

Voicing the Unseen in Fremantle's Kings Square: Re-instating Fremantle's 'civic-heart' and the exclusion of Aboriginal groups

Abstract

The theme of the conference, *Voicing the Unseen*, is particularly fitting for my paper on Kings Square. As part of the fieldwork for my doctoral thesis, I read through ten years of the local *Fremantle Herald* newspaper. I did this tucked up in a corner of Fremantle's local history library, which coincidentally, looks out onto Kings Square. Interestingly, the windows in this section of the library provide an opportunity for those inside, to survey the 'happenings' outside, where the people in the square are generally oblivious to the 'peering eyes'. The situation allowed me to observe my study area, whilst simultaneously reading about it. In this paper, I seek to explore the ways power is represented and articulated within the square. The power to construct a 'problem', and therefore design a subsequent 'solution', I argue, is demonstrative of the power to essentially own and control the future use of that space.

Keywords: *Aboriginal, Fremantle, Kings Square, Exclusion, Contested space*

One of the most enjoyable aspects of my fieldwork for my doctorate was reading through newspapers in the local history section of the Fremantle library, located in Kings Square. It wasn't so much trawling through ten years of local newspapers that sparked my interest, but more the time spent looking out of the window at the 'happenings' in the Square. As I read articles of the square's 'dysfunction' (Wilson-Chapman 2010 *Fremantle Gazette* 9 November 2010: 1) and the Mayor's aim to re-instate it as the 'civic-heart', I was able to interrogate these claims with my own observations of what was going on. The overwhelming representation in the media was 'anti-social' behavior had become a persistent problem and that it was mainly outside the library window and council buildings where the unruly would 'hang-out'.

The local history section is often a quiet space for researchers, partitioned off from the library more generally, so it tends not to attract the same amount of traffic. Yet this

space is often perfectly contrasted with the eruption of activity and conversation taking place just outside the window, nearest the playground. The windows looking out onto the square from the library act like a surveillance mirror and the people in the square are often unaware that anybody is watching them. Despite this being a 'secret spot' for observation, it is by no means an objective position. To introduce this paper, I will tell a story from an event I viewed from behind the 'window', to open up the debate on the complexities involved, in the attempts to define the meaning of, and control over, the future-use of Kings Square.

The case of the 'white' pillar

I arrived at the library early in the morning and already there were a group of people sitting outside the window. It is difficult to find any routine to when the space outside the library will be busy or quiet, such is the unpredictability, and to me enjoyable experience of working in this section of the library. Over time, a number of the people outside the window had become familiar to me, underlying the importance that repetition plays in the construction of place. In the newspapers, these people were the one's being referred to as the 'parkies', 'itinerants', 'solvent abusers' and even the 'homeless'.

On this particular day a thick black texta was passed amongst the group. First, a name went up on the pillar outside the window, and then another, as the texta was passed on. Then a picture of a snake was drawn resembling a serpent from Aboriginal dreaming. After that an Aboriginal flag appeared followed by an Australian flag. Over the course of the next hour the side of the pillar, facing the window I was looking out of, became covered with names, drawings and scribbles and each in their own way encoding the space with meaning. It was not uncommon for activities within this space to raise the attention of passers by, and as I continued to shuffle through newspapers I expected the police or a council worker to show up, after all, 'that black texta wasn't going to come off easily'. The graffiti-art was such an obvious intrusion on the 'whiteness' of the pillar that I was sure someone would 'dob-in' the artists. However, the day passed without any notable intervention from authorities and my attention to the pillar soon began to fade into the background of the day.

The following morning, when I arrived at the library, I was stunned to find a perfectly white pillar instead of the patchwork of art. All the work from the day before had been erased. I thought the markings would have at least lasted a few days or even weeks. It set my mind racing, “who cleans the square and at what time of the day?” “Why the urgency?” “Would it be treated with the same efficiency in other spaces of Fremantle?” On deeper reflection, this ‘white-washing’ reconfirmed the very real presence of power in the square and that every day different claims, stories, movements and rhythms are being inscribed in space, but not all have the privilege of remaining as long as others.

This paper seeks to interrogate ways in which power is articulated and reproduced in Kings Square. An analysis of the local media and ‘letters to the editor’ of the *Fremantle Herald* identifies a disconnection within the community where a reported ‘sluggishness’ and ‘dysfunction’ of the space, requires a ‘solution’ to restore and reposition Kings Square as the ‘true civic-heart’ of Fremantle. However, the construction of the ‘problem’ has tended to be blamed on Aboriginal groups dominating the Square. Consequently, the pressure on successive mayors to ‘fix’ the ‘embarrassing’ social problems can also be critiqued as an attempt to further embed a discourse and representation of a ‘white-colonial’ space. This paper argues that ultimately, ‘place-making’ projects in Kings Square, intended to ‘fix’ the square, contribute to the further exclusion of indigenous people.

Conceptualising place in the context of Kings Square

Contemporary critical literature on place and space argue, that places are not just sites of the physical or material, but simultaneously spaces of the imagination (Bridge and Watson, 2000; Rofe, 2004). More traditional, and positivist, approaches to the City, particularly by the Chicago School of Human Sociology, tended to assume a more rigid ‘ontological reality’ (Dunn, 1998; Rofe, 2004). Consequently, place was understood to be a ‘specific’ and bounded locality (Rofe, 2004). Since the cultural turn of the 1970s definitions and meanings of place have been theoretically ‘opened up’ to privilege the contested nature of space, where identity is understood as socially constructed and always in process (Massey, 2005; Thrift, 2002).

The approach of social construction theory, acknowledges that there are multiple realities of place, and therefore ‘the ability to shape or frame space constitutes power’ (Zukin, 1995: 15) Massey and Jess (1995) argue:

what [is] at issue...are rival claims to define the meaning of places and, thereby rights to control their use or future...in arguing their positions the different sides in each dispute describe the places differently: they see the place from different points of view and they emphasise different (even opposing) characteristics. The argument about the future of the place thus rests very much on whose interpretation of the place wins out (p134).

It is these contests, which give rise to what Rofo (2004) describes as the ‘discursive landscape’.

The sensitivity of the perceived ‘social problem’ in a place like Kings Square is informed by broader historical representations of Fremantle. Dominant representations positioning Kings Square as the ‘civic-heart’ of Fremantle are informed by deeper, colonial, discourses of place. Alternatively, the local indigenous experience in Fremantle, since the arrival of the British in 1829 on Arthur Head, reads like a nightmare of dispossession, early land conflict with settlers over food sources (Reece and Pascoe, 1983), incarcerations in the Round House gaol awaiting transportation to Rottnest Island prison (Litchfield, 1998) and official banishment from town (Reece and Pascoe, 1983). In order to understand current representations of ‘social problems’, occurring in Kings Square, an appreciation of the cities past is required.

Positioning Kings Square at the heart of the colonial project

Dominant reconstructions of Kings Square position it as the symbolic, ‘civic-heart’ of Fremantle. In 1833, the Surveyor General of the Western Australian, John Septimus Roe, was influential in altering the earlier 1830 plan for Fremantle, re-positioning and

re-orienting Kings Square into the centred position it remains in today. A number of scholars, (Shaw, 1979; Reece and Pascoe, 1983; Seddon 1972), commended Roe for his vision and planning of the narrow peninsula, at a time when the fate of the colony 'was by no means assured' (Shaw, 1979: 333). With the addition of St John's Anglican Church (1843; 1882) and the construction of the Fremantle Town Hall (1887) in the Square, Kings Square was embedded at the centre of the colonial project.

Fremantle's built environment 'virtually stood still' between WWI and WWII (Reece and Pascoe 1983: 104). The significance of Kings Square during this period is alluded to in Nevill (2007) as a space where orators would address the public. The positioning of a statue of wartime Prime Minister and local Fremantle MP, John Curtin, next to the Town Hall in 2006, can be viewed as a memorialisation of this particular use of space.

The population boom and the post war recovery period of the 1950s and 1960s brought significant changes to Fremantle (Jones, 2007). Re-imaginings of Kings Square during this period privilege the space as 'truly the heart' of Fremantle. Helen Hewitt recounts 'Thirty years ago it was truly the heart of the city with a brass band playing every Saturday and the area thronged with shoppers, or those just sitting and watching the world go by' (Kwintowski 2003, *Fremantle Herald* 15 March 2003: 1).

The 1960s also marked significant changes for race-relations globally and in Australia. Changes to the Australian Constitution meant Aboriginal people were free to spend their days in the central business districts of Fremantle and Perth. The end of official discrimination however, has not signaled the end to exclusionary forces.

Fremantle's functional centre has not always centred on Kings Square. Shaw (1979) describes the earlier focus in the West End of Fremantle centred along Cliff Street. However, Fremantle's centre of gravity has continued to gradually shift eastwards with the construction of the Port and the movement of the Fremantle Railway Station from Cliff Street to Market Street. In the first metropolitan plan for Fremantle and Perth, Stephenson and Hepburn (1955) also locate this shift. It could be argued that in the 1950s and 1960s Kings Square was both the functional and symbolic centre of

Fremantle. Nevertheless, activity centred on Kings Square has since shifted away with the growth of café culture along South Terrace (colloquially known as the Cappuccino Strip) and the pedestrianisation of High Street blamed for current failures (West End Think Tank, 2001).

At the same time Kings Square has become an important space for Aboriginal groups meeting in Fremantle. Century old Moreton Bay fig trees provide shade and shelter from Perth's extreme heat and thunderstorms and the community playground outside the library is a popular spot for families with children (indigenous and non-indigenous). Nevertheless, dominant representations in the local media have focused on the failures of Kings Square. While a significant dispute has centred on campaigns to 'rip up' the High Street Mall, re-establishing Roe's original functional plan for Fremantle (Kwintowski 2003, *Fremantle Herald* 15 March 2003: 1), the local council has been reluctant to implement such changes due to the overwhelming local opposition. Consequently, the construction of 'the problem' in Kings Square has often rested on the social.

Constructing 'the problem'

The reconstruction above argues the functionally centred position of Kings Square, as a busy space for retail, shopping and pedestrian activity, has shifted and continues to do so. In contrast, dominant imaginings of Kings Square continue to represent it as the 'civic-heart' of Fremantle. Consequently, representations of 'anti-social' behaviour create a dilemma about the space, where the Square is not functioning the way people would like. The identification of Aboriginal people within this dilemma is twofold. Firstly, the problem of 'anti-social' behaviour has tended to be made synonymous with indigenous people and ultimately claimed to be a reason why people are staying away. Secondly, the construction of this problem, as originating from 'outside' Fremantle, ties in with broader discourses of Aboriginal exclusion.

Naturalising Aboriginal people with 'anti-social' behaviour in Kings Square

Reports of criminality and 'anti-social' behaviour in the Western Australian media have often sought to naturalise problems, with Aboriginal culture, where Aboriginal

people are present (Mickler, 1999). In 2003, the Kings Square story hit a flashpoint when an anonymous letter signed *Fed Up* was published in the local media, complaining that the behaviour of Aboriginal people was the reason for the problems. The sensational letter set in train a particularly turbulent period for Kings Square, which has provoked successive mayors to 'fix' the problems. The extent to which the issues in Kings Square have been made synonymous with Aboriginality was made explicit in *Fed Up's* letter. The letter read:

When is something going to be done about the terrible behaviour of the Aborigines in Fremantle. I have just returned from Fremantle and witnessed a very upsetting bashing...Recently I observed a group fighting and bashing one woman (not young I might say) to the ground, kicking and punching her and then the group putting the boots in. Nobody does anything. The average person will not step in, for fear of being attacked themselves, the police drive past and just sit in their cars. Fremantle is a wonderful place for everybody and I wonder what the tourists in our fine port city must think when they witness this shocking behaviour. You walk between St John's Square and the town hall in fear of being abused or attacked. You park your car outside St John's in fear of something being smashed through the window. These people obviously do not have a home to go to as they just wander through Fremantle...I have had it, I am sick and tired of not being able to enjoy our city as it belongs to all, not just them. When are the police or the council going to do something? (Fed Up, 2003 "Do Something" *Fremantle Herald* 1 March 2003:5)

The editor's notes are also informative.

This letter was submitted anonymously and for that reason would not normally be considered for publication. I've made an exception so this disturbing issue can, hopefully, be debated openly in this forum instead of being whispered about the place (as increasingly has been) by people fearful of being branded racist.

The fact that the editor broke with professional practice can be read as an attempt to make a statement that this letter was not in the minority. *Fed Up's* claim appears to be that not only are Aboriginal people causing the general public to avoid the area, but they are also afforded special treatment from police, council and pedestrians, allowing them to dominate the space.

There is a long history of Kings Square and the naturalisation of Aboriginal groups in Fremantle being associated with 'anti-social' behaviour, where Kings Square is implicated as a 'no-go zone' and 'trouble spot'. (Kwintowski, 2003 *Fremantle Herald* 22 March 2003: 9). Retail traders around Kings Square have previously voiced their concerns about 'loiterer's', 'parkies' and 'street-drinkers' causing problems for businesses. The front-page article *Spotlight on Street Drinking* (Kwintowski, 2001) articulated these claims. In the article a number of Fremantle retailer's argue they want a solution and 'quickly' to the problem of 'anti-social' behaviour in Kings Square. The connection with Aboriginal people is implied from the outset with the lead paragraph heralding a proposal to introduce a Nyoongar Patrol as a means of opening up the complaints.

Constructing Aboriginal People in Kings Square as 'outsiders'

In 2002, a lunchtime brawl on Fremantle's Cappuccino Strip (just around the corner from Kings Square) drew headlines in the local media. The *Fremantle Herald* reported, "witnesses had told the paper, 'a group of Aboriginal men who had spent the afternoon hanging around Kings Square, and who appeared to be intoxicated, were responsible for the violence'" (Anon, *Fremantle Herald* 22 March 2003: 1). The initial controversy settled on the sluggish response of the police, which in turn drew an aggressive criticism by the South Metropolitan District Superintendent, Ray Pottinger, who blamed the soup kitchen run by St Patrick's Care Centre, as the 'main reason' for the crime problem in Fremantle. In an attempt to prevent 'problem' people converging on Fremantle, the soup kitchen was shut down (Kwintowski, 2003 *Fremantle Herald* 22 March 2003: 9).

In a follow up report the reasons for this 'social problem' in Kings Square were given to be an 'outside' issue. It was argued 'Freo's problems were shared with centres

such as Midland, Armadale and Perth – major stops along metro railway lines’ (Kwintowski, 2003 *Fremantle Herald* 22 March 2003: 9). The report also commented that the reason why soup kitchens had recently been banned from Fremantle was to ‘discourage people jumping on trains for a free feed and a day camped out on the city’s streets’ (Kwintowski, 2003 *Fremantle Herald* 22 March 2003: 9). The construction of the problem as originating from ‘outside’ Fremantle then clears the way for ‘place-making’ projects to either intentionally or inadvertently displace the problem.

Thinking inside the Square

In response to the furor the mayor at the time, Peter Tagliaferri, set about re-inventing Kings Square. Headlines including, *Mayor’s Square Vision* (Kwintowski, 2003 *Fremantle Herald* 22 March 2003: 9) and *Square Tactics* (Anon, 2003 *Fremantle Herald* 5 April 2003: 1) reflected the attention being given to ‘breathing life back into the heart of the city’ (Kwintowski, 2003 *Fremantle Herald* 29 March, 2003: 1). Tagliaferri had previously held off a strong campaign for the re-opening of High Street Mall to motor traffic, instead promoting initiatives such as ‘markets, regular Sunday choir performances, a dedicated police post and crowd pulling events’, as solutions to what was ultimately considered to be a ‘social problem’ (Kwintowski, 2003 *Fremantle Herald* 22 March 2003: 9). A brainstorming workshop was set up with the intention of canvassing community responses and ideas on how the space could be ‘re-claimed’? The ‘Turn the Square around Project’ (Kwintowski, 2003 *Fremantle Herald* 10 May 2003: 9), ran for a month and was designed to field ideas on how Kings Square could be recaptured as the ‘civic-heart’. Tagliaferri explains ‘we want to transform Kings Square into a lively draw card and for it to become an asset to the people of Fremantle’ (Kwintowski, 2003 *Fremantle Herald* 10 May 2003: 9).

A ‘giant chess-board’ that had previously been installed in the Square was re-instated. Kylie Wheatley, a local resident, who had impressed council for getting a craft market up and running without council permission in South Fremantle (Anon, 2005 *Fremantle Herald* 24 March 2005), was given the job of overseeing the implementation of a ‘village art market’. The markets held on Thursdays in the

summer months were successful in attracting people. Their success can also be measured by the criticism from nearby traders, who argued that the markets were hurting their businesses (D'Anger, 2007 *Fremantle Herald* 1 December, 2007: 10).

While the markets provided an inclusive space, a similar rhetoric was involved in introducing the idea. It was reported that 'the markets have been touted as a way of injecting life into Kings Square and helping it reclaim from the strip its status as the city's heart' (D'Anger, 2003 *Fremantle Herald* 8 November, 2003: 8). Tagliaferri was also set on establishing a strong police presence in the square, saying he wanted a 'caravan decked out (permanently) in police colours' in Kings Square as a 'pseudo police presence' to deter 'anti-social' behaviour (Newsclips, 2003 *Fremantle Herald* 24 May, 2003: 2).

The rise of a young sustainability scholar from Murdoch University into the mayoral role, Brad Pettitt, in early 2009 continued the planned reclamation of the square. In 2010 the *Fremantle Gazette* published an article where Pettitt describes Kings Square as one of the most 'dysfunctional' spaces in Fremantle (Wilson-Chapman 2010 *Fremantle Gazette* 9 November 2010: 1). The article coincided with the recent visits to Fremantle of international expert and visiting planner, Charles Landry, and renowned 'place-maker' and 'traffic calmer', David Engwicht, both of whom claimed the space to be under-utilised.

The front-page expose shows a group of adults sitting on a couch in the middle of Kings Square (see figure 1.1). The idea of encouraging 'spontaneous' activity in Kings Square is reflected in the photograph. Pettitt's other initiatives included 'free' wireless internet, a proposal to open the library out onto the square to create interaction and table tennis. While the initiatives have the potential to bring more people into the square and 'enliven' the space, they also need to be seen in the context of the on-going battle to 're-claim' the space.



Figure 1.1: Brad Pettitt's mission to enliven Kings Square (Wilson-Chapman 2010 *Fremantle Gazette* 9 November 2010: 1)

The offer of free 'wi-fi' in the square is accompanied with use of power points directly outside the library where my opening rumination took place. As I was walking through Kings Square at lunchtime on a Thursday in May 2010 I was intrigued to find a group of young adults working on their laptops connected to the power points provided. The strategy employed by Brad Pettitt to revitalize Kings Square by creating a 'spontaneous playground' needs to be interrogated as a highly controlled process. Does the illusion of 'spontaneity' still depend on who you are and what is acceptable? While bringing your own couch into Kings Square seems to be encouraged, annotating a 'boring' white pillar is evidently not. Furthermore, specifically allowing the use of power points in one of the most controversial spaces can be viewed as an attempt to plan out problems. However, in this case, none of the people represented as the 'problem' were present. Ironically, if you want to work on your laptop inside the library and connect to a power outlet, which had long been available, the privilege has since been taken away.

Local Nyungah Responses

Responses from the local Nyungah elders, in particular Marie Thorne, have continually called on Fremantle Council for a Nyoongar Patrol and a 'sobering-up' or community centre to be implemented. Thorne wrote that the 'street drinkers have always been a concern and heartache for the elders and the Ngoongah community... The people referred to as "street drinkers" are homeless people who are in great need of help' (Thorne, 2002 *Fremantle Herald* Letter 2 February 2002: 4). In September 2003, after years of campaigning, the Walyalup Moort (Fremantle Family) patrol group was sworn in (Anon 2003, *Fremantle Herald* 6 September, 2003: 28). While this has been a positive step for dealing with the issues in place, the patrol has also been highly scrutinised within broader discourses of Aboriginal 'failure' when problems erupt.

The response to calls for a sobering-up centre, have tended to recommend Booyeembara Park as an appropriate locality. Boo Park (as it is affectionately known) was opened in April 2000 as part of a reconciliation project to convert a former limestone quarry 'into a place to contemplate black-white relations and resolutions' (Bassett, 2000 *Fremantle Herald* 1 April 2000: 11). In April 2003, S Davis wrote to the *Fremantle Herald* suggesting any sobering up centre should be built at Boo Park because of its reconciliation focus. Davis writes '*the setting which is dominated by native plants and Aboriginal cultural symbols would help to make these people feel better about themselves and assist in the recovery process*' (Davis, 2003 *Fremantle Herald* letter 5 April 2003: 6). The insensitive headline *Boo(ze) Park*, is belittling and insensitive to the issues and should be read in the context of complaints about the park's lack of upkeep and perceived 'failure'.

In 2006, Fremantle councilor Doug Thompson, also suggested Booyeembara Park would be a logical spot for a sobering up centre (D'Anger, 2006 *Fremantle Herald* 16 September 2006: 1). However, the park, located in White Gum Valley, is peripheral compared to Kings Square. Consequently, any failure of a sobering-up centre located at Boo Park, has the potential to place blame back on Aboriginal groups, and also contradicts the intelligence suggesting the problems in Kings Square are a result of its

centrality (Kwintowski, 2003 *Fremantle Herald* 22 March 2003: 9). The cultural connection suggested by Davis and Thompson, to locate the sobering-up centre at Boo Park, carry racist undertones, which in turn have the potential to further place blame on the shoulders of Aboriginal groups for any failure of the centre, when the politics of location are clearly being ignored.

Discussion: Whose Square is it?

The situation in Kings Square has intriguing parallels with geographer, Doreen Massey's (1999) study of Mexico City. In a documentary Massey made for the Open University she poses the question to the people of Mexico City, 'whose city is it'? Interestingly, Massey discovers that everybody seems to think it belongs to someone else. The poor say the city belongs to the 'rich', they have the jobs and the mansions. While the rich say it belongs to the 'poor', the people who cannot move. One of the business elites remarks, 'we are too afraid to go out of our homes'. It is interesting to see a similar rhetoric occurring within the debate on Kings Square, where ownership is claimed and deflected in seemingly contradictory ways.

Fed Up's letter makes the claim that Kings Square is being dominated by the unruly behaviour of Aboriginal groups. According to the letter it is 'they' who are excluding others from enjoying the space, a space, which *Fed Up* describes; 'belongs to all, not just them'. However, *Fed Up's* claim is based on what Mickler (1998) terms a *myth of privilege*. Mickler is particularly critical of the tension between two contradictory discourses of Aboriginality constructed in the Western Australian media, where Aboriginal people are represented as 'afforded special-treatment' whilst simultaneously made synonymous with criminality. Mickler's argument is that it is problematic to represent Aboriginal people as privileged when the more powerful forces of marginalisation and racism remain hidden, or de-politicised (Mickler, 1998). Ironically, the only special treatment the reader of *Fed Up's* letter can confirm is the editor breaking with a quality control protocol, not to publish anonymous letters.

In a clever response a fortnight later, another anonymous letter was submitted to the newspaper, calling the editor's 'bluff' and forcing the newspaper to break protocol for a second time. This time the letter sought to broaden the scope of the debate arguing;

Fremantle had become a 'yuppy paradise and that indigenous people are made to feel alien to the environment that they have been dwelling in for thousands of years' (Anon, 2003 *Fremantle Herald* 15 March 2003: 5). The letter points out a lack of space for the vulnerable, and the 'wasteful' spending of governments, meant spaces like King's Square were crucial. Anon's letter relates to Massey's conclusion on Mexico City. While it seems, everybody thinks the City belongs to someone else, it was clear that certain groups' possess much greater power than others.

Conclusion

Kings Square is a contested and contradictory space. On the one hand it is the symbolic 'heart' of a 'white-colonial' settlement while alternatively it is an important space for Aboriginal groups meeting in Fremantle. Where this becomes contradictory is in the construction of a 'social problem', where indigenous people have been naturalised with the perceived 'failures' of the Square.

As Massey points out, the question of 'whose space is it' often yields contradictory responses. The continued use of Kings Square by Aboriginal people demonstrates a claim to space. However, the power to represent the Square and to control the construction of 'the problem' is also demonstrative of power. In the case of Kings Square, the naturalisation of Aboriginal people with the Square's problems and 'dysfunction' is reflected in the dominant visions seeking to re-articulate Kings Square as a 'white' colonial space. That same power is embodied in the 'hidden hand' of the cleaner who washed the texta drawings off the pillar in the opening rumination.

The exclusion of Aboriginal people from Fremantle's Kings Square is not an isolated issue. The spaces for indigenous people in inner city areas in Australian cities, is diminishing through processes of gentrification. The increasing commodification of culture and consumption of the landscape is being driven by pursuits of capital engaged in the revalorising and renewal of inner city spaces. As in the case of Kings Square, rather than a celebration of diversity and 'openness to unassimilated otherness' (Young 1990), a re-articulation of a highly conservative and colonial reconstruction is being defended.

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