“Town and Gown Concordat?”
Notre Dame and the Re-making of the City of Fremantle

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This paper examines the development of Notre Dame University in Fremantle Western Australia, in light of Sharon Haar’s work on the regeneration of the city of Chicago through its various university campuses. A nineteenth century port city and now heritage precinct, the West End of Fremantle has been gradually re-made since the early 1990s through the insertion of university buildings and spaces to form the privately funded University of Notre Dame Australia. Since it opened in 1992, the tertiary infillation in the West End has been controversial, prompting arguments over the perceived privatisation of an urban area, and the loss of vitality this brings. While the benefit of sustained building occupation and conservation work is clear, the effects on the surrounding suburb and local population is yet to be worked through in the long term. The campus therefore provides a unique urban context in Australia in which to interrogate how both the growth of universities and designated heritage precincts have been, in different and often competing ways, strong agents of regeneration and economic and cultural change.

Keywords — Campus planning; Universities; Fremantle; Heritage.

INTRODUCTION – THE CITY AS CAMPUS

Universities in cities and centres throughout the world are currently pursuing a development model which aims to foster greater interaction and porosity between city and campus. This strategy veers away from the intentions of isolated, Modernist, purpose-built campus of the post-war decades and represents a return to a more familiar historical trope of campus buildings and amenities adjacent to or interwoven with urban fabric. It is this interaction between city and campus that we explore in this paper through the exemplar of The University of Notre Dame Australia (NDU) and the City of Fremantle. To understand the short history of its development we have conducted interviews with key players, site visits and archival and media research.

Sharon Haar has analysed the hybrid urban-university redevelopment in Chicago over the last decade. She writes of the university’s role today in “producing both campus and urban spaces appropriate to higher education’s place in the knowledge economy” (2011, p. 170). Her analysis of the various models of this interaction between university campuses and the City of Chicago since the 1990s is instructive for our discussion of Notre Dame. In Chicago, as elsewhere, recent campus building programs have taken a different turn to that pursued in the formative post-war decades which were largely constructed on brownfield sites, and often complicit actors in the extensive demolition of building stock and whole neighbourhoods – such as the building of the Illinois Institute of Technology campus (2011). Today, campus planning rhetoric is being re-framed towards ‘re-situating’ and ‘re-urbanising’ as a strategy for expansion and ‘neighbourhood-creation’ (2011, p. 165). For example, the University of Illinois’s ‘South Campus’ project has aimed to create a ‘campus town’ by adapting the surrounding locality in a manner supposedly more attuned to existing communities. An ‘historic corridor’ has been identified which includes adapting and re-using existing everyday structures like the central meat markets. However, as Haar has qualified: “What looks at first like a straightforward and successful case of neighbourhood revitalisation in the service of the university has turned out to be quite controversial on several counts” (2011, p. 165).

Another variant Haar identifies is the colonising of the iconic downtown central Loop District of Chicago with new city-located campuses and buildings associated with Chicago universities and colleges – including Roosevelt University, Columbia Chicago College and a number of others (2011). In this context university institutions have become the keepers of much of the city’s historically important, but difficult to utilize, nineteenth and early-twentieth century sky-scrapers, department stores and heritage-listed buildings. Landmark sites are being re-purposed as lecture theatres and teaching spaces, administration areas, student centres and galleries. Most recently, for example, the School of the Art Institute of Chicago has leased the Carson Pirie Scott Building (H. H. Richardson, 1899). Thus in Chicago, and elsewhere, universities are re-casting themselves as key agents of restoration and urban rehabilitation (of building stock, but also of commercial activity to the street).

Chicago provides an instructive comparison for the Australian shift towards favouring city campuses in the last two decades. The development of new satellite campuses of outer-urban universities like Deakin University’s Melbourne CBD and Geelong Waterfront Campuses. In Geelong the industrial, red-brick, Dalgety Buildings of 1891 were sensitively re-modelled through ‘conservative excisions’ by McGlashan Everist (1996) to create a new campus setting with spaces reminiscent of cloisters, arcades and courtyards. Most recently, the expansion strategies of existing inner-urban institutions like University of Technology Sydney and RMIT Melbourne, have favoured urban design strategies that have taken a new and inclusive approach by stitching these institutions into existing fabric.

The focus of our paper, The University of Notre Dame Australia, Fremantle, is arguably however a unique case in Australia in terms of building a totally new University in the 1990s in the centre of a historic precinct. This paper investigates the shifting negotiations between this private, Catholic institution and the various stakeholders in the City of Fremantle. Here the exponential growth of the university, in the form of buying up and restoring many historic properties in the area, has been pitted against a strong local conservation lobby, and the State Heritage Registration attribution to the ‘West End’ of Fremantle in 2016 (West End Heritage Registration, 2017).

FREMANTLE AS RELUCTANT HOST

Founded in 1829, Fremantle was developed as a port town to serve the shipping industry associated with fishing, mining and transport in the expanding state of Western Australia. The area was greatly developed in the 1890s on the heels of the first gold-boom in WA. In this period Fremantle, and particularly the ‘West End’, rapidly expanded with a range of infrastructure built to accommodate the growing needs of the port, including warehouses, banks, accommodation, and a range of import and export businesses. The resulting building stock was an opulent reflection of newly found prosperity; particularly evident in the lavish and numerous pubs and hotels that sprang up to service the needs of the workers and travellers. The population of Fremantle increased six-fold during this period, from 3,641 in 1881 to 20,444 in 1901 (Jones, 2007).

Despite economic stagnation in the early years of the twentieth century, the Fremantle Port remained busy, along with the arrival of migrants in the postwar period – whose first port of disembarkation in Australia was typically Fremantle. With another mineral boom in the state in the 1950s, a new port and industrial facility was constructed about 30 kms south of Fremantle at Kwinana, and this wave of development bypassed the old port city leaving it remarkably intact; or what Roy Jones has described as ‘a dormant resource’ (2007, p. 171). This was in stark contrast to the central city of
Perth, which underwent large-scale demolition of historical fabric in the 1950s to ’70s (a motivator for the founding of the local National Trust branch in 1959) (Gregory, 2003). With conservation causes earning few supporters or victories elsewhere, the historically-minded minority turned their attention to Fremantle. While many saw Fremantle as ‘rundown and obsolete’ (Jones, 2007, p. 173), a small cohort of experts and locals recognised the enormous potential and significance in the West End and surrounding neighbourhoods. The 1970s onwards saw slow gentrification through the buying of affordable historic houses and businesses, coupled with a loss of purpose from the declining shipping, port and fishing industries and businesses (Shaw, 1986).

In 1971, the report ‘Fremantle: Preservation and Change’ issued by the Fremantle Council advocated that the “idea of a Fremantle character that was a unique and valuable resource warranting responsible management” (Bizacca, 2016, p. 178). It was the establishment of two citizen groups which, as Bizacca notes, truly began to shift values in the area: The City Cultural Development Committee in 1969; and the Fremantle Society in 1972 (2016). The Fremantle Society quickly gained power in the local council, making the heritage of Fremantle a central issue, and one that was key to re-thinking its own identity. Economic shifts saw the moving away of traditional working class residents, and increasing retail and tourism sectors including the opening of the Fremantle Markets in 1975, and the relaxing of licencing/cafè laws. However, aside from landmark buildings, most heritage work was focused on individual houses and not on businesses and hotels.

Fremantle’s image as a culturally exciting tourist hub was cemented in 1983 with the winning of the America’s Cup yacht race, ensuring that Fremantle would host its defence in 1987. A significant amount of infrastructure was built – if somewhat temporary – to accommodate the enormous crowds the cup attracted, and these developments artificially stimulated gentrification. However, there were real fears that the loss of the Cup in 1987 would leave the city bereft of opportunities and “all dressed up with nowhere to go” (Shaw, 1986, p. 11). Shaw, for example, writes: “If the blend of historical significance and social cohesiveness that makes Fremantle such a rarity can survive the rigours of the Cup defence, then this may well represent an achievement even greater than that of winning the Cup” (1986, p. 4) This social ‘cohesion’ was already largely an illusion, with an increasingly nostalgic view often expressed about the labour-leaning, ‘hippy-minded’, working class and immigrant population of Fremantle, still constituting the backbone of its identity (Cox, 2012).

Arguably, although the event of the Cup played a part in putting Fremantle ‘on the map’ and resulted in some enduring boost in tourism and much painting of façades, the long-term changes were minor. Importantly, for our story on the development of NDU, the Cup left a stagnation in real growth and a vacuum of old building stock awaiting to be filled by some other ventures (Macbeth, Selwood and Veitch, 2012). Statistics bear out this scenario, as the population of Fremantle was around 31,000 in 1954, then after the period of decline in the 1970s was just under 24,000 in 1991. Citizen groups like the Fremantle Society expressed this decline as a key challenge in their inauguration newsletter, but also firmly staked their position as supportive of preservation and not development: “The character of Fremantle and its surrounding districts has been severely eroded in the recent past and proposed changes seriously threatens the maintenance of the city’s identity” (Fremantle Society 1973, p. 2).

Therefore histories of the last 30 years of Fremantle’s urban change attribute the main impacts and influences shaping social debate and economic development as the America’s Cup, heritage activism and conservation, and sport – with the creation of the AFL team the Fremantle Dockers located in the city in 1994. However, the effects of NDU have been surprisingly little analysed. Thus we seek to demonstrate in the rest of this account that its impact is now far greater than these other forces.

TOWN AND GOWN – EARLY TENSIONS BETWEEN NOTRE DAME AND FREMANTLE

The full story of the early building of the campus of NDU is complex and murky, coinciding with a time of political corruption by business interests in Western Australia in the 1980s through the “WA Inc” scandals involving the state Labor Party. By way of a short-hand summary here, as MacBeth, Selwood and Veitch suggest, the initial proposition to locate NDU in Fremantle came only in part because of the notoriety of the America’s Cup defence (2012). Fremantle had been mooted in the 1960s as a site for the building of a second university campus in Western Australia. Plans were drawn up for NDU with an act of parliament in 1989, outlining its general objective as ‘the advancement of learning, knowledge, and the professions and the provision of university education’ (University of Notre Dame Australia Act, 1989).

Denis Horgan, a wealthy local Catholic businessman, was approached to assist the funding of the new University by the Director of Catholic Education, Peter Tannock, who would become the first Vice-Chancellor of Notre Dame. In the depressed real estate market after 1987, Horgan – who was made chairman of the Notre Dame Planning Board – began to buy rundown properties in the West End including hotels, pubs and parking lots (Tannock, 2014). His plan was to lease or sell them back to the University once it began to be built, however in 1990 Horgan was declared insolvent, and by 1992 fourteen of his properties were bought by creditors using loans from the Archdiocese of Perth (Tannock, 2014). Some of these were acquired by the Sisters of St John of God, who later gifted them to the University. Work quickly proceeded on the first stage of key building conversions and the university accepted its first 50 students into a one-year Diploma in Education in 1992.

From the outset, a ground swell of distrust arose around the proposed development of NDU in Fremantle, fuelled by local interest groups like the Fremantle Society and the local Fremantle Gazette and Fremantle Herald newspapers (Figure 1). Tensions ran deep between its largely left-leaning, liberal-minded and working class identity and the perceived conservative and ‘foreign’ (i.e American) institution (Cox, 2012). The arrival of an American university was treated as suspicious, with accurate predictions of a potential cultural clash: “Developments proposed by the university… could diminish the unique nature of Fremantle and create a ‘Disneyland setting’ out of touch with the city” (Smith, 1989). Local residents often voiced their concerns in street polls and opinion pieces conducted by the Herald and Gazette. As one resident noted: “I don’t think they’re being honest. They’re avoiding the issues. There’s no one to put our questions to — Fremantle needs something but it doesn’t need a Catholic University” (Daily News, March 22 1989, p. 12). While another put it in more direct terms: “A university exclusively for Catholics is a load of rubbish.” And another simply said: “I’m a bit iffy about Catholics” (Daily News, March 22 1989, p. 12).
As warning of these early tensions, a petition was circulated in 1988 calling for a forced Council meeting to discuss the proposal of locating NDU in the West End, outlining community worries about “the impact of any major facility such as a university on the city and its residents, particularly one which could introduce an extra 10,700 people to Fremantle” (Ayres, 11 October 1988). One community member voiced what many were concerned about: “If it [the University] proceeds it could change Fremantle massively and permanently” (Ayres, 8 November 1988). Following this petition, a walk against the university was planned by the Fremantle Society which argued; “There is reason to believe up to 44 buildings around Fremantle have been bought by companies connected with Denis Horgan and his associates … Many of these appear to have no obvious use as part of the proposed university” (Fremantle Gazette, March 14 1989). Much of the early community concern revolved around the secrecy of the planning process and the perceived lack of community engagement. Local action group Community Action for Rational Development (CARD), for example, suggested that “secrecy has shrouded any negotiations on the university” (Thompson, 1988). Local papers fuelled these perceptions and criticisms around both the then Mayor and the early university protagonists (Fremantle Gazette, December 13 1988).

Negative attitudes in the early years of NDU gave voice to a whole range of concerns about its development. They can be summarised as essentially pitted against: the idea of a ‘private’ and ‘foreign’ university that was misunderstood as intended only for ‘outsiders’; the process of the university’s implementation and growth being hidden from public scrutiny; the buying up of multiple sites in the West End by one institution that would ‘kill urban vitality’ and create a kind of higher education ‘monoculture’; and that the protection of heritage buildings would be under threat with the power of a single corporate identity outweighing conservation (Fremantle Society submission, n.d). Although others saw the potential of a university to instigate the ‘rebirth’ of ‘old buildings, abandoned and deteriorating’ (Fremantle Herald, February 15 1990).

Arguments were set out in a preliminary study commissioned by David Parker, the Deputy Premier and Member for Fremantle, which ultimately concluded “if the development of NDU proceeds without consideration and appropriate response to the following issues, significant physical impact will occur” (Centre of Urban Research, 1989, p. 5).

As Vormann characterises, port cities have always “both epitomized the hopes of technological advancement and progressive ideas as well as having been gateways to external risks and encounters with the Other” (Vormann 2015, p. 6). Fremantle was no exception as evidenced by the number of pubs and hotels in the West End of Fremantle surrounding the port. Interestingly it was the acquisition of the majority of these historic pubs that was the strongest catalyst for negative feelings against NDU’s ‘infiltration’ of Fremantle in the first decade of its inception. By the time the Fremantle Hotel was purchased in 2002, all major historic hotels in the West End proper were now owned by the University and used for private purposes aside from the Orient Hotel (Cox, 2012). These included:

- Cleopatra Hotel (acquired in 2001) for student residences, and was a thriving pub renamed the ‘Auld Mug’ for the Cup Defence;
- P&O Hotel (acquired in 2000) for student residences. It retains an open bar to the public, but otherwise is devoted to student accommodation;
- Port Lodge (Formerly Sailors Rest, a backpackers and homeless shelter), is now student accommodation;
- Hotel Fremantle which was one of the larger hotels in Fremantle (acquired 2002), was used a hospital during the war, and later by Team NZ in the cup defence. It now houses the Chancellery and several University Schools.
- His Majesty’s Hotel (acquired in 2003), and now the School of Education.

The shift in use and ownership of these pubs became the litmus test for the level of impost of a ‘non-Free’ monoculture and the sanitising of street life. Discontent paved the way for the re-emergence of the Fremantle Society as a radical force against the interests of NDU on the local City Council in the 2000s (Cox, 2012). Although others contended that the nostalgia felt for the pub-culture of previous decades was exclusionary, male-dominated and evident of a very “selective social narrative” (Cox, 2012, p. 127). Cox, for example notes; “the group of individual opposing the ‘buy up’ … are not the subjects who created that social history” (2012, p. 127). Fremantle Mayor Peter Tagliaferri supported this view, recalling the gambling dens, strip clubs and perceived danger of the West End before the Notre Dame era as representing a “seedy port city where booze barns are the major attraction” (Tagliaferri 2003, p. 6). The alternative scenarios of leaving the pubs and other storage and bank buildings empty and vulnerable to decay and demolition, or seeing them converted to other private uses including businesses, storage, or high-end apartments for wealthy ‘elite’ interlopers also faced stiff local opposition. Thus, in this decade the historical territory of the West End can be characterised as highly contested in the face of gentrification.

THE UNIVERSITY AS BUILDER AND CONSERVER

Despite the many real and perceived obstacles and critiques levelled at the establishment of a private university in Fremantle, NDU grew in size and strength in the 2000s. The student population has increased from around 50 students in 1992 to over 6000 in 2017, and the campus has grown markedly through the acquisition and redevelopment of many more buildings in the West End: opening with just one building in 1992, NDU now controls almost 20% of the West End land, and at least 30 individual buildings and car parking sites.

The Fremantle Council and some residents have come around to acknowledging the benefits of NDU, including the current Minister for Fremantle, the Honourable Simone McGurk, who recently stated: “I think the University has made a very positive contribution locally. Although many of the heritage buildings in Fremantle are not being used in their original state for hotels and the like, they are being used; some of the courtyards are quite beautiful and the activation of some of those spaces has been really quite good” (University Legislation Bill, 2016). A recent study completed by the Committee for Perth and the University of Western Australia found that generally the impact of the university on Fremantle was a positive one, noting that, along with the nearby Challenger Institute of Technology, they are institutions highly valued by the community that create significant ‘buzz’ for the area (Tonts et al., 2015).

A brief examination of the campus building program that has occurred is instructive. The first buildings that were converted into university facilities were ‘ND1’ and ‘ND2’, known as Foley Hall and the Malloy courtyard. Renovated by Oldham Boas Ednie Brown architects, Foley Hall was originally an office building constructed in 1889, and designed by the Western Australian architect J.J. Talbot Hobbs. The work left the building largely intact, while more noticeable interventions were enacted in the Malloy courtyard. Here the former sheds were demolished and an open courtyard created, complete with a restored classical façade to the street to satisfy the Fremantle Council’s West End Conservation Policy (Walking Tour, 2016). Although the campus does not have any formal front entry, this façade has been co-opted to signal the identity of the University (Figure 2).
The next stage of works was carried out by the architect Marcus Collins, who would go on to redesign all NDU buildings in Fremantle, Broome and Sydney campuses until his untimely death in 2015. In the wake of the financial crash of 1987 and the loss of Horgan’s financial aid, along with low student numbers, the campus was required to take a fiscally conservative approach to new building projects. Collins’s response was to deftly ‘recycle’ the buildings with minimal intervention to existing fabric; an approach he described as ‘touching the building lightly’ (McGann, 2016). He considered the best foundation for conservation was to facilitate use, and enable staff and students to occupy buildings as quickly and economically as possible. More ambitious conservation works could then be carried out as funds and need arose (Collins, 2008).

With Foley Hall and the Malloy courtyard complete, the University turned to the old Bateman’s site, a large corner site bounded by Mouat, Henry and Croke Streets that contained a recent (1964) warehouse, along with a series of earlier century accretions. This site was radically transformed in the mid-1990s into a series of buildings containing the St Teresa’s Library, Holy Spirit Chapel, student services, general classrooms and a computing centre by Collins practice (Collins 2008). The existing warehouse, in sound structural condition, was simply retained, painted, carpeted and furnished, leaving much of the original fabric intact. Essentially a warehouse with books, the library was completed for less than a tenth of the usual tertiary library costs. Vestiges of historical structure, machinery and signage are dotted throughout the buildings – making clear their previous life (Figure 3).

Internally, Collins followed the first stage of design, to create a unified ‘corporate’ approach, characterised by brick red carpet (supposedly chosen to evoke the red earth of the north-west of the state); jarrah timber for furniture and exposed structure; and a mixture of aboriginal artwork and Catholic iconography prominent in every public space (Collins, 2008; McGann, 2016). Further stages of work – denoted by the simple NDU numbering system – followed these design strategies, with major developments including: the Law School opened in 1997; the Drill Hall and School of Philosophy and Theology in 1999; St John of God Hall in 2003; and the School of Medicine completed in 2005.

Retrofitting A Campus?

The frugal approach taken throughout this work was no doubt driven by the budget of the fledgling institution, but also a sensitivity to careful and minimal insertion of new uses into the old buildings. This unassuming strategy served to keep NDU’s public profile low in the first decade or more of development, and reflected in the way that individual buildings address the street with little change to the sometimes quite impenetrable historical facades (Figure 4). Haar’s observations in respect of Chicago’s urban campus developments, that universities have been criticised for their instigation of expansion ‘by stealth’, is equally applicable in Fremantle (2011). And although respectful of the original streetscapes and heritage restrictions, counter-criticisms have been levelled at the University in recent years about this very lack of openness and visibility – hence furthering perceptions of a deadening ‘monoculture’ in the West End area.

However, the first totally new-build Health Sciences Building of 2008, followed by Tannock Hall in 2010, exhibit a more confident and open street presence. And in further response to critiques, a memorandum of understanding signed between the University and the City of Fremantle in 2012 highlights a strategy for developing a more diverse range of commercial activities at ground level on High and Phillimore Streets (Memorandum of Understanding, 2012). This builds on earlier agreements with the City not to build any purpose-built infrastructure like catering, sports and medical amenities, but rather to ‘borrow’ existing businesses in the surrounding area and drive students onto the street (McGann, 2015).
of navigation between buildings, courtyards and streets; the creation of open space ‘parklets’ and informal study areas; the demarcation of buildings on the street; and the opening of ground floors to more street-facing, student-serving active functions: “Notre Dame wants to become a campus that is still distinct but not apart from the West End” (CODA, 2017). The Fremantle Society has challenged revitalisation plans and are instead still in favour of the reinstatement of verandahs and other historic features, thereby cementing their image as increasingly out of touch with the realities and interests of the area today (Fremantle Herald, June 2 2017).

Perhaps the greatest potential tension with these aims of increased openness and campus identity lies in the recent decision to place the whole of the West End precinct on the State Heritage Register of WA. The listing is highly significant and includes 250 buildings and an area of approximately 200,000 sqm. With this listing comes more stringent heritage controls, but some are hopeful that it will revitalise tourism and government spending on marketing the area (Wynne, 2016). Just whether the efforts to activate and design a more discernible, transparent and accessible urban campus will be successful in the face of regulatory, social and cultural opposition remains to be seen. Or whether, if achieved, the corporate identity of NDU will indeed create a seemingly unified civic tableau over the city that veils difference and accessibility, as has been the case in so many global port city redevelopments (Boyer, 1994).

PORT CITY TO KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY IN A HERITAGE SETTING

In November, 1988, the Chairman of the Fremantle branch of the Real Estate Institute was reported in the Fremantle Gazette:

...it was unrealistic to talk about benefits to Fremantle in the same terms as those that had accrued to the cities of Oxford and Cambridge...These were major universities by the 13th century with extensive purpose-built colleges constructed with the wealth of a growing empire. It was a different matter to place some university departments into existing Fremantle buildings in the expectation that a university town would result. (November 8, 1988, p. 5).

However, nearly 30 years on, the makings of a ‘university town’ has arguably emerged in Fremantle’s West End.

The relationship between campus and city in Fremantle provides a ‘wicked’ case for teasing out problems of gentrification and urban change alongside heritage and conservation in the face of shifting economic cycles. As Vormann has suggested, port cities have always been sites of local and global encounters. He continues: “Port cities have constituted the market-places where goods were exchanged and commercial functions of the city developed, but have also served as marketplaces of ideas and news, as places where people interacted and exchanged information” (2015, p. 5). Arguably, as a port city, Fremantle has always been interconnected with local and global transport routes as a hub for the transaction and consumption of people, goods and services. And it has always been a setting for a kind of tourism – whether as the market-places where goods were exchanged and commercial functions of the city developed, but have also served as marketplaces of ideas and news, as places where people interacted and exchanged information.

...the City of Fremantle is again in some decline, with population stagnating and renewed calls for the state government to relocate departmental offices in the wake of a noticeably declining tourism, retail and health sector in the area (Rollinson, 2014; Tonts et al., 2015; Shephard, 2015). Therefore the case for the university as an active urban player in Fremantle appears strong going forward. Although, just as in Chicago, there are delicate checks and balances inherent in adaptive re-use: “The problem remains: how is one to bring together this fragile urban environment with the twenty-first-century needs of the university?” (Haar, 2011, pp. 166-167) But rather than continuing a form of campus development by ‘stealth’, the pursuit of more open and insightful negotiations around how today’s universities – whether public or private – can be engaged in their cities and communities appears appropriate, even if they are volatile and contested (2011, p. 185).

Campus redevelopment is inevitable given the ongoing expansion of the tertiary sector, and ever-escalating expectations of accommodation amenities. As Bill Readings has suggested: “Today’s campuses are memory-traces of the transformation of higher education and the city in relationship to one another over time. We not only dwell within them, we are compelled to build upon them” (1996, p. 197). In nearly all contexts, redevelopment brings universities up against contested neighbourhood settings. In addressing these contextual concerns, Haar advocates that universities need to look outside of their institutions to refocus on the local and the metropolitan culture, and become brokers in local partnerships to provide open spaces for knowledge-making and communication. She writes of the future campus as a number of “fluid, overlapping and irregular ‘scapes’... where the models of the isolated academical village or modern mega-structure and the unbound, fragmented urban campus begin to coalesce (2011, p. 201). Over time, it seems that Notre Dame University is developing a more porous and cooperative relationship with the physical and social fabric of Fremantle’s West End, indeed working towards a closer ‘town and gown concordat’ that was hoped for upon its inception.

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