Title: What you Lookin' At?:
An Archaeological Analysis of Graffiti and Inscription at Fremantle Prison, Western Australia

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In partial completion of BA Honours Archaeology, 2015

Supervisors Sven Ouzman and Sean Winter

Declaration

This dissertation contains no material which has been accepted for any award of any other degree of diploma in any University, and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the dissertation.

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Abstract

Archaeological analysis of graffiti and inscription at Fremantle Prison investigates the relationship between space and people following previous studies of places of confinement. Graffiti offers testament to prisons being about people, furthermore, graffiti as an indicator of the inmate experience is a contributing element to the significance of Fremantle Prison as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. This dissertation presents the process of academic research and fieldwork that has informed investigation of how inmates experienced and negotiated confinement at Fremantle Prison through the lens of an archaeological analysis of their graffiti and inscriptions. An archaeological analysis of inscription at Fremantle Prison approaches graffiti and other marks as artefacts to be mapped categorised, dated and contextualised, using a hybrid of rock art and historical archaeology methodologies. It addresses how graffiti was used by prisoners as a means for expression and messaging and how this reflects inmate coping strategies. Results determined there is a relationship between graffiti typology and spatial positioning of graffiti within the cells and yards that indicate prisoners constructed and utilised public and private space within the prison to.re-map space as a means for coping with the strictures of institutional life. Employing an archaeological perspective allows graffiti to be read as ‘text as material culture’ and as a primary evidence of inmate’s experience and negotiation of confinement.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

When entering Fremantle Prison through the main gate, (Figure 1.1) the physicality of the heavy gates and high stone walls convey a sense of ominous portent that for prisoners must have been all too real. What one finds within these walls is a plethora of inscription. The most obvious is administrative, dictatorial signage demarcating a landscape of order and control. Once inside the prison cells it is clear that these cramped, hot and dirty living quarters once housed a variety of men, whose names and personal histories mark the walls.

Figure 1.1 The main gate to Fremantle Prison, facing east.

Figure 1.2 Maps showing the location of Fremantle Prison and Perth, Western Australia.

Sources: Fremantle conservation management plan 2010 and www bom.gov.au

The historic site of Fremantle Prison overlooks the port of Fremantle, which is situated 19km from Perth, Western Australia (shown in figure 1.2). Built by convict labour, Fremantle Prison operated as the state's maximum security prison, housing inmates from 1855 – 1991. The prison is listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site and is currently open to the public as tourist attraction and museum space. This dissertation presents fieldwork and research that informed analysis of Fremantle Prison's inmate graffiti. This is followed by results and discussion of graffiti motifs and their spatial context within the prison. Building off previous studies of graffiti from Fremantle Prison (Casella 2009; Palmer 1997) this project took a systematic approach to recording and assessment of all marks, which yielded an abundance of data. Possible discussion afforded by the plethora of graffiti and it's variables within the data collected for this project is beyond the scope of this dissertation. As such, the focus of this study is a spatial analysis of various inscriptions within 11 cells and 1 yard space. The temporal parameters set for analysis of graffiti from division 2 of The Main Cell Block (men's prison) are restricted to 1970 - 1991 when the site ceased to function as a working prison. Data from trial field recording of graffiti in the women's prison carried out by myself and my team of volunteers, has not been included in this

dissertation as the women's prison ceased to house female prisoners in 1971 and did not yield a data set that would be comparable to the disproportionately large amount of graffiti in the men's prison. Archaeological analysis of inscription at Fremantle Prison approaches graffiti and other marks as artefacts to be mapped categorised, dated and contextualised, using a hybrid of rock art and historical archaeology methodologies to investigate inmate's experiences of confinement.

Thesis statement

This archaeological analysis of inscription at Fremantle Prison approaches graffiti and other marks as artefacts to be mapped categorised, dated and contextualised, by combining rock art and historical archaeology methodologies. This archaeological perspective allows graffiti to be understood as 'text as material culture' and as primary evidence of inmate's and other prison inhabitant's experience and negotiation of confinement.

Aim

My aim is to address how graffiti was made and used as a means of expression and messaging by inmates at Fremantle Prison. This includes determining if inscription of space was used by inmates to cope with physical and social confinement. This aim includes contextualising prison spaces in relation to contrasting constructions of public and private places and understanding how making graffiti re-maps the prison's 'public' and 'private' spaces.

I proposed to achieve my research aim via five methodological objectives:

Objectives

1. Construct a typology of Fremantle Prison inscriptions, to include categories like: written and pictorial 'graffiti', and expanded upon these primary classifications to allow both quantitative and qualitative interpretation of the motifs under analysis.

2. Identify the functions of different kinds of inscriptions in reference to their typology.

3. Create a vista of visibility as per the gaze of the guards to determine whether there is a correlation between the types of inscription and their placement.

4. Conduct archival and literary research to further contextualise Fremantle Prison's inscriptions.

5. Employ archaeological approaches to ascertain temporal contexts for graffiti and other inscriptions.

Definition of key terms:

The following 7 key terms are integral to my research and require definition respective to both the discipline of archaeology and the socio-spatial context of Fremantle Prison.

Confinement:

The OED (2014) defines confinement as the condition of being confined, imprisoned or 'limited to certain conditions'. Confinement in prison is currently the most common

form of incapacitation or containment of an individual judged to be a threat to society (Lanier and Henry 2010:76). Confinement at Fremantle Prison took the form of both cellular confinement (where one or two men occupied a small locked space) and congregate confinement (where around 150 men were confined as a group in the exercise yards) (Bavin 1994:41-42, 246). As such, the term 'confinement' is used to mean both physical and social containment and exclusion from the broader community, family and friends within contexts not of an individual's choosing.

Coping strategies:

'Coping strategies' is used in reference to individuals' responses to the experience of being incarcerated. Coping can be thought of as the way in which people apply action in response to stressful events (Zamble and Porporino 1990:54). Following Mohino et al (2004:41) I use Lazarus and Folkman's (1984:141) definition of coping as 'constantly changing cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of a person'.

Mitigation of stress and means for coping are interrelated, thus coping strategies are both created and bound by environmental context.

Graffiti:

Definitions of 'graffiti' abound, they often begin with the literal translation from the Italian graffiare, 'to scratch' where graffiti and singular graffito are 'little scratchings' and the Greek graphein 'to write' (e.g. Forster et al 2012:45;Ouzman 2010:2;Abel and Buckley 1977: 3). Whether discussing graffiti's antiquity in ancient Greek and Roman times or graffiti in contemporary contexts, graffiti can be characterised by its illicit

nature, the propensity for its use to appropriate space and as testimony of identity (see Forster et al 2012:45;Merrill 2011:63;Ouzman 2010:2;Young 2010:100; Frederick 2009:212;Abel and Buckley 1977:4). Most of these definitions are fluid yet bound by context (e.g. Feni 2012:74). Thus, for the purposes of this study I am drawn to Ferrell's (1993:168) articulation of what graffiti is and is not: *'Graffiti is not an abstraction driven by the concept of style, or the force of aesthetics; it is a collective activity constructed out of the practical aesthetics of its writers'.* This conceptualisation of graffiti is in keeping with a pragmatic archaeological approach that views semiotics from a Peircian perspective whereby 'signs function not only to represent social reality, but also to create it and effect changes in that reality' (Preucel 2006:249)

Inscription:

Inscription at Fremantle prison takes both the literal form of delineated writing or marks made in or on something (OED 2014) and figurative inscription whereby negotiations between the body and space result in place-making and performance of identity and power.

Public /Private:

The concept of public vs. private contexts in which art forms are represented informs assessment of differentiation of social contexts relating to who was viewing the art and what social messaging processes were taking place (McDonald and Veth 2006:102). The social context of Fremantle Prison is one of discipline and surveillance. Within places of enforced confinement ‘inspection functions ceaselessly’ (Foucault 2008:195) and the panoptic gaze demands a reconceptualization of what is

'private' and 'public'. Thus ‘privacy’ is a construct, where space is less visible, rather than privacy proper, where an individual is free from observation and scrutiny.

Total institution:

The physical and social context of Fremantle Prison situates it within the encompassing tendencies that fulfil criteria within Goffman's (1968) definition of 'total institutions'. Specifically, Goffman's characterisation of total institutions as *'symbolised by the barrier to social intercourse with the outside and to departure that is often built right into the physical plant, such as locked doors, high walls [and] barbed wire*' (Goffman 1968:15-16). Individuals bound within the culture of total institutions such as jails, which are organised with the intention of protecting the community against those sequestered, are divided into two distinct categories (Goffman 1968:18). These are- inmates, who constitute the large, managed population that reside within the institutional confines and have restricted contact with the world beyond the walls. The second category consists of, a small group of supervisory staff who are employed as agents of surveillance and order, whose social lives extend into the outside world (Goffman 1968:18). The social and cultural division between staff and inmate is an implication of the bureaucratic administration of large blocks of people (Goffman 1968:20).

Significance:

Fremantle Prison has been a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 2010 (UNESCO 2014) and is in constant need of archaeological research and management; with the former informing the later. The University of Western Australia (UWA) has been

involved at Fremantle Prison through Eureka Archaeological Research and Consulting since 2005. With the demise of Eureka in 2013, heritage management work has been incorporated into a MoU between UWA Archaeology and the Prison signed in December, 2013 (Winter pers com 2014). Such work includes analysis of underfloor deposits carried out by Mein (2012). Current projects include a five year research project headed by Sean Winter which has included excavation of the old bathhouse site as part of archaeology fieldwork training for students, and Thomas Whitley's 3D immersive model of Fremantle Prison.

Over 25 years ago, recommendations for conservation, directed to the Fremantle Prison Trust Advisory Committee by architectural historian J.S Kerr on behalf of the Department of Contract and Management Services, clearly states the significance of graffiti and official marks (such as signs and notices) as an integral part of the prison's fabric. For example, Policies 14.1 to 15.2 place recording and conservation of these inscriptions as keystone activities (Kerr 1998:17). Policy 14.3 suggests *'The criteria for assessment (of 'inventory and significance' of graffiti and murals: policy 14.2) should be based on the ability of the work to help explain attitudes and beliefs of prisoners and staff, and of the contribution made to the atmosphere and character of the place, as well as on conventional artistic and literary qualities.'* (Kerr 1998:17) The importance of graffiti as an indicator of the inmate experience is noted by Kerr (1998:6) as a contributing element to the significance of the World Heritage site (UNESCO 2014). Historian, Palmer (1997:107) cites and supports Kerr's (1992) concern that written text not perceived as 'legitimate' is at risk of being lost. However, unlike conservation of other historical structures, curatorial interest in the conservation and presentation of historic prisons has shown little concern for indicators of how inmates effected their physical environment (Wilson 2008). Thus, to

a certain extent the relationship between the inhabitants and the place as mediated by an admittedly feral category of artefact (graffiti), has been ignored. There is a focus on Fremantle Prison's 'art' (Wilson 1992), which consists of sanctioned murals and socially palatable drawings or paintings presented in the prison's Art Tour, see Figure 1.3. This art powerfully showcases inmate creativity but is shown in isolation from the other kinds of inscriptions inmates and guards made. This results in a skewed presentation of the prison's inscribed landscape and people's experiences of it.

Figure 1.3 'Artists cell' Fremantle Prison, division 2, ground floor.

At other historic jails, with the exception of Adelaide Jail (Agutter 2013) and Melbourne City Watch House (Wilson 2008) it is the norm for authorities responsible for decommissioned prisons to either ignore or efface graffiti (Wilson 2008). Yet graffiti provides primary testimonial evidence inscribed within the built fabric of institutional places, (Casella 2007; Casella 2009). Encouragingly, there is a growing trend in archaeological scholarship and heritage management practice (see, for example, the graffiti theme section of the June 2014 issue of Australian Archaeology) to investigation of ways in which graffiti speaks directly for people, especially those who are disempowered or marginalised. Thus, analysis of Fremantle Prison's graffiti

provides insight into the personal experience of prison inmates and employees that is not typically recorded in official histories. The idea that graffiti offers testament to prisons being 'about people' (Palmer 1997; Wilson 1992) is not new, though it remains a nascent field with only episodic rather than sustained investigation. Building on Daniel Palmer's (1997) reading of Fremantle Prison graffiti, as 'subtext beneath the 'official history' of the site' (Palmer Research file 41a:2) archaeological investigation of inscription at Fremantle Prison provides a more specific understanding of inmate's experiences of confinement. Attention to typologies and their placement, reveals more than a signature of defiance within an unequal power structure, an approach that has received scholarly attention (See Casella 20-

07; Casella 2009; Halsey 2002; Palmer 1997; Wilson 2008a; Wilson; 2008b; Wilson 2008c; 2008d).

Evidence of deterioration

Although precise dates may not be determined by the degree of fading of motifs, relative dates, or at least the sequence of inscription of motifs may be determined by the amount of fading of a particular motif in relation to others within the same site. Evidence of fading is undeniable when comparing photographs of motifs from 1991 to photographs of the same motifs taken in 2014. These comparison photographs also shed light on the condition of other motifs that do not have comparable photos from 1991. The faded appearance that may have been interpreted as ‘evidence of removal’ (this may also be the case in some motifs) is in fact due to fading. The orange/red pigment of some motifs such as motif 3 from site 10 shown in Figure 1.4

was most likely, originally black in colour. Not only does this highlight the need for documentation and or, preservation of these vulnerable inscriptions but also indicates that the recorded colours may not be representative of the appearance (colour) of motifs at the time they were made. Site10 cell (D65) has a number of poems, statements and stories,(some of which surround motif 3 in Figure 1.5) all cathartic in nature, that on first glance one might think were made as messages to people who might see them after the prisons closure. However the faded red poems and stories were almost certainly made some time prior to those in site10 (D65) that are black, bold and easy to read.

Figure 1.4 Faded motif from site 10 cell (D65) motif 3 (man's head and text) photographed in 2014.

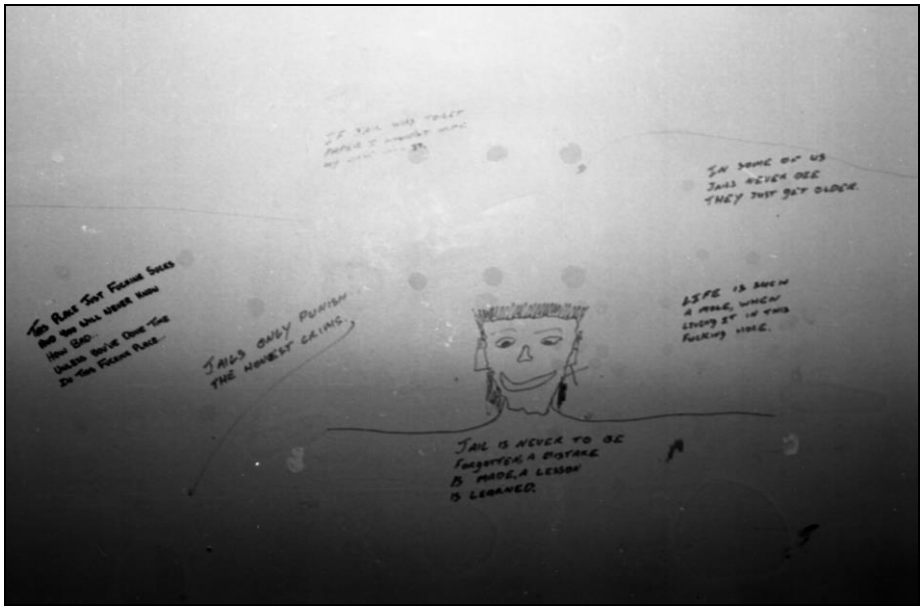


Figure 1.5 Motifs from site 10 cell (D65) including motif 3 (man's head and text) photographed in 1991. Source: Fremantle Prison archive.

Ethics

I have not interviewed any prisoners, guards or the like to avoid transgressing the ethical parameters I have set for this project. Of the 1,500 plus, photographs taken of panels and motifs, a large number contain identifiers of individuals and content which has the potential to incriminate or embarrass these people, many of whom would be alive today. As such, I have not supplied photographs other than those illustrating this dissertation, and names or other personal identifiers have been obscured in these photos. Appendix 2 contains scanned copies of all recording forms relevant to this dissertation and has been supplied for marking purposes only. However, photographs and transcripts of motif (text and drawing) details can be made available on request, pending ethics approval.

Chapter 2: Background

This chapter situates Fremantle Prison temporally and culturally and discusses the history and application of graffiti studies to archaeological and other discourses.

History of Fremantle Prison

The convict system in Western Australia has been labelled as a post-script to convictism and, unlike convict places in the Eastern States of Australia, convict history in Western Australia according to Millett (2003:10) has gone *'almost entirely unexplored'*. In light of contemporary scholarship (see Winter 2013; Gibbs 2001; Bavin 1994) this is somewhat of an overstatement.

Fremantle Prison is listed as one of eleven complementary UNESCO World Heritage Sites under the 'Australian Convict Sites' National Heritage list of July 2010. Fremantle Prison was the central feature of the physical landscape of reform, control and punishment of convicts within the penal system in Western Australia, '*around which a system of smaller regional convict depots operated'* (Winter 2013:57). Reform of the criminal class was the priority, a feature that exemplifies the way in which Western Australia enacted a specific form of convictism tailored to the needs of The Swan River Colony. The Western Australian penal system differed to its counterparts in other parts of Australia. In 1829 Western Australia was settled as a free colony and operated as a penal colony from 1850 in response to the struggling colony's need for a labour force and increased capitol (see Winter 2013; Gibbs 2001; Bavin 1994). Fremantle prison was built by convict labour

between 1852-1859 and prisoners were first moved to the main cell block in 1855 (Kerr 1998:4). Fremantle Prison was used to accommodate and 'process newly arrived convicts before they received ticket of leave' (Winter 2013:57). During the second phase of the penal system in The Swan River Colony (1857-1862), Fremantle Prison was used more as a place of punishment due to the increase in the number of probation convicts and a lower number of ticket-of-leave men, who constituted the majority of the labour force at this time (see Winter 2013; Millett 2007; Gibbs 2001). In 1886 Fremantle Prison became the main colonial prison housing, male, female and juvenile prisoners, some of whom were brought from Perth Gaol (Bavin 1994:99). Perth Gaol, which is now the rear building of the Western Australian Museum located on the corner of Francis and Beaufort streets was built in 1856 to replace the inadequately sized lock-up on St Georges Terrace as well as to house long-term prisoners (Bavin 1994:103). In 1858 all prisons were handed from Colonial to Imperial control and Perth Gaol became a depot for the Convict Establishment, accommodating Imperial prisoners until its closure in 1888 (Bavin 1994:107). Excluding Fremantle Prison and the Perth Gaol section of the Museum of Western Australia, Millett's (2003) assertion rings true when visiting convict built, historic buildings in Western Australia. Places such as The Fremantle Arts Centre, the main building of the Western Australian Museum, Albany Museum and the old Maritime Museum in Fremantle, are not presented to the public as being intrinsically linked to the convict past.

Although female prisoners and juveniles were incarcerated at Fremantle Prison from 1880 their numbers (particularly juveniles) were purportedly few

(Bavin 1994:99). From 1880 to 1886, it seems there were no more than 50 female prisoners and a very small number of juveniles (Bavin 1994:100). There was a marked increase of around 100 female prisoners between 1887 and 1888 consistent with the rapid increase of the number of male prisoners from 100 male individuals in1885 to around 800 men by 1896 (Bavin 1994:99,100). However, the female population never exceeded 150 individuals (Bavin 1994:100). In 1889, the north-west corner of the prison grounds was utilised for a female division shown in the lower left corner of Figure 2.1 wherein the women were formally segregated from the main (male) prison population (Bavin 1994:101; Kerr 1998:59).

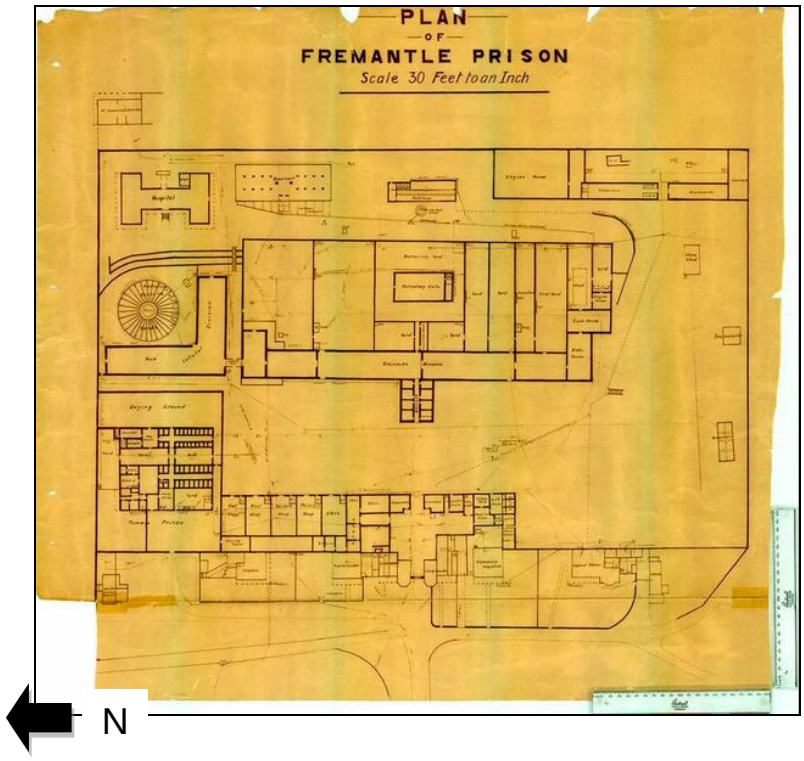


Figure 2.1 Prison Map showing main block and location of women's prison in the north west corner.

Cells in the female division were slightly larger than those in the men's division. They were, however, up to 2-3 inches narrower than contemporaneous women's prison cells in Victoria and Brisbane (Kerr 1998:59; Kerr 1988:153). Female inmates were transferred to Bandyup women's facility from January 1970 (Fremantle Prison CMP 2010:13) and some male inmates were relocated to Canning Vale Prison in 1982 as a solution to overcrowding and in preparation for the closure of Fremantle Prison in 1991 (Bavin 1994:102). The issue of overcrowding was not new. Indeed, the living conditions at Fremantle Prison continued to be a bone of contention for inmates. The most common grievances relating to physical conditions were the lack of ventilation within the cells, insect and rodent infestation and matters of hygiene - particularly the 'night buckets' shown in Figure 2.2 which were used in place of toilets right up to the prison's closure (Kerr 1998; McGivern 1988; Prisoner services Division1986; Withnell1984). These conditions and grievances continued up to the prison's closure in 1991, when the remaining inmates were transferred to Casuarina and Canning Vale Prisons. (CMP 2010; Kerr 1998; Bavin 1994).

The prison riot of 1968 was prompted by overcrowding and living conditions considered antiquated as early as the late 19th century, and saw little to no change over the twenty years following the riot (Bavin 1994:102; Megahey 2000:134). Despite recommendations by a Royal Commission in 1983 for the prison's closure, substandard physical conditions and inmate discontent prevailed; On 31 December 1987 a 'sit in' was held by prisoners in Two Division in protest (Gore 1990:38). The enquiry into the riot, fire and hostage-taking incident of 1988 found that the 1987 episode may have been an

important precipitating factor to this event (Gore 1990:38). Although some post 1990 graffiti within the prison cells speaks directly of inmate distress at their living conditions, for example: site 5 (F60) motif 14, which reads 'Hot Night' and poems from site 10 (D65) which refer to the 'shit bucket', see Figure 2.2 'cockroaches and rats' and 'being locked up like animals', the voices of the inmates pre 1991 are inaudible.

Figure 2.2 Night bucket/ 'shit bucket' referred to in site 10 graffiti.

Graffiti studies:

The study of graffiti is present within a broad range of disciplines from religious studies of graffiti from the ancient world (e.g. Gustafsson 1956) to archaeological analysis of contemporary graffiti production (e.g. Frederick 2014). Graffiti in the ancient world has received scholarly attention and been accepted as an indicator of the social and political lives of past peoples (Baird and Taylor 2011; Plesch 2002; Reisner 1971). Within academic discussion of the Greek and Roman world, graffiti has been defined as text or images 'which appear in unexpected places' (Baird and Taylor 2011:4). This definition is apt when considering scholarly discussion of contemporary historical graffiti. For example, the archaeological approach taken by Fyfe's

(2010) analysis of graffiti in rock art and Winchester et al's (1996) ethno-historical focus in northern Queensland, both examine aspects of European presence in Australian Indigenous landscapes. The context of these inscribed landscapes differs to the context of Fremantle prison, which rather than being a landscape which people dwell within and move through (by choice); Fremantle prison is a landscape of confinement and containment that is (like the graffiti within it) physically and socially restricted.

Ethnographic discussion by Wilson (2008a,b,c,d) of prison graffiti in Australia is pertinent to this dissertation, within these texts Wilson addresses topics of race (Wilson 2008d) power and gender (Wilson 2008c) and the social psychology of inmates (Wilson 2008b) as signified by their graffiti. Wilson (2008a;2008b) casts the gaze of social historian to disentangle inmate narratives via historical and physical traces within Australia's decommissioned Prisons. Wilson (2008a;2008b) speaks of historic prisons that operate as museums, as venues of 'dark tourism' citing Fremantle Prison as an example of a site where graffiti exists, but is not included as a spectacle that permits tourist's voyeuristic 'othering' 'of the imagined inmates'. This avenue of critique has influenced the way in which I have thought about the presentation of data from my study; taking care to not become a 'dark tourist' myself.

Forster (2012) assesses the ways in which historic graffiti is evaluated using European case studies from ninth century ruinic inscriptions from Scotland, to the modern day stencil art of street artist, Banksy. Forster (2012:45) critically analyses the 'Scottish Historic Environment Policy' and additional

criteria, (supplemented by the Burra Charter) that aid determination of the cultural significance of graffiti in Europe. Forster (2012) suggests culturally significant contemporary graffiti, as well as historic graffiti, is at risk of being overlooked and should be assessed within cultural heritage management criteria that evaluate significance beyond aesthetic components of the graffiti. Forster's (2012) discussion is relevant to assessment of graffiti at Fremantle Prison in relation to problems surrounding determining what graffiti is significant and what is not. For example, the detailed and beautiful friezes, nineteenth century forger James Walsh drew on his cell walls, and kept hidden by covering with porridge, are historically significant, aesthetically pleasing and a feature of inmate creativity and resistance at Fremantle Prison. In light of, Palmer's (1997:105) assertion that: the relatively contemporary graffiti at Fremantle prison 'can be read as a suppressed subtext beneath the official history' in concert with other features, the graffiti fulfils criteria for significance and preservation as assessed by Forster (2012).

Within crime research, the analysis of graffiti has informed the study of institutional cultures. Klofas and Cutshall's (1985) study of graffiti sought to identify processes of socialisation in correctional communities by using graffiti as a tool of 'unobtrusive research'. Within their (1985) criminology research, Koflas and Cutshall draw on archaeological approaches to graffiti analysis in conjunction with sociological methodology to reconstruct aspects of confinement at the decommissioned juvenile correction facility, 'Institute for Juvenile Guidance' Bridgewater Massachusetts. Amongst other findings, Koflas and Cutshall (1985:361-369) identified that the graffiti demonstrated

the importance of group affiliations and support between peers and that inscription of names and 'hometown identifiers' were a marker of group and individual identities. Although the inmate demographic of Fremantle Prison differs from that of ‘Institute for Juvenile Guidance', my approach to graffiti at Fremantle Prison and subsequent findings (unintentionally) mirror those of Koflas and Cutshall (1985:361) in that the cell walls display ‘a mixture of markings, some meant for public display, some for more restricted audiences and some [that] are clearly personal messages intended only for the author.’

Graffiti in contemporary contexts

Ferrell (1993) takes an anarchistic approach to criminology, addressing the politics of culture and crime using case studies of urban hip-hop graffiti from Denver Colorado to investigate the phenomenology of graffiti more broadly. Ferrell (1993) articulates the language of urban graffiti and sociological theory behind its production. As well as providing explication of 'hip hop' /'graff' culture that was particularly useful for interpretation of motifs in site 4 cell G15. Ferrell's (1993:178) conceptualisation of ‘the aesthetics of authority’ supports ideas within this dissertation pertaining to why certain motifs at Fremantle Prison were placed in private locales within the cells. Ferrell's (1993) term 'aesthetics of authority' describes a hegemonic ideological construct that dictates what is and what is not a threat to social order based on the appearance and meaning of particular graffito.

In contemporary urban contexts, graffiti that is considered morally dangerous or aesthetically offensive to the authoritative eye is removed more readily and the perpetrators punished (see Young 2010). My data indicating the

preference for placement of these kinds of graffiti (in cell spaces) beyond the gaze of the guards, suggests this attitude was shared by Fremantle Prison administration.

Linguistic approaches, for example Nilsen (1980) address the ways in which the language and syntax of graffiti responds to and reworks literary convention using rhetoric and humour as a tool for social commentary. Similarly, Feni's (2012) theoretical approach to graffiti discusses the intersection of politics and place as grammatology.

Such approaches broaden the scope for understanding written motifs within Fremantle Prison graffiti. Cresswell (1996:46) analyses the ‘where’ of graffiti from a social geographer’s perspective, addressing the way in which graffiti disobeys ‘the laws of place that tell us what is and what is not appropriate’. Cresswell’s (1996) conceptualisation of graffiti as a tool for subverting authority, whereby graffiti refuses compliance with its context, directly translates to the context of Fremantle prison. Specifically, Cresswell (1986:37) articulates how graffiti is legitimated by transforming graffitists into artists by putting graffiti/art where it belongs, thus, its criminality and meaning are negated, and the ‘threat to order’ defused. This is very much the case for the presentation of inmate art at Fremantle Prison. Display of artworks on the walls of division 2 ground floor cells such as the example in Figure 1.3 where orthodox mark making was allowed and previously unofficial space is re-presented and becomes ‘in place’, results in the recontextualisation of inscription. Artworks created by select inmates who participated in the prison’s art program remain the property of the prison and have been

exhibited in the prison's courtyard gallery/museum. In some instances artworks such as The Rainbow Serpent and Spirit Children painted by Peter Irwin Cameron (Wilson1992:5) shown in Figure 2.3 were commissioned and preserved beneath perspex. This is analogous to Cresswell's (1996) discussion surrounding New York graffiti art that is made for public consumption and exhibited exclusively in gallery spaces, in other words, in the right place.

Figure 2.3 Division 4 cell E30. Example of artwork, protected by perspex cover.

Graffiti and inscription in archaeology

Traditionally archaeology has been thought of as the study of the past through its material remains. Increasingly, contemporary scholarship in archaeology has approached material remains in terms of the 'relationship between people and their material pasts' (see Schofield et.al 2012:5; Hodder 2003:4). As a material trace/artefact graffiti is a multifaceted class of material culture, as it is both a sign in the sense that it is material remnant and a sign

in the semiotic sense. Thus, archaeologically, graffiti is a material signature of the relationship between the people who make and read these signs and the built fabric of inscribed places.

Merrill and Hack's (2012) investigation of Soviet conscript graffiti at a former military site near Berlin, applies methods in social archaeology, using graffiti as a device for interpreting the less discussed phase of the site 1945-1994 Merrill and Hack (2012:107) based their typology on 'mode' of graffiti and 'material of execution', with attention to the spatial context of the graffiti. They noted patterns of use in private and public areas, which they define for the site broadly, and in more localised terms. Application of archaeological techniques at this site yielded a host of information that as well as supplementing the site's narratives, provided information which could be used for further cultural heritage management of the site.

Casella's (2009) archaeological study of graffiti within places of confinement, complemented by her research and discussion surrounding the archaeology of confinement in post-colonial Australia (see Casella and Fredericksen 2001;Casella 2001;2004;2005;2007) informed my research into the relationship between inmates at Fremantle prison and their inscriptions, and prisons more broadly. Casella (2009:186) uses international examples of graffiti from both historic and contemporary places of institutional confinement, dissecting meaning and function from inmate graffiti, with a focus on signatures of resistance, to illuminate the 'hidden transcripts that offer a testimony to the inmate experience' (Casella 2009:186). Casella's

(2009) work includes examples from Fremantle prison, which provided a valuable starting point for this dissertation.

Frederick's (2014:93) archaeological analysis of contemporary graffiti in Perth, Western Australia, approaches graffiti production as an 'artefact generating activity'. Frederik's approach considers archaeological evidence other than content and spatial analysis (see Agutta 2013;Baird and Taylor 2011; Casella 2009) recording the discarded material culture of graffiti production, such as aerosol cans and nozzles, stencil materials, other implements used for making marks and other associated artefacts This study highlights the scope for application of archaeological methodology to graffiti analysis.

These examples barely scratch the surface of the corpus of work undertaken by archaeologists (see Themed section Australian Archaeology 2014:78;Frederick 2009;Ouzman 2010;2007;2001;Schofield 2013)

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents theoretical approaches and scholarly discussion that is pertinent to analysis of graffiti within places of institutional confinement. I use theories outlined within this chapter and relate them to specific examples of graffiti at Fremantle Prison.

Landscapes and spaces of domination and resistance:

Since Jeremy Bentham's 1791 design of the panopticon (Bentham 1791; Casella 2007; Foucault 2008) prisons and other 'total institutions' (Casella 2007; Goffman 1968) have premeditatedly used space to exert power over people's bodies and minds. Spatiality in archaeology considers how the distribution of artefacts, nuances the construction of space and place. Artefacts and place have a recursive relationship, which can change over time (Bahn et al. 2004). The use of spatial analysis as it relates to inscription at Fremantle prison is informed by Giddens' conceptualisation of how the constraints imposed by physical contexts limit '*behaviour across time and space*' (Giddens 1985). I extend this insight into a micro-level study of how graffiti helped individuals negotiate the architectural language and grammar around them; setting up a series of counter dialogues and alternative geographies.

Graffiti, place-ma®king and ocularity:

(Reisner 1971) articulates one difference between public and private messaging:

'as the graffiti writer gets more and more into the open areas where his chances of being seen are greater, there is a tendency for his message to be of a generalised nature ... in lavatories, or in any place where there is complete privacy, however, the messages although still often banal, are much more visceral'

(Reisner 1971:4). For Cresswell (1996:47) graffiti interrupts boundaries of public and private; by appropriating space notions of public and private are inverted. A paradox exists in the fact that prison spaces are places of enforced confinement, pervaded by a culture of deprivation, bodily discipline and surveillance. Normative notions of what is 'private' and 'public' either dissolve or are radically reconfigured.

For example within the 'quasi-private sphere' (Wilson 2008:70) of prison cells, where inmate graffiti is prevalent, anonymity is compromised; the occupants of each cell was known and their daily movements in and out of the cell were regimented (Figure 3.1), scrutinised and recorded by the guards on muster boards located outside the cells (DCS 1991a). On arrival at the prison, individual inmates were processed and issued a copy of the 'Prisoner Information Booklet: Handbook for prisoners' (DCS 1991b). The booklet informs prisoners of the prison rules and regulations that dictate inmate behaviour, and inmate rights and responsibilities. Directives such as '14.3 Prisoner Movements' (DCS 1991b: 16-17) explicitly inform prisoners of the administrative strictures governing their movements within the prison. Postscript notes (in bold type) relating to rules on behaviour within cells and yards remind inmates that 'ALL EXCERCISE YARDS ARE OBSERVED ON

A CONSTANT BASIS' and 'ALL CELLS ARE INSPECTED ON A DAILY BASIS' (DCS 1991b: 3-4) thus reinforcing the idea of the omniscient guard and the absence of inmate privacy or anonymity.

Figure 3.1 Muster board indicating cell occupants

Within the cells, graffiti remaps spaces, as such; the contextual position of prison graffiti dislocates established graffiti scholarship (Casella 2009). For Fieni (2012:79) *'graffiti creates a mobile geography'* whereby marking one's place within a location creates a new way for that person to relate to their environment. Feni's (2012) gramatological assessment of graffiti is highly relevant to conceptualisation of graffiti as a tool of place marking/making. However unlike Fieni's (2012) case studies of murals and written graffiti in urban France wherein both the reader and the writer's physical and social positions are not presupposed, inmate graffiti does not share this freedom. Within Prisons, the opportunity for making and viewing graffiti, like the

graffitist himself is confined. Wilson (2008a:70) asserts some graffiti within prison cells is not made for an audience. Rather the making of it functions as a mode of self-affirmation (2008a:70). Possible motivations for 'doing' graffiti within an environment where control is sanctioned and individualism negated may be the desire to inscribe and/or signal identity, express fears, enable private catharsis, or alleviate boredom.

Subverting the gaze

One example of an apparatus of 'gaze' and its subversion, are peepholes. Peepholes or 'Judas holes' shown in Figure 3.2 are thought to have been put in the cell doors at Fremantle Prison in 1929 (Bavin 1994:266; Bosworth 1990:28). Even though the peepholes did not allow constant surveillance because they are covered and require the outside observer to actively push the cover aside and look in, their very presence would have been a perpetual reminder to the cell occupants that they could be observed at any time without their consent or even knowledge. Within his chapter on adaption and resistance at Fremantle Prison Megahey (2000) provides prisoner's accounts of their experiences of anxiety and of their coping strategies. One prisoner reported: *'The prison officers stand at the gate and they stare around. The prisoners sit at the walls and they stare around. The guy in the tower looks down and in your cell you look up, and there's an eye at your door"*(Megahey 2000:123). The degree of surveillance is suggested by the 'Prison Timetable' which concludes with instruction for guards to conduct '*Irregular body and cell checks to be carried out by Night Officers"*(DCS 1991a). During his time as a prisoner, Withnell wrote *'Even in his sleep, the checks still come...sleep*

is stretched into waking by the persistent tapping of the peep-hole, leaving him hanging onto a half conscious realisation of his situation right through the long early hours.' (Withnell 1983:83) Prisoners attempted to deny the gaze of the guards intentionally by covering the Judas hole thus committing *'an act of misconduct subversive of the order and good government of the prison*' (Superintendent's Register 1988) as well as unwittingly obscuring the guard's view by moving the cell's furniture; mostly bunk beds (Megahey 2000:124).

Figure 3.2 Judas hole with cover. Semi-official inscription 'searched 2-3-90' is above.

The back of the cell door is the most private locale and as such is a popular locus for the placement of subversive graffiti. Subverting the authoritative gaze of the guard by utilising the peephole within graffiti was a popular tactic for inmates. Palmer (1997:110) reports (in reference to the inclusion of the peephole in graffiti) a retired prison officer from Fremantle Prison stated '*A lot*

of these were put on because frequently officers didn't search the cells properly'. Thus, they could have gone undetected and been made some time before the prison's closure. This is unlikely to be the case for Figure 3.5 which is done in paint provided by the prison. The location of the peephole between the woman's breasts feminises the guards gaze thus disempowers him (or her). In Figure 3.3 the peephole becomes an anus and the content of accompanying motifs ensure that when an eye looks in, for the inmate it 'belongs to an arsehole'. Similarly, the hidden rebellion of Figure 3.4 and Figure 3.5 would have been highly satisfying to the inmate gaze. When being observed the prisoner is looking back at the named eye, meeting the gaze of 'a complete fuck-head'.

Figure 3.3 Site 11 motif 167.Subversion of authoritative gaze. Peephole is an anus.

Figure 3.4 Site 10 motif 31.Subversion of authoritative gaze. Humour.

Figure 3.5 Site 3 motif 82. Subversion of the authoritative gaze. The guard's gaze is feminised.

Inscribing identity

For inmates, graffiti is a transgressive act whereby the resultant product is ‘an autobiography of the self’ (Casella 2009). By leaving one's mark in the form of names, nick names and initials, individuals are announcing identity; providing testimonial to their existence (see Abel and Buckley 1977:16). Inscription of identity also appears as graffiti 'tags', in many cases tags are developed ‘*as stylised references to the personal history and extra-subcultural identity*’ of the writers (Ferrell 1993:59). Tags can be a stylised singular name of an individual graffitist or take the form of a 'throw up' which is an ‘*enlarged, two dimensional version of an individual or crew tag’* (Ferrell 1993:83). A 'crew tag' symbolises a group of graffitists with a shared aesthetic and group identity. Both individual 'tags' and 'throw ups' are codified, rendering the actual identity of the individual invisible except to those within the sub-culture of the writer (see Ferrell 1993). However, not all prison graffiti is exclusively private (Wilson 2008a:70). Graffiti may also act as a messaging agent, asserting masculinity/femininity, ownership of space, or announcing social cultural or political affiliations, all of which are markers of identity. This idea draws on concepts of messaging in rock art (see (McDonald 2008). ‘Rock art, by definition, is intended to modify an environment in place’ (Sundstrom 2012:327). Aboriginal and non-indigenous inmates alike, have used graffiti as well as non-illicit inscription such as murals as tools of place-making, modifying and delineating prison spaces at Fremantle Prison and other places of institutional confinement in Australia (Wilson1 2008d:61). The role played by the inscription of space in [re]creating what Casella (2009) terms an ‘autobiography of the self’ is

articulated by Withnell's (1984) philosophical approach to the semiotics of space:

> *The crim ... accrues numerous trivia that reflects his image of self. For example, he may have legal papers and files, books and press clippings, maintaining an image of himself not as a deviate, but as just another human being lost in the machinery of prison. Each crim brings his 'outside' (outside of prison, prior to conviction) image into existence, alive in the things around his slot and he builds on it, becoming almost a caricature of his former self. The slots become a regular rabbit warren, a treasure house of character types a library where the initiated eye looks for clues, signs, as to what specialty each retains or is developing* (Withnell 1984:63).

For the prison inmate, the cell is a symbol of him/herself and inscriptions of identity play a major role in creating and retaining self-image, which is highly important when everything about your physical life is a reiteration of deviance (see Zamble and Porporino 1988:4-6).

Why write?: The psychology of graffiti.

Graffiti allows individuals to express their inner feelings, which is an act of catharsis and a coping strategy for negotiating confinement (see Zamble and Porporino 1988; Kornfeld1996). Psychiatric institutions in the USA have used graffiti as a form of therapy, encouraged patients to express themselves by 'marking' their environment (see Abel and Buckley1977: 17). They found that

the content and style of graffiti differed between different types of mental illness. For example manic patients showed a predilection for drawing rather than writing and depressed patients wrote negative thoughts (Abel and Buckley1977:18) Furthermore, '*patients who preferred not to associate with others isolated their graffiti from the main body of inscriptions'* (Abel and Buckley1977:18). Within places of confinement graffiti may be a means to combat boredom (see Casella 2009; Palmer 1997) and a non-violent path of self-expression which has proved an effective tactic for coping with the conditions of imprisonment (see Wilson 2008d:54;Johnson 2007:67).

Resistance:

Unlike the stereotypical image of resistance as a brief and violent explosion of rage preceded by long periods of passivity, everyday forms of resistance such as graffiti making are often the tools of a subordinate class or group of people within power laden environments where, for the most part, conformity prevails (Scott 1985:36, 37). Scott (1985: 29-37) describes such forms of resistance as 'weapons of the weak' - everyday nigglings at the establishment, which are persistent acts of non-compliance, rather than overt acts of defiance performed out of desperation. The illegality of graffiti within Fremantle Prison means that purely by making graffiti and other marks inmates are defying authority (DCS 1991).Furthermore, the process of graffiti removal or painting over was a disruption to the regimentation of prison life, which was not tolerated. Such intolerance is suggested by directives for inmates to *'not become a time-waster'* and to *'use the system appropriately*'

(DCS 1991:2). Thus, this kind of disruption is metaphoric 'foot dragging' which Scott identifies as a form of everyday resistance (1985:29).

On 4 January 1988 a riot, resulting in a major fire and hostage situation did little to improve conditions for inmates (McGivern 1988). Of the sixty recommendations within the 1988 riot enquiry report, the majority of the recommendations were accepted or already in place however, these were primarily concerned with staff wellbeing, security and incident management (McGivern1988: 50-65).

Those recommendations not accepted or deferred by the Department of Corrective Services would have directly benefited inmates (McGivern1988: 50-65). Such recommendations included the installation of indoor plumbing within the main cell block, later *'lock-up for prisoners in the height of summer to allow cells to cool'* and a formal procedure for handling grievances (McGivern1988: 50-57). The rejection or deferral of these basic amendments to living standards based on cost and impending closure of the prison illustrates the ineffectuality of overt resistance at Fremantle Prison and the government directed predilection for hegemony over inmate wellbeing.

Making graffiti is an act of resistance that is transgressive in that it provokes a response from the establishment, which in some instances may be the intention of the individual who is making the graffiti (see Cresswell 1996 and Rose 2002). Transgression occurs where imposed boundaries are crossed, transgression generally differs to resistance, as it comes about by a particular action being noticed, opposed to resistance which is solely reliant on the transgressive actor's intentions (Cresswell 1996:23) However, as

Cresswell (1996:23) points out, identifying intentionality is problematic. For Scott (1985:34) the success of everyday resistance relies on being 'not noticed' that is to say, resistance is invisible to 'those who are being resisted' (see also Cresswell 1996:23). The way in which the establishment responds to resistant actions defines those actions as deviant or as Cresswell (1996:23), drawing from classic anthropological pollution beliefs, terms them 'out of place'. I propose that within the confines of Fremantle Prison, the non-sanctioned act of making graffiti is in itself transgressive, but the degree of resistance is dependent on the intent behind the making of the marks. More specifically, degrees of transgression depend on the visibility of the inscription either to the individual exponent, their cellmate or to others. For example, choosing to write or draw a hate message (especially if it is directed toward the establishment) in a 'highly visible' locale such as Figure 3.6 where the graffitist is openly criticising the Justice of the Peace is an act of intentional resistance. Rose (2002:385) suggests Cresswell's (1996) example of graffiti as transgressive resistance falls under the rubric of 'unintentional resistance' whereby resistance is stimulated by interests and desires exterior to issues of hegemony. This kind of unintentional resistance is illustrated by Figure 3.7 where the individuals whose names are blacked out are not overtly 'sticking it to the man'. The motif is in a 'hidden' locale not meant to be seen by guards and is a humorous assertion that the two men are in the midst of an (one would guess, a drug fuelled) 'excellent adventure', which is a legal and moral transgression.

Figure 3.6 Example of intentional resistance from site 11 (motif 24).

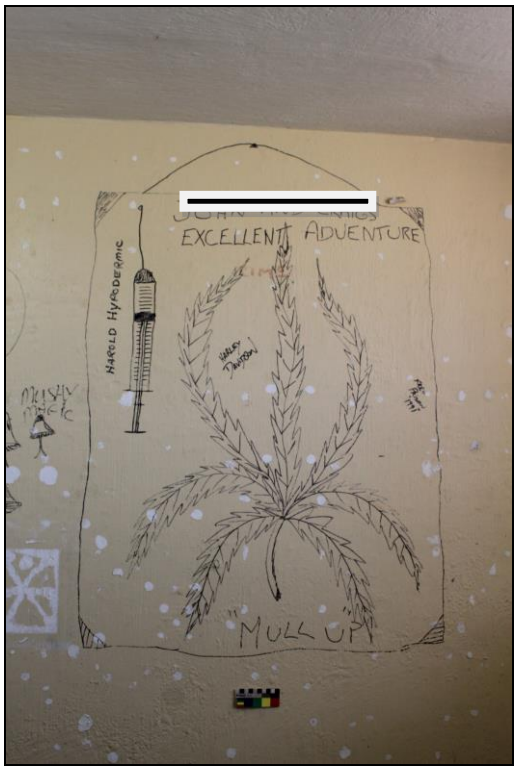


Figure 3.7 Example of unintentional resistance from site 6 (motif 4).

Degrees of intentional, opposed to unintentional resistance via inscription within Fremantle prison are evident in these two examples of motifs.

Chapter 4: Methods and Data

This chapter includes methodological approaches to: sampling strategy, typology, dating, spatial analysis and data management.

I have approached graffiti as cultural material to be categorised, mapped, dated and contextualised in relation to Fremantle Prison's cultural landscape. In order to test the hypothesis that male inmates used graffiti as a means of negotiating and coping with confinement via expression and messaging through textual and pictorial inscription of space, and its resultant place-making; I have created a typology of marks with attention to their spatial positioning. Data from field work carried out in the Women's Prison is not used to support or disprove this hypothesis, as graffiti in places of institutional confinement, whether in written or drawn form differs greatly in amount and content depending on the gender of the person making the marks (Yogan and Johnson:2006). Recording of graffiti and other marks in the Women's Prison served as a trial run to test my methods and as a gauge for determining the number of people and amount of time needed to record within the Men's Prison. Quantitative recording of the proliferation of graffiti within prison cells and less private spaces not only verifies the presence of graffiti within the prison, but indicates the degree to which inscription was employed by inmates over time. Qualitative analysis dissects meaning and motivation behind the act of inscription from the cultural material under investigation. Observing modes of inscription, implementing classification of graffiti typologies and identifying possible relationships between typologies and their placement, facilitates determination of the variable ways in which

inmates used graffiti. Reading graffiti as straight text (without direct consultation with the authors of each inscription) involves a degree of subjective interpretation on the part of the individual recording the inscription. As such, employing archaeological methods as per rock art, dissuades *'clumsy cultural translation'* (McDonald 2006:70) by the collector by providing a uniform set of techniques through which to study and contextualise graffiti and inscription.

We know something of the people and social environment of Fremantle Prison and other places of confinement from historic sources (see Fremantle Prison CMP 2010; Casella 2007;DCS 1991;Gore 1990;McGivern 1988). Thus, it is possible to apply formal approaches such as the use of semiotics, as used in rock art analysis (e.g. McDonald 2006) to interpretation of what is essentially a site-specific assemblage of inscription that is further informed by inter-site examples from other places of confinement. The individuals who made marks within the prison may still be alive and are most certainly part of living history and as such, an informed perspective is tenable via attention to sociological context and previously recorded testimonial accounts. However, the relatively contemporary context of graffiti and other marks made at Fremantle Prison means that individuals who participated in these mostly unsanctioned acts, are at risk of loss of anonymity, embarrassment and even possible prosecution. Therefore, interviews with ex-inmates and wardens were not used. A complementary anthropological approach including interviews and individual case studies is beyond the scope and ethical parameters set out for this project, but may be a task for interdisciplinary projects in the future. Correlating types of inscriptions with their degrees of

visibility, aids determination of whether inmates were using graffiti as a messaging agent, as a means for asserting identity, to alleviate boredom, as existential catharsis or as an act of defiance.

Trial field recording in the Women's Prison was carried out in March 2014 as part of an emergency intervention to record graffiti before this space was refurbished as a youth hostel. This type of re-use of the buildings was also suggested for Divisions one and two of the Main Cell Block of the Men's Prison in the 1993 (section 8.03) report on future use for the prison, stating that: *'conservation policy would not be compromised by such immediate use'* (Bodycoat and Stephen 1993: 90). Refurbishment of the Women's Prison and possible future changes to the built fabric of the prison highlights the ambiguous and tenuous status of this artefact class within the Prison's management structure.

The trial was instructive in establishing a field recording protocol. It also exposed some recording redundancies such as including detailed recording of unmarked spaces and indicated the amount of data management required to adequately document graffiti in this context. The only real deficit of the fieldwork carried out in the Women's Prison was the omission of some spaces due to limited time. However there was expedient documentation, in the form of photographs taken of these spaces. Of the ground floor, 13 of 17 cells were recorded in detail (3 cells with commissioned murals, preserved beneath perspex, were not recorded as well as one locked room with exposed electrical wires). All 3 administrative spaces were recorded, as well as 2 of 3 walkways (the walkway not recorded had already been

renovated/restored). Both toilet cubicles and the bathroom were recorded. Of the first floor, 3 of 12 cells were recorded in detail and context and motif photographs taken of the remaining cells. This took two teams of two, highly competent people as well as myself as overseer two full days to complete. All cells were assigned site numbers in case the opportunity arose to revisit the Women's Prison building and fully record the remaining cells. A total of 102 motifs were identified, 30 of which are in the corridor/transitional space that provides access from the South Western cells to the yard.

From this trial deficits of the recording process and subsequent amendments to my approach to recording graffiti and other marks within the Men's Prison, which is the subject of this dissertation, were as follows:

- My sample set did not include cells devoid of graffiti.

- Photographs were uploaded and filed on-site, in order to keep track of image data on a site by site basis.

- Site forms were amended to better suit the Men's Prison and master sheets of photo logs filled out by myself on the completion of each site recording.

- I noted information pertaining to unrecorded cells as well as detailed notes, maps and sketches for recorded cells in my field journal.

- I took precise measurements of sightlines to accurately define the visibility of motifs and avoid the possibility of discrepancies in

perception of motifs being in either 'highly visible', 'hidden' or 'private' locales.

- Baseline measurements (i.e. the distance from the left hand edge of each panel to motif) were recorded for each motif, so that I could check the accuracy of the 'degree of visibility' when logging data.

- I did not assign site numbers to cells and other spaces that were not going to be recorded.

- I did not do pencil rubbings of incised or scratched motifs because experimentation with this technique in S22 (Women's prison) proved fruitless.

- In order to save time and storage space photographs were taken as jpegs and duplicated in Raw rather than being taken in both jpeg and Raw formats.

Furthermore, I familiarised myself with inmate cant, or 'boob talk' (Withnell pers com 2014) in attempt to avoid misinterpretation of written motifs and symbols and realised I would have to be aware of possible codification within both written and pictorial motifs, looking beyond literal meaning in inmate graffiti text. For example, within the Women's Prison the inscription of 'Gilly Park' (site 22 Motif 7) was initially thought to be a woman's name. However, there is no record of a 'Gillian Park' or the like in accessible DCS publications and statistics or from the Trove online database. Informed by local knowledge I discovered, Gilly Park is a local slang term for (thus most likely a reference to) Gilbert Fraser Oval in North Fremantle.

Sampling

The Main Cell Block in Figure 4.1 is the central dominating feature of Fremantle Prison and its physical appearance epitomises the nature of Fremantle Prison as a place of confinement, surveillance and separation (CMP 2010:54).

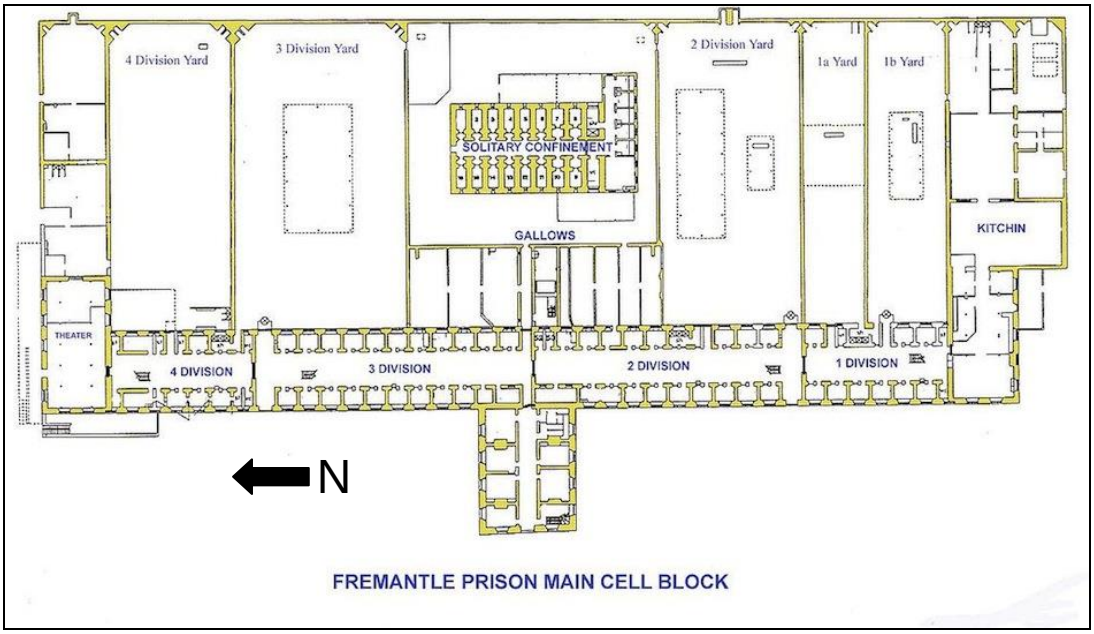


Figure 4.1 Main cell block map. Source:

Of the 283 potential indoor 'cell' sites, 60 are very heavily marked (Mein 2012:129-140). Other indoor sites within the Main Cell Block include the walkways or 'catwalks' of each division, the kitchen (located at the South end of Division 1) and the theatre (located at the North end of Division 4). On thorough inspection of the cells in the Main Cell Block and accompanying exercise yards it was clear that the initial sample size was beyond the scope of this project, due to the number of motifs present. I needed to streamline

recording in order to attain a depth of meaningful data. I restricted the sample size to cells and other sites of inscription to Division 2, see Table 4.1.

Division 2	Total number of cells	Number of cells containing graffiti	Number of cells recorded
First Floor	22	14	4
Second Floor	22	15	3
Third Floor	22	17	4
Total	66	46	11

Table 4.1 Number of cells recorded in Main Cell Block Division 2.

A third of the total number of cells (excluding the ground floor) in Division 2 have been recorded. 'Cells containing graffiti' include those with very little graffiti, some of which comprises of random pencil marks and paint blobs, which may not have been intentional 'mark making'. They are counted as 'cells containing graffiti' as the occupants had the potential to make graffiti, indicated by the presence of pigment, meaning these spaces are altered although not inscribed upon in a meaningful way.

The first second and third floors of Division 2 contain 22 double cells which were converted from single cells between 1914 - 1929 (Bavin 1994:206). Divisions 1 and 4 contain fewer cells than divisions 2 and 3. Division 2 was chosen because of its centrality within the main cell block and physical similarity to Division 3, which experienced fire damage, resulting in reconstruction of the roof and possible alteration to some interior spaces.

Moreover, Division 2 cells, on the first second and third floors shown in Figure 4.2 are not accessible to the public and are rarely visited by staff. Therefore, it was expected that the interior spaces of Division 2 were unlikely to contain graffiti or other marks made by visitors to the prison and would be in a condition that best reflected the built fabric of the prison from 1970-1991.

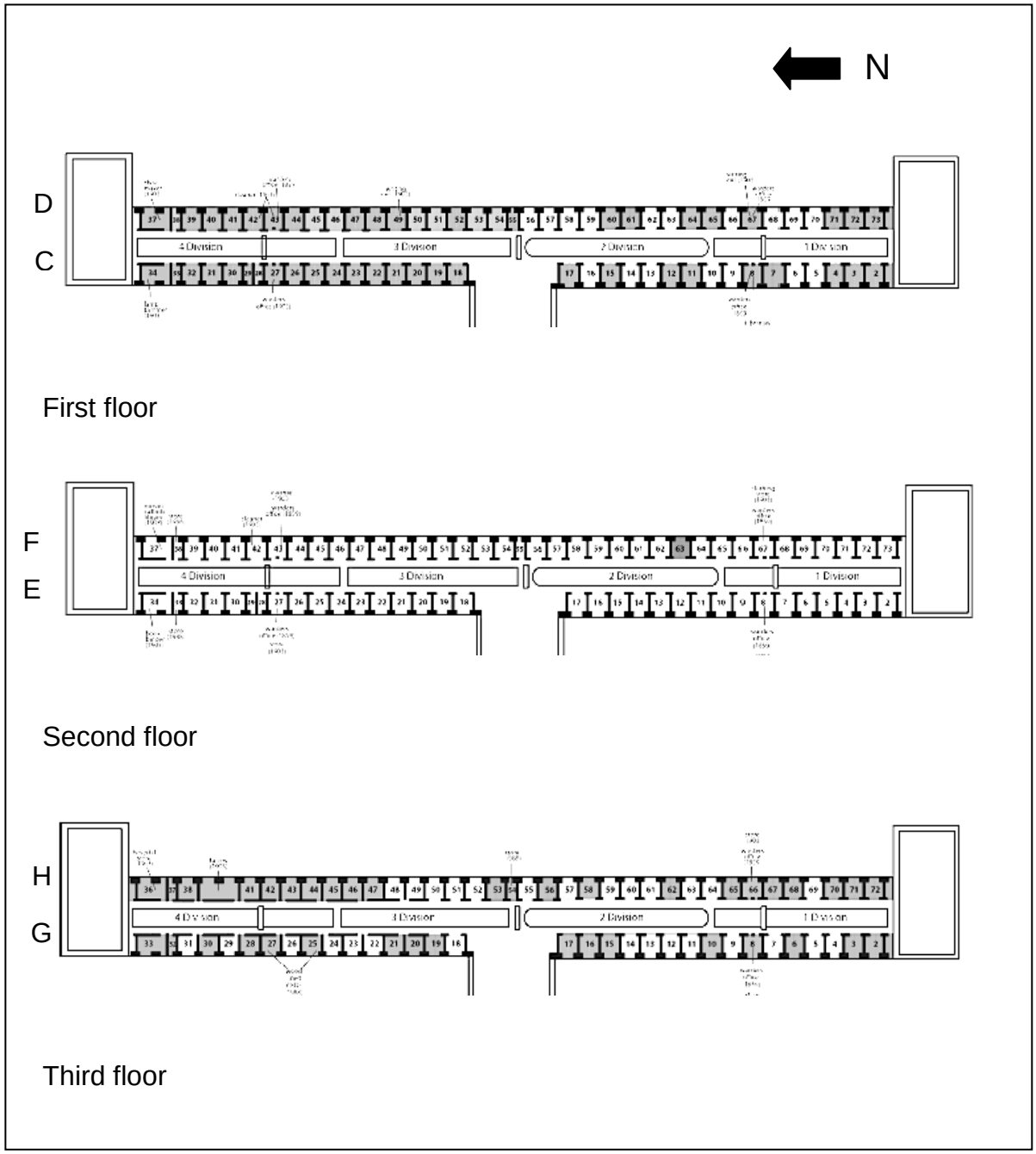


Figure 4.2 Maps of floors 1-3 Main Cell Block. Plans Redrawn from Fremantle Prison Conservation and Future Use: Conservation Plan (Building Management Authority of Western Australia 1990)

Initially this project sought to use a *'random stratified sample'* (Orton 2000) of a minimum 30 cells as well as up to 5 communal areas (such as the exercise yards). A random stratified sample is obtained by dividing the study area into geographic zones and samples are selected randomly from within these zones (Burke and Smith 2004:67). Within the Men's Prison Main Cell Block, zones are already demarcated as four 'Divisions' that have accompanying yards (Bavin 1994:224-227). 20 cells/sites within the Women's Prison were recorded over two days by two teams of two people with myself as overseer. Informal investigation of the Men's Prison (main cell block) carried out by myself (23/9/2013 - 3/10/2013) and existing documentation of prevalence of graffiti within cells noted by Mein (2012) indicated a far greater quantity of graffiti and other marks within the Men's Prison than in the Women's. Building on Mein's (2012) work allowed me to draw upon purposive sampling choices as well as more formal, random choices to construct a 'typical sample' (Orton 2000:2). When choosing the cell sites, I investigated every cell in Division 2 to ascertain whether my random choices were indeed representative of sites of inscription within the Division. As Bellhouse (1980:123) warns, purposive selection can result in biases, which can be particularly misrepresentative if these biases are proliferated in multiple research projects. However, dogmatic adherence to randomisation can result in *'important items, known to exist, being ignored'* (Bellhouse 1980:123). It was anticipated my sampling strategy would negate possible biases resulting from '*faults in the sampling procedure*' (Orton 2000:23).

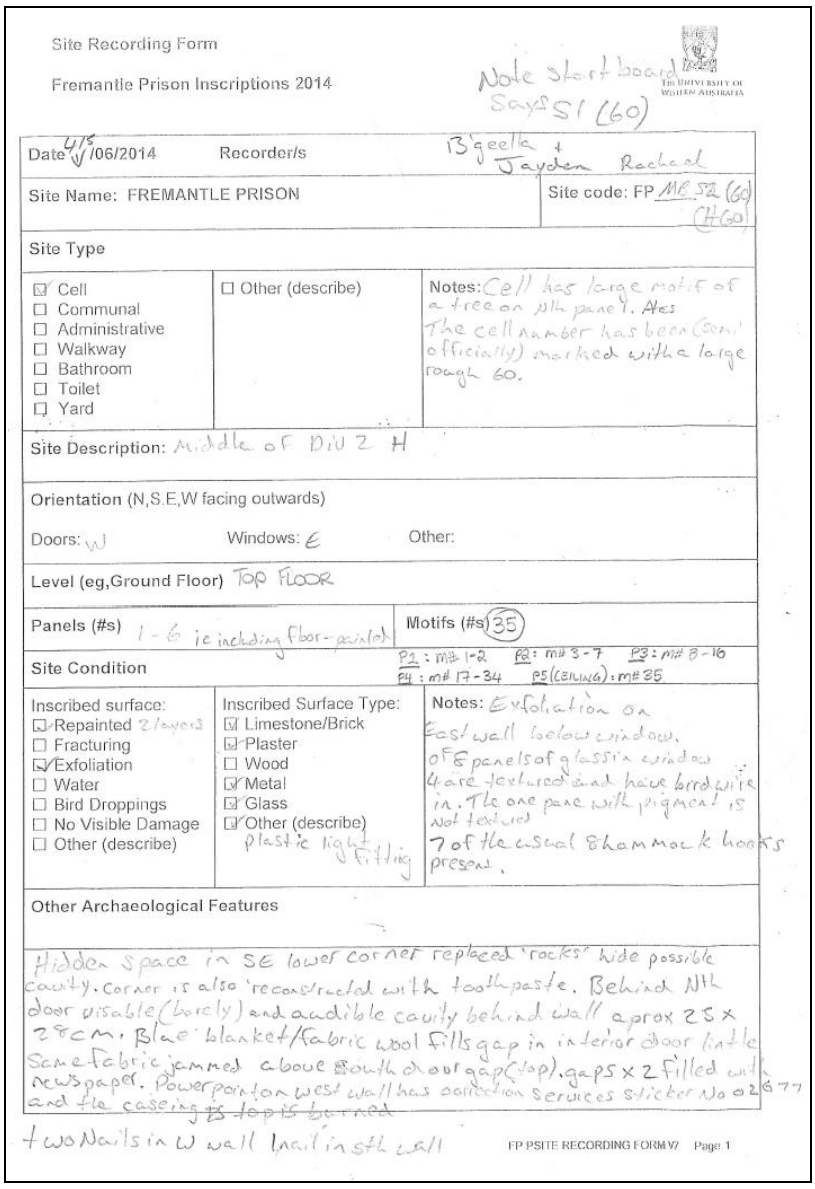
Division 2 comprises 86 indoor spaces, excluding walkways and stairs. The ground floor is made up of 20 rooms, 6 of which had been used for

administrative purposes such as offices, store room, a barbers room and 2 interior spaces for ablutions, 1 shower built in 1988 and 1 bath from1928 (B.M.A. W.A.1990). Initially, such administrative spaces were going to provide a broader context both spatially and socially for investigation of inscription within the Main Block. However, the changing function of some ground floor spaces up until 1988 and subsequent renovation and transformation of this level to a museum space, (post 1991) meant that using the ground floor in my sample set, would skew results in such a way as to be misrepresentative of the landscape of Division 2 as it was from the 1970's to the Prison's closure. As such, 4 cells from the first floor, 3 from the second floor and 4 from the third floor were recorded in detail, providing a sample of one sixth of the total number of cells (excluding ground floor) in Division 2. The third floor Catwalk and 1 panel from Division 2 yard (West wall furthest from the main building) were recorded in order to provide additional spatial contexts of inscription that could also contextualise cell spaces.

Recording Methods and data storage

The project database comprises primarily site record forms, sketches, photographs and associated archival and historic documentation. The complete data set and associated digital image suite are available on request. They have not been included as appendices as a large number of motifs are accompanied by, or consist of individual signifiers of identity such as names and nicknames belonging to living people. Therefore, making the details of certain graffiti public would transgress ethical parameters set for this project. Similarly, detailed descriptions of each motif originally included in

the spreadsheets for all sites which aided data management and assessment, have been omitted from print. A reduced size, washed out sample is provided as an example of the approach used in Figure 4.3.



Site Recording Form

Fremantle Prison Inscriptions 2014

Note skirt board says 51 (60)

Date 4/5/06/2014 Recorder/s Brigeetta + Jayden Rachael

Site Name: FREMANTLE PRISON Site code: FP MB 52 (60) (H60)

Site Type

☑ Cell ☐ Communal ☐ Administrative ☐ Walkway ☐ Bathroom ☐ Toilet ☐ Yard

☐ Other (describe)

Notes: Cell has large motif of a tree on Nth panel. Also The cell number has been (semi officially) marked with a large rough 60.

Site Description: Middle of Div 2 H

Orientation (N,S,E,W facing outwards)

Doors: W Windows: E Other:

Level (eg,Ground Floor) Top Floor

Panels (#s) 1-6 ie including floor-panel(s) Motifs (#s) 35

Site Condition

P1: m# 1-2 P2: m# 3-7 P3: m# 8-16 P4: m# 17-34 P5 (CEILING): m# 35

Inscribed surface: ☑ Repainted 2 layers ☐ Fracturing ☑ Exfoliation ☐ Water ☐ Bird Droppings ☐ No Visible Damage ☐ Other (describe)

Inscribed Surface Type: ☑ Limestone/Brick ☑ Plaster ☐ Wood ☑ Metal ☑ Glass ☑ Other (describe) plastic light fitting

Notes: Exfoliation on East wall below window. 6 of 8 panels of glass in window are textured and have bird wire in. The one pane with pigment is not textured 7 of the usual 8 hammock hooks present.

Other Archaeological Features

Hidden space in SE lower corner replaced 'rocks' hide possible cavity. Corner is also 'reconstructed with toothpaste. Behind Nth door visable (barely) and audible cavity behind wall approx 25 x 25cm. Blue blanket/fabric wool fills gap in interior door little same fabric jammed above South door gap (top). gaps x 2 filled with newspaper. Powerpoint on west wall has correction services sticker No 02 677 and the casing is top is burned

two Nails in W wall 1 nail in Sth wall

FP PSITE RECORDING FORM W Page 1

Figure 4.3 Reduced size, washed out image of the first page of a completed Site Recording Form.

The importance of formal detailed recording of motifs and inscription sites is obvious when observing the apparent absence of motifs in most archival photographs. Data collection follows precepts of rock art recording whereby site, context, panel, and motif photographs are taken (see McDonald 2006;

Taçon and Chippindale 2004). Site and motif recording in Division 2 required two teams of two volunteers. The teams had a debriefing session outlining safety and recording protocols for each day. 16 people including myself worked on site over the 8 days at the prison and small inconsistencies in recording meant all forms needed to be revised, annotated and corrected using multiple daily checks and using site records as reference. Two cameras were used in order for the two teams to record simultaneously. Cameras used were: Cannon EOS 350 D and Cannon EOS 550 D with 10-20mm (wide angle) 18-55mm or 75-300mm lenses. Photographs were taken in JPEG and stored in RAW and JPEG formats. The recording of each space or site begins with photographing a 'start board' indicating orientation, site code and date. Individual site recording concludes with photographing an 'end board'. Such information boards provide '*a basic record of the photographic event which can be checked against other records*' (Burke and Smith 2004:278). This conventional process proved very helpful for the logging of images of the Women's Prison, as there is a high degree of homogeneity between prison spaces at a macro scale, which may be easily confused if not documented thoroughly. Context photographs showing: oblique from outside, face in and face out from the rear wall, views were taken followed by photographs of all panels, as shown in Figure 4.4, Figure 4.5 and Figure 4 6.

Figure 4.4 Context 1 oblique from outside.

Figure 4.5 Context 2 face in.

Figure 4 6 Context 3 face out from rear wall.

All context and panel photographs taken include scale, indicated by a 2 metre range pole marked in 20 centimetre sections to *'provide something of known dimensions against which the size ... can be judged'* (Burke and Smith 2004:277). Additionally, site dimensions and orientation of site features are recorded. All motif photographs are taken with and without scale with careful attention to the alignment of the scale image (10 cm colour-matched IFRAO scale) either horizontally or vertically to avoid distortion (Burke and Smith 2004:277). I use primarily 'formal' methods (Taçon and Chippindale 2004) in the form of standard site and motif mapping, recording, dating and analysis of styles and their distributions. Motif characteristics, condition, mode of production and spatial visibility are recorded. (see appendix 2) Superposition

of motifs is also noted. Where superpositioning exists, the motif numbers above and below are recorded. (see appendix 2)

The recording process involved sketching as well as recording the details of each individual motif and positioning the motif number on a 'motif map' to aid observation of spatial relationships between motifs. However, the sketches did not need to be exactly to scale (another example of streamlining of recording) as the 10cm scale and colour scale provided by the IFRAO card, allowed for more detailed recording and a reliable record of motif dimensions and colour which all recording forms were checked against and annotated. Images were managed using i Photo and Photoshop. For some incised motifs and motifs with heavy or superposition that is difficult to determine, D-stretch software was used (see Harman 2005). Digital image processing allows direct comparison between similar motifs and efficient storage of photographic data (e.g. Clogg and Diaz-Andreu 2000:837,843). Hard copies of recording forms and master sheets remain in my possession. Digital forms of data such as photographs and maps are stored on my primary computer, on an external hard drive and back-up copies stored on the Fremantle Prison project research share drive at the University of Western Australia.

Typology of Marks

Classification of motif types involves the initial identification of the motif being either written or pictorial and the criteria specified as follows in Figure 4. 7:

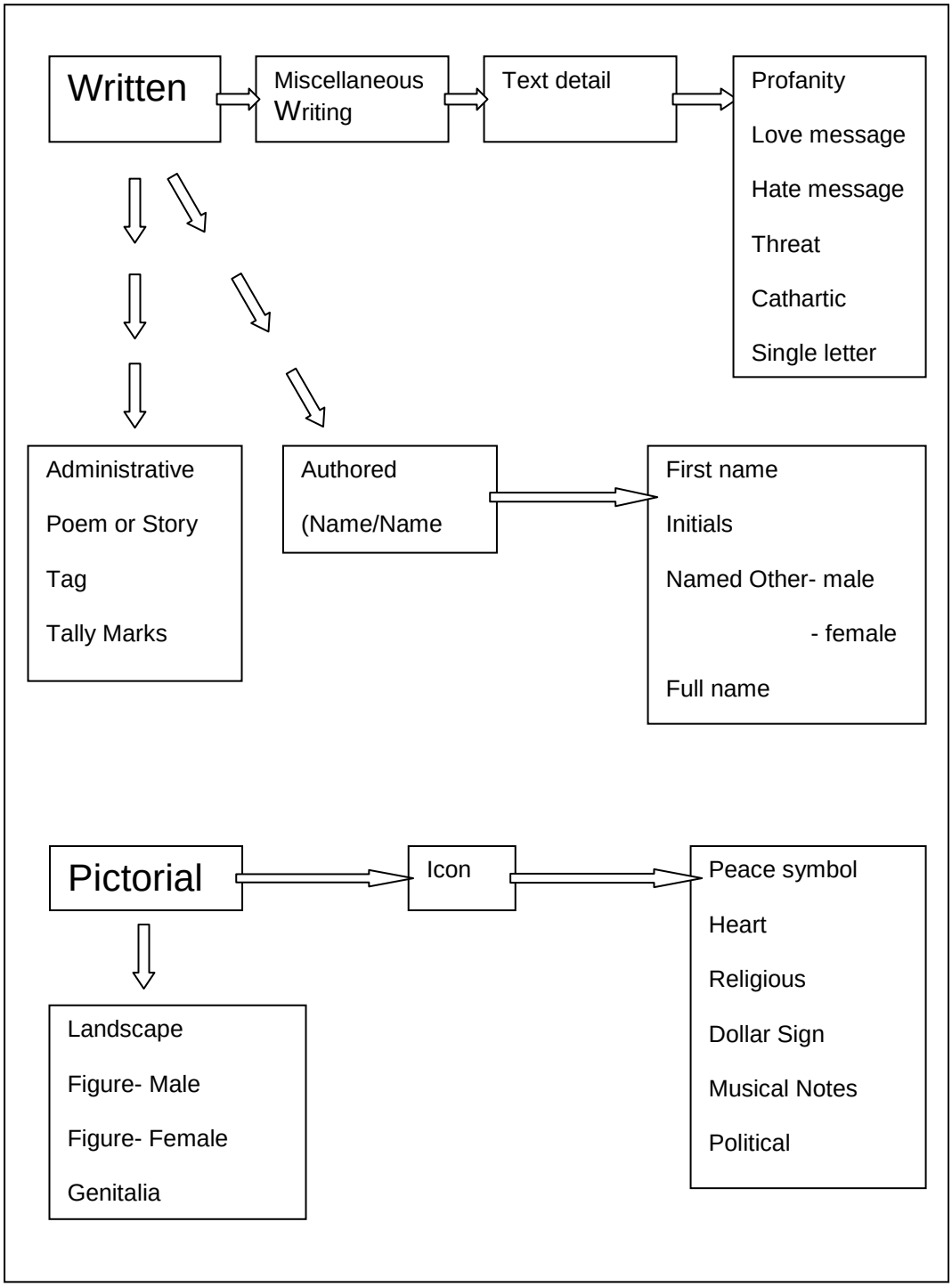


Figure 4. 7 Motif classification flow chart

Although this nomenclature differs slightly from previous studies of prison graffiti such as Agutta's (2013) utilisation of Casella's (2009) thematic classification of prison graffito, such analysis informed discissions surrounding the construction of nominal categories for this project. There are classificatory and thematic overlaps between approaches taken by Agutta (2013); Casella (2009); Yogan and Johnson (2006); Koflas and Cutshall (1985) and myself. To allow translation of my research findings into cultural heritage management guidelines for Fremantle Prison, or be built upon by other lines of investigation, the primary classification of motif typology is as transcriptive as possible. Thus, the resultant data base, which provides a map of inscription of Division 2 graffiti, may be used in analysis of the site, additional to my own. The primary classifications of: administrative, poem or story, tag, tally marks, numbers, geometric, other, authored (name/name date) and miscellaneous within the written category, and: landscape, figure-male, figure-female, genitalia, object, fantasy/tattoo, cartoon and icon within the pictorial category provide a literal set of nominal motif types. These have been quantified as number of motifs. The typologies, 'miscellaneous writing' and 'icon' were expanded upon in the form of 'text detail' and 'icon type' to allow for qualitative interpretation of the motifs under analysis. Such text details suggest the kinds of messages being transmitted and their degree of visibility spatially situates different modes of expression.

Love message

Klofas and Cutshall (1985:368-369) identify romantic inscriptions as a signature of 'means of coping with incarceration'. Within their analysis of

graffiti from a juvenile correctional facility (Institute for Juvenile Guidance) Klofas and Cutshall (1985:367) found that the vast majority of graffiti that they classed as 'romantic' occurred on the 'front wall' (meaning the wall closest to the hallway) which, by my criterion of space, is 'in private'. Love messages in Division 2 are typically affirmations of heterosexual relationships such as 'man's name ♥ woman's name'. There are also messages of support from one man to another such as 'do it easy mate'. However, no homosexual love messages were identified.

Hate message

The use of the term 'hate messages' relates to motifs that come under Casella's (2009) rubric of 'resistance'. The only real difference here is, political statements or images are conceptualised as markers of group identity rather than political defiance. As Wilson (2008b) clearly annunciates, political extremist graffiti was rife within Australian prisons in the 1970s-1990s and acts as an indicator of the pervading racist beliefs and attitudes of some 'far-right' inmates and guards. However, I theorise that in the context of Fremantle Prison this was not a signature of resistance rather an announcement of security and power via group affiliation. Whereas, overt 'hate messages' specifically target individual inmates, such as: site 6 (D61) motif 12 ‘first name, middle name, surname dobbed me in he must and will DIE', accompanied by site 6 (D61) motif 13 'first name, surname is a dog. He gave me up too. He also must and will Die. A slow and painful death'. Here graffiti is a tool of power play and resistance between inmates, asserting dominance and forewarning potential informants or 'dogs'. The act of making

hate messages directed at the establishment, for example: site 8 (C16) motif 44 'All judges are maggots' is in itself an act of defiance, as well as exhibiting resistance to the prison administration. The classification of 'threats' is closely related and in some instances intersects with 'hate messages' however threats are more difficult to identify as they are often coded. Some motif classification may be informed/determined by contextual elements such as placement or other motifs, for example: site11 (E9) motif 170 'Let me in'. The placement of this motif on the door could suggest catharsis or humour, and the utilisation of the spy hole as shown in Figure 3.3 is certainly a subversion of the guard's gaze. However, in context with the accompanying motifs: 168 a bent over figure where the spy hole is an anus and motif 169 that is the text 'asshole', it is classified as a 'threat'.

Additional text

The term 'additional text' under 'text detail' refers to something written that is an addition or comment on a pre-existing motif. Additional text indicates resistance between inmates whereby one achieves status over another by *'*challenging and interrupting the stories and jokes of others' (Yogan and Johnson 2006:45). The idea of additional text as an exhibition of dominance and power within cell spaces is supported by the proportion of additional text in private spaces, being less than in highly visible or hidden spaces. Such graffiti, are meant to be seen by the cell occupants and others. This interruption of a visual/textual statement is akin to Barthes concept of 'punctum'; the viewer (the additional graffitist) privately experiences the 'studium' or the understanding of the intension of an image and

fundamentally changes its nature by violently wounding the original inscription, thus adding another dimension of subjectivity (see Fried 2005 and Barthes 1981).

Although these typologies are tailored to suit graffiti at Fremantle Prison, classification of motif types and styles and their placement within a physical and conceptual landscape is concurrent with rock art scholarship. The presence or absence of particular motifs and the propensity for re-occurrence of these motifs have been identified by McDonald (2000:57) to be consequential indicators of stylistic choice.

Cathartic

Catharsis is the process of releasing, and thereby, providing relief from, strong or repressed emotions (OED 2014). Cathartic graffiti at Fremantle Prison most commonly takes the form of poems and stories. These existential outpourings speak of the inmate experience, from the monotony of prison life to inhumane living conditions. Philosophical musings such as this graffiti from site 10 (D65) ‘Punishment or rehabilitation How can one coincide with the other’ (Figure 4.8) are exhibited, thus shared, with others. This act of sharing, although the question is rhetorical, is signature of cathartic ritual.

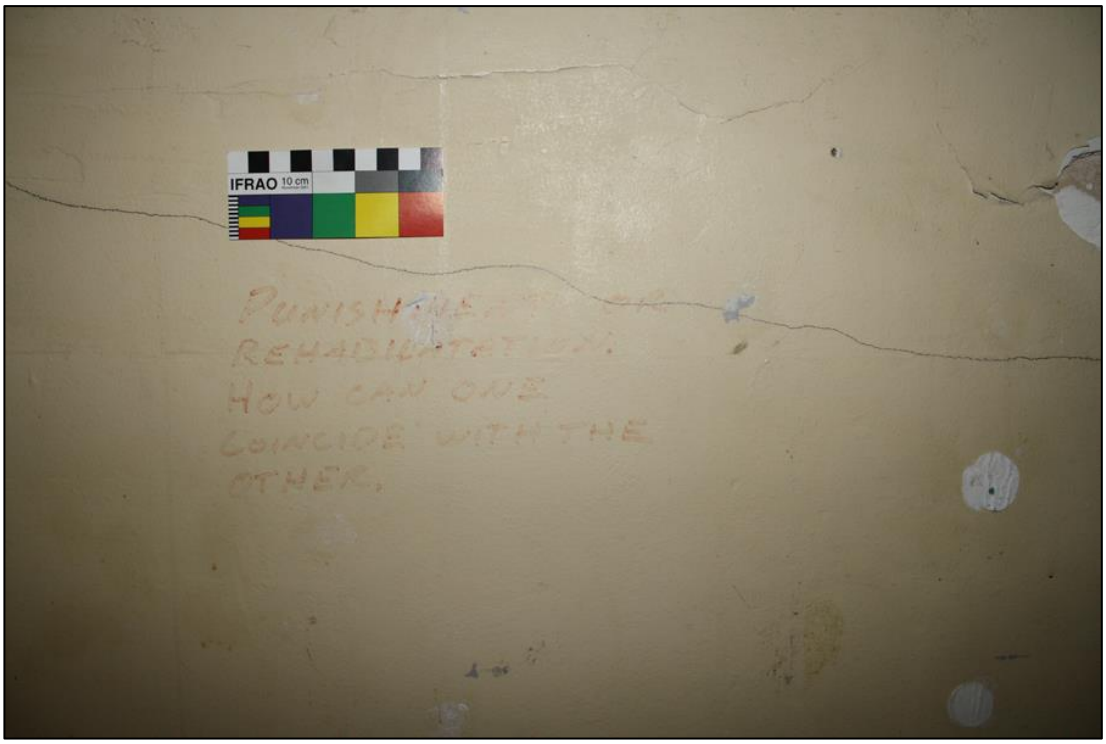


Figure 4.8 Cathartic motif from site 10 (motif 8).

Dating

Existing scholarship suggests most of the graffiti visible at Fremantle Prison was created in the six months before the prison's closure in November 1991 (Palmer 1997). However the illicit and covert nature of most graffiti (Halsey and Young 2002; Palmer 1997; Wilson 2008) dictates this narrow timeframe of inscription is unlikely. Palmer (1997:107) identifies the difficulty of tracing attitudinal changes toward discipline at Fremantle prison due to the apparent absence of dates for the graffiti. However Palmer's (1997) study was brief and not of an archaeological nature. Archaeological approaches do not rely on the inscription of a date to determine temporality; moreover, this kind of dating is fraught with unreliability. Archaeological practice casts a critical eye to substantiate dates. My attempts to test this at Fremantle prison through first-hand field observation and recording were problematic as there are no

records of when the cell walls were painted thus determining exact dates via the presence of motifs below the paint layers within the cells is untenable. An exception takes the form of incised and scratched dates from the 1980's beneath the paint layer that was the surface for the S12 (yard) panel mural done in 1991. Although inscribed dates do not provide a wholly reliable dating method, this example of superposition wherein graffiti exists beneath the 1991 paint layer indicates graffiti was being made before 1991.

Obtaining direct dates by applying chronometric techniques (see Holdaway 2006) is not feasible when dealing with an artefact class produced within (at most) the past 40 years. The common practice of repainting cells makes the discovery of graffiti older than 40 years, unlikely. It may be possible to chemically analyse graffiti pigments, particularly permanent markers, and test the possible differential weathering and patination rates between them to determine a chronology for motifs. Unfortunately, this kind of experimental archaeology is beyond the scope of this project. A relative chronology informed by *'portrayal of dateable subject matter'* (McDonald 2006:78) is appropriate here, as the usual inherent dangers of using informed methods such as ethnographic analogy are minimised by the fact that the cultural context of the graffiti's production is known. Furthermore, when we are aware of possible cultural premises that may have influenced the production of an image, formal approaches to analogy such as the use of semiotics (McDonald 2006:70) are also possible. An example that fits both these criterion is Motif 62 (site 11) 'A drop of poison' which is a written motif done in the style of the cover art of the band 'Poison' who were popular from the mid to late 1980's (allmusic.com) thus the motif must be dated between 1984 and

1991. One reliably dateable inscription exists in the form of newspaper clippings of cars on panel 4, site 11(motif 152). One of the clippings has the sale description and photograph of a 1989 Mazda Mx6 Coupe 4w steer with the price '$24,900'. The EGC price (manufacturer recommended price) for this model, new, was $35,385 (Redbook car sales 2014). The age and price of the car indicates that the pictures were put up in the cell, not only post 1989 but that the car advertised was second hand as it had depreciated by approximately $1500 thus the pictures were most likely put on the wall between 1990-91.

There is a lot of fading that may aid the dating of motifs in this cell. Superimposition of motifs with dates below other motifs suggest the motif above was created after the date written for example in site 11 motif 43 (brick wall motif) is the layer above motif 137 which reads ‘Marshy was ere 91’. However, the inscription of a date is not a suitably reliable dating method on it’s own.

An example of an inscribed date is from site 6 (D61) motif 9 ‘Full Name date (1990) from N.S.W. 5 years in this hell hole’. An example of the potential for inscribed dates to be misleading is from site 7 (F67) motif 22 ‘First name surname 5 years 91-94’.

Spatial Analysis

Spatial analysis is applied to the prison with attention to interior spaces (see Bavin 1994) quantifying the spatial distribution of inscriptions. Application of spatial analysis to inscription within cellular and congregate spaces at Fremantle Prison is primarily concerned with ‘relationship between space and people’ following previous studies (Bavin 1994:151) of places of confinement. ‘Dimensional analysis of variance’ as applied to spatiality at Fremantle Prison by Bavin (1994:152) aids explication of patterns of association indicated by the spatial organisation of graffiti and other marks (see Schiffer 1974:491). Unlike Whallon's application of dimensional analysis, which Schiffer (1974:492) critiques as not providing justification for ‘paths taken’, my application of this approach is operating on the hypothesis that: a correlation between motif and graffiti types and their placement in either highly visible, private or hidden spaces is observable. Spatial analysis as it relates to stylistic typologies of motifs is concurrent with rock art analysis whereby styles may occur in ‘more than one kind of physical location’ (Sundstrom 2012:327) but are also relative to hidden or open visibility within the landscape (Sundstrom 2012:327).

My assessment of the site in February and March 2014 illuminated the need for archaeological examination of graffiti and other inscription to understand their temporality, meaning and management. I follow a hybrid combination of Rock Art plus Historical Archaeology methodology. Each prison space is conceptualised as a 'site' within the broader geography of the prison cultural landscape. Within each site, inscription surfaces are assigned panel

numbers, and graffiti and other inscriptions recorded as motifs. Panels are defined by the physicality of the sites. Each wall, floor and ceiling surface is conceptualised as a panel. The walls are numbered one to four, panel number one being the wall directly to the left as you enter the cell. Numeration of the wall panels continues in a clockwise direction, thus, whether the cell is on the Eastern or Western side of the main cell block, panel four is always the wall containing the doors and door recesses. This is important because panel four, (particularly the recesses and backs of doors) is the primary local of 'private' inscription, in that it is not visible when looking through the spy-hole or doorway. The floor and ceiling spaces share sightlines of visibility as shown in Figure 4.9 and Figure 4.10. Motifs locations, whether on the floor, ceiling, windows, doors or walls are mapped. Dimensions of motifs are recorded and the degree of visibility noted to inform spatial analysis. Unlike theoretical approaches to viewscapes often applied to archaeological sites (e.g.Owoc 2006; Holmberg et al 2006) for this project, ‘seeing’ is literal.

Within the cells, the spatial position of motifs is recorded in terms of degrees of visibility when looking from the open door and through the peephole. The classification of motifs as either ‘highly visible’, ‘hidden’ or ‘private’ is determined as per, the gaze of the guards. Figure 4.9 and Figure 4.10 represent a bird’s eye view of a typical prison cell. Dimensions of the cells were measured and found to be uniform in size. Sightlines were created by measuring the broadest fields of view from the doorway with the door open, shown in Figure 4.10 and with the door closed (looking through the peephole) shown in Figure 4.9. The sightlines were measured using a laser

pointer and checked by having two people of varying heights ‘look in’ as if they were a guard, not stepping over the wooden threshold or leaning into the cell. When looking through the peephole it is possible to cast one’s gaze side to side. This field of view is labelled as ‘spyhole scanning’ in Figure 4.9 and illustrates the space within the cell that is ‘highly visible’ to the guard’s eye. In Figure 4.10 ‘visible spyhole’ represents the visibility of the cell interior when looking straight ahead through the peephole. In both Figure 4.9 and Figure 4.10 the space within the cell that is ‘hidden’ from the gaze of the guard is shown in black. When the door is open, as illustrated in Figure 4.10 54.5cm more of the wall directly to the left of the door (panel 1) is highly visible and visibility of the opposite wall (panel 3) is the same. As such the sightlines in Figure 4.10 represent the measurements of visibility as discussed within this dissertation. The space in the cell shown as ‘private’ in Figure 4.10 is all of panel 4 (floor to ceiling) and the area to the left of the doorway fully obscured by the open door. Documentary footage from 1993 shows an ex-inmate and artist indicating the panel 4 corner furthest from the door as the most private space to start drawing saying ‘I started it [large tattoo style dragon painting] over there so I couldn’t be seen’ (Isaac 1993). Visibility of the ceiling and floor areas corresponds with the sightlines showing visibility of the walls except for the edge of the rectangular light fixture that is furthest from the door.

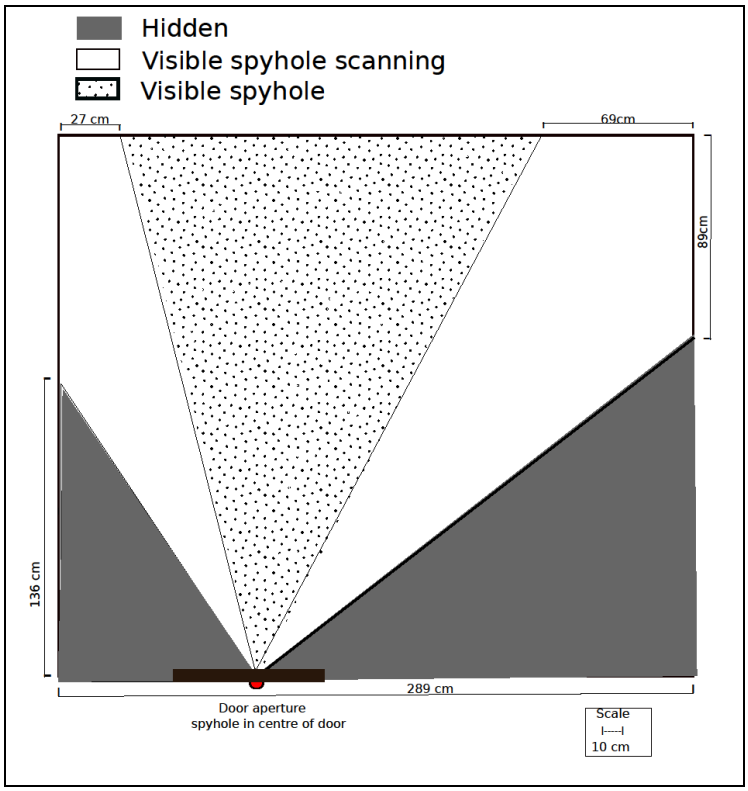


Figure 4.9 Degrees of visibility looking into a cell through the peephole. (birds-eye view)

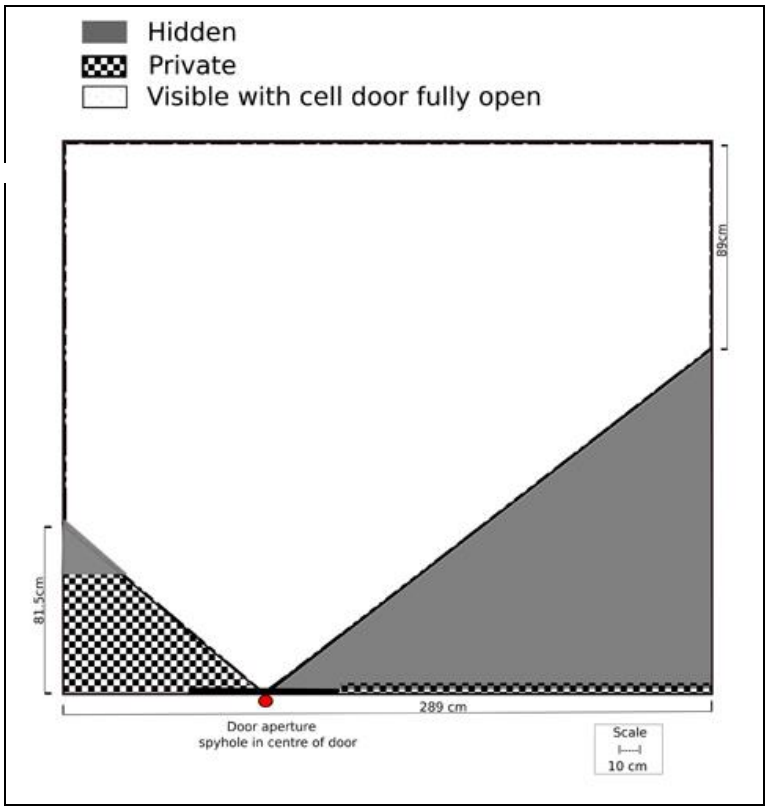


Figure 4.10 Degrees of visibility looking into a cell from the doorway (birds-eye view).

It is important to reiterate the point that prison cells are a quasi-private environment, which may be intruded upon at any time. Highly visible space may be viewed easily by guards and occasionally by other inmates walking past the open door. Private space is only viewed by the inhabitants of a cell. Hidden space has liminal qualities; although these areas are not easily seen during nightly checks through the peephole, or on opening of the cell door, it would only take the guard to take one step into the cell, to make these 'hidden' spaces highly visible. Alternatively a guard would only see the private spaces when carrying out a thorough cell-check or if they stepped into the cell and turned around to face panel 4, which they did not do unless there were no inmates in the cell.

Historical Sources

Unlike written accounts within historical sources and anthropological enquiry via ethnography, archaeological investigation employs methods resistant to biases inherent in studies reliant on information gleaned from sources with vested interests. Archaeology looks to material culture to provide information on elements of lifeways, such as diet, which may be invisible within the historical record. Thus, archaeological studies can supplement and enhance historical accounts of places and people associated with those places. This is certainly the situation at Fannie Bay Gaol in Darwin which, like Fremantle Prison is open to the public as a heritage site and museum. Dewar and Fredericksen's (2003:63) assessment of archaeological input into the site's function as a museum contended that 'while the records illustrate the institutional history, the archaeological evidence reveals the social.'

Furthermore, previously unknown aspects of people's lives (especially those who were voiceless or marginalised) may be unearthed via archaeological investigation, as was the case in Casella's (2001) analysis of artefacts from Ross female factory in Tasmania.

Amongst others, biases include a preference for morbid one sided accounts of inmate's character in the name of 'dark tourism' (Wilson 2008:104). Kumar (2009) argues that 'Convict Heritage Tourism' (Kumar 2009:212) at Fremantle prison should not be considered 'Dark Tourism' as it 'has to be appreciated that the life of the commoner has been showcased as a tourism product.' (Kumar 2009:212) Despite Kumar's (2009) attention to the fact that the history of Fremantle Prison, as presented to suit the tourist gaze, may be historically inauthentic, he fails to acknowledge that the prison's history also includes the history of individuals within living memory.

Informed methods (Taçon and Chippindale 2004) in the form of archival sources, historic accounts, published interviews and utilisation of sociological knowledge is applied. Inclusion of such sources in concert with durable archaeological data allows objective investigation of the functions of graffiti and inscription at the prison. 'Informed' methods are in the minority: relating to public domain information on the experiences of people connected to Fremantle Prison.

Chapter 5: Results

This chapter presents results from data collated from appendix 1 in the form of graphs and descriptions of sites 1-12, with attention to the visibility of motifs being either, highly visible, hidden or private.

The landscape of inscription

The site numbers were ascribed in order of recording. All site codes are preceded by 'FP MB' (Fremantle Prison Main Block). Additions to the site code e.g. H63 indicate the numeration used by the prison for the cells indicated on division maps Table 5.1. The random stratified sample of cells yielded no pattern of inscription in relation to the cell location other than that both S11 and S4 (which have the highest number of motifs) are both located on the Western side of the Main cell Block which has better natural light.

Site Code	**S1 H63**	**S2 H60**	**S3 H59**	**S4 G15**	**S5 F60**	**S6 D61**	**S7 F67**	**S8 C16**	**S9 C17**	**S10 D65**	**S11 E9**	**S12 yard**
Number of Motifs	39	35	83	127	25	48	22	85	15	44	184	66
Floor	3rd	3rd	3rd	3rd	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	1st	1st	2nd	ground

Table 5.1 Location of sites and number of motifs

The following breakdown of nominal variables, as they relate to placement in 'highly visible', 'hidden' or 'private' locales, only concerns the cell spaces. Graphs illustrating results for all pictorial and written motifs within the cells (sites 1-11) are presented first, followed by individual cell/site results. Some motifs are made up of composite parts that are both pictorial and written or

fulfil two or more criteria thus, the ‘icon type’ and ‘text detail’ are extrapolations from the pictorial and written counts. Graphs showing icon type are only provided for sites wherein a variety of icon types are present Results pertaining to site 12 Division 2 yard are not included in these results. The yard is a congregate area where the potential for 'being seen' is high, thus, presented separately.

Total number of motifs recorded (interior of cells) = 707

The number of motifs for sites 1-11 as presented in appendix 2, add up to 709 motifs because motif number 25 in site 11 and motif number 11 in site 4 are single motifs made up of two parts (i.e. part a and b) recorded separately.

The following results present the number of pictorial and written motifs.

Visibility vs pictorial

Of the 29 cartoon drawings, many are of characters from well-known comics such as Donald Duck and Garfield these are generally quite large, inoffensive and at times humorous. Of the drawings depicting people, only female figures are placed in 'private' locals suggesting separate meaning and function behind the inscription of male and female figure motifs, as shown in Figure 5.1. The icon typology predominates. Icon types recorded are: peace symbol, heart, religious, dollar sign, musical notes, smiley face, prison icon (e.g. prison bars, prison key) skull, popular culture (e.g. music and television icons), political (e.g. aboriginal flag, swastika) and drug related. The predominant icon type is 'hearts'. These vary in size and are located in 'highly

visible', 'hidden' and 'private' spaces within the cells. Of the 31 heart motifs 17 are 'highly visible', 4 are 'hidden and 10 are 'private.

The 'other' category for motif types consist of miscellaneous scribbles, random paint marks and indeterminate shapes. These are present in all cells and all three delineations of visibility. Of the 14 landscape motifs only 1 is in a private locale opposed to 7 in highly visible and 6 in hidden locales. The landscape motifs are disproportionately larger in size compared to other pictorial and written motifs (see appendix 2, area in sq. cm) and half of the landscape motifs are done in paint. (Figure 5.1)

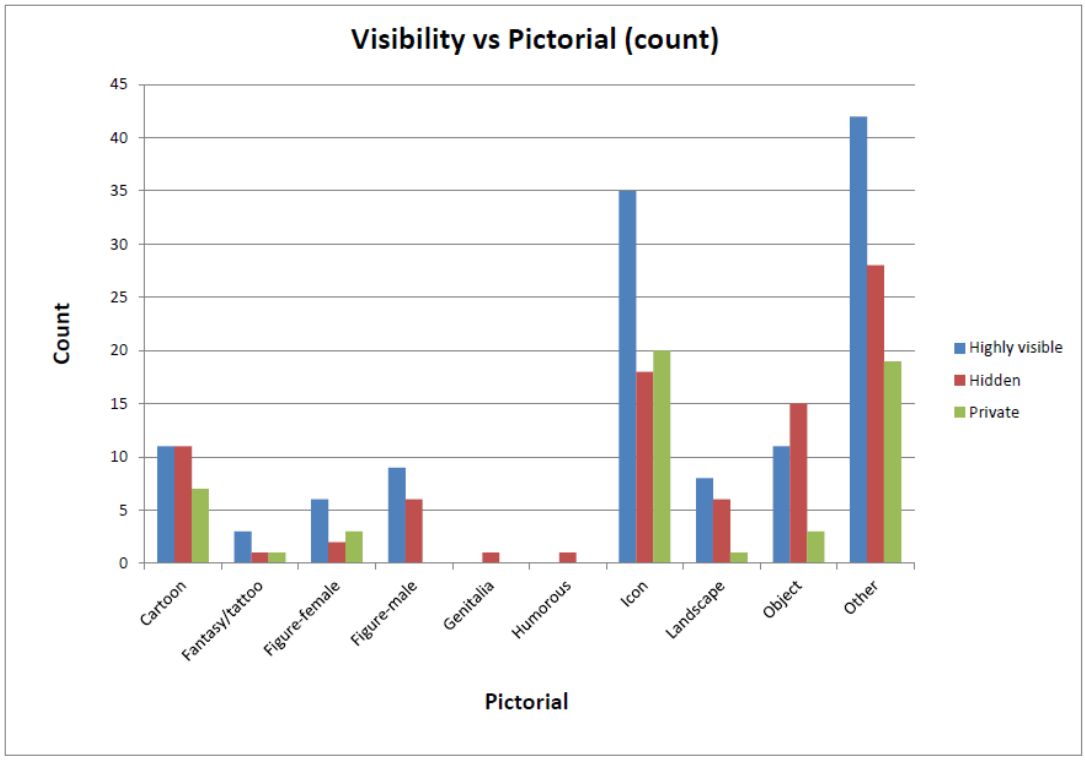


Figure 5.1 All cells (sites 1-11) visibility of pictorial motifs

Visibility vs written

The visibility of written motifs under the categories administrative, authored, geometric, miscellaneous writing, numbers, poem/story, tag, tally marks and other are is shown in Figure 5.2

The single administrative mark is motif 107 in site 4 (G15). Authored motifs include pictorial and written motifs that are accompanied by a name (nicknames included) as well as motifs solely comprised of a name or a name and date. Of the 101 authored motifs 73 are 'private' and 'hidden'. 'named others' are not included in the 'authored' count, these come under the miscellaneous writing, heading and are bound within 'love' and 'hate' messages. Numbers include maths equations, measurements, phone numbers and miscellaneous single numbers but not dates. Motifs within the 'other' category are mostly those that are indeterminate. Poem/story motifs make up a large proportion of the 'cathartic' motifs shown in the following graph. The 'tags' are almost all in site 4 (G15) on every wall panel, thus the spatial positioning of these motifs is not representative of a preference for the placement of these motifs. Of the 9 tally mark motifs, those done in 'private' are all in pencil and those in highly visible space are all scratched or incised.

Visibility vs text detail

The categories within ‘text detail’ shown in Figure 5. 3 are a qualitative breakdown of the ‘miscellaneous’ and ‘poem or story’ categories, as described in chapter 4 and shown in Figure 5.2. 35 of the cathartic motifs are poems or stories, 15 comprise of a name or date and the remainder are

other written expressions of catharsis. There are only 2 examples of additional text in private locales within all the cells. Throughout sites 1-11 ‘hate messages’ occur in all three delineations of space, whereas the number of ‘threat’ and ‘profanity’ motifs in highly visible locales is significantly less than in hidden or private, and misogynistic motifs only occur in private space within the cells. Of the 22 ‘love messages’ only 5 are in private locales. Only 6 ‘humorous’ motifs are highly visible opposed to the 13 in hidden space and 16 in private (Figure 5. 3).

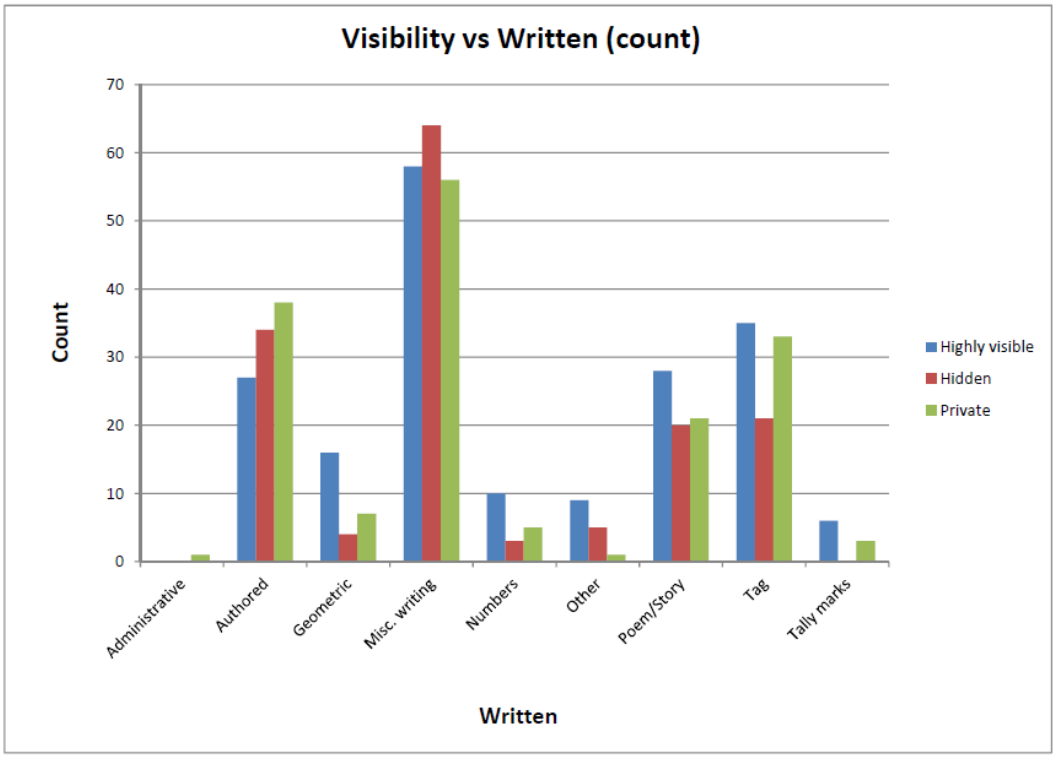


Figure 5.2 All cells (sites 1-11) visibility of written motifs.

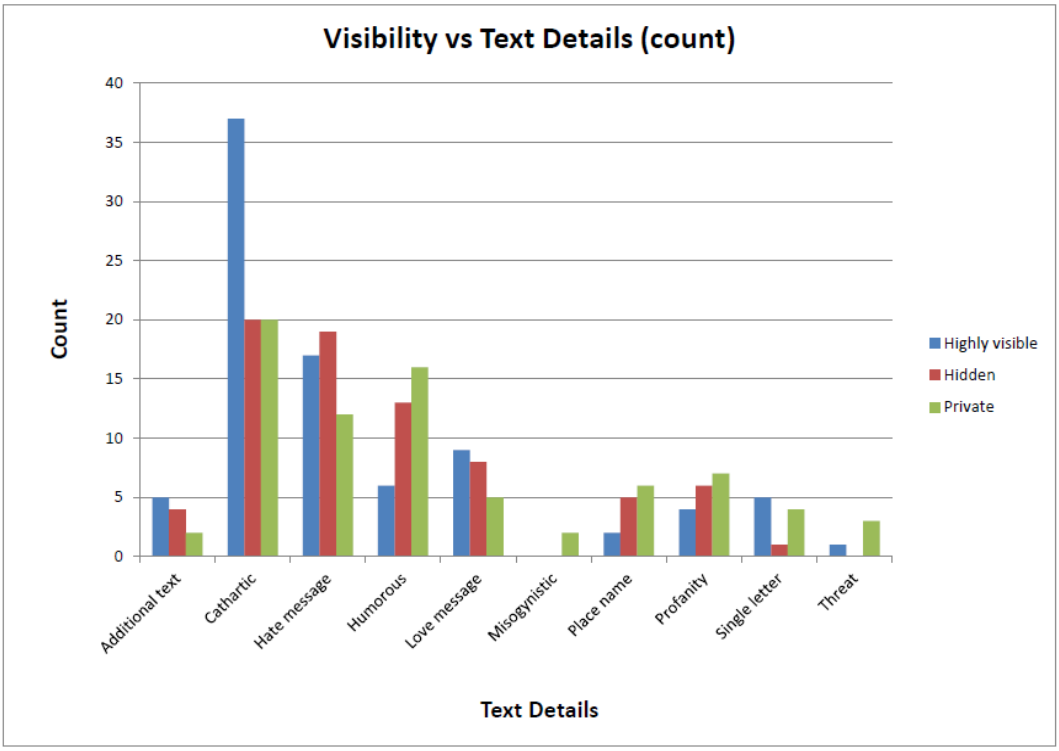


Figure 5. 3 All cells (sites 1-11) visibility of motif text details.

Visibility vs text detail (average size)

To some degree the size of motifs and their visibility in Figure 5.4 mirror the number of motifs as they appear in highly visible, hidden and private locales. Additional text motifs in highly visible space are considerably larger than those that are private or hidden. Cathartic motifs that are highly visible and hidden are considerably larger than those in private space. Although there are less hate messages in private space than in hidden or highly visible locales these private hate messages are larger than their counterparts. Similarly, although private space is the primary locale for humorous motifs, the humorous motifs in hidden locales are disproportionately large.

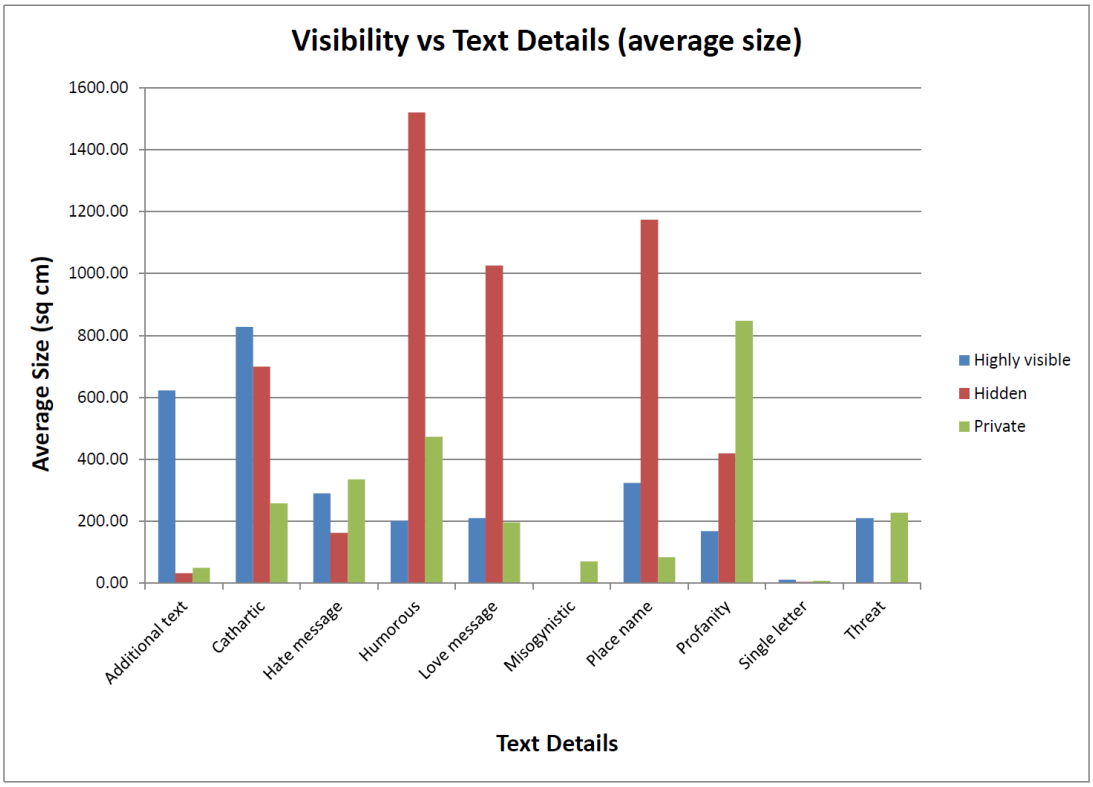


Figure 5.4 All cells (sites 1-11) visibility and size of motifs.

The sites

Site 1

Third Floor (Eastern side of the Main Cell Block)

Site Code-FP MB S1 (H63)

All four wall-panels in this cell have graffiti on them. No visible motifs exist on the floor or ceiling panels. Of the 38 motifs 2 are on panel 1 (North), 6 on panel 2 (East), 17 on panel 3 (South) and 13 on panel 4 (West).10 of the motifs are scratched into or drawn on toothpaste splodges which are around 3.5 cm sq. in size and in highly visible locales.

Visibility vs Pictorial site 1

The only pictorial motifs in this cell are 6 hearts (5 highly visible and one private) and 4 ‘other’ marks which are: a roughly drawn circle in the hidden portion of panel 3, vertical brush strokes covering the back of the door and extending to the door recess and a feint paint splatter on panel 4.

Visibility vs written site 1

Of the site 1 written motifs, 4 are in private space within the cell whilst 9 are in hidden and18 are in highly visible locals. The authored motifs include 2 named others (female) 4 initials 2 full name and date and 1 nickname. The tag motif shown in Figure 5. 6 is the same as one of the ‘initials’ motifs but is done in a tag style. The highly visible motif within the ‘other’ category in Figure 5.5 is not specifically a motif, rather, a remnant of printed text left behind on the toothpaste which was used as adhesive. The tally marks are

all scratched or incised. Love messages are predominant in this cell and the single letters represented in Figure 5.5 and one of the initials match the first letters of the named women. (Figure 5. 6)

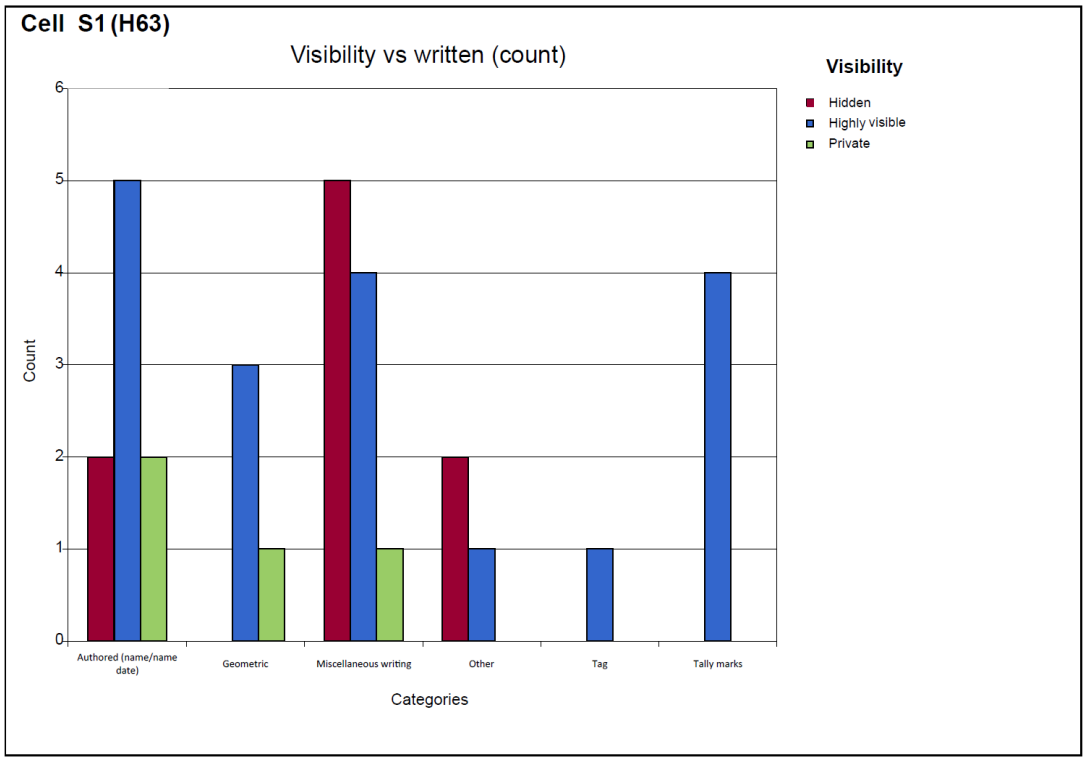


Figure 5.5 Site 1(H63) visibility of written motifs.

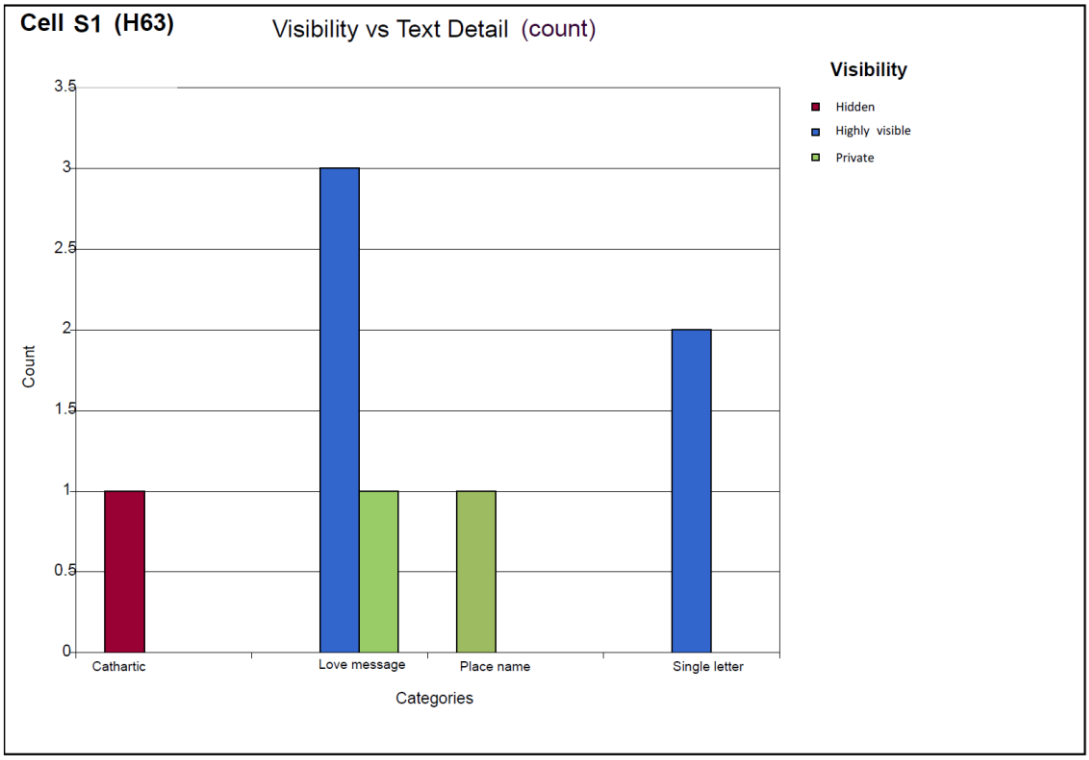


Figure 5. 6 Site 1(H63) visibility of written motifs (text detail).

Site 2

Third Floor (Eastern side of the Main Cell Block)

Site Code-FP MB S2 (H60)

All four wall-panels in this cell have graffiti on them. Of the 35 motifs 3 are on panel 1 (North), 4 on panel 2 (East), 11 on panel 3 (South) and 16 on panel 4 (West). There is 1 motif on panel 5 (ceiling) on the light fixture. There is one motif on panel 5 (ceiling) on the light fixture.

Visibility vs Pictorial site 2

Of the 2 icons 1 is religious (hidden) one is a heart (private).

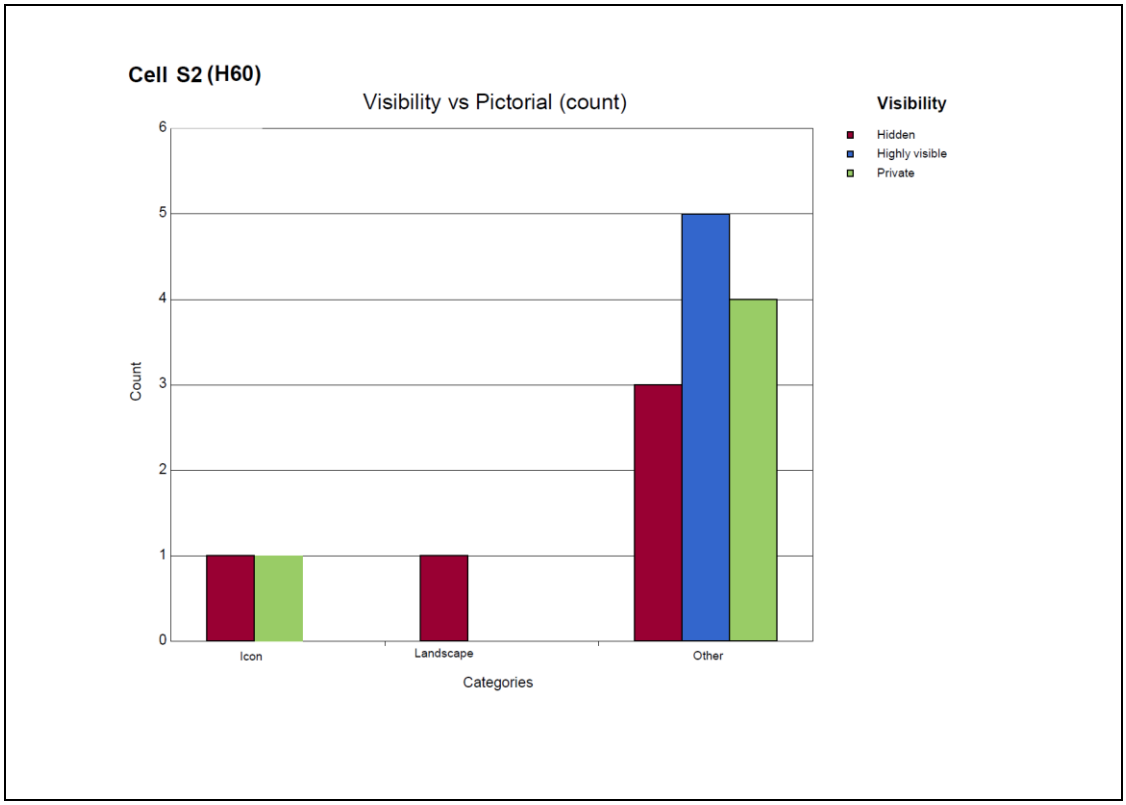


Figure 5.7 Site 2 (H60) visibility of pictorial motifs.

Visibility vs written site 2

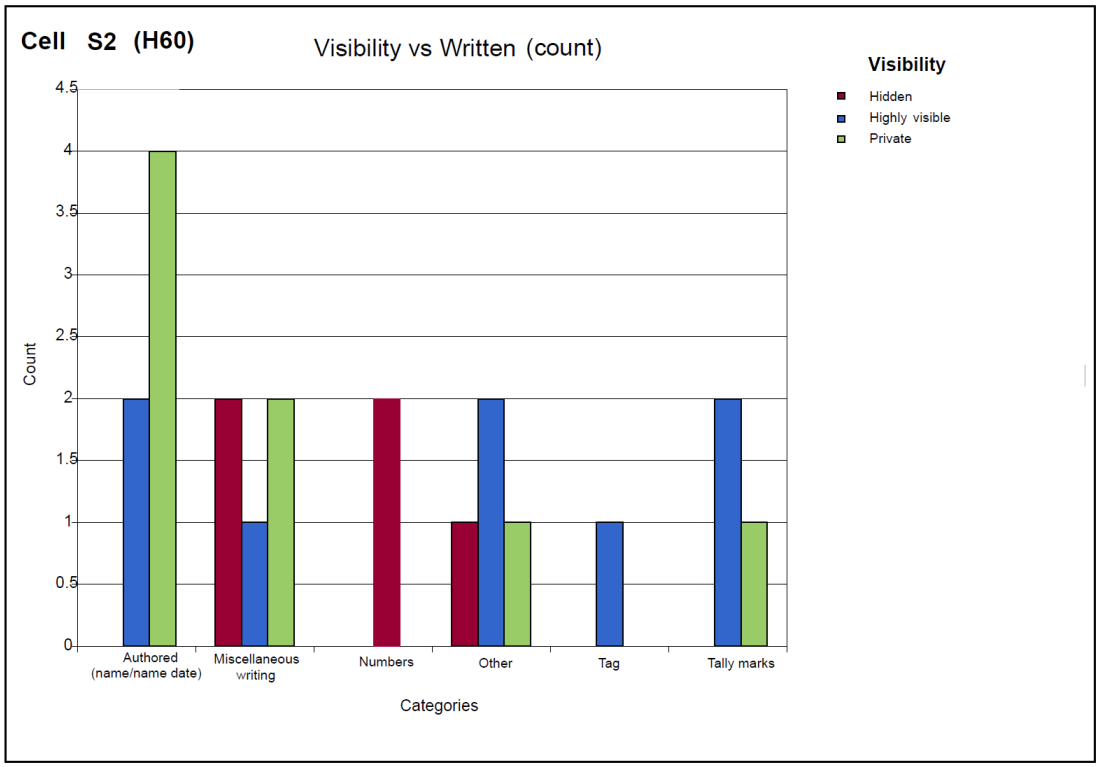


Figure 5.8 Site 2 (H60) visibility of written motifs.

Site 3

Third Floor (Eastern side of the Main Cell Block)

Site Code-FP MB S3 (H69)

All four wall-panels in this cell have graffiti on them. Of the 84 motifs 19 are on panel 1 (North), 11 on panel 2 (East), 17 on panel 3 (South) and 35 on panel 4 (West). There are two motifs on panel 5 (ceiling) one is on a light fixture.

Visibility vs Pictorial site 3

Of the icons 1 is a dollar sign (highly visible) 2 are hearts (1 highly visible 1 hidden) 3 are peace symbols (2 hidden 1highly visible) one is political (highly visible) and 5 are popular culture (3 hidden 2 highly visible).

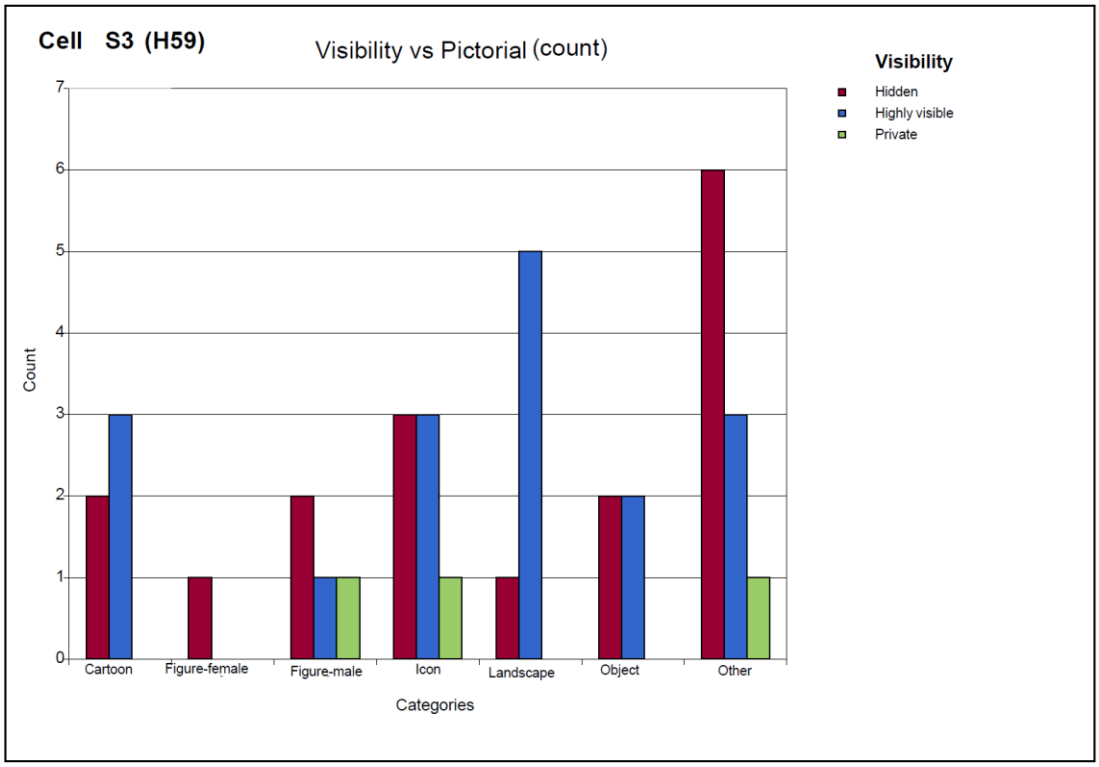


Figure 5.9 Site 3 (H59) visibility of pictorial motifs.

Visibility vs written site 3

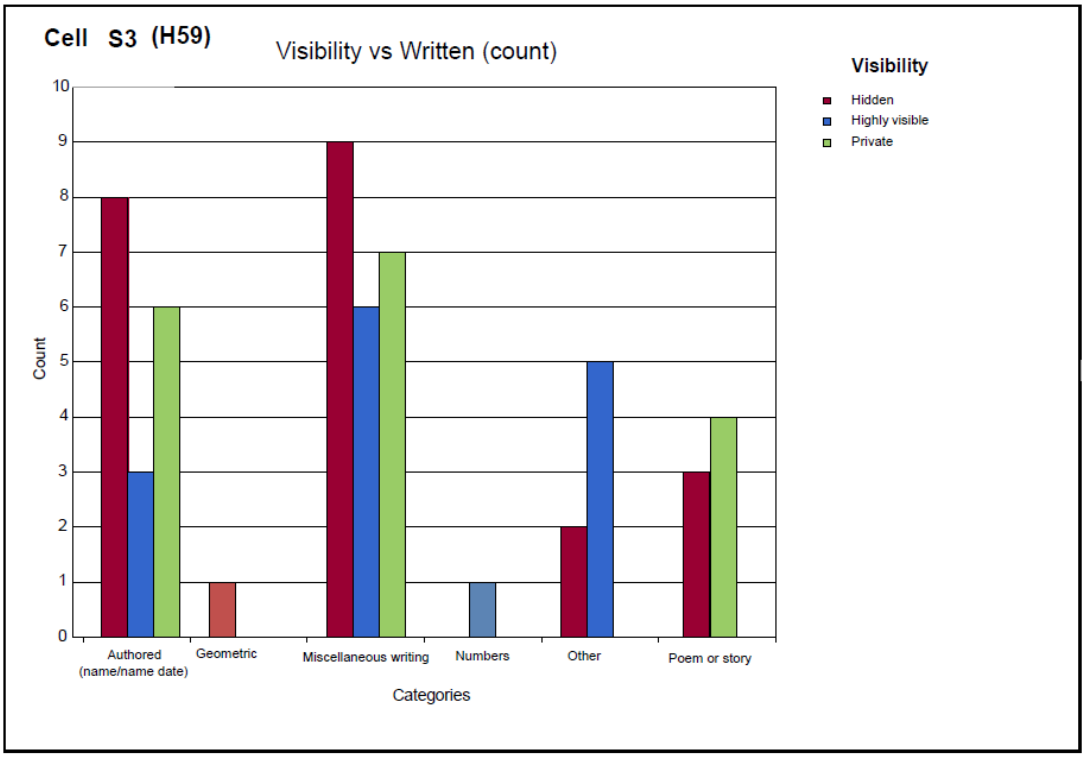


Figure 5.10 Site 3 (H59) visibility of written motifs.

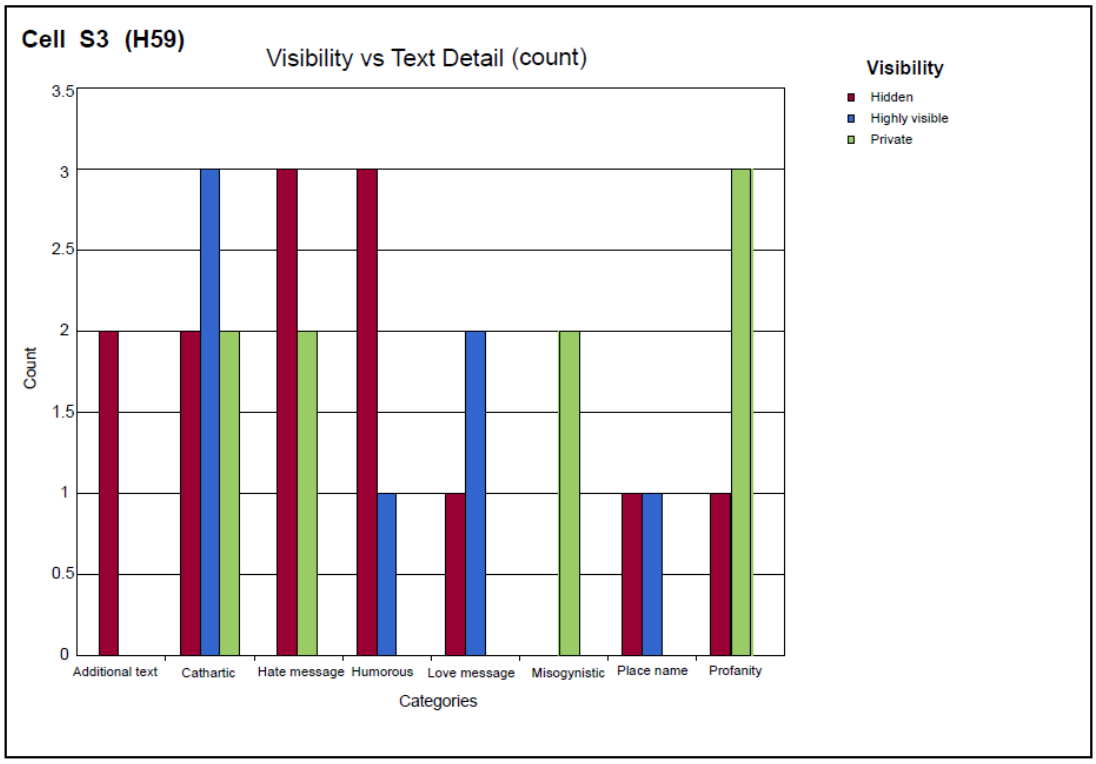


Figure 5.11 Site 3 (H59) visibility of written motifs (text detail).

Site 4

Third Floor (Western side of the Main Cell Block)

Site Code-FP MB S4 (G15)

All four wall-panels in this cell have graffiti on them. Of the 127 motifs 34 are on panel 1 (South), 10 on panel 2 (West), 24 on panel 3 (North) and 58 on panel 4 (East). There is 1 motif on panel 5 (ceiling) on the light fixture.

Visibility vs Pictorial site 4

Of the icons 1 is a prison icon (highly visible) 1 is a heart (private). There is also a dollar sign which makes up the ‘s’ in the tag ‘Dollar$’.

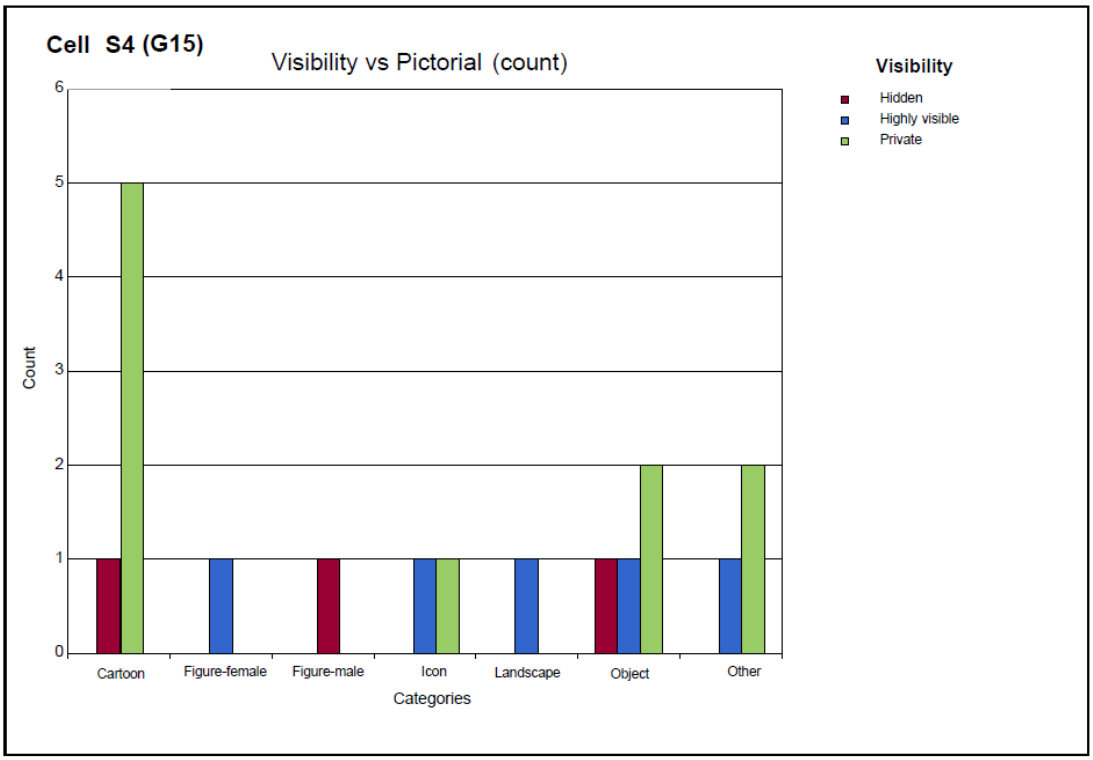


Figure 5.12 Site 4 (G15) visibility of pictorial motifs.

Visibility vs Written site 4

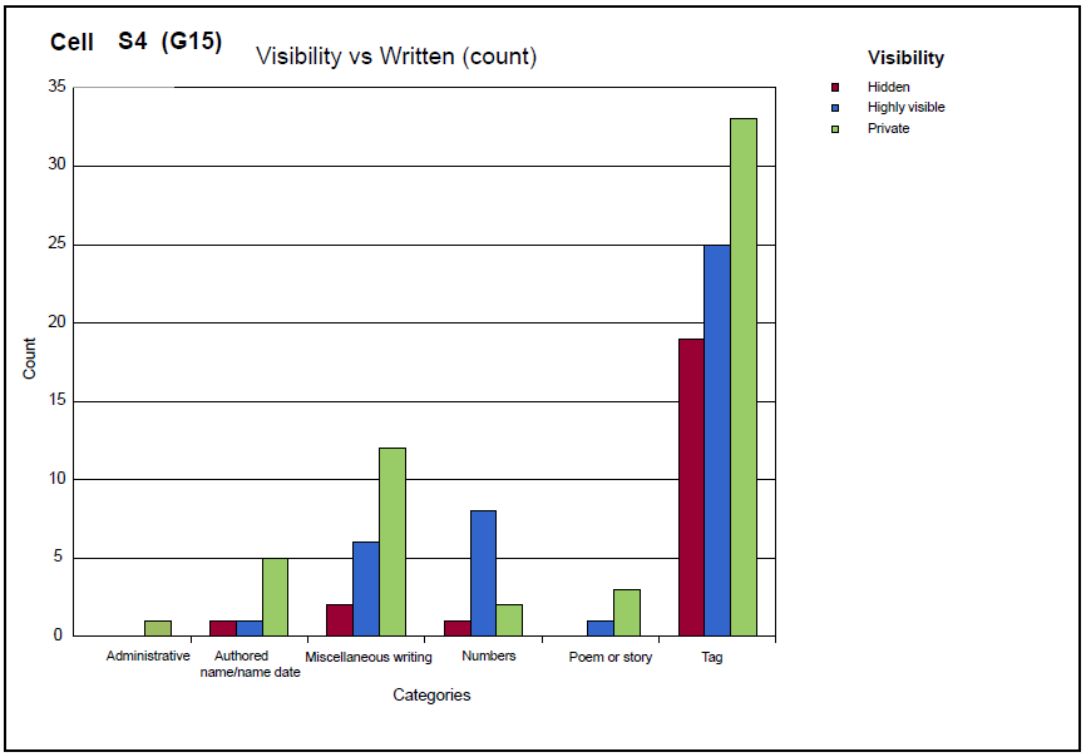


Figure 5.13 Site 4 (G15) visibility of written motifs.

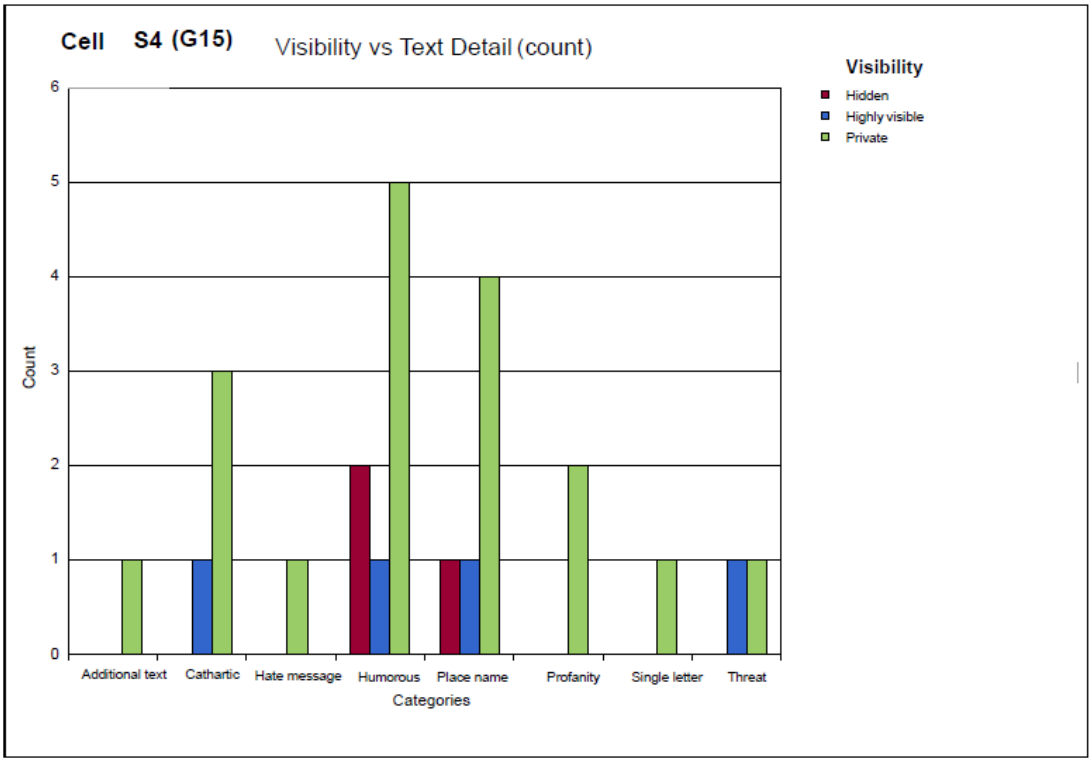


Figure 5.14 Site 4 (G15) visibility of written motifs (text detail).

Site 5

Second Floor (Eastern side of the Main Cell Block)

Site Code-FP MB S5 (F60)

All four wall-panels in this cell have graffiti on them. Of the 25 motifs 3 are on panel 1 (North), 5 on panel 2 (East), 4 on panel 3 (South) and 12 on panel 4 (West). There is 1 motif on panel 5 (ceiling) on the light fixture.

Visibility vs pictorial site 5

Of the icons 1 is a dollar sign (highly visible) 1 is a prison icon and 1is a skull.

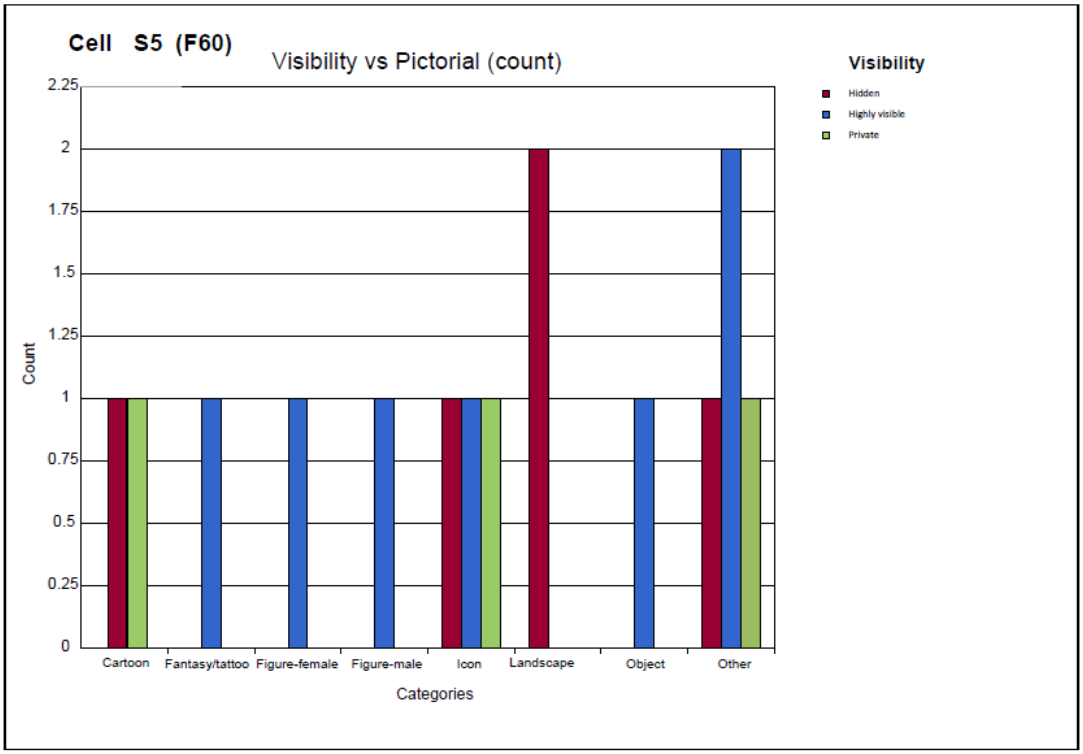


Figure 5.15 Site 5 (F60) visibility of pictorial motifs.

Visibility vs written site 5

Of the 8 motifs recorded as miscellaneous writing 1 is cathartic (private) 1 is humorous (private) and 1 is a place name. The other 5 do not fit into the text detail criteria.

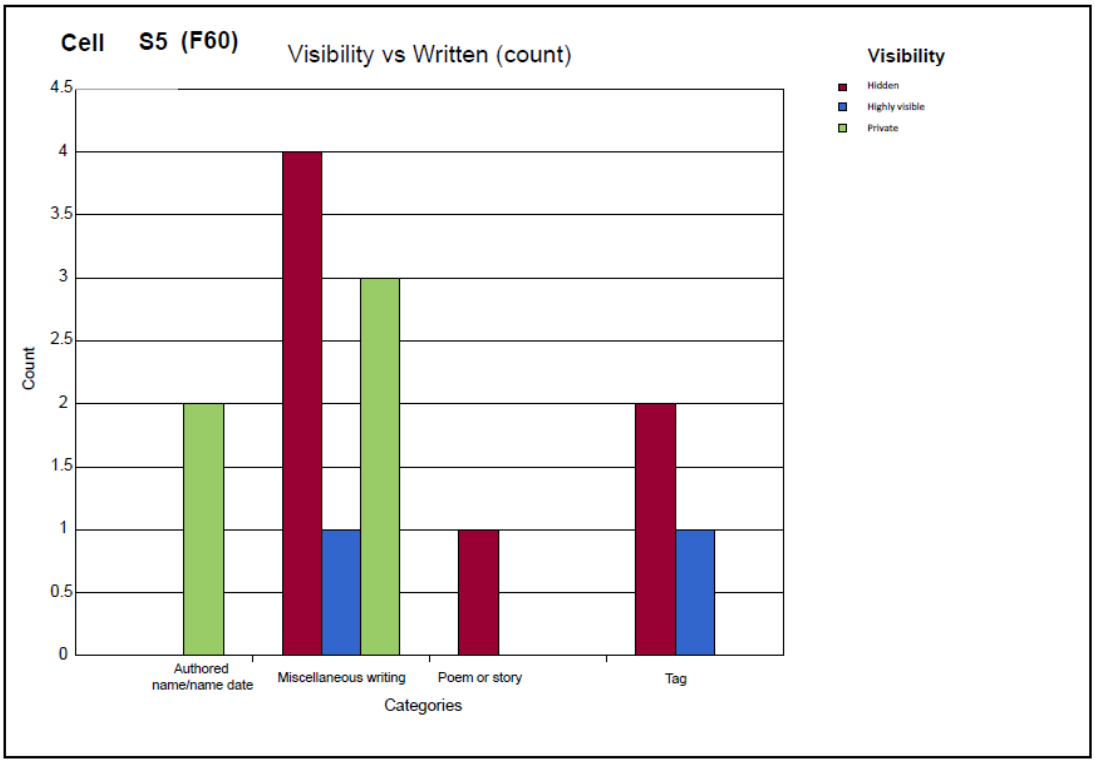


Figure 5.16 Site 5 (F60) visibility of written motifs.

Site 6

First Floor (Eastern side of the Main Cell Block)

Site Code-FP MB S6 (D61)

All four wall-panels in this cell have graffiti on them. Of the 48 motifs 8 are on panel 1 (North), 16 on panel 2 (East), 12 on panel 3 (South) and 10 on panel 4 (West). There are 2 motifs on panel 5 (ceiling) 1 is on the light fixture.

Visibility vs pictorial site 6

At this site highly visible pictorial motif predominate for all pictorial classifications and icon types as shown in Figure 5.17 and Figure 5.18.

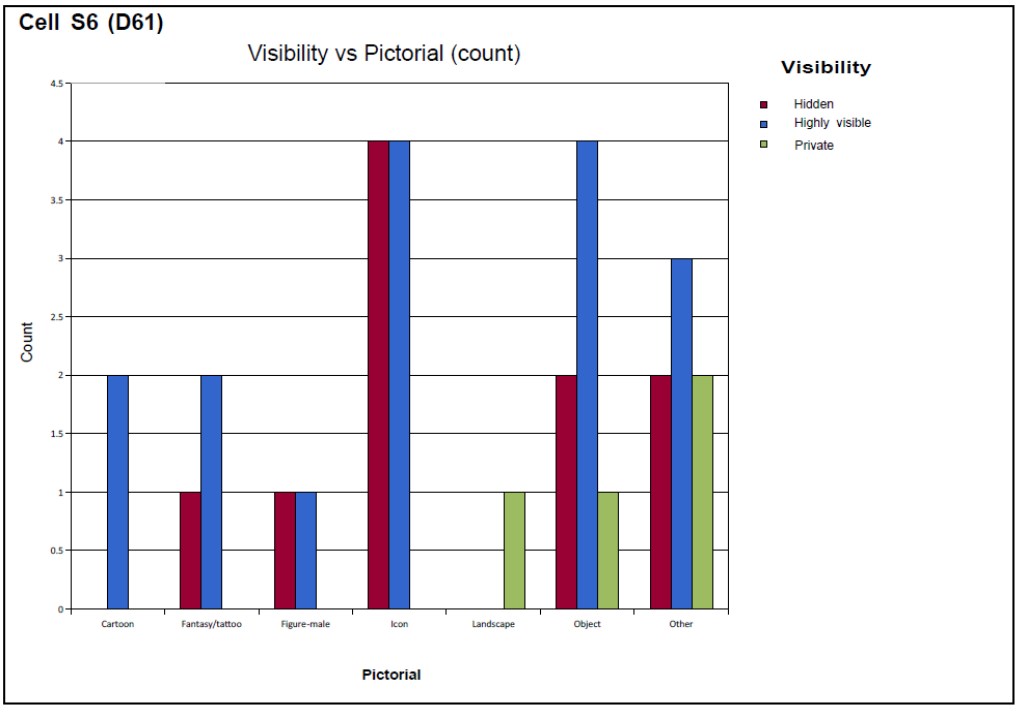


Figure 5.17 Site 6 visibility of pictorial motifs.

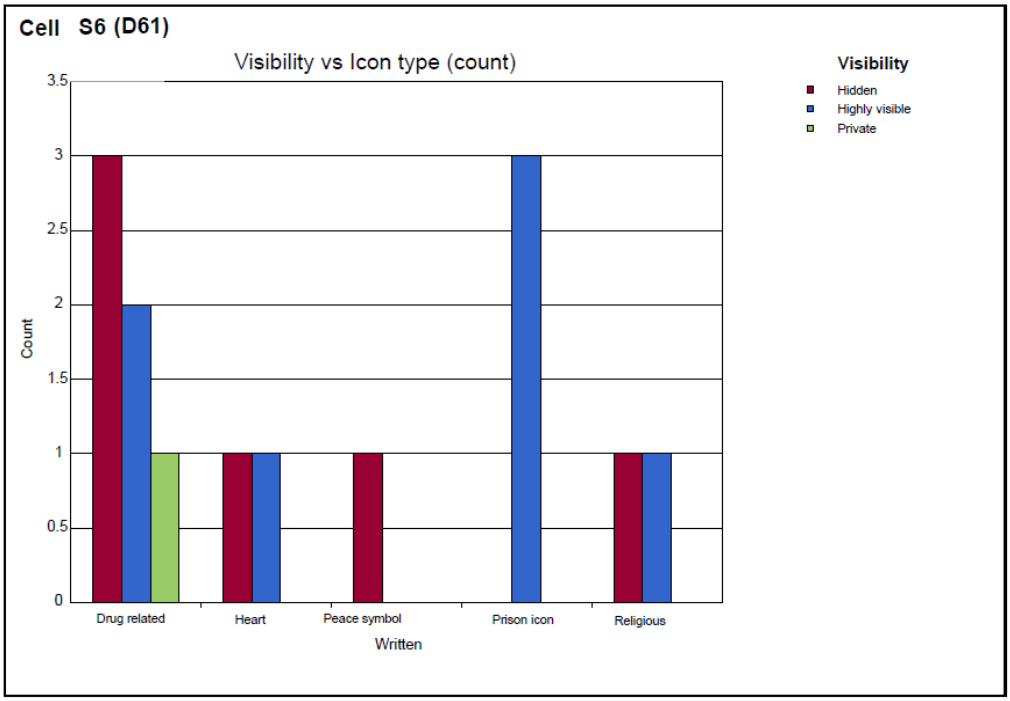


Figure 5.18 Site 6 visibility of icon types.

Visibility vs written site 6

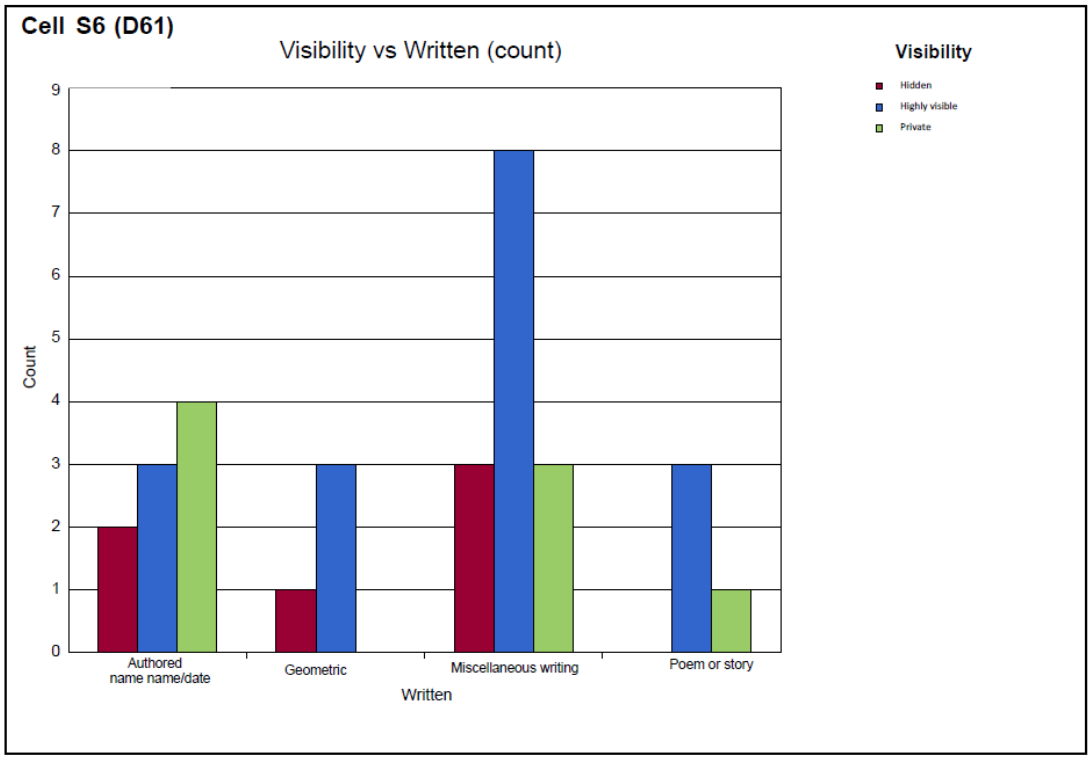


Figure 5.19 Site 6 visibility of written motifs.

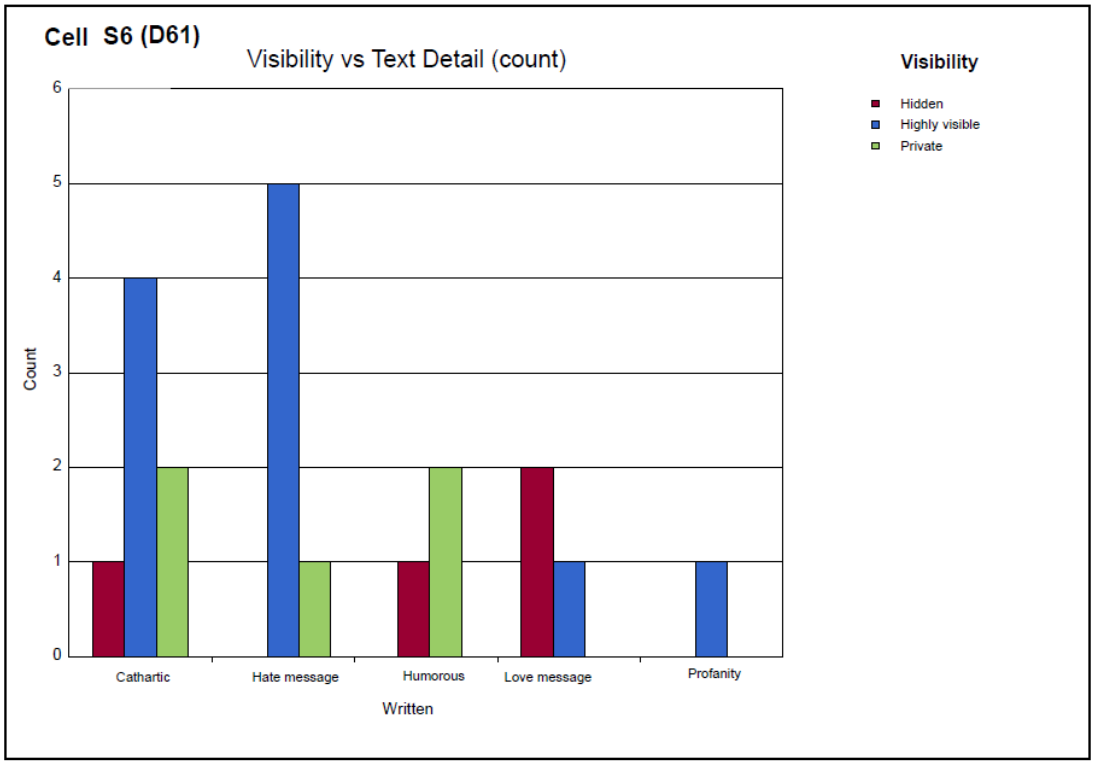


Figure 5 20 Site 6 visibility of written motifs (text detail).

Site 7

Second Floor (Eastern side of the Main Cell Block)

Site Code-FP MB S7 (F67)

All four wall-panels in this cell have graffiti on them. Of the 19 motifs 4 are on panel 1 (North), 4 on panel 2 (East), 3 on panel 3 (South) and 11 on panel 4 (West). There is 1 motif on panel 5 (ceiling) on the light fixture.

Visibility vs pictorial site 7

Of the 4 icon motifs 2 are popular culture (1highly visible 1 hidden) and 2 are hearts (private).

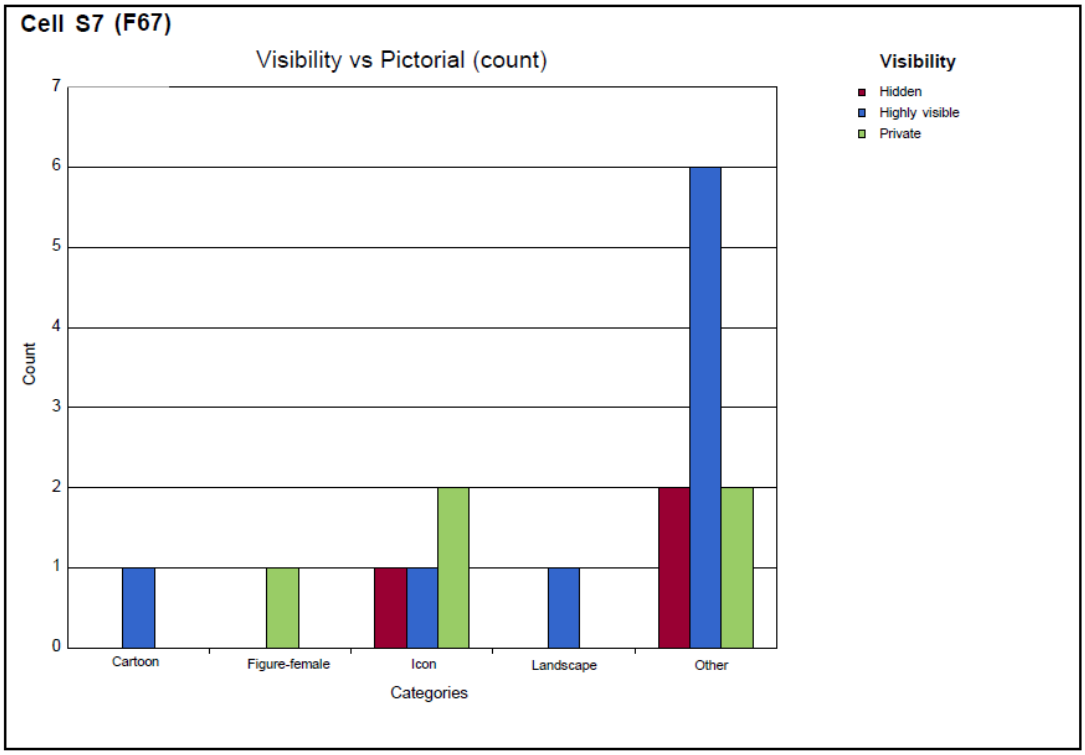


Figure 5.21 Site 7 visibility of pictorial motifs.

Visibility vs written site 7

All written motifs within this cell are names or names and dates, (6 are highly visible and 2 hidden).

Site 8

First Floor (Western side of the Main Cell Block)

Site Code-FP MB S8 (C16)

All four wall-panels in this cell have graffiti on them. Of the 85 motifs 19 are on panel 1 (South), 19 on panel 2 (West), 13 on panel 3 (North) and 33 on panel 4 (East). There is 1 motif on panel 5 (ceiling).

Visibility vs pictorial site 8

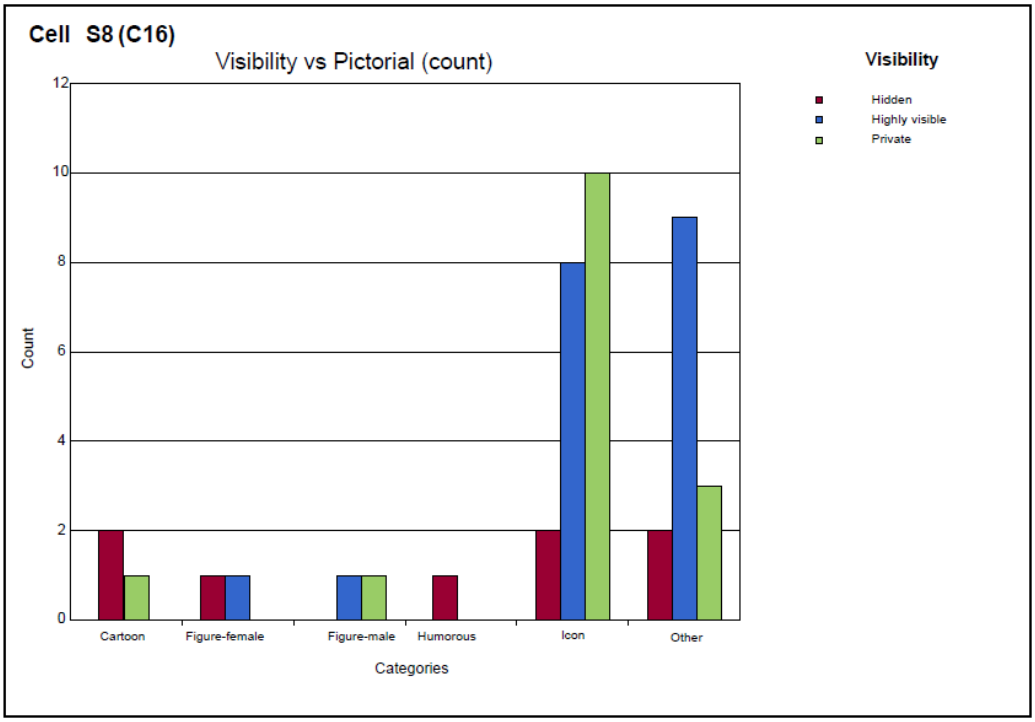


Figure 5.22 Site 8 visibility of pictorial motifs.

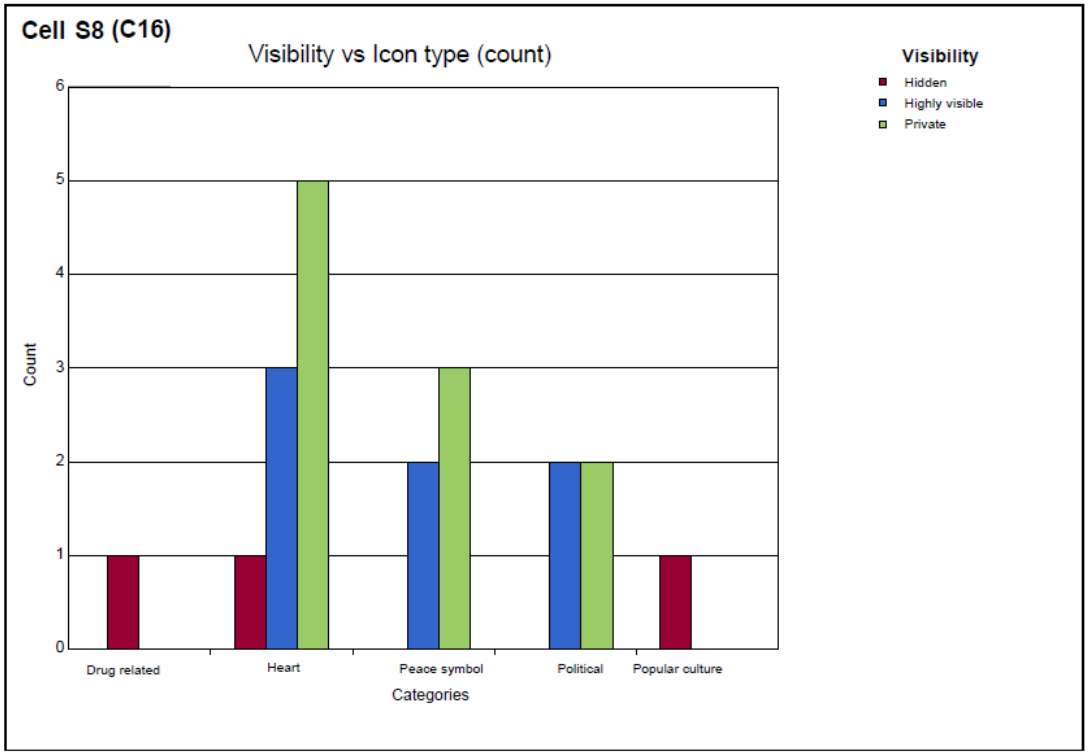


Figure 5.23 Site 8 visibility of pictorial motifs (icon type).

Visibility vs written site 8

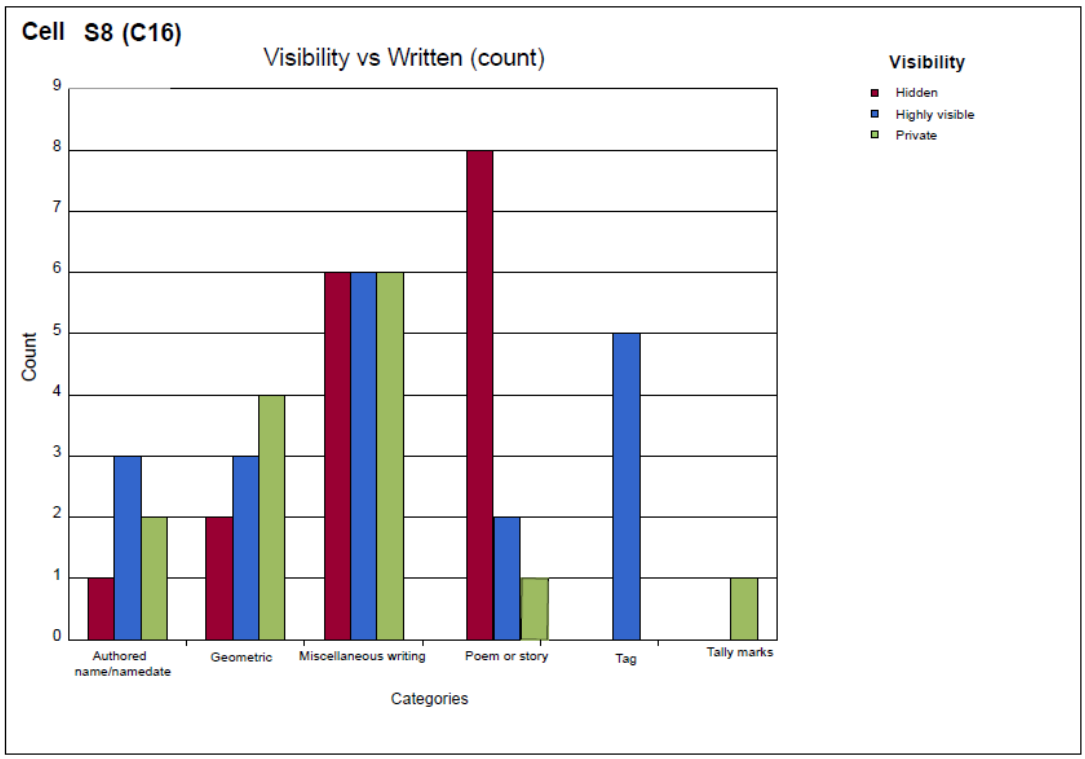


Figure 5.24 Site 8 visibility of written motifs.

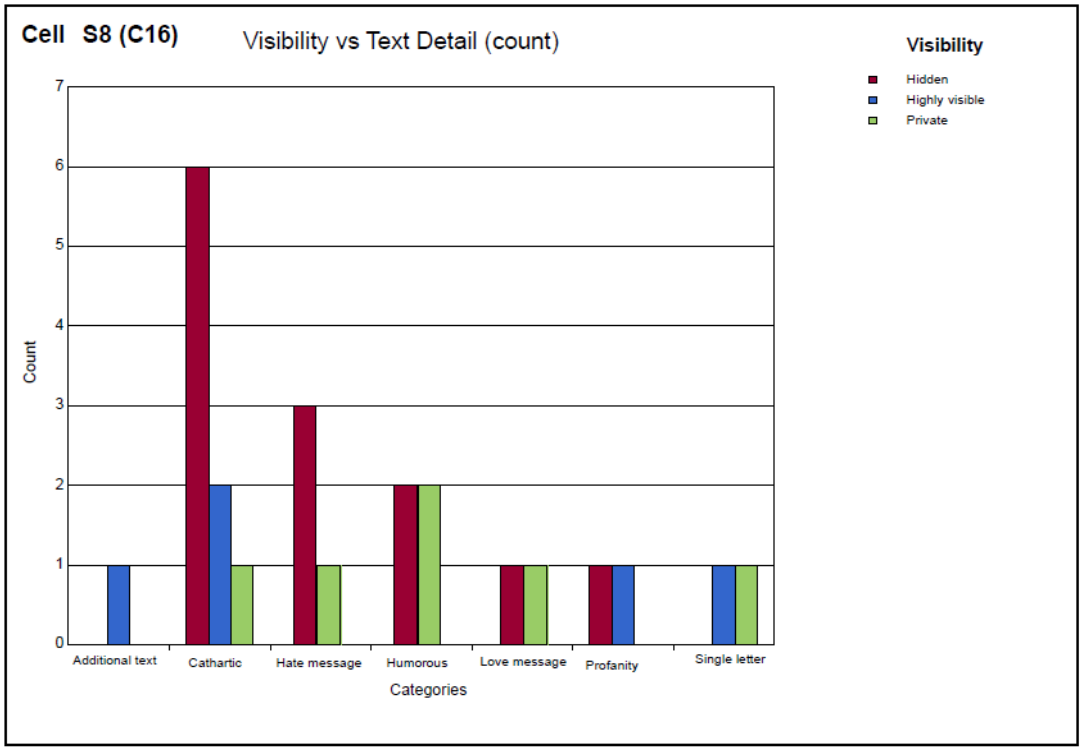


Figure 5.25 Site 8 visibility of written motifs (text detail).

Site 9

First Floor (Western side of the Main Cell Block)

Site Code-FP MB S9 (C17)

All four wall-panels in this cell have graffiti on them. Of the 15 motifs 2 are on panel 1 (South), 4 on panel 2 (West), 1 on panel 3 (North) and 3 on panel 4 (East). There are 5 motifs on panel 5 (ceiling) 3 of which are on the light fixture.

Visibility vs pictorial site 9

There are 5 pictorial motifs in this cell. 1 cartoon with text (highly visible) and 1 icon (highly visible) which is an arrow pointing upwards (in context with the location of the bunk bed) that accompanies the text ‘sleep here forever’. The other 3 pictorial motifs are 1 solid blob of pigment (highly visible), possibly obscuring something beneath and 2 groups of approximately 8 lines either side of the light fixture (1 highly visible 1 private) which create a blacked out section of the light fixture.

Visibility vs written site 9

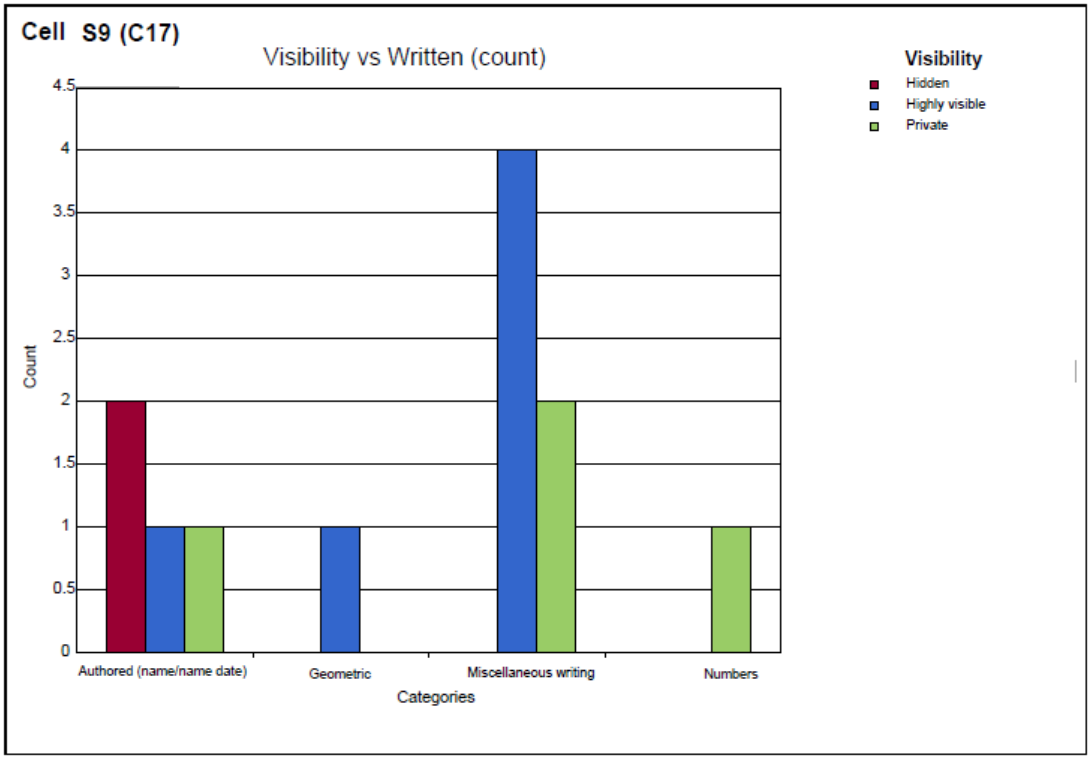


Figure 5.26 Site 9 visibility of written motifs.

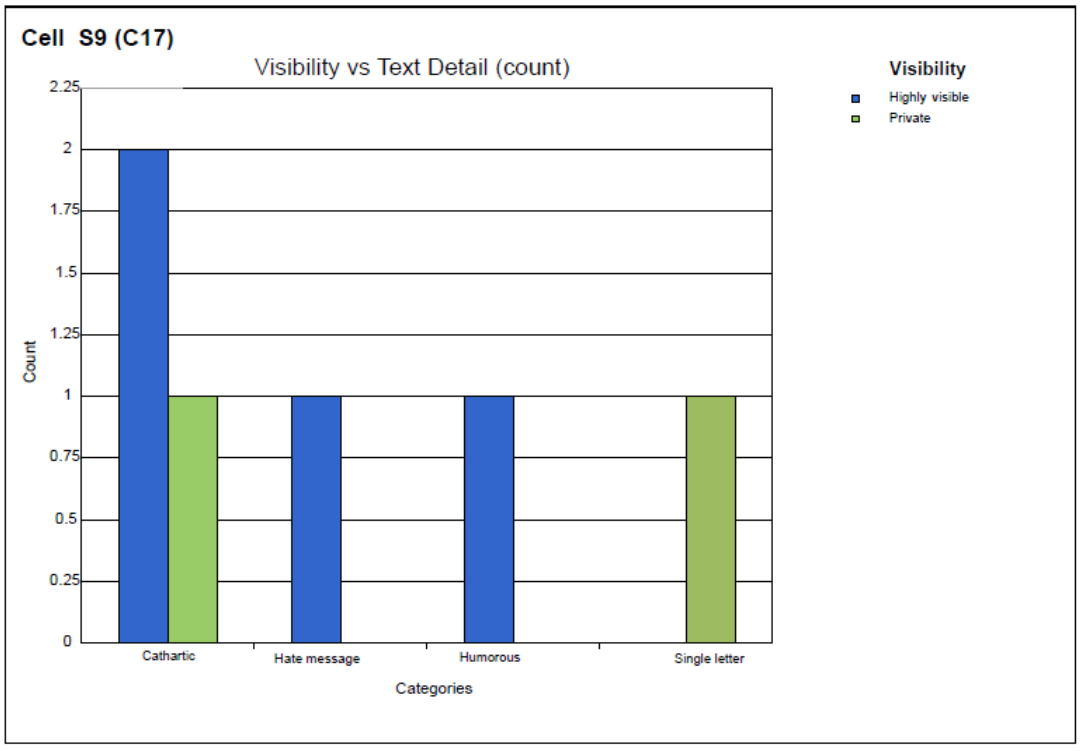


Figure 5.27 Site 9 visibility of written motifs (text detail).

Site 10

First Floor (Eastern side of the Main Cell Block)

Site Code-FP MB S10 (D65)

All four wall-panels in this cell have graffiti on them. Of the 44 motifs 6 are on panel 1 (North), 4 on panel 2 (East), 11 on panel 3 (South) and 21 on panel 4 (West). There are 2 motifs on panel 5 (ceiling) 1 of which is on the light fixture.

Visibility vs pictorial site 10

Of the 3 icon motifs, 1 is a heart which is the head of one of the 'figure-male' motif, 1 is a prison icon, and 1 is a pair of arrows pointing at the spyhole (see Figure 3.4). One of the male figures is motif 3, the faded motif shown in figure 1.5. The 'other' motifs are squiggly lines except motif 24 which is a hand stencil of a left hand with initials and date '91'.

Visibility vs written site 10

The only written motifs that are not poems or stories or miscellaneous writing (shown in fig 5.29) are two geometric motifs one of which is on the light fixture and 6 authored motifs which all have different names. Of these names 4 are private 12 are hidden and the 3 that are dated are in private locals. All 23 poem or story motifs are cathartic.

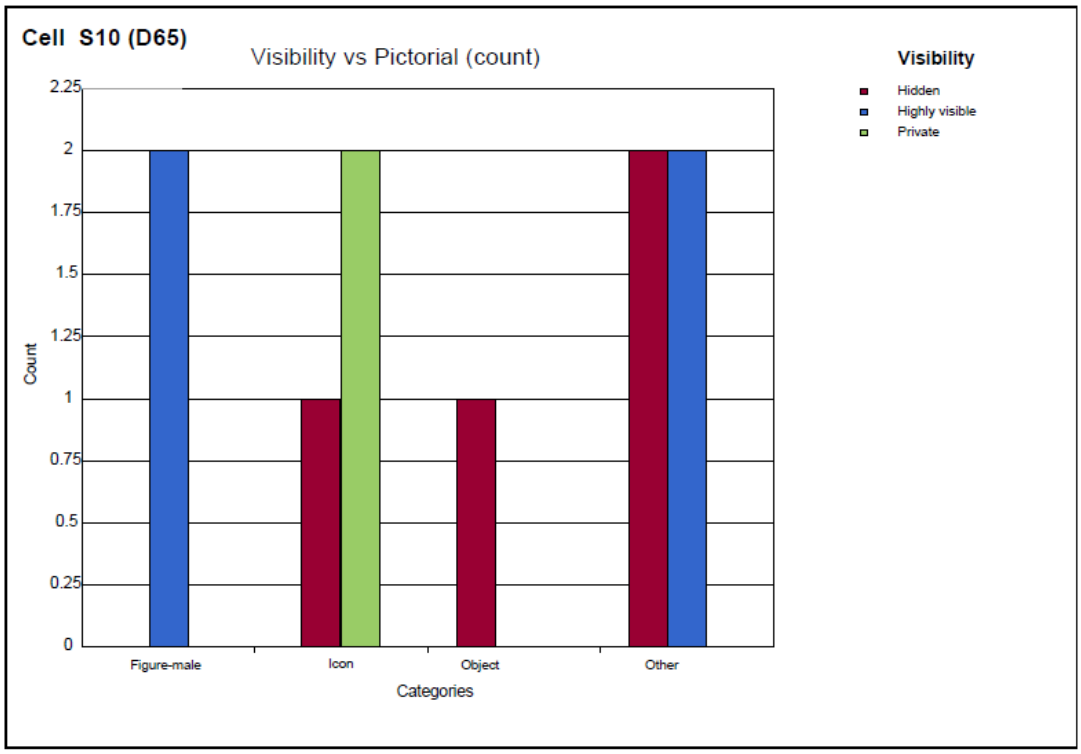


Figure 5.28 Site 10 visibility of pictorial motifs.

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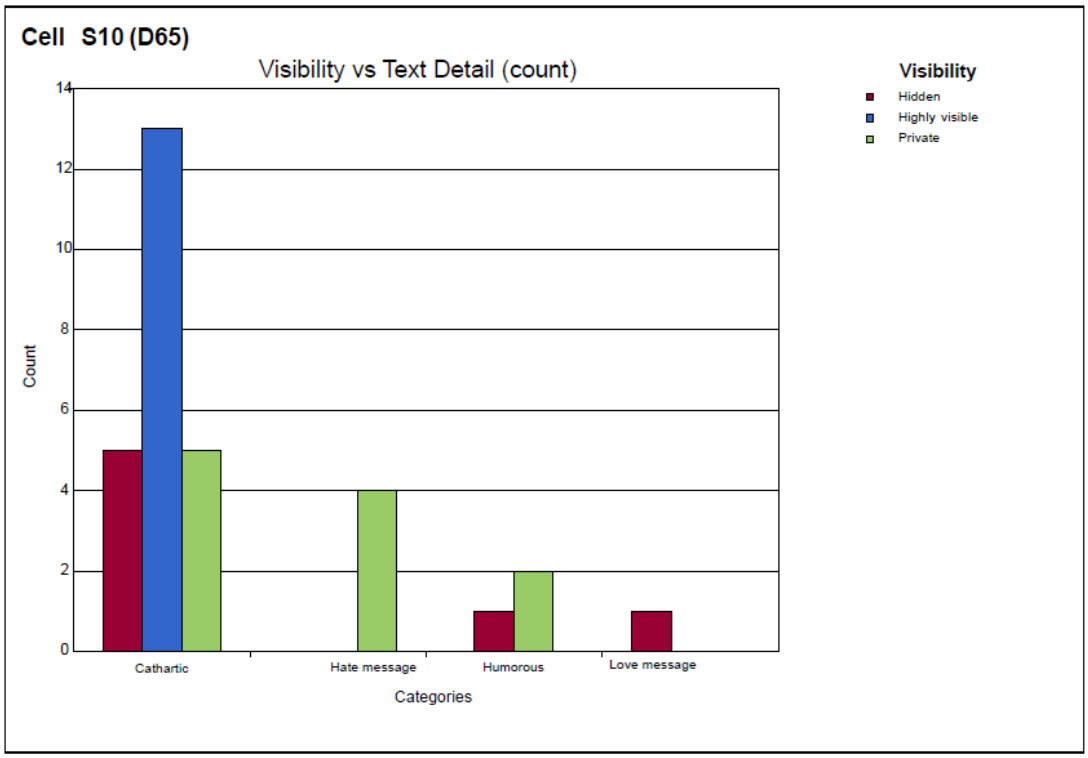

Figure 5.29 Site 10 visibility of written motifs (text detail).

Site 11

First Floor (Western side of the Main Cell Block)

Site Code-FP MB S11 (E9)

All four wall-panels in this cell have graffiti on them. Of the 185 motifs 43 are on panel 1 (South), 25 on panel 2 (West), 29 on panel 3 (North) and 87 on panel 4 (East). Motif 43 is a depiction of brickwork which covers all 4 walls.

Visibility vs pictorial site 11

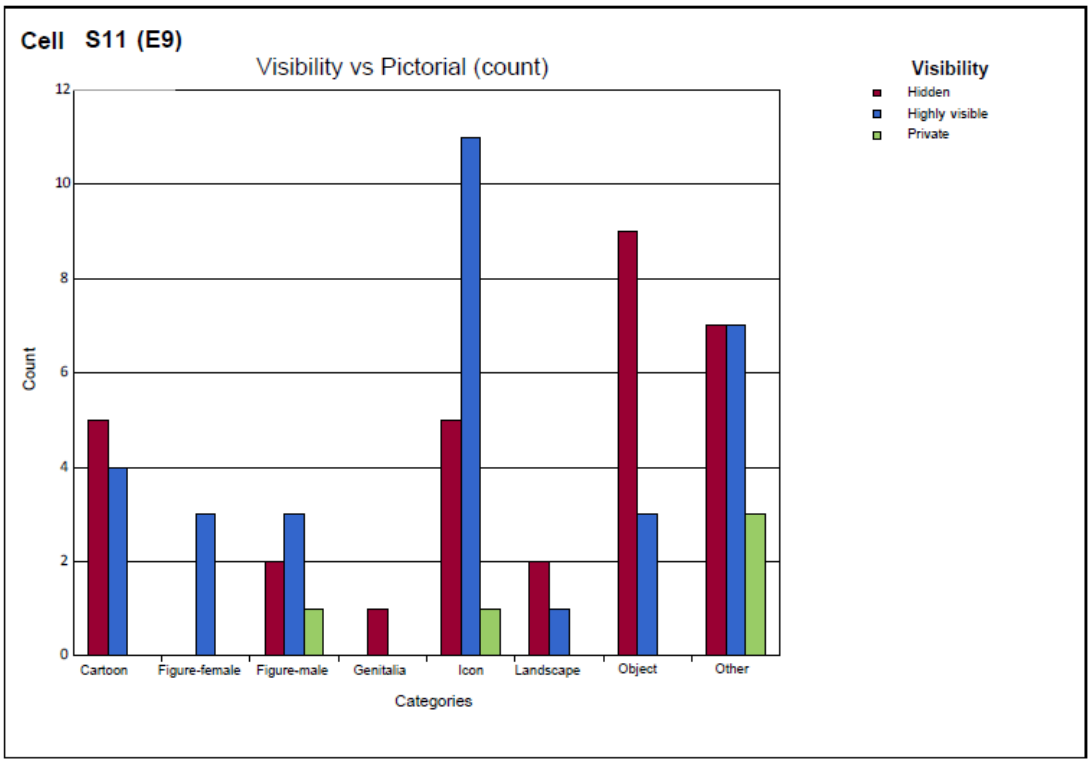

Figure 5.29 Site 11 visibility of pictorial motifs.

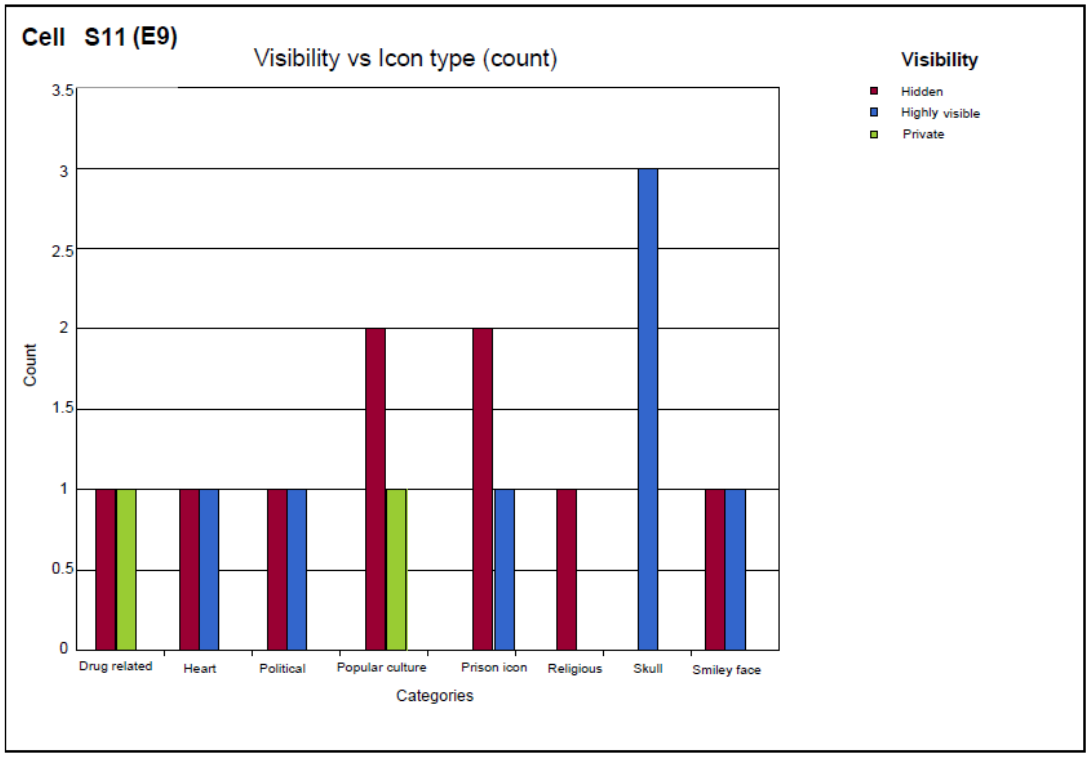

Figure 5.30 Site 11 visibility of pictorial motifs (icon type).

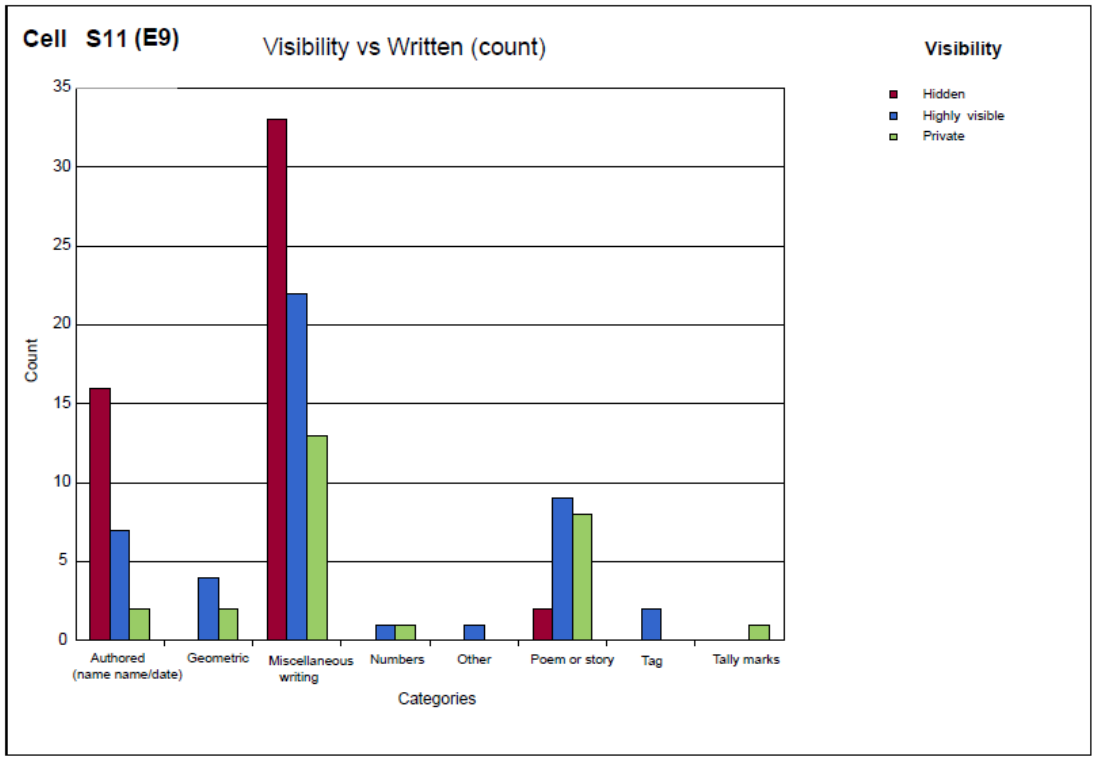

Figure 5.31 Site 11 visibility of written motifs.

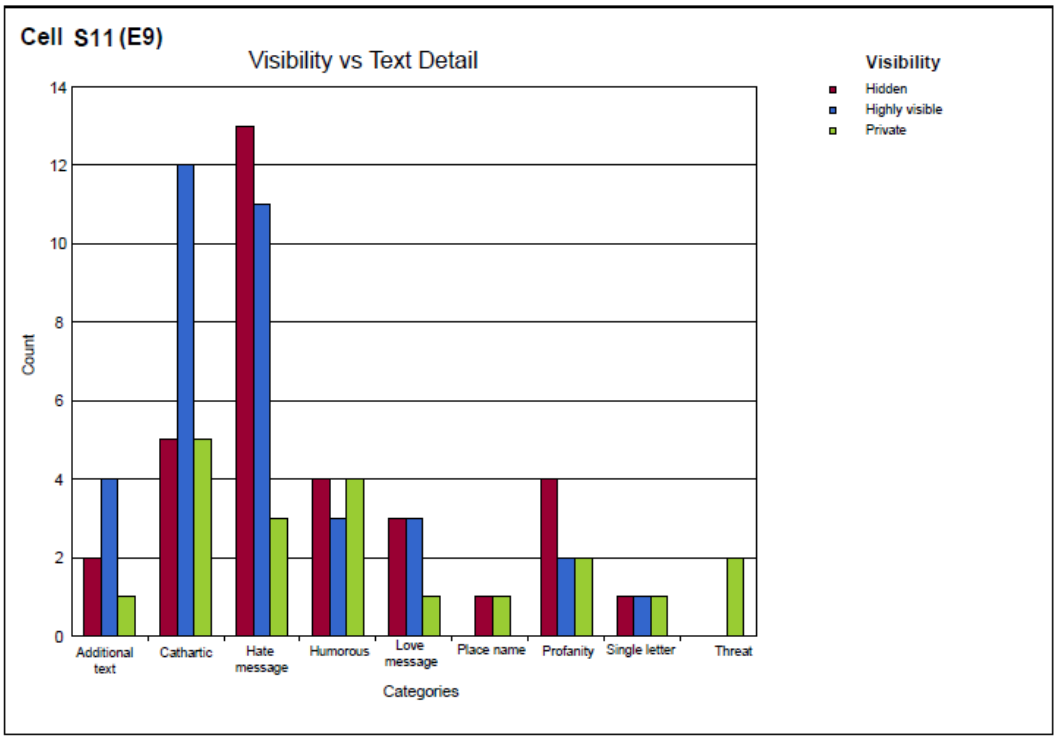

Figure 5.32 Site 11 visibility of motifs (text detail)

Site 12

Ground level

Site Code FP MB S12 (Yard)

Graffiti recorded from Site 12 yard consists of 66 motifs from 1 panel located on the rear wall of Division 2 yard in the north east corner. All motifs are in a highly visible locale. 7 motifs are drawn, these are all done in permanent marker. 2 motifs are painted. One is motif 1 which is the remaining pigment of a landscape done in the ‘Carrollup style’ which (in 1991) covered the whole panel but is now heavily weathered. The other is motif 54, which is painted writing: the text is ‘Black Power’.

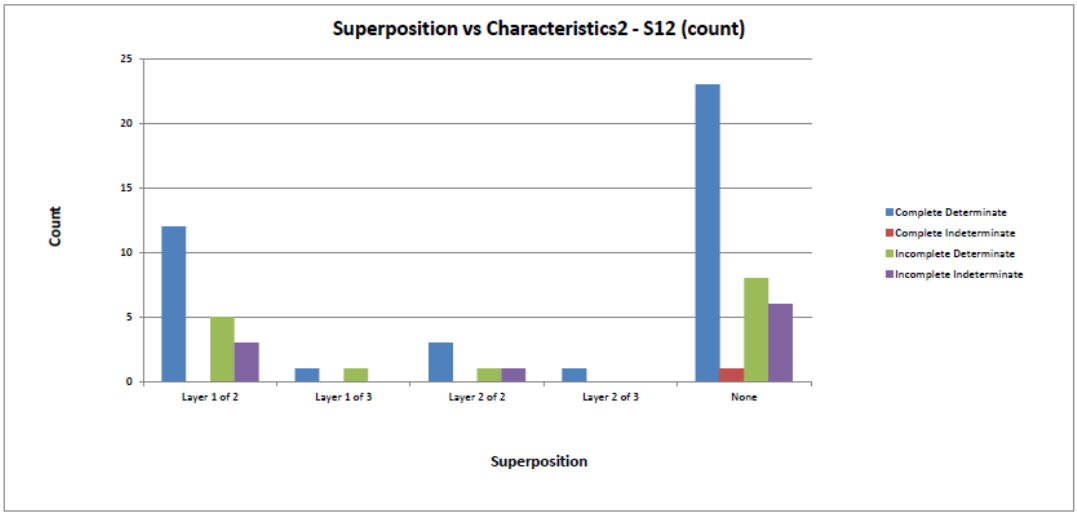

Figure 5.33 Site 12 superposition of motifs

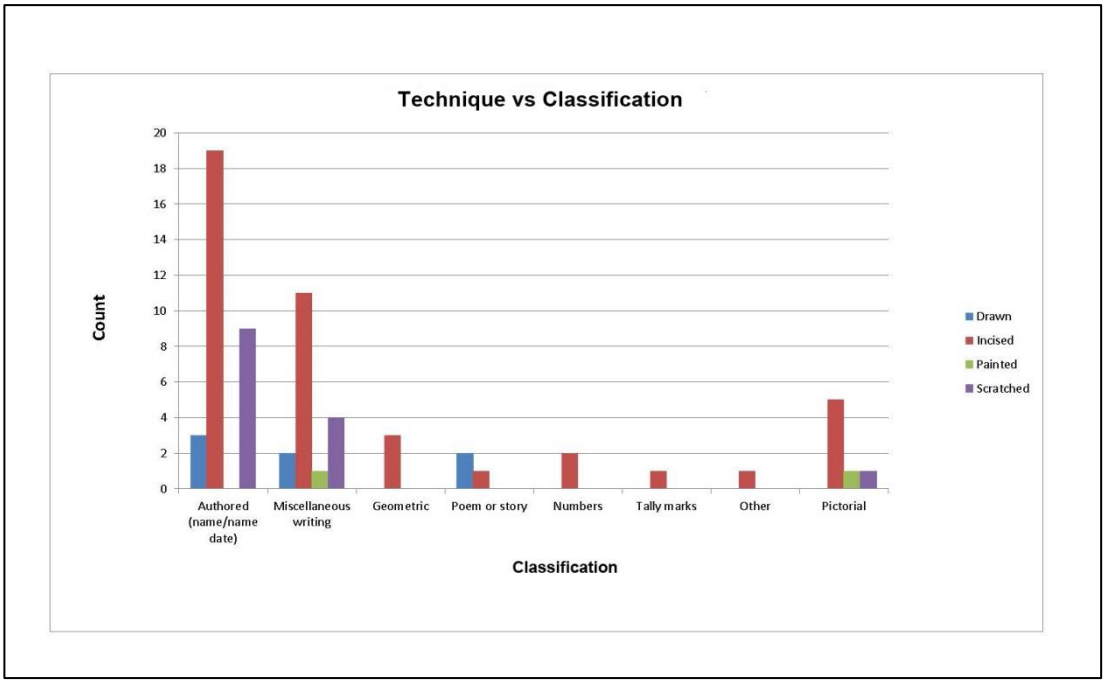

Figure 5. 35 Site 12 technique and classification of motifs.

Chapter 6: Discussion

This chapter discusses how graffiti reflects coping strategies employed by inmates as a means of negotiating the stresses imposed by physical and social confinement at Fremantle Prison. Pictorial and written graffiti is both an indicator of coping strategies and a means for coping in itself. The following discussion considers particular typologies and archaeological signatures that support my assertion that making graffiti re-maps the prison's public and private spaces.

Why was graffiti permitted in 1991?

The 'appearance of inflammatory written material' is one of twelve indicators of *'general signs of tension amongst prisoners'* put forward by The National Institute of Corrections within their 'Containment of Prison Violence' training which suggests that recognition of such indicators may *'reduce the likelihood of prison riots'* (Gore 1990:19). One of the four recommendations/follow up actions (in response to the 1988 riot at Fremantle Prison) within the Review of Reports on Major Prison incidents, directed to the Minister for corrective services suggested was 'systematic intelligence gathering to give warning of developing situations.' (Gore 1990:40) In light of this, perhaps graffiti making within Fremantle Prison was partially allowed as a further tactic for surveillance, not just to placate inmates before relocation to Casuarina and Canning Vale Prisons.

Pictorial motifs

Cartoon motifs

The choice to place cartoon drawings on 'highly visible' and 'hidden' wall spaces as indicated in Figure 5.1 may be due to the inoffensive nature of these motifs (thus they can afford to be seen) or because they tend to be quite large; just a practical use of space. The spatial positioning of cartoon motifs in predominantly 'highly visible' and 'hidden' locals suggest these were intended to be viewed by the graffitist, their cell mate and others. The highly visible cartoon motifs in site 3 (see Figure 5.9) are both coloured drawings of Garfield. Numerous other drawings of Garfield throughout the prison, supports the idea that the graffitists may have replicated these characters because they were able to copy the drawings from a book from the prison library. This is of course just speculation.

Male and female figures

The function of drawn male and female figures differs and this is represented in the differing locations of these motifs. There are two complementary reasons for the placement of female figure motifs in private locals where, consequentially, male figure motifs are absent. (Figure 5.1) Firstly, depictions of women that are sexually graphic, like the written misogynistic, profanity and threat motifs, (Figure 5. 3) were more likely to evoke the displeasure of guards than other content. Secondly, erotic motifs are more likely to have been made and viewed 'in private'.

Other marks

Random marks within the 'other' category may have been made by accident or purely out of boredom and are present in highly visible, hidden and private space. (Figure 5.1) These marks are in all three areas of visibility in site 2 (Figure 5.7) site 3 (Figure 5.9) site 5 (Figure 5.15) site 6 (Figure 5.17) site 7 (Figure 5.21) site 8 (Figure 5.22) and site 11 (Figure) . ‘Other ‘ marks are also present in highly visible and private in site 4 (Figure 5.12) and highly visible and hidden in site 10 (Figure 5.28).

Icons

The visibility of icon types, mirror the written motifs in terms of placement and function. Like the love messages, heart icons are predominantly in highly visible space (Figure 5.1) Moreover, like place name motifs (Figure 5.4, Figure 5. 6, Figure 5.11 and Figure 5.14) religious icons are in highly visible and hidden locales (Figure 5.18 and Figure) and act as signifiers of individual and group identity. Symbols function as a communicative link to the unknown by means of the known (see Preucel 2006). However, inmate language, be it physical, spoken or written is codified. Attributing meaning to symbols is of course, bound by context and the social context of institutional confinement has a rich semiotic vocabulary that may be so exclusive that, in some instances, meaning is only clear to the intended reader. For example the diamond motif Figure 6.1 may be a reference to ‘Koont’ a card game played by Indigenous inmates where the coloured cards are removed, and the aim is to score 10 or a ‘koont’. This game is accompanied by signals using finger movements and hand gestures that indicate scoring. These

gestures were also used outside of the game to communicate non-verbally (see Withnell 1984:78). It is impossible to determine whether this motif is laden with meaning or not. Within this dissertation I have not inferred meaning by critiquing artworks. Whilst the image of Ned Kelly Figure 6.2 is definitely a prison icon and a nationalistic symbol of convict heritage and rebellion, the placement of his hands behind his back is not interpreted as a conscious representation of the subjugated man, although this is quite possible. It is just as likely that the positioning of the arms was a practical choice by the graffitist, because hands are hard to draw. Alternatively, The motif "Rock in freo 91" Figure 6.3 is probably not a reference to music or ‘rocking out in Fremantle’, but a coded reference to heroin, as it is placed in a private locale and is in association with a big hypodermic needle motif.

Figure 6.1 Highly visible geometric/icon motif site 11 motif 73. Meaning unknown.

Figure 6.2 Highly visible prison icon/male figure, site 11 motif 76.

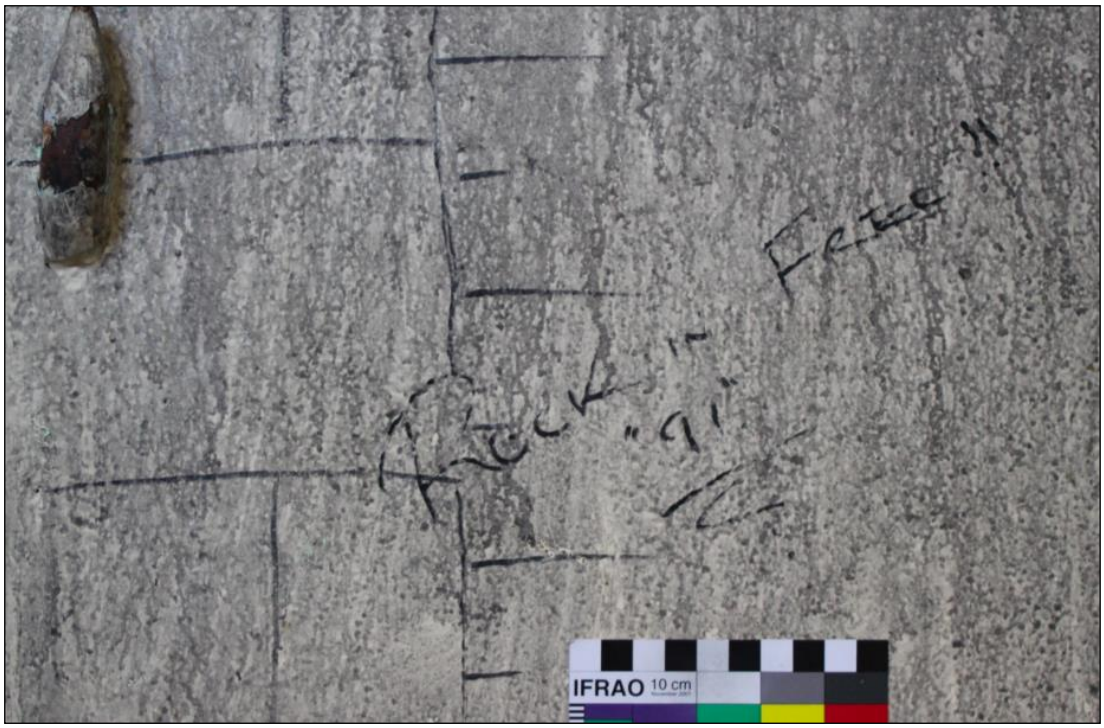

Figure 6.3 Drug related motifs (private locale) in site 11. Motif 64 is text motif 65 is contextual syringe.

Drug related icons

For some inmates at Fremantle Prison illicit drug use and gambling were tactics for coping with imprisonment (Megahey 200:125). Drugs became increasingly available to inmates from the 1970's onward (McGivern 1988) and drug use is represented by graffiti depicting various drug references and paraphernalia. Drugs were moved around the prison either inside tennis balls or in a toilet roll put inside a sock, so like the tennis balls, it could be thrown over the high walls that separate division yards (DCS 1991c).The illegal nature of drug use is reflected in the placement of drug related motifs in hidden and private space within the cells. These motifs are represented by the typological heading of 'icon type'. Within site 6 there are 6 drug related motifs, shown in figure 5.18. Of these, the 2 that are highly visible depict psychotropic mushrooms which do not have the same overtly illicit iconography as syringes and marijuana leaf depicted in the hidden and private space within the cell such as those shown in Figure 6.4. The cluster of mushrooms in this private locale are clearly labelled as being 'magic' and need to be out of sight. In the top left of Figure 6.4, a further drug related motif is visible it reads 'power to the poppy' which is a reference to heroin but was not recorded as a drug related motif due to a fault in the recording process. The one drug related motif in site 8 despite being hidden (Figure 5.23) is incomplete and only barely distinguishable as a smoking implement due to superposition of other marks. Site 11 has 2 drug related motifs,1 is motif 65 partially pictured in Figure 6.3 the other is 1 hidden motif depicting a water 'bong' for smoking marijuana, with the text 'bong on cuntox'. The

addition of ‘ox’ as a suffix to adjectives is particular to 1980’s urban youth culture in Western Australia.

Figure 6.4 A cocktail of private drug motifs.

Written motifs

Administrative

Administrative marks are not a feature of the cell interiors, however, as suggested by the single administrative motif from Site 4 (Figure 5.13) this kind of inscription is likely to have been in the form of documents and notes supplied by the prison administration. The administrative mark is the remnant of an A4 piece of paper (indicated by the spacing of the toothpaste blobs that acted as an adhesive) with a small amount of typed text remaining, which reads 'will lose ...6 for a ...ich time ... be no ... four w... Water... or ta'. It is not clear which administrative document this came from and the typeset and paper quality differs from that of the archived materials.

Authored motifs

It is not surprising that authored motifs are mostly in 'private' and 'hidden' locales (figure 5.2) sites as these are automatically identifying personhood, are markers of self and identity and as such, are made for the benefit of the cell occupants, not for the gaze of the guards. Writing one's name is an ownership of space and reiteration of personhood. Sites 7 and 10 are the only cells without authored motifs. Figure 5.5, Figure 5.8, Figure 5.10, Figure 5.13, Figure 5.16, Figure 5.19, Figure 5.24, Figure 5.26 and Figure show the visibility of authored motifs in individual sites.

Cathartic motifs

'Cathartic' motifs can be poems or stories and authored motifs, and also specify miscellaneous writings such as S1 (H63) motif 9 'I'm bored I wish I had a telly' or the numerous examples of 'fuck the world' or 'FTW' in many

cells. Authored motifs that are cathartic may be as simple as a name with the dates of the individual's sentence e.g. site 3(H59) motif 53 'first name surname 12 months 91'. Here the inmate is naming himself and expressing his 'time served' thus owning and announcing the hardship experienced. Catharsis is experienced and gained with an audience and the disproportionately large number of highly visible cathartic poems, stories and statements as well as a large number of hidden and private cathartic motifs (Figure 5. 3) suggests inmates were signalling to the guards and other inmates as a way of coping with their fear and despair. Site 10 (D65) has 23 cathartic motifs that are in the form of poems and stories, (Figure 5.) some of which are not messaging to guards or fellow inmates, but an imagined reader, a tourist perhaps, to whom the author is reporting the inmate experience and their feeling toward the ineffectuality of incarceration. Motifs such as these (Figure 6.5 and Figure 6.6) suggest inmates were aware of the impending closure of the prison and speculated that their experience, as inscribed within their cell, might be witnessed by those on the 'outside'. The rhetorical nature of the graffiti shown in Figure 6.6 typifies cathartic expression in that it is inviting the reader to engage in the cathartic experience.

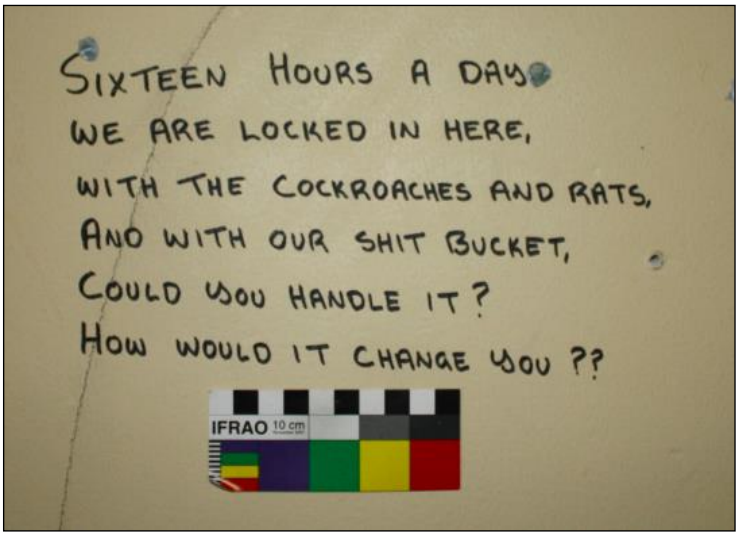

Figure 6.5 Cathartic message intended for outsider gaze. Site 10 motif 17 (hidden).

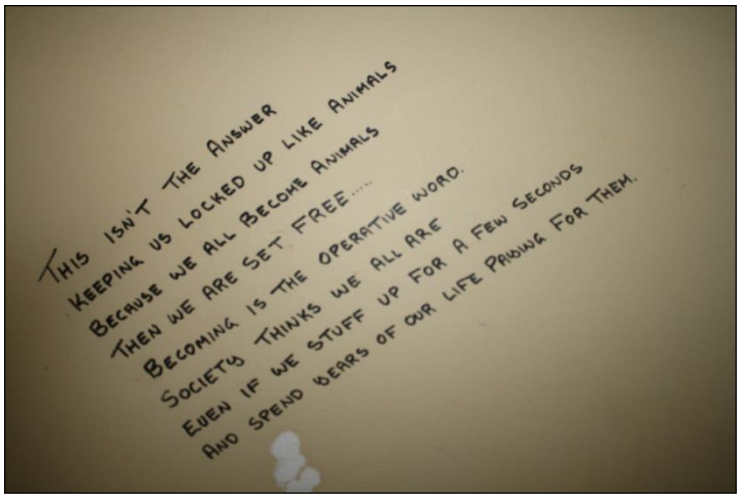

Figure 6.6 Cathartic message intended for outsider gaze. Site 10 motif 12(highly visible).

Additional text

'Additional text' motifs are predominantly in highly visible and hidden spaces within the cells (figure 5.3) because they are meant to be seen. Figures indicating highly visible and hidden additional text in sites 3, 4, 8 and 11 are shown in figures 5.11, 5.14, 5.25, and 5.13. These motifs are not secret messages or self-affirmation, but exertions of power by one inmate over another. For example,

Figure 6.7 Site 11 highly visible motifs, cathartic motif (motif 19) with additional text (motif 20).

Figure 6.7 the cathartic motif ‘Help I need it!,’ is punctuated by the additional text, motif ‘Fuck you wanker breathe’. Here the additional graffitist has added an arrow pointing to the original inscription, leaving no doubt that the additional text is in response to ‘Help I need it!’. ‘Fuck you wanker breathe’ (this is probably meant to be breath) not only refuses catharsis but engages with the original motif in a way that disempowers the first graffitist and appropriates the space on which the original graffiti was written. The second graffitist is reinscribing the landscape of the cell thus, negotiating space as a coping strategy of his own.

Hate messages

The data indicates that hate messages are predominantly in hidden areas as well as in highly visible and private space (figure 5.1). From this, I postulate graffiti was used as a tool of power play between inmates, not only as an act of defiance directed toward the establishment**.** It is not surprising that threat and profanity motifs are relatively small (figures 5.4) and mostly in private locales (figure 5.3) because the guards tolerated very offensive or threatening graffiti, particularly if directed at the establishment, even less than other graffiti. For example, in site 3, the 3 hidden hate messages which exhibit sexually explicit power play between inmates remain intact, whereas 1 of the 2 private hate messages (figure 5.11) which reads 'Fuck Skrew', despite being quite small (3.5 x 5cm) shows evidence of removal. Even in 1991 when some inmates were permitted to decorate their cells, making graffiti of this nature may have incurred punishment and the graffiti removed or painted over. Figure 6.8 site 6 (D61) motif 5 is a highly visible 'hate message' motif. The cartoonish male figure has his middle finger raised, gesturing in the direction of the door. The writing on the figure's shirt reads 'Fuck off screw'. It is clear this hate message is directed at the guards/a guard. What is not clear is the intended transparency of resistance. Perhaps the graffitist reconsidered intentionally resisting authority so overtly, and partially obscured the text before it was seen, thus disguising his transgression. Alternatively, he may have been reprimanded and instructed by the guard to cover the writing. Figure 6.9 site 6 (D61) motif 41 is a private 'hate message' motif located above the lintel of the sealed door (206 cm from

floor) which would be in direct line of sight from the top of a prison bunk-bed, but invisible to guards unless the cell was being thoroughly searched.

Figure 6.8 Highly visible hate message directed at guards.

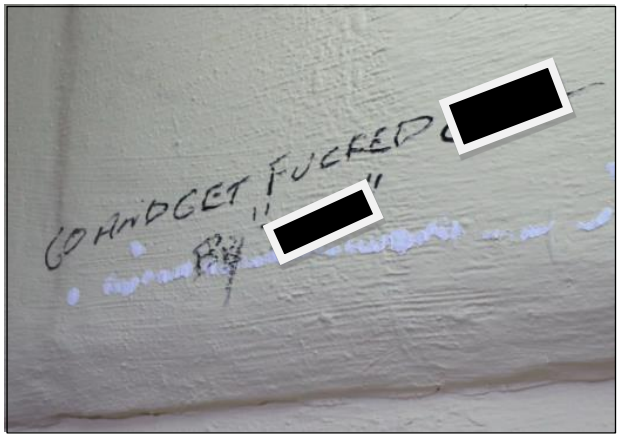

Figure 6.9 Private hate message directed at cellmate.

Love messages

I contend that the predomination of 'love messages' in highly visible and hidden locales (Figure 5. 3) may be due to the function of these motifs being to message assertions of heterosexuality by the writer to other men. Visibility of love messages as well as contextual motifs in Sites 3, 6 and 11(figures 5.11, 5.20 and 5.33) support this assertion. The majority of these motifs include both a man's and women's name and love hearts. Conversely, within site 1 heart icons and love messages are, atypically, not 'on display' in any way (figure 5.6). The private and intimate nature of site 1 graffiti is

exemplified by motif 17 which is scratched into a toothpaste splodge and reads ‘woman’s name I love you’. The graffitist is exhibiting a coping strategy that is internalised, specifically, this is what Mohino et.al. (2004:42) term a cognitive, emotion-focused, method of coping.

As well as messaging and reaffirming gender identity, these love messages are a marker of connections to the outside and inscriptions of personal identity. The act of inscribing identity is in itself a cathartic act. Although there are no discernibly homosexual love messages, there are a few examples of messages of support which are direct messages from one man to another. These motifs are in private locales and as such are only meant to be seen by the writer and cellmate. This kind of support between inmates is extolled in a poem Figure 6.10 site 10 (D65) motif 23.

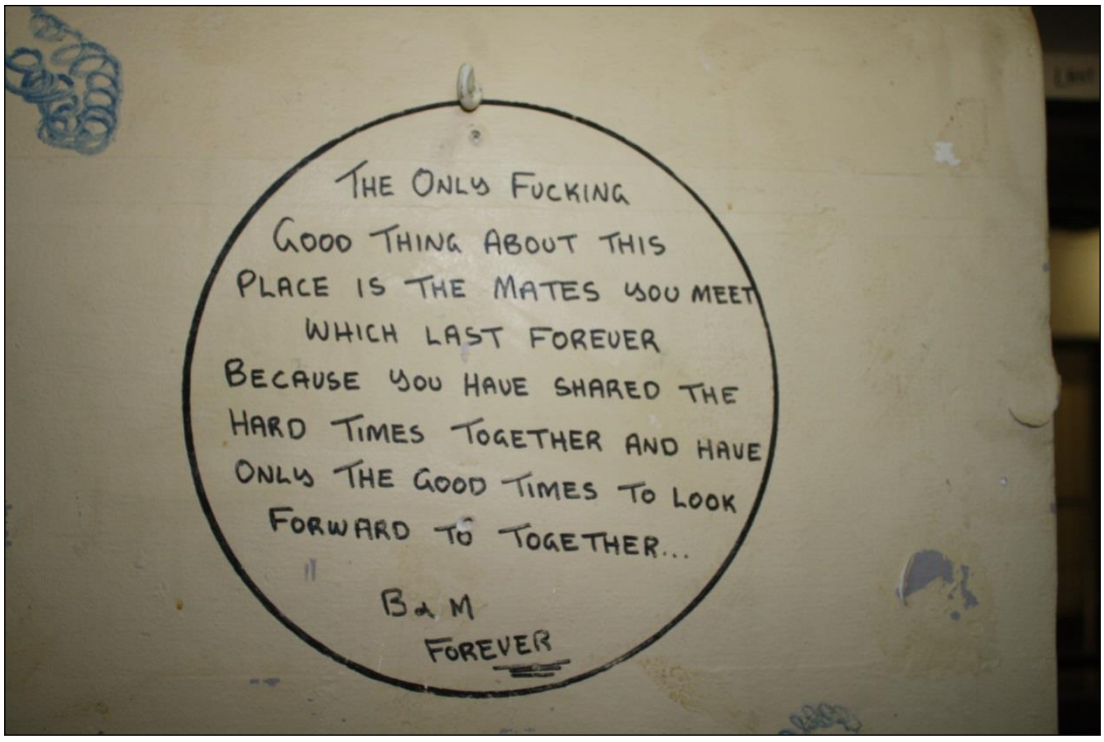

Figure 6.10 Site 10 motif 23 supportive message.

Although in a hidden space (it is on panel 4 but close to the doorway, thus, has the potential to be seen) the circular border and plastic covered hook that has been melted to fit against the wall suggest this motif may have been obscured by a hung object, thus making it less visible. This poem/story is a remnant of a deep relationship between two men and is material evidence of a coping strategy that involves immersion in a social network and niche seeking behaviour. Zamble and Porporino (1988:13) follow Lazurus and Folkman's (1984) theoretical perspective on inmate coping strategies stating 'one individual deals with the stress of the long confinement he faces by avoiding all thoughts of the future, while the other strives to ameliorate his condition by finding a safe and comfortable behavioural niche within the institution'. Within the motif the word 'forever' is underlined suggesting the graffitist was not employing the coping strategy Zamble and Porporino (1988:95) term 'avoidance' whereby inmates do not think of the future, particularly a future on the outside. Although it is not known whether or not 'forever' and the anticipated 'good times' were expected to take place in prison or on the outside, it is clear that the inmate who wrote this has found a 'protective niche' as a means for coping with imprisonment. In light of Zamble and Porporino's (1988:122,123) analysis of the effects of long term imprisonment, it is likely that the two men 'B and M' were both serving long sentences, because inmates often avoid substituting relationships with friends and lovers on the outside with relationships with other inmates particularly with those serving short sentences.

Humour

Humorous motifs predominate in hidden and private cell spaces (figure 5.3), thus, they are made to be viewed by the cell occupants. Good examples of this are found in sites 3 (Figure 5.11), 4 (Figure 5.14), 6 (Figure 5 20), and 8 (Figure 5.25). For Casella (2009:176) humorous inmate graffiti is classed as graffiti made for amusement and diversion from the 'monotonous boredom of institutional life' which has been identified as a locus for anxiety and stress in inmate populations (see Zamble and Porporino 1990,1988; Wilson 2008; Johnson 2007). The role of humour in graffiti as discussed by Abel and Buckley (1977) see jokes providing an outlet for anxiety caused by repressing impulses. An impulse, for example aggression, is aroused, repressed and allowed to escape via its disguise as a joke. Abel and Buckley (1977:122) contend that jokes are 'one of the most characteristic and least offensive ways of discharging aggression'. However, to recognise humour, and by extension, find something humorous the audience will have 'some sort of psychological empathy with the jokester' (Abel and Buckley 1977:113). In this sense, identification of humour in the graffiti at Fremantle Prison was somewhat problematic, for example in site 3 (H59) motif 75 reads 'The word girl means life support system for a cunt'. This is quite possibly intended as humour, but for it to work as a joke, according to Abel and Buckley (1977) the reader must share the psychological or social disposition of the writer. In this instance, the motif was categorised as misogynistic, rather than presume that other readers might interpret this as humorous.

Motif size

The size of written motifs in relation to their placement in highly visible hidden and private space further explicates who the motifs were made for. As discussed, additional text and cathartic motifs were meant to be seen by fellow inmates and guards and this is supported by the relatively large size of these motifs in highly visible locales as shown in (Figure 5.4). The large proportion of hidden space taken up by humorous written motifs suggests the importance of and preference for humorous graffiti for inmates. The threat and profanity motifs in private space are disproportionately large compared to their number (Figure 5.1). This further supports the idea that these kinds of inscription were best kept from the gaze of the guards. However, motifs on toothpaste splodges in highly visible locales (as shown in Figure 6.11) (S1 motifs 15 and 14) and illustrate the problem of classing very small motifs as 'highly visible'. A visual representation using GIS technology to create a 3D map of the graffiti within the cells, could show the spatial position of motifs, as well as their size. This approach to spatial analysis would rectify the contradiction wherein small inscriptions are classed as highly visible. The data collected for this project in conjunction with digital video footage would allow such a model to be created, but was beyond the scope of this project. Identifying small motifs such as that shown in Figure 6.11 and Figure 6.12 required importing an artificial light source and close scrutiny of the wall. As shown in Figure 6.11 (motif 15) the motif is only discernible when viewed 'up close' and it is unlikely anyone apart from the graffitist and possibly his cellmate would ever have seen this inscription.

Figure 6.11 Site 1 motif 15 close up of motif 15 the toothpaste splodge

Figure 6.12 Site 1 motif 15 (inscribed toothpaste splodge) and motif 14 incised tally marks beneath paint layer.

Tally marks

Surprisingly, of the 707 motifs in the cell sites only 9 of these are tally marks (Figure 5.2) which are confined to 4 cells: site 1 (Figure 5.5) site 2 (Figure 5.8) site 8 (Figure 5.24) and site 11 (Figure). One of the 4 tally mark motifs in site1, motif 14 shown in Figure 6.12 is beneath the wall paint layer, whilst the other 3 are scratched or incised into that paint layer, indicating motif 14 was made before the other tally marks. It is possible that these were made by one inmate who had a preference for this kind of inscription and did so over time. However, this is unlikely because names in the form of initials, full names and nickname belong to 9 individuals, and suggest the presence of 5 different graffitists. (4 of the initials or names belong to ‘named others’). None of the authored motifs have evidence of superposition of other motifs or are beneath the wall paint layer, therefore they are likely to be contemporaneous with the tally marks scratched and incised into the paint layer. It cannot be ascertained whether the 4 sets of tally marks in this cell were the product of one long term graffitist who chose to inscribe the passing of time or not. If this were the case it would mean that at least 4 other men consecutively inhabited this cell with the inmate who created motif 14.

Toothpaste

All the cells recorded contained copious numbers of toothpaste splodges.

Toothpaste was used to adhere posters, photographs and the like, although, like the painting of murals and other graffiti within the cells, this was a feature of the prison's last months of operation. Before 1991 all pictures (limited to

two per man) had to be in approved frames, usually made from cardboard or matchsticks (Withnell pers com 2014).

Evidence of paper on walls

Motif 8 from site 5 (D61) is the remnant of a picture drawn on coarsely textured paper that had been removed. The pigment from the drawing (possibly pigment from another drawing on the underside of the paper) has transferred on to the wall. The paper was stuck on with toothpaste splodges still evident in the corners of the square that was the piece of paper. It must have been there for some time as the surrounding wall is darker/dirtier than the square where the picture had been. Exfoliation of wall paint occurred before the picture was put up. This is evident by the presence of blue paint (the wall paint layer beneath) both, outside and within the space previously occupied by the drawing. There are also some smudges of pigment outside of the line indicating the edge of paper, suggesting the paper was drawn onto or added to whilst the paper was on the wall. There is also a remnant of the paper remaining on the wall. Motif 7 from site 1 (H63) is a small piece of paper with printed text stuck to toothpaste. This indicates that the toothpaste splodges were used as an adhesive for pictures and the like. Evidence of posters and the like exist in site 8 (C16) motif 63 is a written motif, which reads ‘I love this bitch’ with an arrow pointing sideways to where a picture of a woman would have been. Also within site 8 (C16) there is the remnant of a picture of a woman (motif 51) and two posters of cars (motif 84) on the back of the site 8 door.

Variation between cells

Analysis of inscription revealed typological variation of motifs between the cells, which appear as thematic or aesthetic trends. Inter cell comparison indicates individual graffitists were employing similar coping strategies using differing forms of expression. For example site 4 is dominated by tag motifs shown in Figure 5.13, these are all done in the same hand and the width and colour of the permanent marker used is consistent. Although there are numerous different tags it is unlikely that multiple 'taggers' would have occupied the cell. Only two individual tags are included in the 'crew tags' and 'throw-ups' (Ferrell 1993:58,83) which signify the inmate's 'crew' or social group. For this inmate, his tags perform the same function as 'named others' 'place names' and pictorial landscapes in other cells. He is simultaneously signalling his group identity 'on the outside' and recreating an urban aesthetic within his cell.

Variation in numbers of motifs within individual cells, contain between 15 to 184 motifs. Correlations between motif type and spatial positioning indicate consistencies in the placement of motifs in highly visible, hidden and private locales within the cells with regard to their typology.

Site 12 The Yard

Figure 6.13 Division 2 yard, north-west corner. Site 12 panel and Perspex covered photograph of the, now faded, mural.

One of the commissioned Aboriginal artworks painted on the walls of Division 2 Yard is commemorated by a perspex covered photograph of the painting (Figure 6.14) mounted on the wall next to the site12 panel shown in Figure 6.13. This painting once covered the graffiti pictured in Figure 6.13 and the blue of the sky and some of the bolder features are still visible. Whether the act of sanitising the representation of Indigenous presence by covering the Aboriginal graffiti with an aesthetically pleasing image of idyllic Aboriginal life (Figure 6.14) was intentional or not, this act of reinscription is an example of what Wilson (2008d: 53) calls 'the gatekeeper phenomenon'.

Figure 6.14 Mounted photograph of the mural that used to cover site 12 panel

Division 2 yard was originally sectioned down the middle for separating Indigenous inmates from the broader population and the motifs on the wall suggest this space continued to be a place for Indigenous inmates. Indigenous surnames and rural and remote placenames and portions of indeterminate messages as well as the fact that this panel was chosen for the mural, support the idea that this was predominantly Aboriginal space. Motif 43 is an incised, incomplete, but determinate hate message with no superposition of motifs. It is beneath the paint layer that served as the undercoat for the (motif 1) mural. The motif reads ‘Racists’ with a diamond shape above it, which lends credence to the idea that diamond shapes could be a codified symbol of the card game ‘koont’. Motifs are predominantly incised or scratched as shown in Figure 5.35. Many of the incised motifs are below paint layers and also are the first of up to 3 identifiable layers of superpositioning as shown in figure 5.34 and illustrated in Figure 6.15.The number of incised motifs may be due to the heavy exfoliation of the panel that has rendered 6 of the motifs with no superposition incomplete / indeterminate and may explain the low number of drawn motifs (Figure 5.).

The white paint layer which can be clearly seen covering motif 54 in Figure 6.16 Site 12 motif 54.is dated to 1991. The law of superposition dictates that any motif beneath that white layer that is older. If the age of the cream/ white paint beneath this layer was known it would substantiate the timeframe of inscription of the surviving motifs on site 12 panel. The youngest inscribed date beneath the cream/white paint layer is 1988 (motif 58 layer 1 of 3) and the oldest is 1981 (motif 21 layer 1 of 2). The 8 incised or scratched dates on site 12 panel are within this age range, therefore it is highly likely the contextual motifs were done in the 1980's also. 2 names (first name and surname) contextual with the incised motifs from site 12 were identified within Division 2 cells which questions further the assumption that all cell graffiti was made in 1991.

Figure 6.15 S12. Incised woman's face, layer 1 of 3.

The yard panel recorded is predominated by indigenous graffiti, is near the toilets and all motifs are in a highly visible locale. The proximity of the toilets to the panel is consequential for a couple of reasons. Firstly, it would be remiss to not consider the attributes of latrinalia in this context. Under Halsey and Young's (2002) categories, latrinalia is often communicative and made for an audience, featuring both personal and political slogans, which come under my typological headings of love and hate messages and in some instances catharsis. Graffitist's motivations are integral to the study of graffiti

and motifs on the site 12 panel are messaging individual and group identity in the form of names of individuals and places. Wilson (2008d:70,71) warns against equating general observation and discussion surrounding latrinalia to prison contexts as there is less assurance of anonymity and privacy, and rightly so. However, the Division 2 yard wall is unique, as it is a space for messaging and its location next to the toilets means that it will be seen by all inmates. Secondly, Withnell's (1984) emic perspective on the socio-spatial organisation of the yard and attitudinal differences between Aboriginal and white inmates with regard to ablutions illuminates the way in which this space was used. Withnell (1984:62) speaks of the 'crim taboo' amongst white inmates, against using the night buckets, the stench of which contaminated the private space of the cell and when emptied into the drainage sump in the morning exposed the bucket's owner to ‘the displeasure of other crims’. This shame was not shared by Aboriginal inmates who perceived the disdain of befoulment as a weakness on the part of the white inmates (Withnell 1984:77). Thus, places such as the immediate vicinity of the toilets, that white inmates regarded as 'negative turf' were restructured, high status areas for Aboriginal inmates (Withnell 1984:68, 77). The necessity to use the toilet meant white inmates had to openly breach the befoulment taboo in intimate proximity to the 'fixed territory' of Aboriginal inmates (Withnell 1984:78).

McDonald and Veth (2006:104) use the idea of ‘audience and social context’ to explicate stylistic choices and the use of particular Indigenous Australian rock art motifs in either public or private locals to ascertain the roles rock art played in the lives of Aboriginal peoples. This conceptualisation of messaging in public or private places is relevant to the spatial context of

site12 and the motifs present. For McDonald and Veth (2006:104) the *'public art of a region would be the most likely medium to reveal stylistic patterning to function as boundary maintenance, or at least to demonstrate localized social affiliations'*. Within the physical landscape of Fremantle Prison the 'region' is confined by the Prison's walls and functions such as boundary maintenance are signalled by 'stylistic patterning' of a literal nature.

Figure 6.16 is motif 54 measures 40cm x 72cm. The text ‘Black Power’ is simultaneously messaging 'localised social affiliations' / group identity and functioning as a marker of 'boundary maintenance' / fixed territory.

Figure 6.16 Site 12 motif 54.

Motif 29 (Figure 6.17) measures 42cm x 105cm. The barely surviving text, reads 'The white man made us many promises he kept but one, he promised to take our land and he did'. Here the graffitist is expressing catharsis and asserting his and his group's identity, going beyond the delineations of 'turf'

asserting that 'the land was there before white men built their prisons' (Withnell 1984:76).

Figure 6.17 Motif 29.

The incised and scratched names covered by the whitewash-like paint, beneath the remnants of messaging graffiti and the skeletal remains of the sanctioned mural of Country, that once covered these layers, provides a palimpsest of inscription of Indigenous experience at Fremantle Prison.

Conclusion

The aim of this research was to investigate inmate's experiences and negotiation of confinement at Fremantle Prison, by utilising artefactual evidence provided by graffiti and other marks. Methodological approaches (as discussed in chapter 4) undertaken for this project, specifically the construction of a functional typology and attention to viewscapes that represent the gaze of the guards, allowed my aim to be met. The problem of motif size (as discussed in chapter 6) whereby small motifs in highly visible space contradict their spatial classification as 'highly visible', would be solved by applying a GIS model. Attention has been paid to this problem when considering correlations between visibility and motif typology and notes made on recording forms (in appendix 2) in the few instances where this was the case.

The application of archaeological approaches to ascertain temporal contexts proved problematic. No records for the painting of cells exist. If dates for the painting of cells were available, precise dates for a number of motifs, particularly those that are incised, could be determined. Superposition of motifs from site 12 panel and the presence of the overlying paint layer from 1991 provides evidence that graffiti was being made before the last 12 months of the prisons operation. Inscribed dates from the 1980's on site 12 panel cannot support evidence that some graffiti within the cells is older than 1991. Inmates had greater opportunity for making graffiti in the yards without being identified. Evidence of deterioration (as discussed in chapter 1) allows a sequence of inscription to be determined, providing the motifs under comparison experience the same conditions. Motifs within Fremantle Prison

are susceptible to conditions such as: direct sun, which may induce fading or cracking, or exposure to wind or rain which may promote exfoliation.

Approaching graffiti as 'text as material culture' has allowed inclusion of the muted inmate perspective, as voiced in their inscriptions, to be heard and archived. Within places of institutional confinement public and private space is reconfigured by imposed physical and social strictures. When privacy is limited by constant surveillance (or the threat thereof) quasi private places are created by the inmate. The prison cell becomes a sanctuary and an emblematic representation of his 'self'. Once inscribed, these places are canvases for catharsis, resistance and reiteration of identity.

Stresses caused by separation from loved ones, poor sanitary conditions, interpersonal grievances, lack of privacy and boredom experienced by inmates and expressed within the graffiti at Fremantle Prison were negotiated via the remapping of space within the confines that provoked these stresses. Spatial positioning of graffiti typologies reveals the roles played by inscription, in re-mapping space within the cells. Highly visible portions of wall act as message boards, expressing resistance to authorities, personal catharsis and assertions of identity. Hidden space within cells acts as a locus for dialogue between inmates, where jokes are shared, discontent voiced and camaraderie communicated. Hidden spaces also become places for messaging group affiliations, and individual identity as well as an arena for hierarchical assertions of power between inmates. Within highly visible and hidden spaces the meaning behind inscriptions is often codified,

providing another tactic for attaining privacy and avoiding retribution from the guards. Locales discussed within this dissertation as 'private' are home to threats, personal testimony in the form of full names, as well as signatures of connections to 'the outside' such as placenames and names of loved ones. A large amount of graffiti at Fremantle Prison particularly the colourful painted murals and cathartic testimonials done in bold permanent marker within the cells, may have been the result of a prison initiated program of disguise that doubled as an additional means of surveillance by the prison administration. Whether the motivations for 'allowing' graffiti to be made by inmates were as multifarious as these assertions suggest or not, the result is an example of how inmates chose to express themselves.

Future applications

Recording of Division 2 catwalk was carried out as part of this research but has not been included in this dissertation. This data could be included in analysis of 'administrative' marks both 'official' and 'non official' throughout the prison and would provide a broader data set of inscription at Fremantle Prison that would include the inscribed experiences of people other than inmates within Fremantle Prison. A collegial project under the direction of the Fremantle Prison administration examining official signage was due to be undertaken in 2015, but was cancelled due to funding issues. Therefore this line of investigation is open to archaeological and/or sociological student projects in the future.

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