

people place heritage

# CONTEXT

## PRESTON MARKET HERITAGE STUDY

### Volume 1: History and Community Connections

December 2017

Prepared for  
City of Darebin



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**Cover image:** Preston Market c. 1970s ('Preston Market with People Located in a Courtyard Surrounded by Shops 1970', Laurie Richards Studio (photographer) from <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/221822817?q=preston+market&c=picture&versionId=243284814>)

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**Project Team:**

Chris Johnston, Project Manager

Emma Russell

Vicki McLean

Jessica Antolino

Chairim Byun

Donna Fearne

**Report Register**

This report register documents the development and issue of the report *Preston Market Heritage Study – Volume 1 History and Community Connections* undertaken by Context in accordance with our internal quality management system.

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**Context**

22 Merri Street, Brunswick VIC 3056

Phone 03 9380 6933

Facsimile 03 9380 4066

Email [context@contextpl.com.au](mailto:context@contextpl.com.au)

Web [www.contextpl.com.au](http://www.contextpl.com.au)

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## Introduction

In July 2017, the City of Darebin commissioned Context to provide a heritage assessment of the Preston Market, with a particular emphasis on historical and social values. This study would build on a preliminary study completed in 2011 as part of a project on Victoria's post 1940s migration heritage (Context 2011).

To be prepared in two stages, the heritage study required research into the history of Preston Market, its design, form and layout and its social and community uses and associations (Stage 1). A second stage would then provide an assessment of the market's heritage values in accordance with and the requirements of the *Planning Practice Note 1: Applying the Heritage Overlay* (DELWP 2015) and the *Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance 2013* (The Burra Charter and associated Practice Notes) .

## History

Preston Market was constructed in 1969, on a key site in the centre of Preston, and close to the civic and commercial precinct that had developed around High and Cramer Streets particularly from the 1920s. For thousands of years prior, this area was the land of the Wurundjeri-willam. Colonial occupation of the Port Phillip District from 1835 resulted in the survey and subdivision of the land, with the land being taken up for grazing primarily.

By 1865, the first of twenty tanneries was established in Preston (Braithwaite Tannery). In 1888 Thos. Broadhurst Tannery was built on the block surrounded by High Street, Cramer Street, the railway line and Murray Street, the site now occupied by Preston Market. Demolition of the tannery in 1964 left a large vacant site, ripe for redevelopment. Ten years earlier, a report prepared as a part of the 1954 Melbourne and Metropolitan Planning Scheme identified Preston as one of the five District Business Centres that were intended to be the focus of commerce and employment. Concept plans for the Preston District Centre proposed new development across the tannery site, crossed by a series of 'shopping walks' that linked the site to High and Cramer Streets, the railway, and Murray Road.

Northland shopping centre opened in 1966, represented a new retailing concept, whereas Preston Market, opened four years later, referred back in its design and form to traditional open air markets.

Preston Market reflects and represents key themes in the history of this locality, and to some extent, Melbourne . These include the expansion of suburban Melbourne, migration and making a home (especially in the post- Second World War period), and the development of distinctive modes of marketing and retailing.

## Designing and building Preston Market

Preston Market, the first new market constructed in Melbourne for around 50 years, adopted a traditional open-air market form, like those developed in the nineteenth century in Melbourne. When Preston market was built, only four of the nineteenth century retail markets remained– the Queen Victoria Market, the South Melbourne Market, Prahran Market and Dandenong Market. The new retailing concept – a regional shopping centre – fully enclosed and pedestrianised – responded to social and economic conditions in the post Second World War period including the rapid expansion of the suburbs, a dramatic increase in private car ownership, increased prosperity, and an emphasis on a new modern lifestyle. Northland was the second of this type of centre built in Melbourne.

The design and architectural form of Preston Market, while a traditional market in many ways, also responded to these social and economic factors. Preston Market was developed as a contemporary version of the 'market' type. The concept employed by the newly graduated team of designers was for a building that would be flexible and adaptable over

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time. The large open shed like buildings were pre-fabricated, with a strong industrial palette of materials. A key element was the use of a new technology – a space frame – an innovative roof truss system. The design offered good access to natural light and open air between the buildings, and the layout was created around two axes that function as pedestrian streets and define the overall plan of the Market: ‘The Centreway’ runs north-south and ‘The Strand’ runs east west.

There have been some changes to the market structures over the years, with Sheds 3 and 4, the eastern end of Shed 1, and the pedestrian walkways being the most intact sections, followed by Sheds 6, 7 and 5 which are moderately-partially intact.

## **Community connections**

Understanding community connections to Preston Market was an important focus for Stage 1 of this heritage study. The research and community engagement is intended to provide the foundation for understanding social values.

Both stallholders (and those who work for them) and shoppers were recognised as important ‘communities’ with direct associations with Preston Market. The research undertaken drew on the 2011 preliminary assessment of the market (Context 2011), combining this data with a review of the publication *Market Crossings* (Stead 2010), an online questionnaire survey, onsite interviews using the same survey questions, and analysis of pre-2014 social media posts on the market (Facebook and Instagram).

Many of the stallholders interviewed in 2011 had been trading at the market for many years, some being second generation traders. The questionnaire survey revealed that shoppers were also likely to have long-standing connections with the market.

This research revealed that Preston Market had significant and long-standing connections for both stallholders and shoppers as a landmark, marker or signature, as a reference point in a community's identity and from use and/or association.





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# 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background

The City of Darebin commissioned Context in July 2017 to provide a heritage study of the Preston Market, addressing all the potential heritage values that may be associated with the Preston Market and giving a particular emphasis to historical and social values.

The heritage study would build on a preliminary study completed in 2011 as part of a project on Victoria's post 1940s migration heritage (Context 2011). The 2011 project included case studies within the City of Darebin which aimed to test out different ways of working with migrant communities to identify places associated with post 1940s migration and understand their heritage values. There were five case studies within City of Darebin. Context worked with Way Back When and The Connies, Council and Library officers and the Ethnic Communities Council. One case study focused on Preston Market and included preliminary historical research, 24 interviews, 12 with stallholders and 12 with shoppers, and a brief assessment of the heritage values of the market.

## 1.2 Purpose

The purpose of Stage 1 of the Preston Market heritage study was to research the history of the Preston Market, its design, form and layout, and its social and community functions and connections.

The assessment of cultural heritage significance (Stage 2) is to be undertaken in accordance with the principles and procedures set out in the *Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance 2013* (the Burra Charter) and the associated Practice Notes, and with regard to the *Planning Practice Note 1: Applying the Heritage Overlay*.<sup>1</sup> The heritage values of historic, scientific, aesthetic, social and spiritual value (as articulated in the Burra Charter) are to be used in Stage 2. In doing this, some comparative assessment is to be undertaken to understand the design precedents for the form and layout of the market, and to consider it in relation to other local/regional fresh food markets in Melbourne.

In their brief, the City of Darebin emphasised the importance of understanding the social history of the market and considering it as a place situated in a particular context and time period, and as a social artefact, potentially having heritage values expressed in the physical fabric of the place (tangible attributes) and in cultural practices, uses and activities (intangible attributes).

## 1.3 Methodology

The key elements of the project methodology for Stage 1 of the Preston Market heritage study are described below.

### Understanding the place

#### *Historical research*

We reviewed previous research such as *the Darebin Heritage Study* and *Thematic History* (Context 2007), the *Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage: Darebin Pilot Project* (Context 2011), and established a historical research plan, identifying potential sources and key questions.

A key focus in our historical research was to identify the reasons for the formation of the market, key people involved including designer/s and developer/s, and how the market developed over time. Primary and secondary sources included the Darebin Historical

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<sup>1</sup> Department of Environment, Land, Water and Planning 2015, *Planning Practice Note 1: Applying the Heritage Overlay*.

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Encyclopaedia, academic research/theses, newspaper accounts, images of the market in earlier times, maps and plans etc. A full list of sources consulted is included in References.

The 2011 interviews with long-standing stall holders and shoppers (Context 2010) were of particular value and contributed historical perspectives as well as offering a foundation for understanding community-held values.

The historical research is presented in the form of a short social history of the locality – from Woiwurrung times through to the present. It focuses on the relationships of people to the market, over time and across the different users of the market. Chapter 2 contains the historical narrative, with a range of illustrations.

### ***Preston Market form, layout and development sequence***

In parallel to the historical research, we visited the market and documented the physical form and layout and sought to discern the likely sequence of development and change. Chapter 3 *Designing and Building Preston Market* examines the influences on the design of the market, set within the broader context of other markets in Melbourne and considers the trend towards developing larger, self-contained shopping centres in the 1960s-70, the very time when Preston Market was being planned and launched. It also provides a description of the market buildings, the sequence of development and the extent of change.

We also undertook a brief comparative assessment of Preston Market in relation to other Melbourne fresh food markets and to several shopping precincts built at around the same time. This component was designed help build an understanding of precedent designs for Preston Market as well as helping to determining the relative significance of Preston Market.

### ***Community associations***

Reviewing the material gathered in the Context (2011) study of Preston Market - 24 interviews with shoppers and stall holders conducted over two days – was an important starting point and helped shape the nature and scope of work undertaken as part of this project. A summary of our review and analysis of the 2011 study is contained in Section 4.2.

Following this review and concluding that the two key groups with potential ‘strong or special associations’ with Preston Market are shoppers and market stallholders, we worked with Darebin City Council to create two opportunities to collect information about these associations. In doing this we were cognisant there may be other cultural groups with distinctive associations within each of these two broad groups.

The two research and data collection activities were:

1. An online survey
2. Two half day sessions interviewing shoppers at Present Market, using the online survey questions.

### ***Online and on-site surveys***

The same questionnaires, containing multiple-choice and open-ended questions, were developed for both the online and on-site surveys.

The online survey was hosted on the City of Darebin’s ‘Have Your Say’ website in September 2017. An on-site survey was undertaken at the Preston Market on 8-9 September 2017, where respondents could choose either to be interviewed by the consultants or to fill out the questionnaire on their own. The survey was undertaken on a weekday and on a weekend under stable weather conditions to allow for comparison of results during two different time periods. The responses were entered into the online survey system to create a single dataset.

A total of 99 surveys were completed. The survey results are summarised in Section 4.5 and the questions and detailed responses are included in Appendix 3.

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### **Planning permit objections**

It was important to review the submissions made about the recent planning applications for development on the northern side of the market, and the VCAT submissions and expert evidence presented on behalf of community objectors. This is because proposed changes to a place may prompt community expression of their associations and values, it may also lead to claims of value that are not substantiated by other evidence.

### **Other sources**

The other main sources of evidence of community values were:

- the publication *Market Crossings: Plotting a course through the Preston Market, Melbourne* which documented a project run by arts organisation TRAX in 2010.
- examination and analysis of a sample of postings on the social media platforms Instagram and Facebook.

This social media research was undertaken in this project (see Section 4.4) to further investigate people's connections and associations with the place. An initial scoping exercise indicated that Preston Market had the strongest presence on Facebook and Instagram, with far less material on Twitter. Recent postings were predominantly focused on the proposed redevelopment of the Market and the 'Save Our Preston Market' campaign, and it was decided to only sample posts prior to the announcement of the proposed redevelopment in May 2014. Our approach to the sampling and the outcomes are summarised in Section 4.4.

In undertaking the community associations research, we sought to identify whether social significance is represented in the form of tangible attributes such as built form, layout, uses/activities (etc.) and/or intangible attributes such as knowledge, skills, stories, memories, and 'performance'.

## **1.4 Limitations**

The scope of Stage 1 of the project was clearly defined as undertaking research into the Preston Market with a wide range of sources available to be explored.

We had anticipated being able to access the original plans of the market from Council's building permit system, however these were not available. There is no complete single set of plans for the market, but rather a series of plans for individual changes undertaken over time. As an alternative, and to understand more about the land ownership and sequence of development we undertook some title searches (see Appendix 4).

We had also anticipated being able to hold a stall at the market as a base from which to conduct in-depth interviews as well as promote the online survey. This was not possible, as the owners of the market did not support the proposed heritage study and were unwilling to allow a stall to be held within the market footprint. As an alternative we held two half days of roving interviews along the public thoroughfares within the market.

## **1.5 Terminology**

The terminology used in this project follows the conventions of the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter, the criteria and the Heritage Council of Victoria's *The Victorian Heritage Register Criteria and Threshold Guidelines: Assessing the cultural heritage significance of places and objects for possible state heritage listing* (updated 2014).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter, 2013; Heritage Council of Victoria 2014, *The Victorian Heritage Register Criteria and Threshold Guidelines: Assessing the cultural heritage significance of places and objects for possible state heritage listing*

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## **1.6 Acknowledgements**

The assistance of Paul Michell (historian and former local history librarian, City of Darebin) is gratefully acknowledged. Paul assisted with access to a range of historical source materials.

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## 2 HISTORY

### 2.1 Introduction

The Preston Market is less than half a century old.<sup>3</sup> It nonetheless embodies a history that reflects much of Victoria's cultural and social life in the latter half of the twentieth century. This includes the evolving shopping and eating habits of many different cultural groups, and the way people mix and socialise, or stay in touch with their families – ways of life that are not particular to Victoria during the market's lifetime or even over the last two hundred years, but also speak to those cultural ways that the local Wurundjeri-willam people lived for thousands of years.

After the arrival of colonial settlers, Wurundjeri-willam country was gradually developed for farming and market gardening. The land the Preston Market sits on was sheep grazing land for about fifty years before a tannery for producing leather goods was established on the site, capitalising on the available space, water and increasing workforce. Some decades and many cultural, social and municipal changes later, the tannery closed, and the Preston Market was built on its site.

The culture of shopping and consumption was on the brink of a radical change in the 1960s – one that, in some ways, changed the appearance of Melbourne's suburbs and gradually brought about a change in the way people incorporated domestic tasks such as shopping into their weekly lives. The development of the Preston Market appears to have been prompted by this looming cultural shift. New shopping centres such as Northland (in Preston) and Chadstone (in Chadstone) were designed around a new concept – the enclosed shopping centre. Removed from the local bustle of the street and standing apart as something 'modern' – they were to be an experience that would bring contemporary sophistication into the weekly shopping chores.

Deciding to establish a market place that was in almost direct contrast to the above new shopping concept, built with open-air, but sheltered, pedestrian walkways full of old-fashioned stalls not modern air-conditioned shops was a bold decision. Did it reflect a deep appreciation for the attraction of the traditional market? Or was it an extremely clever and strategic real estate investment? Either way, what the development did was to create a traditional market place that fulfilled many of the appealing human characteristics of such places, and in a manner that was structurally both aesthetically satisfying and technically creative.

The developer and original owner, Leon Jolson, announced 'I want this Market to be a place of noise and activity and when the housewife arrives back home I want her to feel exhilarated'.<sup>4</sup> From the very beginning Preston Market has been a place of noise and activity, of connections between people and cultures, and of grass-roots authenticity.

**Table 1. Timeline of historic events**

Pre 1830s	The current City of Darebin is part of a much larger area of country lived in by the Wurundjeri-willam for tens of thousands of years
1835	'Batman's Treaty' signed at Merri Creek
1837	Robert Hoddle surveyed Port Phillip District including the parishes of Jika Jika and Keelbundora to the north of Melbourne
1838 & '39	Land sold at government auction. Lot 144 was bought by J.T. Mitchell
1865	Braithwaite Tannery established in Preston by William Braithwaite, the first of twenty to evolve in the district

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<sup>3</sup> Context Pty Ltd., 'Thematic Environmental History', p.65

<sup>4</sup> Town Planning Research Group (TPRG), 'Markets at the Cross Roads', *Irregular* No.37, October 1970, p 2.

1872	Frances Bell bought Lot 144 and sub-divided it into six to resell with the proviso that 'all those pieces appearing as Roads or Ways' be retained. These included Cramer and Mary Streets.
1873 – 1950	Several markets opened and closed after just a few years or less including two livestock markets, two retail markets and a municipal (retail) market.
1888	Thos. Broadhurst Tannery established in the block surrounded by High Street, Cramer Street, the railway line and Murray Street
1926	Preston declared a City following a major leap in population density and diversity.
1929	Preston's second Town Hall was built and the High Street – Gower Street corner became the civic centre of the district
1950	Broadhurst Tannery sold to Johnson Leather Company, Sydney, who retained both the tanning business and its name.
1954	Melbourne Metropolitan Planning Scheme prepared to regulate urban 'sprawl' and named five District Business Centres, of which Preston was one
1956	L. Jolson & Co real estate agents established in Prahran by Leon and Lola Jolson
1960	Broadhurst Tannery closed & Johnson Leather Company Sydney subdivided and leased the land.
1960	Chadstone was the first of the new shopping centres to open in Victoria.
1961	84,146 residents recorded in Preston, an increase of over 37,000 since 1947
1964	Demolition of the entire Broadhurst tannery was complete
1966	Northland shopping centre opened on 4 October
1969	Leon Jolson decided to build a traditional European market in Preston
1969	October – construction of the Market begins
1970	October – Market opens
c 1973	Three separate house titles 22-26 Cramer St come under ownership of one owner. Sometime after this the market hall must have been constructed.
Early 1980s	Application to convert market hall to childcare centre rejected due to non-compliance with fire regulations. Subsequent application to convert to Bingo Hall approved. Mezzanine floor added. Other changes e.g. external fire stair added.
Sometime before 1985	Diagram stamped 1985 shows some parts of market as under different ownership arrangements. These are the areas that are now least intact, with brick shops constructed on these sections. Original market fabric no longer exists or is obscured in these locations.
1980s	Canopies added over walkways
2006	Australian Census revealed that 30% of Preston's residents were born overseas
2016	Fresh Food Market closed
2016	Some canopies updated – opaque covering replaced with clear corrugated covering



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## 2.2 Setting the scene

### The Woiwurrung landscape

The Wurundjeri-willam were the first people to live in a vast area of land that included the Merri and Darebin Creeks and part of which is now known as the City of Darebin. They camped near the creeks and moved according to the seasons to make the most of available food sources and to avoid the winter floods. Nearly all their food was collected by the Wurundjeri-willam womenfolk, mostly plants and roots or tubers dug out of the ground with a kannan, a large digging stick that had been hardened by fire. A favourite tuber was the murrnong, called the yam daisy by later white settlers. It was lovely and sweet in springtime. The women waded in the creeks with string bags to collect shellfish. Eel, fish and duck were also eaten, and on the grasslands surrounding the creek bed emus and kangaroos were part of the everyday landscape and provided a completely different source of food.<sup>5</sup>

Meetings and rituals, or ceremonies, were held frequently between the Wurundjeri-willam and other Woiwurrung-speaking clans, usually in the spring and summer months when it was easier to travel and there was more food around to support larger groups of people. These meetings were the coming together of people whose lifestyles hardly differed and who had much in common culturally. They were not always easy meetings however, as those factors that made one clan different from another were often steeped in long histories and sometimes fraught kinships. Some of these meetings are legendary and have been passed on through oral testimony. Of others there is little that is known. When white people came to the area they tended to record what they saw in writing rather than verbally. One meeting, on 22 March 1843, involved nearly 200 Kulin people who came to Wurundjeri-willam country to take part in a tanderrum ceremony, which purpose is to welcome and offer safe hospitality and passage to foreigners when needed. The second meeting in January 1844 was the largest ever recorded and involved an estimated 800 people from far and wide. One wonders if both meetings were instigated by the need to acknowledge and deal with the recent and most strange foreigners.<sup>6</sup>

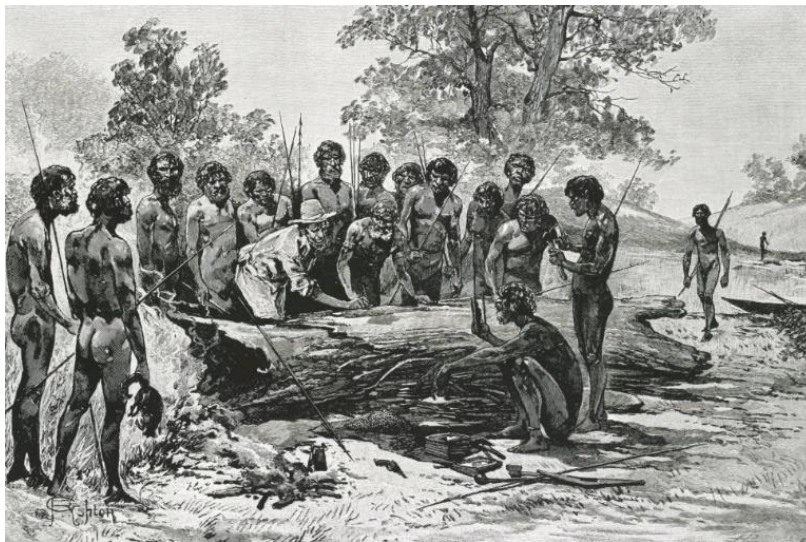


Figure 1. The land John Batman 'bought' from the Aborigines included Preston (Source: 'Batman trading with the aborigines', 1982, photographic print of original image which appeared in the Picturesque Atlas, 1888, Pictures Collection, State Library Victoria, <<http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/262194>>, accessed 24 July 2017)..

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<sup>5</sup> Merri Creek Management Committee (MCMC), 'Wurundjeri-willam: Aboriginal Heritage of Merri Creek', 14 September 2007, <<http://www.mcmc.org.au/>>, accessed 19 October 2017; Gary Presland, 'Woi Wurrung', *eMelbourne*, <<http://www.emelbourne.net.au/biogs/EM01629b.htm>>, accessed 19 October 2017.

<sup>6</sup> MCMC; Presland.

Tanderrum ceremonies are very important because they establish bonds of friendship in an uncertain world. It is thought that the signing of 'Batman's Treaty' by a Wurundjeri-willam elder named Billiberry on the banks of the Merri Creek in 1835 – and within the current City of Darebin – was an unwitting gesture on the part of the Aborigines who may have considered themselves to be taking part in a tanderrum ceremony welcoming the white men. In fact, it was an attempt to take 'ownership' of the land in return for blankets, axes, flour and other goods and the promise of an annual rent or 'tribute'.<sup>7</sup>

### Shaping a colonial landscape

John Batman was the first recorded foreigner to venture into the district and to have an impact on the local population. He was followed shortly after by Robert Hoddle, who had been sent in 1837 by Governor Richard Burke of New South Wales to survey the Port Phillip District.

Burke had declared Batman's treaty illegal but not before white settlers had begun to move into the area. By October 1837 Hoddle had surveyed and described large tracts of land to the north of the village of Melbourne, naming two large swathes the parish of Jika Jika and the parish of Keelbundora. Preston today crosses both parishes, named by Hoddle after local Aboriginal men he had known; and on a portion of the land on which the Woiwurrung-willam had been living for over 40,000 years.

Jika Jika Lot 144, at 320 acres (130 hectares) was the smallest parcel of land in the parish of Jika Jika and, along with 11 other lots, was sold at the government land auctions in 1838 and 1839. Land speculators bought these lots in Melbourne's great 'land grabs' and began to subdivide and resell, often making vast profits.



Figure 2. Parish map of Jika Jika. The land the Preston Market sits on today is towards the top right corner of Lot 144. (Source: Department of Lands and Survey, 'Plan of the Parish of Jika Jika in the County of Bourke', c.1837-1850, Land Subdivisions of Melbourne and suburbs 1837-1876, Maps Collection, State Library Victoria, <<http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/262194>>)

Joseph Theophilus Mitchell bought Lot 144 for £1 6s 0d an acre bordered by the Merri Creek, Coburg Cemetery and Pentridge Stockade on the west and what was to become High Street on the east, Murray Street to the north and Bell Street to the south and kept it for thirty-three years until selling to Francis Bell in February 1872. In the meantime, the construction of the water pipeline from Yan Yean to Melbourne had necessitated the sale of a section of his land right through the middle, splitting Lot 144 into two but bringing an important source of water

<sup>7</sup> Bain Attwood, 'Batman's Treaties', *eMelbourne*, <<http://www.emelbourne.net.au>>, accessed 24 July 2017.



to the area that was to shape its future land use.<sup>8</sup> The track for this water pipeline was to later become St George's Road.<sup>9</sup>

Mitchell remained in London most or all of the time he owned this land, but the sheep grazier Timothy Shepherd and his wife leased Mitchell's land and the area became known as Shepherd's Run. Their family grew up there and Timothy's granddaughter, Ann Eliza Young, was, in 1850, the first white person to be born in Preston.<sup>10</sup>

Shepherd's Run, presumably named after its tenants, became part of a larger area known as Irishtown after the homeland of most of its white settlers, before the name Preston was chosen. When the Shepherds arrived, if their eyes were good enough, they would have been able to see across the grasslands, creeks and low-lying hills as far as today's Melbourne CBD. The Shepherd family held on to their lease for a long time while the lots around them were gradually subdivided and sold on. Despite this the area was almost entirely dairy farms, orchards, market gardens, with remnants of the open River Red Gum woodlands.

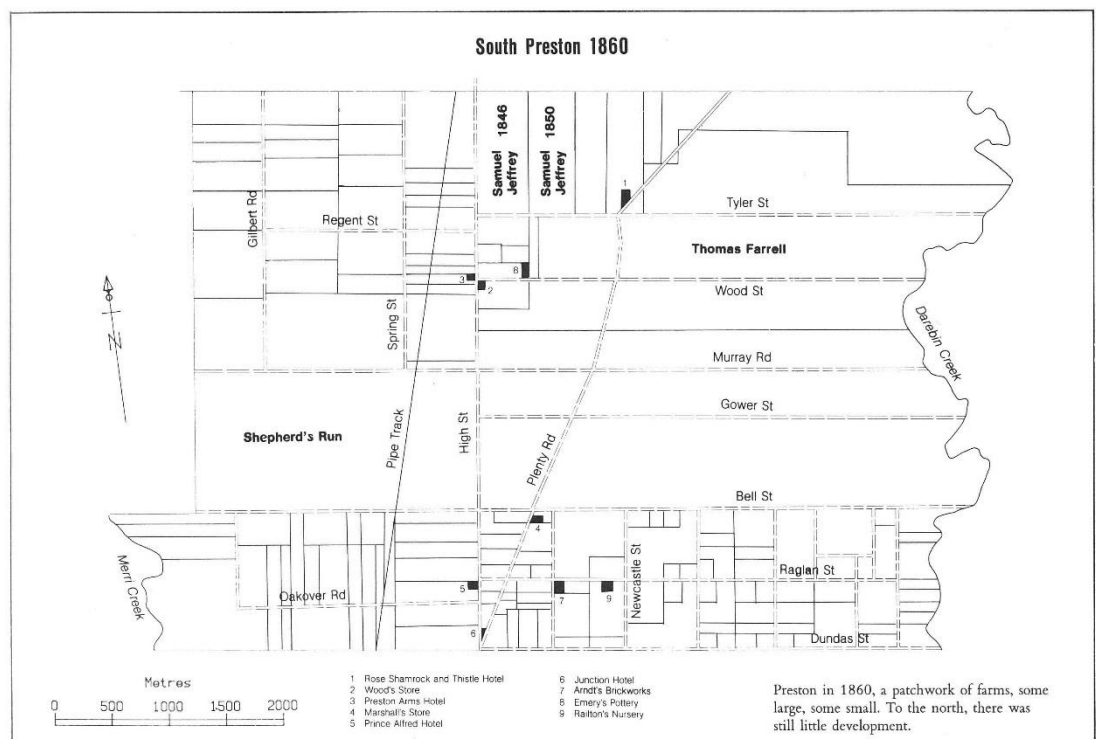


Figure 3. 'South Preston' 1860, showing subdivisions, street names, pipe trace and Shepherd Run (Source: Carroll, p 27). Image reproduced with permission of and copyright held by Preston City Council.

In 1872 Francis Bell bought Lot 144, or Shepherd's Run, from the Mitchell family, divided it into six and sold all six blocks with the proviso that 'all those pieces appearing as Roads or Ways' be retained: those already constructed included Elizabeth Street (no longer existing), and Bruce and Cramer Streets crossing west-east, and Jessie and Mary Streets crossing north-south.<sup>11</sup> Nearly one hundred years later Francis Bell's foresight was to prove fortuitous for the development of Preston Market, for which both Cramer and Mary Streets have ever since provided ready access.

<sup>8</sup> Brian Carroll and Ian Rule, *Preston: An Illustrated History*, Preston, 1985, p 18.

<sup>9</sup> Context Pty Ltd, 'City of Darebin Heritage Study Vol.1: Thematic Environmental History', prepared for City of Darebin, 2007, p 57.

<sup>10</sup> Carroll, p 23.

<sup>11</sup> Carroll, p 25.

As farms were sub-divided, roads constructed, and post offices and other amenities were established more and more people began moving into the area inspired by the promised train line, the cheaper prices for houses and land further away from Melbourne, and a wish to avoid an increasingly crowded and polluted city.

### 'New market at Preston'

The area nevertheless remained mainly a farming community and in November and December 1873 *The Argus* announced the 'Preston Market' was 'opening weekly ... incl. dairy produce, pigs, calves, cattle and horses (all classes) and horses (broken and unbroken), gigs, American wagons, harness & c, also about 1 ton first class cured bacon in sides'. This market was said to be on the junction of Plenty, Coburg and Heidelberg Roads in Preston, although these roads do not intersect. The next Preston Market, also a livestock market for farmers, was established in September 1897 adjoining the Gowerville Hotel (today it is The Stolberg) on the northwest corner of Bell Street and Plenty Road. This market sold 'cattle, horses, medium milkers, medium springers, stores, sets of harness, ponies and horses' as well as the occasional 'good assortment of secondhand timber'.

Domestic shopping was also becoming an option for the gradually increasing resident population during latter decades of the nineteenth century. Wood's Store had been providing general goods since 1850 on the corner of High Street and Wood Street. Edward Wood, the first of three generations, supplied local settlers and travellers heading to the gold fields or as far as Sydney.

Over the next hundred years he, his son Edward, grandson Hubert, and finally Hubert's widow provided a general store, the Preston Postal and Telegraph Office, and the Registrar of Births, Marriages and Deaths service for Preston until Wood's Store was closed in 1950. But the Woods family were not on their own. Shops continued to develop during the 1870s and 1880s and into the twentieth century, mainly along the west side of Plenty Road and along both sides of High Street north of Bell Street.

In July 1928 *The Argus* announced the opening of a new Preston Market, a retail market this time 'for the sale of household commodities' with 65 stalls and 'design and fittings [that] follow modern and hygienic lines. It is well ventilated and lighted. A motor car parking area has been provided.' This had been a long time coming for the growing Preston population but finally 'a long-felt want had been supplied' by owner and builder Edward Bailey who had built the place for £4000, and by Mr W C Cull who had leased the whole to manage and sub-let the 63 stalls. The Preston Market was to open on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays.

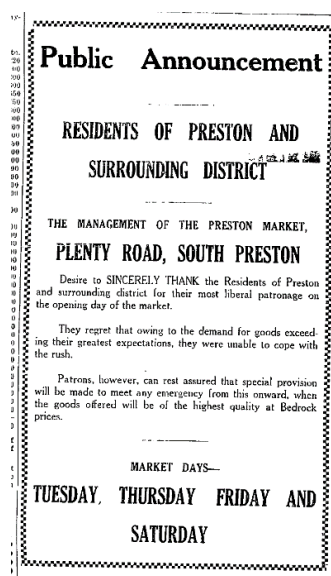


Figure 4. *Leader*, 6 August 1928, p 5  
(Source: Trove).

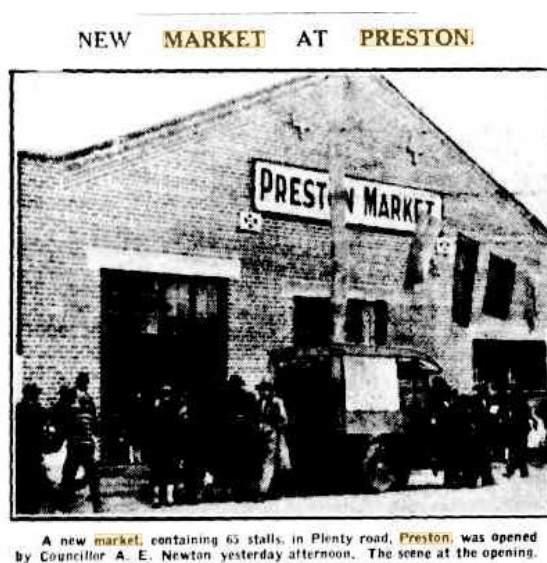


Figure 5. *The frontage of the Preston Market in 1928.* (Source: Trove, 'New Market at Preston', *Argus* 28 July 1928, p 23).

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The market was built on Plenty Road on the corner of what was to become Brighton Avenue. It sold mainly household goods, furniture, ice chests, gramophones, sundries, poultry and much else besides. Mr Cull, the manager, appeared to also use the premises to deal in motor vehicles himself, offering a Morris Commercial Van, a 13-seater Bean Passenger Bus and various other vehicles. But food stalls were on offer as well at the new Preston Market with dairy, bread and sugar stalls mentioned in some of the advertisements, although in March 1930 the police charged Mr L Stevens for selling his sugar at below the weight he charged for it. He was fined £3.0.0 with 2/2 for costs<sup>12</sup>.

In June 1932 *The Age* devoted space to an article entitled 'A Rush at Preston Market' due to the announcement of 'star bargains' for fish the following day. Mr Cull was quoted as saying

*'It was really wonderful to see such a response. There are thousands of unemployed in these districts and to them the saving of even a halfpenny on a transaction is important – even imperative. To be able to get a large supply of a food usually regarded a luxury out of reach of the purses of the majority, seemed to them unbelievable.'*

The Age went on to list a number of the 'star bargains' that were available:

*Barracouta, 6d; crayfish 9d to 1/3; whiting, 7d; salmon, 6d; Bay flathead, 1/ dozen; bream, 4d to large 1/-; flounders, 6d.*

This sale was part of a scheme launched a couple of weeks earlier in Footscray and travelling around Melbourne's retail markets in which 'suburban sales of fish direct to the public [were sold] by auction in household lots'. In 1932 Melbourne, and most of the world, was in the grip of the Great Depression and the opportunity to purchase food that was 'usually regarded a luxury' was too good to miss.

A week later 'Preston Market Prices' for vegetables were reported in *The Argus* including, at retail price, 'beetroot, two bunches 1k; carrots, two bunches, 3d; parsnips, two bunches 11/2 d; white turnips, two bunches, 1d; cabbages, 1d each, navel oranges, 15 for 1/'. In addition to drawing supplies from the city wholesale market, the Preston market in Plenty road is supplied direct by growers at Moorabbin, Oakleigh, Bentleigh, Diamond Creek, and neighbouring parts.'

Later that year *The Argus* announced the opening of yet another new market in Preston, this one was called the Junction Hygienic Market and located just a block further south at the junction of Plenty Road, Dundas Street and High Street. Just two years previously a Municipal Market had been established in High Street, between Dalgety and Preston Streets. These markets appear to be short-lived however, and in 1936 an article in *The Age* described the Preston Market on the corner of Plenty Road and Brighton Avenue as the oldest in the district and as having survived three other markets since being established eight years previously. It continued for several more years but in the late 1930s advertisements to let stalls that had belonged to butchers and fishmongers for several years began to appear in *The Age* and *The Argus*. In 1936 the Plenty Road market's owner, Edward Bailey JP, died; had the new owner put the prices up or imposed unwanted conditions on stall holders? Mr Cull was still the manager, but that wasn't enough to stop stall holders from moving away. In March 1942 Hendersons the butcher, formerly of Preston Market, advertised that he was:

*'now in business at 193 Plenty Road (near Bell Street) Preston. Phone: JU 2304'. He was selling sides of mutton for 3½d.lb; prime ribs for 5½d.lb; corned beef, 7½d.lb; sausages, 3 pounds for 1/-; mincemeat, 5 pounds for 1/-; bands of pickled pork for 8½d a pound; and pork, veal and spring lamb. He also offered to*

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<sup>12</sup> Until 1966, Australia's currency comprised pounds, shillings and pence: for example, £3.0.0 stands for 3 pounds, no shillings and no pence and 2/2 stands for two shillings and two pence. With the conversion to decimal currency, 10 shillings became \$1, and 2 shillings, became 20 cents.

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*send the meat by train with free delivery and packing for all orders over 10/. The Plenty Road Preston Market no longer advertised in the newspapers and appeared to have met its demise.<sup>13</sup>*

During these post-Depression years and through World War Two it is possible that a market-type of business was difficult to maintain no matter who owned the market. In March 1938 *The Age* had a different type of article on Preston Market, this time in relation to illegal betting. Samuel Ford, a leather worker who lived in Raglan Street, Preston, was caught red-handed in a stall taking money for bets instead of vegetables during a mid-day police raid on the Market on Saturday, 19 March. The court was lenient and although he was fined £20 for using the stall for unlawful business, he was allowed to pay it off in instalments.

### **A sensory experience**

*The tannery whistles used to go all the time. You didn't need a clock in Preston, didn't need a clock at all. The whistles would start about 7.25 in the morning, then there would be another one at 7.30 and this was to start the workers for the day. Then there would be more through the day. For lunch time, and the end of lunch time, and then knock off time. You'd be walking down the street, you'd hear the whistles and you'd know what time it was. But the odour of the tanneries was the thing Preston was known for. It was a definite odour, leather odour, you could smell it anywhere. It was quite a harsh sort of smell.<sup>14</sup>*

Tanneries, like farms and market gardens, need water and open land and while in the mid nineteenth century they were common along the Yarra River in suburbs like Collingwood and Abbotsford, by the 1870s tanneries were also being established in Preston after the introduction of the Yan Yean water pipe through the middle of Lot 144 or Shepherd's Run just to the west of High Street.

Tanneries were the place for treating, or tanning, animal skins and hides to turn them into leather. Tanning requires several processes to make the skins less susceptible to decomposition and more durable. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century these included removing hair, grease and salt and soaking in water for many hours, before using an acidic chemical called tannin, and then maybe a selection of dyes to colour the leather.<sup>15</sup> Altogether it was a smelly and dirty business, otherwise known as a noxious industry, and best kept away from residential areas.

William Braithwaite established the first tannery in Preston in 1865, and after that another nineteen tanneries opened. One was owned by a man called Thomas Broadhurst who had learnt his trade at the age of sixteen in the employ of William Braithwaite, later his competitor. Broadhurst, born on the other side of Melbourne in Windsor in 1858, crossed the Yarra and began working at the Braithwaite Tannery in 1874; it was located on the south-west corner of High and Cramer Streets. Broadhurst worked at several tanneries over the next few years and then established his own in 1880 with J. T. Hull on the corner of High and Gower Streets, probably directly opposite the Braithwaite Tannery and the Town Hall.<sup>16</sup> He was soon employing nearly twenty people, processing 100 hides every week, and had become the sole owner. He renamed his business the Jika Tannery but later sold it in 1890 during the Melbourne land boom. Both Preston and tanning called him however, and once the land boom had collapsed he returned in 1888, bought land to the west of High Street and established the Thos. Broadhurst Tannery.<sup>17</sup> His land was bordered by the new railway line to the west, Murray Road to the north, Mary Street to the east and Cramer Street to the south (two of the streets that Francis Bell had insisted remain when he subdivided Shepherd's Run in 1872).

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<sup>13</sup> *Eltham and Whittlesea Shires Advertiser*, 20 March 1942, p 3.

<sup>14</sup> Context Pty Ltd, 'Darebin Thematic Environmental History', 2007, 58; Roger Jones (ed.), *'Back in Them Days': An Oral History of Preston*, City of Darebin, Preston, 1994, p 15.

<sup>15</sup> Food and Agricultural Organization, 'Tanneries', <<http://www.fao.org/home/en/>>, accessed 18 October 2017.

<sup>16</sup> Darebin Heritage, 'Thomas Broadhurst', <<http://heritage.darebinlibraries.vic.gov.au/article/214>>, accessed 24 July 2017.

<sup>17</sup> Darebin Heritage, 'Thomas Broadhurst'.



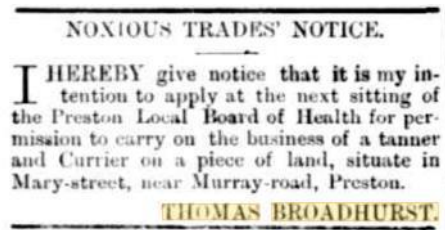


Figure 6. An advertisement by Thomas Broadhurst (Source: Trove, Mercury and Weekly Courier, 22 July 1888, p 2).

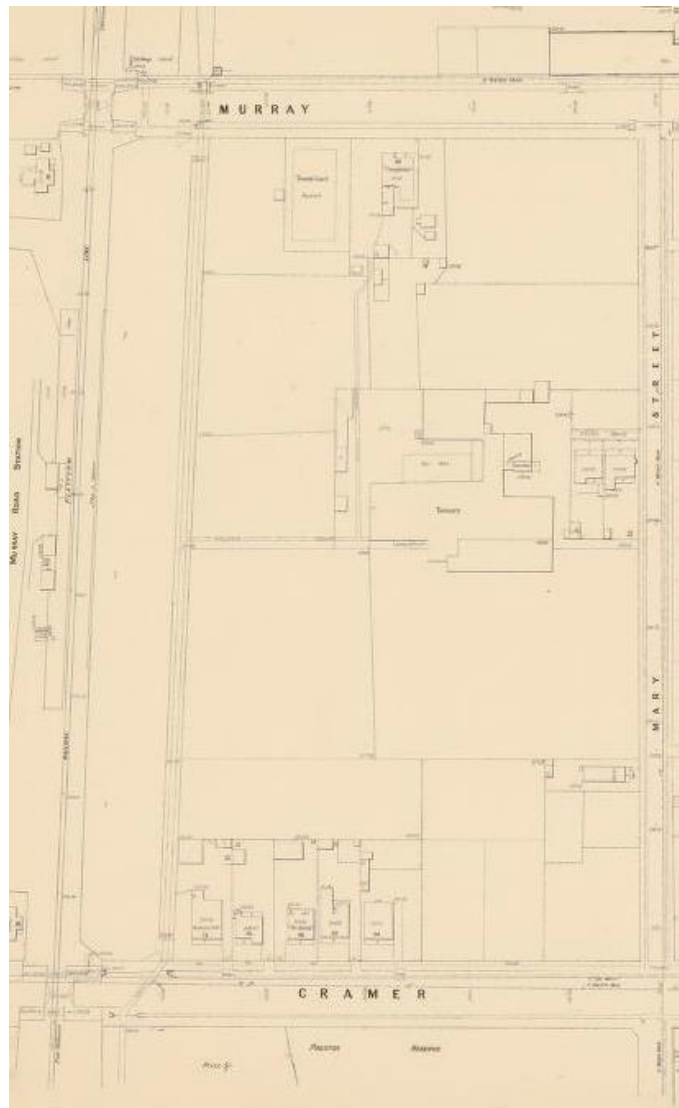


Figure 7. A section of Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works Plan 2389, 1910. The Broadhurst 'Tennis Court. Asphalt' is in the top left corner on Murray Road, and to its right is Broadhurst's home 'Congleton'. Behind the house is the 'Tannery'. Running off Mary Street to the east is a Right of Way that backs round to meet Mary Street again further south. Fronting Cramer Street and opposite the Preston Reserve are five private dwellings. The building in the top right of the map opposite Mary Street is part of another tannery. (Source: 'Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works Detailed Plan No.2389, Shire of Preston', 1910, MMBW map series, State Library Victoria, <<http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/127785>>, accessed 23 October 2017).

Broadhurst built a home on his large block of land in the north-west corner fronting Murray Road and called it 'Congleton'. He also had an asphalt tennis court installed. His tannery was built a little to the south-east, bordering Mary Street. Broadhurst's main competitors concentrated on sole leathers (Braithwaite's), patent leathers (Zwar's), and high-quality shoe and upholstery leathers (Howe's), but the new Broadhurst factory on the north-west corner of

the High Street and Cramer Street intersection took a more general approach, offering a wide range of leathers to suit all tastes.

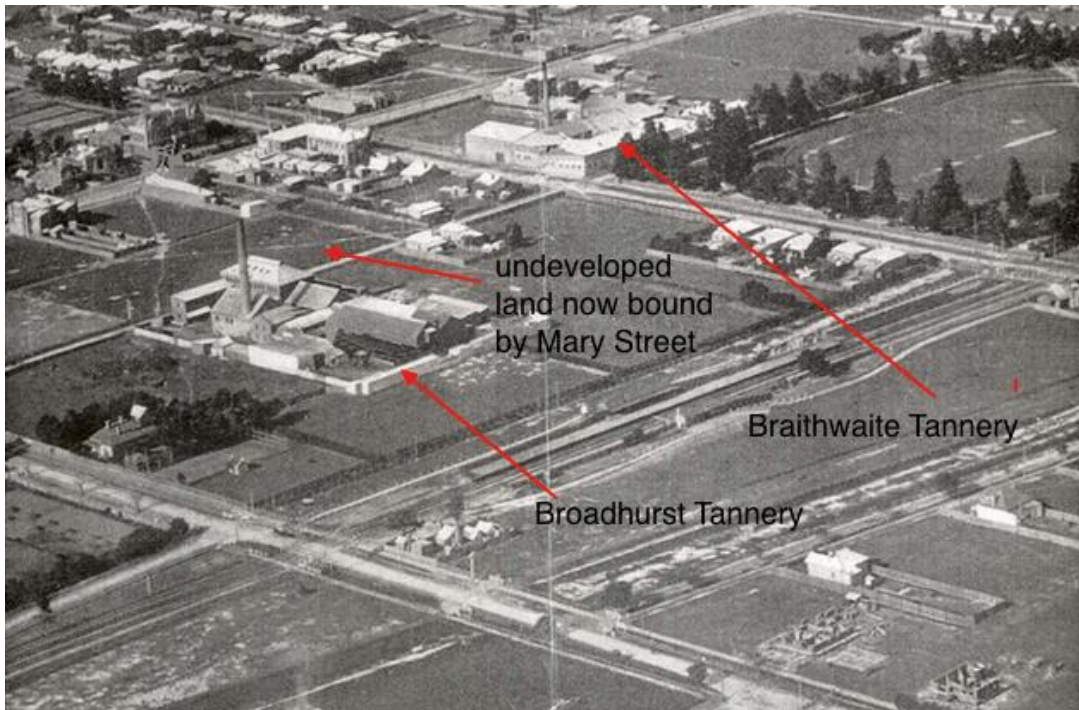


Figure 8. Marked up aerial photograph of Broadhurst and Braithwaite Tanneries c. 1907. Broadhurst's home 'Congleton' and his tennis court are to the left of his Tannery. The Town Hall is in the High and Gower Streets corner to the top left of the image. (Source: 'Aerial view of Broadhursts and Braithwaite's tanneries', c.1905, Darebin Heritage).

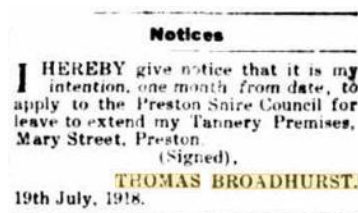


Figure 9. 1918 notice of extension (Source: Trove, Northcote Leader, 27 July 1918, p 3).

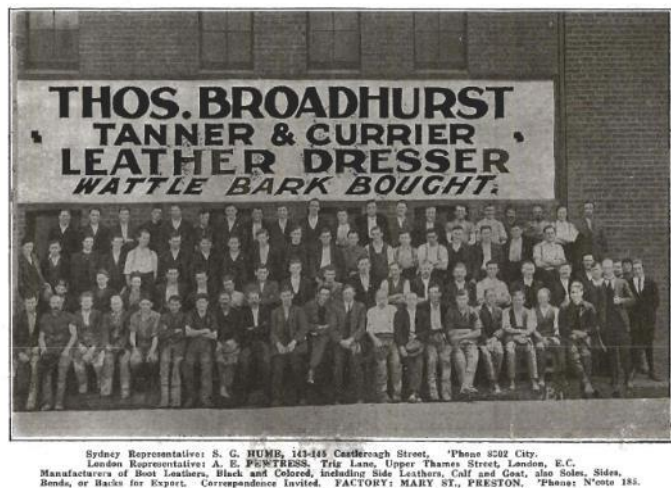


Figure 10. 1922 advertisement from publication (Source: Darebin Heritage, 'Preston and its beauty spots', 1922, p 29).

Broadhurst's tannery was one of the more successful in the Preston district. It had benefited from the growing population, which provided an ongoing source of labour. During the first World War a ban on British and German leather imports allowed Broadhurst's to make the most of an open market opportunity. By the time of Thomas' death in 1919 he had extended his complex several times. His son Robert took over the management of the Thos. Broadhurst Tannery for another thirty years. He nearly doubled the number of staff employed in that time from 80 to 150 and branched out to the international market by selling to England and New

Zealand as well as within Australia. He resigned in 1950 due to ill health and the business was sold to Johnson Leather Company Sydney who retained both the name and the tanning business. They often advertised in *The Age* for carpenters, tanners, fitters and other staff. One advertisement in 1954 was for carpenters needed for a 'Long construction job. Overtime available. Good conditions. Apply Saturday or Monday mornings to Thos. Broadhurst Tannery, Mary Street, Preston'. It is not clear what this 'long construction job' was, most likely another extension to the premises.



Figure 11. 'Leather Co's. Purchase' (Source: Trove, Age 1 December 1950, p 6).

Just a few years later however, in 1960, the Thos. Broadhurst Tannery was closed. Johnson Leather Company Sydney continued to own the land but subdivided and leased it. (Johnson Corporation Ltd & The Companies Act, Supreme Court of NSW 15 August 1980; clause 14) An aerial image taken in 1948 shows the Broadhurst Tannery building complex before it was demolished. Later, a Right of Way between Mary Street and High Street (see Figure 2) was renamed Mary Street and the stretch of the original Mary Street that ran between Cramer Street and Murray Road was removed.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The date that Jolson purchased or leased the property has not been determined.



Figure 12. Aerial view of Preston showing the Broadhurst Tannery factory and domestic buildings in the foreground and nearby timber yard both occupying the present Preston Market site. To the left of the image at the rear of the timber yard is a right of way that is now Mary Street. (Source: Charles Daniel Pratt Photographer, 'Aerial view of Preston, looking south showing Cramer St Oval', 28 February 1948, Airspy, Picture Collection, State Library Victoria, <<http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/20935>>)

## 2.3 Building the Market

### **‘Under the impetus of the immigration program the north is pushing back its boundaries...’**

During the 1920s Preston experienced its first major leap in population density and diversity, raising it from a shire to a borough and then to its declaration as a City in 1926. The nearby Preston Town Hall was built on High Street in 1895 and by 1929 had become too small to provide all that a growing population required of its civic centre. A new Town Hall building was built on Gower Street just behind the old one to manage these growing municipal responsibilities. This corner had become the civic centre of Preston because of its centrality and proximity to the fastest growing and most significant business and commerce strip in the district.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Darebin Heritage, ‘Preston Town Hall’, <<http://heritage.darebinlibraries.vic.gov.au/article/483>>, accessed 9 October 2017.





Figure 13. High St/Cramer St District in 1945 illustrating This was what Melbourne looked like from the air in 1945, just before the massive post-war demographic change took place (Source: Melbourne 1945).

The Great Depression and World War Two put a halt to this growth but in the years after the war the social, cultural and demographic landscape of Preston changed dramatically. In 1947 Preston had 46,775 residents and by 1961, just 14 years later, there were 84,146. Many were the 'post-war' migrants from Greece, Macedonia and Italy. Preston became a cultural melting pot and over successive decades people from China and Vietnam, India and Sri Lanka and, in more recent years, from the Middle East moved into Preston. By 2006 the Australian Census showed that 30% of Preston residents were born overseas.<sup>20</sup> In Preston, shops and businesses up, down and around High Street started to reflect the cultural influences of new migrants.<sup>21</sup>

Preston was not the only part of Melbourne that was growing and changing. In 1954 the Melbourne Metropolitan Planning Scheme (MMPS)<sup>22</sup> was prepared by the then Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works to arrest what the unregulated 'sprawl' of Melbourne. The MMPS addressed eight identified concerns which included a decline in the residential amenities of the inner suburban area, and the need for the proper location of industrial areas. Preston was identified as one of five District Business Centres (DBC). These DBCs would take the pressure off the Central Business District in a planned, therefore successful and advantageous manner, rather than through the chaotic and haphazard decentralisation process that was otherwise considered inevitable. The other DBCs identified in this 1954 report were at Footscray Shopping Centre, Box Hill Shopping Centre, Moorabbin Shopping Centre and in Dandenong. In all the DBCs shopping was their focus. The MMPS looked to America for signs of the future and the increased use of motor vehicles was of particular concern.<sup>23</sup> Strong recommendations were made in relation to the provision of car parking and roads to attract shoppers.

District Business Centres were intended to include large department stores 'around which would develop the other retail activities necessary to provide for all the normal shopping and personal needs of the housewife. Such branch stores would need to be within convenient

<sup>20</sup> Darebin Heritage 'Preston', <<http://heritage.darebinlibraries.vic.gov.au/article/476>>, accessed 24 July 2017.

<sup>21</sup> Carroll, Brian and Ian Rule, *Preston: an Illustrated History*, Preston, 1985.

<sup>22</sup> *Melbourne Metropolitan Planning Scheme*, Melbourne and Metropolitan Planning Scheme, 1954.

<sup>23</sup> Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW), 'Chapter 7: Suburban Shopping', *Melbourne Metropolitan Planning Scheme (MMPS)*, 1954, p 62.

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reach, by public conveyance or private motor car, of a population of at least 200,000 people...’ in order to justify the commercial investment.<sup>24</sup> It was expected that branches of financial, business and government services would also form part of these DBCs, just as they had in the American and British examples studied in the preparation of the MMPS. By providing consumers with most of the services and facilities available in the Melbourne Central Business District (CBD) but under more attractive conditions and closer to home, the 1954 MMPS hoped to relieve CBD congestion.<sup>25</sup>

The Broadhurst Tannery area was proposed as the best site for a Preston DBC because of:

- its proximity to surrounding residential areas, the railway line and proposed road routes
- its proximity to the existing High Street municipal centre, and
- its current use as a timber yard and two tanneries which were deemed to be inappropriately located due to the increasing residential nature of the area.<sup>26</sup>

The proposal to relocate the tanneries and timber yard was a direct response to one aim of the MMPS, which was to create purpose based zones that would more evenly and appropriately distribute industry and employment opportunities across Melbourne.

A four-stage plan for the Preston DBC was included in the 1954 MMPS as an example of how it could be designed, proposing that ‘actual development could be carried out progressively by private and public enterprise according to circumstances and as the need arises’.<sup>27</sup> While it didn’t include a market, the MMPS did suggest there was scope for more retail markets throughout Melbourne beyond the five wholesale and four retail markets already in existence. These retail markets were the Queen Victoria, and the South Melbourne, Prahran and Dandenong markets. The MMPS went further and suggested that a DBC was the most logical location for any new markets.<sup>28</sup>

### **Changing the pattern of metropolitan shopping**

Retail markets are described as being operated by a local council and as forming ‘part of the pattern of metropolitan shopping...An essential feature of a good retail market is that it is open only on special days, which forces sellers to clear the bulk of perishable goods each market day.’<sup>29</sup> Markets characteristically offer a comprehensive range of all types of food (fruit and vegetables, meat, dairy and fish) with a smaller number of stalls offering miscellaneous goods from clothing to crockery.

The MMPS observes that:

*There seems to be little doubt that most markets are now doing more business than ever before. In fact, some of the larger council markets claim that there are almost double the number of customers patronising the market compared with pre-war years, while the volume of turnover has increased at an even higher rate. The principal attraction of the market is that it provides conditions in which cheaper buying is possible... One of the present-day features of the principal retail markets in Melbourne is the large number of European migrants who are operating stalls and patronising the market as shoppers.*<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> MMBW, ‘Chapter 6: District Business Centres’, *MMPS*, p 53.

<sup>25</sup> MMBW, ‘Chapter 6: District Business Centres’, *MMPS*, p 53 & 59.

<sup>26</sup> MMBW, ‘Chapter 6: District Business Centres’, *MMPS*, p 55.

<sup>27</sup> MMBW, ‘Chapter 6: District Business Centres’, *MMPS*, p 59.

<sup>28</sup> MMBW, ‘Chapter 10: Other Community Services’, *MMPS*, p 84.

<sup>29</sup> Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW), ‘Chapter 8: Commerce’, *Melbourne Metropolitan Planning Scheme: Survey & Analysis (MMPS S&A)*, 1954, p 102.

<sup>30</sup> MMBW, ‘Chapter 8: Commerce’, *MMPS S&A*, p 102.

The MMPS concluded that ‘habit and custom seem to be important with regard to the location and success of most markets’; and that ‘a considerable proportion of the population, especially in the lower income groups, desire markets’.<sup>31</sup> Despite these findings

*‘when the pattern of the smaller suburban markets is analysed it is found that it is more the convenience of grouped food shopping rather than the element of bargaining and lower prices that attract shoppers to them... This is one of the chief reasons for the recent growth of the supermarket in shopping centres throughout the United States. The shopper from the outer suburbs who really wants a market for its cheaper price and greater range will probably always tend to go to the larger central markets.’<sup>32</sup>*

**Table 2. Retail Markets in Melbourne Number of stalls in council & private markets (Source: MMBW ‘Chapter 8: Commerce’, MMPS S&A, 102).**

Council Operated Markets			Privately Operated Markets	
Location	No. of Stalls	Approx. Area Occupied (acres)	Location	No. of Stalls
Queen Victoria	1,252	12	Camberwell	33
Sth. Melbourne	450	4	Coburg	24
Dandenong	300	1	Caulfield	42
Prahran	237 <sup>33</sup>	4	Elsternwick	30
Richmond	40	Kerbside	St. Kilda	10
			Richmond	15

The feasibility, location and planning of DBCs, more recently known as Central Activity Districts, have been a feature of every metropolitan planning scheme since they were first described in the 1954 MMPS. While there were only five planned in 1954 they grew in number until *Melbourne 2030*, published in 2002, identified 26 Centres. High Street, Preston, was included in most of them. Exceptions include the 1971 *Planning Policies for the Melbourne Metropolitan Region*, which may have been due to the rise of Northland except that shopping centre was not mentioned until the 1995 *Living Suburbs* plan, and then again in the 2002 Melbourne 2030 plan in which High Street was again mentioned. They were both dropped from the most recent 2009 Central Activities Districts plan, which had reduced the overall number of Central Activity Districts right down to six.<sup>34</sup>

A review of Melbourne’s planning strategies since the 1954 plan notes that ‘the details for the district centres in the 1954 plan shows they were very modest proposals, not really much more than a few additional shops and some car parking in local centres’ and that they did not eventuate as a planning policy until the 1980s.<sup>35</sup>

### **‘A complete air-conditioned shopping city’**

This was how the soon to be opened Northland Shopping Centre was described in the *Herald* newspaper.<sup>36</sup> This new shopping city was built on land that until recently had accommodated Nissen huts as temporary homes to thousands of post war migrants from Europe. They were built in 1952 to manage the large number of people arriving from Italy, Greece, Poland and

<sup>31</sup> MMBW, ‘Chapter 8: Commerce’, *MMPS S&A*, p 102-3.

<sup>32</sup> MMBW, ‘Chapter 8: Commerce’, *MMPS S&A*, p 103.

<sup>33</sup> Prior to its destruction by fire in 1950; MMBW ‘Chapter 8: Commerce’, *MMPS S&A*, p 102.

<sup>34</sup> Lester Townsend, *Managing Melbourne: Review of Melbourne Metropolitan Strategic Planning*, prepared for Department of Planning and Community Development (DPCD), April 2012, p 21.

<sup>35</sup> Townsend, pp 19-23.

<sup>36</sup> ‘Northland opens next Tuesday’, *Herald*, 1 October 1966, p 10.

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elsewhere. By the 1960s the need for these huts had subsided and the land was put to a use that spoke of an entirely different culture.

In another article just two days later the *Herald* announced that 'More than ever before, the North will look to itself to provide its own great services, its own vital focal points, and it is against this picture that the advent of Northland Shopping Centre in the municipality of Preston can be seen as a key development'.<sup>37</sup> Northland opened on 4 October 1966 as 'the largest and most modern regional shopping centre south of the equator'.<sup>38</sup> with aspirations to be the new civic centre, offering 'a public hall that is available to mothers clubs, dancing classes, charity groups... Within yards, there are the offices of a dentist, solicitor, pathologist, radiologist, and the local newspaper'.<sup>39</sup>

Indeed, Northland did and still does offer most or all these services, so what happened to the proposed District Business Centre that was to be developed on the old Broadhurst Tannery just a few blocks to the west?

### **'For years I've had the urge to build and operate a market myself'**

The 1954 MMPS Survey and Analysis observed that attempts to relocate or improve facilities in the past were met with resistance from traders wary of the importance of established customer habits. These observations were made regarding traditional markets but quite likely also applied to traditional shopping strips, such as the High Street shopping strip. It may also be that in the heart of Preston, a heartland for European migrants, the Preston Council and any potential developers recognised the likely mismatch between a 'shopping city' and traditional cultural practices.

The first was a relatively sophisticated, modern, air-conditioned and generic experience, the second relied on grass-roots human interaction and authenticity in atmosphere. Preston in the 1950s was characterised by European migrants who were moving into the northern suburbs bringing with them new foods, languages and ways of living that added fresh dimensions to the fabric of Preston's everyday life. They were ways better suited to traditional shopping practices than to a shopping city. When Myer, a 'retail giant', proposed to build one of these new 'shopping cities' a few blocks to the east along Murray Road Preston Council 'agreed, somewhat reluctantly, but kept pushing for shopping outlets to be built on the site where Broadhurst's tannery used to stand'.<sup>40</sup> Northland shopping centre did include a produce market in the beginning, but maybe it was too far from the civic centre and traditional shopping strip, or maybe it was not traditional enough: it was not successful anyway and closed when the Preston Market opened.<sup>41</sup> The study described above of Melbourne's planning strategies also points out that the DBCs were never really considered seriously until the 1980s.

Whatever the reasoning for the abandoned District Business Centre, when the tannery was closed in 1960 and the land made available it was a market place that was planned. This was the brainchild of Polish immigrant and real estate agents Leon and Lola Jolson<sup>42</sup>. Both had been interned in the concentration camps at Dachau and Belson, and at Auschwitz during World War Two and were liberated at the end of the war. They found each other again in Paris, where they were married and lived for a while in very straightened circumstances. Two Australians they knew in Paris helped them get to Australia where they were sponsored by

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<sup>37</sup> 'A pillar of the new north', *Herald*, 3 October 1966, p 11.

<sup>38</sup> 'Bolte opens shop centre', *Herald*, 3 October 1966, p 1.

<sup>39</sup> All above quotes are from: Janina Gosseye and Peter Vernon 'Shopping Towns Australia, 1957-67: From Reformist Figure of Collectivity to Profit-Driven Box of Gold', in AnnMarie Brennan and Philip Goad (eds.), *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand*, Vol.33, Melbourne: SAHANZ, 2016, p 216-227.

<sup>40</sup> Victoria Stead, *Market Crossings. Plotting a course through the Preston Market, Melbourne*, Carlton: Breakdown Press, 2010, p 18

<sup>41</sup> Context Pty Ltd, 'Thematic Environmental History', p 65.

<sup>42</sup> Like many migrants, both changed their names from their birth names: Laibusz Dzialowski and Lola Yalowicz

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Lola's uncle. They lived in Carlton on first arriving and Leon worked at the Queen Victoria Market. Not long after, by 1956, he and Lola were both licensed to practice as real estate agents and established L. Jolson & Co in East Prahran.



*Figure 14. Leon Jolson* (Source: from the Collection of the National Archives of Australia, NAA; B78, 1954/Jalowski L).



*Figure 15. Lola Jolson* (Source: from the Collection of the National Archives of Australia; NAA; B78, 1954/Jalowski L).

<<https://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRetrieve/Interface/ListingReports/ItemsListing.aspx>>, accessed 19 October 2017

The Jolsons would have understood the migrant European way of life and they were in the real estate and development business. The decision to invest in and create a significant traditional retail market in the northern suburbs was quite likely both a deep instinct for the shopping and community experiences people enjoy and an extremely clever and strategic real estate investment.

Leon himself merely said when interviewed about the development that 'for years I have had the urge to build and operate a market myself. I decided that Preston was the right sort of area'.<sup>43</sup> And in 1969 this is what he did.

### **'An original approach to an unusual project was required'**

This was indeed unusual when people were turning to the shopping centres to conduct their daily business. Northland, opened in 1966, was the second 'shopping city' in Victoria, the first being Chadstone in 1960. Of course, many more have opened across Melbourne and all the major regional cities throughout Victoria since then. Preston Market was also the first traditional market to be established in Melbourne for over fifty years.

This did not deter the investors who put in \$2 million dollars, nor the more than 300 applicants for a stall before the market had even begun to be built. And it created a welcoming career boosting challenge for three recent University of Melbourne Architecture graduates who had established a business together called Structural Consortium: Barry Pierce, architect, Noel Henderson, quantity surveyor and David Rayson, builder.

'Architecture is changing in response to the realisation that ours will forever be an unfinished society'. This was the warning given by American architect Peter Blake during his oration at

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<sup>43</sup>TPRG, p 2.



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the Royal Australian Institute of Architecture (RAIA) in Melbourne in October 1970. 'The skill of an architect will lie not in creating a one-off piece of perfection, but in building a flexible system capable of variation to suit the changing needs of people'. He was quoted in an article in *The Age* entitled 'Architecture's challenge: flexibility' and the author went on to describe 'the concept and execution of the new Preston Market' as being a good example of how this challenge was being met.<sup>44</sup>

**'The real character of the spaces will be created by the stall holders and shoppers'**

This was predicted by Graham Whitford (Director of the RAIA) in his article recognising that the business of everyday domestic life revolving around shopping and consumption is shaped by the people who engage in these tasks, not by a distant corporate body.

There is no evidence that contemporary High Street traders were worried about competition from stall holders, and this may have been because they also understood the importance and relevance of such a market in their neighbourhood. In fact, the opposite was true and the Town Planning Research Group (TPRG) reported in their *Irregular Newsletter* of October 1970 that 'Most of the High Street traders have market stalls and in addition the increased number of shoppers coming to Preston have improved their normal trade.'

The TPRG were a little cynical about the impetus behind the development of the market, pointing out that unlike other traditional retail markets established by local councils, this was a real estate property development and 'it will be Mr Jolson who decides whether old-style shopping friendship and fun are profitable or not'. Although they did agree that the market had bucked the 'trend of establishing shopping centres which are only accessible by car (Chadstone, Northlands, Southlands and Doncaster)'. Certainly, the ready availability of public transport to and from the site seems to have been a deciding factor and *The Courier* reported that 'the site for the new market was chosen after many months of extensive investigations thought the metropolitan area. Many sites could have been bought cheaper but none were so centrally located to public transport.'<sup>45</sup>

The market was certainly well promoted, more akin to that of a development than of a civic amenity, with a three-page special feature in the local *Leader* newspaper, and opening by Sir Arthur Rylah, the deputy Premier of Victoria at the time.

**So, who were these shoppers and stall holders anticipated to create the real character of the space?**

Well over a quarter of Preston's population at the time were born overseas, and unlike those first settlers in and around Shepherd's Run they were far more likely to have been born outside Britain and Ireland. Initially most were Italians and Greeks. Macedonians were present in large numbers too. In the years to follow, a significant Muslim population settled in the area, mainly from the Middle East - Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. In the 1970s families from Vietnam, and in the 1980s from China, settled in Darebin and many established shops and businesses. Sri Lanka, Egypt, India and the Philippines constituted many of the more recent migrants. A stallholder reflects on the changing scene at the Preston Market:

*'the majority of people who come to the market are Europeans, but you've got lots of ethnics who come through. You've got the good old Aussies who still come in... But it's always been sort of a third world type of market. Like back in the early '70s we used to have the Greeks, the Italians, the Macedonians... then*

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<sup>44</sup> Graham Whitford, 'Architecture's challenge: flexibility', *Age* 26 October 1970, p 12.

<sup>45</sup> 'Site is easy to reach' [in a Preston Market special feature], *Courier*, 11 August 1970, p 27.

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*the Vietnamese, the Asians, and now we're getting all the Somalians (and) the Indians... In ten years' time who knows who's going to come through?*<sup>46</sup>

Today stalls at the market are owned by and are employing people from all these parts of the world, and selling foods that resonate with their own cultures.<sup>47</sup>

Many stallholders over the years have been here for a generation or even two generations. George Patsalis from George's Meat remembered that his father bought their stall in 1972 soon after the market opened. 'He walked in here, this particular shop was for sale, and he loved the location and saw the amount of people, the passing trade, and he said, "There's more passing trade here than Bourke Street Mall so I'll buy it", and we've been here ever since.'

Stallholders have seen new people come and go, both as traders and as shoppers, and have played a large part in developing the community atmosphere that is still considered a strong characteristic of Preston Market, as it is of all traditional retail markets. This atmosphere is created by more than longevity and familiarity with the place and its people. The stallholders are often family businesses, employing sons, daughters, nephews, brothers and so on. They sell foods they are culturally familiar with and cook and eat themselves, and enjoy explaining to those less familiar how to prepare and cook them. Some grow the fruit and vegetables or make the delicatessen and bakery goods themselves. Again, as with other traditional markets, this creates a grass-roots and authentic connection with the food and products at the market. It means that people like Patricia who, when interviewed in 2011 having both sold and shopped at the market for 36 years, is comfortable that 'newcomers to Australia shop here... They find all their foods here, their special requirements and special items'.

The 'feel good' factor to be found in a community atmosphere is part of the reward for the heavy workload involved in running a market-based business. Micky Ricardi, another stallholder interviewed in 2011, works about 45 hours a week although 'it's not so bad because it's in four days, but if you want you can spread it - you can come in the day before and prepare if you want. We like a day off, so we come in and do it all at once', which usually means starting work at around 5 in the morning'.<sup>48</sup>

Amongst the shoppers there has been some changes in characteristics and demographics over the years. The market has always attracted as many different ethnicities as there are stall holders and types of food on offer. People come here to buy what they know, love and are familiar with, but also to buy new and exotic foods to try.

Emmanuel reflected, after several years of selling at the market, that over a few years in the late 2000s there was 'a change in the mentality of how people shop... people would come in and buy four and five kilos of breast fillets, whereas now they'll only buy a kilo of this and a kilo of that... according to the needs. People don't shop like they used to.' Betty Vecurelis agrees with this and wondered if it had to do with people being less likely to cook large family meals, so not needing to buy in bulk.<sup>49</sup>

As a place that offers grass-roots authenticity, the market has also been a place that attracts grass-roots authenticity. Maybe it is because of this that stallholders and shoppers alike over the years would probably agree with the Vergona family who were interviewed in 2011 and

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<sup>46</sup> George Patsalis, stallholder, interviewed 9 February 2011, retrieved from Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage – Darebin Pilot Project: Volume 3A: Pilot Project', prepared for the City of Darebin, 2011, p 72.

<sup>47</sup> Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post-1940s Migration Heritage – Darebin Pilot Project: Volume 3A: Pilot Project', prepared for the City of Darebin, 2011, p 120-121.

<sup>48</sup> Micky Ricardi, stallholder, interviewed 9 February 2011, retrieved from Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 77.

<sup>49</sup> Emmanuel Foniadarkis and BettyVecurelis, stallholders, interviewed 9 February 2011, retrieved from Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', pp 61-67.

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explained ‘There’s been a lot of changes with people, management, owners, everything. But still, according to me, it’s one of the best markets still around.’

### **Shaping and reshaping the market**

*‘You feel the hot and the cold here so that makes it alive’<sup>50</sup>*

Preston Market was quite deliberately built not as a modern shopping city but as a traditional open air market. Being Preston and multicultural, listening to the many different accents and languages is as much a market experience as is the shopping. The cold, and the wind, comes in from the north, west and south openings, sometimes wafting perfumes from the flower stalls through The Strand. The rain hammers on the tin roof, occasionally making it hard to talk at the wooden tables. These experiences were designed into the form and structure of the market so it could offer ‘an atmosphere for shopping that is missing from the more recent centres. In addition, it will be complete.’ By complete, Mr Tony Arnold (Arnold and Sandor Pty Ltd) was referring to the range of goods anticipated to be offered: meat, fish, delicatessen, groceries, millinery, vegetables, clothing and poultry as well as services and other shops, recreation, refreshments and children’s playing areas ‘in wide malls protected from the weather’.<sup>51</sup> There would be no need to go anywhere else for your weekly shopping.

This new experience (the first traditional market to be opened in Melbourne for 50 years) required an ‘original approach’, which Mr Arnold claimed was the first of its kind in Victoria. The approach worked and when the market opened on August 11, 1970 there were 250 stalls with 46 greengrocers, 19 butchers, 15 delicatessens, 8 refreshments and food stalls and 130 stalls ‘that stock every darn thing you want. The market puts the fun back into shopping’, and it was open Thursdays and Fridays from 8am to 6pm and Saturday mornings from 8am to 1pm. By 2017 it had become the second largest market in Melbourne with approximately 80,000 visitors a week, 830 car park spaces, 146 retail tenancies, 10 kiosks and 3 banking ATMs and was open nearly all day from Wednesday to Saturday.<sup>52</sup>

Preston Market Developments, a partnership between Salta Properties and Medich Property Group, purchased the market in 2004 from Centro MCS with a plan to redevelop the site. Shortly afterwards a shift in planning controls from local to state government as part of the Melbourne 2030 planning policy caused delays, and then a few years later the 2009 economic downturn put a stop to most major developments, including that of the Preston Market.<sup>53</sup>

Despite these delays in the overall redevelopment of this market there has been some activity both within the market itself and in the surrounding areas. A two-level freestanding office building was constructed on the site facing Murray Road for Centrelink in 2009; the Preston Artists Market, known as PAM, was opened in the Centreway within the market in October 2015; and in 2016 a Preston Market website was launched, the Preston Fresh Food Market was opened in Cramer Street Bingo Hall, refurbishment began within the market complex itself, and the first issue of the Preston Market Newsletter was printed. The physical development of the market is explored in Chapter 3.

## **2.4 Drawing the story together**

While Preston Market, the Queen Victoria, Prahran, Dandenong and South Melbourne markets are tagged ‘traditional’, with their own set of physical and social characteristics, Northland and Chadstone have now been around for two generations, and in many family’s lives are also now part of a contemporary tradition. Tradition is not what has made Preston Market the ‘heart of the north’. It is not culture either, because this has changed tremendously

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<sup>50</sup> Anonymous interviewee. Interviewed during the community consultation conducted at the Market for this study, 9 September 2017.

<sup>51</sup> *Age*, 8 October 1969, 30.

<sup>52</sup> Salta Properties, <<http://www.salta.com.au>>, accessed July-September 2017.

<sup>53</sup> Stead, p 18-9.



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over the nearly fifty years; post war culture; European culture; Asian culture; Middle-Eastern culture; and even family dynamics so that elderly women today can sit on the wooden benches in the malls and gaze appreciatively at the cultural changes that enable young fathers to be responsible for the weekly shopping with their children<sup>54</sup> – they have all ingrained their own flavours, sounds, smells and activities into the life of the Market.

Many shoppers have made shopping at the Preston Market a tradition for themselves and their family over years and decades. Rather than ‘tradition’ or ‘culture’ it is the life of the market, like in all ‘traditional’ markets, that makes it work for people. This is a life made possible by the culture and behaviour of small businesses and family businesses with two or three generations to share the work, and shoppers who want person-to-person engagement. This ‘life’ is ‘the hot and the cold’ appreciated by a recent, and regular long-term, shopper. It’s also the multi-lingual noise and the bustle that so many speak of, the smells of fresh food unhindered by plastic or shrink wrapping, and the ability to talk to the shopkeepers about recipes and methods of cooking. These attributes - what makes Preston Market important to people – are explored in Chapter 4 Community Connections.

## 2.5 Thematic context

Reflecting on the history of the area and the Preston Market it is useful to establish the thematic context in relation to the City of Darebin Thematic Environmental History (Context 2007) and the Victoria’s Framework of Historical Themes (Heritage Council of Victoria, 2009). A full list of both sets of themes is provided in Appendix 1.

### **Victoria’s Framework of Historical Themes**

The Preston Market is associated with the following themes in *Victoria’s Framework of Historical Themes*:

#### **2. Peopling Victoria’s places and landscapes**

2.5 Migrating and making a home

2.6 Maintaining distinctive cultures

#### **5. Building Victoria’s industries and workforce**

5.1 Processing raw materials

5.3 Marketing and retailing

5.7 Working

#### **6. Building towns, cities and the garden state**

6.3 Shaping the suburbs

6.7 Making homes for Victorians

#### **8. Building community life**

8.5 Preserving traditions and commemorating

### **City of Darebin thematic environmental history**

The Preston Market is associated with the following themes in the *Darebin Heritage Study – Volume 1 Thematic Environmental History*:

#### **2. Peopling Darebin**

2.2 Migration – subtheme Post-Second World War immigrants

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<sup>54</sup> Anonymous interviewee. Interviewed during the community consultation conducted at the Market for this study, 9 September 2017.

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2.3 Promoting settlements – subtheme Housing Commission of Victoria (in relation to post-war migration)

**4. Developing Darebin's economies**

4.2 Noxious industries – subtheme Tanning

4.6 Retailing, hospitality and entertainment – subtheme Preston and subtheme Northland

**5. Building suburban Darebin**

5.3 Developing the suburban ideal

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## 3 DESIGNING AND BUILDING PRESTON MARKET

### 3.1 Design influences

Construction of the Preston Market began in October 1969, following the demolition of tannery buildings on the market site several years earlier. In contrast to markets such as the Queen Victoria Market and the South Melbourne Market that had operated in long established buildings and sites for many years, the Preston Market was proposed as a new building on a cleared site. As a consequence, the developers and designers had the opportunity to develop the site in a considered and deliberate way, with the possibility of referencing both traditional and contemporary thinking and approaches to retailing and town planning more generally.

#### Existing shopping models

Traditional markets as places to exchange goods have been around for centuries. The traditional market model of an open air, utilitarian structure with a lively exchange of goods and a vibrant atmosphere is common to many cultures and periods of history. A number of markets were established in the early years of Melbourne, but by the 1950s only four retail markets remained— the Queen Victoria Market, the South Melbourne Market, Prahran Market and Dandenong Market. As noted in an article by the Town Planning Research Group in 1970, at the time the Preston Market was built, plenty of markets had closed down but no new markets had opened in Melbourne since 1910.<sup>55</sup> The Melbourne Metropolitan Planning Scheme (prepared by the Metropolitan Board of Works in 1954) suggested there was more scope for retail markets in the Melbourne metropolitan area.

In the years leading up to World War 2, most Victorians did their grocery shopping at the local corner store or at small suburban shopping strips that were walking distance from home. Trade in specialty goods like clothing, household items and vehicles were concentrated in the Central Business District of Melbourne, where department stores including Myer and Coles had glamorous premises, and primarily relied on public transport to bring shoppers from the suburbs to the city.<sup>56</sup>

#### Shopping centre development in the 1950/60s

From the late 1950s, a new building type emerged in America and soon found its way to Australia. In the post war period, as Britain and Europe focused on recovery from the devastation of war, Australia looked increasingly to America as a source of inspiration and ideas.<sup>57</sup> There were parallels between the suburban development in parts of the US and Australia, and the regional shopping centre model was easily transferrable to the Australian context. The regional shopping centre type developed in response to conditions particular to the post World War 2 period including the rapid expansion of the suburbs, a dramatic increase in private car ownership, increased prosperity, and a growing awareness of the 'Modern' lifestyle.

Gosseye and Vernon argue that the early examples of the regional shopping centre type were primarily designed to encourage consumption, but also had a parallel agenda of building community in the new suburbs.<sup>58</sup> These developments were associated with a suburb or

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<sup>55</sup> Town Planning Research Group (TPRG), 'Markets at the Cross Roads', *Irregular* No.37, October 1970.

<sup>56</sup> Peter Spearritt, 'Suburban cathedrals: The rise of the drive-in shopping centre', in Graeme Davison, Tony Dingle & Seamus O'Hanlon (eds.) *The cream brick frontier: Histories of Australian suburbia*, Clayton, 1995, p 88-107, as quoted in Heritage Alliance (2008), 'Survey of post war built heritage in Victoria, Stage 1, Volume 1', prepared for Heritage Victoria, and quoted in 'Bell Street Mall Heritage Assessment and Guidelines', prepared for Banyule City Council.

<sup>57</sup> Janina Gosseye and Peter Vernon 'Shopping Towns Australia, 1957-67: From Reformist Figure of Collectivity to Profit-Driven Box of Gold', in AnnMarie Brennan and Philip Goad (eds.), *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand*, Vol.33, Melbourne: SAHANZ, 2016, p 216-227.

<sup>58</sup> Janina Gosseye and Peter Vernon, *ibid*.

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locality and of a scale similar to strip shopping centres. They were sometimes open mall arrangements, with shops and services centred around pedestrian walkways, with cars parked separately. The Bell Street Mall in West Heidelberg (1957) is an example of this new type. Built as part of the Housing Commission's development of this area, it was built as an open mall arrangement with shops either side of the pedestrian mall. The scale of the development was similar to a local shopping strip and the centre was developed with strong links to the local community.

By the mid-1960s, the focus on the centres had shifted beyond the boundaries of the suburb, with less of an emphasis on local community values. The size, scale and styling of shopping centres reflected this change of focus. Shopping centres became larger enclosed facilities, often with glamorous and fashionable styling. Expansive car parks were designed around the perimeter of the centres, encouraging shoppers from outside the immediate vicinity. Marketed as alternative town centres, the shopping centres offered a range of services and facilities, in addition to retail facilities.

Northland, built in East Preston in 1966, three years prior to the Preston Market, is an example. Heralded as 'a complete air-conditioned shopping city', Northland was marketed as a clean, safe and convenient alternative 'city'.<sup>59</sup> Other examples in the suburbs of Melbourne included the first of this type of shopping centre, Chadstone (in Chadstone 1960), Eastland in Ringwood (1967) and Southland in Cheltenham (1968).

Contemporary town planning thinking in the 1960s also impacted on the design of shopping centres. The growing trend for the separation of shoppers and traffic directly affected shopping centre design. In contrast to the local shopping strip retail model, regional shopping centres were typically designed with car parking around the perimeter of the centre. Shoppers had access to the retail spaces and other facilities via pedestrian walkways or malls.

### **3.2 Development of the Preston Market**

The development of the Preston Market can be considered in the context of shopping centre development in the suburbs of Melbourne in the late 1950s and 1960s. Contrasting with the large, enclosed centres built around the same time, the Preston Market more closely resembles the traditional market type or early examples of the shopping mall type. It was designed with a strong connection to its locality and surrounding services and facilities.

The buildings are utilitarian shed-like structures, with an aesthetic more closely identified with the industrial character of the suburb, rather than to a more generic, fashionable aesthetic of the larger suburban shopping malls. The open areas between the structures provide the potential for interaction and social connection and for a lively exchange between buyers and sellers.

At a time when the trend was to build large enclosed shopping centres in the style of American shopping malls, the development of the Preston Market as a more traditional market type was unusual. When the Preston Market was built, it was the first market to be built in metropolitan Melbourne for around 50 years. However, it had been a long-time desire of the developers (Leon Jolson and possibly Lola Jolson) to build a traditional style market. As migrants from Europe, it is likely that the Jolsons would have been familiar with the European tradition of market shopping. As entrepreneurs, they may have seen potential in Preston where the population of European migrants had expanded rapidly in the post war years. Theirs was most likely a sound business decision underscored by a personal appreciation of and familiarity with traditional markets because for years Jolson had 'had the urge to build and operate a market myself'.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> 'Northland Opens Next Tuesday,' *Herald*, 1 October 1966, p 10. As quoted in Janina Gosseye and Peter Vernon above.

<sup>60</sup> Town Planning Research Group (TPRG), 'Markets at the Cross Roads', *Irregular* No.37, October 1970.

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While exhibiting characteristics of a typical market, the Preston Market was developed as a contemporary version of the type. A newly graduated team of designers was appointed to draw up plans and new technologies were used to construct the shed like structures. Some areas were open to the elements, while areas for fresh foods such as meat and deli goods were enclosed behind sealed glass panels to provide protection from the wind, dust and flies. At the time it was noted that a market developed by a private developer represented a divergence from the typical pattern of market ownership in Melbourne where local Councils owned and operated markets.<sup>61</sup>

### 3.3 Physical description

#### Preston Market - siting and planning

Located centrally on a block bound by Murray Road to the north, the High Street shopping strip to the east, Cramer Street to the south, and the railway line to the west, the design of the Market responds directly to its locality. Two primary axes dissect the block and intersect in a cruciform arrangement. The axes function as pedestrian streets and define the overall plan of the Market. 'The Centreway' runs north-south and 'The Strand' runs east west. Generous car-parking areas surround the market buildings, with pedestrian only access to the retail areas.

An aerial view of the market shows the strong east west axis through the centre of the block, and suggests a planned pedestrian link between the station, the market and the High Street shops. It appears this was not well developed at the time of the opening of the market with one writer commenting 'at the moment there has been no provision made for dignified pedestrian access from the station to the Market. Shoppers must thread their way through parked cars and juggle their jeeps and prams up awkward station steps.'<sup>62 63</sup>

Early streets are incorporated into the market complex. These include Cook Street and Earl Street (east-west orientation) and Mary Street (north-south orientation). Part of Mary Street and all of Earl Street and Cook Street are currently closed to cars.

#### Preston Market - built form



Figure 16. *Sketch of Preston Market, just prior to commencement of construction in October 1969* (Source: Trove, Age, 8 October 1969).

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<sup>61</sup> TPRG, p 2.

<sup>62</sup> TPRG, p 2.

<sup>63</sup> No. 437 High St, now trading as C Culture, may have been an infill building built after market. It is flanked on either side by two storey buildings from earlier periods. It may be that there was a gap there when the market was built, which was intended to be a link with High Street.

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The Market is comprised a series of open shed-like structures, arranged around wide pedestrian walkways. Materials and form suggest a utilitarian function and reflect key characteristics of the Modern style including the expression of the structure and function of the building, the use of modern materials such as steel and concrete, and the absence of added decoration or ornament.

The building was designed in 1969 by Structural Consortium, a group of university graduates from the University of Melbourne's Architectural School – Barry Pierce (architect), Noel Henderson (quantity surveyor, and David Rayson (building).<sup>64</sup> The large open shed like buildings were pre-fabricated, with a strong industrial palette of materials. The roof structure was constructed of an innovative truss system known as space frames (see below), which were repeated down the length of the building. Appearing almost delicate, the rhythm of the space frames provides the main aesthetic interest for the buildings. The space frames extend about 2 metres beyond the edge of the building, providing a generous sheltered area outside the market shed, as well as good access to natural light and open air between the buildings.

Roof cladding is steel tray deck, left exposed on the underside. At the building edge, steel decking is angled to match the line of the trusses. Exterior walls are of concrete panels, cast on site and tilted into place. The panels are shaped at the edges to reflect the line of the space frames.

At ground level, the building edge was designed to open and shut with the varying activity levels of the market. Columns were placed at regular intervals down the lengths of the building. Roller doors were installed between columns and opened on the wide walkways.

### **Space frames and building adaptability**

The Preston Market was the site of the first application of space frame technology in Victoria. These steel structures are built of interlocking struts arranged in a triangulated pattern. The technology provides a light weight rigid structure that is able to span large distances with minimal interior supports. The technology results in a very strong but light weight structure that can easily be extended or adapted.

Space frames came out of the aeronautical and nautical engineering industries but crossed over into architecture in the 1960s, and were popular until the 1980s. Their application was very much a global phenomenon and part of the Modern movement in architecture. Their application for new forms of building based on geometrical forms was widespread and many different forms of the space frame have been used. Space frame popularity waned with the rise of computer modelling that allowed more complex and organic structures to be computed using sophisticated engineering software. They still form part of a complex array of engineering techniques used to span large areas. The space frame roof design used at Preston Market is the tetrahedral model that is one of the foundational designs.<sup>65</sup>

In an article written in 1970 titled 'Architect's Challenge: Flexibility', Graham Whitford, Director of the Victorian Chapter of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects, wrote of the need for architects to design buildings and systems that are flexible and able to adapt to the needs of a changing society. He suggests buildings should be flexible enough to adapt to new functions and uses over time. Whitford cites the Preston Market as an example of a building that provides a flexible framework for those using the building, and that can easily be adapted in a 'unfinished' or ever evolving society.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Graham Whitford, 'Architect's Challenge: Flexibility', *The Age*, 26 October 1970, p 12

<sup>65</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Space\\_frame](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Space_frame)

<sup>66</sup> Whitford.



### 3.4 Current conditions and level of intactness

Much of the original building structure remains, although the level of intactness varies between the sheds. Figure 17 is a diagrammatic representation of the current market layout. The different areas of the market are labelled and their current condition, function and relative levels of intactness are described below.

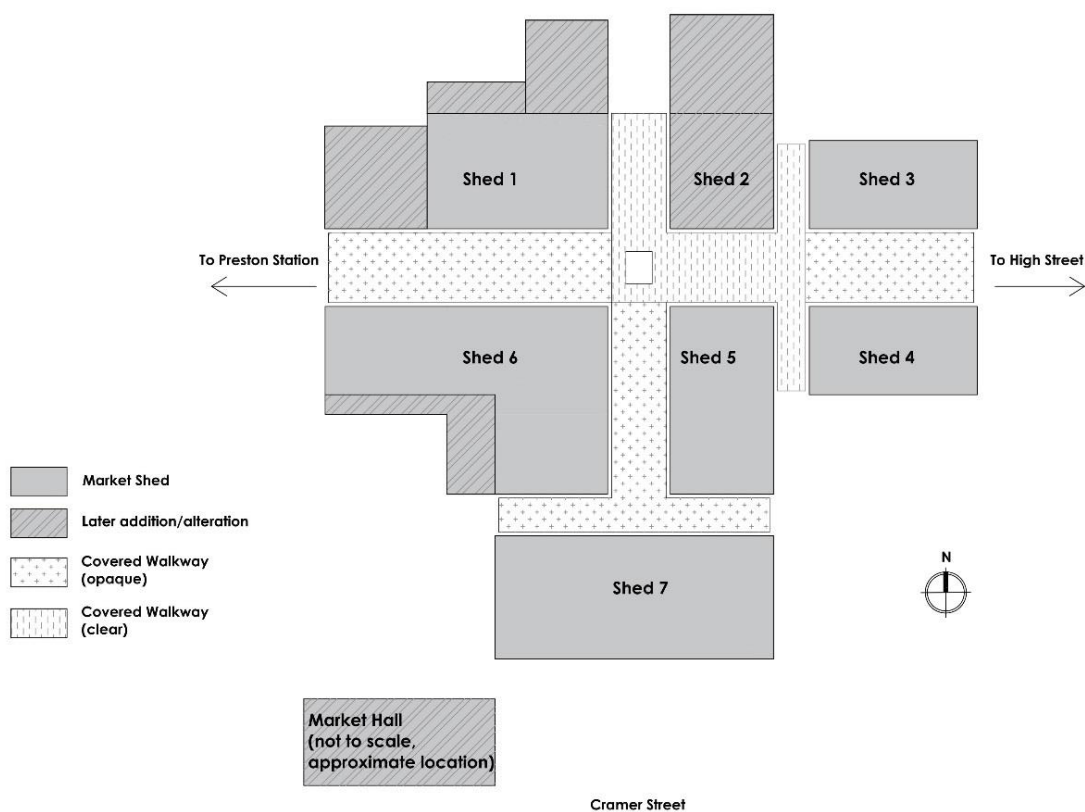


Figure 17. Diagram of Preston Market, current conditions (Source: Context 2017).

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### ***Shed 1***

Part of the original shed remains. This area is currently being restored for mixed retail. The space frames have been painted black and flexible wall partitions have been installed. The western end of the shed has been demolished and replaced with three brick shops (two single storey and one double storey). New additions/substantial alterations have occurred at the northern end of the shed.



*Figure 18. Looking west down The Centreway. Shed 6 on the left of the photo and Shed 1 (original section) on the right. (Source: Context 2017).*



*Figure 19. Altered section on the western end of Shed 1 (Source: Context 2017).*





Figure 20. Later addition on the northern end of Shed 1 (Source: Context 2017).



Figure 21. Internal view of Shed 1 showing recent updates including painted space frames and flexible wall partitions. (Source: Context 2017).

## ***Shed 2***

Shed 2 is the least intact of all the sheds. Much of the original fabric has been replaced with single storey brick shop buildings. Typical shop fronts (as opposed to roller doors) face the pedestrian spaces. Any original fabric that may remain is obscured or has been significantly altered. A double storey masonry addition is located at the northern end of the shed. It has shopfronts at the ground level and solid masonry walls to the upper storey.



*Figure 22. View shop fronts on south east corner of Shed 2. (Source: Context 2017).*



*Figure 23. Image shows Shed 2 on the left and Shed 5 on the right. Space frame structure still evident on Shed 5 but not on Shed 2. Tent-like walkway canopy has been replaced with clear flat covering in this location. (Source: Context 2017).*





Figure 24. View of the eastern edge of Shed 2. On the left of the image, single storey brick buildings have shop fronts facing the pedestrian walkways and a propped tall metal parapet. On the right of the image, double storey masonry buildings have shops at ground level and solid masonry walls to the upper storey. (Source: Context 2017).

### **Sheds 3 and 4**

Designed for retail of fresh fruit and vegetables, these are the most intact of all the sheds. They are still predominantly occupied by fruit and vegetable retailers, and retain the early arrangement of roller doors between columns, with retailers facing out to The Centreway. Alterations include the blocking out or painting of glass panels over the roller doors.



Figure 25. View of Shed 3 from The Centreway. (Source: Context 2017).





*Figure 26. View of Shed 4 from The Centreway. Original building form and shop front arrangement still intact. The yellow canopy erected in the 1980s is visible on the left of the photo (Source: Context, 2017).*



*Figure 27 Interior view of Shed 4, showing rhythm of space frames, and fruit and vegetable stalls behind roller doors. (Source: Context 2017).*



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### ***Shed 5***

Shed 5 is currently used as a deli hall. The original form and structure of the building is still evident, but alterations have occurred to most shop fronts. Around the northern and western edges of the building take away food premises extend beyond the original building footprint and interrupt an understanding of the original building form and structure.



*Figure 28. View of exterior of Shed 5. Takeaway vendors face The Strand and The Centreway. Original roof structure still evident, but substantial alterations have occurred to shopfronts (Source: Context 2017).*

### ***Shed 6***

Functioning as originally designed, the fresh meat and fish shed remains relatively intact. An early photo (Figure 30) shows that this section of the Market had sealed glass shopfronts. Figure 29 shows that this arrangement continues today. Alterations include painting of the glass panels over the shopfronts.



*Figure 29. View of Shed 6 on left of photo. (Shed 5 on right) Taken looking north (Source: Context 2017).*





Figure 30. Photo taken c. 1970s, looking south towards Shed 7. Fresh fish and meat hall (Shed 6) on the right. Deli hall (Shed 5) on the left (Source: Laurie Richards Studio, 'Preston Market with People Located in a Courtyard Surrounded by Shops', negative, 1970, Laurie Richards Collection, Museum Victoria). Copyright for this image is held by Museum Victoria. Permission to publish this image is pending.

### **Shed 7**

Shed 7 operates as a mixed goods shed. The original steel columns remain along the front of the shed and shops have been screened off within the shed. The 'space frame' trusses have been painted black.



Figure 31. Northern section of Shed 2. Later brick building. Corner Mary and Earl Streets (Source: Context 2017).



Figure 32. Later brick shop fronts at the corner of The Strand and The Centreway (Source: Context 2017).

### **The walkway canopy**

In the 1980s, a canopy was built over the open walkways. The canopy is supported by an open steel structure with rounded steel poles that extend beyond the shed roof lines and cross bracing. A series of pyramidal opaque canopies run the length of the shelter. In 2016 some sections of the opaque canopies were replaced with clear corrugated material. This allowed natural light to penetrate the pedestrian spaces, while still providing shelter from the weather.



Figure 33. View from the eastern edge of The Centreway showing the canopy structure inserted between the open space and the shed roofs. Original space frames are visible. The prefabricated concrete panel end walls reflect the outline of the space frames. (Source: Context 2017).





Figure 34. Opaque pyramidal canopies have been replaced with clear corrugated material in certain sections of the Market (Source: Context 2017).

### **Cramer Street Market Hall**

The Cramer Street Market Hall was built on the site once occupied by the three residential properties at 22-26 Cramer Street, Preston. Title searches (see Appendix 4) list A.T. Whittenbury and Co. Pty Ltd as proprietor for all three properties on 13 June 1973. It is not clear whether the company subsequently developed the site or sold it on to another owner.

At some time following the consolidation of the three residential sites, a single building was built across the combined land. A large, double volume, rectangular, brick building currently stands on the site. Known as the Market Hall, the building has a gable ended, corrugated iron roof with a timber vent arrangement centred on the ridge. The walls along the long edges are solid brick with no window or door openings and have brick piers spaced evenly along the length. Each of the short ends has a roller door opening.

Further research would be required to ascertain the original builder/developer and purpose of this building. Records located at the Public Record Office of Victoria indicate that in the mid-1980s, a request was made to the Health Department for permission to establish a child care centre in the building. Correspondence indicates that approval for a childcare centre was not granted due to issues regarding fire safety and other health and safety concerns.

Other documents suggest that plans were then proposed to turn the building into a Bingo Hall. At some time, a mezzanine floor and external fire stair were added. The building operated as a Bingo Hall during the 1980s/90s. In 2016, the Preston Fresh Hood Market was established in the Market Hall with the aim of creating a contemporary space serving street food and

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showcasing local arts.<sup>67</sup> In more recent times, the building was used for music events and rave parties<sup>68</sup>, but is currently not in use. Large painted murals, apparently painted c. 2016 and associated with these uses, remain on the exterior of the building. A permit for demolition of this building has been issued.



*Figure 35. View of north side of Market Hall, showing large mural and signage for Fresh Hood Market. (Source: Context 2017).*



*Figure 36. View of western end of market hall, painted with a mural c. 2016 as part of its change of use to the Preston Fresh Hood Market and music venue (Source: Context 2017).*

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<sup>67</sup> 'Preston Fresh Food Market brings permanent street food and arts space to Preston Market', Preston Leader, July 8, 2016.

<sup>68</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/events/1114410995356077/>;  
<https://www.facebook.com/prestonfreshhood/>

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## 4 COMMUNITY CONNECTIONS

### 4.1 Introduction

The social significance of a place is based on the associations or connections between today's community/ies and the place. However, while historical research may be able to demonstrate a longevity and continuity of association, this is not enough by itself to meet the definition of social significance. Rather, the social significance of a place must be able to be demonstrated to be robust and continuing, with a strong link to associated communities or cultural groups who continue to hold these associations and values.

The task of social significance research is to understand the nature and extent of people's associations with a place, including understanding whether significance might reside in the fabric of the place or in other aspects or attributes such as use, access to the place, or in the continuation of cultural traditions or activities for example. The shorthand term for this is 'social value' which includes the significance of a place to Indigenous peoples as part of their continuing and developing cultural traditions.

Community connections to the Preston Market are documented in this section, the communities are defined, and evidence of their associations is presented.

#### Identified communities

Based on the Preston Market case study undertaken in 2011 by Context, a visit to the market, discussion with the Darebin City Council and review of the preliminary findings from our historical research, two distinct but closely related communities were identified:

- Stallholders and those who work for them, include long-standing market traders and newer traders
- Shoppers.

The key distinctions between these two communities are primarily their role and level of engagement with the market. Another difference is that most shoppers live locally whereas most stall holders are not local residents. Stallholders and shoppers also share many characteristics: both groups are culturally diverse, and many people within each group have a long association with the market, occasionally across a generation, often for 20, 30 or 40 years, and some since the very start of the market on this site. Some of the newer traders at Preston Market are offering a diverse range of goods and services not catered for in the original market shopping profile and mainly focused on speciality food and coffee.

Within these two broad groups, we recognised there would be smaller cultural groups who have associations with the market and who use the market to reinforce social and cultural relationships; our approach however was to seek out broader connections and values. For example, in the interviews documented below, and from observations at the market, a group of Greek men regularly gather for coffee and there are the self-identified 'school mothers' who arrange to meet at the market to shop and socialise. No doubt these are just two of many small informal groups who use the market as a place to meet.

#### Engaging with these communities

Two primary methods of direct engagement were developed: an online survey and face-to-face interviews at the market. These two formats were designed to accommodate the diversity of languages spoken by market communities, and the likely discomfort with the online option amongst older people from non-English speaking backgrounds.

We also looked at the 2011 case study project and analysed the 24 interviews undertaken at the time as these represent a parallel data set collected prior to any perceived threat to the market.



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Social media platforms are a relatively new, contemporary way that people share information and express connections and values. We analysed two social media platforms – Facebook and Instagram. In research terms these sources serve as valuable proxies for direct engagement.

We also drew from the historical research and from a range of other sources that represented, in various ways, the voices of the market communities.

The other source we used was a review of the objections to the planning applications on the proposed redevelopment to the northern side of the market, and the VCAT submissions lodged on behalf of the community.

## 4.2 Previous studies and projects

### Market Crossings

Market Crossings is a publication arising from a project created by the arts organisation TRAX that started in mid-2007 at the Preston Market, operating from a space provided by Preston Market management over a two-year period. The project sought to enable the ‘many and varied voices’ of the market community to be heard, to frame Preston market as a ‘site of social and cultural importance’, and to ‘challenge the primacy of economic criteria of value’.<sup>69</sup> The project included a play, an exhibition, interviews, and other activities, and finally the publication of Market Crossings in 2010.

In Market Crossings, the values attributed to Preston Market by the market community – customers, stallholders and locals – are many and varied. The publication includes short and long interviews that enable people to express their connections in their own words. Examples include:

- Memories – of childhood, of people now gone, of evocative experiences (sights, sounds and smells)
- Relationships and connections – stallholders who supporting one another, seeing people you know, meeting friends,
- Community – people coming together, inclusive, not divided by class and income, spending time with friends
- Open – lots of points of entry.

In two sections entitled ‘Mapping the Market’ and ‘Markets as a site for difference’, Market Crossings highlights some of the physical attributes of the market that support the qualities that people value. The author refers to the market as a pseudo-public space, a ‘civic space, shaped and transformed by the community which uses it and, in turn shaping and strengthening that community’.<sup>70</sup>

These include:

#### *Layout of the market which offers:*

- Multiple points of entry - open entries – not closed doors
- Criss-crossing walkways creating an organic flow of people criss-crossing and mingling
- Wide open spaces between stalls creating social spaces to talk, sit and chat
- Seats and tables are open and shared

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<sup>69</sup> Victoria Stead, Victoria, *Market Crossings. Plotting a course through the Preston Market, Melbourne*, Carlton: Breakdown Press, 2010.

<sup>70</sup> Stead 2010, p.36

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- Connections into the market from the outside – from the train, from High Street, from the train

### ***Physical openness***

- Physical openness blurs the boundaries between the market and the streets, footpaths and thoroughfares which surround it
- Reads as a public space - access to and interactions within the space are not conditional on purchase of goods
- Spaces for looking, wandering, sitting, talking and browsing
- A place where one can walk freely without having to spend.

### ***Market mode of retailing***

- Many stalls operated by independent traders provide cultural 'support' and personal relationships between traders and customers

### ***Cultural storylines:***

- Storylines that connect the market to the immediate locality and then culturally back to the places where people come from, recognising the cultural diversity of the market, and the origins of the traditions expressed within the market.<sup>71</sup>

## **Preston Market case study**

In 2011, Context completed a project on Victoria's post 1940s migration heritage.<sup>72</sup> Part of the project included case studies within the City of Darebin which aimed to test out different ways of working with migrant communities to identify places associated with post 1940s migration and understand their heritage values.

One of these case studies was on Preston Market and included 24 interviews, 12 with stallholders and 12 with shoppers. This section draws on these interviews in relation to the scope of the present project.

### ***Stallholders***

#### ***Why Preston Market?***

Preston Market, perhaps like other markets, offers a business opportunity and a lifestyle choice for stallholders. One consistent message from 2011 is that the hours that Preston Market operates offered stallholders the opportunity to spend time with their families, being four days a week, although for some stalls, the stallholders have very long hours.

The process of 'finding a stall' at Preston Market appears to have been quite serendipitous for many stall holders - they were looking for a business and discovered an opportunity at Preston Market:

*I looked for a business that I could sort of get my head around reasonably fast, and it afforded me two days off a week. So with the market environment you get the Sunday and Monday off.<sup>73</sup>*

*We were in this industry and we worked for other people for a while. Our dream was always to come to the market because obviously the lifestyle of having two days off/three days off a week, and doing it for four or five days, or what have you, that you have to work; we always wanted to work here.<sup>74</sup>*

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<sup>71</sup> Stead 2010, pp 34-37

<sup>72</sup> Context Pty Ltd, *Victoria's Post-1940s Migration Heritage – Darebin Pilot Project: Volume 3A: Pilot Project*, prepared for the City of Darebin, 2011.

<sup>73</sup> Eric, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 68.

<sup>74</sup> Micky Ricardi, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p. 76.

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*First, the market open for four days only, it's better for family because we've got kids, we have to play with the kids some other days.*<sup>75</sup>

But for other stallholders, the connection is across the generations; George Patsalis (George's Meats) is a second-generation stallholder and explains how his father came to start the stall in 1972.

*Because he walked in here, this particular shop was for sale, and he loved the location and saw the amount of people, the passing trade, and he said, "There's more passing trade here than Bourke Street Mall, so I'll buy it," and we've been here ever since ... Put it this way, the market has been good to a lot of people, a lot of families.*<sup>76</sup>

Another stallholder, Eric, when asked if there was a history of owning a delicatessen in his family, commented about the other stallholders:

*No, not at all, no, which is probably quite dissimilar to most stallholders here. A lot of them are actually second generation so it was the parents who initially had the business, and I think a lot of them have been here for 30 or 40 years.*<sup>77</sup>

Haydon, a stallholder who started an organics stall from scratch in 2001 said:

*I was passionate about organic food and I saw that there was a space out this way with younger families and that whole separate demographic moving out towards this area. ... I'd shopped here on and off for a few years and when I opened the stall here it was with a business partner who lives just around the corner from here, so he knew the market very well. It was prompted by him I suppose. But I'm a Northcote resident and really recognised the connection north from there, you know.*<sup>78</sup>

### **'It's the people'**

It's the people that make the market – both the stallholders and shoppers – and it is the relationships between people that are created here that attract stallholders and encourage them to stay. People are friendly and often seen as like 'family' or 'community'. They are also seen as distinctive – a particular kind of people, definitely multi-ethnic and part of a market community. Interestingly, while a number of stallholders interviewed mentioned that the shopper community had changed over time – particularly in ethnicity from primarily Greek and Italian to Asian – there was still seen to be a remarkable diversity present and a continuing culture of friendly exchange and personal connections between stallholders and shoppers.

*I like the people, I like the cultural aspects, I like the variety. I'm really interested in finding out about people's backgrounds ... you get to know your customers and you get to know about their family; they get to know about us.*<sup>79</sup>

*We liked the atmosphere of the markets, dealing with people, we've always had businesses where you dealt one on one with customers so that wasn't anything new to us. It was just interaction with people, the market atmosphere, the food, the produce, that's what made us want to come here.*<sup>80</sup>

*The diversity of customers, it's a busy place, it's a thriving community, just a really interesting place to work.*<sup>81</sup>

*You can meet anybody here, anybody. Anybody and everybody. It's quite an interesting range. ... [I love] the people, the customers, and there's never a dull moment.*<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Renka, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 83.

<sup>76</sup> George Patsalis, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 71.

<sup>77</sup> Eric, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 70.

<sup>78</sup> Hayden Sharon, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', pp 73-74.

<sup>79</sup> Betty Vecurelis, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 63.

<sup>80</sup> Emmanuel Foniadarkis, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 66.

<sup>81</sup> Eric, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 69.

<sup>82</sup> George Patsalis, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 71.

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*It's something to do with such a mixed demographic, particularly nationalities ... I'll say Saturday afternoons are sort of like a third world country, but there's so many more nationalities than you'd nationalities than you'd ever get in that single country that you are in, so it's so unique in that way, the mix there. ... getting to know people's lives that you never would have normally. You just never get to meet ... the Croatian woman that comes in every Friday morning after night shift. You just get to know her life, how many kids she has, when her kids are sick - it's really special in that way. People connection is the biggest buzz for me, it's lovely.<sup>83</sup>*

*I like all the different types of people that come in, all the friends that you make, and everyone you get to meet that's all in different industries. You become part of a family after a while because you see - we've had customers come in that have just got married and we've seen them have kids, and their parents have been shopping here before - you know what I mean? And little kids, and they've all grown up, and they're having their own families and all that, and they just like keep coming. We just love all that.<sup>84</sup>*

*I think it's a different feeling as the shopping centre. You see the old face, everybody look familiar, and they chat to you about their family and the activities they're doing. That's warming, very warming.<sup>85</sup>*

*I like you employ yourself, you meet people here, all beautiful people here, especially in this northern side of the city, the people from Greek background, Italian, Chinese, Vietnamese, Italian - a lot - Indian, Macedonian - all multi-culture. So a lot of people, they look at different things. The Greek looking for the Greek coffee, the Italian looking for the Italian coffee, the Vietnamese looking for the Vietnamese coffee maker - just different things - and we have all of them. We cater for everyone.<sup>86</sup>*

*The warmth of all the people. There's a big family orientated customer base here which we've all got used to ... And like I said, we are very close with all the customers, we know them all by first name basis coming here, so very happy here.<sup>87</sup>*

*We have customers that their kids are taller than us, and I've seen them growing up ... [and other stallholders?] Yes, Dad's been here the longest so we've seen everybody come in and go out, so we're pretty close to everybody ... Especially the next door stall.<sup>88</sup>*

### **Heart and home**

From the stallholder's perspective Preston Market is a big part of their lives, although most interviewed in 2010 do not live close by. For them Preston Market is a strongly familiar place, a place where they know the people and that feels a bit like 'home'.

Some stallholder have built friendships with others in the market, creating their own connections.

*For us it feels like home because we're not like in Camberwell, or we're not in even Prahran - I don't think my husband and I would fit in as well.<sup>89</sup>*

Asked if they ever get together with the other people and meet up at places? Emmanuel Foniadarkis said:

*Oh yeah. Just on the weekend I had one of the other tenants come around home, we just had a few drinks, caught up and had a chat. His is a totally different business to ours. We do interact with one another.<sup>90</sup>*

The stallholders often have a long connection with the market and their customers. Some worked or shopped there before buying their stall, and for others the stall has been handed

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<sup>83</sup> Hayden Sharon, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', pp 66-67.

<sup>84</sup> Micky Ricardi, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 77.

<sup>85</sup> Renka, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', pp 83-84.

<sup>86</sup> Si, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 86.

<sup>87</sup> Ufouk, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 87.

<sup>88</sup> Mark & Robert Vergona, stallholders, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 92.

<sup>89</sup> Betty Vecurelis, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 6.

<sup>90</sup> Eric stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 67.

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down to them. The long-term nature of these connections is expressed in a sense of community by stallholders and shoppers alike:

*Yes, a lot of people. A lot of people have been here 30 years, something, they've been shopping 30 years. Some people they go, they move out, they're young, they get married or whatever, once in a blue moon if they're in the area they come here for shopping.<sup>91</sup>*

The second generation Vergona sons reflect on how the market has always been a part of their lives:

*Dad had the small shop and then over the years it just grew to a double. Both of us have been involved now since even before school. We'd go into school in the mornings and then come here in the afternoon, and never had a day off on a Saturday.<sup>92</sup>*

### **Cultural diversity**

The stallholders express their own ethnicity in what they sell and in how they present their stall, creating and expressing their personal cultural connections:

*It's called Zacrete Poultry ... the name is because my business partner and I are from two islands of Greece; he is from Zacynthos, I'm from Crete, we combined the two names together and made it Zacret'.<sup>93</sup>*

For shoppers as well as stallholders, the market creates a connection to 'home', giving people the opportunity to connect with familiar foods, and helping maintain culture and traditions from the country of their birth. The languages spoken by the stallholders help reinforce these cultural connections.

*I think newcomers to Australia shop here ... I think they feel comfortable here, yes. They find all their foods here, special requirements, and even like Italians and Greeks, they can still find their special items here.<sup>94</sup>*

*It's like when you go into a house and the kitchen's the heart of the house. I can understand why people sort of refer to the Preston Market as the "heart of the north" because it's where people come and meet. It's all about people connections really, isn't it?<sup>95</sup>*

Many stallholders and their staff speak multiple languages. For example, Cambodian Si, owner of Centreway Electrical for 25 years says that at his stall the following languages are spoken:

*Apart from English, Vietnamese, Chinese, Cantonese, Mandarin ... Cambodian. We can speak bits of Italian and Greek, we speak them.<sup>96</sup>*

### **Atmosphere**

The atmosphere of the market also appears to be a strong factor in attracting stallholders and is a reason they stay. It is a hard quality to define:

*And on Saturdays especially after 1.00 when it gets very vocal in here - I don't know whether you've been after 1.00 on a Saturday. The auctions start and then everybody's yelling out, like I become the spruiker, "Chicken wings, three kilos for ten dollars!" And the voice just cuts through, and everybody's competing to try and get that customer.<sup>97</sup>*

*That's why we came in here because we like the atmosphere of it.<sup>98</sup>*

*It's alive, like me ...<sup>99</sup>*

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<sup>91</sup> Sam Vergona, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 90.

<sup>92</sup> Mark & Robert Vergona, stallholders, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 92.

<sup>93</sup> Emmanuel Foniadarkis, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 66.

<sup>94</sup> Patricia Sikanino, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 79.

<sup>95</sup> Hayden Sharon, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 75.

<sup>96</sup> Si, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 86.

<sup>97</sup> Betty Vecurelis, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 65.

<sup>98</sup> Eric, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 67.

<sup>99</sup> Sam Vergona, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 90.



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*[it's a very different experience when you come here?] Most certainly. I think it's a feature of the market. It's the essence of the place, like Victoria Market or Prahran Market, and I think that's culturally significant.<sup>100</sup>*

### **Shoppers**

The 12 shoppers interviewed in 2010 brought different perspectives, but also shared many values with stallholders. The strongest theme in the interviews with shoppers was, unsurprisingly, the food at the market, with the market as a meeting place being the second strongest theme.

Like the stallholders they valued the cultural diversity and cultural exchange that happened throughout the market, saying that it gave them the opportunity to try new things as well as to purchase familiar foods and supplies that were important in their own culture. They also enjoyed the lively market atmosphere.

For shoppers, most of whom are local, Preston Market appears to be linked closely to community identity. It is connected to people's own history and personal connections and it is a part of their locality's identity.

### **Food**

The quality, freshness and price of the food at Preston Market is a key attraction for shoppers:

*First of all the fresh food, beautiful. Fresh meat, nice meat. Fresh fish - actually the fish - I do a lot of shopping - fish and food ... really nice ... All the shops beautiful.<sup>101</sup>*

*I think the prices probably is the thing that keeps me coming back, and I'm satisfied with the quality of the stuff, and I've got to know people here. Probably all that.<sup>102</sup>*

*It's versatility about the place, you can buy what you want, get what you want. The parking's alright, I think the parking's okay. You're only here for an hour.<sup>103</sup>*

### **Community meeting place**

As well as the practical task of shopping, many shoppers treat the market as a place to connect with others, to use shopping as pleasant family time, or to meet with friends as part of their shopping experience.

*My family too when come once a week, enjoy the coffee, enjoy the souvlaki. Yes, very community.<sup>104</sup>*

*[I usually come with] friends, but often on my own ... Definitely socialising.<sup>105</sup>*

*I love coming here because you get the basic people here, you just get told what they think. That's why I love coming here.<sup>106</sup>*

*I live in the City of Darebin, and have primary school aged children. It's a meeting place for all the school mothers too ... All the schools. "You going to the market today?" "Yep, I'll see you down there."<sup>107</sup>*

*Then if we're feeling energetic we do our shopping first, but today, and most days, we get a coffee and I've had some pizza today ... There's my brother, he's shopping here as well (laughs).<sup>108</sup>*

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<sup>100</sup> Eric, stallholder, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 70.

<sup>101</sup> Alexandra Bathal, shopper, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 94.

<sup>102</sup> Anne, shopper, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 98.

<sup>103</sup> Patrick, shopper, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 110.

<sup>104</sup> Alexandra Bathal, shopper, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 95.

<sup>105</sup> Caroline, Tanya and Kelly, shoppers, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 101.

<sup>106</sup> Caroline, Tanya and Kelly, shoppers, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 101.

<sup>107</sup> Caroline, Tanya and Kelly, shoppers, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 101.

<sup>108</sup> Cathy Oliver and Nina Buchan, shoppers, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 104.

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Pantalís has shopped at the market for 40 years, but he comes here for the social exchange with his friends:

*Yes, not every morning, but nearly two times a week, three times a week ... [Why?] Because I find more cheaper here and also I know all my friends here for many, many years. I live here in Preston but I shift and go to Reservoir and that's okay, I come here. [When you come you meet up with your friends?] Oh yes, many ... Grab the coffee. ... Social, but I not one for the politics. I don't like the politics. ... Just I listen but I not talk the politics, no way. [How often do your friends come here?] Many time they come more. How many times they open the Preston Market they been here ... Because a lot of people here, a lot of friends I find here, that's why people come here.<sup>109</sup>*

### **Diversity and cultural exchange**

Preston Market has played a significant role in helping people retain and express their cultural traditions, particularly those represented through food.

*All the time with the Greek culture, they all make the festival here. One of the shops here, the cake, they make that the party before Christmas. ... Yes, free. And dancing here, and music Greek, it was beautiful.<sup>110</sup>*

*We come weekly two times. Twice a week. I buy my special food things, special vegetables, and special vege for prayers, and flowers ... [speaking about the ice pumpkin they have bought] ... People hang the front of the house. People bought a new house, a new home ceremony, and the new home ceremony priest visit everyone's house, hang the ice pumpkin ... Hang the front of the house ... Every year want a new one ... Priest then do house after the time, front of the house ... for luck.<sup>111</sup>*

Shoppers value the cultural diversity of the market and enjoy it through the mix of people and food.

*The culture here, to try another country, try to be really friends now. Doesn't matter Philipinos, or Chinese, or Greek, or Italian. Actually Italian and Greek and Chinese more the Preston Market.<sup>112</sup>*

*I moved to Melbourne about four years ago and someone told me about it and I've been coming ever since ... They said it was a bigger version of Vic markets and a bit nicer because it was a bit more ethnic and a bit rougher, which is good, and cheaper ... Like I said, I guess the ethnicity. I can do my Asian shopping, and there's the Indian shop, and all the different types of fish and meat - the Greek meat and the Vietnamese stuff. I think just the diverse produce and things you can get here is really, really good.<sup>113</sup>*

Some shoppers appreciated the chance to try new foods, things that they don't know how to cook, and enjoy learning about. Shopping at the market is a cross cultural experience.

*Probably some of the vegetables I've been buying. I just ask the workers what to do with them, so try new things. So definitely, lots of things.<sup>114</sup>*

*I've just had my hair cut by a Vietnamese woman, and I've been going to her for about six or seven years now, so I've built up a real relationship with her. She's teaching me recipes to cook from her culture, and I talk about some of the food I cook which is not typically Australian; it's great to have that camaraderie now. And we're both growing veges at home so we're talking about our garden beds and we're bringing plants to swap with each other: it's all come out of Preston Market really.<sup>115</sup>*

*Apart from just looking at the different groups - like you see groups of Greek men talking, sitting around having a coffee - it's just going to the delis, like Italian delis ... you see all the different foods ... now you're*

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<sup>109</sup> Pantalís, shopper, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', pp 107-108.

<sup>110</sup> Pantalís, shopper, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 109.

<sup>111</sup> Ramesh Ramanada and Lalita, shoppers, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 116.

<sup>112</sup> Alexandra Bathal, shopper, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 95.

<sup>113</sup> Annabelle, shopper, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 97.

<sup>114</sup> Annabelle, shopper, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 97.

<sup>115</sup> Anne, shopper, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 98.

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*starting to see more Sudanese people coming here too and even Muslim women coming as well, which I think is good.<sup>116</sup>*

*We just love all the food here and the different ways that people prepare food around here. They seem to be a lot more in touch with local recipes and local ways of preparing things ... more traditional ways of preparing things ... and we just love the buzz of different nationalities down here. It's really good, you can just mix in, everybody's here, and it's just really good.<sup>117</sup>*

*Yeah we come here for the authentic preparation of the things that we eat here, and just the range of stuff that we can buy in terms of produce and meat ... Definitely learned new ways to prepare things, tried to copy some things; a bit more adventurous with our cooking, definitely.<sup>118</sup>*

### **My own history and personal connections**

The tradition of shopping at Preston Market is highly valued by many shoppers, being something that people have done over many years, often initially as children and now passing on the tradition to their own children.

*Every few months we come probably ... and sometimes with my daughters. My daughters used to come on Saturday mornings, we used to come over, we used to stroll with them. [Q Your parents were fruiterers, does this inspire any nostalgia for you?] Yes, because both our parents were in fruit shops, we were born in fruit shops, grew up in fruit shops ... [and] m parents used to come here every week.<sup>119</sup>*

Being able to purchase familiar, traditional foods has been and continues to be a part of why shoppers say they keep coming to Preston Market; it is a way of keeping and passing on culture and traditions. Stallholders too share this perspective, establishing their businesses to provide foods that are culturally familiar and supporting a community of shoppers who share their cultural background:

*Well we were both born here and we've both got Italian heritage, but we are really Australian, but we still keep the Italian way of life with the cooking and that sort of thing. We don't start fights because our parents were born overseas and all that sort thing, which is different today. That's one of the main problems I think we've got today that people have to learn to assimilate to the Australian way of life and still keep their heritage and their social customs and all that type of thing. I don't.<sup>120</sup>*

Asked if the market helps their daughters hang on to Italian culture, Bob responded:

*I don't know, I wouldn't imagine so. They might come in here because of the variation type things, and they can maybe one stop shopping and all that. They don't know the way we had our life in the fruit shop, it's only how we've discussed it and talked to them at home. It's the same when we were living at home and growing up, our parents and our grandparents talked about the things in Italy and we hung onto that, so that's the way it goes.<sup>121</sup>*

For people from other cultural backgrounds, Preston Market offers a chance to explore the cultures of others through food, cultural exchange and language. The experience of being at Preston Market strongly evokes the life, culture and qualities of other places.

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<sup>116</sup> Caroline, Tanya and Kelly, shoppers, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', pp 102-103.

<sup>117</sup> Cathy Oliver and Nina Buchan, shoppers, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 104.

<sup>118</sup> Cathy Oliver and Nina Buchan, shoppers, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 105.

<sup>119</sup> Bob and Cecilia Casmento, shoppers, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 99.

<sup>120</sup> Bob and Cecilia Casmento, shoppers, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 100.

<sup>121</sup> Bob and Cecilia Casmento, shoppers, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 101.

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*And the people that run the pizza place are so Greek, they're really good. I really loved Greece when I was there ages ago and it's just a little reminder of that. I don't know, it's just fun.*<sup>122</sup>

### Atmosphere

Many of the interviews with shoppers undertaken in 2010 reflected on the atmosphere of the market, seeing it as embodied in the traditional market form – open air, with individual and distinctive stalls – along with its cultural diversity and sense of community.

*It's still got that old world, old generational feel to it I think. It could be the 1950s still in some ways ... it's like it's in a time warp sometimes because it's still got all that really strong Greek and Italian 1950s people, but it gets new people coming through ... You get to see lots of different types of cultures in the one spot. It doesn't really happen in many other places. And everyone's quite respectful of each other. Most of the time.*<sup>123</sup>

*Actually my first time, being here today. I like it because it's kind of a like a maze and you keep finding new things, so I've been enjoying that ... It's not particularly one ethnicity, it's more the different kinds of people around.*<sup>124</sup>

### Preston identity

Over nearly 48 years, Preston Market has become a strong element in Preston's identity as a locality and a community. For local people, the market is more than just a shopping opportunity: it is a place to meet, socialise, and sustain relationships with other people.

Those who shop at the market are predominantly locals and the market serves as an informal meeting place – helping create a sense of a market community.

*It's part of Preston now.*<sup>125</sup>

*Why I come to this market, because this market has more variety, it's multi-culture, including different culture food in here, so we can come and choose what we like. That's most important for every different race ... around. I like it because I like the traditional market. I come from Asia, Asia more interested in coming to different markets ... more multicultural people come to buy the food in this area.*<sup>126</sup>

### Summing up

Interviews undertaken in 2010 with 12 stallholders and 12 shoppers provide a valuable insight into the nature and duration of their associations with Preston Market.

- For stallholders, the market is their place of business, one chosen for what it offers them in terms of lifestyle (independence, work commitment) and the style of business it offers (direct with customers, market style). Their experience of the market is of being part of a community – a market community of stallholders and customers – and these relationships are vitally important to them. As their place of work and for many as a place of long connection, the market is 'home' and many see their customers and fellow stallholders as 'family'. The experience of being a stallholder at Preston Market also provides an opportunity to express their own cultural background as well as to appreciate that of others. Cultural diversity is a strongly recognised and positive quality.
- For shoppers, the market is about food, shopping and eating. People value the diversity of food, the quality and the price. For shoppers, relationships are also very important, with favourite stallholders who they know and who know them by name. Many shoppers also

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<sup>122</sup> Cathy Oliver and Nina Buchan, shoppers, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 105.

<sup>123</sup> Caroline, Tanya and Kelly, shoppers, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', pp 102-103.

<sup>124</sup> Ella, shopper, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 106.

<sup>125</sup> Patrick, shopper, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 111.

<sup>126</sup> Politen, shopper, Context Pty Ltd, 'Victoria's Post 1940s Migration Heritage', p 114.

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use the market as a place to socialise, shopping with family, meeting friends for coffee and conversation. Like stallholders, shoppers also value the market as a place where they can purchase culturally familiar foods and other cultural items that help them sustain their sense of cultural identity. Cultural diversity is valued as an opportunity to try new things, learn and share. The shoppers also express the idea that Preston Market is part of what makes Preston; it is part of local identity.

- For both stallholders and shoppers, the atmosphere of the market is also expressed in its aesthetic and experiential qualities: liveliness, colour, aromas and people.

### 4.3 Community response to redevelopment

A recent proposal to redevelop an area to the north of Preston Market on Murray Road, attracted a strong community response in the form of objections to two planning permit applications, followed by submissions and presentations to a VCAT hearing.

Two local organisations – the Darebin Appropriate Development Association (DADA) and Save the Preston Market – were actively involved. This section provides a summary of the nature and strength of ‘associations’ expressed in each round of submissions.

There were around 700 submissions in response to the planning permit applications. The vast majority were based on a standard objection format that listed 30 key reasons in relation to the Stage 1C development and 36 to the Stage 1B development; some objectors deleted or modified some of the standard points. In relation to community connections, objections to both developments expressed some key values (underlined):

*(1C) The Preston Market is a valued asset, not only for Darebin but city and statewide. It has a significant cultural history that should be respected and enhanced for the future by a market master plan.*

*(1B) The Preston Market is a valued asset, not only for Darebin but city and statewide. It has a significant cultural history and acts as a community hub that should be respected and enhanced for the future by a market master plan.*

*(1B + 1C) The Preston Market is a valued asset, and is of genuine state and regional significance. It has a significant social history and role in developing and cementing community links that should be respected and enhanced for the future. This planning application does not show due respect for adequate provision for continuance and enhancement of the socially significant aspects of the site.*

*(1B + 1C) It is of significant historical value and a role that should be respected and enhanced for the future. This planning application does not show due respect for adequate provision for continuance and enhancement of the historically significant aspects of the site.*

*(1B) The Preston Market is a valued asset and is inclusive of a broad demography ...*

In terms of how objectors may be affected by the grant of a permit, the standard objections highlighted three broad reasons (key values underlined):

*1. This development will negatively affect the Preston, Darebin and broader community. Such a large development will destroy the amenity currently enjoyed by traders, shoppers and other visitors to the market and will fail to provide appropriate amenity to meet the current and future needs of Darebin.*

*2. The Preston Market is so much more than a purchasing a weekly supply of fresh food. Shoppers enjoy interacting with the traders, the unique and colourful atmosphere that it provides, watching people from all socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds connect and very often meeting for lunch in the fabulous central food court. It is very sad to think that a traditional 7 day a week retail centre is proposed for the sight. We already have multiple options in Darebin that provide major retail experience. The chance to develop personal relationships with the traders and receive personal service is certainly is not something you would expect or experience from a major retail chain.*

*3. It must also be recognised that the Preston Market provides a safe and welcoming environment for many of those who are socially isolated or marginalised. For some members of the community it is the weekly address of their name from traders and knowing their regular order that gets them out of the house that day.*



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*Protecting this environment and social interaction are the basic foundations that provide the grounds for a more inclusive and cohesive society.*

The 'standard objection form' also reflected what may be seen as aesthetic qualities of Preston Market, using terms such as the development does not achieve 'a considered collection of buildings with common and cohesive elements', the 'visual bulk of the proposed development will be very imposing and will have a detrimental effect on surrounding properties and the street', and that the precinct has 'predominantly low scale buildings'.

There were also a handful of submissions (16) that did not use the standard objection form or that added an individual response to the standard format objection. These have been reviewed to identify additional or different expressions of connection. Five referred to liking the market as it is, while the other eleven described qualities of the market that they valued.

Key words, phrases or ideas that occur in all or most of these individual submissions include: the market as the heart of Preston, the importance of personal relationships with stall holders, a sense of inclusiveness, its ethnic and cultural diversity, the sense of community, a social focus and meeting place, and the atmosphere of the market (lively, vibrant, colourful).

To quote directly from some of these submissions (each quote is from a single submission):

*Preston Market is the heart of the community and has been for 40 yrs. It is enjoyed by both locals and those who come from afar. It is an inclusive environment that invites and welcomes people from all socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds. It plays a huge part in socialisation and inclusion of the elderly.' (1, Preston)*

*I enjoy and appreciate the friendliness of the stall holders, shop and café proprietors. A lot of them I know by first name and they know me by my first name. I lunch there every Thursday.' (2, Preston)*

*I have many fond memories of my late mother taking me there [to Preston market], and when I was still living ... in Reservoir, I would meet up with friends at the market every week'. (3, Fitzroy)*

*I have enjoyed the atmosphere and sense of community that is unique to Preston Market when visiting my sister and family who are long term residents of Preston and 'Preston-ophiles'. I have always found the market full of energy, vibrancy and a wonderful meeting, shopping and eating experience ... I have always felt welcomed and connected to this remarkable and thriving forum even though I am an outsider'. (4, Tasmania)*

*[The market] is a key focal point of the Preston community – it is the location which we identify most strongly with ... [it] is the beating heart of Preston.' (5, Preston)*

*[I] enjoy the connections with my community that I have made at the market. As well as buying fresh produce I find it easy to talk to the sellers and other market customers, who are elderly like me, in this informal setting. (6, Preston)*

*... the Preston Market has been my primary shopping location for [8] years ... a wide range of affordable produce with the opportunity to develop genuine relationships with stall-holders is a unique and wonderful part of the Darebin community and is one of the things I love most about living in this area. (8, Reservoir)*

*'The market is the heart of Preston ... Its value to the community is enormous ... [it] is a community-friendly, historic, unique, ethnically diverse fresh food market ... [I have] visited there weekly, sometimes twice a week., I know many of the traders by name. When I feel down or bored, I know a visit to the Market will cheer me up because I will see people I know' ... And I can see many people from many different nationalities serving me and shopping.' (9, Preston)*

*[The development] will lead to the Preston Market precinct no longer being the attractive, vibrant and inclusive community meeting place it has long been, where people of a broad range of socio-economic and culturally diverse backgrounds and those experiencing marginalisation and disadvantage have long enjoyed meeting to shop, eat, drink and engage with familiar traders. The unique, colourful, welcoming atmosphere and accessible facilities which Preston Market has long provided will be lost ...'. (11, Abbotsford)*

An expert witness statement by Dr Jane Marilyn Stanley (Director, Focus Pty Ltd) was presented to the VCAT hearing on behalf of the Save Our Preston Market community group.

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Her statement provides a review of the development proposals in relation to social and economic impacts and opportunities. While she does not reference her sources, her report notes (p. 4) that:

*Preston is likely to have the largest geographical catchment of any of Melbourne's markets apart from Queen Victoria Market (which serves the city as a whole)*

*Markets ... offer a much more personal relationship between traders and customers than is available in supermarkets ... Increasingly communities are valuing their markets as an alternative to the impersonal experience provided by franchised shops, shopping malls, supermarkets and internet purchasing networks.*

*Like other markets Preston Market is much more than a place for buying and selling, and its functions are quite different from those of a suburban shopping centre. It is a social, economic and cultural hub that is highly valued by the local and regional community. Trading places has often been handed down from one generation to another. Its multicultural flavour adds to the value of the experience of shopping there. It is well used as a casual meeting place, and a place for whole families to visit and have fun'.*

Later she notes that contemporary markets serve functions that include 'asserting community identity' (Stanley 2017:5).

### **Summing up**

The recent proposal to develop land to the north of the Preston Market prompted a strong response, prompted by an active community campaign to draw people's attention to the redevelopment and the availability of standard objection forms which were used by most objectors. A few people also made individual submissions.

The key ideas expressed across the standard and individual submissions relevant to community connections can be summed up as:

- Preston Market as a place that contributes to a strong sense of community identity and cohesion, linked to the social/cultural history of Preston and its cultural diversity, and sustained by the personal relationships between traders and shoppers
- Preston Market as a social focus and meeting place, a 'safe and welcoming environment', and where many people come for important social contact and interaction that they may not get in other parts of their lives
- Experiential qualities of the market: its lively, colourful atmosphere, diversity of people, vibrancy.

These qualities appear to most strongly relate to market shoppers as a community. There was only one submission able to be identified as being on behalf of market traders and it appeared to relate to some individually owned properties within or adjacent to the main market complex.

## **4.4 Social media research**

### **Approach**

Social media offers an opportunity to sample people's connections to a place, with different platforms offering particular types of material suitable for analysis. Facebook is largely text with some images, whereas Instagram is largely image based. Posts on Twitter were also considered as a potential source, but initial scoping determined that they would be of limited value.

To avoid a focus on responses to the proposed redevelopment on the north side of the market we sampled posts made prior to 2014. We sampled these two social media platforms in the following ways.

## Facebook

A search on the social media platform Facebook between 22 August and 18 September 2017 of posts made prior to 2017 focused on geo-tagged<sup>127</sup> and hash-tagged<sup>128</sup> written expressions about the Preston Market, found using the search term ‘Preston Market’. The Facebook interface provides a range of search options, allowing users to sort results by categories (i.e. posts, photos, pages, etc.), tagged locations and/or dates posted (see Figure 37). Preliminary searches revealed that the majority of photographs and videos tagged with ‘Preston Market’ were largely promotional posts published by the Preston Market official page, and as such these types of posts were excluded from the sampling. Any advertisements, irrespective of whether they were accompanied by images or not, were also excluded from the data collection, to focus on genuine, individual impressions of the Market.

While the search function on Facebook displays posts in a randomised and non-chronological way, they can be sorted in specific date ranges; monthly or yearly. Using the year range filter, a random pick of 100 posts – 20 posts uploaded each year during the five-year period from 2010 to May 2014 – were examined, solely focusing on the written expressions regardless of whether they were assisted with any visual materials (see Appendix 3 for the full list of collected posts).

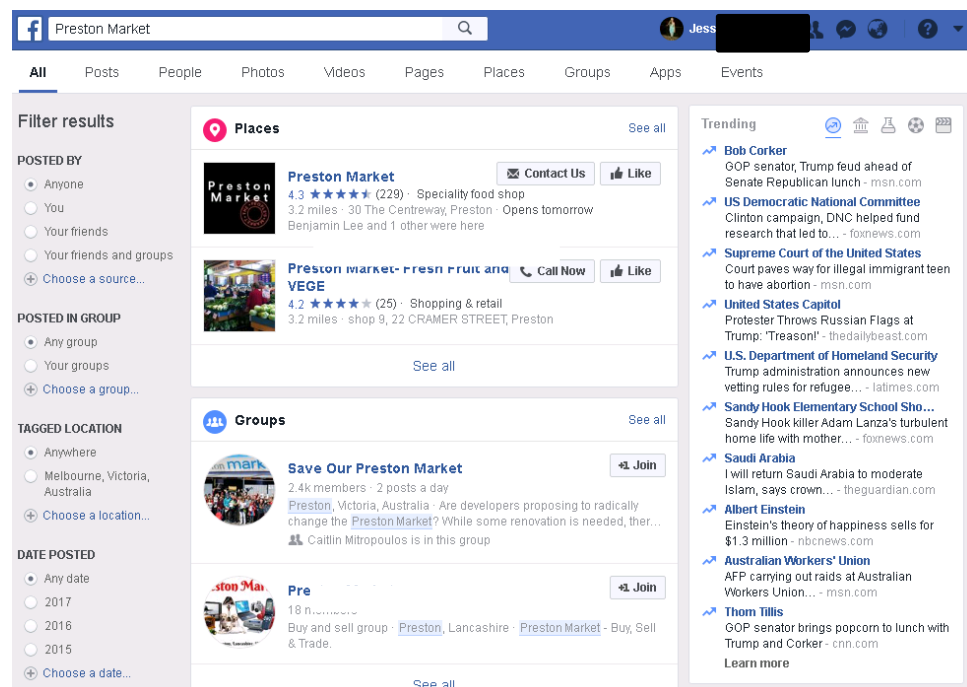


Figure 37. The Facebook search interface (Source: Facebook 2017).

### Pages and groups

A number of large groups have been formed on Facebook, including the official Preston Market page and several community-based advocacy groups. As of 22 August 2017, the official Preston Market page (operated by market management) had 10,080 likes, 9,929 followers and 12,887 visits (inclusive of geo-tags). Other relevant Facebook pages and groups include ‘Save

<sup>127</sup> Geotagging involves “tagging” a geographical location to an online post, including a status update, tweet or photo.

<sup>128</sup> Hashtagging involves preceding a word or phrase with a hash symbol (#), usually identifying a keyword or topic of interest to facilitate a search for it. Whenever a hashtag is created, it can then be identified by a social media platform’s search index, and is discoverable by other users.

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Our Preston Market' (public group, 2,418 members), 'Save Preston Market' (closed group, 217 members), and 'Petition to save our Preston Market' (public page, 64 likes, 66 followers).

### **Public posts**

Overall, 'food' was the strongest topic mentioned throughout the selection of posts. Almost half directly mentioned 'food' at the Market, including posts about shopping and/or consuming food or beverage at the market. Seafood (6), donuts (11), coffee (8) and pizza (7) were the most mentioned topics, while 'tasty' (12; including 'yummy' and 'delicious'), 'affordability' (7; including 'cheap', 'reasonable' and 'value') and 'freshness' (7) were most accompanied keywords. Examples of these types of posts include: "Casually just ate 4 jam donuts from Preston market!" (9 January 2014); "At preston market doing what me and dad used to do and thats have a slice of pizza ohh yeah old memories" (12 May 2011).

The theme 'people' also commonly appeared, with the terms 'family' (including 'dad', 'mum', 'kids', 'wife' & etc.) and 'friends' (including 'mates') being mentioned in 16 posts out of 100. The word 'people' itself was included in 7 posts.

The visitors to the Preston Market often identified its atmosphere. Words used to describe the vibe of the market included 'markety', 'suburby', 'hustle & bustle', 'random' and 'busy'. 'Saturday' was the most mentioned day (8 posts), with 4 of them describing the busy environment on a Saturday. Eight posts specially noted the cultural diversity or cosmopolitan nature of the market, focusing on the cultural interaction between the people rather than the international cuisine available at the market. Examples of these types of posts included: "always love Preston Market....affordable & mostly every-one speak English...!! (truly Australia Market)" (20 August 2010); "now i have seen it all.. my mother is speaking macedonian to an asian meat salesman at preston market lmao.. and he is responding in maco as well lol" (22 January 2011).

A group of posts were feedbacks or enquiries about the market operation, including comments on the parking system (6), notes and queries about policies and procedures to the market management (3) and questions on availability of specific items (3).

While most posts were records and reflection of their day to day shopping or general experiences, instant impressions and observations, 12 posts expressed their 'appreciation' of the market, with an emphasis on their emotion and gratefulness rather than their direct activities at the place; "How much do i love thd Preston Market....." (21 April 2010).

### **Instagram**

A search on the social media platform Instagram between 22 August and 22 September 2017 of posts dating back to 2012 focused on geotagged and hashtagged photographs and written expressions about the Preston Market. A random pick of 100 posts, under the search terms 'prestonmarket' and 'prestonmarketau' were examined, and those containing written and visual expressions about Preston Market were analysed. Keyword searches using the more general locations of 'Preston', 'Cramer Street', 'Mary Street' and 'City of Darebin' produced results that could not be linked to the Preston Market specifically, and therefore were not included as part of our analysis.

### **Hashtags and geotags**

There was a total of 3161 posts geotagged to 'Preston Market (30 The Centreway, Preston, Victoria, Australia)' during the analysis time period. Of a random pick of 100 posts with this geotag, 11 were advertisements posted by either the official Instagram profile of the Preston Market (@prestonmarketau) or profiles of market traders, and 1 image of the Preston Market in Lancashire, United Kingdom was incorrectly geotagged; these have not been included in the analysis. Of the remaining posts, 9 included the market building on Cramer Street as a feature (including interior fabric), and around half of these emphasised the street art rather than the built form itself.

Over a third of the remaining 79 posts were food-related, highlighting the freshness of produce available, the great value for money and the strong presence of Melbourne's coffee

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culture. Other food-related posts placed emphasis on the international cuisine on offer at Preston Market. Just under a quarter of the posts evoked associations with the market due to family, friend or community links in either the images or accompanying captions, and included posts depicting family members sharing a meal, visits to friends working at the market, cultural groups gathering for events, or simply emphasising the diversity of the community frequenting Preston Market. These food and community related posts were prominent, although cultural diversity and other themes were also apparent in these selected posts.

A similar pattern emerged when examining posts geotagged to 'Preston Market- Fresh Fruit and VEGE', which yielded 62 posts, of which 4 were advertisements and 5 were unrelated to Preston Market. Of the remaining 53 posts, only 3 featured the market's exterior built form, and all highlighted the street art as the focus of the photograph. Over half of the posts were food-related, with a third of these emphasising the culturally diverse nature of the market's food offering. Like the previous geotag, roughly a quarter of posts depicted a family, friend or particular community association with the market, through the images themselves or accompanying captions.

A total of 4,865 posts were hashtagged with 'prestonmarket'. Of a random pick of 100 of these posts, 41 were advertisements, 5 related either to the Preston Market in Lancashire, United Kingdom or another overseas location, and 3 were unrelated; these have not been included in the analysis. Of the 51 remaining posts, comparable patterns as observed in the geotag analysis appeared: a small percentage of images focused on the market's built form, and half of these emphasised street art; many posts were food-related, and images of goods purchased from the market were associated with memories or first experiences in the accompanying captions; a third of posts evoked a strong sense of family, friendship or community, and included several selfies.

The hashtag 'prestonmarketau' resulted in 93 posts, over two-thirds of which were advertisements. Of the 24 posts remaining, 3 depicted the built form of the market, with 2 emphasising the street art on exterior walls and 1 highlighting the interior mural on the ceiling of one of the arcades. 18 posts were food-related, with the majority showcasing food creations at home made using ingredients purchased from Preston Market, and using keywords such as 'fresh' and 'beautiful' to describe the produce.

### ***Summing up***

Posts on Facebook and Instagram are probably mostly from market shoppers, rather than stallholders, and there is a strong alignment between the themes identified in these posts and the 2011 case study interviews. The posts provide an interesting insight into the market as a place of experience:

- Preston Market is appreciated for its food: fresh produce, quality and value, with the opportunity to meet family and friends and share food being one aspect of this along with the diversity of food and international cuisines on offer there.
- The market atmosphere – colourful, energetic and vibrant as well as welcoming and friendly. The market is seen as an expression of cultural diversity
- Preston Market as a community and family place – a place to meet friends, join family for a meal – was strongly reflected in many images on Instagram. Posts and images reflected family traditions or rituals and the market as a multi-generational experience. At Preston market shopping is highly social activity and the market is a gathering place for social exchange with friends, family and the traders.

The street art at Preston Market was also the focus of a number of images on Instagram.



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## 4.5 Survey

### Background

The same set of questions were developed and used for both the online and market-based face-to-face surveys undertaken. The survey enabled us to distinguish between shoppers and stallholders and their employees; some questions were addressed to both cohorts, with some different questions for each cohort based on use and association with Preston Market. At the end of the survey, all respondents were asked for demographic information.

To host the online survey and provide background to the heritage study a 'Preston Market Cultural Heritage Study' webpage was created on the City of Darebin's 'Have Your Say' website. It was open from 6 to 30 September 2017, and was promoted on Council's website, Facebook and Twitter pages. It was also shared via Context's LinkedIn page, and from here was picked up by the National Trust of Australia (Victoria) and further promoted on their Instagram, Facebook and Twitter pages.

The 'Have Your Say' page on the Preston Market Heritage Study received:

- 264 unique visitors to the webpage
- 50 of these visitors responded to the survey.
- 58 of these visitors viewed a photo, read the background section, or engaged with the tool i.e. shared their stories.

### 'Have Your Say': Individual narratives

The visitors to the 'Have Your Say' page registered an account and posted directly on the webpage. They are quoted verbatim below:

#### *Every week for fourteen years*

'Every week I shop at Preston Market. I have one of those double-decker trolleys with two wire baskets, and every week I fill it to overflowing with fresh food.

When my daughters were babies, my mum would steer the huge pram and I used the trolley. We were a bit of a spectacle. Looking back, I can't quite believe that I made this happen, week after week, while living with baby twins. Life was very overwhelming, but I still did the weekly shopping at the market.

Now that my daughters are at school, it's just me and the trolley. They eat a lot more, so I buy more. I have a regular round of stalls, and the stallholders know me. We chat about the weather and the enormous glorious cauliflowers.

Sometimes I chat with other shoppers. The other day, over the asparagus display, another shopper and I talked about thick and thin asparagus stalks. She was selecting just the thin ones and I prefer the really huge thick ones. We each agreed to try the type that the other liked, just to see.

I still visit a supermarket most weeks, but my trolley usually contains cleaning products, cans of tomatoes and baked beans, cat food, and the like. I don't need to buy fresh food there, and that's how I like it.

The market is very practical. I don't go there with one tiny basket to buy a bunch of herbs and 200g of fresh pasta. It's a serious business for me; feeding a family of four takes a lot of veg, fruit, meat, and milk!

I wonder how long the Preston market will still be there. It feels like such an important part of the community, but market pressures (so to speak) are gathering. Will it be reduced to a boutique Experience, like the Prahran market?'

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### ***A market to treasure***

'We moved to Reservoir from "south of the Yarra" in 2014. We had lived in a small flat for a long time and were looking to buy something larger. We considered moving to Moreland but the Preston market convinced us to come to Darebin.

When I was young I used to shop at the Prahran fresh food market which, in those days, bore resemblance to the Preston market now. Young and old, rich and poor, people would flock to the market for affordable, fresh produce. These days the Prahran market is a pale imitation of what it used to be, sometimes expensive and with the kinds plastic-looking fruit and vegetables you see in supermarkets. I consider it a warning about what happens to markets when they lose their soul.

I love Preston market for it's rawness. It's not prettied up and essentially the same as supermarkets and shopping malls. They exist elsewhere and everywhere. Around the world supermarkets and shopping malls are pretty much the same, boring and lifeless in their ubiquity, sameness, air-conditioned, fluorescent-lit shininess.

Preston Market is a place with history, a place that reflects its origins, that holds story in its structure, in the nature of the shopping experience. It's rich in variety - of food, clientele, traders, products. It's real and unique and that's something to treasure in a world of increasing shiny, boring uniformity that strips everything from its history and origins.'

### ***Preston market - The heart of our family***

'We bought our first home in Preston 10yrs ago, living in banyule we'd drive over to the market sometimes and at that time when house hunting we were drawn to Preston for its location, period homes and most importantly its market.

10 years and two kids later. We continue to walk with our kids every Saturday. We load up the pram with our fruit n veg and all our goodies and trundle off home. Our kids know the traders and some now we call friends. They run around to throw coins in buskers hats and get excited to go on the rides. They get a breadroll at the bakery and olives to try at the deli. The market is in the fabric of our family.

When I was a new mum at home with my babies, I'd walk to the market almost every day. It was so much more rewarding than a trip to woolies. It was a community of caring souls and a place to just wander. I always find new things hidden in corners even after 10 years. Sometimes the yarn with the butcher and the grocer was my only social contact for the day.

When out of town-ers stay, they marvel at the market on our door step. They've never seen anything so amazing - how lucky you are to not rely on the supermarket. \$18 for t-bone?!?! marvels my mum. Yes we are spoilt for freshness and choice.

It's no surprise with such an amazing market my cooking has just excelled itself. I can find anything and try everything. I cook with real food and flavours. My kids love the experience and learn all about fresh fruit and vegies. And don't say they can do it at a supermarket- it's just not the same. The fluro lights send them crazy, it's a whingefest for a squeezy yoghurt, and there's fights over the trolley, the junk food and who gets to sit in the seat.

As I write this the tears stream down my face. Preston market means so much to us, to me, the family cook and forager. To the traders, the salt of the earth who dedicate their lives to their market stall, up at 3am for the past 40 years. Their stories, their smiles, their histories are all in that market. And so now in our family too.

To think that we want churros, and more instagrammable gimmicks is an insult. We are real people who just want real, affordable and healthy food for our families. To think our market is going to be a sanitized shopping mall with a token shop under a block of flats is heart breaking. We keep losing stalls but gaining more fast and junk food retailers.

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To take away the heart and soul of a town, it is criminal. To take away the community's fresh food options and force us into supermarkets - criminal. To take the livelihoods of the traders - criminal.'

### **Undertaking the survey**

The face-to-face survey at Preston Market was conducted in the mornings of 8 and 9 September 2017, a Friday and Saturday. These tend to be the busiest days of the market and also provided an opportunity to capture different demographics – generally speaking weekdays tend to attract parents with young children, retired people or those who work part time, while Saturday attracts more people who work full time. The survey team walked though the main public thoroughfares in the market inviting people to contribute their perspectives on the market, either through an interview using the same questions as the online survey or by filling out a hard copy version of the survey independently. The interviews and hand-written surveys were subsequently entered into the online survey tool. A total of 49 interviews and surveys were completed over the two-day period.

This section provides an analysis of all the survey responses, and the full survey questions and responses are in Appendix 3.



*Figure 38. Shoppers filling out the questionnaire at the Preston Market. (Source: Context 2017).*



*Figure 39. Shoppers filling out the questionnaire at the Preston Market. (Source: Context 2017).*

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### The survey: who responded?

A total of 99 people responded to the survey, 50 via the online survey tool, and 49 at the market, with some being interviews and some individually-completed hard copy surveys. The first question asked if the respondent was a shopper or a stallholder of Preston Market. The vast majority (95.0%) of respondents were shoppers.

Over a third of the shoppers lived in Preston (39.1%), closely followed by surrounding suburbs in the City of Darebin (33.3%), with the remainder residing in suburbs within the municipalities of Banyule, Nillumbik (12.6%) and some even further afield (10.3%). The three stallholders that responded lived in Blackburn, Dandenong and Ringwood respectively.

Although most of the respondents were aged 35-44 years (28.7%), followed by 25-34 years (21.8%), the survey captured people of all ages with two respondents being in their early twenties, and a few being over the age of 75.

### Use and associations

The survey asked how frequently respondents visited the market and for what purpose.

Over two-thirds of shoppers visited the Market on a weekly basis (73.1%), and a third of these weekly shoppers had been visiting for 25 years or more, indicating a large number of regular and longstanding shoppers.

Asked about their main reason for visiting the market, all but two shoppers selected 'to shop for food' (97.8%). The next most important reason was 'to have a snack or meal' (72.8%), followed by 'to shop for other goods' (51.1%) and 'to meet friends' (45.65%).

**Table 3. Frequency of visits**

Answer options	No.	%
More than once a week	0	0
Once a week	68	73.9
Once a fortnight	11	12.0
Once a month	5	5.4
A few times a year	3	3.3
Sporadically	5	5.4

**Table 4. Reason for visiting**

Answer options	No.	%
To shop for food	90	97.8
To meet friends	42	45.7
To shop for other goods	47	51.1
To have a snack or meal	67	72.8

### Values and features

A series of open-ended questions (Questions 14-19) explored which aspects and features (if any) people valued at the Preston Market, and why these were important to them. The length of responses varied from one word to a few paragraphs. To analyse them themes were identified from an initial review of the responses and then applied. The themes identified in the social media posts were also considered in allocating themes to the survey responses.

The themes identified were:

- food and practicality (localness, accessibility)
- people and community
- cultural diversity
- atmosphere
- identity (collective and/or personal).

Shoppers' and stallholders' responses were analysed separately.



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## Memory

When asked ‘what is your favourite memory of Preston Market?’ (Q14) around half of all responses from the shoppers recalled past interactions with people at the market (50.7%), with over a third of these responses evoking memories involving family or friends in particular:

*“that’s when our friendship group started”*

*“Fruit and veg stallholders are like family”*

*“I ended up talking to half the market as they were curious as to what I was making. Love the community spirit and the blend of cultures”.*

Similarly, almost half of all responses (49.3%) associated memories of Preston Market with food, and many commented on the first time trying a type of food, the variety, freshness or value for money of the Market’s produce:

*“the first time I tried a canoli with fresh filling”*

*“Different clothing to purchase. I used to be able to buy dresses that no one else had.”.*

Just under a quarter of responses (23.3%) involved reminiscing about the cultural diversity of the Market, and included mentions of a blend or mix of cultures, different cultural observances such as Chinese New Year, and ‘hearing different languages being spoken’.

Some of the shoppers described the Market’s ‘atmosphere’ as their favourite memory and these descriptions varied from ‘energetic’ to ‘relaxed’, ‘cosmopolitan’ to ‘local’. Two respondents remembered simply ‘enjoying the atmosphere’, suggesting that the ambiance of Preston Market is unique to the place itself, and the community that frequents it.

The vast majority of responses evoked more than one theme; this response demonstrates the socially inclusive environment of the market:

*“I would like to share a memory of my Grandmothers. She lived in a Nursing home in Clifton Hill next to Rushall train station. She was in a motorised wheelchair after having a sever stroke and could only use one side of her body and as a result has severe speech impediment. Her “escape” from the Nursing home was to jump on the train (with the assistance of the driver) and get off at Preston Market, where she would be greeted by her favourite coffee shop owner who would prepare her cappuccino and assist her in paying. She would then proceed to look around the market and looking at the textile material as a former seamstress and enjoying the atmosphere. She did this for over 10 years until to unwell to continue the train trips. The ability to access a local market with friendly staff provides a deep social fabric that is sometimes/many times missing in urban areas. This was a cross-generational exchange and one that provided a social connection for what would have been a very socially isolating experience for my grandma. I think very fondly of Preston market for this reason and the people that work there.”*

### **“Friendly, vibrant, diverse”**

When asked ‘what three words’ they would use to describe the atmosphere at Preston Market (Q15), the vast majority of responses used words that reflected the people or community that frequent the market. The following adjectives were mentioned 88 times by shoppers, and by all but one (of four) stallholders:

- **‘friendly’** (and synonymous words including ‘inviting’, ‘community’, ‘communal’, ‘warm’, ‘polite’, ‘safe’, ‘welcoming’, ‘family’, ‘intimate’, ‘generous’)
- **‘multicultural’** (including ‘diverse’, ‘variety’, ‘colourful’, ‘eclectic’, ‘exotic’) with the culturally diverse atmosphere of the market being mentioned 32 times by shoppers and twice by stallholders
- **‘down to earth’** (including ‘casual’).

Words that clearly described the mood or tone of the place were mentioned 61 times by shoppers, and included:

- **‘bustle’** (including ‘vibrant’, ‘live’, ‘busy’, ‘chaotic’, ‘loud’, ‘crowded’)

- **‘authentic’** (including ‘nostalgic’, ‘predictable’, ‘wholesome’, ‘honest’)
- **‘relaxing’** (including ‘you don't feel like you're shopping’).

There were few negative responses: one example, is a shopper who described the Preston Market as “ruined, turning hipster, too much space with useless hipster stuff”. A ‘negative’ response from a stallholder described the Preston Market as “quiet, dull, not enough variety”.

***“It’s got everything here, there is no need to go anywhere else”***

When asked ‘what do you like most about Preston Market’ (Q 16) with a prompt that referred to ‘the space, stalls, location and culture, the majority of the shoppers (73.2%) gave answers that relate to the practicality and tangible features of the market.

- the variety, location, size, arrangements of seatings and other facilities, competitive costs and accessibility and convenience of the Market were often noted
- shoppers valued intangible aspects of the market such as their interactions with other people and the ‘sense of community’ at the Market (36.6%)
- the atmosphere or the ‘authentic’ ‘feel’ of the space (34.1%)
- the cultural diversity or cultural activities and interactions they experienced (28%).

One of the four stallholders picked their favourite feature as being the location and arrangements of stalls, another the cultural diversity, and two stallholders said they most like the people, stating that Preston Market is “a market for everyone”.

***‘Makes living further out of CBD feel much more like a community’***

A slightly different pattern emerged when the shoppers were asked ‘is Preston Market special to you’, and why or how it is special (Q18) with the broad themes being:

- food or other practical matters (38.5%) and the people and community (38.5%) were again identified as the most important
- personal or collective association with the Market (33.3%) was next most important.

The multi-generational memories as well as the fact that going to the Market has been a kind of ‘ritual’ or ‘tradition’ were the important factors that made the Preston Market special to those respondents.

A smaller percentage of shoppers considered the market to be special for them because of the cultural diversity (11.5%) and/or the atmosphere (21.8%).

Interestingly, words related to personal emotions or feelings (e.g. feel, sadness, love, laugh) appeared often in the responses to this question. Two stall holders said the people and community is what makes the Market special.

*“Yes. One of the few places I go in Darebin that makes me feel part of a community. It feels like it is for everyone and brings people together that would probably not mingle otherwise.”*

*“...For the old world feel of it. Preston Market and its people is the daggy Jewel of the North.”*

*“Preston Market is my mental health day out...it's not all closed in and plastic and false like shopping centres and supermarkets.”*

*“It's special because I have been coming here all my life with multiple generations of my family.”*

*“Yes, it is our pleasant Saturday ritual”.*

Three shoppers and one stallholder (4%) answered that the market is not special for them.

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### **The Heart of the North**

Asked if Preston Market is ‘the heart of the north’ and if so, in what ways, 81 people responded to this question (78 shoppers and 3 stallholders). Of these 69.1% said yes.

There was a strong appreciation (34.6%) of the Market as a community hub that encompasses all classes and demographic groups, a place where all types of people come together. Responses indicated that Preston Market ‘represent’, ‘typify’ or ‘embody’ what makes the area. 7.4% of respondents agreed that the Market is the heart of the north because of its authenticity, or because ‘there is nothing like it’.

*“It provides a genuine focus where people can gather to do something real. There is nothing more real than choosing good food for our families and friends”*

*“Customers from all walks of life. Stall holders, workers, customers representing all the migrant waves that have come through. Everyone mingles. Elderly people can gather and socialise, be part of the bustle of life. I can't say how much the Market means to me, and to the area.”*

*“it feels more like a town square where people gather and come together not just buy things.”*

*“A cultural hub and meeting place with a good sense of community”.*

Half of respondents explained that Preston Market could be considered as the centre of a smaller geographical location, labelling it the ‘heart of Darebin’ or of ‘Preston-Reservoir’.

*“either the market or Northland would be the heart of the north because they are places that everyone in the northern suburbs have been to”*

*“...Maybe heart of Darebin.”*

*“Probably not of the north. It's definitely the heart of Preston”*

### **Summing up**

The survey provides a significant body of information about who visits the market, how often and what is important to them about the market. The responses highlight that:

- market shoppers are predominantly local and visit regularly
- many have been shopping at the market for more than 25 years
- while shopping is the primary focus, more than 70% have a snack or meal and 46% go there to meet friends.

Preston Market is strongly recognised:

- **As a community place:** it is a place where people meet, exchange and socialise, and that creates a ‘community space’ within the local area for these informal connections to be made and maintained. There is a ‘sense of community’ at the market; it is a welcoming and inclusive place.
- **For its cultural diversity:** the market reflects the history and is a microcosm of contemporary community of Preston. It enables people to connect to their own food cultures as well as experience the cultures of others in an ‘authentic’ way.
- **Atmosphere:** Preston Market is seen as an alive, vibrant place, with the atmosphere linked closely to its cultural diversity and the ‘market’ form of shopping
- **Identity:** visiting Preston Market evokes positive memories, particularly of connecting with other people – family and friends – as well as interacting with stallholders. Some used the words ‘ritual’ and ‘tradition’ to encompass their sense of connection to the market

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## 4.6 Summary analysis

Based on the data reviewed in this Chapter the following summary of expressed connections is offered:

**Table 5. Summary of social values**

Indicator and theme	Market Crossings	2011 case study	Objections/VCAT	Social media	Survey
Importance to a community as a landmark, marker or signature: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• heart of the North</li><li>• localness</li><li>• a community signature</li></ul>	✓	✓			✓
Importance as a reference point in a community's identity: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• helps define this community</li><li>• continues cultural and social traditions</li><li>• Links the past to the present</li><li>• Represents important attitudes, beliefs and behaviours</li></ul>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Attachment developed from use and/or association <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Longevity as a place of meeting and exchange</li><li>• More than just a functional place</li><li>• Long tradition of community use</li></ul>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓



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## APPENDIX 1: THEMATIC FRAMEWORKS

### Victoria's Framework of Historical Themes

#### 1. Shaping Victoria's environment

The theme includes the evolution of the environment from a scientific point of view and Aboriginal people's traditions about how the land and its features were created. This theme also traces how our understanding and appreciation of the environment has changed over time:

- 1.1 Tracing climate and topographical change
- 1.2 Tracing the emergence of Victoria's plants and animals
- 1.3 Understanding scientifically diverse environments
- 1.4 Creation stories and defining country
- 1.5 Exploring, surveying and mapping
- 1.6 Living with natural processes
- 1.7 Appreciating and protecting Victoria's natural wonders

#### 2. Peopling Victoria's places and landscapes

This theme examines the people who occupied Victoria over tens of thousands of years and the waves of immigration since European settlement:

- 2.1 Living as Victoria's original inhabitants
- 2.2 Adapting to diverse environments
- 2.3 Arriving in a new land
- 2.4 Migrating and making a home
- 2.5 Maintaining distinctive cultures
- 2.6 Promoting settlement
- 2.7 Fighting for identity

#### 3. Connecting Victorians by transport and communications

This theme traces how early pathways often followed Aboriginal lines of travel and were later formalised as road and rail networks:

- 3.1 Establishing pathways
- 3.2 Travelling by water
- 3.3 Linking Victorians by rail
- 3.4 Linking Victorians by road in the twentieth century
- 3.5 Travelling by tram
- 3.6 Linking Victorians by air
- 3.7 Establishing and maintaining communications

#### 4. Transforming the land

This theme explores how occupation and use of the land, and exploitation of its natural resources, have transformed Victoria and shaped its diverse cultural landscapes:

- 4.1 Living off the land

- 
- 4.2 Living from the sea
  - 4.3 Grazing and raising livestock
  - 4.4 Farming
  - 4.5 Gold mining
  - 4.6 Exploiting other mineral, forest and water resources
  - 4.7 Transforming the land and waterways

## **5. Building Victoria's industries and workforce**

This theme explores how secondary and tertiary industries were developed in Victoria and examines the experiences of those who have worked in them:

- 5.1 Processing raw materials
- 5.2 Developing a manufacturing capacity
- 5.3 Marketing and retailing
- 5.4 Exhibiting Victoria's innovation and products
- 5.5 Banking and finance
- 5.6 Entertaining and socialising
- 5.7 Working

## **6. Building towns, cities and the garden state**

This theme focuses on the development of Victoria's cities, towns and suburbs, including the application of innovative planning ideas which contributed to Victoria's identity as the 'garden state':

- 6.1 Establishing Melbourne Town, Port Phillip District
- 6.2 Creating Melbourne
- 6.3 Shaping the suburbs
- 6.4 Making regional centres
- 6.5 Living in country towns
- 6.6 Marking significant phases in development of Victoria's settlements, towns and cities
- 6.7 Making homes for Victorians
- 6.8 Living on the fringes

## **7. Governing Victorians**

This theme focuses on the role of the State and its institutions in shaping the life of its citizens in all facets of life:

- 7.1 Developing institutions of self-government and democracy
- 7.2 Struggling for political rights
- 7.3 Maintaining law and order
- 7.4 Defending Victoria and Australia
- 7.5 Protecting Victoria's heritage

## **8. Building community life**

This theme covers the ways Victorians have built community life and institutions in a variety of forms and expressions:



- 
- 8.1 Maintaining spiritual life
  - 8.2 Educating people
  - 8.3 Providing health and welfare services
  - 8.4 Forming community organisations
  - 8.5 Preserving traditions and commemorating
  - 8.6 Marking the phases of life

## **9. Shaping cultural and creative life**

This theme displays Victoria's cultural life in its many facets:

- 9.1 Participating in sport and recreation
- 9.2 Nurturing a vibrant arts scene
- 9.3 Achieving distinction in the arts
- 9.4 Creating popular culture
- 9.5 Advancing knowledge in science and technology

## **Darebin Heritage Study, Thematic Environmental History**

### **1 Creating Darebin**

- 1.1 Geomorphology
- 1.2 Waterways
- 1.3 Flora and natural resources
- 1.4 Fauna
- 1.5 Woi wurrung creation stories

### **2 Peopling Darebin**

- 2.1 Living as Australia's earliest inhabitants
- 2.2 Migrating to seek opportunity
- 2.3 Promoting settlement

### **3 Transport and communications**

- 3.1 Establishing road routes
- 3.2 Travelling by train
- 3.3 Travelling by tram and bus
- 3.4 Developing bridge technology
- 3.5 Providing postal and telecommunication services

### **4 Developing Darebin's Economies**

- 4.1 Utilising natural resources
- 4.2 Noxious industries
- 4.3 Other manufacturing industries
- 4.4 Melbourne's water supply
- 4.5 Altering the environment
- 4.6 Retailing, hospitality and entertainment

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## **5 Building suburban Darebin**

5.1 Patterns of settlement

5.2 Creating early village settlements

5.3 Developing the suburban ideal

5.4 Supplying urban services

5.5 Creating public landscapes

## **6 Governing**

6.1 Government administration of Aboriginal people

6.2 Policing

6.3 Developing institutions of self-government and democracy

6.4 Defending Australia

## **7 Community and culture**

7.1 Worshipping

7.2 Educating

7.3 Establishing Institutions of mutual support

7.4 Providing Health and Welfare Services

7.5 Pursuing common leisure interests

7.6 Appreciating and defending the environment

7.7 Commemorating

## **8 Darebin's natural heritage**

8.1 Ecosystem values

8.2 Biodiversity values

8.3 Geo-diversity values

## APPENDIX 2: COLLECTED FACEBOOK POSTS

\* Names, ages or other demographic information of users were not collected but only the date posted and written expressions. These quotes are verbatim; spelling and grammar have not been altered.

### 100 posts from Facebook (2010-2014)

no	date	contents	keyword/s	keyword/s2
2010				
1	24/12/2010	Got to Preston market @ 6am with my sister for the annual xmas seafood feast, should have seen all the people when we left.	food	seafood
2	25/11/2010	Today we're beaming a markety, suburby vibe. Recommend you reflect on good ole community culture & values at the Preston Market.	experience	markety, suburby, community, culture, values
3	17/12/2010	Felt like Fish n Chips tonight so bad. So I went to Preston Market instead and bought a fresh Cray and Prawns instead...Yummy. Now I am full without all the fat!	food	fish n chips, seafood
4	24/12/2010	At Preston Market early this morning and have now made....seafood chowder; rice salad; trifle; pavlova; lobster thermidor; scallop potatoes and will now work on garlic prawns. NOT HUNGRY..it was easier to go to work!!!	food	seafood
5	16/10/2010	Mahal is in Preston Market doing meat and seafood shopping and I'm doing housework then go to Diana Ferrari for a big Saturday sale!!!	food	meat, seafood
6	15/09/2010	Mmmm Preston market pizza you peak:)	food	pizza
7	30/07/2010	just went to the preston market to get some fresh fish for dinner...sat down to have some lunch and was sooo enjoying until reef decided to projectile vomit all over me and our lunch..bloody kids...	food	fish, fresh, meal
8	30/12/2010	Is at preston market havin some fun hahaha	experience	fun
9	20/08/2010	always love Preston Market....affordable & mostly every-one speak English...!! (truly Australia Market).	shopping, atmosphere	affordable, multi-cultural, australian
10	22/09/2010	Feels like going overseas today but due to lack of funds and work il have to settle for 2nd best.. Think a visit to Preston market should fill the void haha	atmosphere	multi-cultural, exotic?
11	11/12/2010	At Preston market eating a hot jam donuts...YAAAAAM	food	hot jam donut
12	27/10/2010	went to northland to paid his bill and few shopped then came home....Then he wanted to go preston market to buy some meat... he came home it was goood fun to ride his scooter around...	shopping, food	meat
13	18/11/2010	: Going to Preston Market today, still looking for Ugg Boots. Also need to order new Dressy Shoes to go with my new evening dresses.	shopping, goods	ugg boots
14	2/07/2010	Who wanna go to preston market to have dinner? I got 1 h dinner break	food	meal
15	14/03/2010	Saturday, in preston market, a old man left his card in ATM. i noticed him, he said thanks to me. i think im a good man.	activity?	Saturday

no	date	contents	keyword/s	keyword/s2
16	21/04/2010	How much do i love thd Preston Market.....	appreciation	
17	18/08/2010	Typical Winter day today, wild wet and windy.. Just back from Preston Market and ate some HOT jam donuts, yummo, my appetite is back, and the old boy is due home again tonight, glad I didnt go to Cairns, would of only been there for 2 days. Always a reason why one doesnt go...	food	hot jam donut
18	19/01/2010	this is the recipe I use for my goat curry, which I purchase from the preston market.. its delicious, fragrant and tasty. for the record, I use a mortar and pestle, not a food processor.. but each to their own I just love the smells that come from the spices.	food	tasty, smells
19	25/06/2010	I love Preston Market	appreciation	
20	1/11/2010	anyone near preston market tonight?		
<b>2011</b>				
1	5/05/2011	goin to Preston Market today to get me some freshhhh oysters. mmmmm	food	fresh, seafood
2	16/06/2011	went to Preston Market to get some pizza and hello the market was on fire....the beautiful sign of Preston Market is going down....aniwai we still had da chance to get in and get our pizza....lolzzzz	food, event	pizza, sign of Preston Market
3	8/06/2011	Went to Preston Market today...didnt buy alot but i havent been there in such a long time. On my way out i saw the 'parking meter man' - then i saw 'ticket' sign....uh oh!...but then further down i saw first two hours free...so hopefully happy ending.	shopping, experience	parking
4	26/01/2011	Preston market is open for all us wogs today	experience	open
5	6/07/2011	'Tiff, i will go to preston market before coming... Do you need ginger and any chinese grocery?? btw i can buy you a live murray cod wahahahaa c u soon <3	good	grocery
6	22/06/2011	i never new Preston market could get soooooo boring!!!!!!	experience	boring
7	24/06/2011	good morning, went to visit my sister and she just got back from preston market with my mum and had a box of hot jam donuts....2 down and im happy :)	food	hot jam donut, family
8	12/05/2011	At preston market doing what me and dad used to do and thats have a slice of pizza ohh yeah old memories	food, memories	pizza, family
9	28/02/2011	Had a dream i met Bob Marley in Preston market last night, yaa mon!	memories	
10	24/06/2011	At preston market eating hot jam donuts in the car by myself! Hehe mmmm <3	food	hot jam donut
11	12/03/2011	Going to Preston market at 2pm was a bad idea I think	experience	peak hour
12	12/03/2011	Preston Market,so i can buy Povitica bread yummy!	food	bread
13	22/01/2011	now i have seen it all.. my mother is speaking macedonian to an asian meat salesman at preston	experience	multi-cultural



no	date	contents	keyword/s	keyword/s2
		market lmao.. and he is responding in maco aswell lol		
14	9/04/2011	Preston market is crazy on a saturday. Nearly got run over by grannies with their 4 wheeled stroller thingies... Yikes	experience	busy, Saturday
15	20/04/2011	At da Preston market tryna get a park, don't people work	experience	parking
16	26/05/2011	Headin 2 preston market 2 get more things 4 2day. Kidney Health day at VAHS 2day. Come along & learn about kidney health, free lunch provided. 12:00 - 1:30	shopping	health
17	21/05/2011	What a wanderouse place Preston market is. Saturday in the early afternoon the fruit and vegie traders practically throw away their produce rather than cart it back to the farm or wherever. Today I bought about 2kg of spuds for \$1 and a kilo of carrots \$1. I reckon I could get a weeks worth of vegies for a family with \$10. Rock on Preston market.	experience, shopping	Saturday, fruit, vegetable
18	28/05/2011	Preston Market too buy Povitica bread,please don't rain!	food	bread
19	20/04/2011	Went to Preston Market today! Wow I haven't been there in I don't know how long!! I'd forgotten all the hustle & bustle of the place & how cheap things are & all the fantastic foods from all the different countries!	experience	hustle, cheap, food, multi-cultural
20	11/06/2011	Off to Preston market to fill up the cupboards and get some lunch, maybe a little NA Noire and then a First Class/Super 8 double at the drive in. Not a bad way to spend a Saturday	shopping, food	Saturday, meal
<b>2012</b>				
1	16/04/2012	I come from Bendigo & love Preston Market. I tell all my friends to forget struggling to get The Vic Market because the Preston Market is so much more accessible being right next to the station.	experience	accessiblity
2	14/03/2012	Preston market is shocking for parking on a wednesday! Without fail every time i get into a verbal argument! Today i really wanted to slap this bitch!	experience	parking
3	19/04/2012	My boys and I love Preston Market - especially the pizza and jam donuts! Yum!!	food	pizza, hot jam donut, family
4	9/02/2012	Think i habe a little bit of a crush on preston market.... Just thought id put it out there	appreciation	
5	15/12/2012	Just got asked to leave Preston Market,our dog Butters is too pretty 4 Preston!!"	operation	pets not allowed?
6	12/03/2012	I love my Thursdays at the Preston Market. So nice to get fresh produce at a reasonable price, enjoy a coffee or sushi & catch up with friends.	shopping, experience	reasonable, fresh, coffee, sushi, friends
7	9/01/2012	After two weeks shopping on the peninsula at holiday prices I have a new found appreciation for our great Preston market.	shopping	affordability
8	12/09/2012	Preston market donuts. The best a man can get.	food	hot jam donut

no	date	contents	keyword/s	keyword/s2
9	22/04/2012	Preston Market is an awesome place to do weekly shopping and catch up with friends and family for coffee. My kids love the market, as soon as we park the car they can't wait to catch up with some of the market stall owners. The best thing about being a regular, you get to know the stall owners and can always have a good chat with them.	experience	regular, family, friends
10	31/03/2012	What the hell am I doing at preston market at 6 am	experience	
11	24/04/2012	Hey guys, does anyone know if you can get quinces at the Preston Market? I found a recipe for quince paste and am keen to give it a try.	shopping	grocery
12	30/05/2012	picked up some cannoli from preston market for dessert, delicious!	shopping	grocery
13	6/01/2012	Preston market pizza and doughnuts can't beat them	food	pizza, hot jam donut
14	3/03/2012	FOBs galore here at Preston Market aahhh yeaaaa i thought i was at Mangere Market LOL!! #wishfulthinking	experience	multi-cultural
15	11/08/2012	Awesome!!! Free wifi @ preston market! Lovin having lunch at bubblet chinese restaurant / take away: honey chicken, fried rice and singapore noodles !!!	experience, food	wi-fi, meal, multi-cultural
16	4/06/2012	just wanted to say hi, I'm a new fan and arrived to the city two months ago... we never miss a saturday morning in the preston market... we just love it...	appreciation	
17	30/08/2012	The BEST thing about shopping locally is that they think of you and keep the best aside for you - Preston Market today and our gorgeous fish mongers had kept some beautiful fish aside for us, very similar to Rock Flathead which has a blue/grey colour when it's raw, I can't remember what it's called, but it was Delicious!! (will find out and let you know) & they're the fish shop right on the corner facing the food court in the middle of the market! Love them!	food, shopping	fresh, fish, local
18	16/06/2012	Nuffin like seeing people fight over a parking spot at good ol Preston market!made my day a whole lot enjoyable.....	experience	parking
19	12/04/2012	I love the Preston market. My mum calls it 'the jewel of the North'! Best cannoli in Melbourne at Lucchini, spices at the D'Souza's, beauty products from Rosemary, and Sam from Sam and Sons always has the inside scoop on what fruit's the best each week. Love it!	appreciation, food	shops, family
20	6/10/2012	Preston Market for value, Vic Market for volume but South Melb market for pure coolness and fun	experience	value
<b>2013</b>				
1	16/11/2013	Loving the randomness of Preston Market	appreciation	randomness
2	12/07/2013	Staying here with the family over the school holidays? Head to the Preston Market for some food and facepainting, and then across the road to the Preston oval for a kick of the footy. Home ground to our Northern Blues Football Club.	food, events	family, food, facepainting

no	date	contents	keyword/s	keyword/s2
3	9/02/2013	We are Looking for chillies, we need a box of rocoto or habanero to make hot sauce - anything going at Preston Market?	food	
4	18/07/2013	Can someone let me know where and how I can get in contact with the place that does hair extentions at Preston Market as I am keen to get some done and I have been told that there is a place at the market that does hair extentions, thanks that would be greatly appreciated, Shelley x	shops	hair
5	24/12/2013	Just doing last christmas food shopping, I love preston market! I hope it stays here for a long time :)	appreciation	food, shopping
6	30/10/2013	Preston Market is the perfect place for 'Marrying Italian' - half the people there did just that. I've just been into Lucchini's and they're selling - had my coffee and cannolo and signed the remaining books - readers like them signed. And another Italian coffee shop in the market has offered to sell them. The market always was a favourite haunt of mine.	experience	multi-cultural, italian, food
7	1/02/2013	Hi I just recently moved down to Melbourne, Coburg. I discovered Preston Market 5 months ago. I would just like to say its a fantastic Market and we would love to have one of these Markets in Gold Coast. Unfortunately I cant say too much about the carpark. its a nightmare on saturdays. Some tips for customers.. Ocean Catch Seafoods (corner shop with the black signs) is in my opinion the best Seafood shop..always fresh and great customer service. Marios meat is best in my opinion and fruit, I troll around for best prices. Thanks. I will definintly be coming every week.	experience	parking, Saturday, seafood
8	22/11/2013	The smell of those hot jam donuts at Preston market 🐼 think I know what I'm getting for breaky 😊	food	smells, hot jam donut
9	22/06/2013	Quite chilly at the Preston Market this morning. I think I need a hot jam donut. :)	food	hot jam donut
10	20/07/2013	I love shopping at the Preston market all the people all the great food, today even indulged in a great taco with my coffee. Preston Market love it 🐼	experience, appreciation	people, food
11	19/02/2013	Preston market smells like dead fucking cats deadsett making me sick :/	experience	odour
12	23/12/2013	Preston market carpark is the worst place on earth. I'm going to beat up an Asian.	experience	parking
13	15/08/2013	To all my old school day friends ... you will relate to this ... So, I was walking through the Preston Market today while running some errands for my Dad. It's been about 10 years since my last visit to the market ... when all of a sudden, "Horror Movies" by Skyhooks is playing loadly on the market load speakers. I swear, I was taken back to our high school days and old stumping grounds ... perhaps our next reunion should be at Cramers! Oh, and I just drove past the Preston Library ... lucky for you all that I won't elaborate with more details !!!!	memories	friends

no	date	contents	keyword/s	keyword/s2
14	6/09/2013	preston market puts a smile on my face.the best market the best people best shops.go and enjoy yourself doing your shopping and then relax at my best friends coffee and cake shop ,cafe chocolate with your friends ,plus meet the coffee shops best servers ,which will look after you the way you want.love you all from mary.	appreciation	smile, shopping, friends, food
15	6/06/2013	hi, do you have buskers at Preston Market? If so, how do I go about applying to busk?	operation	busking
16	28/06/2013	Still smokin'. Back to Preston Market Saturday 8-3. Breakfast and Lunch covered, and an amazing market to see and do. Saturday=Preston Market!	experience, food	work, Saturday, meal
17	19/10/2013	Shopping at Preston market. I have already finished reading the Herald Sun but wife is still shopping	experience	shopping
18	5/01/2013	At Preston market, bloody busy and cheap here!! First time came to a market since I got to AUS! Lots of interesting vendors!	experience	cheap, busy
19	4/07/2013	Preston Market warms up for winter tomorrow and Saturday from 8am..come down for crispy skin pork belly pineapple and chilli rolls...for breakfast! Or Lunch...go for it!	food	Saturday, work, meal
20	4/07/2013	I dashed into Preston Market tonight and bought beautiful large scallops in their shells, prawns and some oysters. Seafood dinner. Yummy.	food	seafood
<b>2014</b>				
1	3/05/2014	Is it true I am not allowed to take photographs inside Preston Market? I just got told by a security guard this morning. I haven't seen any signs anywhere. Can management please clarify? I am a hobby photographer and love taking market pictures.	operation	Photography, policies
2	28/04/2014	Hi preston market. Would you know if there is a store that sells ugg boots/moccasins. I want that particular brand.	shops	ugg boots
3	23/04/2014	Hi I would like to say that your traders should be informed that you have Gift Vouchers, that can be used at any shop in the market. I felt like a criminal, trying to use one that was given to me. The lady at Preston market customer service was nice. But the shop selling me the items, acted like they were giving me the items for free. Should be thankful I used my voucher there!	operation	shops, vouchers
4	8/08/2014	nice and full after our Preston market feeds	experience	food
5	18/01/2014	Preston market at lunch time on a Saturday makes me want to self harm.	experience	Saturday

no	date	contents	keyword/s	keyword/s2
6	7/11/2014	Just went for a walk around Preston Market for the first time. Made me love this place even more. \$4.30 for a quarter pizza and a coke! Looks like I have a new Friday ritual. market my heart just opens and and life changes ..Go to our lovely market dont miss out what eever you need preston market has it all .Dont miss out or you will loose ,lovely entertainment ,nice things to buy the best in meats , fresh vegies and sit down to have your coffee ,and entertainment .dont miss out,preston market the best market in vic .lots of love from marie.	experience, appreciation, food	
7	17/07/2014	I am a Vietnamese man who is looking for a job at preston market. I can work whole week, included nights. Who can help me	operation	jobs
8	28/09/2014	Top 100 of Preston and Reservoir number 1: The Saigon breakfast at the Vietnamese cafe at the Preston Market. yum. Also, isn't it great that while in parts of Melbourne and Sydney the bigots have emerged from the woodwork following the government's terror propaganda, here in Preston and Reservoir we're all getting along just fine, as always	food, restaurant	
9	23/04/2014	My boss is greek, and we are now at the Preston market. What the fuck is going on	experience	multi-cultural
10	14/05/2014	Beautiful day to eat lunch outside at the Preston Market..	food	meal
11	10/07/2014	Preston Market always makes me smile. The people are pure entertainment!	appreciation	entertainment, people
12	19/06/2014	Love how the chick at Preston Market trying to sell me a gym membership is eating hot jam donuts!!!! You GO GIRL!!!	food, experience	hot jam donut
13	15/05/2014	I don't care what time it is I'm going to Preston market to get some hot jam donuts!	food	hot jam donut
14	23/05/2014	Sitting at Preston market with ally mates having breakfast before work	experrience, food	meal
15	4/09/2014	Anyone looking to set up their business? Well then Preston Market is the place to do just that!	oepration	business venue
16	9/01/2014	Casually just ate 4 jam donuts from Preston market!	food	hot jam donut
17	6/09/2014	Ernie Ferris sitting at Preston market for slice of pizza &scan of coca cola be at Aunty place very soon	food	pizza
18	17/12/2014	I love shopping here	shopping, appreciation	



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no	date	contents	keyword/s	keyword/s2
19	9/08/2014	Yummy brunch @ Preston Market.... So tender lamb and chickem curry, raita, fresh chilli, salad, daal, rice....mmm huh...everything you would need to have a nice time!	food	meal
20	4/05/2014	I just got some bad news, I go to the Preston Market for Bingo and as from last night it has closed for good. Not sure where to play now	events	bingo

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## APPENDIX 3: ONLINE AND ONSITE SURVEY QUESTIONS & RESPONSES

### ALL RESPONDENTS:

#### ***Q1 Are you a shopper or a stallholder?***

Answered: 99. Skipped: 0.

Answer options	No.	%
Shopper	94	95.0
Stallholder	5	5.0

### SHOPPERS:

#### ***Q2 What do you do at Preston Market?***

Answered: 92. Skipped: 7.

Answer options	No.	%
To shop for food	90	97.8
To meet friends	42	45.7
To shop for other goods	47	51.1
To have a snack or meal	67	72.8

#### ***Q3 What particular items do you shop for at the market, if any?***

Answered: 80. Skipped: 19.

Word mentioned	No.	%
Fruit and/or vegetables	50	62.5
Food	18	22.5
Fish	17	21.3
Coffee	16	20.0
Clothes	8	10.0
Deli items	5	6.3
Grains	3	3.7
Spices	3	3.7
Quality	2	2.5
Aldi	2	2.5

#### ***Q4 How often do you go to Preston Market?***

Answered: 92. Skipped: 7.

Answer options	No.	%
More than once a week	0	0.0
Once a week	68	73.9
Once a fortnight	11	12.0

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Answer options	No.	%
Once a month	5	5.4
A few times a year	3	3.3
Sporadically	5	5.4

**Q5 When did you first visit Preston Market?**

Answered: 92. Skipped: 7.

This was an open-ended question; for the purposes of displaying the data, responses have been grouped into answer options as in question 9.

Answer options	No.	%
Less than six months	6	6.5
Six months to one year	5	5.4
1 – 5 years	16	17.4
5 – 10 years	13	14.1
10 – 20 years	13	14.1
More than 20 years	39	42.4

**Q6 Do you shop at other markets?**

Answered: 92. Skipped: 7.

Answer options	No.	%
Yes	26	28.3
No, I don't shop at any other markets	66	71.7

**Q7 Which of the following markets do you regularly shop at? (tick all that apply to you)**

Answered: 26. Skipped: 73.

Answer options	No.	%
Queen Victoria Market	15	57.7
Prahran Market	1	3.9
Dandenong Market	2	7.7
Footscray Market	2	7.7
South Melbourne Market	11	42.3
Other	9	34.6

**STALLHOLDERS:**

**Q8 What is your role at Preston Market?**

Answered: 5. Skipped: 94.

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Answer options	No.	%
Stall owner	3	60.0
Stall employee	2	40.0
Other	0	0.0

**Q9 How long have you owned a stall or worked at Preston Market?**

Answered: 5. Skipped: 94.

Answer options	No.	%
Less than six months	1	20.0
Six months to one year	0	0.0
1 – 5 years	1	20.0
5 – 10 years	2	40.0
10 – 20 years	1	20.0
More than 20 years	0	0.0

**Q10 What do you do at the market apart from work in your stall? (tick all that apply to you)**

Answered: 5. Skipped: 94.

Answer options	No.	%
Meet friends	2	40.0
Shop for food	3	60.0
Have a snack or meal	2	40.0
Shop for other goods	2	40.0

**Q11 Do you have a stall or work at other market on a regular basis?**

Answered: 5. Skipped: 94.

Answer options	No.	%
Yes	2	40.0
No, I don't have a stall or work at any other market	3	60.0

**Q12 Which of the following markets do you have a stall or work at?(tick all that apply to you)**

Answered: 2. Skipped: 97.

Answer options	No.	%
Queen Victoria Market	0	0.0
Prahran Market	0	0.0
Dandenong Market	1	50.0
Footscray Market	0	0.0

Answer options	No.	%
South Melbourne Market	0.0	0.0
Other: "Caribbean Market"	1	50.0

## ALL RESPONDENTS:

### ***Q13 How do they compare to the Preston Market?***

Answered: 28. Skipped: 71.

Answer options	No.	%
Better	8	28.6
Same	13	46.4
Worse	7	25.0

### ***Q14 What is your favourite memory of Preston Market?***

Answered: 75. Skipped: 24.

This open-ended question yielded 75 responses. A selection of quotes from the responses is detailed in the table below:

<b>Shoppers</b>	<p>"Buying lots of meat to make own salamis"</p> <p>"the first time I tried a canoli with fresh filling"</p> <p>"Different clothing to purchase. I used to be able to buy dresses that no one else had."</p> <p>"Finding white cod roe after looking for it at Queen Vic and by internet."</p> <p>"Going to Preston market with my grandma as a child in the 1980s, buying food to prepare for Christmas and being overwhelmed at the festive busy atmosphere."</p> <p>"Fruit and vege stallholders are like family"</p> <p>"that's when our friendship group started"</p> <p>"I once bought things to make Passata. I ended up talking to half the market as they were curious as to what I was making. Love the community spirit and the blend of cultures"</p> <p>"friendly encounters across ages and cultures"</p> <p>"Speaking with an elderly man when sitting at the market who told me he'd been going there each week for decades"</p> <p>"Chinese New Year"</p> <p>"I've noticed more and more young people coming here. What I love the most is seeing young men today with their children"</p> <p>"Shopping in the deli section with my mum and hearing all the different languages being spoken."</p> <p>"so many different age groups and cultures represented."</p> <p>"The relaxed atmosphere and friendly shopping environment"</p> <p>"I enjoy a local, niche side of the market (ie the mix of European and Asian cultures &amp; products available; music performances &amp; family friendly atmosphere)"</p> <p>"the cosmopolitan atmosphere"</p>
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	<p>“the buzzing environment”</p> <p>“It’s a living memory”</p> <p>“meeting a girl there that ended up my better half”</p> <p>“Coming here as a little kid, childhood memories.”</p> <p>“My brother and I looked forward to come here all the time as a kid.”</p> <p>“Shopping for Christmas dinner, then having a coffee and excellent bombolini donut with my husband. He has died, so now I go every week with a friend of mine who was like a sister to him.”</p> <p>“Our children came to the market and now our grandchildren”</p>
<b>Stallholders</b>	<p>“Meeting new people”</p> <p>“I went into labour with my second child Used to have lines of customers waiting and needed staff to manage the traffic of people”</p>

***Q15 What three words would you choose to describe the atmosphere at Preston Market?***

Answered: 82. Skipped: 17.

This open-ended question yielded 82 responses. The most frequently mentioned words are detailed in the table below:

<b>Shoppers</b>	<p>Friendly (includes inviting, community, communal, warm, polite, safe, welcoming, family, intimate, generous) – 54 mentions</p> <p>Bustle (includes vibrant, live, busy, chaotic, loud, crowded) – 34 mentions</p> <p>Multicultural (includes diverse, variety, colourful, eclectic) – 29 mentions</p> <p>Authentic (includes nostalgic, predictable, wholesome, honest) – 9 mentions</p> <p>Relaxing (includes 'you don't feel like you're shopping') – 8 mentions</p> <p>Good (includes easy access) – 6 mentions</p> <p>Local (includes Preston, grassroots) – 6 mentions</p> <p>Down to earth (includes casual) – 5 mentions</p>
<b>Stallholders</b>	<p>Friendly (includes inclusive) – 3 mentions</p> <p>Multicultural (includes diverse) – 2 mentions</p> <p>Growing every week – 1 mention</p>

***Q16 What do you like most about Preston Market? (Please think about the space, the stalls the location, the culture or anything else)***

Answered: 86. Skipped: 13.

This open-ended question yielded 86 responses. A selection of quotes from the responses is detailed in the table below:

<b>Shoppers</b>	<p>“Has everything you need in a compact site. Freshness of goods, interesting range. relaxed friendly shopping.”</p> <p>“The variety of produce - you can pretty much find anything you need or want.”</p> <p>“Truly competitive prices in fresh products”</p> <p>“It's got everything here, there is no need to go anywhere else”</p>
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	<p>“Range of food, seafood, vege, fresh product, different hot food...”</p> <p>“Compact, but has everything”</p> <p>“plenty of room and seating”</p> <p>“You can find the toilets easily because there are a lot of them”</p> <p>“You just know everybody”</p> <p>“...running into our local friends.”</p> <p>“central meeting place for locals. instead of 'meet under the clocks' at flinders street, we say 'meet at the market”</p> <p>“The community meeting place feel and the fact that it feels more like a public shared space than a place you have to buy what you need and hurry out of.”</p> <p>“It is centre of the community. One of the few places everyone gets mixed.”</p> <p>“Everybody is happy and all kinds of people are at the market.”</p> <p>“The delis and stalls selling authentic items from different parts of the world- Italian, middle European, India, Asia, Pacific Islands.”</p> <p>“the world is in the market”</p> <p>“...all kinds of people are at the market. Very international, different languages everywhere.”</p> <p>“Great mix of cultures sharing their best: produce, celebrations, knowledge and experience.”</p> <p>“There are lots of nationalities but we are all the same”</p> <p>“... "lived-in" feel. A bit old-fashioned and no slickness. Markets need a bit of mystery, quirkiness and a human Face-to -face shopping experience. Genuine vendors who have a connection to the goods they sell and are willing to share and bargain. Any grunge factor should be kept.”</p> <p>“its authentic”</p> <p>“I love the open spaces”</p> <p>“The working/middle class aesthetic, with a sprinkle of hipster”</p> <p>“It's a "flat market", not a plaza.”</p>
<b>Stallholders</b>	<p>“how there are stores as well as stands and just general location”</p> <p>“it's a market for everyone”</p> <p>“Different types of people that come here and work here.”</p> <p>“Different cultures I have met through my times at Preston Market.”</p>

***Q18 Is Preston Market special to you? If so, why is it special?***

Answered: 82. Skipped: 17.

This open-ended question yielded 82 responses. A selection of quotes from the responses is detailed in the table below:

<b>Shoppers</b>	<p>“Important for the community to have affordable and good quality fresh food options”</p> <p>“Yes. One stop shop in the north Great quality produce – affordable”</p> <p>“Yes, fresh &amp; cheap, closer to where I live”</p> <p>“for excellent well-priced varied great food ingredients, many I can't get elsewhere”</p>
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	<p>“Yes. One of the few places I go in Darebin that makes me feel part of a community. It feels like it is for everyone and brings people together that would probably not mingle otherwise.”</p> <p>“Very very special to me. For community, tradition, for excellent well-priced varied great food ingredient”</p> <p>“a central hub that celebrates a community of diverse cultural backgrounds”</p> <p>“makes living further out of CBD feel much more like a community”</p> <p>“It really is the heart of the north. It very nicely encompasses Preston's cultural heritage and modern diversity.”</p> <p>“Yes, because it is close and offers lots of Asian food/vegies/ingredients”</p> <p>“friendly and human scale.”</p> <p>“It is an oasis in the midst of mass retail shopping”</p> <p>“...For the old world feel of it. Preston Market and its people is the daggy Jewel of the North.”</p> <p>“Preston Market is my mental health day out...it's not all closed in and plastic and false like shopping centres and supermarkets.”</p> <p>“I like the Preston Market is a bit scruffy, but friendly and with a lot of character.”</p> <p>“It makes me feel home (France)”</p> <p>“It's special because I have been coming here all my life with multiple generations of my family.”</p> <p>“Yes, I have grown up with it.”</p> <p>“Used to come here with dad, it was a family thing.”</p> <p>“Yes! It's been a part of our family's life for 27 years”</p> <p>“Memories of times spent at the Preston Market with my mum (as an adult) at the Preston Market mean a lot to me especially as she is deceased.”</p> <p>“I came with my family and now with my husband and baby.”</p> <p>“Yes, it is our pleasant Saturday ritual”</p> <p>“Yes because it helps me connect to my heritage and roots”</p>
<b>Stallholders</b>	<p>“Yes, because I have been here a long time and met a lot of people.”</p> <p>“They are all good friendly people”</p>

***Q19 Do you think Preston Market is ‘the heart of the north’? If so, in what ways is it ‘the heart of the north’?***

Answered: 81. Skipped: 18.

This open-ended question yielded 81 responses, with 56 respondents agreeing with the statement, 12 in disagreement and 6 that were uncertain. A selection of quotes from the responses is detailed in the table below:

<b>Shoppers</b>	Yes	<p>“It is certainly a big benefit of what makes living in Preston great”</p> <p>“It has atmosphere, vitality and humility mixed in with commerce and trading - unlike sterilized shopping malls like northland”</p> <p>“It provides a genuine focus where people can gather to do something real. There is nothing more real than choosing good food for our families and friends”</p>
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		<p>"People speak about the market "authentic", it is a real local market, not a tourist attraction."</p> <p>"Customers from all walks of life. Stall holders, workers, customers representing all the migrant waves that have come through. Every one mingles. Elderly people can gather and socialise, be part of the bustle of life. I can't say how much the Market means to me, and to the area."</p> <p>"Yes, brings the Darebin community together. Provides a meeting place, represents lots of difficult cultural groups and activities."</p> <p>"it feels more like a town square where people gather and come together not just buy things."</p> <p>"...there is a shared history here in which a lot of pride and personal histories are embedded."</p> <p>"It welcomes and brings together a diverse community."</p> <p>"A cultural hub and meeting place with a good sense of community."</p> <p>"Definitely it is the heart of Preston"</p> <p>"As far as market goes, absolutely."</p>
	No	<p>"I don't think it's the 'heart' of the north. There's nothing there but the stalls. I personally don't use the market as a meeting or gathering place. I go to shop and then I leave."</p> <p>"no, is too young"</p> <p>"I wouldn't call it the "heart of the north"."</p>
	May be	<p>"either the market or Northland would be the heart of the north because they are places that everyone in the northern suburbs have been to"</p> <p>"It could be if it doesn't become a giant apartment tower"</p> <p>"...Maybe heart of Darebin."</p> <p>"Probably not of the north. It's definitely the heart of Preston"</p> <p>"It was, once ago."</p>
<b>Stallholders</b>	Yes	<p>"I'd have to agree with this. People travel to come here, sometimes from quite a long way away."</p> <p>"Yes I do because it's been around a long time."</p>

#### **Q20 Where do you live?**

Answered: 87. Skipped: 12.

<b>Suburb</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>
Preston	33	
Reservoir	19	
Coburg (includes North & East)	6	
Thornbury	5	
Heidelberg	4	
Diamond Creek	2	
Northcote	2	
Eltham	1	
Ivanhoe	1	
Bellfield	1	
Elwood	1	

Suburb	No.	%
South Morang, Bundoora	1	
Mill Park	1	
Thomastown	1	
Rosanna	1	
Fairfield	1	
Kingsbury	1	
Blackburn	1	
Doncaster	1	
Dandenong	1	
Ringwood	1	
Diggers Rest	1	
Greensborough	1	
Highett	1	

**Q21 What is your age?**

Answered: 87. Skipped: 12.

Answer options	No.	%
Under 16	0	0.0
16 – 19	0	0.0
20 – 24	2	2.3
25 – 34	19	21.8
35 – 44	25	28.7
45 – 54	13	14.9
55 – 64	15	17.2
65 – 74	10	11.5
75 or over	3	3.5

**Q22 Do you speak a language other than English at home?**

Answered: 87. Skipped: 12.

Answer options	No.	%
No	60	69.0
Yes Responses included: Italian – 7 Spanish – 5 Chinese – 3 Greek – 2 Auslan, Macedonian, French, Bosnian, Sinhalese, Yugoslavian, Maltese, Arabic, Salvanian, Albanian, Thai – 1	27	31.0



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***Q23 Would you like to be kept informed about the heritage study?***

Answered: 90. Skipped: 9.

Answer options	No.	%
Yes	40	44.4
No	50	55.6

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## APPENDIX 4: LAND TITLE CERTIFICATES

A search of historic land title certificates dated from the 1960s to the early 2000s was undertaken at the Public Records Office Victoria to investigate the former land ownerships and proprietors of the Preston Market and the Market Hall. The key findings from this research were:

- In 1964, real estate agency Johnson & Sons Pty Ltd (based at 44 Derby Street, Collingwood) bought the commercial, residential and industrial allotments on the west and east of Mary Street between Murray Road and Cramer Street (all that extent coloured in pink and green on the plan below).
- In August 1964, Johnson & Sons subdivided the combined piece of land to create 39 commercial allotments (reg. no.: Vol. 8545 Fol. 057-095) and internal roadways including The Strand, The Centreway, Cook and Earle streets (see plan below).
- The subdivided lots were open for purchase by individuals and merchants between 1964 and 1973.
- Preston Market Pty Ltd became the registered proprietor of all the unsold lots on 18 April 1973. Some of the lots sold between 1964 and 1973 had been transferred to Preston Market Pty Ltd by 1977.
- The Lots 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 & 15 remained in independent ownerships until today.
- The current extent of the land at the Market Hall has never been owned neither by the Johnson & Sons Pty Ltd nor Preston Market Pty Ltd. A T Whittenbury and Co Pty Ltd (at 10 Creamer Street, Preston) purchased all that allotments to form the land currently addressed 22-26 Cramer Street.

The following lists consequential ownerships of the subject lands and the date of the legal transfers.

### **1. Allotments purchased by the Preston Market Pty Ltd**

- Pre-1973: various individual owners/remainers in Johnson & Sons' ownership
- Preston Market Pty Ltd (varied dates – between 18/4/73 and 24/5/77)
- The equity Trustees Executors and Agency Company Limited (18/2/77)
- Perpetual Trustee Company Limited (21/6/85)
- Avram Hotels Pty Ltd (28/7/87)
- CITAC Holdings Pty Ltd (3/3/89)
- Danam Pty Ltd (14/8/89)
- Perpetual Nominees Limited (11/5/01 – noted as transfer of mortgage)

### **2. Allotments with independent ownerships**

#### **2.1 Lot 1 (Vol. 8545 Fol. 057)**

- MC Mullin Nominees Proprietary Limited (23/3/67)
- Rosalbino Mazzei & Carmensita Mazzei (21/2/73).

#### **2.2 Lot 3 (Vol. 8545 Fol. 059)**

- Jefferey's Snappy Service Dry Cleaners Pty Ltd (12/9/69)
- Bernard Keith Raymond & Barbara Anne Raymond (13/4/73)
- Nick Meros & Argyroula Meros (9/9/96)

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**2.3 Lot 7 (Vol. 8545 Fol. 063)**

- Jillian Anita Cobcroft (3/6/65)
- Beaufoy Pty Ltd (27/4/71)
- TAB Superannuation Pty Ltd (9/1/78)
- Totalizator Agency Board of (16/1/87)
- Tabcorp Assets Pty Ltd (29/9/94)
- John Henry Badewitz, Helen Mary & Frederick Crews (31/3/00)
- Subdivision by current owner Padds Holdings Pty Ltd (2/1/92)

**2.4 Lot 8 (Vol. 8545 Fol. 060)**

- Jillian Anita Cobcroft (3/6/65)
- Beaufoy Pty Ltd (27/4/71)
- TAB Superannuation Pty Ltd (9/1/78)
- Helen Mary & Frederick Crews (11/1/85)
- Subdivision by current owner Padds Holdings Pty Ltd (2/1/92)

**2.5 Lot 9 (Vol. 8545 Fol. 061)**

- Dickins Investments Pty Ltd (19/5/65)
- G J Coles and Company Ltd (8/8/69)
- 41<sup>st</sup> Oliver Branchy Pty Ltd (31/3/87)
- Circon Pty Ltd (16/9/93)
- Jalbern Pty Ltd (11/10/99)

**2.6 Lot 10 & 11 (Vol.8545 Fol.062-3, later Vol.10050 Fol.256)**

- Cumberland Textile Mills Pty Ltd (10/9/65)
- Padds Holding Pty Ltd (18/11/80, later subdivision: 20/1/92)

**2.7 Lot 15 (Vol. 8545 Fol. 067)**

- Domenico Mazzei (Fruiterer) and Violetta Mazzei were proprietors since 17/12/69
- Subdivision date unknown – after 2001
- Current proprietor is R & C Mazzei Nominees Pty Ltd

**3. Market Hall Proprietors**

- A T Whittenbury & Co Pty Ltd (13/6/73)
- Vulkan Pty Ltd (20/12/99)
- Subdivided into lots 1-10 (29/6/04)
- Preston Market Developments Pty Ltd (21/7/05)

