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The Misanthropes, Larrikins and Mallrats of Market Square: An Enduring Public Space Dilemma in Central Geelong

Market Square was a public reserve located in the centre of the Victorian regional city of Geelong. It was established by Governor Sir George Gipps during the initial surveying of the area in 1838. The square later became a produce market, before being progressively built upon for public and commercial purposes. Today, the modern Market Square Shopping Centre occupies a substantial portion of the original site. Opened in 1985 by the City of Geelong, the complex initially drew high rental incomes for the Council. However, by the early 1990s revenue began to decline after the collapse of the Pyramid Building Society and competition from the new Bay City Plaza shopping centre (now Westfield) that was built directly opposite. In 1993 the city council decided to sell the complex. Today it remains privately owned and while it adjoins the Little Malop Street Mall which was also part of the original public square, its connection with the surrounding urban environment is poor.

The introverted architectural nature of Geelong's two large retail shopping complexes has significantly altered the city's spatial dynamic. The traditional intimate urban structure and streetscape has been fragmented. This has led to a deterioration of the city's social cohesion, sense of place and economic prosperity. This paper chronicles the myriad errors of judgement by the institution of local government that have contributed to this situation. Heeding past mistakes, it explores ways in which the Council might work with private landowners to improve the permeability of the city's public urban spaces and internalised retail centres for improved use, integration, functionality and resilience. Achieving a shared culture of concern for the city's urban fabric presents some significant challenges. How might 'big box' shopping centres be reconsidered to make a positive contribution to the city's urban spatial network while remaining commercially viable? The built environment has an important role to play in addressing the problem by presenting opportunities for these new urban institutions to also benefit from stronger connections between the public and private realm.

During the initial surveying of Geelong in 1838, Governor Sir George Gipps reserved eight acres of land to serve as a public space in the city centre. This land became known as Market Square. Since that time, the area has undergone tremendous change, with much of the reserved land progressively sold to private interests. A small area of land that serves as a pedestrian mall still remains, but it too is currently under threat as the city's Mayor, Cr Darryn Lyons, calls for its demolition in response to ongoing concerns in regard to the safety, amenity and aesthetic appeal of the area. Recent violent crimes in the mall have sparked a furore over what should be done to remedy this urban blight. Yet this debate is far from new. In *The History of Geelong and Corio Bay*, historian Walter Brownhill writes in 1955 that "no quarter of Geelong has been the subject of so much controversy, so much muddling and so much studied vandalism."¹ Indeed, the entire history of the Market Square is littered with a slew of ill-conceived strategies and institutional blunderings that bring into question the capacity of local government to affect positive and lasting change in this notoriously difficult space.

The challenges of this area have compounded since two large, internalised shopping centres were developed side-by-side during the 1980s. These centres have since expanded to dominate the entire city centre. Having broken down the physical connections and spatial linkages between surrounding streets and the remaining public open space, these privately owned commercial institutions now act as de facto public spaces, albeit with caveats on the types of activities that can occur within their walls. Subsequently, the remaining public mall has become a leftover, dysfunctional space. Despite a \$3.5 million makeover in 2001 that merited an Australian Institute of Landscape Architects Commendation award for civic design, the mall has remained a spectacular failure as a people-oriented community asset. Abandoning the area entirely in favour of a new, alternative public space is an option being considered by the Central Geelong Taskforce, a special committee established in 2014 to develop an action plan to revitalise Geelong's CBD. However, without properly understanding the cause of the existing problems and why they persist, history suggests many of the same issues will likely reoccur. This paper examines some of the mall's present failings, taking into consideration how the built environment contributes to the problem and how it may form part of the solution. While acknowledging the different operating principles and driving forces of local government and retail property investors, a cooperative approach between these civic and commercial institutions is proposed, that seeks to benefit both by enhancing the social functioning, patronage and economic resilience of these public and semi-public spaces.

From troubled beginnings ...

The Market Square has attracted unfavourable public commentary since its inception. Initially a swamp in the 1840s, the reservation of the area as a public square was gazetted in 1845. According to Brownhill, having obtained the reservation, neither the District Council nor its successor, the Geelong Council, knew what to do with it. In 1850 the *Advertiser* published the following damning assessment:

The Market Square is a misnomer. It should be called a domestic wilderness spoiled. Neither bush nor town, it is too dirty for the one and too wild for the other. The centre of Corio, it is a desert – in Summer a dust hole, in Winter a bog. The square is as unsightly as it is uncleanly, and looks like so many acres of melancholy, promising a fine retreat to a hermit or a misanthrope. It is a hollow heart, a vacancy, where there should be the throb of commercial life and activity. ... It is neither a square, park nor paddock.²

The first civic leader to express a real vision for the Market Square was the town's Mayor, W. H. Baylie. During his term of office between 1853 and 1855, he called for the reserve to be made into "one of the most handsome squares in the world," with promenades, colonnades, arcades and markets. In 1854 the Council set up a competition for the design of the area, which architect Benjamin Backhouse won.³ The scheme was never implemented and instead pegs were merely driven into the ground to mark the standing places for dairy and produce carts to sell goods. A lack of protection from the elements saw this feeble effort to create a market soon fail.

Much discussion and bitter commentary ensued in regard to the building of a proper market place and the erection of a civic timepiece in the Market Square. The *Illustrated London News* reported that the wise preservation of the square by Governor Gipps for the purpose of promoting the health of the place was "likely to be nullified by the cupidity and narrow-minded policy of certain members of the town Council" who were "desirous of converting this fine area into a fish and cabbage market."⁴ It was granted, however, that "should such be the case, this (was) a most appropriate place for a public clock."⁵ The second elected Mayor, James Austen, offered to pay for a clock to mark his time in office but the matter was far from straightforward, with squabbling over its cost and location causing lengthy delays. A novel 18 metre tall clock tower made of ornamental cast iron and tiles was finally installed in the square in 1856 and though the controversy had ended, it was revived again almost 70 years later when Council decided to demolish the clock to make way for private commercial ventures – an act that caused a public outcry and which Brownhill has referred to as "official vandalism"⁶ (Figure 1).



Fig. 1 View of Market Square and clock tower from Bright and Hitchcocks corner looking north east. Photograph by G. C. Wilmot, 1857. Geelong Heritage Centre GRS 2009/02050.

Over the years the clock's prominence diminished as new buildings appeared in the Market Square. In 1879 the Exhibition Buildings were erected for the Industrial and Juvenile Exhibition. According to Brownhill,

That proved to be really the beginning of the end of the Market Square as an open public reserve. It died a slow death certainly, but from the time of the erection of the Exhibition Buildings its doom was definitely sealed – as it proved in due time, market buildings, clock and tower, gardens and all. No body of Councillors was ever willing and brave enough to demolish the Exhibition Buildings and restore the Square to the people; nor on the other hand to make the Exhibition Buildings of great and lasting public value, set in a picturesque environment. The Market Square merely drifted, over a period of many more years, to its ultimate disappearance: to the glory of vandalism and the assurance of rentals for the Corporation as long as the Corporation exists.⁷

Throughout its various stages of development the Market Square underwent a series of 'beautifications' that included the removal of many of its trees. The 1870s saw improvements made to the garden section. These could only be viewed, however, from outside a fence (Figure 2). When the Council was asked to open the gardens between the hours of 8.00am to 6.00pm the request was rejected on the basis that the place would become "the resort of nursemaids and larrikins."⁸ Concrete and asphalt were progressively spread and new shops were built on the frontages of the Square. Brownhill claimed that by 1910, the historic Square had been so alienated that "space had not been spared even for a rose bush, let alone a gum tree or any alcove for public seating."⁹



Fig. 2 The fence enclosing the Market Square, 1866. Photographer unknown. Geelong Heritage Centre GRS 2009/01160.

Local businessman, Julius Solomon, played an important role in transforming the Square into a busy retail precinct, building the first block of shops on the Crown Land under an agreement with Council that they revert back to Council's possession in 50 years. The building housed a large department store owned by Solomon. A referendum held in 1914 received an affirmative vote for more shops to be built in the Market Square, making way

for the Block Building and Colonial Mutual Life Assurance Insurance Buildings, built in 1923 (Figure 3). Solomon's closed in 1966 and was replaced by Woolworth's supermarket, before being incorporated into the new multi-storey Market Square Shopping Centre developed by the City of Geelong in 1984. The \$32 million development saw the demolition and absorption of McCann and Jacob Streets and included the creation of the Little Malop Street pedestrian mall directly adjoining the Centre. A section of Little Malop Street was closed to traffic and formal landscaping was introduced that included a fountain, sunken amphitheatre, civic clock, bench seats and ceremonial flagpoles (Figure 4).



Fig. 3 View of Colonial Mutual Life Assurance Society Limited Building, town clock faces, Block Building and Jacobs Street, looking south east from Moorabool Street, c. 1930. Photograph by J. Lockwood. Geelong Heritage Centre GRS 2009/00354.



Fig. 4 View of Little Malop Street Mall, fountain and clock shortly after the 1984 redevelopment. Photograph by Ian Hawthorne, 1985. Geelong Heritage Centre GRS 2217/43.

While the Market Square Shopping Centre initially drew high rental incomes for the Council, revenues declined in the early 1990s due to competition from the new Bay City Plaza (now Westfield) that had been built directly across the road, combined with the collapse of the Geelong-based Pyramid Building Society, which had a significant impact on the local economy. As a result, the newly formed City of Greater Geelong (an amalgamation of six local councils) decided to sell the Centre in 1993 but didn't succeed in finding a buyer. The Centre was again put on the market in 1995 and finally passed over to private ownership in 1996.

The opening of the Bay City Plaza not only impacted the Market Square Shopping Centre financially, it also had profound spatial implications on the city. Market Square Shopping Centre had tried to establish a physical link with the Plaza but failed. Instead they relocated the main entrance of the Centre from the west side of the building facing Moorabool Street,

to the north side directly opposite the new Plaza's main entry, in an effort to facilitate a greater flow of pedestrian traffic between the two 'big boxes'. This effectively made the pedestrian mall on the south side of the Market Square Shopping Centre a rear entrance. The architectural expression of the south façade of the Centre reinforces this perception, with just few a shopfronts facing the mall, struggling to make their presence felt between loading bays, security grilles, a dark recessed entrance to the Centre's elevators, and a long blank concrete wall running alongside the ramp leading up the Centre's rooftop carpark (Figures 5 and 6).



Fig. 5 Loading bay and security grilles to south façade of Market Square Shopping Centre. Photograph by Fiona Gray, 2015.

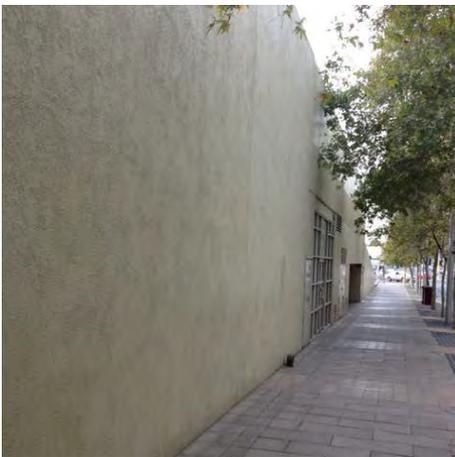


Fig. 6 Concrete wall of carpark ramp on south façade of Market Square Shopping Centre. Photograph by Fiona Gray, 2015.

In 2001, the mall was given another major facelift which saw the reintroduction of traffic, new public seating, water features and lighting. According to the mall's designers, Taylor Cullity Lethlean, "this major urban renewal project ... has successfully transformed what was once a poorly utilised pedestrian and retail environment into a vibrant community/retail precinct."¹⁰ The reality of the situation, however, sits in stark contrast to the designer's marketing spin. A record number of surrounding shops sit vacant, falling into disrepair, while safety concerns cause shoppers and workers to actively avoid the area.

Understanding the problem to solve the problem

On a quiet afternoon in January 2015, a sickening assault took place in the Little Malop Street Mall. A 12-year-old girl was repeatedly punched, kicked, and kned in the head by a 14-year-old female aggressor while other teenagers stood by, goading the victim and filming the incident. This was the day after an unprovoked attack on a 19-year-old university student in the mall that left the victim with a fractured eye socket, cut lip and torn retina. These incidents add to the shocking tally of serious crimes that have occurred in the mall over many years, including the stabbing murder of a 16-year-old boy in 1995 and the brutal rape of a 22-year-old woman in 2006. Public outcry over these latest attacks prompted renewed commitments for an increased police presence in the mall. Yet as Deputy Police Commissioner Lucinda Nolan has noted, this is a short-term solution and much work is needed to provide a more sustained response in order to build the liveability of the city and confidence of the community.¹¹ The city's CCTV system has also received a \$500,000 upgrade which includes 40 cameras located throughout the CBD to act as eyes on the street. Though these measures will go some way towards improving public safety, they fail to address the underlying problems that attract and foster delinquent behaviour in this space. These problems are manifold and encompass a range of social issues that fall beyond the scope of this paper or expertise of the author to comprehensively deal with. While acknowledging these limitations, this particular investigation looks to the built environment as a major contributing factor to this civic crisis, and considers its potential to act as an agent for change.

Issues surrounding the built urban fabric of central Geelong were recently highlighted in an impassioned article in the *Geelong Advertiser* by columnist Ross Mueller. In response to the *Advertiser's* successive front page headlines of "Send in the Cops", "More Cops Now" and "We Win More Patrols", Mueller plays on these catchcries, sarcastically retorting

More police are needed in Geelong. That's right, we need a division to investigate exactly who approved the brilliant idea of building two massive shopping malls right next door to each other. We need to track down the mastermind who approved this injustice to a city. We need to find out who smoothed out the edges of Little Malop St and stopped the flow of traffic into the CBD. We need more cops to round up all of the above and charge them with Criminal Negligence of our Public Place. Then we hold the biggest working bee in history and reclaim Little Malop St for the people of Geelong. Rip it up, rip it down and start from scratch and build something functional, beautiful and habitable.¹²

While retribution for the mistakes of the past can do little to fix the present, Mueller draws attention to broader concerns that extend beyond the spatial limits of the mall itself, touching on matters of scale, built form, accessibility, and the civic life of the city.

As evidenced earlier, the Market Square area has long been plagued by poor planning

decisions and errors of judgement by the institution of local government. Former Geelong Mayor, Hayden Spurling, who held office in 1986 when the mall was officially opened, now admits its shortcomings. In a recent newspaper article, he states “It’s had a lot of changes over the years – I can think of at least three major revamps, and lots of minor ones – but I don’t think it has ever really worked as we hoped it would.”¹³ Spurling attributes this to the fact that “a mall of that style is a thing of the 80s, and its days have passed.”¹⁴ But if this was the real issue, the award winning refurbishment of 2001 would surely have carried the space into the new millennium. The case is instructive precisely because highly qualified planners and extensive financial investment have repeatedly failed to remedy the space’s ills.

It is a truism that it is impossible to solve a problem if the problem is not understood. Therefore in order to effect transformational change, a greater understanding of the broader urban context that influences the mall is needed. The ramifications of depositing two large shopping centre developments into the very heart of a second tier regional city must be recognised and addressed, regardless of how seemingly inextricable they may be. Much has been written in planning literature about the negative impacts suburban shopping complexes have had on the viability of city centres and main streets.¹⁵ However, these impacts are uniquely compounded in Geelong. Not only must it wrestle with competition from suburban complexes such as the ever-expanding Waurin Ponds Shopping Centre located less than eight kilometres away, it must also contend with a double dose of these so-called ‘cathedrals of consumption’ inside the city core.¹⁶ The adjacent location of the facilities make them, in effect, one destination. In a *Business Stimulation Scoping Report* commissioned by the City of Greater Geelong in 2009, this situation was contrasted with Chatswood in Sydney where two major centres, Westfield Chatswood and Chatswood Chase, are connected via Victoria Avenue across a distance of 250 metres, thus providing conditions for a competitive strip of street front retailers to add strength and variety to the overall centre.¹⁷

One of the most significant consequences of the shopping centres’ incursion into the heart of Geelong has been the fragmentation of the city’s intimate urban structure and spatial network. Indoor shopping centres are closed systems that have poor urban interfaces and hard transitions to surrounding areas.¹⁸ Having blocked streets and consumed laneways, these mega-marts have created major barriers to pedestrian traffic flows. Adding to this breakdown in walkability, the Centres actively support vehicle dependency, providing cheap and accessible undercover parking to avoid the need for shoppers to step beyond the centres’ walls. This, of course, has a direct knock-on effect for retailers in the surrounding area. In October 2014, 87 ground level shops were sitting vacant in Geelong’s city centre, with another seven occupied but up for lease or sale.¹⁹ As Market Square Shopping Centre and Westfield fill their tenancies with national chain retailers, this has led to a process of commercial gentrification, forcing smaller local independent retailers out of business. The seductive offering of competitive prices on a wide variety of goods and services in one convenient and comfortable location has caused a fundamental shift in consumer patterns. The diversity of retail offerings outside the centres has drastically reduced, with the retail environment in the immediate vicinity of the pedestrian mall being dominated by discount

and reject variety stores. Even landmark stores such as Griffiths Booksellers, which had been a Geelong institution for almost 100 years, was forced to close its doors for the last time in 2010 and the beautiful heritage listed Renaissance revival building it occupied has remained untenanted for five years.²⁰

As concerning as the city's retail woes are, perhaps the most troubling repercussion of the shopping centres' impingement on the city is the social dysfunction they have caused. As commercial entities, the centres are designed and managed to make shopping an enjoyable leisure experience. They also support a range of non-commercial functions which include social interaction, recreational activity and entertainment. Because of these secondary roles, the adjoining pedestrian mall loses much of its significance as a public gathering space. There are, however, essential differences between the communal roles played by a public pedestrian mall and a shopping centre. Since the latter is owned and operated by a private organisation with profit being its primary objective, its target market is consumers with disposable income. Less desirable populations are deterred from lingering. This was blatantly demonstrated by Westfield management in 2009 when a 'red card' system was introduced that, according to Corporate Affairs Manager, Julia Clarke, was used by security guards to "target groups of kids".²¹ She said the cards were "given when young people look like they are mucking up or (are) about to muck up," and provide "a guarantee of how we'll treat them." The cards outline a list of behaviours and their consequences, which include arrests, centre bans and eviction. Clarke admitted that some card recipients were not intentionally misbehaving. "Sometimes kids just don't know ... they forget because they think they're having fun."²² The-then Executive Director of community support organisation Barwon Youth, Shane Murphy, argued that the system was discriminatory and made unfair assumptions.²³ But as far as Westfield is concerned, it has proven to be a successful strategy. Since their initial introduction the cards have been rebranded as 'Respect' cards that give the receiver "the chance to change".²⁴ But the basic principle remains the same. While the centre must provide a safe and secure environment for shoppers, such strategies are specifically designed to exclude people on prejudicial grounds such as age and socioeconomic status.

In banishing young people from the shopping centre, the only public space available within the city centre for them to meet and socialise is the adjacent mall, but even there, their presence is actively discouraged via a Council strategy to broadcast music that is unappealing to a younger demographic. The Council mindset of keeping the 'larrikins' at bay appears to have changed little in over 140 years. There is no denying that the congregation of groups of youths in the Little Malop Street Mall poses serious problems in terms of anti-social behaviour, including the use of offensive and abusive language, street fights and the trading and consumption of drugs and alcohol.²⁵ However, this is largely facilitated by the fact that the mall is completely devoid of a diverse mix of people. There is a clear social divide that is bolstered by public comments such as those of the current Mayor, Cr Darryn Lyons, who recently declared the mall a "haunt for bogans and scumbags".²⁶ In late 2012 a survey of 242 people and supplementary interviews with 100 individuals found that 25 per

cent of respondents wanted to 'get rid' of the youth that spend their time in the pedestrian mall, with most interviewees describing them as 'mallrats'.²⁷ Such rhetoric ensures that these disenfranchised youth are made acutely aware of their 'otherness'. According to architectural professor, Herb Childress,

The youth act of 'appropriating' a space is somewhat similar to the adult act of purchasing and modifying a space, taking control and placing identity markers. However, it also includes the added aspect of the modification of adult rules of engagement, and in this way becomes an implicit political statement as well, a counter-positioning of experiential and modern cultural norms.²⁸

Since they are welcome nowhere else, teenagers have territorialised the mall as their own, making anyone else who ventures into the area the 'outsider'.

The mall also provides these young people with a sense of community and connection as recently demonstrated by a week-long vigil they held for a deceased friend whom many of them first met in the mall. While some people on social media argued that a shopping mall was no place for a temporary shrine, this spontaneous gesture highlights the important social function that public spaces perform. Indeed, the transformation of Sydney's Martin Place from a pedestrian mall to a massive floral shrine following the Lindt Café siege in December 2014 was a stirring example of the way people use public space to come together and support one another. Unlike shopping centres, public malls and squares are open to all people at all hours and the activities that occur there are not moderated by a manager. They therefore provide a space for collective community action such as public debating, demonstrating, celebrating and grieving. In his research on the traditional European Square, social psychologist and urban scholar, Professor Henry Lennard, particularly emphasises the value of such spaces as learning environments for social behaviours that prepare young people for living in a heterogeneous and diverse social world.²⁹

In seeking to redress the problems of the city's spatial fragmentation and social segregation it is important that planners do not succumb to a nostalgic yearning for an idealised public space that fails to take into account the dynamics of the surrounding urban context. As long as Westfield and Market Square Shopping Centre continue to turn a profit, as the city's economic stability depends on them to, they will remain an essential feature of Geelong's urban fabric. The solution may then lie in local government and shopping centre management recognising their joint dependency and working together towards improved permeability, integration and function.

Breaking down the public-private divide

The classification and distinction of public and private space is somewhat inconsistent with the way in which pedestrian malls and shopping centres operate in practice. However, the jurisdictional boundaries between the institutions of local government and corporate retailing giants serve to limit opportunities for spatial continuity between the two. There tends to be an assumption that little can be done to bridge the divide, however, a conceptual

shift in this compartmentalised perception of space could prove beneficial to both the public and private sectors. Given that shopping centre managers are unlikely to waiver from their tried and true retail formula, a proactive approach by Council as the representative of the public interest is necessary. While increased permeability and transparency of the shopping centres will serve to enhance the social functioning of the surrounding public space, the benefits for the private investor are perhaps less direct and can be difficult to quantify. A reduction in urban blight can lead to an overall upturn in land values which in turn can increase the rental prices that shopping centres can command. The centres are also likely to see improved capital value should they be sold or refinanced.³⁰ Reversing the stigma of the area through improved safety will also encourage shoppers to return to the CBD.³¹ But these benefits can take a long time to realise. Some form of local government incentives may therefore be required in the short term to make the initial investment of remodelling works for improved connectivity more attractive to the shopping centres.³²

Local government policy is critical in facilitating a cooperative relationship with shopping centres. The development of an integrated retail and urban policy framework that seeks to develop the CBD into something more than just another homogenous retail precinct is imperative. Council strategies can actively encourage niche markets to be developed.³³ It is also important to bear in mind though, that successful city centres are about much more than retail alone. They offer a variety of experiences that shopping centres cannot. This is made evident in Geelong when events such as 'Food Truck Fridays' are hosted in the mall, transforming the space into a vibrant hub of activity. Presently though, once these organised events are over, the area quickly returns to a lifeless void. A way of creating ongoing experiential encounters in central Geelong is for local government to work with the absentee landlords of vacant shops to repurpose the buildings. Urban renewal initiatives such as 'Renew Newcastle' have proven highly successful in other Australian cities, with empty spaces being adapted to accommodate a range of creative studios, cultural exhibitions, community projects and novel incubator businesses.³⁴

The key to optimising the social functioning of the city while protecting private interests is people. As the Senior Vice President of the not-for-profit organisation Project for Public Spaces, Ethan Kent, has observed, "cities fail and succeed at the scale of human interaction".³⁵ Creating stronger connections within the built urban fabric is one way in which human interaction can be supported. Having been plagued throughout its entire history by a host of governmental follies and fiascos, a collaborative approach with the private sector may encourage a new narrative to be developed for Geelong's long maligned Market Square precinct. In working together, the institutions of local government and shopping centre corporations can maximise the value of a shared public-private realm, promoting the economic prosperity and social cohesion of the city, and in turn, keep this troubled history from repeating itself.

- 1 Walter Randolph Brownhill, *The History of Geelong and Corio Bay* (Melbourne: Wilks & Co., 1955), 126.
- 2 Brownhill, *The History of Geelong and Corio Bay*, 126.
- 3 Benjamin Backhouse was born in Ipswich, Suffolk, England. He migrated to Victoria in 1852 to look for gold. From 1853 he worked in Geelong first as a stone mason, then as a building contractor and later as a self-taught architect.
- 4 Brownhill, *The History of Geelong and Corio Bay*, 127.
- 5 Brownhill, *The History of Geelong and Corio Bay*, 127.
- 6 Brownhill, *The History of Geelong and Corio Bay*, 129.
- 7 Brownhill, *The History of Geelong and Corio Bay*, 131.
- 8 Brownhill, *The History of Geelong and Corio Bay*, 131.
- 9 Brownhill, *The History of Geelong and Corio Bay*, 132.
- 10 www.tcl.net.au/projects/urban-design/geelong-mall-little-malop-street.
- 11 Courtney Crane, "Police to boost patrols: community wins CBD action," *Geelong Advertiser*, January 24, 2015, 4.
- 12 "Send in the Cops," *Geelong Advertiser*, January 21, 2015, 1; "More Cops now," *Geelong Advertiser*, January 23, 2015, 1; "We win more patrols," *Geelong Advertiser*, January 24, 2015, 1; Ross Mueller, "Rip up bricks, lay bitumen and bring back the traffic," *Geelong Advertiser*, January 28, 2015, 14.
- 13 Greg Dundas, "Conundrum of a Hollow Heart," *Geelong Advertiser*, January 24, 2015, 41.
- 14 Dundas, "Conundrum of a Hollow Heart," 41.
- 15 Michael Southworth, "Reinventing Main Street: From Mall to Townscape Mall," *Journal of Urban Design* 10, no. 2 (June 2005): 151-70; G. Teller, "Do Shopping Centres Abate the Resilience of Shopping Streets? The Coexistence of both Shopping Venues in Ankara, Turkey," *Cities: The International Journal of Urban Policy and Planning* 36 (February 2014): 145-157.
- 16 The term 'cathedrals of consumption' was coined by sociologist George Ritzer to refer to places such as shopping centres that enchant and inspire consumers to spend more.
- 17 Planning by Design and BMDA Development Advisory, *Central Geelong Business Stimulation Scoping Project* (2009), 5.
- 18 Urbacity, www.urbacity.com.au/articles/how-do-you-subjugate-the-role-of-retail-to-get-better-centres.
- 19 Courtney Crane, "How can you mend a broken heart?" *Geelong Advertiser*, October 7, 2014, 4.
- 20 The building has just been let to Lombard: The Paper People. Lachie Young, "Geelong businessman calls on CBD landlords to make their properties more appealing," *Geelong Advertiser*, February 11, 2015.
- 21 <http://geelong.starcommunity.com.au/indy/2009-07-30/shopping-centre-gives-red-card-to-mall-rats>.
- 22 <http://geelong.starcommunity.com.au/indy/2009-07-30/shopping-centre-gives-red-card-to-mall-rats>.
- 23 <http://geelong.starcommunity.com.au/indy/2009-07-30/shopping-centre-gives-red-card-to-mall-rats>.
- 24 Westfield "It's all about respect" card.
- 25 St Laurence Community Services and City of Greater Geelong, *Little Malop Street Initiative Project Report* (2013), 8.
- 26 Erin Pearson and Anthea Cannon, "Bash victim says she was helping a friend," *Geelong Advertiser*, January 20, 2015, 4-5.
- 27 St Laurence Community Services, *Little Malop Street Initiative Project Report*, 7. While in the American context the term 'mallrats' is used to refer to teenagers who 'hang out' in suburban shopping centres, the term has been reappropriated in Geelong largely through its use in local print media and online social forums to refer specifically to the inhabitants of the Little Malop Street Mall. For example, the front page headline of the *Geelong Advertiser*, November 9, 2010, which reads "Broken Heart: Mall rats and parking blamed as 35 city shops sit vacant".
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- 29 Suzanne H. Crowhurst Lennard and Henry L. Lennard, *Genius of the European Square* (Carmel, CA: International Making Cities Liveable Council, 2008), 18.
- 30 G. Edward DeSeve, "Financing Urban Development: The Joint Efforts of Governments and the Private Sector," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 488 (November 1986): 58-76.
- 31 www.healthyplaces.org.au/site/urban_squares_full_text.php.

- 32 In the “Central Geelong Retail Core Project” report commissioned by the City of Greater Geelong in 2011, recommendations were made to investigate options to stimulate co-investment from the public and private sectors. However these recommendations were geared towards businesses outside of the shopping centres.
- 33 The 2009 “Central Geelong Business Stimulation Scoping Project” report noted that the Council must accept that the Market Square and Westfield Shopping Centres are and will remain the epicentre for core brand retailing and therefore it should seek to develop additional specialist nodes or destinations for entertainment, arts, culture, eating, specialty retail, fresh food and local produce.
- 34 See <http://renewnewcastle.org> and <http://renewaustralia.org>.
- 35 www.pps.org/about.