue-collar legacy and Aboriginal Redfern into its image under the rubric of authenticity: an emotionally evocative quality that requires public engagement.

I'll clarify with an example. Alluding to the process of urban change happening in Redfern, Havilah says that, with its physical presence, Carriageworks is able to provide social grounding. What's more, as well as anchoring local inhabitants, the centre is Redfern's champion to the general, dominant Sydney public. Says Havilah:

> Carriageworks creates a profile for Redfern to the rest of Sydney. With projects such as 'Black Capital', we really provided a contemporary profile of Redfern Aboriginal communities by working in partnership with them. (Havilah, 2012)

Black Capital featured an art exhibition and Aboriginal storytelling, music, art and food. The invited (presumably non-Indigenous) public is asked to be humbled, uplifted, entertained, educated; to feel gratitude, maybe even shame in acknowledging their place in Sydney's colonial identity. An Aboriginal person may experience the event differently. Whittaker writes: 'Redfern is a sentimental space for white Australia — not a reminder of what it had done, but what it, the noble egalitarian society, was charged to 'fix': us and our curiously causeless shortcomings' (2016). She proposes that the investment is less in an Indigenous presence in Redfern that has the controlling power to make decisions about its future, and more in racial harmony, 'a quiet, rent-paying Redfern' (Whittaker, 2016).

This appeal to the public to reflect on its cultural connection to Redfern is not playing on rationality but affect. It is the task of the individual to undertake emotional work to interpret what Carriageworks conveys, the subtext of its presumed authenticity. As Brian Larkin urges, we need to analyse infrastructures such as roads and heating systems, and I would add, buildings 'as concrete semiotic and aesthetic vehicles oriented to addressees. They emerge out of and store within them forms of desire and fantasy and can take on fetish-like aspects that sometimes can be wholly autonomous from their technical function' (2013: 329). Carriageworks' appearance as 'naturally' embedded in and speaking for Redfern is what gives it the highly compelling 'authentic' quality, a strategically crafted effect with the labour that formed it hidden from view. This goes for the sensory-making work of the organisation itself, as well as the emotional labour of the 'consumer' who upholds Carriageworks' values or meanings (Arvidsson, 2005). But it is precisely this emotional work that offers an inroad to understanding institutional formation.

An early version of the notion of individual authenticity is found in the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who saw authenticity in an individual's proximity to nature, existing at a distance from institutional power (in Zukin, 2008: 728). Sharon Zukin writes that, for German intellectuals in the 18th-century, who were distanced from those in charge of state power but rich in cultural capital, this idea provided moral consolation (2008: 728). We can trace this notion of authenticity as based in 'downward mobility' from 19th-century Paris to downtown New York in the 1970s, in the spaces where artists performed their difference. Over time, these sites were 'entrepreneurialised', yet this reading of authenticity as a marker of cultural capital was not only retained but continues to be a resource with which people can draw distinctions. I note this to suggest that the concept of authenticity is, first, ideologically constructed around an identification with the alternative; and second, is enabled by emotional participation. German intellectuals, Parisian novelists and New York bohemians derived solace in their cultural capital by reaffirming it.

In a contemporary context, authenticity has a commercial currency as a product enabled by the 'experience economy'. This logic began to gain traction in the 1990s–early 2000s, when business consultants Joseph Pine II and James H. Gilmore announced that corporations are

no longer just in the business of making goods, they're creating memories (Pine and Gilmore, 1998). A central tenet of this transaction lies in a company's ability to offer consumers a meaningful, authentic experience[137] through tailoring products to their preferences and creating ambience in physical spaces. A couple of years later, this idea surfaced again in the popular work of urban theorist Richard Florida, whose 'creative class' of upwardly mobile professionals could be captivated by a set of experiences, or memorable events, with which they could engage in a personal way (Pine and Gilmore, 1998). Jeremy Rifkin calls this 'cultural capitalism'. He writes:

> In the twenty-first century, institutions increasingly trade in ideas, and people, in turn, increasingly buy access to those ideas and the physical embodiments in which they are contained. (2000: 55)

As much as in Carriageworks' exposed brick structure, well-worn steel beams and embattled past, the affect of authenticity is woven through the centre's presentation of contemporary art. Like many other art institutions, Carriageworks denounces the modernist ideal of the museum where the visitor was the passive recipient of knowledge and culture. It instead constructs experiences in which the public plays an active role (Stylianou-Lambert, 2010: 138).[138] This evolution of the function of the art institution is well documented (see Rosler, 2010). Experiences are created with blockbuster exhibitions, complete with themed souvenirs available in the gallery store, through interactive technology that tells a multimedia story about the artist or their work and of course, by constructing outstanding buildings in which to present it all (Ballé in Crane, 2002: 132). Immersive, sensory and atmospheric artworks are gaining popularity and much of the time, they require large spaces, spaces which themselves help form part of the affect (Horowitz, 2011: 129). At Carriageworks, this takes the form of large-scale exhibitions in the main foyer, artist talks and programming in which the visitor is invited to interact with atmospheres created by the artist, among other types of work. Experiences are required to secure ongoing relevance, because 'to prove themselves politically, culturally, economically, and socially museums must be a success with the public' (Ballé in Crane,

2002: 142). This 'dialogue' between art centre and patron positions the institution as approachable, intuitive and therefore, as authentic.
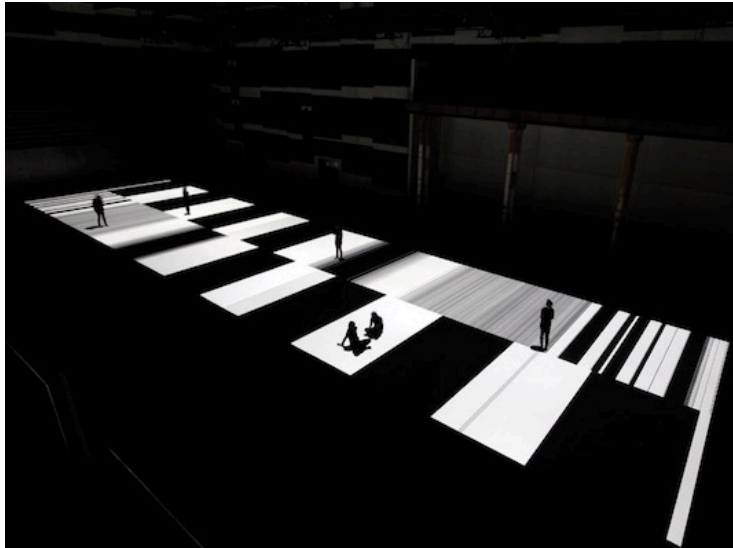
Fig 19. *test pattern [No 5]* 2013 by Ryoji Ikeda. Image credit: carriageworks.com.au/events/ryoji-ikeda-test-pattern-no-5-installation

But the rhetorical value of authenticity is most palpable at Carriageworks' farmers' market. As mentioned earlier, this is the weekly event that pulls the organisation's visitation numbers to a million a year (Taylor, 2015a); but its function is more than pragmatic. Given the prices, even the more affluent residents of Redfern, Alexandria and Newtown are unlikely to do their full weekly shop at Carriageworks markets. What this market offers instead is an 'authentic way' to buy fruit and vegetables and a place to socialise on a Saturday morning. Together with the exhibitions inside the building, the public is offered an experience. People might come for the ethically grown produce, but they stay to look at the art.

Holloway and Kneafsey (2000) suggest that farmers' markets are differentiated from other ways to purchase food based on the marker of 'quality'. Circumventing the usual mass-produced retail chain, farmers' markets allow consumers to buy directly from producers, or at least trace the origins of their food, providing assurance of taste and health benefits. According to Holloway and Kneafsey, 'Regional specialty foods and drinks products are

often linked to specifically rural areas and hence are invested with particular symbolic meanings revolving around interrelated concepts of tradition, authenticity, quality, natural-ness and local-ness' (2000: 294). This affect is resonant even if the market tradition is not genuinely rooted in the local history of the area. Rather than reviving a village market tradition which never existed in Redfern, similarly to the building's warehouse aesthetic that lacks a heritage indigenous to Sydney, Carriageworks markets' 'local and homegrown' values invoke a more cultivated authenticity.

Sensitised to the tasteless but perfect form of supermarket tomatoes, the market-going public sees beauty in the unshapely form of the farmers' markets' heirloom tomato (Jordan, 2007). Unique-looking, part of a limited run of production and, patrons are told, sold directly by the person who grew it, farmers' market produce, like a handmade object, is 'imbued with touch and therefore offer[s] a sense of the 'authentic' in an 'inauthentic' world' (Luckman, 2015: 68). Each piece of fruit radiates with uniqueness seldom experienced in a globalised marketplace (Luckman, 2015: 69). Food can provide significant cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984); as a consumption practice, farmers' markets provide status and distinction (Holloway and Kneafsey, 2000: 292) through the performance of difference from mainstream norms.

Fig 20. Carriageworks farmers' markets. Images are my own

The market is underpinned by an 18-page charter that lists five core values: authenticity, origin, knowledge, sustainability and excellence (Carriageworks, 2016). No resellers are allowed and all stallholders are required to have spent time at the farm so they can provide detailed product knowledge (according to the charter, this is to ensure the Carriageworks market retains a competitive advantage). The sense of authenticity needs to be carefully organised by stallholders and market managers, requiring their emotional and physical labour too.

People are increasingly constructing their own way of life, seeking and inventing forms of authority (Adkins 2002 in Luckman, 2015: 102) and offering their emotional labour unbidden and 'for free' in order to derive a sense of identity (Arvidsson, 2005). Fittingly, the virtue of 'creative' has shifted from the realm of achievement and into another: an attitude towards the self (Berman, 1979: 48). Much as culture is used by governments and corporates to mobilise capital, it can also be a resource for individuals (Yúdice, 2003).[139]

If the claim to creativity can now be made not only by professional artists, but through participation in cultural activity and the expression of consumer tastes, institutions like Carriageworks capitalise on this personal styling by providing an 'authentic' space in which people can 'perform culture' (Yúdice, 2003):

> [Consumers] lack the producer's knowledge to change a cucumber into a pickle, but they have a consumer's knowledge of how a good pickle tastes. Basic as it may be, the need to shop for food or to socialize over a nice cup of latte becomes a means of manipulating authenticity. Consumption spaces promote different kinds of authenticity for different communities of experience, while even consumers of alternative spaces participate in working out the details of this fabrication. (Zukin, 2008: 734)

Using Judith Butler's theory of 'performativity' (Butler, 1993), Yúdice explains that people 'perform' their identities in a field moderated by institutions.[140] Yúdice is speaking to an American context and national cultures; specifically, one that emerged after the civil rights period, marked by the 'reconversion of the US economy along Post-Fordist lines and in

relation to the new global economic order' (2003: 57). Even so, this theoretical frame is useful to Carriageworks because it allows us to conceive of culture as a resource and an important aspect of identity formation, thus offering a possible explanation for why Carriageworks' public is so committed to sustaining the centre's institutional identity. It also supports the idea that an attachment to creative space is not necessarily wielded by creative producers alone. Yúdice writes that Butler's performativity opens up possibility for 'disidentification', or a manoeuvring within identity in order to reframe it. Yet, he argues, this resignification still operates within a frame in which the labour markets, the consumer, the law and other institutional systems are relational. The result is that contestation still only plays out within this conjecture of factors, therefore 'misidentification is not only limited to those who repudiate the norms of a straight, white, male-valorizing society' (Yúdice, 2003: 57–59). For a middle-class, well-to-do market shopper, going to Carriageworks offers the satisfaction of eschewing mass-market grocery stores and an alternative to the traditional art institutions favoured by the state (Dow, 2016; Taylor, 2016a):

> Often the same men and women are shopping for fresh goat cheese, supporting fair trade coffee, and restoring old brownstone houses in these socially 'marginal' areas. Just as they take pleasure in choosing alternatives to mass market products 'pure,' original, ethnic, fresh so they are willing to take risks in choosing where to live. (Zukin, 2008: 725)

Fig 21. Art fair Sydney Contemporary at Carriageworks. Image credit: Sydney Contemporary 2013. Strobed. strobed.com.au/2013/09/sydney-contemporary-2013

Of course, in any place, especially in one where emotional attachment is so contested, it consumption practices like this create exclusion. The prices at Carriageworks farmers' markets obviously limit the access of many, disposable income being the most obvious determinant; and we also know that what it means to belong and participate is determined by more than cost. In Zukin's words, 'exclusion from urban space depends on cultural factors like aesthetics, comfort level, and the tendency to use, and understand, consumption practices as expressions of difference' (2008: 735). But what I have suggested in this chapter, is that the construction of exclusive places and indeed, institutions, is not only defined by their effect on those on the margins. Their very construction involves a powerful form of non-economic exchange; in this case, one that is derived from the emotional labour of a public performing an idea of culture that is articulated through the supposedly authentic.

The implications of the situation I have described are multiple. From a social justice perspective, the future of Carriageworks' institutional influence on its urban environment is probably bleak. However, this has not been the focus of my thesis. In delving into the intellectual and physical connections people can have to buildings and space more generally, my goal was to do two things: deepen our understanding of the ways people relate to creative space and consider how ideas become normalised. The ability of space to rouse emotion is a vital aspect of our understanding of social and political life. As McNeill and Tewdwr-Jones suggest with an example of an unbuilt Opera House in Wales, the form, function and location of significant architectural projects can reveal the pervasiveness of politics in the everyday, in their case, challenging ideas of national identity (2003). Larkin confirms this statement by referencing Benjamin (1999):

> for Benjamin, commodities, buildings, and streets contained within them the movement of history: they were embodiments of objective historical forces, but they simultaneously enter into our unconscious and hold sway over the imagination. They form us as subjects not just on a technopolitical level but also through this mobilization of affect and the senses of desire, pride, and frustration, feelings which can be deeply political. (2013: 333)

Massey reminds us that places are never static and always socially constructed, containing 'competing histories of the present, wielded as arguments over what should be in the future' (Massey, 1995: 185). If we similarly consider institutions as articulations that are in flux rather than having a fixed destiny, understanding how they happen might open up opportunity to resist on different terms.

Conclusion

At a time when government funding is diminishing for creative organisations that sit outside of traditional arts like the opera or ballet (Cosic, 2015), Carriageworks is thriving and generally evades criticism. The centre has achieved 'success' in not only securing its financial viability, but in becoming a system that implies the naturalness of its own political and cultural dynamics.

This thesis reveals something is significant, but hidden about this institution, an element that was visible at an earlier point in its history: the fact that Carriageworks wasn't destined to become a flourishing centre, with its authenticity a marketable asset. The emotional labour that constituted this place from its time as Eveleigh continued throughout Carriageworks' evolution to present day, when public attachment to it, its values and material forms, seems natural. Thus, the typical critique offered by creative industries is complicated by the productive effect of cumulative emotional labour, whether it is contained in policy formation, involved in attachments to buildings and place, or committed to upholding particular values.

The evolution of Eveleigh into Carriageworks was no simple genealogy of funding decisions and managerial actions — it required drive and determination. It is this appeal that influences not only the productive capacity or 'success' of this place (in its simplest form, Carriageworks' ability to have an audience, generate funding and attract artistic, commercial and government partnerships), but which was crucial in the transformation of the site from concept to material form to cultural icon. Even when artists were being critical of Carriageworks' unavailability to them, or when policy workers were striving to find the budget to keep the place running, an emotional attachment was being expressed that was foundational to Carriageworks' establishment and maintenance.

As well as providing an alternative lens through which to analyse an art institution like Carriageworks, the involvement of emotional labour in this study extends the possibilities

of what the emotional labour concept can do. This study points to the productive capacity of emotions, specifically their involvement in erecting buildings, shaping institutions and influencing the way these are received by the public.

Of course an approach that considers emotional labour does not negate the possibility of Carriageworks' critique. Grounds for such are manifold and, if this project was extended, worth pursuing. I will mention only a handful. As Sam from Performance Space said, Carriageworks is unaffordable to independent artists or those that have either failed to reach prominence in Sydney's art world, or obtain wider market success.[141] We could hypothesise that this is an issue of access that preserves existing power structures. One could also explore how Redfern's cultural importance as an urban Indigenous site is enthusiastically involved in an arts conversation, but that this attention doesn't translate into policy that achieves material improvements to housing and other essential services for those in desperate need. In the context of the increasing use of culture as a resource for state governance (Yúdice, 2003), this might cast the role of institutions like Carriageworks in a new light.

Not least of these issues is the fact that some of Carriageworks' work is blatantly affixed to land value. Take one of its marketing projects. A Sydney artist was commissioned by Carriageworks and a real-estate agent called BresicWhitney to photograph the 'diverse communities and unique character of Redfern' (Carriageworks, 2015). This was tied into a competition that asked the public to do the same and tag their photos #redfernlife, in exchange for a prize. In Carriageworks' own words, this 'marks the establishment of a major new visual arts partnership between Carriageworks and BresicWhitney' (Carriageworks, 2015). The culturally-constructed idea of what 'authentic Redfern' is, is here explicitly fastened to real-estate, with art becoming a tool for attracting property investors.

And yet, an assessment of Carriageworks' various forms of exclusion would have repeated what many others have skilfully articulated, with different material or places in mind, with the implicit notion that such places should not exist, or should not be celebrated, given

their underbelly. In any case, it looks as though Carriageworks is here to stay. The question this raises, then, is what do we do with these kinds of 'successful' institutions? How do we resist productively? This intellectual quandary is bigger than this thesis and transcends academic and personal life.

Despite my migrant background and upbringing in a low socio-economic suburb of outer Sydney, at this point in my life I am middle class. I have the time and employability necessary to support a Masters thesis, an economic security that allows me the resources visit Carriageworks too, if I wish. I could (and sometimes do) disavow such commercialised art spaces as Carriageworks and other forms of contemporary capitalism, but this doesn't solve the problem of my inevitable connectedness to the economic system responsible for the spatial inequality I describe, nor the other complex modes of capitalist oppression of which I am critical.

Even in relation to this study, my position is betrayed by my initial casting of Carriageworks and Redfern as 'interesting'; I had the economic and cultural distance to judge it so. Further, my well-intentioned stance on the injustice of gentrification in Redfern was complicated by the opinions of those directly affected. At the beginning of this project, I was living in Redfern and friendly with my neighbours: next door lived a senior Greek couple and across the road, a young Indigenous man with his daughter and uncle. When conversations turned to the changes in our local area, the nostalgia was mostly with me, essentially the incoming 'gentrifier', and not those who have more longstanding attachments to the neighbourhood. As Zukin says, 'we can only see spaces as authentic from outside them' (Zukin, 2008: 728). Needless to say, these individual opinions do not dispel the palpable problem of displacement of vulnerable people in Redfern and it is paramount that political and activist work continues to marshal against this. Nor is it my aim to reproach those in a privileged position for hypocrisy. Instead, I want to argue for a need to search out alternative methods of analysis because cumulatively, these might open up new avenues for change. Whether in academic or journalistic writing, or in dinner party conversations, gentrification continues to be discussed by those in similar positions to me, that is, by people aware of their subject positions but at a loss as to what to do with their

imbrication.[142] I make this point not only with the intention of exposing my positionality as a researcher, but to make a claim about Carriageworks' emotional resonance in another form; put bluntly, it being attractive to those with 'class guilt'.

So, although Carriageworks' 'success' might appear in quotations, these are not cynical denotations, as if to imply the devastating consequences of what such success might entail — this type of evaluation was explicitly not my task. Throughout, I have deliberately sought to avoid succumbing to a comfortable critique, which might have been to dissect the problems with Carriageworks' 'middle-classness', while at the same time evading the fact that I am at the centre of these processes of exclusion — benefitting culturally and economically, and as part of this, possessive of the 'right' type of language with which to critique the situation (those most damaged by gentrification are not usually the people who have made careers from writing about it). That is not to suggest that those with power should not work against these processes because they benefit; such a view would be both moralistic and unrealistic. Or, to argue that critique should not continue. It is instead to say that critique must remain vigilant about the pacification of thought that might occur with the availability of cynical reason.

By not being partisan with anyone in this story, I have reached for a breadth of perspective that has allowed me to deem all agents involved as having a 'truth', conceiving of their tellings as articulations of their own institutional conditions. For the same reason, my focus became Carriageworks' instantiation and the human effort that fed it as a policy formulation and as a building. In doing so, my intention has been to challenge various dualisms found in the Western intellectual tradition (Plumwood, 2008): binaries of mind and heart, art and commerce, ideas of what constitutes labour and place as either affective or economic.

This ethnography of Carriageworks has highlighted the role of emotional and affective labour, arguing that such labour has been consequential in the driving of different actors to action and in the anointing of some narratives as seemingly more valid than others. In taking this perspective, my intention has been to simultaneously exercise critical distancing

and remain immersed in events as they unfold, rather than jumping to a cynical conclusion, with potential avenues for defiance overlooked.

Notes

Notes to Chapter 1 (pp. 5–26)

[1] There are many examples of nostalgic recollections. The 2005 *Remembering Eveleigh* documentary walks listeners through the site, taking in its sounds and interviewing former workers and blacksmiths working there in modern day, among others. Says labour historian Lucy Taksa of this vibrant social world: 'The people worked alongside, relatives, friends, (forming) trade unions, reading clubs, photography clubs, flower clubs…they even established food cooperatives. Some of the earliest workers at the Eveleigh Railway Workshops were the ones that helped found the Australian Labor Party' (in Barrell, 2005). The Australian Technology Park, the business park which today occupies the former Eveleigh buildings not used by Carriageworks, has developed an online archive of images, poems, news clippings, cartoons, interviews with former workers, detailed recordings of the sheds and other structures at different historical points, architectural assessments and sundry other materials (including a personal recollection and description of the paper hats which were used by Eveleigh employees!). The site depicts the camaraderie that the workers say existed at Eveleigh. One such example is the poem *He Understood*, a comical take by the Eveleigh Loco Shop Committee on work at the workshops:

> *A man stood at the pearly gates,*
> *His face was worn and old*
> *And meekly asked the man of fate,*
> *Admission to the 'fold'.*
> *"What deed can you account for*
> *To gain admission here?"*
> *"Why I worked at Eveleigh Loco*
> *Until my dying year."*
> *The gate swung open sharp,*

As St. Peter touched the bell,

"Come in" he said "and take a Harp,

You've had enough of Hell" (Australian Technology Park, 2016)

[2] The term Fordist refers to modern production associated with factories and the assembly line. It is characterised by a standardisation of tasks, so that each part of the job or the person performing it is interchangeable. The organisational principles of Fordism also ensured task separation and central, external control of the production line.

[3] A 2016 *Sydney Morning Herald* article indicates that three months into the year, Carriageworks had received $3.8 million from the state and federal governments and earned $6.7 million primarily from its program and events ($5.1 million) as well as food and retail activity ($956,500). This is an increase of $2.5 million from the $1.98 million in earnings from government funding reported on 9 November 2015, and already close to the $6.02 million earned from hosting major events such as Fashion Week and Sydney Contemporary art fair, venue-for-hire and box-office revenues (Taylor, 2016b).

[4] This is the first of many excerpts from a series of qualitative interviews conducted for this study. The interviews were held between 21 March and 5 May 2014 at the respondents' offices. I will elaborate on the detail of who was interviewed later in this introduction. Unless I am citing existing political or managerial identities from the public record (for example, the former Premier Bob Carr), pseudonyms are used for all of my interviewees. I will reference the interview transcripts in footnotes so as to not interrupt the thesis narrative. They are numbered from one to twelve in date order of when the interviews were held. The format of these footnotes will be 'Interview number, role of respondent, interview location and date' — so, for this quote, 'Interview 8, Arts Ministry worker responsible for Carriageworks' construction, Sydney Town Hall, 5 May 2014'.

[5] High operational costs were indicated by a number of my respondents and suggested to be one of the major issues faced by Carriageworks in its early years. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

[6] Neoliberalism is defined by David Harvey as 'a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by

strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices (Harvey, 2005). Miller (2009) sees the political notions of neoliberalism and creative industries as developing at around the same time, associating the two based on their increased focus on entrepreneurship.

[7] In revisiting Williams' work, Lloyd and Thomas (2014) argue that culture and the modern state bring each other's terms into being (Littler, 2000). This means that if culture as a distinct domain arose in parallel to representative democracy, the representative mode came to fulfil both aesthetics and cultural institutions (Littler, 2000).

[8] However, Littler (2000) argues that the blending of culture and industry has always connoted undemocratic prejudices in the sense that 'high culture' is constructed in opposition to mass culture and consumption, but also the lower class and the feminine.

[9] Although the Greater London Council's model bore the beginnings of the influential cultural policy of the UK's New Labour government, London's connection of culture with consumerism had a different agenda, which was to politicise cultural forms, and develop skills, pleasure and social cohesion in local communities (Littler, 2000).

[9] This term was never the party's official title, but the way it represented itself to the public. It refers to three consecutive terms between 1997 and 2010 (Hesmondhalgh *et al.*, 2015).

[10] This term was never the party's official title, but the way it represented itself to the public. It refers to three consecutive terms between 1997 and 2010 (Hesmondhalgh *et al.*, 2015).

[11] The way for this development was paved by Prime Minster Margaret Thatcher, who privatised public services and sculpted state arts bodies in the image of corporates. Littler (2000) argues that the crux of the policy still retained the discourse of high culture (which allows people to individually experience 'deep' emotions), but its function as a 'civilising' force was transformed to assist in the accumulation of corporate capital.

[12] Paul Keating's *Creative Nation* (1994) was succeeded by *Creative Australia* (2013) under the Prime Ministership of Julia Gillard. This policy was abandoned by the incoming Liberal government under Tony Abbott, which elected not to have a cultural policy at all. In 2015, this government cut millions of dollars from the independent cultural funding and advisory

body, the Australia Council for the Arts, instead diverting funds to a newly-established National Programme for Excellence in the Arts, administered by the Arts Ministry.

[13] According to Sassen (1991), the 'global city' can be so classified if it is a highly concentrated economic centre; houses finance and specialised firms such as legal, communications, accounting and so on and produces innovations in these fields, while simultaneously providing a market for them. She cites New York, London and Tokyo as leading examples. Global cities are ranked with various indexes, including the A.T. Kearney index, which ranks the 'top performing cities today and those with the greatest potential for the future' (AT Kearney, 2016).

[14] Both concepts, especially Florida's thesis that the 'creative class' (which can include professions as broad as engineering, law, architecture, and computer programming) should be attracted with the three T's of 'talent, tolerance and technology', have been extensively critiqued. Florida's theory has been accused of subsuming culture within an economic development discourse; homogenising a socially and economically stratified group of people, ignoring class and race; de-emphasising the human cost of regeneration policies; normalising casualised labour by painting it as a 'new opportunity', and assuming that loosely-defined values of 'openness and tolerance' are neutral goods that can define the attitudes of an entire city (Gibson and Klocker, 2005; Kråtke, 2010; McGuigan 2009; Chatterton, 2000; Pratt, 2011; Markusen, 2010). He has also been dismissed by some as lacking in empirical rigour (see Peck, 2005). It must be noted that at the time of writing, Florida announced his new book, available in April 2017, will be called *The New Urban Crisis*. In it, Florida acknowledges that attracting a creative class is insufficient and is now set to make the claim that urban regeneration requires infrastructural investment and structural changes, such as wage protection for service workers, after all (DePillis, 2016).

[15] Other initiatives connected to the creative city are the European Union's *European Capitals of Culture* (European Commission, 2016) and the UNESCO Global Alliance's *Creative Cities Network* (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2016).

[16] Policymakers have used the concept more extensively by developing creative industries in their municipalities, attracting migration and investment and encouraging

entrepreneurial exchange between commercial, arts and government organisations (Luckman, 2009).

[17] Since the publication of *The Managed Heart* (1983), which focused on the specific professions of flight attendants and bill collectors, the concept of emotional labour has been taken up and expanded upon in various academic fields, from sociology (Wharton, 2009) to psychology (Mikolajczak, Menil and Luminet, 2007) and applied to professions outside of the care and service industries, including law (Anleu and Mack, 2005).

[18] Although, Hochschild's writing was crucial in this field, it wasn't the first effort to theorise the role of emotion in the workplace. Mills' *White Collar* (1951) signalled a new kind of commodified labourer, where subjectivity (including elements such as relationship building and personality traits) is instrumental in handling people and symbols (Mills, 2002 [1951]: 75).

[19] Hochschild's work is concerned with three specific lenses of enquiry: emotional labour which requires the generation of certain feelings in order to obtain a wage; emotional labour wherein there is an expectation that the feelings expressed align with the company's imperative; and the effortful management of emotions when interacting with others at work (Grandey, Diefendorff and Rupp, 2013: 1958).

[20] The Operaismo Movement of the 1960s and 1970s attempted to analyse the transformations of capitalism in the period of 'post-Fordism'. It was associated originally with the work of Raniero Panzieri and characterised as a 'return to the working class' against the objectivist determinism that characterised the Marxism of the Communist parties of the time. It returned to popularity in the 2000s with the identification of globalisation as a new sphere of inquiry by Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt.

[21] It should be noted that prior to this, Henri Lefebvre's influential work showed us how the post-industrial 'modern world' socialises us as workers and regulates consumption. In his introduction to Lefebvre's 1984 edition of *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, Philip Wander writes that although our workplace seems natural, it has changed significantly over the past hundred years to value a different type of personality; it is the individual who can 'fit in' that achieves social mobility. He writes, 'In a lifeline sequence of encounters with

anonymous others, each of us must be able to 'put ourselves across', to 'sell ourselves' to the other' (Wander, 2005 [1984]: xiii).

[22] Hardt and Negri propose a networked, post-Fordist economic paradigm that presents a new revolutionary subject. In dominant societies of the global north, employment has moved into service sectors, characterised by knowledge, information, affect and communication. This transformation is seen to afford increased importance to the 'intellectual' qualities of the post-Fordist proletariat (Dyer-Witheford, 2001: 2). Alongside another intellectual, Maurizio Lazaratto, they describe an 'epoch in which information and communication play an essential role in each stage of the process of production' (Lazzarato and Negri, 1994: 86). Commodities are becoming increasingly defined by cultural, informational and knowledgeable dimensions – and the labour that produces them corresponds.

[23] This is not to say that the production of material goods is disappearing, but that their value is more and more weighted in immaterial qualities. Traditionally, economic tools of measurement are quantitative and therefore unable to account for the intangibles which Hardt and Negri call 'biopolitical products'. They stress that human beings are emerging as fixed capital and the 'production of forms of life is becoming the basis of added value' (Hardt and Negri, 2011: 132). The authors make it clear that the labour itself is material, but its products are immaterial – although others suggest that they later contradict themselves by writing that both material and immaterial forms of labour are usually intertwined (Camfield, 2007: 3).

[24] For instance, Camfield (2007) criticises the authors for a lack of understanding of Marx's concept of value creation, arguing they give a muddled conceptualisation of the elements they see as immaterial – the labour itself or only its products. For Camfield (2007), the theory is exclusionary as it is concerned primarily with knowledge/intellectual labour pertinent to a certain class of worker. Others point out that Hardt and Negri's definition of labour is stretched out to include all possible dimensions of production, whether they are intellectual, communicative or emotional, resulting in a concept that is overly inclusive and thus better used as an activist tool or political slogan than for analytical precision (Haug, 2009). McRobbie (2011) says their universalist approach is ignorant of class and gender

while George Caffentzis (in Dyer-Witheford, 2001: 72) argues that positing an 'intellectual' like a hacker or cyborg at the revolutionary forefront in place of 'factory floor' proletariat ignores their capacity for vanguardism, given their position of relative privilege.

[25] This goes for anthropology too. Anthropologist George E. Marcus' (1983) awareness that his discipline has a tendency to study people with less power and status than themselves, which led to him researching elites in different contexts, is partially helpful. In addressing the postmodern 'crisis of representation', in which no single truth exists and the researcher inevitably interferes in the lives of their subjects, Marcus urges anthropologists to write 'horizontally'. And yet, Marcus is at pains to define what elite communities are (Marcus, 1983: 11). They are not horizontal but perceived as acting exclusively and in conspiracy to achieve domination of the many by the few, even if still in need of empirical, contextualised evidence of their authority (Marcus, 1983: 11). They constitute a social group which, although related, differs from my conception of middle-class when referring to Carriageworks' sizeable public.

Notes to Chapter 2 (pp. 27–56)

[26] Interview 7, Carriageworks programming director, Carriageworks, 2 May 2014.

[27] Interview 2, architect responsible for Carriageworks renewal project, architect's office on Reservoir Street in Surry Hills, 27 March 2014.

[28] Interview 2, ibid.

[29] Interview 2, ibid.

[30] Interview 2, ibid.

[31] Interview 5, curator-at-large at Performance Space, Carriageworks, 24 April 2014.

[32] Interview 11, manager of strategic initiatives at NSW Ministry for the Arts, Castlereagh Street Sydney, 28 May 2014.

[33] According to Sam. Interview 5, curator at large at Performance Space, Carriageworks, 24 April 2014.

[34] Twenty-five Members of Parliament started their careers as railway employees at Eveleigh. These included two State Premiers and a Governor-General, including William McKell, who worked at Eveleigh as a boilermaker.

[35] The technology at Eveleigh was always focused on steam-powered locomotives. There were some attempts at modernisation — in the 1960s, its running sheds were updated to repair air-conditioned trains. But, according to (Taksa, 2003: 68), these were not well funded.

[36] In 1996, the southern or locomotive side of Eveleigh was readapted by the state government, in partnership with the University of NSW, the University of Sydney and the University of Technology, into a technology and research centre called Australian Technology Park (ATP).

[37] This term is used to describe Redfern on the Creative Spirits website. I also chose these words to capture the significance of land in the Aboriginal experience of colonialism: 'Their sense of invasion, of loss, and deprivation of land was expressed clearly and unarguably,' writes Goodall (2008: 39). I want to remind readers that Redfern is typical of most urbanism in Australia, which was violent from the start (Deslandes 2009 in Begg, 2009: 56).

[38] Although in 2016, the mural looks to be renovated (Haas, 2015).

[39] See Wendy Shaw's *Cities of Whiteness* (2007) for a detailed account of gentrification in Redfern.

[40] I use the terms Aboriginal and Indigenous interchangeably, when referring to people who identify as such (as opposed to this being a biological determinant). Aboriginal or Indigenous people includes individuals who share kinship ties and collectively identify as having a history of colonial dispossession in Australia.

[41] Along with various other forms of manufacturing, Redfern was a densely industrial area. The middle classes moved out of their properties with magnificent gardens and their homes were converted into boarding houses to accommodate workers. Particularly on the side of the tracks occupied by The Block today, the suburbs housed the working poor and people of colour (SBS, 2010).

[42] Even with this migration from all over the country and the bush, some families in Redfern today can still trace their connection to the area as far back as the 1700s (SBS, 2010).

[43] In 1968, around 35,000 Indigenous people lived in Redfern (Teece-Johnson, 2016).

[44] In September 1970, the welfare organisation known as South Sydney Community Aid applied to the Commonwealth Office of Aboriginal Affairs for funding for an Aboriginal field officer to cover an 'area which contains the heaviest concentration of Aboriginal people, living in the worst housing conditions' (Anderson, 1993).

[45] Gary Foley, a Gumbainggir activist and writer, who was involved in the Redfern-based Black Power movement at the time, tracks the sequence of individuals and events that connected it to the 1972 Aboriginal Embassy at Old Parliament House in Canberra. The Embassy represents the land rights debate that formed one of the factors that ushered in the Labor Government under Gough Whitlam (Foley, 2001).

[46] Paul Coe describes the Australian version of the movement, of which he was a key part, as representing the need of Aboriginal people 'to take control both of the economical, the political and the cultural resources of the people and of the land...so that they themselves have got the power to determine their own future' (in Markus, 1999).

[47] Arguably, each group was advocating their own agendas. At this time, local priests were aiming to subvert the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, while members of the labour movement were seeking to disrupt the allegiance between state government and developer interests. This group was instrumental in imposing heritage laws known today as the 'green bans' (Anderson, 1993).

[48] Kay Anderson (1999), writes that following the 1967 referendum that recognised Aboriginal people as part of the Federation of Australia, Indigenous claims for land, health, justice and self-determination have been repeatedly contested as they threatened the colonisers' economic and institutional power. She says that the battle for space in Redfern is a telling example of this (1999: 74).

[49] It has been suggested that the heroin trade was ignited by elite members of the Australian Federal Police force, headquartered from two high-rises nearby, known at the time as TNT towers. One officer, Michael Anthony Wallace, was convicted of stealing $20 million worth of seized heroin. Another, Allan Gregory McLean, was indicted for importing heroin from India (Kidman, 2008; Farrelly, 2004). Importantly, in the late 1990s news headlines declared that police had a 'zero tolerance' policy towards The Block and a permanent shop front police station was installed at Redfern Station. Coupled with regular

crime reports in the media, such heavy police presence ingrained notions of danger in the area (Shaw, 2007: 63).

[50] Interview 4, Aboriginal man who grew up in Redfern/Glebe, cafe on Abercrombie Street Darlington, 4 April 2014.

[51] Writing about the experiential aspects of racial rivalry between white working class and local Aboriginal people in the NSW town of Bourke, Cowlishaw describes how people identifying as Murri see themselves as subjects of contempt, 'routinely interpellated as suspect, as troublesome, as incongruous' (2006: 435). I note this to suggest the embodiment of race not only in individual and collective behaviour, but in places over time.

[52] Following the establishment of the RWA, a resident watchdog group called REDWatch was organised to monitor its activities. Writing in the early days of the RWA's establishment, its spokesperson Geoff Turnbull (2005) says that despite claims that the authority carried out community consultation, it failed to do so on multiple occasions. The Indigenous and non-Indigenous community was not successful in gaining legislative rights to contribute to plans for the area.

[53] A clause of the *Redfern Waterloo Authority Act 2004* which established the RWA, excluded the local council from having control over Eveleigh's heritage preservation. A 2013 City of Sydney committee document shows the Council's intentions to petition for the heritage preservation of the site, despite limited planning authority (City of Sydney Transport, Heritage and Planning Sub-Committee, 2013). In 2012, the *Redfern Waterloo Authority Act* was repealed. The agency's urban renewal and planning functions were delegated to the Sydney Metropolitan Development Authority. In 2013, these powers were transferred again to an urban renewal body called UrbanGrowth NSW. To this day, development powers sit with the state. Urban Growth NSW is responsible for strategic planning and the Minister for Planning and Infrastructure is the consent authority for all major developments valued at $10 million and over.

[54] According to Geoff Turnbull, spokesperson of community group REDWatch, the NSW Government owned around a third of the land (Turnbull 2009 in Begg, 2009).

[55] In a private-public model, the state can achieve a development outcome without outlaying major costs. It would sell land to a developer, who builds a mix of buildings for

private and public use. The public side is funded by profits from private sales.

[56] The RWA's Minister Frank Sartor was accused by Aboriginal leaders of saying he wanted no Aboriginal housing at The Block at all (Dick, 2005). Sartor was also forced to publicly apologise for a racial slur directed at the Chief Executive of the AHC, Mick Mundine, which, malicious or not, was indicative of habitual racism pervasive in Redfern. This occurred when Sartor was interviewed on Radio National's AM program about the AHC's *Pemulwuy Project*, which planned to build 62 Aboriginal houses on the Block — a proposal Sartor was blocking (Barlow, 2005). Cabinet documents leaked to the S*ydney Morning Herald* included government ambitions for the AHC-owned land, which the corporation was refusing to relinquish to the state. In the four years following, the RWA hindered the project by reducing the amount of residential development that could be built on the AHC-owned land, while simultaneously allowing an increase in commercial and residential densities in the land surrounding (Turnbull 2009 in Begg, 2009).

[57] Interview 7, Carriageworks programming director, Carriageworks, 2 May 2014.

[58] Also, in this limited account of Redfern, a sense of 'Aboriginal community' has been implied to differentiate a group of people identified as sharing historical, political and cultural trauma — but not necessarily suggesting that it is definitive concept for everyone involved. The experience of community is ambivalent; many Aboriginal people feel that it is an imposed Western notion, but also one that has been successfully adopted by Aboriginal people, who have attributed new meaning to it (Dudgeon, Mallard, Oxenham and Fielder, 2009: 4).

[59] This idea of communal values is deployed in contradictory ways, as explained by Gillian Cowlishlaw in *The City's Outback* (2009). In a society where social aspirations are wound up in the individual pursuit of private property, some social scientists see 'demand sharing' as a barrier to Aboriginal advancement (in the sense that poverty will be shared too), yet this very same quality is also extolled as 'authentic' Aboriginal culture (ibid: 157–158) which can translate into resource advantages (in say, land administering rights) (ibid: 186).

[60] Spark (2003) is referring to cultural discourses that place Aboriginal people as 'traditional' and therefore 'emplaced', or 'non-traditional' and therefore displaced. This dichotomy suppresses nuance and ambiguity and further materialises the physical

displacement of Indigenous people from the inner city Redfern.

[61] Interview 4, Aboriginal man who grew up in Redfern/Glebe, cafe on Abercrombie Street Darlington, 4 April 2014.

[62] Spark (1999: 61) is referring to Edward Casey's concept of 'persons-in-places' (1993), which he describes as follows, 'Instead of thinking of places as causing people to have certain individual and social characteristics, or simply the reverse, we should concentrate instead on the single complex unit, 'persons-in-places'. Persons who live in places—who inhabit or reinhabit them—come to share features with the local landscape, but equally so, they make a difference to, perhaps indelibly mark, the land in which they dwell'.

[63] The AHC has been an embattled body for decades. In the 1980s, it faced pressure from the federal government to disperse The Block, which led to the renovation of some homes and not others, causing resident clashes (Anderson, 1999: 81–82). In the late 1990s, a portion of tenants were urging repairs. From the vantage point of these residents, the AHC was negligent to their needs for adequate housing, focusing instead on profit-making Aboriginal industry and in the process, eroding a system based on common welfare in favour of individually purchased housing (Anderson, 1999: 78). Anderson also notes that at the time of her 1994 ethnography of The Block, only one member of the AHC was living there (1999: 80).

[64] *The Pemulwuy Project* was established with a view to retain Aboriginal control over the land, at a time when the RWA was looking to acquire it. However, the Embassy's concern was that the commercial aspect of the plan would undermine the affordable housing. The Embassy ended when the federal government agreed to contribute $5 million to low-income housing, allowing this to be built at the same time as the commercial buildings.

[65] Interview 4, Aboriginal man who grew up in Redfern/Glebe, cafe on Abercrombie Street Darlington, 4 April 2014.

[66] Redfern is not only symbolic ground for Indigenous land rights in the eyes of its Aboriginal people; these associations are acknowledged on a national level. Redfern was where, in 1992, former Prime Minister Paul Keating made his famous speech in which he acknowledged the impact of colonial and ongoing government policies on the lives of Indigenous people in Australia — the murders, the theft, the dispossession, the violence,

the discrimination.

[67] Jenny Munro, a leader of the Redfern Aboriginal Tent Embassy, says: 'I'd like to say to Black Australia — think about whose country this is, whose land it is and take a lesson from us. Resistance might get you a whole lot further than acquiescence will' (Reece-Johnson, 2015).

[68] Interview 4, Aboriginal man who grew up in Redfern/Glebe, cafe on Abercrombie Street Darlington, 4 April 2014.

[69] Interview 4, ibid.

Notes to Chapter 3 (pp. 57–79)

[70] Although this cannot be referenced as this conversation did not take place as an official interview, I am told anecdotally by a friend who for decades has worked with social housing residents in the inner city, that the residents of the Waterloo towers found out about the state government plans from the media. Community consultations have been organised, but are only happening after the plans have been confirmed.

[71] Mnouchkine had never before brought Théâtre du Soleil to Australia. When she declined the invitation to come to Sydney for the 2002 Sydney Festival, the festival director Brett Sheehy flew to Paris to implore her personally (City of Sydney, 2016).

[72] Performance Space was established in the 1980s to present new forms of theatre. Until its 2007 move to Carriageworks, it was permanently housed at 199 Cleveland Street, Redfern and aimed to provide affordable space for artists to produce experimental work. It strives to privilege the work of artists from diverse backgrounds and explore new models of presentation and content.

[73] Interview 3, Carriageworks' first CEO, Skype interview, 28 March 2014.

[74] Interview 3, ibid.

[75] Interview 11, manager of strategic initiatives at NSW Ministry for the Arts, Castlereagh Street Sydney, 28 May 2014.

[76] The normalised conception of the impact of mega sporting events on urban development and the place of art in this dynamic is broadly as follows: high-value but depressed inner city areas are 'activated' and sanitised for commercial gain and the tourist gaze and culture

is used to buffer rampant development and/or sweeten the deal for vulnerable groups.

[77] Interview 11, manager of strategic initiatives at NSW Ministry for the Arts, Castlereagh Street Sydney, 28 May 2014.

[78] According to Davidson and McNeill (2012), the idea of a post-Games legacy has been used by authorities to offset the public cost of holding the major event.

[79] Interview 11, ibid.

[80] Interview 8, NSW Ministry for the Arts worker responsible for Carriageworks' construction, Sydney Town Hall, 5 May 2014.

[81] Interview 6, head of front of house at Carriageworks during early years, phone interview, 24 April 2014.

[82] Interview 6, ibid.

[83] Interview 8, NSW Ministry for the Arts worker responsible for Carriageworks' construction, Sydney Town Hall, 5 May 2014.

[84] This would require a separate study that is focused on assessing arts funding strategies and data that extrapolates the specific dealings in the period of the building's five-year construction: an enquiry which, while important, falls outside the scope of this thesis.

[85] The 1990s 'policy debate' in cultural studies is useful background here. It involved one group of academics identifying with cultural criticism that sits at an arms-length to policy and another that called for a reconstitution of policy as an object of study and site of political activity in itself; in other words, placing cultural policy, as it is understood by government and private agencies, at the centre of academic work (O'Regan, 1992: 411). Put simply, proponents of this idea were designed to make the humanities count in policy development, rather than through less involved connections like cultural and social commentary (ibid: 413).

[86] Underbelly Arts develops and presents work from emerging artists across visual art, performance, theatre, live art, music, sound, dance and digital practice. Since 2007 it has provided a public platform for artists through often large-scale events in non-traditional spaces.

[87] Interview 1, founder of Underbelly Festival, phone interview, 21 March 2014.

[88] Interview 5, curator at large at Performance Space, Carriageworks, 24 April 2014.

[89] Interview 5, ibid.

[90] Interview 5, ibid.

[91] Interviews 8 and 11. Unfortunately, further details of this arrangement were not divulged in my interviews and are not on public record.

[92] Interview 3, Carriageworks' first CEO, Skype interview, 28 March 2014.

[93] Interview 3, ibid.

[94] This was still the case in the mid-2000s, although today, Eveleigh in itself and in its proximity to the suburbs of Redfern and Newtown, is not seen as remote.

[95] Interview 7, Carriageworks programming director, Carriageworks, 2 May 2014.

[96] Interview 11, manager of strategic initiatives at NSW Ministry for the Arts, Castlereagh Street Sydney, 28 May 2014.

[97] Interview 5, curator at large at Performance Space, Carriageworks, 24 April 2014.

[98] Sam also mentioned the 2015 removal of social housing at harbourside Miller's Point, which coincided with the redevelopment of Barangaroo into a private commercial and residential precinct.

[99] Interview 11, manager of strategic initiatives at NSW Ministry for the Arts, Castlereagh Street Sydney, 28 May 2014.

[100] As noted on fbiradio.com/smacs/awards.

[101] Since 2011 when Havilah took over, they have climbed from 110,000 to 790,000 people a year in 2015 (Christopher, 2016). This is done on a fraction of the government funding received by comparable art institutions ($1.98 million); Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences' attracted 571,000 visitors and Australian Museum's 405,000, which receive more than $30 million each in government funding (Taylor, 2015a).

[102] 'Robert', who is the manager of infrastructure policy at the NSW Ministry for the Arts, feels that Lisa has built up the reputation and the business of Carriageworks to a higher standard than ever before. Importantly, he points out her ability to transform the way government thinks about Carriageworks. Another respondent, 'Hugo', who was involved in developing and implementation of the City of Sydney council's first-ever cultural policy, noted that Lisa has aptly integrated Carriageworks into its community.

[103] Interview 5, curator at large at Performance Space, Carriageworks, 24 April 2014

[104] This approach is heavily critiqued in scholarship (Montuori and Purser, 1995: 75) and becoming less and less believable even in historical biographies.

Notes to Chapter 4 (pp. 80–115)

[105] Carriageworks' annual reports and other information containing the centre's accounts are not publicly available. I requested this detail from Carriageworks' programming director during our interview and was declined.

[106] This is a 43 per cent rise since 2014 (Boon, 2015).

[107] These are both 2015 figures, for ease of comparison. It is important to add that in 2016, Carriageworks' state and federal funding had increased to $3.8 million and the centre earned $5.1 million from art events and $956,500 from food and retail. Carriageworks has confirmed that commercial investments currently fund its artistic program (Taylor, 2016b). As part of its six-year strategy, the centre projects two million visitors by 2021, earning $15 million (Taylor, 2015a), on the basis of which a 5,000-seat venue, 200-seat cinema, large public exhibition space and cafes, bars and restaurants are planned.

[108] The City of Sydney is partnering with Carriageworks to hold a series of K-pop concerts, a performance created by an American fabric sculptor and an exhibition commemorating the 1917 industrial strike that was started at Eveleigh. Sydney's Lord Mayor Clover Moore says of the partnership: 'Working with Carriageworks, which has gone from strength to strength, we can attract top Australian and international artists to create works that will inspire and start conversations' (City of Sydney, 2015).

[109] Carriageworks is co-curating a 'counterpoint' contemporary art festival to the Biennale of Sydney next year with the MCA and AGNSW.

[110] 'Emilia' from Sydney Contemporary professes that, 'The profile of [Carriageworks] assisted in our communications to not only a domestic, but an international audience and allowed us to position the Sydney Contemporary brand alongside some of the other leading cultural events and exhibitions in the region.' (Interview 12, email interview, 28 May 2014).

[111] Douglas poses that institutions function on the assumption that 'if challenged, [they] are able to rest their claims to legitimacy on their fit with the nature of the universe (1986: 46).

By 'nature of the universe', she means the claims can be enabled by a stabilising principle that can be applied from one set of relations to another, over time building a structure that is easily recognised and so awarded a self-legitimising truth. For example, the division of childrearing labour is sustained by endowing women with a 'natural' specialisation. When the division of labour is challenged, complementary dualities of man and woman are used as rhetorical resources to reinforce these socially created roles (Douglas, 1986: 49).

[112] To illustrate, let's say Nike releases a new pair of sneakers. By lining up at stores to purchase the new model and talking about it on social media, fans of the brand 'hype' the product and in doing so, generate further interest, which then translates into sales for Nike. In exchange, the purchasers get to 'own' the symbolic capital attached to the brand and their status as early adopters. Because this newly created value is subsumed by capital, this type of production can be classified as labour.

[113] In the context of pressures on public space, it is also worth noting that Sydney grew into Australia's financial centre during the postwar commodities boom, headquartering the Reserve Bank and many of the country's financial institutions (Gurran, 2011: 24).

[114] Interview 1, founder of Underbelly Festival, phone interview, 21 March 2014.

[115] There are multiple instances of contrast between Carriageworks as 'mainstream' art foregrounding commercial development and 'underground' art represented by Lanfranchi's. We can see these representations in the wording of the Central Park residential and commercial complex and an independently funded documentary film called *Lanfranchi's Memorial Discotheque, w*hich interviews artists that used to run the space, capturing its final days. Central Park's website refers to Lanfranchi's as representing 'the advent of Chippendale as Sydney's avante garde (sic) cultural precinct, a position it retains to this day' (Lacey, 2016). The film draws a subtle opposition between Lanfranchi's and Carriageworks by featuring a short interview with Carriageworks' first CEO, who makes a statement about the centre being focused on 'creativity and innovation' and supporting creative practice — a statement made ironic by Lanfranchi's closure down the road.

[116] The building, formerly a chocolate factory, was not redeveloped into a hostel but instead continues its life as a photography studio.

[117] Interview 9, City of Sydney worker involved in drafting the Council's cultural policy,

Sydney Town Hall, 7 May 2014.

[118] In further evidence of the value of this block, Sydney University had expressed a desire to purchase in order to build affordable housing and remediate the site for public benefit, its vice-chancellor quoted as stating 'I'm willing to pay what Meriton [a developer] pays' (Lam, 2010).

[119] Given the recency of these developments, I have relied on journalistic articles for support. There are, however, historic accounts of state government corruption when it comes to urban development, that some say, characterises modernist Sydney (Punter, 2004: 406, 408, see also Birmingham, 1999).

[120] Nigel Thrift has written about affect in cities, acknowledging the ambiguous definition of 'affect' as a term (2005: 138). Thrift's focus, however, has been on an emotion more astute than the one I am describing, that of fear around surveillance and safety, what Thrift calls misanthropy (although, he does this, in his words, by 'balanc[ing] this picture by injecting a wash of kindness' (2005: 147).

[121] Interview 5, curator at large at Performance Space, Carriageworks, 24 April 2014.

[122] Although this is an avenue not explored in this thesis, a Marxist might interpret these conditions as Carriageworks offering policymakers a way with which to compensate for the 'deficit' in cultural production (Throsby and Zednik, 2010) created by a poorly regulated property market. If cast in this way, Carriageworks' 'ethical surplus' lies in the centre carving for its public a large public art space, programming that incorporates Indigenous arts and links to working-class history, a director with a background in economically-disadvantaged Western Sydney and more.

[123] Although this isn't elaborated in this thesis, there is a body of cultural studies work on the concept of authenticity. To mention just two disparate examples, Walter Benjamin (1936) touches on the notion in relation to the technological reproduction of art, while Lawrence Grossberg (1992) discusses the idea at length in the context of rock music and youth culture.

[124] See Latham and McCormack, 2004 in Latham *et al*., 2009 for a more detailed discussion about the tension between 'material' and 'immaterial' approaches to urban geography.

[125] There are many exemplary institutions — the Tate Modern in London, which is housed in a former power station, the 798 art district in Beijing, located in disused military factory buildings and CaixaForum in Barcelona, which was once a textile factory — although smaller examples exist too, from Montreal's contemporary art space Arsenal to Dia: Bacon in upstate New York. Closer to Carriageworks, Emilia, assistant director of commercial operations at art fair Sydney Contemporary, agrees, saying, '[the] industrial aesthetic of the building worked as the perfect backdrop for the fair's content, which is contemporary art…Images of the space were used in the initial stages of promotion and during the event.' (Interview 12, email interview, 28 May 2014).

[126] Berlin is another, more contemporary example of commodification of the post-industrial aesthetic. Its infamous night club culture, which has its roots in 'industrial' music from Detroit, in the 1990s produced the type of banging techno only abandoned buildings in desolate neighbourhoods could withstand. Berlin techno's raw soundscape and D-I-Y ethic are arguably a consequence of the city's history of avant-garde cultural production in the early years of the 20th-century and a product of a post-unified city filled with hopes for a new future, with a stock of deserted buildings east of the Berlin Wall (Denk and von Thülen, 2014). Harsh, dank and often subterranean environments offered by these spaces came with specific acoustics that bred a harder sound and an image that in the decades since, have become big business, drawing tourists, expatriates and eventually, corporates.

[127] We can observe this trend in the recent construction of Darling Harbour's 'The Goods Line', for example, the naming and design of which mimics New York's 'High Line'.

[128] Sarah Thornton's definition of the 'mainstream' is helpful for clarifying my use of this term (1995 in Gelder, K. and S. Thornton 1997, pp. 200-209). In Thornton's work, subcultures set up their social orientation against the mainstream 'other', which, according to members of the subcultural group, is indiscriminate in its tastes and often complicit with the commercialisation of cultural production. This oppositional relationship denotes the subcultural position its status. Thus, some might argue that the absorption of the warehouse loft into the real-estate market robs this architectural aesthetic of its cultural capital, founded in associations with art spaces.

[129] The concept of the sublime, which has its roots in Graeco-Roman rhetoric, has also

appeared at different historical times in Western thought, most notably in the writings of Immanuel Kant (1764), Edmund Burke (1757) and Jean-François Lyotard (1991). For a discussion of the complexities of this historically variable concept, see Samuel H. Monk's *The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in XVIII-Century England* (1960) and Meaghan Morris' 'Postmodernity and Lyotard's Sublime' in *The Pirate's Fiancee* (1988), among others.

[130] Phantasmagoria is an idea initially made famous by Marx, who used it to describe commodities that 'in their mere visible presence, conceal every trace of the labor that produced them' (Buck-Morss, 1992: 25).

[131] In suggesting that the historicisation of particular periods form part of the present, Samuel (1994) writes about the architectural aesthetic of brick in England in the 1990s. Yet given Sydney shares some of the building styles of its imperial motherland and today is invested in 'retro' evocative of what Samuel (1994) also describes, the Carriageworks case is analogous.

[132] Interview 2, architect responsible for Carriageworks renewal project, Tonkin Zulaikha Greer office on Reservoir Street in Surry Hills, 27 March 2014.

[133] Interview 2, ibid.

[134] Interview 2, ibid.

[135] I credit Professor Helen Grace for making this comparison. She shared this idea in a Department of Gender and Cultural Studies seminar at Sydney University.

[136] The absorption of NAS into a major university was met by a student protest that criticised the proposal on the basis that it would decrease teaching hours to manage administrative costs, as well as being motivated by the state government's development interests for the inner-city site. This is related to other action by students and arts supporters objecting to the relocation of another Sydney art school, the Sydney College of the Arts, from its spacious and leafy campus in Rozelle to the main University of Sydney campus, which protesters say would mean a loss of studio-based practice, staff redundancies and a reduction of the vitality of art education in Sydney (Friends of SCA, 2016).

[137] *Authenticity* is actually the title of Pine and Gilmore's follow up book to *The Experience*

Economy (1999).

[138] Despite this shift, even as far back as the 19th-century, when the function of the museum was to guard national heritage, the public has played a role in negotiating the position of the art institution, although the major difference is at the time this was limited to a small group with a vested interest in arts, sciences and culture (Ballé in Crane, 2002: 134).

[139] In *The Expediency of Culture*, George Yúdice clarifies that by 'culture' he means not the uplifting of the populace (as suggested by Schiller), or Bourdieu's distinction (1984), or Raymond Williams' (1958) capacious view of everything as culture, nor even a static national character. He is specifically referring to the use of culture as a resource to increase political participation, at a time when such participation is waning (Yúdice, 2003: 9).

[140] Individuals rehearse the rituals of conformity through dress, speech, gesture and so on and by '[producing] that which [they] name', create exclusion (Butler 1993 in Yúdice, 2003: 47). Thinking about culture, rather than gender, Yúdice proposes that Butler's theory of performativity (Butler, 1993) helps us to understand culture as an arrangement of a multitude of relations among institutions, the media, consumer markets and other factors (Yúdice, 2003: 43).

Notes to Conclusion (pp. 116–120)

[141] Interview 5, curator at large at Performance Space, Carriageworks, 24 April 2014.

[142] To offer just one example most pertinent to Carriageworks, in writing about Redfern, Shaw (2007: 6) admits to her own 'pre-gentrification snobbery' when buying a house in Darlington, near The Block, a place comparatively less capitalised than her previous neighbourhood of Surry Hills. The author points out that she herself is embedded in the concerns raised in her book, in being entitled to the benefits of land ownership, claims to the protection of her home's colonial heritage and ability to participate in any process that determines the future of the area (Shaw, 2007: 8).

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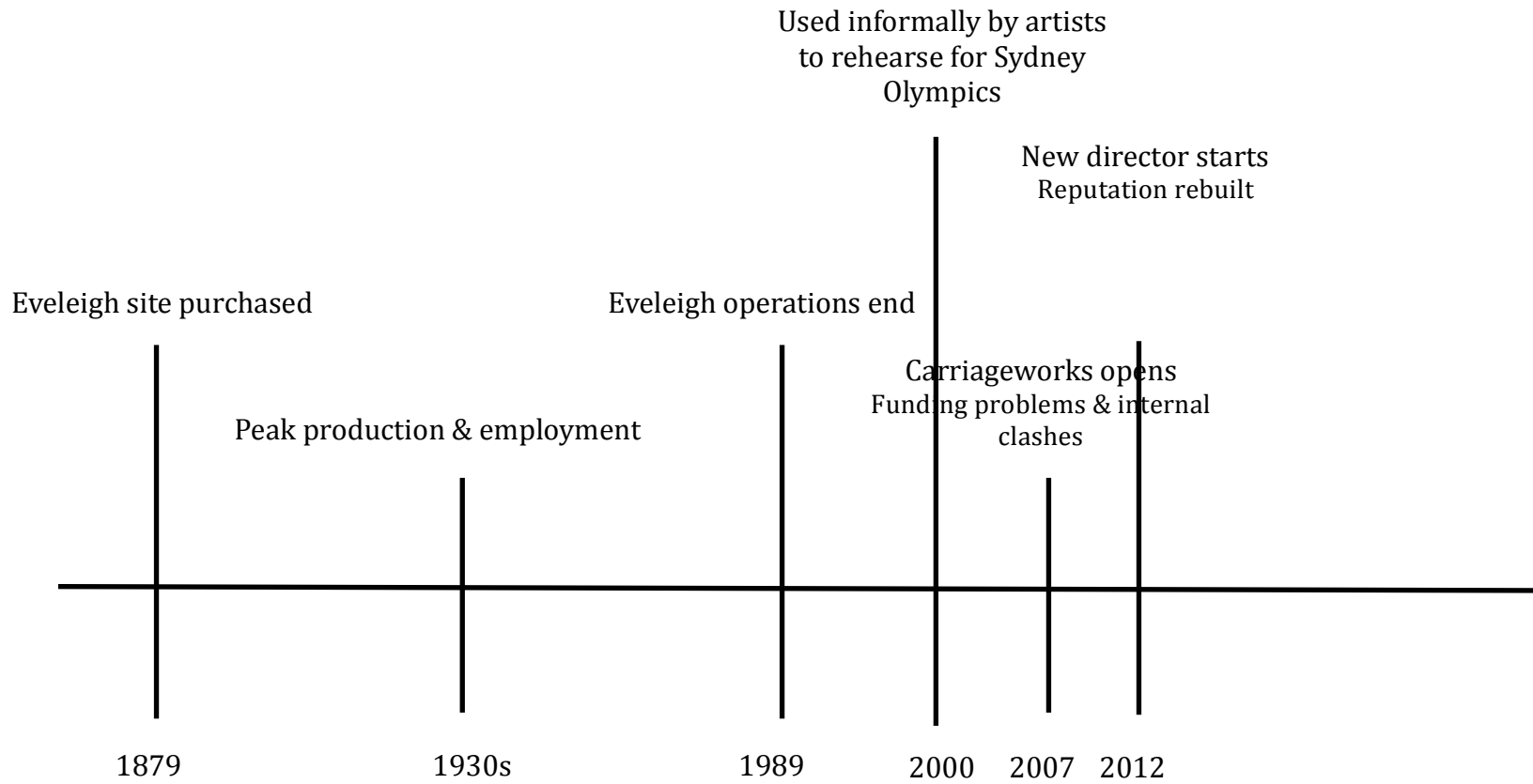Teece-Johnson, D. and R. Burton-Bradley (2016) 'Inner Sydney's Aboriginal

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Appendix

Appendix 1

Used informally by artists
to rehearse for Sydney
Olympics

New director starts
Reputation rebuilt

Eveleigh site purchased

Eveleigh operations end

Carriageworks opens
Funding problems & internal
clashes

Peak production & employment

1879   1930s   1989   2000   2007   2012

Eveleigh Railway Workshops   **Carriageworks art centre**

Appendix 2

Human Research Ethics Committee approval

In compliance with University of Sydney policy, approval for this empirical study was granted by the University of Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) on 27 February 2014. The project number is 2013/948. Dr David Bray, my research supervisor prior to my transfer to the Department of Gender and Cultural Studies, was listed as the Chief Investigator, with myself as the Co-Researcher.

The empirical study involved a series of in-depth, semi-structured interviews with various individuals involved with or affected by Carriageworks. In the cases of all respondents except 'Lucas', all individuals were professionally involved in establishing or managing Carriageworks, or used the building for the purposes of art performance or exhibition. Respondents were identified through my professional and personal networks, or via an email to the potential interviewee's organisation with a request to interview.

Based on the conditions of ethics approval, all interview participants were provided a participant information statement and consent form, which they signed, confirming their understanding of the conditions of the study. All interviews took place in office buildings or cafes in inner Sydney, some at Carriageworks, and lasted 1-2 hours. All respondents agreed to be recorded, to have their interviews transcribed and for their opinions to appear in this thesis.

Data analysis

All interviews were transcribed verbatim. Using data analysis software nVivo, the transcriptions were then 'open-coded' by theme (including terms like 'artists in Sydney', 'artists' experience at Carriageworks', 'big spaces', 'community', 'Olympics',

'art centre status' and others), in order to identify patterns and order the data into a manageable set that suggests areas of high and low importance. This was followed by a round of 'axial' coding, which categorised this information according to what each respondent said about each theme, in order to develop a high-level depiction of their unique position. This level of coding also involved a categorisation by theme, intended to compare and contrast the different responses to these themes. In doing so, I grouped like themes together, pulled out interesting quotes and documented my reflections on the responses to these themes, identifying ideas that appear in literature. Finally, I translated this information into a 'theory', which emphasised Carriageworks' physicality and the mythology surrounding the centre (its origin story, for example), as important aspects of the centre's evolution, which seemed supplementary to the major economic shifts discussed in creative industries literature. In addition, I identified various tensions that constituted Carriageworks' early years, including those between commerce and community, commerce and art, intention and 'reality', past and present and others.

But...(methodological shift)

At this point of data analysis, I reached an impasse. My analysis suggested that the materiality of the building was important and I was intrigued by the candidness of most of my respondents, yet it was difficult to theorise these phenomena within the lenses offered by creative industries and other related literature on urban transformations like Carriageworks. To address this, I revisited the interviews as another form of narrative. In this changed approach, the interview data became information that stood alongside other forms of 'data', including archival documents and a reading of the Carriageworks space itself. Interview data remained important, but alternative techniques were required to interpret the multi-layered complexity of this place, in order to account for the various inputs that brought Carriageworks into being – including the political and emotional economies of institution-making.