

ERRATA

- Page 4, line 7 To read "...must be viewed within the framework of total land-use and the land..."
- Page 9, line 27 To read "...access to the labour market and subsequent status positions."
- Page 26, line 3 To read "The area primarily consists of families with teenage children,..."
- Page 28, lines 22 and 23 To read "Life cycle affects the demands upon housing; income and occupation affect the standard of living; and education affects..."
- Page 31, line 14 To read "There is, however, another group of the elderly who own homes in..."
- Page 36, line 3 To read "...result of purchasing trends."
- Page 60, line 3 To read "...when re-payment rates were lower."
- Page 80, line 21 To read "In 1975, a significant number of professionals and shopkeepers..."
- Page 95, line 18 To read "...others expressed a commitment to improving the quality of life in the City..."
- Page 107, line 13 To read "...centralized decision-making body, established the precedent for a central..."
- Page 109, line 18 To read "State land-use controls in 1960 gave the State the power to acquire land..."
- Page 113, line 30 To read "The alteration was brought about by the individual action of the..."
- Page 125, line 6 To read "...planners, some levels of government, builders, and developers. Similar..."
- Page 126, line 5 To read "...traffic from the outer suburbs (which was using non-arterial roads as..."
- Page 126, line 25 To read "This area was markedly different in that it had fewer trees, open spaces..."
- Page 129, line 8 To read "...in a legal battle against Mainline Investment Ltd. when this company attempted to..."
- Page 140, line 6 To read "...exemplify the way in which the upper-middle class can translate the basic..."
- Page 144, line 7 To read "Council responded by establishing the Fullarton Park Advisory..."
- Page 148, line 1 To read "...Parkside has a high concentration of labourers and service workers."



LAND-USE AND DECISION-MAKING:
AN EXAMINATION OF RESIDENT PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Deloris Virginia Russell
B.A.
Department of Anthropology
University of Adelaide
Submitted: October 12, 1979

Assessment Report 1980

CONTENTS

List of Tables	iv
List of Maps	v
Summary	vi
Author's Statement	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE. UNLEY — A HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE	7
The Socio-economic Structure of Unley	17
The Socio-economic Characteristics of Unley's Suburbs	18
Stages in Life-cycles	30
Ethnicity in Unley — Greek and Italian Migrants	33
Education	38
Occupation and Income	40
CHAPTER TWO. THE ECONOMICS OF RESIDENTIAL LOCATION	47
Residential Tenure	49
The Economics of Residential Location	55
Distribution of Level of Mortgage Payments	59
The Role of Government in Purchasing Assistance	62
CHAPTER THREE. LAND VALUES AND LAND-USE	65
CHANGES IN LAND-USE: ITS EFFECTS ON RESIDENTIAL AREAS	66
Monetary Value and Land-use	66
Actors in the Land Market	74
Urban Decay and the Price of Land	75
Flat Development within Unley	83
Conclusion	86
CHAPTER FOUR. LOCAL COUNCIL AND LAND-USE CONTROL	88
Local Councils	91
Unley Council	91
Council in Transition	93
Sources and Distribution of Council Revenue	97
Local Council and National Political Parties	100
Competition for Positions on Council	102
The URS and Local Council	103
SECTION II	107
Governmental Control of Land-use	107
Land-use Controls in Unley	110
The Re-zoning of Unley	112
Conclusion	114

CHAPTER FIVE. THE FORMATION OF RESIDENTS' GROUPS	119
Governing – A Conflict of Ideas	120
Residents' Groups	122
The Development of Citizen Participation	124
Resident Participation in Unley	128
Conclusion	135
CHAPTER SIX. CASE STUDIES ON RESIDENT PARTICIPATION IN LAND-USE DECISION-MAKING	139
Conflict over Amenities	141
Residents' Participation: Conflict at the Street Level	145
The Road-closure Area	145
The Pilot Road-closure Scheme	148
Problems Emerge: Stage I	150
Problems Emerge: Stage II	156
Group Alliances	160
Stage III: The Final Conflict	161
The Committee Process	163
Chronology of Events: Road-closure Scheme	166
CONCLUSION	167
Appendix	171
Bibliography	196

List of Tables

1.	Population of the City of Unley 1876-1976	16
2.	Comparison of Socio-economic Indices of Concentration for Created Suburbs	29
3.	Distribution of Population by Age: Unley and Adelaide, 1976	30
4.	Distribution of Population by Age: Suburbs (CS) of Unley 1976	33
5.	Population of Greek and Italian Migrants in Unley: 1954-1976	35
6.	Number of Persons Having Received Tertiary Level Qualifications	38
7.	Distribution of Educational Levels Attained by Suburb (CS), 1976	39
8.	Percentage Distribution of Occupational Categories: 1966-1976	41
9.	Proportion of Persons Employed by Occupational Category, 1976	42
10.	Percentage of Work Force Employed in Occupational Categories: Professional and Administrative - Unley (CS), 1976	42
11.	Percentage of Work Force Employed in Occupational Categories: Labour and Production - Unley (CS), 1976	43
12.	Distribution of Family Income by Percentage: Adelaide/Unley, 1976	43
13.	Distribution by Suburb (CS) of Family Incomes over \$18,000 per Year, 1976	44
14.	Tenure: Unley, 1976	51
15.	Percentage of Total Private Dwellings Occupied by Renters	52
16.	Percentage of Dwellings Rented out of Total Dwellings in Unley, 1954-1971	52
17.	Distribution of Rental Accommodation: Unley (CS), 1976	53
18.	Form of Tenure by Suburb (CS) - Unley, 1976	56
19.	Percentage of Monthly Mortgage Payments by Number of Dwellings under First Mortgage - Unley, 1976	57
20.	Percentage Distribution of Rental Accommodation by Low Rent (\$19 or Less per Week) - Unley (CS), 1976	58
21.	Percentage of Monthly Mortgage Payments by Number of Dwellings under First Mortgage - Unley, 1976	59
22.	Distribution by Suburb of Low First Mortgage Payments (Less than \$100 per Month) - Unley, 1976	60
23.	Comparative Rental and Mortgage Payments - Unley, 1976	61
24.	Average Residential Sales Prices by Suburb, 1976	69
25.	Average Residential Vacant Land Sale Prices within Unley	76
26.	Average House Price - Adelaide/Unley, 1970-1977	76
27.	Value of Building Applications Submitted and Planning Consent Applications Lodged with Unley Council, 1972-1977	78
28.	Percentage of Total Flat Applications by Council, 1972-1976	84
29.	Number of Flats and Dwellings Approved under the Building Act: Unley, 1967-1977	85
30.	Unley Council Expenditures, 1976-1977	97
31.	Unley Council Budget, 1968-1977	98
32.	Percentage Distribution of Council Budget 1968-1977	99
33.	Recreation Acreage	142
34.	Expenditures on Recreation Grounds and Open Space, 1971-1977	144
35.	Comparison of Socio-economic Indices of Concentration for Parkside and Malvern	147

List of Maps

I	The Corporation of the City of Unley	12
II	Original Sections and Purchasers of Unley, 1840	14
III	Subdivision Periods of Unley	15
IV	Suburbs of the City of Unley	19
V	Created Suburbs of Unley	20
VI	Distribution of Population by Occupation 1830-1861	68
VII	Selected Average House Prices for Suburbs within Metropolitan Adelaide 1976	70
VIII	Illustration of Home Unit Price Setting: Unley	71
IX	The Corporation of the City of Unley Ward Boundaries	92
X	1971 Zoning Bylaws: Council Control over the Construction of Flats	115
XI	1975 Zoning Bylaws: Council Control over the Construction of Flats	116
XII	Road-closure Scheme Area	146

SUMMARY

The way in which land is organized within a society is symbolic of the social relationships within that society. This study examines decision-making with regards to land-use in an inner-city suburb of Adelaide.

Utilizing the approach which is becoming known as the 'political economy of space', the study has focussed on (1) the role of local government in determining land-use, (2) the importance of social class in affecting the distribution of amenities amongst the population, and (3) the consequences of the emergence of residents' groups in land-use decision-making.

In order to address these concerns, the social structure of the suburb examined was identified by the use of socio-economic variables. The patterning of social classes which emerged indicated that social class is an important consideration affecting residential location. The economic constraints which determine residential location also function within the urban land-market as a whole, and serve to place an emphasis on the exchange value of land rather than the use-value. Local Council and residents, operating within these economic constraints, make decisions over the way land is used – to the extent that they can. An examination of the local Council and the residents' groups reveals a strong upper-middle class orientation – both in terms of composition and concerns. I suggest, in this study, that it is due to the upper-middle class character of the Council and the residents' groups, that decisions made in regards to land-use serve to benefit the upper-middle class, at the expense of the lower classes.

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

D.V. Russell

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Any venture away from knowledge gained directly from books brings into play people who assist in providing information which creates new books. Information gathered for this thesis was dependent upon the willingness of residents in Unley to participate in discussions of the urban problems which Unley faces and to examine their role in attempting to address these problems; specifically Council members and staff who are attempting to redress these problems from their position of governing, and the residents who put time and effort into resolving the problems through the organization of residents' groups. While this thesis has not pointed to a resolution of these problems, hopefully it has provided clearer insights into the problem itself.

Within the University, I am particularly indebted by my advisor Dr. Kingsley Garbett who offered support and expertise throughout the process of preparing this study. As the end drew near I utilized the criticisms of Dr. Susan Barnham, Dr. Adrian Peace and C. Gregory to clarify my ideas and interpretations, and I thank them for the time and insights offered.

While one cannot list all who have been of assistance throughout the process, some must be acknowledged: Theresa Ashton and Wendy Taylor for their valuable contributions as proof-readers, Ray Mulvihill for technical and administrative expertise, David Brooks and Michael Muetzelfeldt for support as fellow students in frequently trying times, and John Ingram and Anatole Russell-Ingram for their willingness to reside with a person who has a 'thesis' to do. To all these people I acknowledge my indebtedness and trust that their contributions have lent to a better understanding of the process of resident participation in land-use decision-making.

This thesis has been written in the memory of Shelagh Monohan.

INTRODUCTION



In many Western cities residents' groups have emerged which are similarly composed, undertake similar actions and have similar ideologies. All share a common desire for greater participation in local decision-making and strong objections to changes in land-use. The similarities among them reveal a patterning of non-institutional group formation which warrants examination. This study does not, however, focus on the organizational aspects of such groups, as is commonly done in the anthropological literature, but applies a theoretical approach which is becoming known as the 'political economy of space'. The development of this theoretical orientation has been discussed at length by Castells in *The Urban Question*, summarized by Harlow in *Captive Cities* and applied to the Australian/New Zealand situation by Kilmartin and Thorns in *Cities Unlimited*.

The theoretical problem addressed in this study is the relationship between the spatial organization of the city and the social processes which define that organization examined in the specific context of how the activities of a particular local Council affect the use of land within that Council's area. More broadly speaking, spatial organization refers to the way in which land is constituted by society in order to meet its economic, political and ideological prerequisites. The location of residential, industrial and commercial sectors, in relation to each other are strongly influenced by the economic system of that society. The distribution of resources, within the urban context, is the result of political decision-making made by those who have the power. The value of home ownership, the form of governing and the aesthetic constitution of space can be understood to be symbolic representations of the dominant ideology.

The direction then is not one of questioning the place of the individual within an organizational framework of decision-making with regard to land-use; but one that examined the structures within which the individuals act. Hence attempts are made to identify relationships within

the structure by examining collective action and then identifying the social factors which determine such actions.

The theoretical approach of 'political economy of space' has been selected because it provides an understanding of the changes which have occurred within Unley during the period from 1960 to 1977. Alterations occurred in the use of land, the composition of the local Council, and the degree to which residents were mobilized as political groups. These alterations were a response to competition for land in Unley, and an attempt will be made to link these changes to the organization of space in terms of the economic constraints which limit the possible range of actions for both residents and commercial developers. The political economy approach also singles out social class in order to examine how 'class' affects the political process of determining who receives the resources which are available. Hopefully the material gathered from Unley will lead to a better understanding of the reasons for the emergence of residents' groups in Western cities, and to an understanding of the impact they have in terms of affecting the distribution of amenities within the city.

Chapter One describes the social structure of Unley, drawing attention to the demographic distribution of variables such as income, the presence of migrants, educational levels attained, occupational classifications and age in life-cycles. That there is such a demographic distribution points to the existence of factors which cluster individuals by their social class composition. Such clusterings I will attempt to relate to the distribution of amenities such as the presence of parks and the absence of offices and flats.

In the second chapter I will examine the economics of residential location. Home ownership, an importantly held social value in Australian society, will be examined in order to isolate the economic factors which

restrict the choice of residential location for individuals. The form of tenure (ownership, mortgage and rental) and the consequences of such tenure I will posit as affecting decision-making within local Council and subsequently the usage of land.

While the economics of residential location focus upon the limitations of individuals as they enter the housing market, residential areas must be viewed within the framework of the total land-use and the land market. In Chapter Three I focus on the way in which land values are socially created within the context of the economic system and how the price of one lot (or area) is determined by regional price setting. With an understanding of the way in which land values are ascribed, one can then begin to understand how the expansion of the commercial developments into Unley has altered the value of residential land and also why residents' groups have formed in order to attempt to maintain or improve their own land values.

The role of the State and local government requires examination as they are the institutional bodies which legislate land-use controls. Chapter Four examines changes in the composition of Unley Council between 1950 and 1977 and presents a discussion as to the causes of these changes. I examine also the local Council in its role as arbitrator of land-use decisions, decisions which are made within the framework established by the State government. Such a role must be seen within the context of the historical development of land-use controls by the South Australian State government. Local Councils function within the constraints established by the State government but, as in Unley, within these constraints shape land-use.

Chapter Five discusses the formation of residents' groups as a phenomenon which has emerged in many Western cities. The emergence of residents' groups, I argue, is (1) a response to specific urban problems

such as the competition for inner-city land-use and (2) symbolic of an unresolved problem posed by two sharply different concepts of 'governing', 'participatory', on the one hand and 'representative', on the other. Out of the critique of 'representative' models of governing by those who wish to develop 'participatory' models, the ideology of 'citizen participation' has grown. The ideology of resident participation which has emerged, however, does not include everyone. In fact, the growth of the 'planning' rationale in decision-making within local Councils has served to restrict residents who participate to those who are educated and affluent. The development of residents' groups within Unley will illustrate that this is the case.

The final chapter presents two case studies on decision-making in which (1) resident participation occurred, (2) land-use was the major feature and (3) the local Council was responsible for making the final decision. The purchase of Fullarton Park (Case Study I) and its subsequent development into a community centre, despite intra-class conflict, is an instance of amenities being distributed so as to favour the wealthier residents. The road-closure scheme (Case Study II) constitutes a process of resident participation in local decision-making. This case illuminates who does and who does not participate, the potential threat of such schemes to house values in the area, the process by which individuals in Council come to making a decision, and the various reasons for specific residents mobilizing into groups.

The data for this analysis were gathered between November 1976 and December 1977 in the City of Unley. Utilizing the traditional anthropological participant-observer method, I became a Board member of the major resident group (URS) for the duration of the study, attended Council meetings and general meetings at which residents were involved in the discussion of land-use. As the major conflict in the City at the time of

the study was that of the road-closure scheme, meetings held pertaining to the closures constituted the primary focus. In order to understand the Unley residents' groups in relationship to other groups throughout the metropolitan area, I attended similar meetings in other suburbs and interviewed some of the active participants in these groups. A high degree of the material presented in this thesis is derived from secondary sources such as the local newspaper for the period from 1950 to 1977, and Council minutes from 1973 until 1977. The S.P.S.S. programmes facilitated the conversion of census data from the years 1971 and 1976 into the socio-economic indices used.

CHAPTER ONE:

UNLEY -- A HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE

As a city, Unley has a particular socio-economic structure which, I will posit, affects decision-making with regard to land-use so as to benefit those in the upper-middle class. While the concept of social structure includes the ideological, political and economic components of any given society, I will primarily examine, indirectly, the social structure in terms of socio-economic characteristics. This approach has been selected because this form of analysis best facilitates correlating social and economic positions with the power to influence decision-making.

Socio-economic variables, for the most part, have been used to establish comparative social rankings of geographic areas. However, I would argue that such information cannot only be used for establishing social rankings, but also that one can use such information to indicate 'class'. This, however, requires a clarification of the use of the term 'class'. Giddens (1973), in delineating between 'proximate' and 'mediate' structuration of class relationships emphasises that the former focuses upon,

the division of labour within the productive enterprise; the authority of relationships with the enterprise; and the influence of distributive groupings (meaning)... those relationships involving common patterns of the consumption of economic goods, regardless of whether the individuals involved make any type of conscious evaluation of their honour or prestige relative to others (Giddens 1973:107-109).

On the other hand, 'mediate' structuration refers to the "factors which intervene between the existence of certain given market capacities and the formation of classes as identifiable social groupings" (Giddens 1973:107). Mediate structuration is useful for examining mobility and class closure, but does not lend itself to the examination of power in relationship to land-use decision-making. Connell (1977) makes a similar distinction in his discussion of class. His 'generative' model of class is analogous to Giddens' 'proximate' structuration whilst his 'categorical' is analogous to Giddens' 'mediate' structuration. The generative model of

class focuses upon the "processes producing groupings, rather than the categories they produce" (Connell 1977:5).

Both Giddens and Connell incorporate into their discussions of class the dichotomous model originally ascribed to Marx. Marx's dichotomous model distinguishes two distinct classes; those who own property, and hence control the means of production, and those who are propertyless and sell their labour, thereby creating surplus products for those who control the means of production. This model is useful because it emphasises (1) the potential conflict in terms of class interests which can contribute to an understanding of the way in which amenities and resources are distributed within Unley and (2) the importance of the means of production in terms of determining access to the labour market which for the most part subsequently defines status. The aspect of status, developed by Weber, has been incorporated into the Marxian dichotomous model by both Giddens and Connell. The incorporation of the concept of status as influential in power relationships is important but both Giddens and Connell indicate that, for the most part, status corresponds with economic position and to a large degree reinforces economic positions within the class system. I have utilized this orientation because such a focus brings to the forefront the relationship between groups of people with differing interests rather than these relationships becoming lost in a simple plurality of groups of people.

To return to the discussion of the use of socio-economic variables as indicators of class, I argue that within the framework of proximate structuration or generative class models the use of socio-economic variables is helpful because it isolates such variables which effect access to the labour market and subsequent status position. The method also interprets the data in spatial terms which is necessary for the subsequent analysis of class in regards to land-use.

Variables of education, income, occupation and ethnicity, which I will discuss in greater detail in this chapter, affect entrance into the labour market and hence the economic and social positions within the class continuum. The mapping of such variables facilitates an understanding of those areas which have the highest and lowest concentrations of high socio-economic clusterings. This establishes a basis for examining the questions of why there are differences in the various suburbs in terms of land-use and how these differences come about. Specifically, why do there exist differences between the northern half and southern half of Unley in terms of land-use, and why is one area changing in terms of the increase of amenities, while other areas are not? I argue that the movement of clusters of people in the higher socio-economic categories into this area transforms the land values and that this process is endorsed by the ideology of citizen participation. The increase in land values works so as to selectively make available homes to those in a particular socio-economic category. The improvement of the area in terms of creating amenities has been activated by the ideological framework which legitimizes residents being involved in decision-making. This framework which I call citizen participation will be discussed later in greater detail.

In this chapter I present a socio-economic description of Unley. The reason for doing so is to indicate the geographic clusterings of classes. These clusterings for purposes of discussion, I identify as (a) upper-middle class — those with professional or administrative occupations (28.4% of the Unley population) with family incomes over \$18,000 per year (7.8% of the Unley population) and with tertiary education (11.1% of the Unley population); (b) middle class — those with sales, clerical, service and transport occupations (40.1% of the Unley population) and with family incomes between \$6,000-\$17,999 per year (49.2% of the Unley population); (c) lower class — those with production, processing and

labouring occupations (33.7% of the Unley population) and with family incomes under \$5,999 per year (37.8% of the Unley population). These terms are used because of the familiarity of the folk images associated with them, but also because in this discussion of classes the focus is on the relationship between the clusterings of groups, and not on the groups themselves. Underlying this discussion is the use of the dichotomous model of class, because it is access to the labour market (means of production) which most significantly determines the economic and social positions within this specific society, and hence the power to influence decision-making with regard to land-use.

Unley is an inner-city suburb which has had a significant degree of resident mobilization in the last eight years, and as such provides a focal point for examining the way in which space is socially constructed.

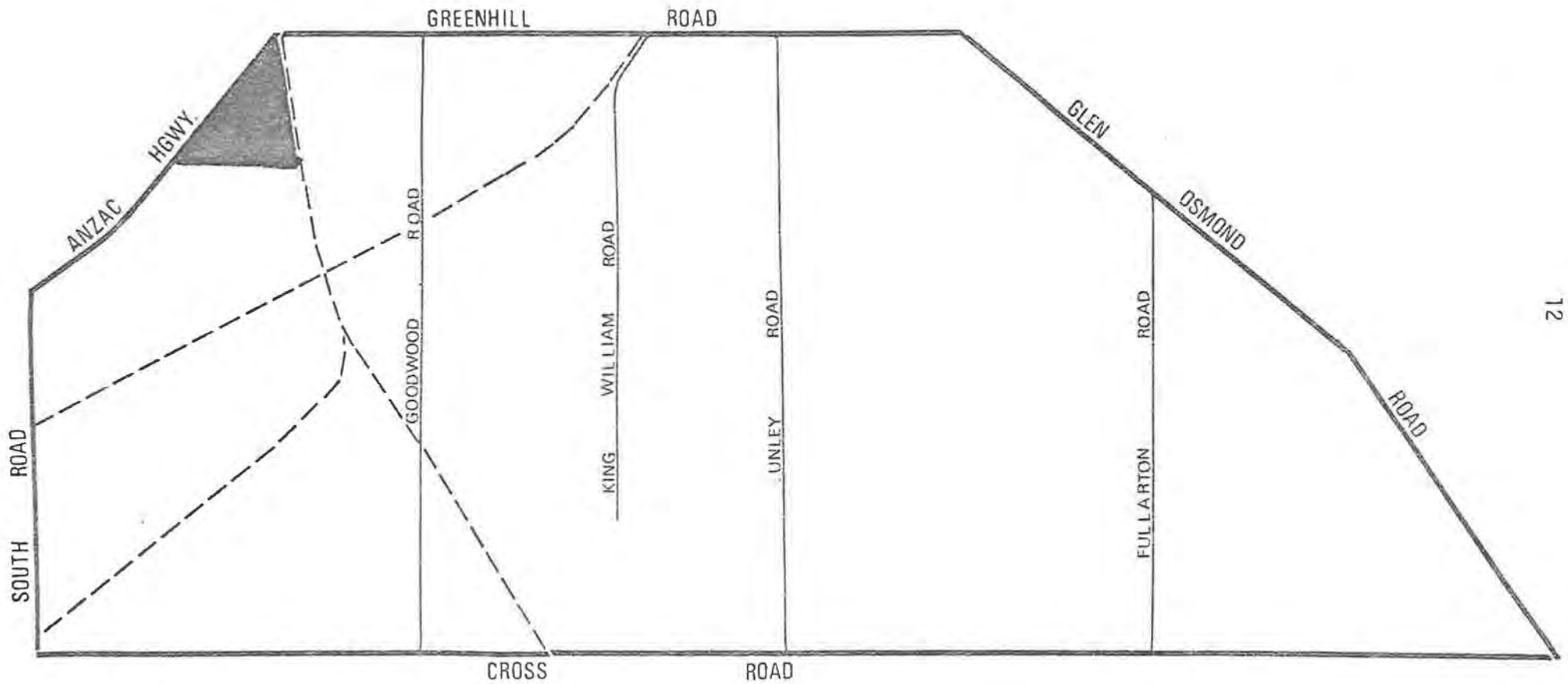
Unley is one of twenty-five local government Councils in metropolitan Adelaide.¹ It is located adjacent to, and south of, the City of Adelaide. It is bounded by Greenhill Road on the north, Anzac Highway and South Road on the north and northwest, Cross Road on the south and Glen Osmond Road on the east (see Map I). The land is primarily flat, with some hills in the southeast corner, and is 3,424 square acres.

The history of Unley is closely tied to the development of the City of Adelaide. When plans were being formulated for the establishment of South Australia, ideas were being developed on utopian or model communities. Such concerns arose because of the critical housing problems which had developed in England due to the initial phase of the industrial revolution. Members of the National Colonization Society for South Australia (which was

¹For the purpose of clarity the following definitions will be used throughout the thesis:

'Adelaide' and 'metropolitan Adelaide' refer to the combined entity of the twenty-five Councils. The 'City of Adelaide', the 'CAB' and 'the City-centre' refer to the Adelaide City Council boundary enclosed by the parklands. 'Unley' and the 'City of Unley' refer to the area within the local Council government boundary.

MAP I: THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF UNLEY



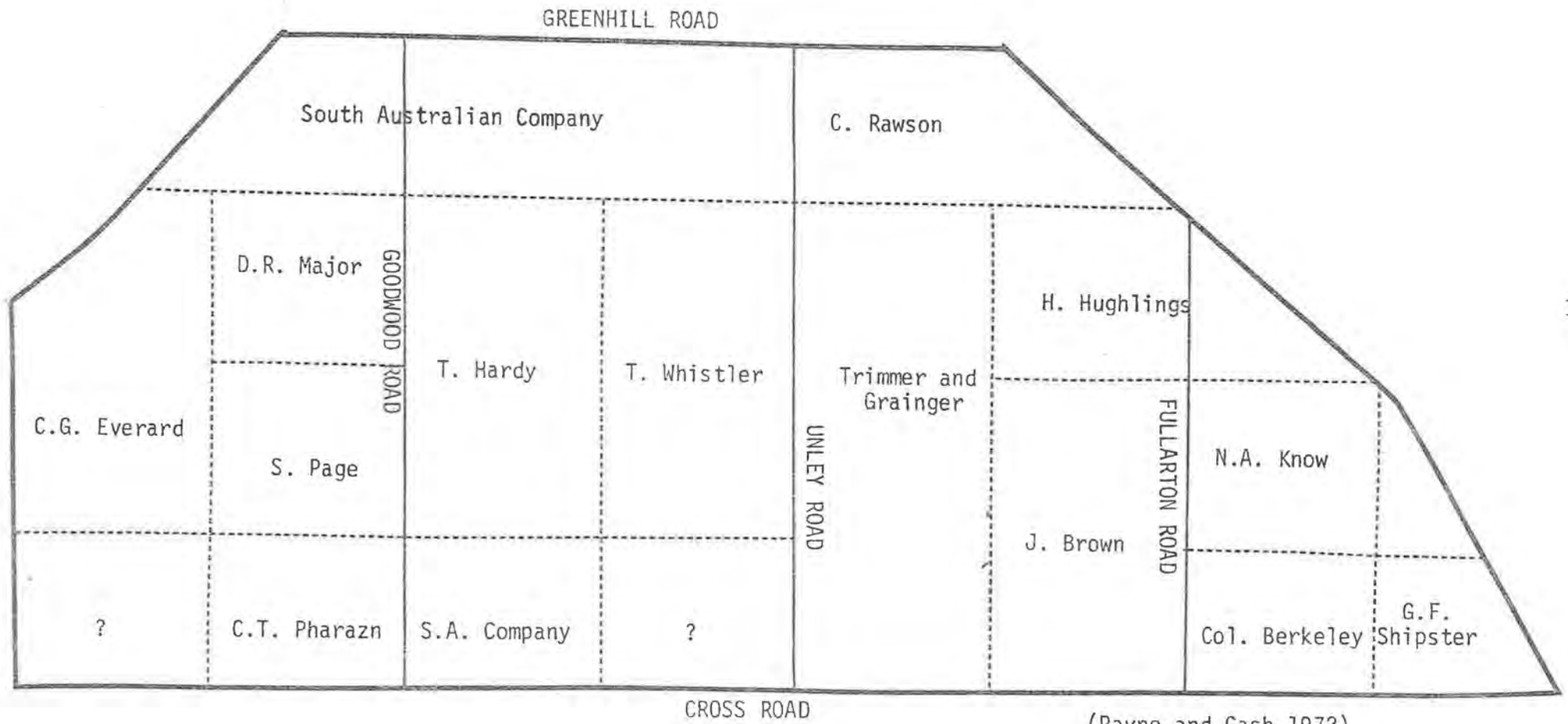
the body responsible for founding South Australia) such as Jeremy Bentham, E.G. Wakefield and Robert Owen were involved in these utopian discussions (Williams 1974:396). Hence it seems reasonable to assume that amongst some of the founding fathers there was a concern for providing a "well-planned" city.

Colonel Light was responsible for the original survey of Adelaide. He established the parklands which surround the City-centre, and the road system into the City-centre, which in essence determined the features of what was to become Unley.

Unley, as it is now known, was sub-divided in 1839 by the National Colonization Society and sold to thirteen individuals and the South Australian Company (see Map II). The land was initially used for farming and grazing but with the rapid influx of migrants land was soon sub-divided and sold. T. Whistler made the first subdivision, and the City of Unley was created in 1845. Goodwood and Unley Park were sub-divided between 1845-1865, with the rest of the land being sub-divided between 1865-1937 (see Map III) (Donovan 1978:13). In 1853 the District Council of Mitcham was proclaimed and this newly established Council included virtually all of what presently constitutes the southern half of the City. After 1880, the combined populations of the villages of Unley, Parkside, Fullarton and Goodwood numbered 2,000, which allowed them to petition the Governor for the title and privileges of a corporate town. This was granted in 1871 (Payne 1971:19).

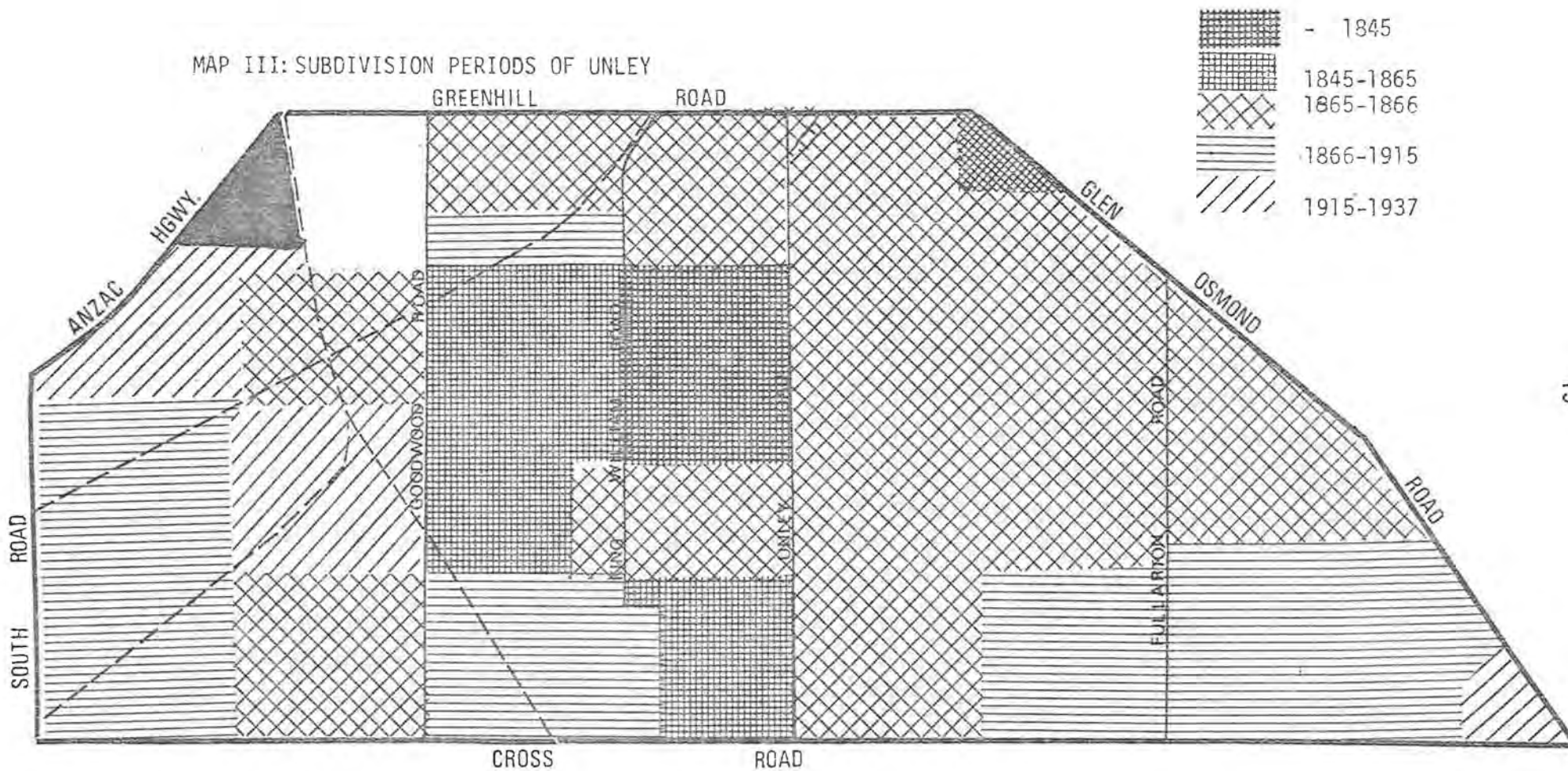
The focal point for shopping, religious services and education was initially in Unley. When amalgamation occurred in 1881, the four villages of Fullarton, Unley Park, Parkside and Unley/Goodwood each had its unique population characteristics. The residents of Parkside and North Unley were primarily workers within the construction industry. Unley/Goodwood was primarily the shopping centre, with the residents being skilled

MAP II: ORIGINAL SECTIONS AND PURCHASERS OF UNLEY, 1840



(Payne and Cash 1972)

MAP III: SUBDIVISION PERIODS OF UNLEY



(Donovan:1978)

craftspeople, merchants and shop keepers. Fullarton and Unley Park remained comparatively less populated and were inhabited by professionals and government workers.

Housing construction abated after 1885 because of the international recession and did not pick up again until the first world war. At this time the area west of Goodwood Road was sub-divided as were sections in Fullarton and Highgate.

Unley today is predominantly residential, with a population of 37,000 spread over the original 14.2 square kilometres and within the same local boundaries. The population increased until 1947, at which point it reached 44,000. Since that point it has been declining, despite the construction of the higher-density housing developments (see Table 1).

Table 1: Population of the City of Unley 1876-1976

1876	1,560	1921	34,111	1966	39,727
1881	5,493	1933	41,004	1971	39,928
1891	11,429	1947	44,199	1976	37,016
1901	18,152	1954	44,164		
1911	23,711	1961	40,280		

(Australian Bureau of Statistics)

Unley, as one suburb out of a total of twenty-five, needs to be compared with metropolitan Adelaide. The first socio-economic atlas of Adelaide, produced in 1975, developed sophisticated dendograms classifying suburbs within Adelaide on a comparative basis using 1971 Federal Census material. The focus of measurement was the clustering of similar variables so that broad categories could be identified. In terms of the total city, the City of Unley was divided into two groups: Unley Park/Highgate, Myrtle Bank and Fullarton, described as "high socio-economic status; low familism with well above average incidence of elderly persons and widows; low ethnicity and low growth" (Stimson 1975:238) and Unley/Hyde Park, Goodwood/Wayville, Parkside and Forestville, described as "inner-city suburbs

adjacent to the north, east and south of the city...High ethnicity, especially Greek migrants; moderate familism²; low to moderate socio-economic status; above average levels of urbanization and low growth" (Stimson 1975:242). This comparative atlas indicates a demographic variation within Unley, in terms of the metropolitan area as a whole.

The Socio-economic Structure of Unley

In this chapter I will present the demographic distribution of variables such as income, presence of migrants, educational levels attained, occupational classification and age cycles. The method adopted for assessing the degree of variation in socio-economic variables is derived from the work of R.J. Stimson and E.A. Cleland in the *Socio-economic Atlas of Adelaide* 1975. The data used are from the 1976 Federal Census Statistics utilizing the smallest collection areas (Collectors Districts). The data is converted into an *Index of Concentration* (Ic), using the following formula,

$$Ic = \frac{x_i}{x_n}$$

x_i = the percentage of area i's population
classified by variable x
 x_n = the percentage of the total Unley
population classified by variable x

If an area has an $Ic \pm 4.0$, it means that there is a relative concentration of that specific variable which is four times greater than its value over the Unley area as a whole.

By using the same value categories to plot the distribution of all variables in which we are interested, we may readily compare the relative concentration of different variables within the same area and compare the degree of variation in the relative concentration between areas for any one variable (Stimson 1975:76).

²Familism means the combined characteristics associated with marital status, presence or absence of children and age of persons residing within a household.

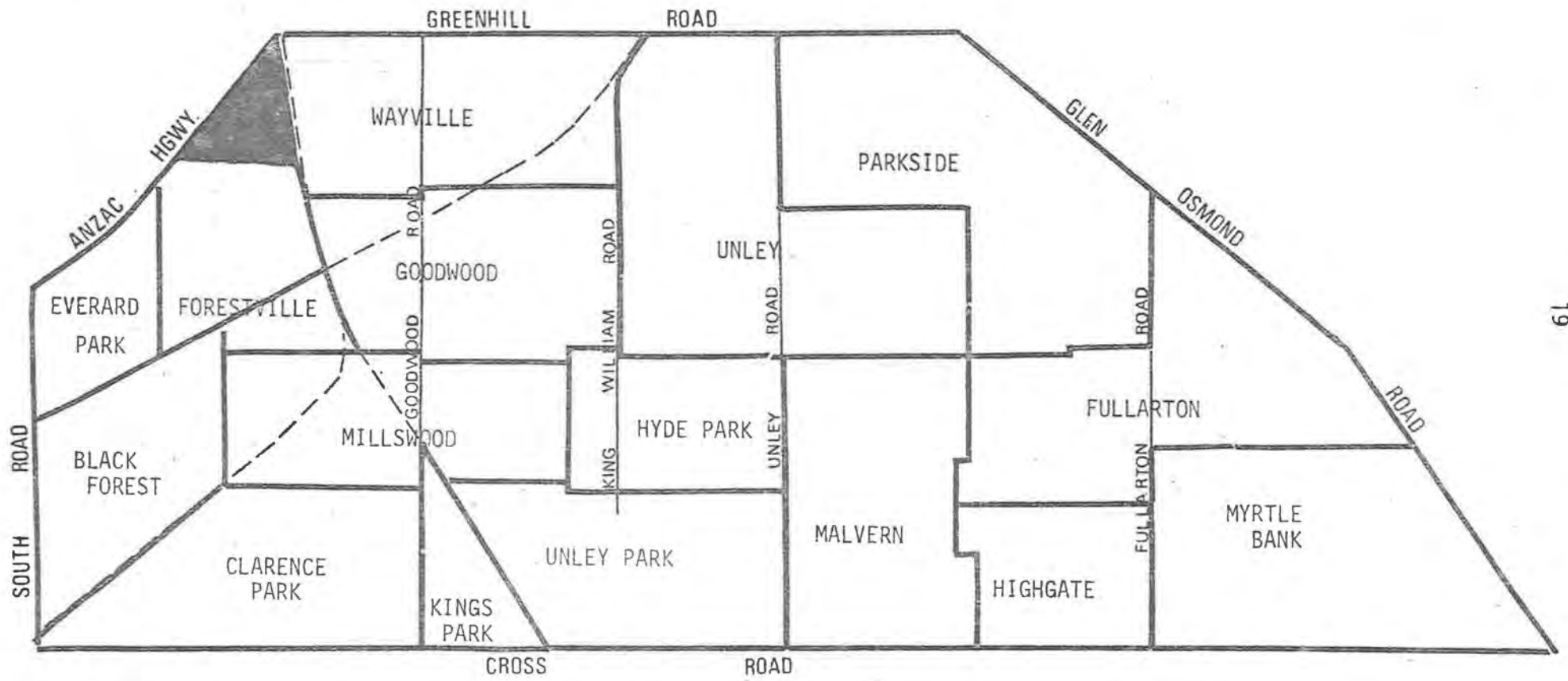
While the use of socio-economic indicators has been criticized for its inability to show how individuals translate their economic/status position within society into a meaningful system of ideas, in this stage of examining social formations in regards to land-use it provides the most definitive indicators available. The Index of Concentration is used in the text of this work, but the maps which visually indicate the characteristics demographically are found in Appendix I. The demographic distribution indicates a marked pattern of social structure distributions which, I will show, can be related to the distribution of amenities and the organization of residents' groups.

The Socio-economic Characteristics of Unley's Suburbs

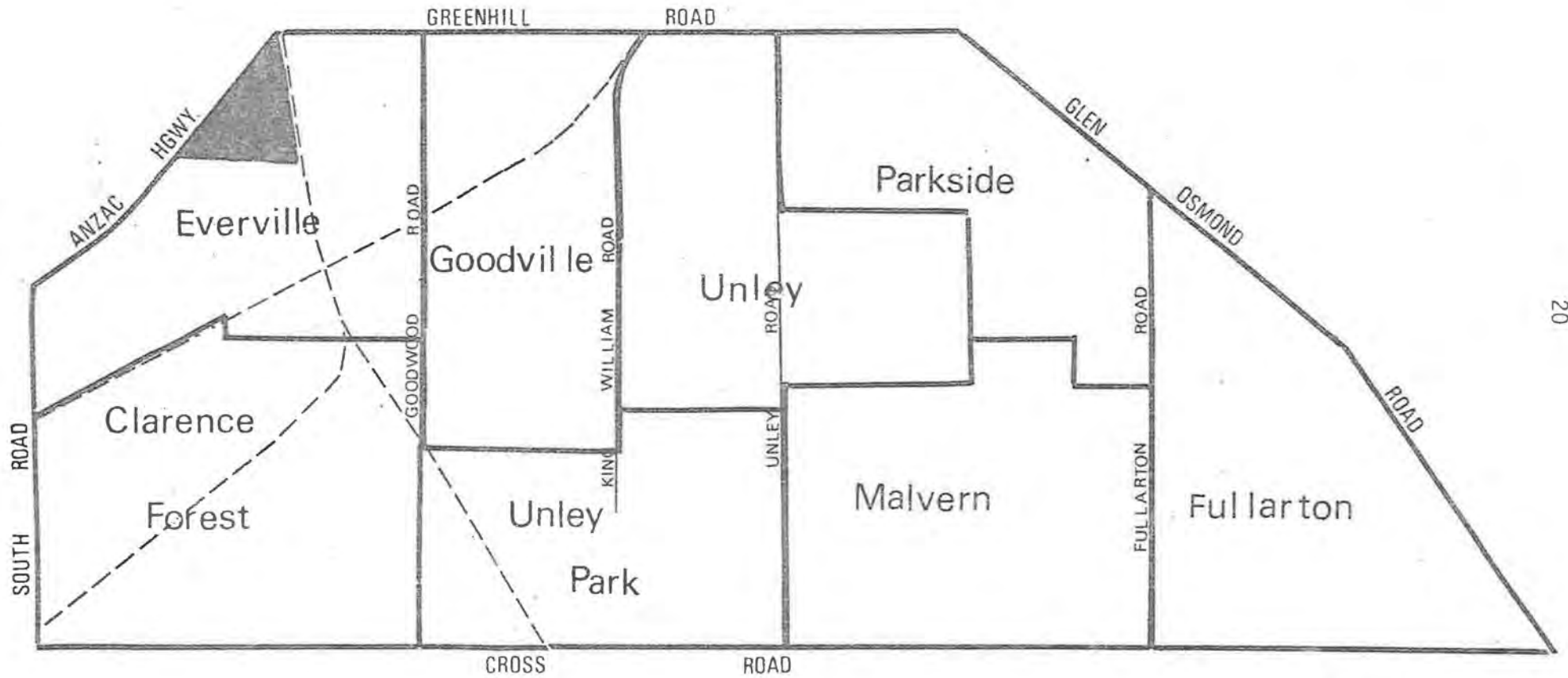
The City of Unley consists of seventeen suburbs which are both local images of the areas with which residents associate themselves, and postal code areas (see Map IV). For the purpose of my discussion, I have reduced the number of suburbs to eight in order to facilitate discussion and do not attempt to alter any images of the areas being described (see Map V). When delineating boundaries, one always faces the problem of where to draw the lines. In establishing the eight suburbs of Unley I have used the following considerations:

- (1) Selection of suburbs commonly perceived by residents. Parkside, Unley, Unley Park, and Fullarton are for the most part roughly similar to peoples' views, although the specific allocations might not coincide. For suburbs where there is an overlap of what is commonly perceived, I have combined urban names (e.g. Goodwood and Wayville have become Goodville).
- (2) Boundary lines are essentially determined by the Federal Statistics "collection area" boundaries. This is necessary as a large percentage of the data are derived from the Federal census.
- (3) Attempts have been made to balance the population in each area. Where this could not be done, such as in Unley Park, the population is less than the average. Everville also has a lower population due to the presence of the Wayville Showgrounds

MAP IV: SUBURBS OF THE CITY OF UNLEY



MAP V: CREATED SUBURBS OF UNLEY



and Keswick Military Barracks. To have expanded this area to obtain comparable population sizes would have meant expanding the boundaries beyond that of common conception.

The created suburbs (CS) are as follows:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Population</u>
Everville	3,605
Goodville	4,785
Clarence Forest	5,201
Unley Park	2,774
Unley	4,834
Parkside	5,040
Malvern	5,495
Fullarton	5,743
<hr/>	
City of Unley	37,477

Unley Park

Unley Park is the best-known suburb, primarily because of its magnificent gum trees and the old estates. The dense vegetation is the last part of the forest which originally covered most of Unley. Unley Park, for this discussion, includes Kings Park, Unley Park and a section of Hyde Park. The suburb does not have any shopping facilities or offices. While Cross Road and Victoria Avenue carry a higher density of traffic than most residential roads, the houses, situated on large lots, do not suffer the common consequences of being on major roads.

Unley Park consists primarily of single family dwelling houses and has a pattern of home ownership above the City average (Ic 1.00-1.49). Unley Park has a zoning classification of R1, which restricts constructions, primarily to single-dwellings. Homes are expensive, with the average selling price being \$76,695 in 1976.³

³The average sale price in all further discussions is derived from the statistics collected by the South Australian Government Lands Department Valuer Generals Office, as recorded in "Monthly Sales Reports", October 1976-October 1977, unless otherwise stated.

The suburb primarily consists of families with young and older children (Ic .50-1.99). There are very few young adults living in the area.

In terms of occupations, the area consists primarily of professionals (Ic 1.00-1.99) and administrative (Ic 1.50-3.00+) categories. As would be expected, labouring and the service occupations fall below the city average (Ic 0.00-.49). Income levels are very high in comparison to the City of Unley as a whole (Ic 1.50-3.00+). In terms of educational levels attained, it has the highest concentration of those who have attained university degrees (Ic 1.00-2.99). Unley Park also has the highest concentration of those sending their children to private schools (Ic 1.50-3.00+).

Greek and Italian migrants are few in the suburb.

Clarence Forest

Clarence Forest includes the suburbs of Clarence Park, Black Forest and half of Millswood. Bordered on the east and west by major arterial roads, with commercial developments, in its interior it has quiet streets with single-dwelling houses. House prices range from an average of \$24,906 in Black Forest to \$36,429 in Millswood. Home ownership is above the city average (Ic 1.00-1.49) but flat developments occur on the northern section (Ic 1.50-1.99) adjacent to the railway lines.

Young families with young children reside throughout most of the suburb, but there is below the city average of families with teenage children. The density of people over the age of sixty years, for most of the area, is above the city average (Ic 1.00-1.49).

All occupational categories are present in Clarence Forest, with no particular patterning along occupational lines. There is a pocket, where the railways intersect in Millswood, which has the only high

concentration of families with incomes of over \$18,000 per year (Ic 1.00-1.99) and which have attained above the city average of university qualifications (Ic 1.00-1.49).

Italian migrant concentrations fall below the city average, while Greek migrant concentrations are above the city average (Ic 1.00-1.49) in the southern portion.

Everville

Everville consists of sections of the suburbs of Wayville, Everard Park, Forestville and Goodwood. Located between Goodwood Road and South Road/Anzac Highway, the area is dominated by the Wayville Showgrounds, Keswick Military Barracks and a massive furniture store (5.5 acres).

The area primarily consists of young adults (Ic 1.00-1.99) living in rental accommodation. Rental accommodation in this suburb is above the city average (Ic 1.49-1.99). Home ownership is below the city average for nearly all of the area and there have been extensive flat developments, such as a block of four-storey flats on Leader Street. House prices average between \$25,050 in Everard Park to \$32,133 in Wayville.

In terms of the occupational categories in which the residents are employed, clerical (Ic 1.00-1.99), sales (Ic 1.00-2.49), transportation (Ic 1.00-2.49), labourer (Ic 1.00-1.99) and services (Ic 1.00-1.49), dominate. Professional and administrative occupations fall below the city average. Income levels of over \$18,000 per year, university qualifications, and concentration of children attending private schools are all below the city average for most of the area.

Greek migrants are highly concentrated (Ic 1.00-2.49), as are Italian migrants (Ic 1.49-1.99).

Malvern

As a suburb, Malvern is a combination of single-dwellings, private schools (Concordia College, St. Johns Lutheran School), and the imposing eight-storey Home for Incurables. The area has a high degree of young children (Ic 1.00-1.49), implying the presence of young families and a high concentration of those over the age of sixty (Ic 1.00-1.99). The high concentration of elderly is in part due to the Home for Incurables and to the presence of six nursing homes in the area.

In terms of occupational categories, Malvern has a high degree of professional (Ic 1.00-2.49) and administrative (Ic 1.00-3.00+) occupations. Transportation (Ic 1.00-1.99), sales (Ic 1.00-1.49), clerical (Ic 1.00-1.99) and service (Ic 1.00-1.99) occupations are above city averages, but are concentrated in parts of Malvern and not spread throughout. The occupational category of labourer is below the city average. Family incomes are above the city average throughout the area (Ic 1.00-2.49), with the exception of the Home for Incurables. Levels of university educational attainment are above the city average (Ic 1.00-1.99).

Greek migrants fall below the city average concentration, while Italian migrants are concentrated above the city average (Ic 1.00-1.99) in parts of Malvern.

Home ownership is above the city average for most of the area (Ic 1.00-1.49), with rental-accommodation only being above the city average in one section. The average price for a house in this area was \$42,550 in 1976.

Fullarton

Fullarton has been called the 'geriatric' suburb of the City of Unley because of its high concentration of those over sixty years of age

(Ic 1.00-2.49). There are six nursing homes and several senior-citizen cottage complexes which house a high number of the elderly. The cottages and nursing homes account for a greater concentration of tenants (Ic 1.00-1.99) in the area than would otherwise be the case.

Fullarton can be divided into a northern and southern half: the southern half characterized as having a high concentration of professional (Ic 1.00-1.99) and administrative (Ic 1.00-2.99) occupations with family incomes of over \$18,000 spread throughout (Ic 1.00-3.00+); the northern half characterized by a distribution of all other occupations (excluding labourers) but with family yearly incomes being below the city average for the \$18,000-and-over range. In 1976, average housing prices in the northern half were \$35,528, compared with \$52,200 in the southern half.

Fullarton has below the city average of Greek migrants. Italian migrants, however, are concentrated in the northern corner of Fullarton (Ic 1.00-1.49).

One interesting feature which emerged from discussions with residents of Fullarton is that they tended to identify themselves with the adjacent Burnside Council, rather than with Unley Council. The reason cited was the difficulty in crossing two major roads to get to the Unley Shopping Centre, or to any facilities in Unley. Burnside was easier to get to, and has a higher image of social status than has Fullarton.

Goodville

Goodville consists primarily of Goodwood and parts of Wayville and Millswood. The Goodwood shopping area is one of the older parts of the City of Unley. The Goodwood Hotel was built in 1842. The roads marking Goodville are Goodwood Road on the west and King William Road on the east. Both roads are undergoing transformations; Goodwood Road is on the verge

of being widened to accommodate increased traffic, and King William Road is changing from a residential road to one with commercial offices.

The area primarily consists of families with teenaged children, and young adults. While home ownership is above the city average in the Southern portion (Ic 1.00-1.49), the northern portion has a high concentration of tenants (Ic 1.00-1.99). The average house price was \$31,250 in 1976.

In terms of occupational categories, only labouring (Ic 1.00-1.99) and service (Ic 1.00-1.99) occupations are spread throughout at above the city average. The other occupational categories are present, but do not follow particular demographic patterns. Family income levels of over \$18,000 per year, for the most part, fall below the city average.

Greek migrants reside throughout Goodville at a concentration of above the city average (Ic 1.00-3.00+). Italian migrants also live throughout most of Goodville.

Unley

Unley lies between Unley Road and King William Road. Unley Road is the centre of the City of Unley. The large Unley Shopping Centre, the Town Hall and the variety of shops make it the business centre of the City.

Unley has a high concentration of young families with young children and a high concentration of young adults. Home ownership falls below the city average, while tenants are highly concentrated (Ic 1.00-1.99). In 1976, the average house price was \$38,719.

The Italian and Greek migrant population is highly concentrated throughout the area (Greek Ic 1.00-2.49; Italian Ic 1.00-3.00+).

The occupational categories fall into a particular demographic pattern. The northern edge and the area behind the Town Hall have high

concentrations of professional (Ic 1.00-1.49), administrative (Ic 1.00-3.00+), and service (Ic 1.00-1.99) occupations. The area between these two sections has high concentrations of clerical, transportation, sales and labouring occupational categories (Ic 1.00-1.49). Family incomes of over \$18,000 per year and university-level attainment coincide with the professional sections.

Parkside

Parkside is bound on the north by Greenhill Road, which has had major office buildings constructed on it in the last ten years, and on the east by Glen Osmond Road, which has had an expansion of the commercial area. However, Parkside, because of the recent re-zoning, attained greater protection as a residential area. It has been the site of road closures (thereby reducing traffic on many of its streets) and has been the focal point for the purchasing of lots by Council for conversion into mini-parks.

The household composition of Parkside is the most evenly balanced in the City of Unley. There are young families, older families with teenage children, young adults and people out of the child-bearing years.

Parkside is the centre of the Greek and Italian migrant community (Ic 1.00-3.00+ for both) in the City of Unley. The presence of Italian, Greek and Australian School Councils functioning within the Primary School is an indication of the degree of "community" within Parkside.

The primary occupational categories present in Parkside are administrative (Ic 2.00-2.99), labouring (Ic 1.00-1.99) and service (Ic 1.00-1.99). Home ownership is below the city average and tenancy is high (Ic 1.00-1.99). House prices in 1976 were \$31,253.

This brief description of the suburbs (CS) points to a demographic distribution of socio-economic variables in Unley (see Table 2 for comparisons). Unley Park and Malvern emerge as the areas with the highest concentrations of residents with attributes which can be associated with the upper-middle class: above average concentrations of those who have tertiary-level qualifications, family incomes of over \$18,000 per year, high concentrations of professional and administrative occupations and low concentrations of Greek and Italian migrants. Clarence Forest and Fullarton I would describe as middle-class areas because the concentrations of the variables are closer to the average. Parkside, Goodville, Unley and Everville I would describe as lower-class areas because there is a high degree of concentration of those variables which are associated with lower-class groups; a low degree of concentration of residents with tertiary qualifications; lower concentrations of people with family incomes over \$18,000 per year and higher concentrations of low status occupations (transportation, labouring and service).

Hence within Unley, one sees a marked pattern of variation in terms of socio-economic characteristics, with the clearest delineation found between the northern and southern half of Unley.

The implications of such a distribution to the class bias in land-use decision-making can best be understood in terms of the social consequences of each variable. Life cycle effects the demands upon housing; income and occupation effect the standard of living; and education effects the degree to which one engages in technical-planning decision-making. By examining such variables, one can obtain an understanding of important social constraints which operate within Unley.

Table 2: Comparison of Socio-Economic Indices of Concentration for Created Suburbs

Variables	Parkside	Malvern	Unley	Goodville	Unley Park	Clarence Forest	Everville	Fullarton
Age								
0-9	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-
10-19	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
20-29	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
30-39	m	-	+	m	+	m	-	-
40-49	+	-	m	m	m	-	m	m
50-59	m	+	-	-	m	m	m	+
60+	-	+	-	-	-	m	m	+
Ethnic								
Italians	+	m	+	+	-	-	m	-
Greeks	+	-	+	+	-	m	+	-
Occupation								
Professional	-	+	m	-	+	-	-	+
Administrative	+	+	+	-	+	m	-	+
Clerical	-	+	m	-	m	+	-	m
Sales	-	m	-	m	m	+	m	m
Transportation/Communication	+	+	+	+	-	+	m	m
Labourer	+	-	m	+	-	+	m	-
Service	+	-	+	+	-	-	m	m
Home ownership	-	+	m	m	+	+	-	+
Tenancy	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	m
Home Tenure-Purchase	-	+	m	-	+	+	-	-
Owned	+	m	+	+	-	-	+	m
Flats	m	-	m	m	-	-	+	m
Income								
\$15,000-\$18,000	-	m	-	-	+	m	-	-
\$18,000+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	m
25-49% over \$15,000	-	+	-	-	+	m	-	m
Education								
Child private school	-	+	m	m	+	-	-	-
B.A., B.Sc., Diploma	-	+	m	m	+	-	-	m

Key - + = above city average throughout suburb
 m = approximately half of area above city average and half below
 - = below city average throughout suburb

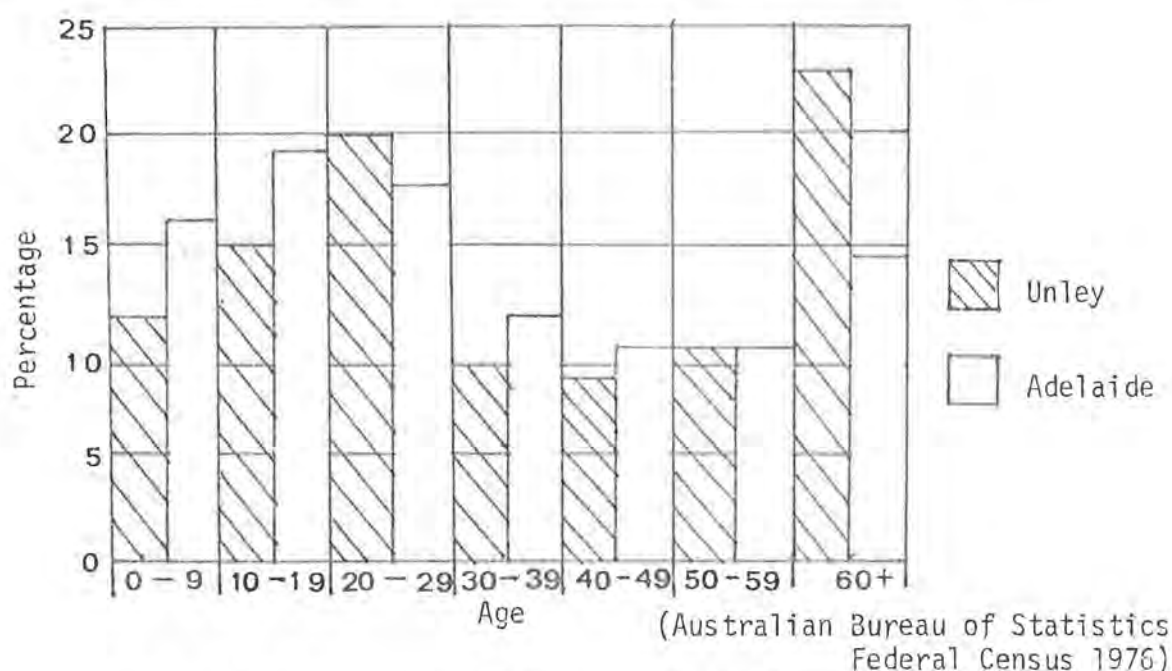
Source: 1976 Federal Census

Stages in Life-cycles

While 'need' is a relative concept, one can identify changing needs according to one's placement in the life-cycle. Access to play areas and road-safety is an important consideration in terms of residential location for parents with young children. Low rental accommodation is necessary for young adults who have recently moved into the field of employment. Access to health services and public transportation is commonly a concern for the elderly. The positioning of the individual within the life-cycle contributes to defining what is considered a residential need.

Unley, as a city, is affected by its age groupings. In comparison to metropolitan Adelaide, Unley has a lower proportion of children, a higher proportion of young adults and a much higher proportion of those over the age of sixty years (see Table 3).

Table 3: Distribution of Population by Age: Unley and Adelaide, 1976



Such a high percentage of the elderly living near the city-centre is common and has been attributed to low rental and mortgage rates, and also to the ease of access to shopping and transportation. The presence of

eighteen hospitals and nursing homes within Unley in part explains the heavy concentration of the elderly. The nursing homes are strongly concentrated in the Malvern and Fullarton suburbs and with their spacious gardens and old style buildings add a feeling of quietness to that area. In contrast to the nursing homes, in Goodville and northern Fullarton accommodation for this age group has primarily taken the form of new home units. As Kilmartin and Thorn stated, "there is some evidence of a move to ownership units in the forty-five (and over) age group" (Kilmartin and Thorn 1978:123). While there is hostility by residents towards these units being built, flats being used by the elderly are more acceptable than those used by other types of tenants.

A significant number of the elderly in the City of Unley consists of those who have moved into the area for the last period of their life-cycle. There is, however, another group of the elderly who owns homes in the area and who have resided there for some time. These homes have been an important source of houses presently entering the market, and frequently sell below the market price because they are in poor condition. Renovating frequently requires rewiring, new plumbing and the replacement of walls corroded by 'salt damp'.

The high percentage of elderly residing in Unley has several social effects upon the City. An important aspect in terms of decision-making within Unley is that for the most part the elderly are not involved in local level politics, even though they represent a significant proportion of the adult population. The presence of a large, un-organized group of people increases the power of those who are in decision-making positions. The decision by local Council to grant approval, in the face of opposition by residents, to the construction of a shopping centre, was made in the name of the 'needs' of the elderly.

The elderly whom I observed in residents' meetings and Council meetings were the persons who provided the City of Unley with its history. It is these sources of information which are highly valued by residents' groups and such information subsequently becomes used as a basis for arguing against the changes which are occurring at present.

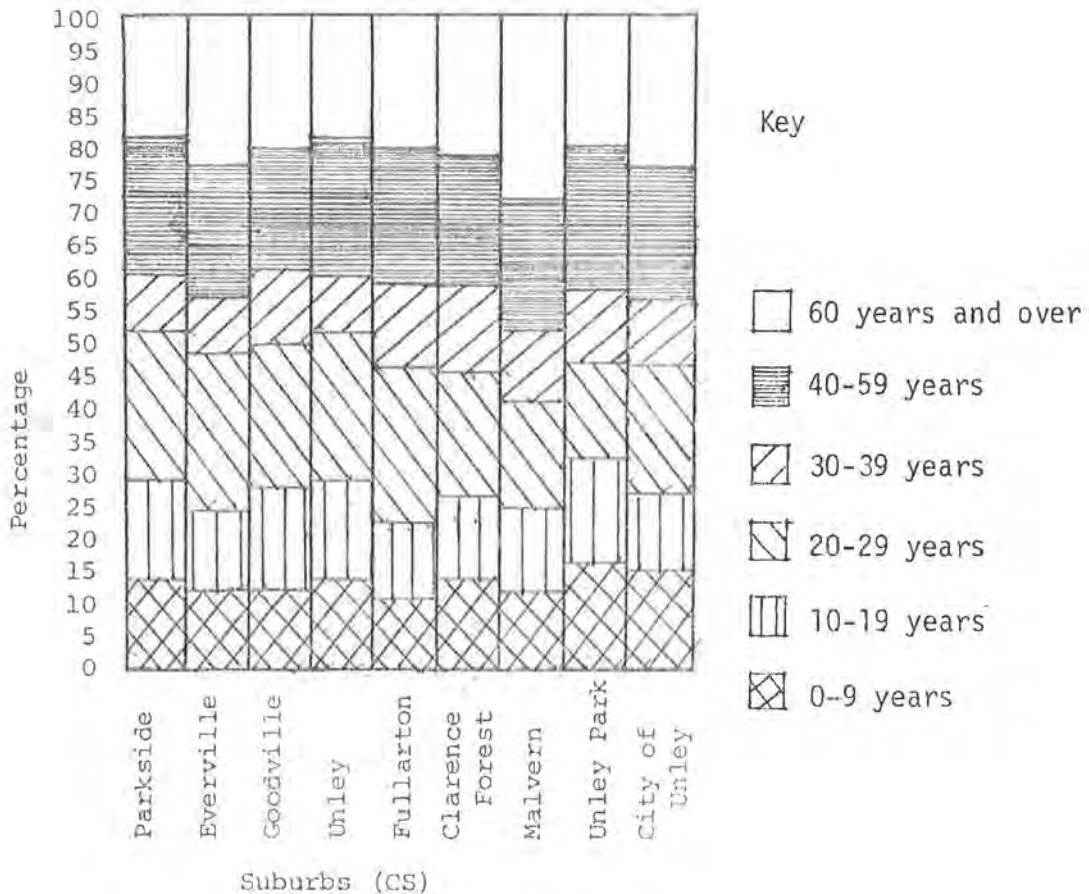
The presence of children is lower than the metropolitan city average for both age groups 0-9 years and 10-19 years (see Table 3). Although lower than the metropolitan city average, in general, the distribution of young children is fairly evenly spread throughout the City of Unley. The presence of young children can be used as a surrogate for the presence of 'young families' as well. The distribution of children aged 10-19, however, indicates a differential. Goodville, Unley, Parkside and Unley Park have comparably the same percentage of their population in the age category of 10-19, thereby signifying the presence of older families in comparison to the other areas.

A lower incidence of children in the inner city is to be found in most Western cities. In the discussions regarding the provision of amenities, the necessity is presented in terms of children's needs. The argument for mini-parks with children's play areas in Parkside, the argument for purchasing Fullarton Park, and the arguments for individual streets being changed into cul-de-sacs for the safety of children, all represent the ways in which children's needs have been incorporated into general amenities arguments. The arguments are valid in the sense that children do need safety and play space, but the fact that there are relatively few children would tend to indicate that there might be other priorities.

The representation of the age grouping 30-39 years is slightly higher in Unley Park and Clarence Forest. This probably indicates that this is the group which has moved to stage two in the life-cycle and has recently purchased homes.

The age groupings 40-49 and 50-59 are evenly spread throughout the suburbs, as indicated on Table 4.

Table 4: Distribution of Population by Age: Suburbs (CS) of Unley 1976



(Australian Bureau of Statistics
Federal Census 1976)

Ethnicity in Unley – Greek and Italian Migrants

The largest non-English-speaking migrant groups in Unley are Greeks (15%) and Italians (13%). Stimpson found that Unley (in part) had three times the metropolitan average of Greek migrants and twice the metropolitan average of Italian migrants (in parts) (Stimpson 1975:123-125).

The Greek and Italian migrants, for the most part, came to Australia after

World War II, at which time there was a deliberate immigration policy change through which southern Europeans were encouraged to migrate to Australia. The reasons cited for this change in policy are: (1) fear that Australia was too sparsely populated to defend itself; (2) fear of population pressures in Asia which might force Australia to accept Asian migrants if Australia did not already have a sufficiently large white population; (3) awareness that Australia's own birth rate was too small for the requirements of the labour force; and (4) mutual agreement by both major political parties that immigration would be beneficial to the economy (Price 1968).

The response to migrants (southern Europeans) for the most part was not one of welcome or of incorporation. This has been substantiated by several notable studies.⁴ The post-war migration patterns introduced to Australia a plural ethnic community which dramatically altered the previous homogeneous Anglo-Saxon culture.

The Greek and Italian migrants resided for the most part in the inner-city suburbs of the metropolitan area. This spatial concentration occurred because housing prices at the time were in this area relatively low in comparison with those in the expanding outer suburbs, and because of a desire on the part of the immigrants to maintain a geographically-based community. This preference for a geographically-based community is reflected in the desire for their children to have access to other children with similar languages and life-values, and in the active purchasing and renovating of homes with physical and financial support from friends and family members.

⁴J. Martin, *The Migrant Presence: Australian Responses 1947-1977*; A.J. Cropley and M.L. Kovas, *Immigrants and Society*.

Within Unley, while the total Greek and Italian population accounts for only 3%-4% of the total population, the demographic concentration in Parkside, Goodville and Unley raises the percentage to as high as 8%-15%. There has been, however, a decline in recent years of the Greek and Italian concentrations, as indicated in Table 5.

Table 5: Population of Greek and Italian migrants in Unley: 1954-1976

	1954		1961		1966		1971		1976	
Greek	125	.31	876	2.17	1694	4.26	1546	3.87	1292	3.49
Italian	460	1.15	1294	3.21	1488	3.75	1453	3.64	1087	2.94

(Australian Bureau of Statistics
Federal Census 1954-1976)

This decline in population has been attributed to the accumulation of wealth and a subsequent move to the outer suburbs. Examining the patterns of density between the periods of 1971-1976, one finds a decrease in Greek migrants in the Goodville area but an increase in the Unley/Parkside area. The Italian migrants, while having a comparatively more limited shift, have increased in concentration in the Unley/Parkside area as well. As a result, Unley and Parkside have the highest concentrations of Greek and Italian migrants residing there. This move away from Goodville has been reflected in the local primary school; while the total number of students has remained constant, the number of Australian-born children is increasing. However, in the Parkside and Unley primary schools, over 50% of the children are from non-English-speaking migrant families.

The numerical presence of Italian and Greek migrants does not reflect the importance of their presence in Unley. One of the key characteristics ascribed to Unley, by both residents and outsiders, is the existence of Greek and Italian stores which carry a variety of products

not found in the normal Australian shop. The recent expansion of these shops on King William Road, Goodwood Road and Glen Osmond Road are a result of these purchasing trends. The existence of such shops is viewed positively in that their ethnic composition distinguishes Unley from the more 'boring' suburbs.

While the presence of Greek and Italian migrants is viewed as positive amongst a significant number of residents, there is a great deal of hostility and ambivalence towards them as well. Hostility has been expressed to the style of the shops. On King William Road, two Italian shops have been open for ten years. While these shops have been praised for their unique quality of merchandise, some Councillors and some members of the Hyde Park Association were concerned that these shops destroyed the 'historical image' of the street because of the 'garish colours' used and the litter left on the footpaths. When one shop applied to Council for a permit to expand the shop, the Hyde Park Association offered to help in designing the extension so that it would conform with the perceived historical image of the street. The permit was then approved by Council and the shop modified somewhat its 'Mediterranean' appearance to fit in with the desired atmosphere of the street.

The appearance of the homes of Greek and Italian migrants has also been a source of comment amongst Australians. These homes were characterized by pink, yellow and blue paint on the window frames and edgings and by cultured gardens. While individuals were conscious that home design is a matter influenced by cultural values, 'bad taste' was incorporated into the perceptions of cultural differences. The style has been altered in recent years due to the increasing role played by the Greek and Italian migrant in the provision of rental accommodation in single-dwellings. In recognizing the increased market for rental accommodation and the differences in conceptions of style, landlords have renovated houses leaving

partially intact the dense vegetation, leaving open the fireplaces and having painted the external trimmings in browns or reds.⁵

In the area of local level politics, Greek and Italian migrants are noticeably absent.⁶ Amongst Australians, it is assumed that 'they' are not interested because 'they have the church'. However, the election campaign of one Councillor dramatically pointed to involvement in local elections when Greek and Italian is used (the leaflets were printed in Greek and Italian and translators were available in the door-to-door campaign). The road-closure scheme was introduced into the Parkside/Unley/Malvern area, which has large numbers of Greek and Italian migrant residents, yet bi-lingual information leaflets were not distributed, and migrants were noticeably absent from the public meetings.

The presence of Greek and Italian migrants in Unley is viewed ambiguously. They are viewed as an alternative to boring homogeneity and pride is taken in the fact that Unley is multi-ethnic. On the other hand, there is hostility against the Greek and Italian migrants for their aesthetic styles, for their inability to speak English, and for their closure against Anglo-Australian society. The Greek and Italian migrants are spatially located in the northern part of the City of Unley, which also coincides with the lower socio-economic areas. To a large, but undetermined, extent, the migrants were responsible for renovating the area. This occurred not only

⁵Another example of the hostility between the non-English-speaking migrants and the Australians is the conflict in the public primary schools. Three of Unley's primary schools are predominantly Greek or Italian migrant children. The school has attempted to become multi-cultural, e.g. language classes are held at two of the schools. However, some Australian parents and teachers view the time spent on English language training a hindrance to the development of Australian children.

⁶T. Taliangis was elected to Council in 1964. While he was recognized as being a 'member of the Greek community', he was also President of the Chamber of Commerce.

through the renovations of their own homes, but also through the renovation of dwellings which were transformed into rental accommodation. In this way, and through the character of their shops, the presence of Greek and Italian migrants has more significance than their numbers would indicate.

Education

The demographic distribution of those who have attained university level educational qualifications has been selected as an important variable because the

specific importance of theoretical knowledge to post-industrial society resides in the fact that it allows for continual innovation and self-sustaining growth... the university, which is the main locale in which theoretical knowledge is formulated and evaluated, becomes the key institution in the newly emerging society (Giddens 1973:256).

The enormous expansion of tertiary level educational facilities by the Federal Labour Government between 1970-1975 has significantly increased the number of persons attending tertiary institutions.

Table 6: Number of Persons Having Received Tertiary Level Qualifications

	1971	1976
Metropolitan Adelaide	10,602	39,979
Unley, City of	935	2,789

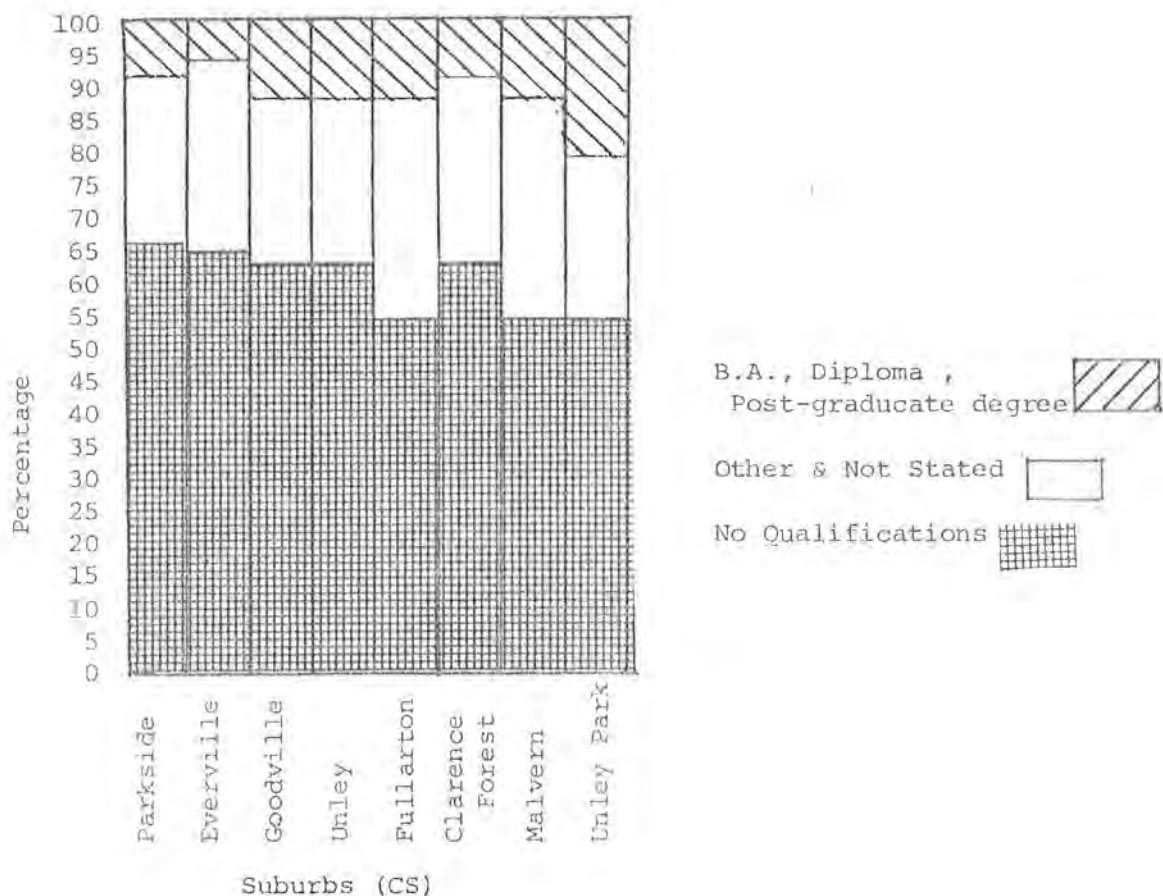
(Australian Bureau of Statistics
Federal Census 1971-1976)

Such an increase, however, only raised the percentage of the total population having tertiary qualification from 7.6% in 1971 to 11.1% in 1976. As this still remains a small percentage of the total population, the recognized skills are unevenly distributed.

Within the City of Unley, Everville, Clarence Forest and Parkside have the lowest percentage of people who have attained tertiary level

qualification. Goodville, Unley, Malvern and Fullarton have comparable percentages of those who are tertiary-educated, but the significant difference is that Malvern and Fullarton (the wealthier suburbs) have less of their population with no qualifications (see Table 7). Unley Park has the highest degree of those who have attained tertiary level education.

Table 7: Distribution of Educational Levels Attained by Suburb (CS), 1976



(Australian Bureau of Statistics
Federal Census 1976)

In addition to the uneven distribution of tertiary level qualifications, which has been related to the labour market (Giddens 1973:256; Harvey 1973: 201), there is the additional aspect of 'technical' knowledge required for the complex planning of the city.

The development of 'planning' rationale as the means of addressing decisions regarding land-use by those involved in such decisions (State

Planning Authorities, Local Council and the profession of physical and social planning) establishes the prerequisite of knowledge in the technical field for entry into such decision-making. While not constituted as such, the discussions of the road-closure scheme, the debates against office development on Greenhill Road and the discussions on the historical preservation of King William Road all fell within the framework of this technical discussion. Hence the fact that the Unley Residents' Society, the Hyde Park Association and the Road Closure groups consisted of highly educated people, and not less educated people, indicates the selective mechanism operating on who can become involved in land-use decisions.

Occupation and Income

The importance of occupational classifications in discussions of class theory has not been questioned, regardless of the debate between the proponents of the dichotomic scheme of Marx or of the hierarchical scheme of Parsons. For the purpose of this study, occupational categories will be used to distinguish gradations of occupations in relative positions to each other. (For a breakdown of the categories used see Appendix II.) Professional and administrative occupations are characterized by higher incomes and higher status than production and labourer occupations.

Occupational categories are changed in relation to the demands of the labour market. In the last twenty years, there has been a marked increase in the professional occupations and a less marked decrease in the numbers employed in the labouring/production occupations, as illustrated in Table 8.

In Unley, the percentage of the work force employed in professional occupations has increased from 14.6% (1966) to 21.2% (1976) in a ten-year period. The change in the percentage of those involved in production and labouring occupations indicates a shift of the City's population from

Table 8: Percentage Distribution of Occupational Categories: 1966-1976

	1966		1971		1976	
	Met.	Unley	Met.	Unley	Met.	Unley
0 Professional	11.0	14.6	11.5	16.1	13.8	21.2
1 Administration	6.6	7.3	6.9	7.1	6.7	7.2
2 Clerical	16.7	17.6	16.6	18.0	17.6	18.8
3 Sales	8.8	8.9	8.9	8.4	8.5	7.7
4 Fish & Farm	1.4	1.5	1.8	1.1	1.8	1.2
5 Miners	.1	.2	.1	.1	.1	.1
6 Tran. & Comm.	5.5	5.0	4.9	4.4	4.8	3.9
7/8 Prod. & Labour	39.3	32.4	35.1	26.7	33.7	23.2
9 Service	8.2	10.4	8.2	10.7	8.8	10.8
10 Armed Forces	.8	.9	.7	1.0	.6	.7
11 Other	1.6	1.4	5.3	6.4	3.6	5.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

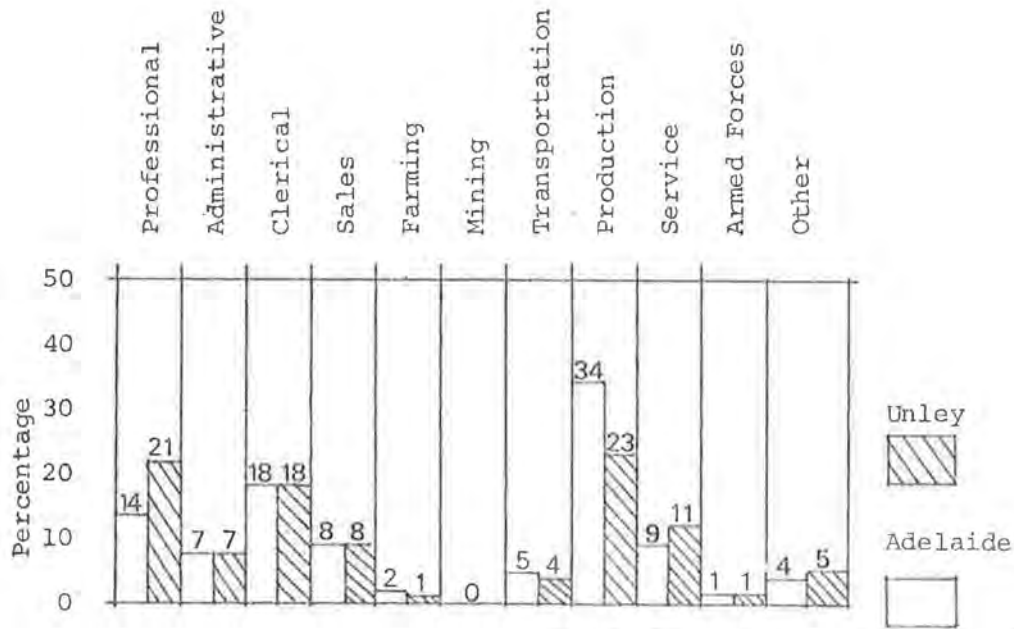
(Australian Bureau of Statistics
Federal Census 1966-1976)

lower class to upper-middle class. In terms of the population in comparison to Metropolitan Adelaide, one finds Unley has a higher percentage of professionals and a lower percentage of labourers and production workers (see Table 9).

The occupational category distribution within Unley falls along definite demographic lines. The southern suburbs are high in professional and administrative occupations, and the northern suburbs high in production and labouring occupations (see Tables 10 and 11).

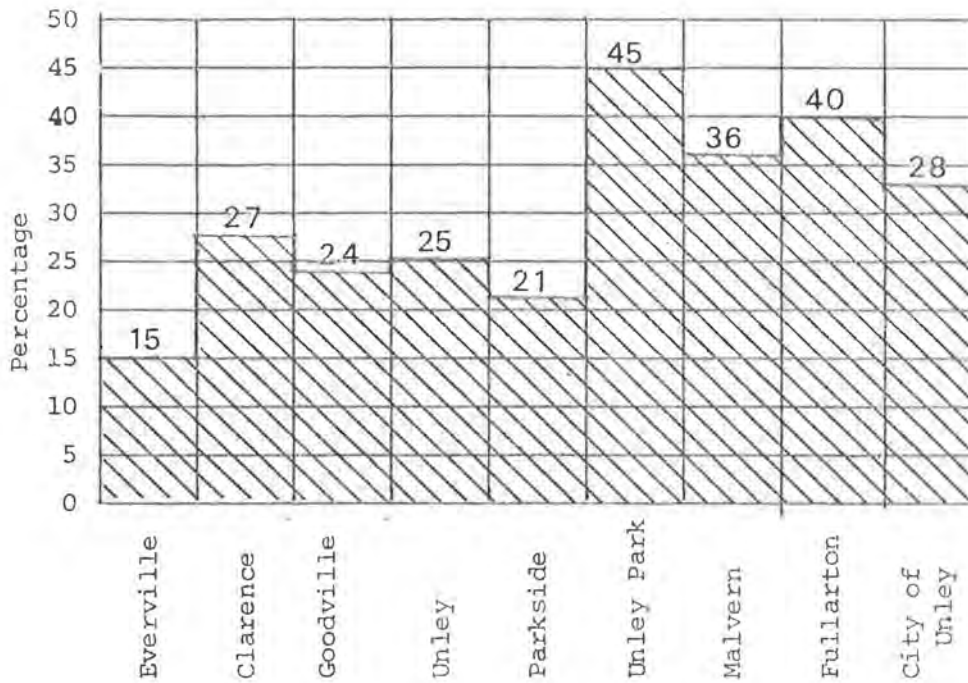
Income levels are primarily related to occupation, and while Unley has a higher proportion of professionals in comparison to metropolitan Adelaide, the income levels are not significantly higher (see Table 12).

Table 9: Proportion of Persons Employed by Occupational Category, 1976



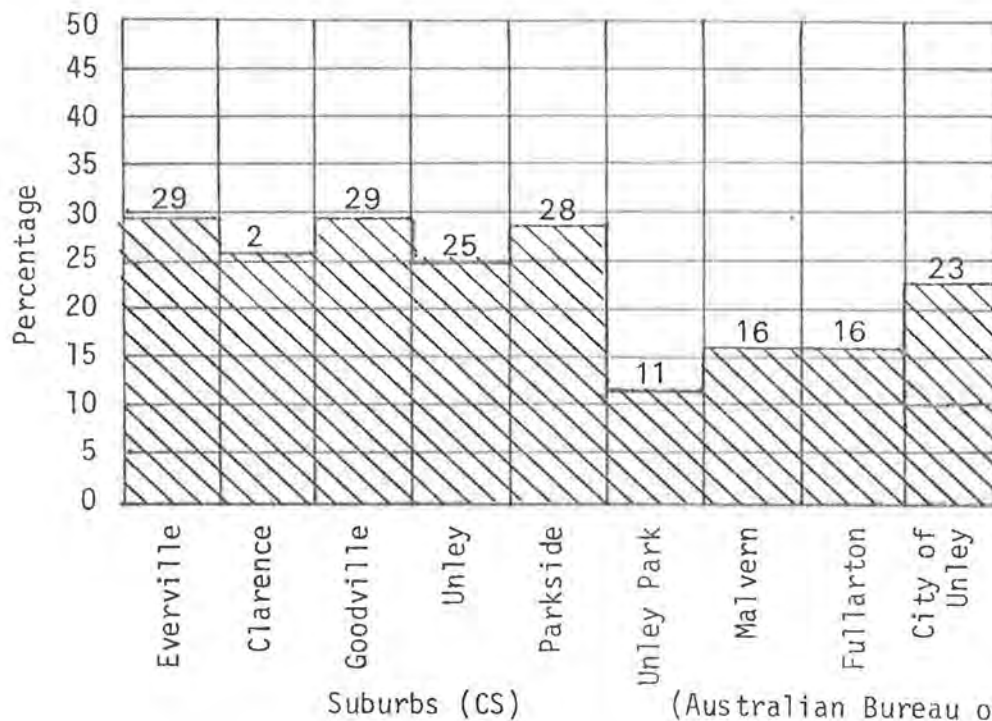
(Australian Bureau of Statistics
Federal Census 1976)

Table 10: Percentage of Work Force Employed in Occupational Categories: Professional and Administrative – Unley (CS), 1976



(Australian Bureau of Statistics
Federal Census 1976)

Table 11: Percentage of Work Force Employed in Occupational Categories:
Labour and Production – Unley (CS), 1976



(Australian Bureau of Statistics
Federal Census 1976)

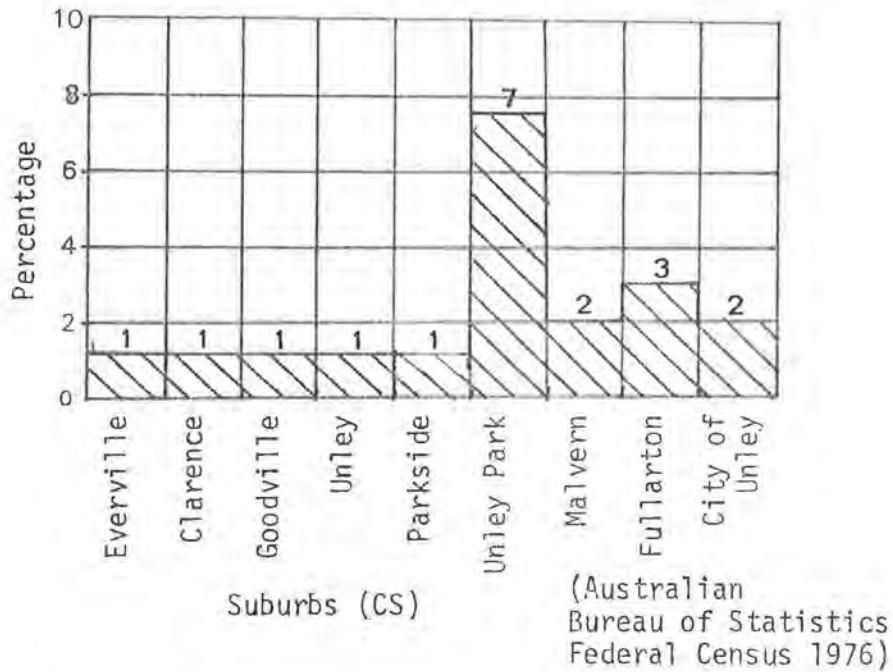
Table 12: Distribution of Family Income by Percentage: Adelaide/Unley 1976

Income Level	Adelaide	Unley
No income	2	2
less \$1,500	1	1
\$1,500-\$2,000	3	4
\$2,000-\$3,000	7	11
\$3,000-\$4,000	7	8
\$4,000-\$5,000	4	5
\$5,000-\$6,000	5	7
\$6,000-\$7,000	7	8
\$7,000-\$8,000	8	8
\$8,000-\$9,000	7	6
\$9,000-\$12,000	17	13
\$12,000-\$15,000	12	9
\$15,000-\$18,000	7	6
\$18,000 - over	6	8
not stated	6	5
Total	99	100

(Australian Bureau of Statistics
Federal Census 1976)

Assessing the distribution of low income families in Unley is difficult because of the high percentage of the elderly, who would not have an income as designated by the Census questionnaire. High income areas, however, are clearly designated (see Table 13).

Table 13: Distribution by Suburb (CS) of Family Incomes over \$18,000 per Year, 1976



Unley Park, Malvern and Fullarton have the highest concentrations of occupations which are professional or administrative in nature, and they have also a higher percentage of family incomes over \$18,000 per year. Everville, Clarence Forest, Goodville, Unley and Parkside have the highest percentage of the work force employed in productive and labouring occupations and the lowest percentage of families receiving incomes of over \$18,000 per year. Unley Park, Malvern and Fullarton have the greatest protection against developments other than single-dwellings. They also have the highest degree of amenities such as dense foliage, parks, quiet, etc. Everville, Clarence Forest are similar to Goodville, Unley and Parkside in terms of income levels and occupational category.

In this chapter I have described the distribution of selected socio-economic variables by suburbs. The reasons for presenting such distributions are twofold: (1) to indicate that land-use reflects social relationships based on class and (2) to indicate the demographic distribution of social classes for a subsequent understanding of land-use patterns within Unley.

The socio-economic indices of concentration which I have utilized were selected for their indicated relatedness to the socially ascribed requirements for competition in the market; educational level attained, occupation, income, migrant status, age and home ownership. In using these indicators I am attempting to "refer to all forms of relevant attributes which individuals may bring to the bargaining encounter" (Giddens 1973:103). My concern is less with establishing a typology of classes than it is with establishing that certain areas of concentrations of socio-economic characteristics indicate a greater degree of access to the market than those areas without such concentrations. While I do not equate socio-economic variables with class, I argue that these three indicators are sufficiently related to the marketability of skills and that they can serve as broad indicators of class relations.

The significance of the spatial distribution of socio-economic variables is not merely for descriptive purposes. Minigone (1978:92), in his study of land-use in Italy, points to three aspects of land-use (territory) in relationship to social classes:

- (1) The relationship between social classes, which are ultimately relationships of exploitation, are not equally distributed over the territory. In other words, the distribution of wealth lacks balance and certain regions exploit certain other regions...
- (2) (Territory) is a means of production, its ownership or control is an essential social relationship; hence the importance of land ownership and territorial planning as expressions of the social relationship between classes...(and)
- (3) the analysis of territory

is a consumer good in short supply which is unequally distributed among the various social classes (Minigone 1978:91-92).

The significance of these aspects will emerge in the body of this thesis. This chapter has attempted to establish a mapping of the social classes in order to understand the processes in which land-use decisions are made at the level of local Councils.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE ECONOMICS OF RESIDENTIAL LOCATION

The demographic clustering of classes of people in Unley has been described in the preceding chapter. That such clustering appears is due in part to the economics of residential location. By this I mean that entrance into the housing market is prescribed by access to the financial resources which are necessary for home purchase. The degree of access for the most part determines the clusterings which have been described,

Evans, in his discussion of resident location, provides us with two reasons for the clustering patterns found in the preceding chapter.

Firstly, people in different income groups spend their money in different ways. The shops selling to people with high incomes carry a stock of goods different to that carried by shops selling to people with low incomes...Secondly...it is reasonable to assume that individuals *prefer* to interact with others who are socially similar to themselves...it is plausible to assume that they will prefer to live in the same area as the others and that, *ceteris paribus*, the greater the number in the same group in that area, the greater the advantage of living in that area will be (Evans 1973:130-131).

While I would argue that these are important reasons for the choice of residential location, they are descriptive of a reaction to defined areas, meaning that an area can attract people for these reasons, once that area is established in the popular image as one which is desired.

Pahl, in investigating the relationship between social structure and spatial structures, goes beyond the descriptive aspects of Evans and sees the clustering of socio-economic characteristics as "a result of the constraints that operate upon them (people) in the choices they make, rather than being distributed simply according to chance" (Pahl 1970:53). He then goes on to list the characteristics of power, wealth, prestige and so on as influential in determining their position within the urban system.

This chapter will address the questions of what form of residency is available to groups of people in Unley, and of how the form of residency affects the way in which land is used. Specifically, I will describe the

forms of tenure available, examining the implications of each form of tenure. I will look also at the economic factors which establish constraints upon groups of people as they enter the housing market, and this will be discussed in terms of the participation in land-use decision-making within Unley.

An important consideration in the discussion of type of tenure available to groups of people is the importance of home ownership within Australian society. Australia has one of the highest rates of home ownership in the industrialized world, having two-thirds of its dwellings owner-occupied. The high degree of home ownership in Australia has been attributed to (1) the preference for private dwellings as manifesting the 'freedom of the individual' (Kilmartin and Thorn 1978), (2) the fact that ownership is viewed as a better form of financial investment for old age security than other forms of investment (Donnison 1976) and (3) the result of finance capital seeking to maximize the size of its markets and profits (Kemeny 1978). While this thesis cannot address the reasons for the high degree of home ownership in Australia, one can make the assumption that home ownership is important and proceed to analyse what this means.

Home ownership is an important symbol of status, self-image and legitimacy in local level politics. Home ownership is regarded as part of a sequential pattern in everyone's life: the young person is typically expected to leave his/her parents' home, rent a flat until such time as savings are sufficient to make a down-payment on a home, meet mortgage payments and finally to achieve home ownership.

Residential Tenure

For this discussion, I will focus on the three forms of tenure available to residents in Unley: (1) rented; (2) mortgaged, and (3) owned. While the roles of the Federal and State governments have been influential

in providing home tenure in the form of subsidized housing, this will not be discussed in this text because such governmental housing accounts for only two percent of the total dwellings in Unley.

Frequently, housing tenure is divided into rented and owned (Kemeny 1977) categories, with no distinction made between those who are purchasing their homes and those who already own their homes. I have used three forms of tenure because there are important distinctions between those whose accommodation is mortgaged and those whose accommodation is owned. Briefly, these distinctions are (1) the financial demands upon the occupiers vary significantly – owners' financial expenditures are for taxes, rates and up-keep while those purchasing are faced with these and mortgage payments, and (2) as most people purchase their homes over a long period of time, those who own their homes for the most part have resided in the area for a lengthy period of time (more than fifteen years), while those who are purchasing their homes have resided there for a lesser period. Length of residency, although difficult to establish in specific frame times, can contribute significantly to knowledge of the political process of the area, familiarity with a higher number of people, etc. The third important difference is that the effects of combining owned and mortgaged housing into home ownership produces a picture substantiating the ideology that most people own their homes, whereas the reality is that only approximately one-third of the population actually own their homes.

The population of Unley is distributed in the forms of tenure shown in Table 14.

Tenure by Rent

Of Unley's total population, 25% live in rented accommodation and 30% of the total dwellings are rented. This is much higher than is commonly assumed to be the case. In a society where home

Table 14: Tenure: Unley 1976

	No. people		No. dwellings		Persons per dwelling ratio
		%		%	
Mortgaged	11,800	34.1	3,694	26.7	3.2
Rented	8,664	25.1	4,054	29.3	2.1
Owned	11,768	34.0	5,092	36.8	2.3
Other	2,385	6.9	954	6.9	
Total	34,618		13,846		

(Australian Bureau of Statistics
Federal Census 1976)

ownership is an important value, renters have had the least control over their environment. Socially, renters were stigmatized in that characteristics of transience and indifference to the neighbourhood were attributed to them by owners. This was frequently articulated by owners in various ways; either renters were noisy, hence objectionable, or social reasons against renters were given such as "children who live in flats do not have sufficient playroom" or "the boxing-in of people produces unhealthy personalities". The legal code reflected this social stigma. Until recently (1978), renters were not protected by legislation,¹ nor were they allowed to vote in local elections until 1976.² When changes in building use were occurring within Unley, notification of such changes were sent to the property owners, and not to the tenants.

The change in the legal status of renters is partially attributed to the growth in the percentage of those utilizing rental accommodation. The increase in the rental sector has been attributed to the increase in the cost of housing and the scarcity of financial capital available for purchasing homes. The present expectation is that younger couples will

¹South Australian Government, Residential Tenancy Act 1978.

²Local Government Act 1934-1976 Section 881(a).

Table 15: Percentage of Total Private Dwellings Occupied by Renters

	1954	1961	1966	1971	1976
Metropolitan Adelaide	28.8	23.6	n/a	26.7	25.2
Unley	27.4	22.0	26.2	29.0	29.3

(Australian Bureau of Statistics
Federal Census 1964-1976)

rent homes for a longer period than they have in the past because it now takes them longer to obtain the required capital. Amongst those renters contacted during the fieldwork period, nearly all saw the lack of capital as the issue preventing them from purchasing the desired home.

Renters are frequently assumed to be flat dwellers, but this is not always the case. Rental accommodation is available in both flats and houses. While the number of flats has been increasing in total number during the last ten years, the number of houses which is rented still constitutes approximately two-thirds of the total dwellings rented.

Table 16: Percentage of Dwellings Rented out of Total Dwellings in Unley, 1954-1971*

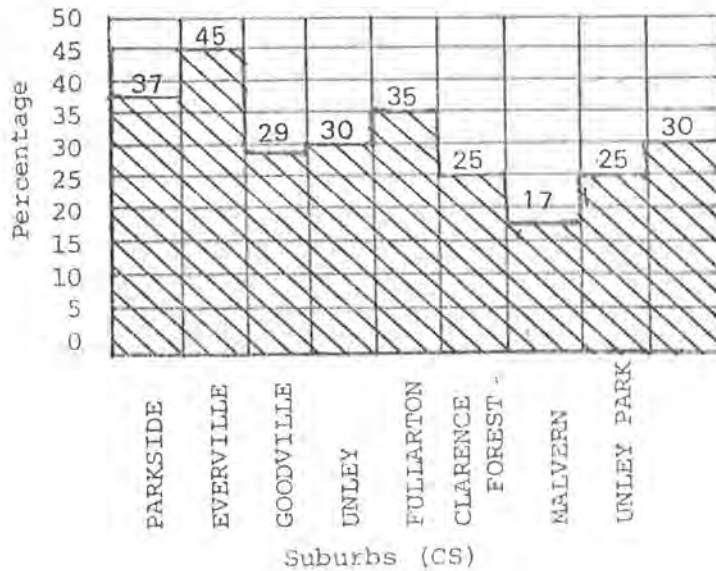
	1954	1961	1966	1971
% of houses rented	24.0	14.4	13.0	20.0
No. of houses rented	2,455	1,438	1,326	2,304

* Excluding government housing.

(Australian Bureau of Statistics
Federal Census 1954-1971)

Rental accommodation clearly follows a marked demographic distribution, as can be seen on Table 17. The effects of such a concentration on a neighbourhood will be discussed in Chapter Three (Flat Developments within Unley).

Table 17: Distribution of Rental Accommodation: Unley (CS), 1976



Tenure by Mortgage

The second form of tenure is that of mortgage. The percentage of the population residing in homes being purchased is the same as that of those who own their homes; but in terms of total dwellings, the number of those being purchased is lower than that of homes which are owned. This is attributable to the family cycle in which homes which are being purchased are more likely to be resided in by young families than those which are already owned.

Those who are purchasing their homes have the same legal rights as those who are in full ownership. An important difference is the financial pressure on those with mortgage tenure. Purchasing a home is the largest single expenditure a family is likely to make in its lifetime. Housing is vastly different from other forms of purchase, not only because of the amount of capital involved but also because the valuation is dependent upon numerous factors, and because individuals enter the market so infrequently that their acquirement of learned knowledge is minimal.

The housing market is not homogeneous; accorded value is based on external factors such as setting, area composition, location and on internal factors such as size, age, type of amenities, etc. The housing market has its 'experts' to facilitate purchase, such as real estate agents, surveyors, and solicitors. Experts increase the cost of the purchase but also protect potential purchasers. The 'experts' can also play a part in setting and ascribing value judgements which affect the actual state of the market. A young couple moving into an area such as Parkside would perhaps pay more for a house if the information were given that the area is changing from a transient-rental area to one of home ownership. For the most part, the degree of change that is occurring is a value judgement on the part of the real estate agent. In this case, the couple might buy at a higher price than the area would normally warrant, but they accept the idea that the price is lower than it would later be after more young couples move in. As more young couples purchase homes in the area, the land values rise and the area changes from a transient area to a residential area.

Considering the large expenditure involved in home purchase, the financial market plays an important role. Housing finance primarily comes from savings banks (35.6%),³ trading banks (18.0%),⁴ and building societies (12.4%)⁵ in Unley. Other sources of finance are available, for example, loans from solicitors, insurance companies (in loans to policy holders, the policies are used as collateral), and the Federal and State governments.⁶ The usual requirement for obtaining a mortgage is that the

³Savings banks provide housing loans at rates lower than commercial rates and the repayment is generally for thirty years.

⁴Trading banks loan primarily through 'over-drafts'.

⁵Building societies loan at commercial lending rates but are willing to loan a greater percentage of the valuation than savings banks are likely to.

⁶These have the lowest interest rates and generally the longest repayment periods but there are eligibility requirements and the total number available is limited.

purchaser have one-quarter of the total valuation as a down-payment. Taking average house values for the City of Unley in 1976, down-payments varied from \$6,200 for a house in Goodwood to \$25,000 for one in Unley Park.

It is difficult to find a particular patterning in the suburbs, depending on where home mortgages are obtained. The wealthier suburbs (Clarence Forest, Malvern and Unley Park) tend to have a greater percentage of financial backing from 'other' sources, which I assume means funds available through family estates, or loans established at independent rates.

The tenure of ownership does not need to be reiterated here, as the previous discussions on rental and mortgaged tenure have been articulated in terms of ownership.

In terms of comparing the three forms of tenure, it has become apparent that although home ownership is an important socially held value within Australian society, the form of tenure is evenly divided between those purchasing their homes and those owning their homes and that those renting their homes constitute a quarter of the total population.

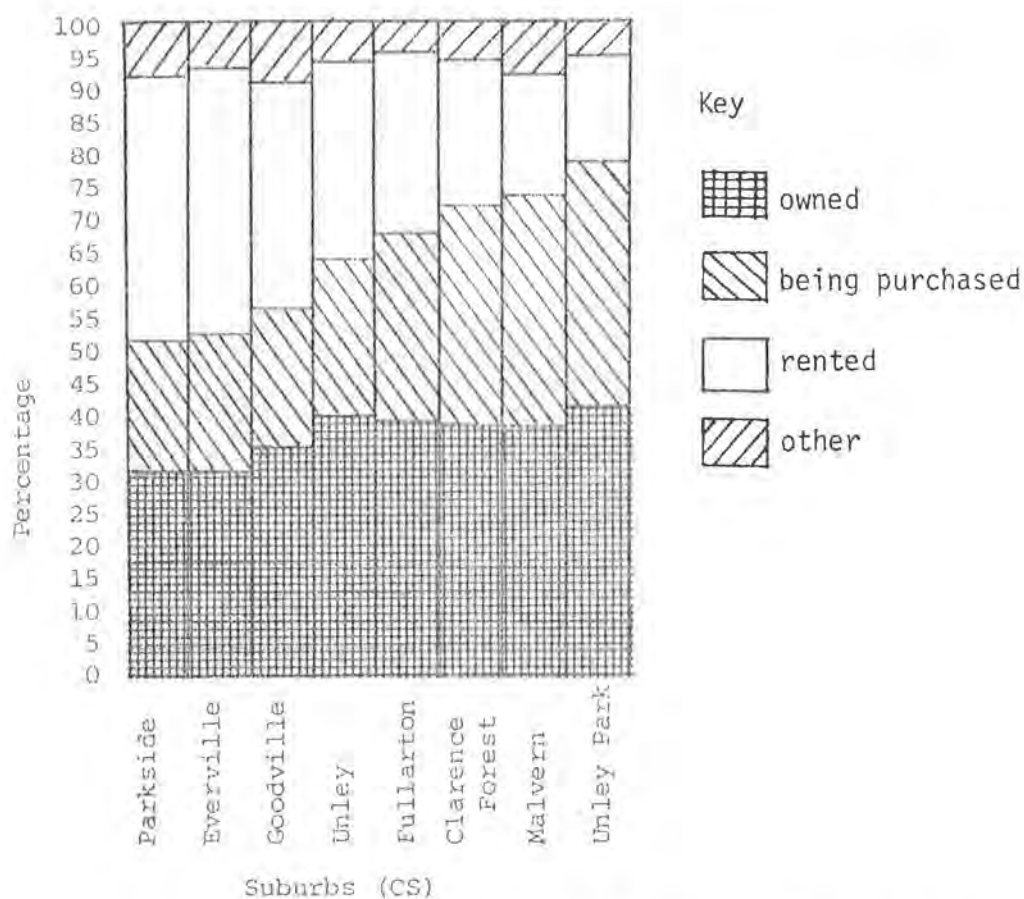
Following on from the discussion in the previous chapter on the spatial distribution of classes of people, it is important to discuss the nature of tenure in terms of the economic factors which limit the choices of individuals as they enter into the housing market; in other words, the economics of residential location.

The Economics of Residential Location

When examining the forms of tenure within the City of Unley, one finds that home ownership does not vary along the lines of socio-economic patterns as significantly as one would expect. Home ownership within Parkside (32%) and Unley Park (42%) does not vary as significantly as the

land values of the suburbs or the socio-economic differences would appear to indicate. However, if one makes a distinction between the tenure of owners and that of mortgage-holders, a marked contrast appears. Fifty-two percent of the dwellings in Parkside are either owned or being purchased, while in Unley Park close to 80% of the dwellings fall into these categories. While actual ownership does not vary in distribution, the combination of owned and mortgaged homes does (see Table 18).

Table 18: Form of Tenure by Suburb (CS) — Unley, 1976



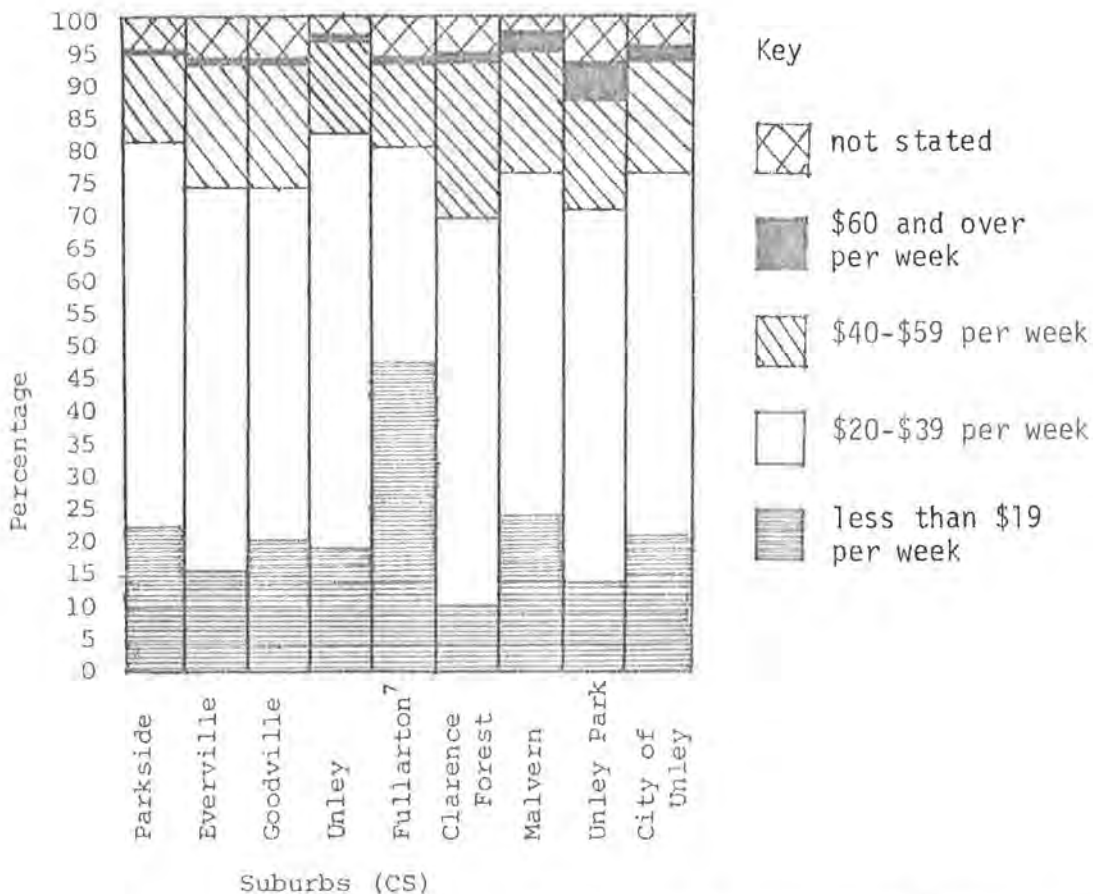
(Australian Bureau of Statistics
Federal Census 1976)

Hence, when examining the relationship between home ownership and socio-economic positions, it is not sufficient to look solely at the tenure of ownership, and a distinction must be made between mortgage-holders and

owners. When this is done, one sees that access to the Australian ideal of home ownership varies along class lines.

Given that there are two distinct areas in terms of what is commonly viewed as desirable residential environments, and that there are great differences in land values, one would expect a variation in the level of rent paid to coincide with the 'quality of the area'. However, the demographic distribution of rental payments does not indicate this broad range of variation (see Table 19).

Table 19: Percentage of Monthly Mortgage Payments by Number of Dwellings Under First Mortgage — Unley, 1976



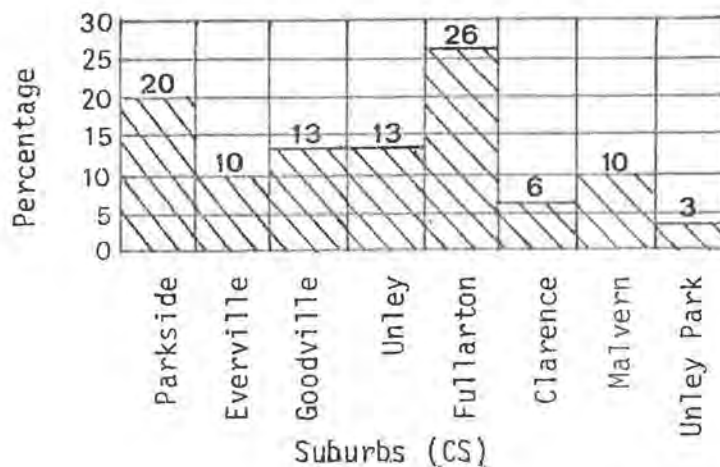
(Australian Bureau of Statistics
Federal Census 1976)

⁷The exception to this is Fullarton, where the marked concentration of low-cost housing is accounted for by the presence of subsidized housing for the elderly.

The slightly lower percentage of low rent available in Clarence Forest and Unley Park could be attributed to the higher land values and higher socio-economic characteristics of the area but it is not as low as one would expect considering the vast difference in land values.

The explanation appears to lie in the degree of availability of low-cost rental accommodation. While there is not a sharp variation in the demographic distribution of rental payments, the availability of low-cost rental accommodation has a marked demographic pattern. Those areas higher in terms of socio-economic status have fewer homes for rent at low rates.

Table 20: Percentage Distribution of Rental Accommodation by Low Rent (\$19 or Less per Week) – Unley (CS), 1976



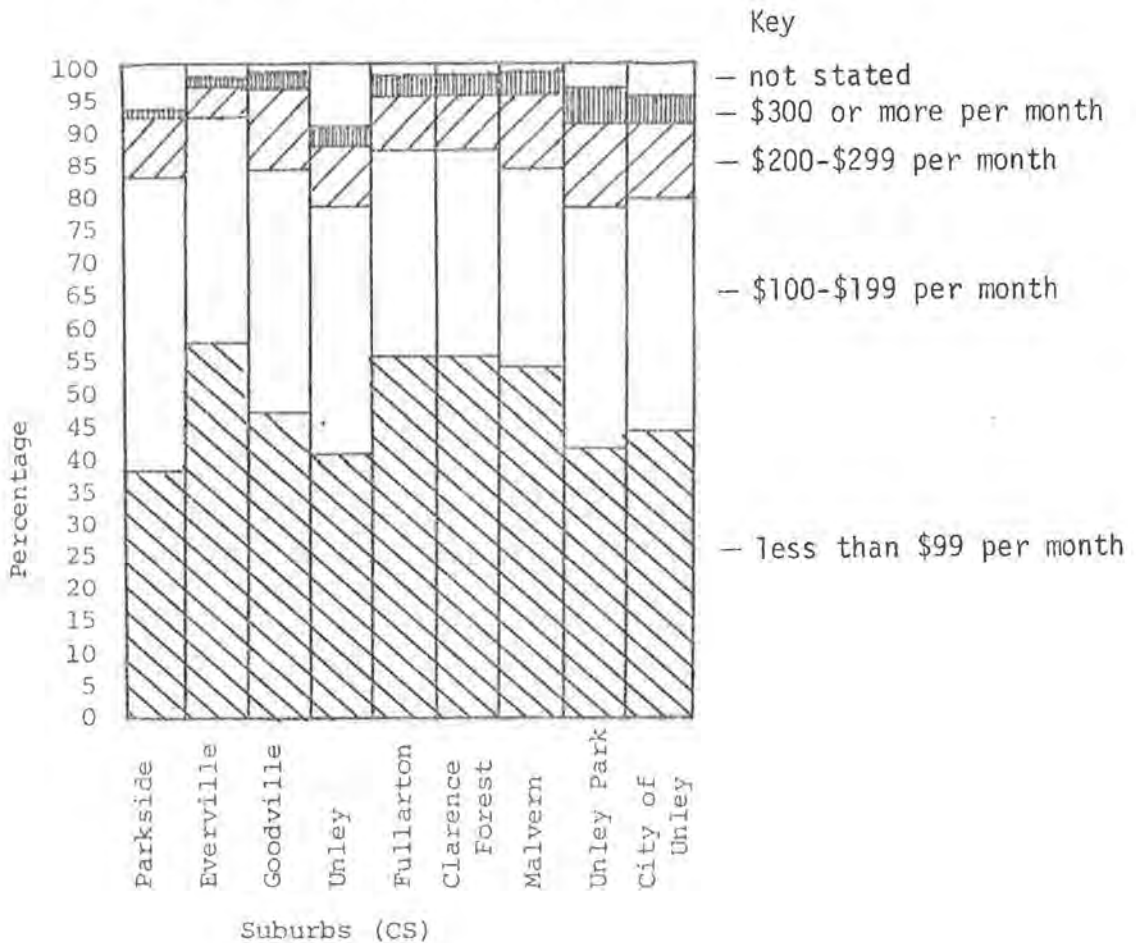
(Australian Bureau of Statistics
Federal Census 1976)

The effect of this limited availability of low rental accommodation in the areas which are wealthier is that a process of restriction occurs, thereby limiting the composition of the people in the area to those with higher incomes. This pattern is also found in terms of the lower mortgage rates.

Distribution of Level of Mortgage Payments

In terms of the demographic distribution of the amount of yearly mortgage payments made, one finds that the higher mortgage payments coincide with the wealthier area, as one would expect, but low payments exist to a relative degree in all areas.

Table 21: Percentage of Monthly Mortgage Payments by Number of Dwellings under First Mortgage — Unley, 1976

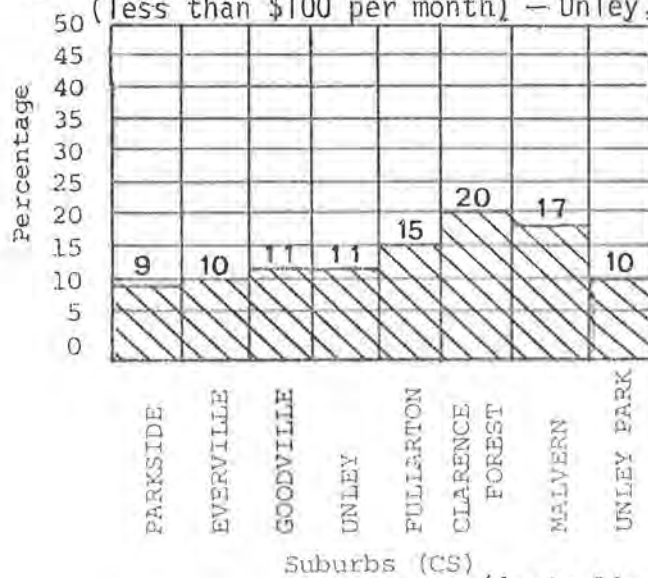


(Australian Bureau of Statistics
Federal Census 1976)

In terms of low mortgage payments, the monetary levels are comparatively similar in most suburbs (CS), with the exception being those suburbs with the higher concentrations of older people. The correlation between

lower mortgage payments and high densities of older people could be attributed to the fact that the older people would have purchased their homes when payment rates were lower. Apart from these concentrations of older people, there is a similarity in terms of level of mortgage payments in the other suburbs. Similar to the payment levels of rented accommodation, there is not a difference in level of payments which can be attributed to the differences in land values or quality of the environment (see Table 22).

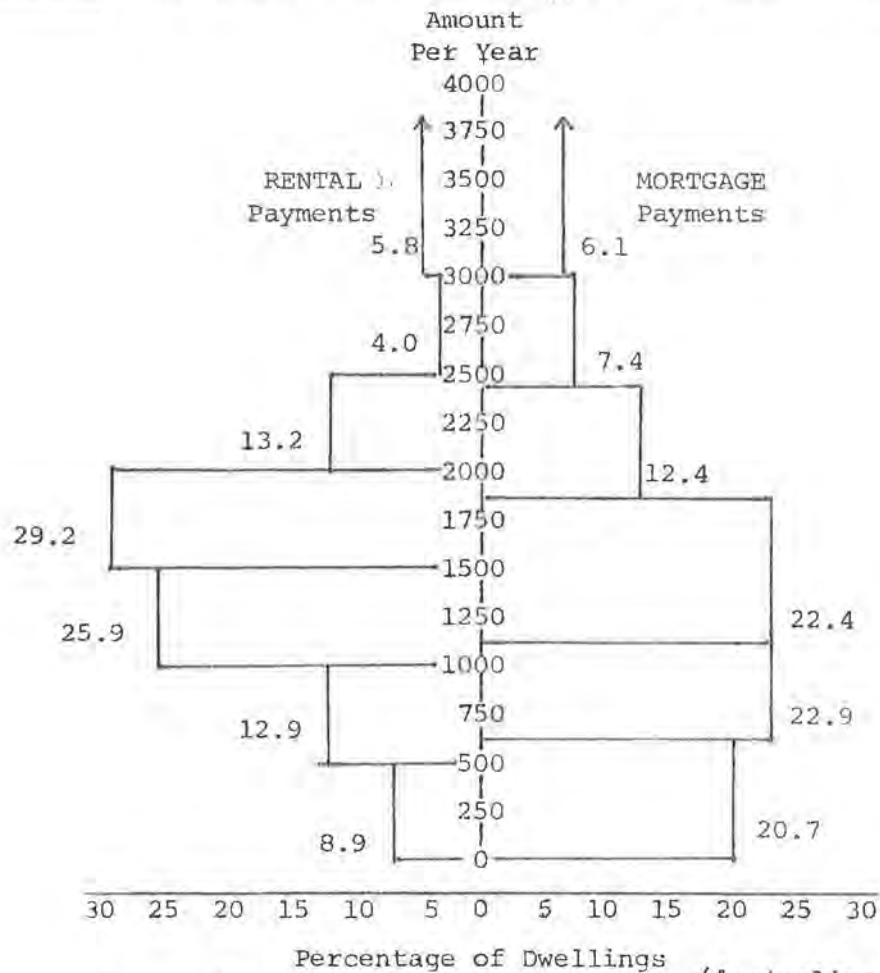
Table 22: Distribution by Suburb of Low First Mortgage Payments (less than \$100 per month) - Unley, 1976



(Australian Bureau of Statistics
Federal Census 1976)

A comparison between rental payments and mortgage payments on a yearly basis reveals a significant similarity. While the common understanding is that renters are saving money to purchase a house and hence are paying less in rent than those purchasing their home, in fact this is not the case. Seventy-eight percent of those who are purchasing their home pay less than \$2,400 per year in comparison to the 77% of renters who pay less than \$2,030 per year for their rental accommodation. On a yearly basis the median for those purchasing their home is \$900-\$1,188 whereas the median point for renters is \$1,040-\$1,508. Renters therefore expend a slightly higher amount for their rented accommodation than those who are purchasing their homes (see Table 23).

Table 23: Comparative Rental and Mortgage Payments — Unley, 1976



(Australian Bureau of Statistics
Federal Census 1976)

The significance of this is that entrance into the housing market is dependent upon having (1) the down-payment for home purchase and (2) access to finance. Until recently it was these factors which determined legitimacy in local politics. The availability of funds to make a down-payment affects whether one is able to make a long-term investment (in terms of owning one's home) and also determines where one lives. The down-payment for houses in Goodwood on average would be \$6,200 in comparison to \$25,000 for a house in Unley Park. Hence access to wealthier areas with, in general, better quality environments is dependent upon having access to funds for down-payments, and is not dependent upon the amount of finance paid on a yearly basis. Those with lower incomes are excluded from purchasing in wealthier areas by the requirement of this down-payment, and as such are excluded from the areas which are considered to be quality

residential areas. The other aspect, that of access to financial resources to finance a mortgage, is dependent upon income level. Finance companies, for the most part, assess one's ability to repay the mortgage in terms of monthly salaries. In general, it is expected that 30% of one's income can safely be set aside for mortgage payments, hence, the larger one's income the easier it is to finance a mortgage. Another factor is that most banks require that the maximum amount which can be borrowed for a mortgage loan is five times the average amount of savings in the bank, six months prior to applying for the loan. Both of these factors, which affect access to finance for home purchase, have the effect of limiting access to home ownership for lower-income groups while facilitating home ownership for those with higher incomes.

The Role of Government in Purchasing Assistance

The government within Australia is oriented towards subsidizing home ownership. A recent example of this is the Home Savings Grant Scheme introduced in January 1977. The scheme is based on the amount of money saved in either savings banks or building societies by people intending to purchase homes. The amount of the grant is dependent upon the amount saved by the individual.

A grant of \$667 is payable from 1977 if acceptable savings have been held for one complete year, \$1,333 for two complete years and \$2,000 for three years (Australian Housing Corporation Publication 1978).

The government gives a grant of one dollar for every three dollars saved by the individual. The government has also established companies to guarantee mortgage loans for people who otherwise would not be able to obtain guarantees. The premium rates usually range from 1% on amounts less than 76% of the total valuation of the property (ratio of loan amount

to valuation of property) to 1.4% for 94%-96% of the valuation of the property. In these ways the government assists persons to purchase their homes. This form of government subsidy is available to all mortgage-holders as it is not based on a 'means' test.⁸ Government assistance to home owners is diffuse, rather than directed to those who are least likely to be able to obtain the required capital.

For the purpose of discussion I have identified three forms of tenure to articulate divergences within the housing market. Those who own their homes have minimal financial expenditures required of them. Those who are purchasing their homes, in contrast to home owners, must meet mortgage payments and renovation costs, as housing in the inner-city suburbs is frequently in need of repair due to the age of the premises. Whereas it is commonly assumed that renters are saving for their home purchase and hence are paying lower rental rates, this is not the case. Renters spend, on a yearly basis, approximately the same amount as those who are purchasing their homes. The importance of this is that until recently renters were excluded from voting and participation in local decision-making because they lacked the resources with which to purchase their homes. While this has changed due to modifications in legislation, renters are still perceived to be less legitimately involved in local politics than those who are home owners. This social stigma (against renters) is one factor which facilitates the distinction made between areas with high degrees of home owners and high degrees of renters. In other words, the construction of office and commercial developments is viewed as being more acceptable in areas of high rental accommodation than in areas of high home ownership. This explains, in part, the reasons for the expansion of offices and commercial developments into northern Unley.

⁸'Means' test refers to the qualifications for application being determined by a pre-established income level requirement.

Residential areas, however, are only one aspect of the total urban framework, and as such the factors which affect the total land market must be examined.

CHAPTER THREE

LAND VALUES AND LAND-USE

Towns and cities are designated, particularly in Australia's history, by the establishment of governmental boundaries and the provision of services such as water, electricity and roadways. However, once the land is designated as available for utilization, the land enters the market place which is controlled by private enterprise. Government has had little control over designating either use or price of land once it has entered the private market. This lack of control has been changing as government has introduced legislation which gives it the power to limit and define uses. However, the control which can be exercised is limited in comparison to that exercised by private enterprise.

In the preceding chapter I discussed the factors which place constraints upon individual choice in residential location; specifically factors such as access to finance. In this chapter I will discuss the broader market aspects which determine land-use in the land market sense. This includes examining the importance of exchange value and profit maximization in determining land-use and how the emphasis on exchange value can alter the residential quality of an area. In the case of Unley, through conflict over the use of land in northern Unley (that is to say, commercial use in comparison to residential use) the price of lots and houses increase so as to effectively alter the composition of residents in the area. To fully understand how this process occurred, one must perceive how land value is affected by the use of adjacent parcels of land.

CHANGES IN LAND-USE: ITS EFFECTS ON RESIDENTIAL AREAS

Monetary Value and Land-use

Central to an understanding of land values is the necessity of comprehending how land value is attributed to certain parcels of land in relationship to other adjacent parcels of land. This in part explains why

residents object to the development of flats three blocks away from their dwelling or why residents support the building of a park eight blocks away from where they live.

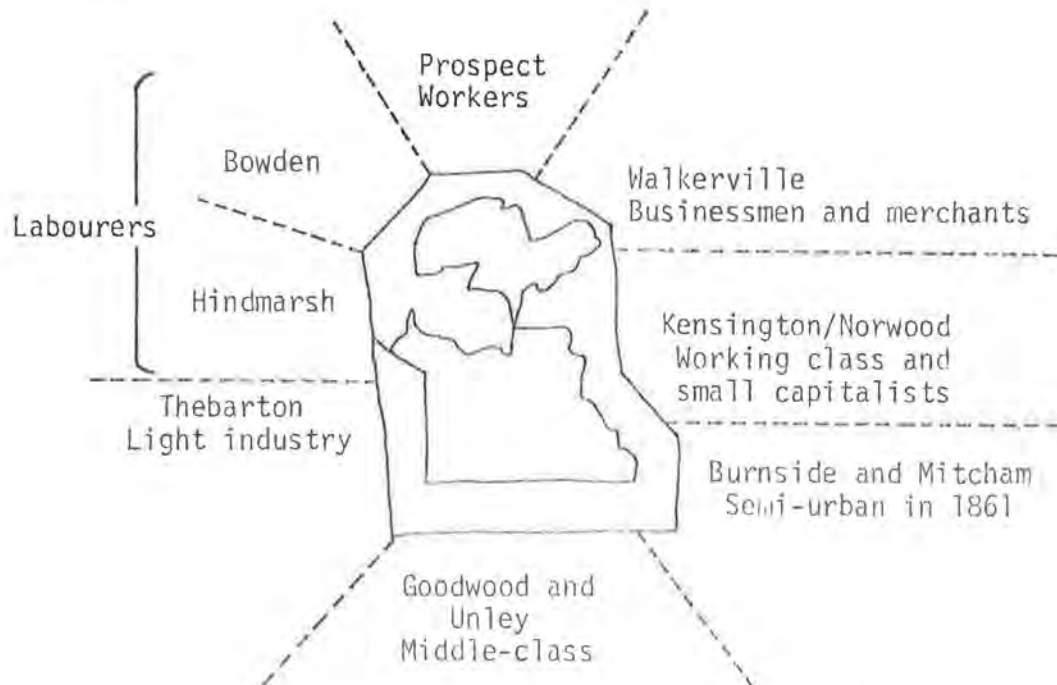
It is commonly assumed that the presence of flats, office buildings, increased traffic or the presence of parks affect the value of the properties adjacent to them. This is due to the recognition that individual land values are determined by shared land values. This can be understood in the framework of the establishment of property values.

Property value is established by the land market. Through the buying and selling of land, economic value is attributed to a parcel of land due to (1) its site within the urban area as a whole, (2) its relationship to its immediate environment, (3) scarcity, (4) average income levels of residents, and (5) the degree to which land is purchased for investment (i.e. capital gain). In the initial organization of land-use, prices are established within the context of general use: e.g. residential agriculture or industrial. This can change over time, as can be seen in the transformation of the Adelaide Hills from being primarily agricultural to becoming costly residential areas within the space of ten years. The designation of such general use is partly historically determined. Port Adelaide developed as a port city because of its location and the degree of technology existing in the early 1880's. The present distribution of the population along occupational lines in the inner-city suburbs has been attributed to a high degree of speculation when Adelaide City was first developed. According to Williams,

the abundance of land in the City and the high prices paid for it has two effects: first, it caused the City acres to remain as vacant land, and secondly, it forced out the labourers and lesser paid workers who could not afford the prices asked and who bought cheaper land on the outer parkland fringes (Williams 1974:401).

The speculation in the city centre had the effect of distributing the population along occupational lines, as indicated on Map VI. The provisions of road and transportation networks also affect the nature of the general use.

MAP VI: DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY OCCUPATION 1830-1861



(Williams 1974:402)

If one examines the metropolitan Adelaide area in terms of residential values now, one still finds a patterning dependent on scarcity and distribution. The scarce hills area consists of highly priced residential areas (Stirling, \$43,450; East Torrens, \$50,850; Burnside, \$48,550). Houses in the suburbs furthest away from the city centre cost the least (Willunga, \$26,950; Noarlunga, \$31,400; Port Adelaide, \$24,450; Gawler, \$27,500).¹ Areas in the rest of the city are intermediate in price, with

¹South Australian Government, Lands Department - Valuer General's Office, "Average Sales Prices of Residential Properties", 1977.

variations determined by the presence of industry, their proximity to the city centre or their closeness to the sea (see Map VII).²

This patterning of variation in land prices is found within the City of Unley (see Table 24).

Table 24: Average Residential Sales Prices by Suburb, 1976

Unley Park	\$76,695
Myrtle Bank	\$52,200
High Gate	\$46,550
Malvern	\$42,550
Unley	\$38,719
Millswood	\$36,429
Fullarton	\$35,528
Hyde Park	\$34,543
Forestville	\$32,133
Parkside	\$31,253
Wayville	\$31,250
Everard Park	\$25,050
Black Forest	\$24,906
Goodwood	\$24,837

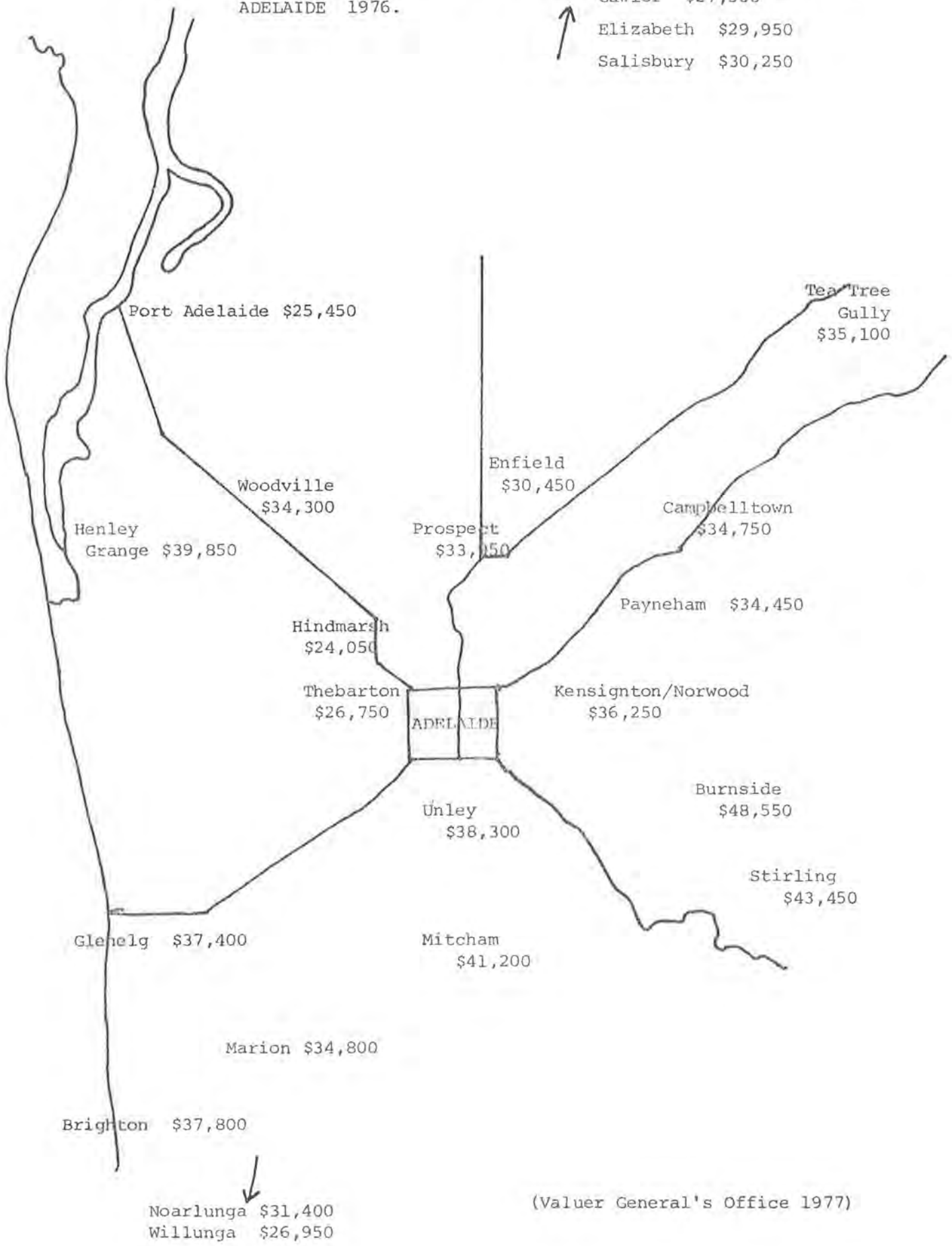
(South Australian Valuer General's Office: Report)

This relationship is also found at the micro-level in the building of home units. A small developer constructed eight town-houses in the Parkside area and placed them on the market. The prices of the town-houses ranged from \$33,000 to \$38,000. The prices of the different units were determined by variables such as access to the roads, the view (from the outer perimeters of the parcel of land) and the degree of access to dense vegetation. If the costs of the units were solely based on building costs the cost of those homes inside the development would be higher because of the greater distance to transport building materials. This was not the case, as the increases in prices were based on access to variables which were not evenly distributed throughout the area, nor were they dependent upon the actions of the owners.

²The aspect of supply and demand, in terms of determining housing prices in residential areas, plays an important role in price variation and in determining the types of dwellings built.

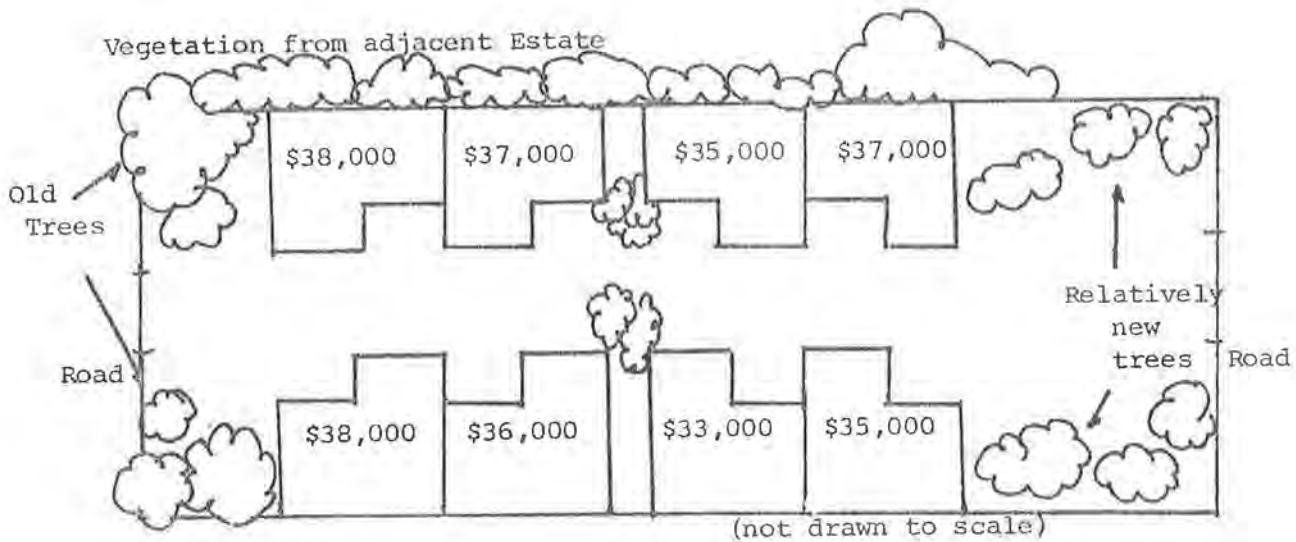
MAP VII: SELECTED AVERAGE HOUSE PRICES FOR SUBURBS WITHIN METROPOLITAN ADELAIDE 1976.

Gawler \$27,500
Elizabeth \$29,950
Salisbury \$30,250



(Valuer General's Office 1977)

MAP VIII: ILLUSTRATION OF HOME UNIT PRICE SETTING: UNLEY



Thus we see that prices are affected by the use value of adjacent parcels of land, adjacent amenities and scarce resources. Although there are exceptions to this, this pattern of consociation exists on the level of the metropolitan urban area as a whole, within a suburb of the city and on the micro-building level. It is this relationship between parcels of land that underlies residents' concerns about developments on land which is adjacent to where they live.

When change is occurring in the use of land, owners may lose or gain in terms of the value of their property depending on the type of changes which are occurring. This gain or loss of value of property frequently is independent of any action of the property owners. In response to the expanding commercial use of land within Unley, residents' groups formed in an attempt to stop the commercial developments. By acting so as to prevent such developments, residents' groups, in fact, increased the value of their homes. This was possible because of the introduction of amenities into an area which previously did not exist.

An important aspect of the way in which prices are determined is that frequently the value is attributed to a parcel of land, or area of

land, independent of the activities of the owner. It is in this way that one can see how the distribution of advantages offers a means for owners to maximize profits independent of their own labour.

The explanation for the way in which this occurs was first developed by Ricardo (1957) and Marx (1967) with their concept of 'differential rent'. LaMarche, in his examination of the use of land in Montreal, expands upon this form of maximization of profit. Differential Rent I³ is a

function of the advantages offered by the site of a property which do not directly depend on any actions of the owner. This rent is termed differential because the situational advantages on which it is based are not evenly distributed throughout space (LaMarche 1976:100).

This maximization of property capital through Differential Rent I can be seen in the prices attributed to parcels of land within the City of Unley. Unley Park has numerous gum trees, access to community park land, the classification of R1 (which has the greatest protection from high-density developments), and high socio-economic status. When a piece of land in Unley Park enters the market, its sale price is based not only on the use-value of the dwelling but also on those factors which are outside the hands of the individual seller of the property. What is more, in addition to having attributes which are defined as being desirable, these attributes for the most part are provided by the local Council. This is not to say that it is government which determines the land value, because the price assessment is independent of government jurisdiction. What does happen is that government provides services which subsidize prices of land which are set within the private market. For example, Haywood Park is a valuable amenity in Unley Park. It was purchased and is maintained

³The term "rent" is used rather than "ownership" because owners in essence obtain use-rights over land. The sale of land between owners refers to the transfer of these use-rights.

by the Council. While Council designated the Unley Park area R1, the land was already deemed valuable and the prices reflected this, hence the Council zoning was deemed appropriate. The road-closure issue in Malvern/Parkside represents attempts by the neighbourhood to obtain benefits which will increase their land values. The creation of cul-de-sacs effects the transformation of streets into quieter, safer and more desirable residential streets, hence prices will rise. In the same way that owners can increase land value by situational advantages due to location near desired amenities, decreases in land value can also occur. For the residential owners in Parkside and Wayville, the development of offices and flats served to threaten land values for residential dwellings but the owners of the office developments could charge high rents due to their proximity to the city centre."

The presence of amenities is frequently viewed as given, rather than as socially constructed. Pahl, especially, seems to assume that there are scarce resources and hence competition for them (Pahl 1978). For the most part the amenities are constructed – e.g. parks, dense vegetation, cul-de-sacs, quality of housing, etc. Even those which are unevenly distributed due to their being geographically determined, do not automatically have high financial value designated to them. The designation of land values to parcels of land and to the desired amenities is socially constructed. Because of this, it is the market system which imposes situational advantages on some areas because of their location near desired amenities.

⁴For example, Greenhill Road offices sell for \$105,000 for twelve-office units as opposed to \$29,000 for six offices on Unley Road.

Actors in the Land Market

Land-use in Unley is primarily residential, meaning that use-value is an important aspect. However, use-value varies with the needs and intentions of the occupier and exchange value is dependent upon the owner. Renters, owner-occupiers, landlords, real estate agents and developers perceive dwellings with different interests. These differing interests are sometimes complementary but at other times in conflict.

Occupiers of housing are predominantly concerned with procuring use-value through the laying out of exchange value. If the occupiers are owners then the exchange value will be more of an important element than if renters occupy the dwelling. Real estate agents operate to obtain exchange value through either passive market management or by encouraging a certain market activity. Landlords⁵ operate with exchange value as their objective. Developers are involved in "creating new use-values for others in order to realise exchange values for themselves" (Harvey 1973: 164). Government institutions, in response to political processes stemming from lack of facilities, are frequently oriented towards use-value, although in Unley public housing constitutes only 2% of the total dwellings.

The phenomenon of resident mobilization in Adelaide has occurred to a high degree in the inner-city suburbs. This has occurred due to the expansion of the commercial and office developments in the central business area into residential areas. Those who have most actively been involved in this opposition to commercial developments are those who have

⁵The managers of rental accommodation within Unley fall into two categories: (1) those owning high-density flat developments which through maximizing use-value maintain high exchange value, and (2) those who own one or more houses which are rented for the primary purpose of maintaining exchange value for their later years' security. Although data are not available on the actual distribution of ownership by ethnic grouping, it appears that the Greek and Italian migrants within Parkside and Unley own a significant number of single dwellings offered for rent.

recently moved into the inner-city suburbs and not those who have lived in the area for a lengthy period of time. Hence one finds that in terms of attempting to define land-use there are two groups: those who have commercial interests and those who want to re-define the residential aspects. It is the location of the suburb of Unley within the total metropolitan area that has effected the formation of residents' groups. In order to understand this, one must examine certain characteristics of Unley as an inner-city suburb.

Urban Decay and the Price of Land

Within nearly all city centres the terms "slums" and "urban decay" have been used within the past twenty years. Such terms are usually followed by discussions of 're-development'. The presuppositions involved usually refer to the housing cycles, meaning the changing quality of buildings over periods of time: old housing areas need to be rebuilt or re-developed. It is not solely a question of the quality of housing when one considers re-development and urban decay but the conditions under which land-use changes occur.

During the early 1960's the northern half of Unley was primarily residential with the housing stock in varying condition. The area, in comparison with the rest of the City of Unley, had a low percentage of home owners. The inner suburbs were increasingly being looked to as an alternative to the CAB for office and flat development. Northern Unley also had the lowest land prices, which further increased its desirability for redevelopment because it would be less costly to purchase two lots in Parkside for \$62,500 to build eight flats than to purchase two lots in Unley Park for \$154,000. Hence northern Unley became attractive for development.

As the area became redeveloped the prices for vacant lots rose.

Table 25: Average Residential Vacant Land Sale Prices within Unley

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Unley	5,750	6,000	8,250	10,000	13,900	11,550	17,600
Index	100	104	143	174	242	201	306
% increase	-	4	38	22	39	-17	56

(South Australian Valuer General's Office: Report)

As prices for lots increased, it became increasingly difficult for individuals to purchase land for building single dwellings, because of the high rates.

The cost of housing also increased in Unley as the demand for the land became stronger.

Table 26: Average House Price — Adelaide/Unley, 1970-1977

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Metro. Adelaide average price	13,300	13,300	14,500	18,900	23,200	27,300	31,600	35,440
% increase	-	0	9	30	22	18	16	9
Unley average	12,600	13,000	15,000	19,500	25,200	27,500	35,900	38,300
% increase over previous years	-	4	14	29	30	9	30	4
No. of sales		1,039	1,154	1,434	1,104	1,202	1,188	643

(South Australian Valuer General's Office)

As housing prices increased, owners were faced with the option of either selling to developers, in order to make immediate financial gains, or holding onto the land and renting it out to utilize use-value while maintaining ownership for long-term exchange value.

Taxes are determined by the potential selling price of an area, by which is meant that if a person lives in a house in an area selling for flat development rates, then higher taxation and rates apply. Assessments for taxation purposes are based on potential use and not actual use. If rental accommodation is not maximizing profits then there is an incentive to sell to developers in order to maximize profits. Failure to sell could be detrimental to the owner, because the sale price of a residential house in a high flat area can drop, especially if demand for single lots falls. (For example, prior to the changes in building requirements in Unley, one could build flats on the average single lot; this is no longer possible on account of the changes in the amount of space required in the new building regulations.)

The value of lots is determined by demand (the combination of competition for land-use and access to borrowed funds) which is based on anticipated development. While land is vacant, the owner does not achieve a direct profit, as the land has no use-value. To make ownership worthwhile, the land must be either used, or sold for more than its purchase price plus interest rates. The interest rates are either the cost of the direct financing of a loan or the interest relinquished if cash were paid. Therefore the increase in land price does not arise from any labour invested in the land. Ownership of land gives its owner "the power to withdraw his land from exploitation until economic conditions permit him to utilize it in such a manner as to yield him a surplus" (Marx 1967:757).

The interest in owning land in Unley by the commercial sector arises from Unley's proximity to the city centre. The demand for land has

been for the construction of offices, flat developments and the expansion of the shopping areas. While growth in these three categories has occurred in most of the northern half of Unley, I have selected the office developments on Greenhill Road, the shopping and tertiary office expansions on King William Road and the flat developments throughout northern Unley as focal points for this discussion.

The extent to which there has been interest shown in developments within Unley can be seen in the number and level of investment applications which have come before Unley Council in the last five years (see Table 27).

Table 27: Value of Building Applications Submitted and Planning Consent Applications Lodged with Unley Council 1972-1977

	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77
Value of new dwellings and flats approved in \$m	1.4	2.8	4.0	6.0	5.4
No. of total applications	710	940	798	999	899
Value of total applications in \$m	4.5	19.9	8.0	19.3	12.0

(Unley Council Records)

The applications submitted have ranged from requests to build carports to requests for permission to build large office structures. However, in order to understand the impact of such developments on the residential character of Unley, the following discussions ensue.

King William Road

King William Road until the early 1960's was primarily residential. The houses were of high standard, four to five rooms, built on average size lots and had developed gardens. Shops were for local consumption,

e.g. butcher, grocer, post office, bank and hairdressers. The shops had experienced some increase in business due to the expansion of shopping facilities occurring on Unley and Goodwood Roads, between which King William Road is sandwiched. The shops were leased and most merchants were local residents. The centre point of the shopping area was a cluster of shops dating from the early 1900's. These shops had remained in the hands of the local Brentwood family from 1917 until 1947.

In the late 1950's Adelaide, as a metropolitan city, began to expand at the southern edge. Such expansion increased the amount of traffic on the primary roads in Unley as traffic moved to and from the city centre. Three petrol stations opened on the one and one-half miles of King William Road between 1957 and 1967 to accommodate this increased traffic.

The increase in traffic contributed to making the road minimally attractive for residents. Council interpreted this as the road having to be altered, but to 'what' was unclear. In 1963, a proposal for a flat development (37 flats) came before Council for approval. The development was to replace a vacant lot and a house. The developers argued that King William Road was on a public transportation route and that the development would provide access to the city centre for a large number of people. The approval of this development started the process by which land-use was altered from residential use to commercial use. This flat development was followed by dwelling conversions to office uses (e.g. for dentists and doctors) and the construction of an office building on the northern portion of the road. Council records indicate that initially the plan was to have alternating uses on the one street (clusters of offices, clusters of residents, clusters of shops, etc.). It was thought that this would prevent the road from simply becoming a thoroughfare. However, the

cluster aspect dwindled and between 1972 and 1977 at least twenty-six conversions from residential dwellings to commercial dwellings occurred.

The commercial offices were predominantly occupied by members of the tertiary sector: accounts, solicitors, real estate agents and architects. During this period the shops changed in terms of the consumer items sold. The local consumption shops described earlier changed to boutiques, antique stores, speciality food shops and three restaurants – shops which were intended to attract a geographically broader-based clientele than the earlier ones.

The movement of the tertiary occupations to locations such as King William Road occurred for several reasons: (1) lower payments for office space in comparison with the city centre, and (2) avoidance of the city-centre traffic. Such moves were generally viewed as a way of maximizing city-centre benefits without paying city-centre costs. As more houses and store fronts converted to professional use, individuals began to view the location as beneficial for other reasons – concern for the environment, congeniality of the work place, or a way of preserving historical buildings. This group as they renovated the dwellings and shops, built high stone fences, planted natural shrubs and printed their firms' names on brass plates.

In 1975, a significant number of professionals and shop keepers came together to form the Hyde Park Traders' Association. The broad goals of the group were to "preserve and rehabilitate the character of the historic King William Road, an area unique to the city" (Articles of Incorporation 1977). One of the initial projects was the purchase of the Brentwood shops. The chairperson of the group stated that "no matter how many appeals the general public may make to developers to save historical properties, the only sure way the public can save them is to buy them" (President of Hyde Park Association, 1977). The shops were bought and

renovated in keeping with the historical image of their earlier use, but sub-let as speciality shops. The formation of the Hyde Park Traders' Association symbolizes the point of transformation of the road to commercial use.

As the road became stabilized in terms of its commercial use, the profitability of the shops increased. The road became known for its speciality shops and potential clients came to see what the shops in general offered. It is customary for a person to seek out one particular shop and, subsequently, explore the other shops. In this way, the profitability of the shops is dependent upon the existence of a variety of shops which can attract clientele. By King William Road becoming a small professional/speciality shop area, all members of the commercial community benefit.

Greenhill Road

Greenhill Road borders the northern edge of the City parklands, and in the past was the location of the homes for the wealthy. The houses were double-storey and very large. These mansions became increasingly difficult to maintain as the families decreased in size and the occupants increased in age, so the area became ripe for redevelopment. Redevelopment was also encouraged by the increase of traffic on Greenhill Road which became the primary east-west corridor outside the city centre.

In 1967 a surveying company which had been located for fifty-five years in the CAB, held an official opening of their premises on Greenhill Road. The opening was attended by notables such as the Mayor of Unley, the Town Clerk, the State Town Planner and the General Manager of the Chamber of Manufacturers. The local Councillor for the ward (who was also a Member of the House of Representatives) made the opening remarks:

I am still a councillor for the ward in which this building stands, and I must say that I have fought more battles defending the residential nature of the City of Unley than perhaps on any other subject. In this regard, we in Council have a feeling of loyalty to the people who live here, and we have defended residential zones against the establishment of factories. But at the same time a situation was developing in which some parts of Greenhill Road were getting a bit run-down and were starting to decay seriously. So we feel this type of enterprise, the establishment of professional offices, is the perfect compromise to improve the prestige of the thoroughfare (*Courier*, June 14, 1967:6, 8).

The disrepair of the houses, the large size of the blocks of land and the interest of central city businesses to expand outside the CAB, all created the basis upon which redevelopment could occur. Initially, the developments consisted of the renovating of older homes into offices, then old dwellings were renovated with extensions added onto them. New office buildings were then built which in design attempted to imitate the older homes and, finally, office buildings were built independent of the land's previous uses. These changes occurred over a ten-year period, and it was not until a proposal for a six-storey office building was before Council for approval, that any major criticisms surfaced against these developments. In 1973 Mainline Investment Ltd. proposed to build a six-storey office building and, shortly afterwards Hooker Projects Ltd. proposed to build a five-storey office building. Between 1972 and 1977, fourteen new two-storey office buildings were constructed.

The effects of these buildings on the area were noticeable. Natural lighting to those houses backing the office developments was reduced, traffic on the residential streets increased, and parking became a problem for both residents and workers in the office buildings (five carparks were built between 1972 and 1977). In addition to the physical changes, the patterns of interaction between commercial developments and residents altered. Unley's commercial sector was previously composed of

local merchants working in relatively small shops. This encouraged contact between the shop keepers and the residents. By contrast, the developments along Greenhill Road did not involve such contact.⁶

The office developments were built by development corporations, and are rented to metropolitan or nationally-based companies. In this sense Greenhill Road developments are removed from local activities and represent an extension of the city centre into the suburbs.

The dominant use of office space on Greenhill Road is by tertiary occupations. For example, forty-two accountancy firms work on Greenhill Road, as well as five real estate agents and five finance companies.

Flat Development within Unley

Being adjacent to the city centre, Unley has been of interest to flat developers since the late 1960's. Unley, in comparison to the rest of the City of Adelaide, has had a significant increase in applications for the building of flats.

A marked concentration of flat developments can be found in the northern part of the City. The reasons for this can be found in the orientation of the Council in the late 1960's. The area, with some of the oldest buildings in Unley, had numerous dwellings in various states of disrepair. These had deteriorated because of the age of the houses and/or because previous owners were either physically or financially unable to maintain repairs. In the late 1960's conditions existed for the area to come under the 're-development' planning schemes which were then prevalent. Redevelopment, at this point in time, meant constructing 'new', high-density buildings.

⁶E.g. S.G. Footers Nominees, Mainline Investments, Kiwi Developments Corp., etc.

Table 28: Percentage of Total Flat Applications by Council, 1972-1976

Suburb ⁷	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76
Burnside	4	4	5	5
Cambelltown	6	7	6	6
Glenslg	4	4	4	2
Henley Beach	2	3	2	3
Hindmarsh	3	2	3	2
Kensington/Norwood	5	5	6	4
Payneham	11	5	3	2
Port Adelaide	3	9	10 ⁸	4
Prospect	1	2	4	3
St. Peters	-	4	4	6
Thebarton	3	2	2	1
Unley	9	11	7	9
Walkerville	3	2	2	2
West Torrens	9	7	7	7

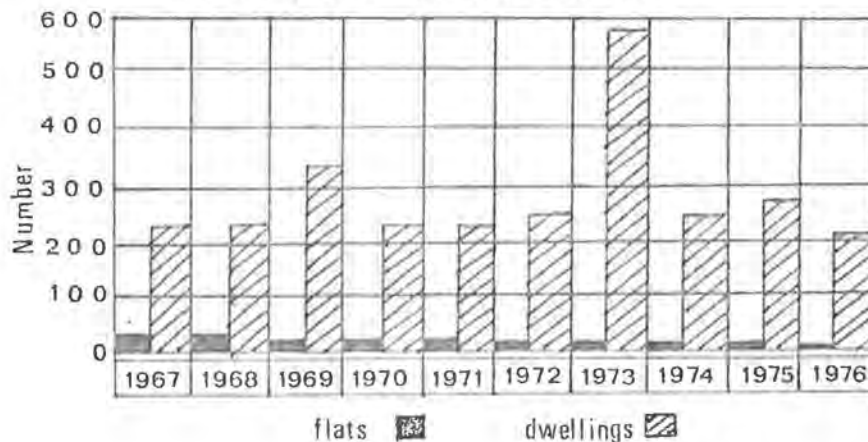
The area of construction of flats in north Unley coincided with the demographic distribution of the low-income areas. This meant that there was a low degree of home ownership and landlords became interested in the exchange value of the lots. The lower socio-economic status of the area meant that the renters could not object to the proposals, that the land value was lower than in other areas of the City, and that the quality of the homes could be used as an argument for requiring redevelopment. In the initial phase of flat development, it appears that it was the older homes which were demolished and the sites used to build flats. However, the process developed so that even homes with good potential use-value were demolished to make way for flats. When this occurred, residents started to object to the destruction of 'good' dwellings. Under these circumstances, flat developments coincided with low-income areas while the higher-income areas were exempt.

⁷The suburbs of Tea Tree Gully, Salisbury, Noarlunga, Munno Parra and Elizabeth, although they have been included in the percentages of total flat applications have been excluded from this table, because as new suburbs, their percentage of flat development is significantly higher than those suburbs previously established.

⁸This figure is unreliable due to changes in the methods of collection.

The increase in the building of flats must be considered in comparison to the construction of single houses. While most Australians prefer to live in single dwellings, the construction of flats in the inner-city area has replaced the construction of single dwellings.

Table 29: Number of Flats and Dwellings Approved under the Building Act: Unley, 1967-1977



(Unley Council Records)

The building of high-density flats was stopped by the re-zoning of Unley in 1975. The upsurge of flat developments in 1973 can be attributed to the then threatening re-zoning issue. The Director of the Economic Research Department for the Housing Industry (speaking of Adelaide as a whole) stated that

Flat construction in the latter part of 1970 may have been stimulated to some extent by anticipation of new planning regulations which in effect will markedly reduce the areas where flats can be built and the numbers of flats which can be placed on an individual site (Cowley 1971:2).

While the initial campaign against flat development was directed towards large-scale developments such as the sixty flats found on Leader Street, the re-zoning did not stop total flat developments. Instead, large-scale developments were replaced by four-to-eight-flat units theoretically spread throughout the city. While the re-zoning legislation established greater protection for single-family dwelling areas against

flat development, the flat developments are not spread evenly throughout the City of Unley.

Conclusion

In Unley, there has been an increase in the exchange value of lots and houses. This has occurred because of the increased demand for land near the city centre by those in the commercial sector, as well as by those in the residential sector. In the initial organization of land-use, prices are established within the framework of general uses. While specific historical factors such as the designation of the parklands plays an important part in patterning land-use, the use of land can change. Unley, prior to the 1960's, was a decaying inner-city suburb. In the 1960's, the local Council attempted to re-develop northern Unley for commercial purposes. As this occurred, opposition arose from residents who not only wanted to maintain the area as residential but who also wanted to improve it. Opposition was formulated and developed in terms of objections to office and flat developments.

The nature of the objections must be understood in terms of the effects land-use has on the adjacent parcels of land. Individual housing prices are affected by what is constructed in the next block or even eight blocks away. This is due to the prices of parcels of land being determined by their location within the urban area as a whole and the scarcity of land for a specific use; in this case, the close proximity of residential areas to the city centre.

The value which is attributed to land is frequently independent of any actions of the owners. The provision of transportation by the government facilitates office developments because of the provision of transport for the employees. The construction of parks by the local Council increases the exchange value of adjacent houses because of the scarcity of parklands.

Hence when there is competition for defining specific uses of land, owners seek either to increase or at least maintain the potential exchange value of their property.

Commercial developments can reduce the use-value of a residential area while raising its exchange value for commercial use. With the expansion of the commercial sector in Unley, this has occurred. Urban decay frequently leads to the expansion of commercial developments in older inner-city areas and this was the case in north Unley. King William Road and Greenhill Road are examples of how an area can change from one of residential use to one of commercial use. The acceptability of commercial developments in a residential area can only become a matter of choice when there is legislation which gives Council (or the State) the power to decide upon land-use. The introduction of zoning legislation into South Australia has provided such a tool for land-use control. Once the power of control exists, then it becomes a matter of decision-making for Council members and residents. Local Council as a decision-making body in regards to land-use is the substance of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

LOCAL COUNCIL AND LAND-USE CONTROL

C.G. Pickvance, in a criticism of the structuralist mode of examining social movements, drew attention to the necessity of recognizing the relationship between social organizations *and* 'authorities': "In particular they (the structuralists) emphasize the actions of the movement organization at the expense of the actions of the authority" (Pickvance 1976:201). Admittedly the studies which he referred to paid little attention to the role of the authorities in implementing changes in the issues being studied; but this is not intrinsic to the structuralist mode of examination. This chapter will specifically address the role played by local authorities in the process of decision-making in regard to land-use. To do this one must delineate the two bodies involved in land-use controls. During the last twenty years, the power of the State government has increased in the area of land-use controls, primarily through planning legislation. This increased power can be seen in the growth of the State Planning Authority, the introduction of zoning legislation and the establishment of a Planning Appeals Court. It is primarily through the growth of State government control over land-use that local Councils have gained greater control in determining specific land-uses.

At the local level, however, Council consists of an organizational body which changes subject to both the micro- and macro- levels of politics. The local Council of Unley will be examined in terms of its composition, its tasks and powers, and the changes which have occurred since the introduction of planning legislation. While Council consists of individuals operating as an organizational body, it also fulfils the role of decision-making within Unley.

The role of government in society has been discussed primarily in two ways: (1) with a focus on power: meaning the ways in which individuals mobilize support, obtain legitimacy, and utilize conflict, and (2) the structural relationship between government and socio-economic classes.

Recently, research has attempted to combine the two orientations in order to produce a relationship between the acts of individuals and the broader social arrangements.

Poulantzas, in his book *Political Power and Social Classes*, has contributed significantly to this discussion. Poulantzas makes a distinction between the 'political' and 'politics'. The 'political' refers to a system of patterning by which social groups do or do not take place in the process being studied. 'Politics' refers to the transformations and conflicts which are enacted by groups engaged in the patterning process. This approach incorporates the structural relations (elements and combinations defining the social structure) and social relations (or systems of actors). Such a distinction, when applied to the material gathered from the City of Unley, facilitates an examination of the actors engaged in politics (elections, decision-making, changes) while at the same time placing such actors within a broader structural framework (class, State power, etc.).

This chapter will be broken into two sections. The first section addresses Council as a system of actors; describing the Council, the process of elections, the attitudes of Councillors towards their role, the financial resources upon which Council draws, the implications in their expenditures and the relationship between local Council and State and Federal political parties.

In Section II, I will discuss the structural relations between residents' groups (such as the URS) and Council, and the historical development of 'planning' as a governmental tool for land-use. It is through planning controls that one can identify the decision-making which determines the distribution of amenities within the Council area. It is through such decisions that one can map out the political patterning which occurs as a result of the politics.

Local Councils

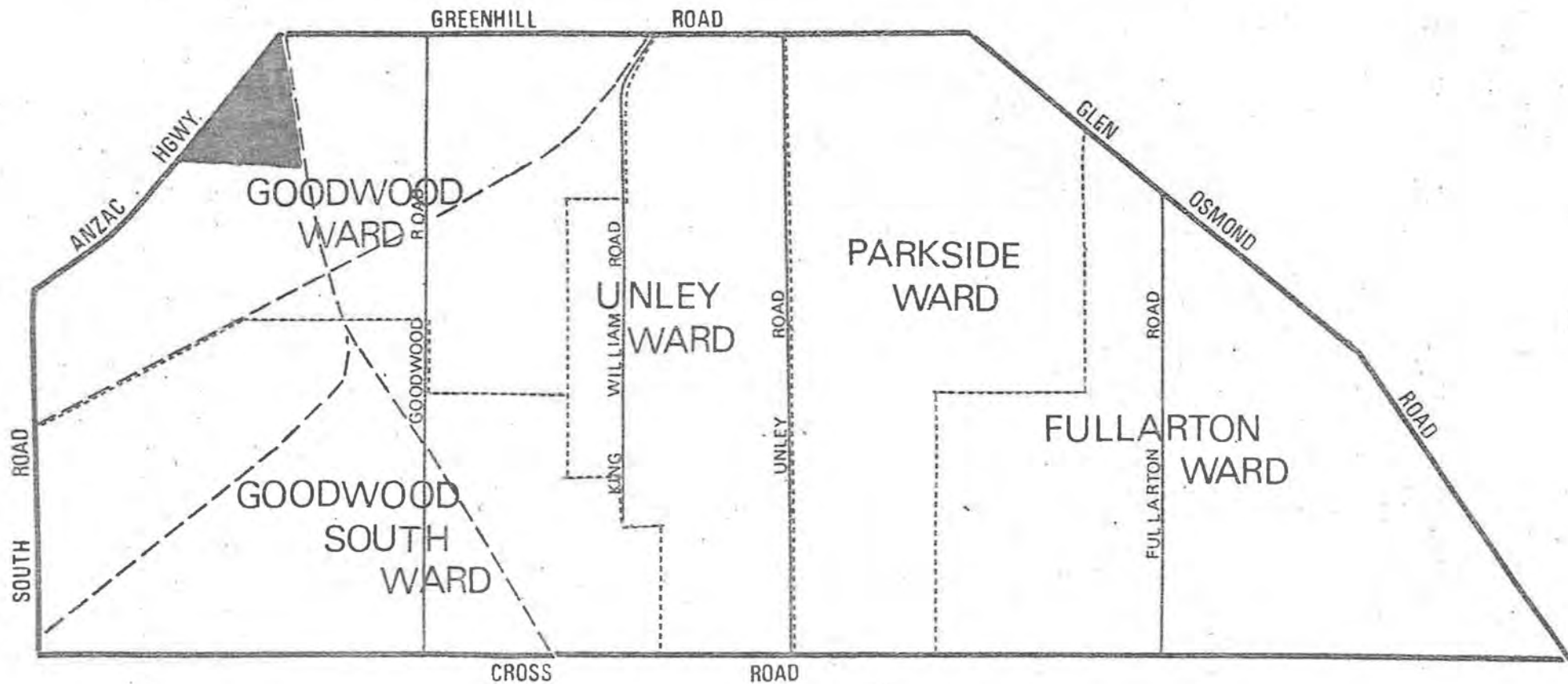
Local government within Australia has comparatively less power than its counterparts in the United States and Great Britain. This has been attributed to the colonial development of Australia, where land control for development came under the powers of the respective State governments. Education, social services, transportation and the provision of household services (water, electricity, gas, etc.) lay outside the responsibilities of the local Council. Council instead was given the responsibility of maintaining the streets and kerbs, lighting and garbage collection. These functions were primarily managerial in that the broad guidelines were established by the State Board of Health.

Unley Council

Unley Council consists of a Mayor, four Aldermen and ten Councillors. These are the electoral positions and elections are held every year for the position of Mayor, and for half of the total positions of Aldermen and Councillors. Councillors are elected by ward, of which there are five (see Map IX). The Mayor and Aldermen are elected on a citywide basis. Unlike the State and Federal elections, it is not compulsory to vote in local elections, and, as a result, there are fewer voters; 8%-10% for regular elections and 25% in years where there has been a major issue.

Council meetings are held, on average, once a month, and are open to the public. The Council chambers are organized so that the Mayor is the central figure sitting on a high-backed chair, overlooked by a picture of the Queen, and surrounded by Australian flags. To his right sits the Town Clerk, and along both sides sit top administrators from the various departments (e.g. Planning, Works, Health and Finance). The Aldermen and Councillors sit in a "U"-shaped arrangement, facing the Mayor and staff.

MAP IX: THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF UNLEY WARD BOUNDARIES



The public sits at the rear of the chambers facing the backs of half of the Councillors. This symbolically impresses upon the public their role as observers rather than that of participants.

The dress of Council has remained elaborate. The Mayor is dressed in a bright red robe, lined with fur, black velvet and a gold chain. The Aldermen wear black robes with some fur, and Councillors wear dark blue robes with black trim. The Town Clerk, although a staff member, is also dressed in Council attire. His robe is primarily black, but has elaborate detailed attention given to the sewing of the garment. The other staff are dressed in street clothes.

Council in Transition

The transition in the types of issues being faced by Council members can be illustrated by descriptions of typical persons elected to Council at different periods. For purposes of general discussion I will break the time span into ten-year periods: the 1950's, the 1960's and the 1970's.

Alfred Manfee, in the 1950's, was a prominent businessman whose family drapery business, while located in Unley, served the greater Adelaide area. He was known as a 'civic leader'; he was involved in the Rotary Club, the Unley branch of the Returned Servicemen's League (which he was instrumental in organizing) and was president of the State Board of the Royal District and Bush Nursing Society. He served as Councillor for the Parkside ward for seven years, became an Alderman for three years and then served as mayor for two years. His position was never contested.

The 1960's period was characterized by a resident of thirty years, C. Poles, who ran his own real estate business. He was a member of the executive on both the South Australian Local Government Association and the Real Estate Institute of South Australia. Within Unley, he was active

in the local church and the school system. He became a Councillor in 1955 and served until 1963, at which time he became an Alderman (for seven years) and subsequently became mayor for two years. He was unopposed until he ran for the position of mayor in 1969.

The 1970 period can be represented by the personality, P. Bennett, who is a university graduate and an architect. He directs his own company which is located in Unley. He has lived in Unley for ten years. He has no formal club membership, but has been involved with groups who are working to establish day-care centres and play parks in Unley. He served as Councillor for one year and then ran for the Aldermanic position he has held for the last four years. His position has been contested twice.

The changes in the type of person on Council reflect the changes in the issues faced by Council. The expansion of the city centre and the competition for land-use created economic conflicts between domestic and production consumption patterns which had not existed before. The increase in State control over land-use meant an increase in power for local governments which it previously did not have. The emergence of citizen participation reflected a change in the attitude of residents towards those who governed them. Together, these changes served to alter the composition of Council, by shifting the requirements for Councillor qualifications from those based on individual competency in business¹ and

¹The occupational categories of Council members changed between 1950-1975. This is substantiated in the following table:

Occupation	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975
Company director and top management	7	8	8	10	9	3
Shopkeeper	-	-	-	1	1	1
Professional and administrative	2	4	5	2	4	11
Unknown	6	3	2	2	1	0
Total	15	15	15	15	15	15

social clubs to those based on group awareness of the social and political processes involved in the collectivity of the concerned residents in the city.

Involvement in local Council is exacting in terms of the hours committed to a job which is voluntary. Councillors spend, on the average, between five and ten hours per week on Council matters. This includes attending sub-committee meetings, Council meetings, community social service meetings (which individual Council members attend because of their position on Council), and meetings with individual residents. (Councillors stated that they contacted, or were contacted by, five to fifteen residents per week.) The length of time required increases if there are contentious issues. Most Councillors expressed the opinion that their position caused them financial loss either in terms of campaign costs (\$200-\$1,200) and/or administrative costs (\$100-\$1,000 on petrol, phone calls and time lost from business due to meetings). The reasons cited for becoming involved in local Council varied: some thought local level politics were interesting because of the smallness and the proximity to the people being governed, others expressed a commitment to improving the quality of life in the City of Unley, and others saw themselves called upon to provide leadership to the City. One Councillor amply summed up the reason for many Councillors entering local politics and the reason why they tend to stay once they have entered:

You enter an election because of a particular issue, or you were asked by friends, or you think you have something to contribute. You either get in unopposed, or win, and then you enter a different world. Rather than saying "why doesn't Council do that?", you begin to wonder where is the money going to come from for that project; if you support the planting of trees in that ward will they support your request for funding a school recreation programme. You begin to realize how the decisions are made, and that they are made by fourteen individuals of various interests and various pasts.

Councillors, in terms of assessing their legitimacy as representatives of the populace, face difficulties. This is primarily because of the lack of competition for positions in the past and because of the low turnout at election time. Councillors fluctuate between thinking that (1) they represent the residents of Unley, otherwise they would have been voted out of office, and (2) if people do not care then someone has to make the decisions and they do the best that they can.

John Robbins, in his study of Local Government in Adelaide, found that 34.7% of Councillors' thought that the public's attitude towards them as Councillors was "favourable", but 55.9% thought that the public was "uninterested". The apathy of the public, as discussed in Chapter Four, is problematic. In periods of conflict, Councillors tend to want low levels of participation because high participation means conflict, increased work loads, and confusion. They are also worried that in the process of participation, the number who actively pursue their interests are not pursuing the interests of the general public. The road-closures issue supported this.

This hesitancy, however, should not be interpreted as Council members being opposed to resident participation. Unley Council, in comparison to other Councils, has actively encouraged participation: for example, the road-closure schemes, the Unley City Development Strategy Plan, and in the promotion of community meetings. The basis upon which Council members make their decisions is ambiguous, as well as their attitude towards resident participation. This is because of the lack of involvement of residents in elections – and the increasing number of residents' groups forming to represent their interests.

Sources and Distribution of Council Revenue

Council, in addition to its control over land-use, has power to determine the quality of the area through the economic means available to it; that is, revenue collection. The main source of income is derived from rates, which are charged according to the assessed annual value of the rateable property.² "Annual value takes into consideration the development which has taken place on a piece of land and is generally regarded as being most appropriate for built-up areas" (Robbins 1975:123). Rates can be levied as a single rate for the whole area or levied differentially taking into account the varying uses of land.³ Unley levies only one rate level.⁴ Other sources of income are derived from properties which are rented and loans and/or grants from the State government. Unley Council obtains 83% of its total income from rates as indicated on Table 30.

Table 30: Unley Council Expenditures, 1976-1977

	Amount (to nearest \$100)	% of income
Property rates	2,233,000	82.96
S.A. Grants Commission	218,000	8.10
Interest on funds	110,000	4.09
Parking fines	35,000	1.30
Rents on Council-owned property	44,500	1.65
Fees from building applications	16,000	0.59
Repayments of loans to community groups	11,200	0.42
Dog registration fees	10,000	0.15
Fees for various licences	4,000	0.20
Sundry revenue	5,500	0.17
Fees from town planning applications	10,000	0.59
Total	2,697,200	100.00

(Source: "Where Council Gets Its Dollars")

²Properties such as State institutions, schools, post offices, and churches are not charged rates. Private schools and colleges are assessed and rated but at one-quarter of the normal assessable value (*Local Government in Unley*, n.d.) .

³This has been criticized for giving equal charges to businesses as well as to residents.

⁴The amount of rates that can be charged is set by statutory limitations. The lower limit is five cents on the dollar; the upper, twenty cents.

Unley Council's total yearly budget has increased by approximately 300% between 1969-1977.

The actual income of Council is as follows:

Table 31: Unley Council Budget, 1968-1977

1968-1969	849,245
1969-1970	877,392
1970-1971	1,043,628
1971-1972	1,082,281
1972-1973	1,289,143
1973-1974	1,361,286
1974-1975	1,863,507
1975-1976	1,988,151
1976-1977	2,670,542

("How Your Money Was Spent 1968-1977")

The reason for this increase is partly due to rapid inflation but the budget has increased also because of residents' greater increased expectations regarding the provision of amenities. The acceptability of purchasing open spaces such as in the case of Fullarton Park, the hiring of consultants for the road-closure scheme, the payment of Appeal Court costs against planning appeals and the focus by Council on developing recreation facilities are indications of (1) ratepayers' willingness to pay higher rates in order to obtain better services, and (2) the interest of the Council in improving the amenities of the City.

The specific allocations of the budget are frequently a source of debate within Council. While local Councils are required to maintain certain standards in the provision of roads, kerbs, street lighting, garbage collection, etc., that standard is subjectively determined by the local Council. Purchasing open space, developing recreational facilities, the planting of trees and staff salaries are indices of the degree to which Council is interested in providing what could be conceived of as "frills". Table 32 indicates the percentage distribution of revenue by category.

With the exception of purchasing open space, this distribution has not been modified greatly over the recent eight-year period. The improvements which have occurred in Unley have been the result of a higher budget, rather than of a major change in finances.

Table 32: Percentage Distribution of Council Budget 1968-1977

	1968 1969	1969 1970	1970 1971	1971 1972	1972 1973	1973 1974	1974 1975	1975 1976	1976 1977
A. Construction	38	n/a	36	37	38	34	28	29	27
B. Tree planting	3	-	3	3	3	3	2	3	2
C. Street lighting	6	-	5	5	5	4	4	4	3
D. Salaries, admin- istration and building replacement	25	-	23	22	21	24	21	22	35
E. Recreation and open space	7	-	8	10	8	8	22	15	9
F. Repayment of loans	5	-	5	5	4	4	4	4	3
G. Halls, insti- tutes and library	4	-	4	4	7	4	4	5	4
H. Hospital	2	-	2	3	2	2	3	2	2
I. Garbage collec- tion	6	-	7	7	6	8	7	8	7
J. Board of health	5	-	6	7	6	7	6	7	7

(Council Annual Reports and Statistics
City of Unley)

In 1977, Unley Council obtained 8% of its budget (\$206,200) from the State Unemployment Relief Scheme. The funding of these projects is based on the validity of each project, and is not a direct grant to local Councils. The Heritage Task Force, the development of the Unley Archives and the Recreation Resource Study are examples of the projects which were submitted to the State government for funding and were subsequently supported. The projects themselves are primarily the work of the Town Clerk in terms of the application being submitted. Hence the interest and abilities of the Town Clerk in demonstrating the need for particular

projects and presenting interesting projects is an important factor in obtaining additional grants.

Unley Council is limited in the services it can offer because of restricted access to funds. However, depending on the willingness of ratepayers to pay rates and the abilities of the Town Clerk to obtain government grants, local Council does have some choice in the level or quality of services which it can provide.⁵ The expenditure on "quality of life" amenities indicates that ratepayers in Unley are willing to pay higher rates and they have hired a Town Clerk who is skilled in obtaining grants. Together, these have improved the level of amenities available in the City of Unley.

Local Council and National Political Parties

South Australia, in comparison with the other states, has acquired an important self-identity through having separated national political parties from local-level politics. That national political parties do influence local Councils in other states has been well substantiated.

Most of the Councillors sitting on Council during the period of my fieldwork were not members of any political party. J. Robbins, in his questionnaire survey of Councillors in South Australia, found that 35.6% of the Councillors had been involved in national parties earlier, but had

⁵Council in 1977-78 had a developmental planning exercise, in which it established priorities for the City of Unley. Listed as follows, they indicate the importance attached to improving the amenities of the City. High priority: (1) City development strategy (general planning); (2) Traffic management plan; (3) Civic and community centre; (4) Major drainage scheme; (5) Forward planning programme; (6) Development of existing open space; (7) Recreation resource study; (8) Management information and accounting system. Medium priority: (9) Public communication and consultation; (10) Street-closure beautification; (11) Indoor recreation centre; (12) Purchase of open space; (13) Development of recently acquired space; (14) Branch offices; (15) Young Street play park and residence; (16) City-wide library service. Low priority: (17) Fullarton Senior Citizens' Centre; (18) Recreation trail; (19) Cycle paths (*Town Clerk's Report*, October 1977).



withdrawn when they entered Council. The reasons cited for this withdrawal were varied: disappointment with the national political process, lack of time, and, more importantly, the desire to maintain a separation between political parties and local government. The reasons for a separation can be understood from the following quotes:

The issues before Council do not in general terms have political philosophies attached to them. Decisions made by Council tend to be between options that are apolitical;

or, more normatively stated:

Councillors who are members of political parties should not be influenced by their respective parties when making a local decision.

What clearly emerges from the views of Council members is that a clear distinction exists between political parties which are viewed as being "less democratic, more selfishly motivated and hence less representative of local interests", and local politics, which are "democratic".

The distancing of Council members from party affiliations could be cynically interpreted as members simply attempting to maintain a public image: however, in the local elections observed, contact with both national political parties was used to organize the local election campaigns. Campaign supporters crossed political party lines when working on local-level issues. Hence, while a candidate could be an ALP sympathizer, (s)he could obtain support from Liberal members provided they found agreement on the issues involved. That local-level politics engages members from both national parties is not, however, to say that national political parties are unimportant. As local election campaigns follow similar lines to State and Federal election campaigns (door-to-door visitation, canvassing, pamphlets, etc.), political party organizational skills are used. Such skills include contacts with people willing to do canvassing, giving of advice on leaflet composition and distribution

methods, and providing lists of voters in previous elections. While the influence of political parties is opposed, the organizational machinery of the political parties is used in the organization of campaigns at election time.

With the three-tier system of politics in Australia, one would imagine that entering local-level politics could potentially be used as a stepping-stone for further, higher-level involvement. However, a review of the political history of Council members between 1959-1979 indicates that local Council is not a stepping-stone to State or Federal politics. Of the Council members serving between 1959-1979, only four became involved in State or Federal politics of the nine who attempted to do so. Two were elected in the 1930's when perhaps the separation between local and national politics was not as great, and two were from the McLeay family which has held the Federal constituency (Boothby) since 1949.

Competition for Positions on Council

Competition for positions on Council dramatically increased during the period of 1968-1978. Prior to this, Council members were simply recruited by sitting Council members inviting some member of the community to sit on the Council. For the most part, this person moved into the Council position without any competition. This is substantiated by the fact that between 1950-1967 a total of twelve seats were contested out of a possible 87 vacancies.

From the onset of 1968, there was a dramatic increase in competition. During this ten-year period, 41 seats were contested out of 55 vacancies. This increase in competition primarily arose because of the emergence of issues in the City over which debate ensued: the MATS plan, the conflict over high-density developments and the changes in land-use in the northern

part of the city all contributed to this competition for the position of decision-maker.

Within Unley, it was the URS which was able to become involved in local Council issues and dramatically change the composition of Council. This indicates the ease with which changes in local government are possible. However, such activity on the part of individuals and groups must be viewed within the context of the general changes which were happening in regard to land-use and the power of the State government.

The URS and Local Council

The URS, as discussed earlier, emerged as a critic of the orientation of the "progressive" Council of the 1960's. Prior to the emergence of the URS and the growth of citizen participation as an ideology, Council was a closed group of people whose positions and decisions were rarely questioned. As developments occurred which became unacceptable to residents, and as an organization emerged in which residents could mobilize their complaints, Council's composition changed. When the URS decided to support candidates for local elections, it was quickly able to dominate Council with members supportive of its goals. Between 1973 (when the first candidate ran under the URS banner, but lost) and 1976, half the members of Council were URS-supported. The degree of support varied from that of Council members being active members in the URS, to Council members utilizing the URS organization in order to gain votes at the time of the elections. Regardless of their specific ties to the URS, the URS-supported Council members for the most part adhered to its principles; anti-high-density developments, the increase of amenities in the Unley area (parks, trees and social services) and citizen participation.

However, as easily as the URS rose to a position of influence in Unley Council, it as easily lost its influence. This occurred in 1976 when all of the URS-supported candidates lost their seats on Council. Prior to this election, when URS-supported Council members held the majority, Council meetings and committee meetings were opened to the public, a City Planner was hired, the Fullarton Estate was purchased, and the area was re-zoned to reduce the construction of high-density developments.

In November 1975, Council offered a retirement plan to the Town Clerk,⁶ who was expected to retire anyway in two years. The Town Clerk, because of his position, was responsible for drawing up the retirement contract. The reasons given for the early retirement plan were:

Since they (Council members) will all need a period of consultation and planning before implementation and evaluation (of programmes), it was felt that perhaps it would be better to have a change in Town Clerk now, rather than in two years' time...A period of confusion may well have occurred during the change-over of Town Clerk; confusion which may have endangered the successful implementation of all the changes. It was also felt that the presence of (the Town Clerk) hampered, rather than aided, the development of new and invigorating policies (correspondence to membership of URS).

The last sentence referred to the Town Clerk having changed the wording of a re-zoning application without proper authorization.

This retirement contract became public in a letter to the local newspaper from a Councillor (who by publicising the matter was violating Council regulations which stated "advice to ratepayers should be by press releases submitted only by the Mayor or Town Clerk"). The Councillor, in his letter, demanded a public debate. He claimed that the issue had not been

⁶The retirement plan consisted of the normal benefits for the Town Clerk's thirty-three years of service (ten years as Town Clerk), his service leave, superannuation, plus two years' salary with the accompanying long-term service leave and superannuation. The total amount was \$60,000.

discussed in Council; that the decision was made at an unauthorized Sunday meeting; and that five elected Council members had not been invited to attend.⁷

Immediately there was a response on behalf of the Town Clerk. The Minister of Local Government spoke to the press stating that "Unley Council must accept full responsibility and must be prepared to publicly justify its decision for forcing (the) former Town Clerk into early retirement". Five former Mayors (of Unley) spoke to the press stating that the Town Clerk was an excellent worker and they saw no reason for the forced early retirement. Then a Crown solicitor stated to the press that the retirement payment of \$60,000 was not legal. Finally, a letter from the (now) former Town Clerk was published in the *Courier*. In addition to thanking his supporters, he stated,

My acceptance of premature retirement as Town Clerk of Unley, due not to ill health, incompetence or misconduct, but (is) due to pressures I was no longer prepared to tolerate...the reason given for my early retirement was that I was "too old and fixed in my ideas", an opinion with which Mr. Ron Collins, spokesman for the Unley Residents' Society, obviously concurred with since.

It was this letter which associated, in public, the URS with the Town Clerk's retirement.

The URS-supported Councillors did not express their opinions in the newspaper because they respected the prohibition on Councillors addressing the public. The Mayor, who had the authority to defend the actions of Council, did not do so and this was attributed by some to his having voted against the motion in the first place.

After a great deal of emotionalism in the community, procedures adopted by Council in drawing up the retirement contract were found to be

⁷The meeting consisted of all but one Council member and Council had in fact voted ten to four, to accept the offer given to the Town Clerk who, in turn, accepted the offer.

legal; the Town Clerk was offered employment in the Local Government Association; public meetings were held in which explanations of Council's decision were offered (and which seemed to be accepted); and a new Town Clerk was hired who gained the respect of most of the people involved.

The Councillors supported by URS were caught in some vague scandal after having been elected through the agency of the residents' group. In the following election, the opposition to URS candidates focused on the URS dominating Council, as illustrated in the following campaign literature:

The URS is a conspiracy by a minority group of residents in the Unley Council area, to take over the majority of Council and manipulate it to the society's benefit;

or,

There is a dominant group voting in bloc. Help is needed to restore balance and respectable government.

In this election the URS-supported candidates were not re-elected. Councillors who had previously been members of the URS allowed their membership to lapse, and the direct influence of the URS declined.

While the URS declined in influence, some of the Council members who had been elected carried through, in principle, the issues which the URS had initiated: improving amenities, a critical attitude towards high-density developments, and a focus on parkland and the planting of trees. The URS was instrumental in dramatically altering the direction of Unley Council by successfully electing individuals with different perspectives. Nevertheless, the URS was unable to exert its influence on Council members after the media had portrayed the URS as an undemocratic bloc on Council.

*SECTION II**Governmental Control of Land-Use*

The means of controlling land-use has coincided with the development of the concept of "planning". Planning is a product of the nineteenth century in conception and of the twentieth century in implementation. South Australia had systematic planning prior to its colonization. This was to serve two purposes: (1) the sale of land to ensure a successful colony, and (2) the planning of open space in the hopes of not re-creating Britain's densely populated areas. The development of South Australia was strongly influenced in terms of planning by advocates of "model cities" such as Robert Owen, Jeremy Bentham and R. Wakefield. The existence of Adelaide's parklands surrounding the city centre is a remnant of this planning orientation (Henry 1953, Bennett 1976, Williams 1974).

The National Colonisation Society for South Australia, as a centralized decision-making body, established the precedence for a central government with specific control over land-use. The lack of autonomy by present local governments, in South Australia, is a result of this centralization. Land-use controls are legislated by the State Government and implemented by the local Councils. That local Councils have, at times, had to implement State Government decisions which they have disagreed with, has been a source of conflict between the State Government and local Councils.

The provision of water (1876), waste removal (1882) and roads (1880) was implemented with ease in South Australia in comparison with other Australian states. This was due to the heavy centralization of appropriate powers by the State Government, and to the fact that the majority of the state's population lived in the immediate surrounding area. The initial provision of such services by the State served to establish it, rather than the local Councils, as the provider of such services. With

the exception of the City of Adelaide, the State had absolute control over local Councils. Adelaide City Council, supported by business interests, exercised a far greater influence on the State Government than the population of the city centre warranted. During periods of conflict over the centralized nature of the State, the debate frequently revolved around the State Government and the Adelaide City Council with no mention of the other City Councils.

The planning aspect of the colonizers was de-emphasized after the initial establishment of Adelaide. Upon completion of the provision of basic services, the

imposition of control over urban development by government was viewed as a restriction on both the economic freedom and the right of the landowner to develop land as he saw fit (Henry 1953:43).

In essence, the planning role was allocated to private enterprise and until World War I, "the weight of public opinion was satisfied with the City and Parklands and Colonel Light's bequest to the State" (Bennett 1976:43).

This satisfaction was altered with the Labor Party's election to government in 1915. The Labor Party, as part of its campaign platform, had a commitment to "town planning". Town planning, as a concept, gained in popularity in Adelaide when C. Reade, a British town planner, gave a well-publicized lecture tour on "Garden Cities vs. Adelaide's Slums and Suburbs". A major reason for Reade's popularity was that he drew public attention to the latent conflict regarding the role of the State Government in land-use. In opposition to the State Government, Adelaide City Council had been pressing for local control over land-use and building standards. The attack on "slums" in Adelaide's city centre supported the argument for State control over land-use. At the same time, a "Garden City Movement" oriented towards environmentally sound residential areas was gaining

momentum. Reade recommended that the State Government establish a Town Planning Authority. This recommendation was implemented by the Labor Government in 1916. However, the Labor Party held government for only one year, and the return of the Liberal Party the following year brought about a reduction in the State Planning Authority's jurisdiction.

The issue of town planning was submerged during the depression but resurfaced in the late 1930's when the Liberal Government held an inquiry into housing conditions in Adelaide. The Commission found

large areas of housing in certain localities (Adelaide, Hindmarsh and Port Adelaide) unfit for habitation and many other areas in sub-standard conditions (Bennett 1976:73).

In response to these findings, the Liberal Government legislated the Building Amendment Act and the Housing Improvement Act (1940).

The development of legislation in planning emerged because of the inability of private enterprise and local Councils to maintain what was considered adequate living standards.

State land-use controls in 1960 gave it the power to acquire land for public use and gave it control over sub-divisions and zoning. In 1965, when the Labor Party replaced the thirty-year Liberal Party reign, the controls over land-use were further expanded: (1) control was established statewide; (2) the State Planning Authority and State Planning Appeal Board were established; (3) the State legislated the right to approve development plans, and (4) preservation, aesthetics and sociological considerations of land-use came under the jurisdiction of the State Planning Authority. The concept of planning was incorporated into governmental bureaucracy and while the debate continues as to the extent of power the State should have, the State Government's role as planner has been accepted.

This chain of events was altered in 1968. The Labor Government in 1966 introduced major planning legislation including zoning regulations.

The Liberal Government came to power in 1967, but had a very weak urban support base.⁸ In an attempt to show the Liberal Party's concern for 'urban issues', they hired an American firm to conduct a study of Adelaide's transportation system and to produce recommendations which the government would then enact. The results were reported in the Metropolitan Adelaide Transportation Study (MATS), referred to elsewhere. The Labor Government was returned in the following election and the emphasis upon increasing government control over land-use continued.

From this brief descriptive history of the development of planning in South Australia one finds that land-use controls have emerged due to the inability of private enterprise to maintain the quality of housing and commercial developments which is expected by those who have the power to influence decision-making. This was the case in the Housing Inquiry in the late 1930's and is again perceived to be the case today in the high-density construction of flats and offices. An examination of land-use controls within Unley will bear this out.

Land-use Controls in Unley

In Unley the utilization of land-use controls appears to have increased from the late 1950's onward. Prior to this, land-use was primarily determined by the private market, with little influence by residents and local government. Local Council was primarily responsible for the maintenance of services (roads, footpaths, rat eradication, polio immunization, etc.). In the early 1960's Unley Council began to plan directions of growth for the city rather than continuing to be primarily

⁸The Liberal Government for a period of time had power due to the Playford gerrymander which favoured the country vote 2:1. The inequity of this system was glaring in the 1966 elections, and the Liberal Party was forced into altering the boundaries, and in the next election the Labor Party was re-elected (Blewett and Jaensch 1971).

concerned with maintenance. Lacking specific legislative tools for doing so, the Council formed an Unley Council Development Committee in 1964. This was established with the aim of "encouraging industry, commerce and flat development in appropriate areas within Unley" (*Courier*, April 1, 1964). This Committee, with the support of the Chamber of Commerce, proceeded to organize the "largest and (most) up-to-date shopping centre which would bring people into Unley for shopping". Council was interested also in the redevelopment of Parkside as indicated in the sale to the Housing Trust of two blocks for the construction of sixty-six flats.

The focus on encouraging industry, commerce and flat development coincided with the desire of the business community and the Adelaide City Council to expand the City-centre boundaries to include some of the inner-suburb areas; specifically, those areas which had experienced growth in commercial developments, such as found on Greenhill Road. At the hearings held on local boundaries, Unley Council's presentation emphasized the financial loss to the Council if Greenhill Road became part of the city centre, but Council did not object to the way in which the land was being used.

Council members favoured a spatial differentiation for Unley in terms of land-use: (1) north Unley being used for office and high-density developments, (2) the centre of Unley being used for residential and commercial developments, and (3) the southern section being maintained as an affluent single-family dwelling area.

Criticism about these developments only came to the surface in reaction to the MATS plan. The effects of these plans on Unley were to be the widening of the main roads and the purchase of land for a six-lane freeway and rapid rail system. The State Government requested that the local Council hold public meetings for ratepayers who would be affected.

At these meetings the plans were objected to, and this reaction was to occur in nearly all of the suburbs affected.

These public meetings brought to the surface the variations in opinions as to how land should be used within Unley. Within Council, there were those in favour of the plan only if "equitable reimbursement for the road plans" was provided. There were others who thought that public transportation should be developed rather than provisions for the private car, and that the 'community' should not be broken into parts because of proposed roadways. Of those residents who became involved in the MATS debate most thought that the roads should not be widened and that the MATS plan should be abolished.

The division which occurred in Unley Council over the MATS issue continued in the general terms of how Unley should be planned. This division culminated in a zoning battle which lasted for two years, during which time the older traditional Council was replaced and significant building restrictions were placed on developments in Unley.

The Re-zoning of Unley

The zoning classifications obtained by Council in 1966 were no longer viewed as being satisfactory: large development companies wanted to build in Unley; but while some members of Council were in favour of such developments, others were in vehement opposition.

In 1973, 77% of Unley was zoned as R3A, R3B and R3C, which meant that flats of varying height could be built providing they complied with the building regulations. Some members of Council initiated steps to upgrade the area from R3 to R2B. Such an upgrading would mean that there would have to be Council consent for the building of flats, home units and offices. These requests for upgrading were subsequently written into an application for a re-zoning of Unley. The URS and other individuals

campaigned for even greater upgrading, but without success. The re-zoning was subsequently viewed as a compromise, and a start on a better control over land-use.

The re-zoning application went to the State Planning Authority for approval and then waited for six months to be gazetted by the House. When the zoning was changed, notice was sent to Council and the zoning plans became available to the public. The URS at this time discovered an important discrepancy in the new zoning laws.

In the upgrading of most of Unley to R2B, a clause, written into the amendments, had been altered. The difference was as follows:

October 1973

This zone is intended to accommodate single family dwellings on individual allotments and semi-detached dwelling houses, but certain parts of the zone may be considered for the erection of row houses or residential flat buildings of *medium* density.

1974

This zone is intended to accommodate dwelling houses but certain parts of the zone may be considered for the erection of residential flat buildings of *medium to high* densities.

The change in the wording was objected to strongly. The URS originally had pressed for part of the area to be re-zoned R1, and the rest R2. R1 was to be for single-dwellings and R2 for single-dwellings with some flat development. The R2B category had been agreed to, upon the recommendation of Council, because of the clause restricting density. Hence within the agreements reached, the change in terms of "medium" to "medium to high" density appeared to be an important violation of what had been perceived as being the case.

The alteration was brought about by the individual action of the Town Clerk. While the resolutions as passed by Council had been expected to go to the State Planning Authority intact, the Town Clerk had decided that the wording, as stated, would be unacceptable, and had altered it.

A substantial number of Councillors was astounded by his action and once more initiated proceedings to bring about re-zoning in Unley. The application was approved and the area was re-zoned in 1975.

The effect of the changes in the zoning legislation has been to expand the area which is protected from highrise development and multiflat developments. While not providing for the entire area the protection that the wealthier areas have with their R1 and R2 zonings, it has provided for residents a greater degree of protection than earlier existed.

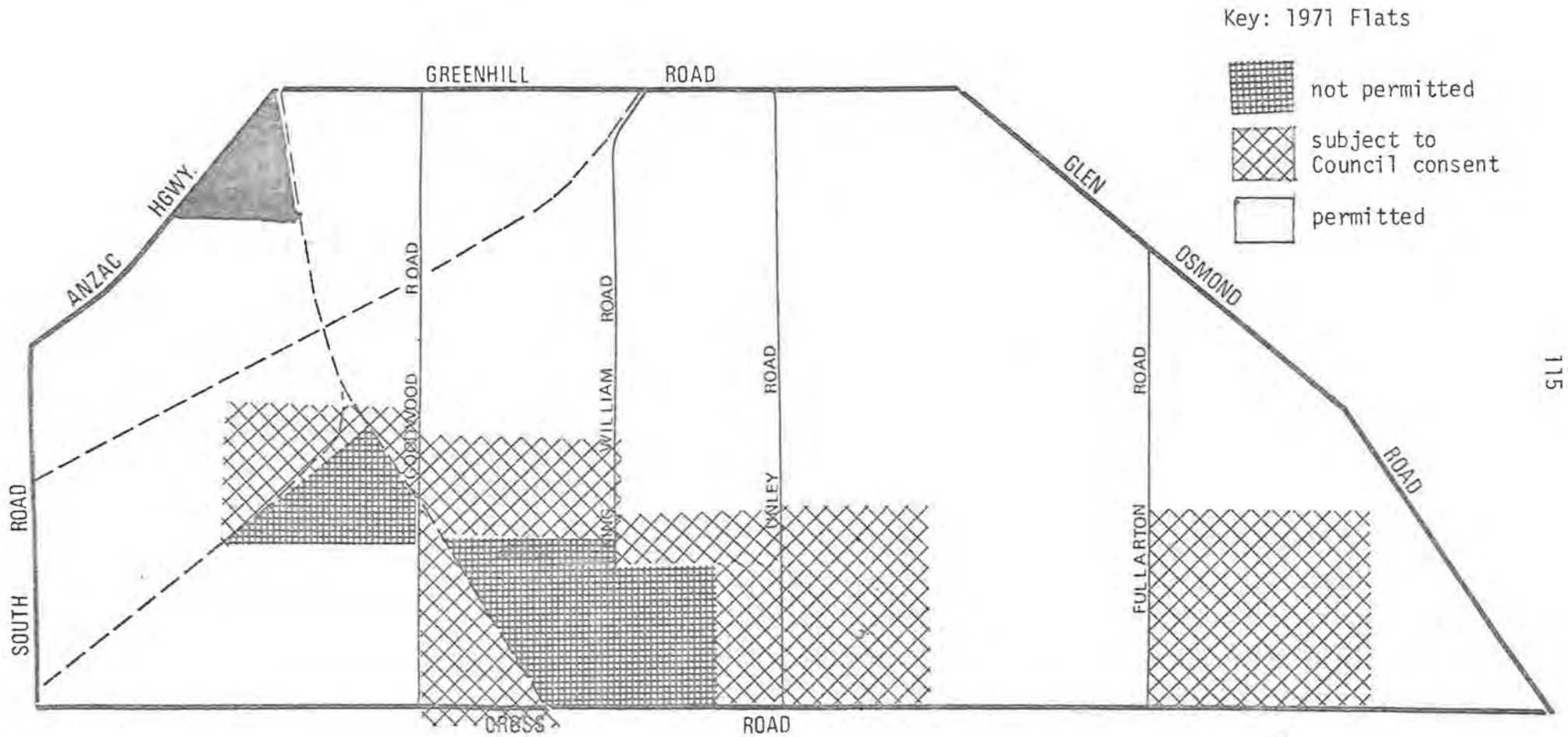
The other effect of the zoning legislation was to give to Council greater control over what was to be allowed; R2B zoning allowed for certain developments only if Council gave consent. The difference in the controls of Council can be understood by comparing the following maps.

Conclusion

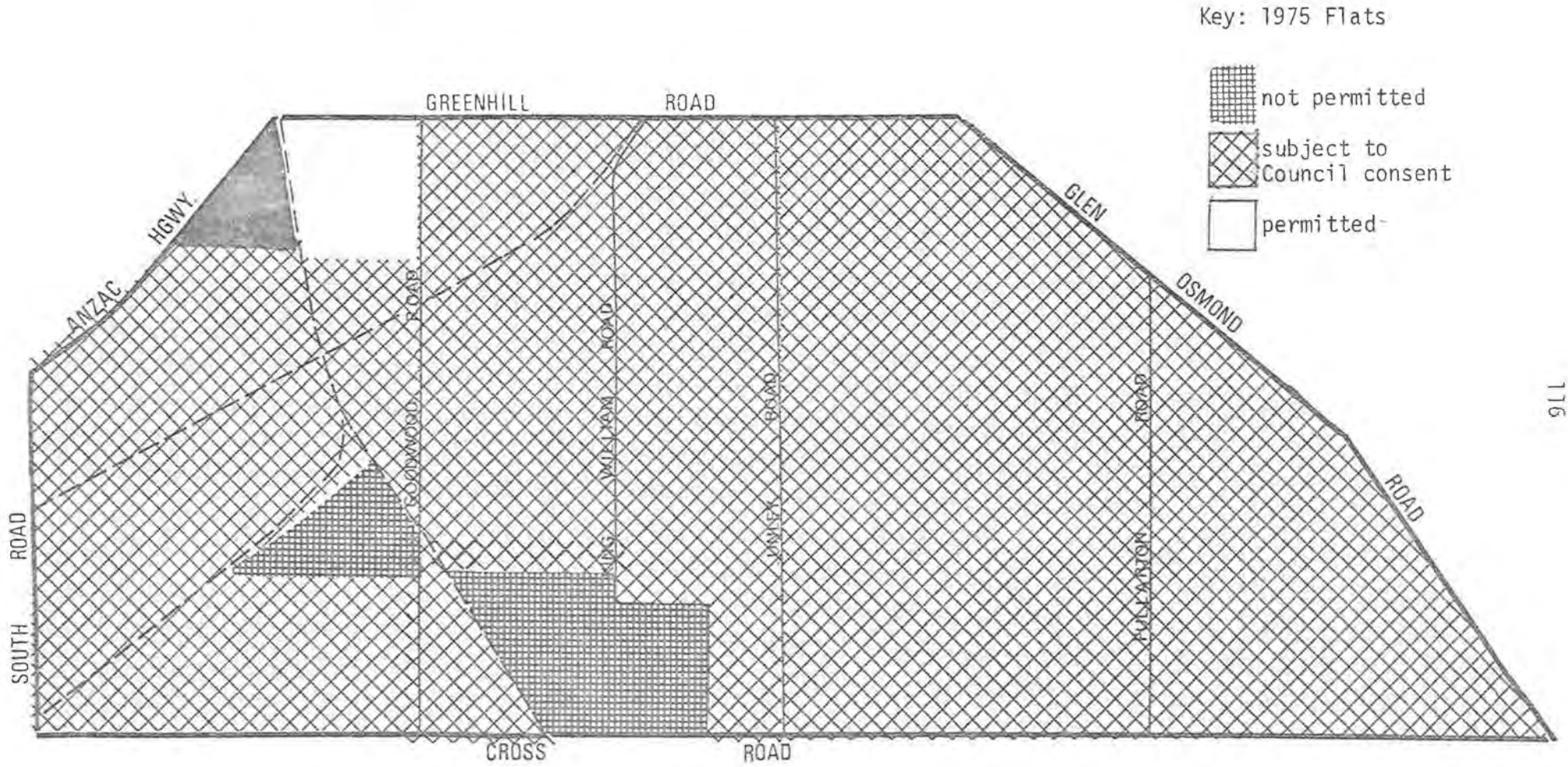
Local government in Australia has less powers and controls than its counterparts in other countries. Unley Council consists of a Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors, selected by the ward system. Because of the low turn-out in elections, the degree to which Council members represent the total community presents a problem. Council positions are demanding in terms of time and money, and for the most part are not given a high degree of recognition in the City. Council members are predominantly representative of the middle-class.

Unley Council's responsibilities are defined for the most part by the State Government, but a degree of latitude exists primarily because of the revenue that Unley Council is able to obtain through the rates charged. Council has been able to increase its rates, and to maintain a high level of income because there has been a growing tendency amongst ratepayers to demand higher quality amenities. The allocation of funds to recreational

MAP X: 1971 ZONING BYLAWS: COUNCIL CONTROL OVER THE CONSTRUCTION OF FLATS



Map XI: 1975 ZONING BYLAWS: COUNCIL CONTROL OVER THE CONSTRUCTION OF FLATS



programmes is indicative of the willingness of ratepayers to support allocations above the minimum requirements.

Council members in Unley have changed in style over the last thirty years. Those occupying Council positions are no longer typified by the successful, civic-minded businessman but rather by the university-educated, issue-oriented professional. These changes have been brought about by the increase in technical problems in planning which Council confronts, by the increased power to control what occurs in Unley (e.g. from a management role to a defining role), and by the growth of an ideology of citizen participation which is more critical of government decisions and is able to exert power or influence in decision-making.

As Council's power to control has increased, there has been a marked increase in competition for Council positions. Competition, however, has been contained within local-level politics, and does not lead to involvement in state or federal politics. This focus on localism has tended to facilitate the successful mobilization by residents' groups into the local Council because they do not have to oppose a strong party organization. The ease with which residents' groups can influence and enter local Council elections is illustrated by the fact that the URS was able to support and influence at least 50% of Council within a few years. However, the URS, because of being an emergent group, was easily dismissed from local politics when organized opposition occurred.

While the individuals within Unley Council make decisions and operate within the confines of the City, the macro-level of actions outside of the City of Unley have played an important role in determining what occurs within Unley. The growth of the State Planning Department and its subsequent control over land-use has increased the potential powers of all Councils. Such growth has been a historical process involving a change of perspective from one in which the involvement of government in land-use

decisions was viewed as an "imposition" to the presently held view that government should protect residents' interests. The growth of such control can be seen in the development of "planning" as a socio-technical tool of urban management — for example, in the recently introduced zoning legislation.

The introduction of zoning legislation into Unley has given Council and some residents the means by which they can direct the quality and type of development which occurs within the bounds spelled out by the legislation. The result has been (1) a differential spatial distribution of amenities with decisions being made in favour of the upper-middle class in terms of the distribution of amenities, and (2) the revitalization of an area which was previously run-down into a residential suburb for upper-middle class people. While the lower-class and middle-class residents benefited from the actions of the Council and the residents' groups, the point I make is that the source for initiation of the actions lay within the upper-middle class; their activities created the situation where the lower-class groups tended to move out or, more importantly, tended not to move in.

It is in this sense that the significance of the distinction that Poulantzas makes between "politics" and the "political" becomes clear. The political refers to a system of patterning in which particular classes influence decision-making so as to benefit themselves as a class. Politics refers to the transformation and conflicts which are enacted by individuals around particular issues. While individuals act in terms of particular issues, to focus solely on those actions would be to miss that patterning which occurs. The following chapter of two case studies presents how such actions reinforce the particular pattern.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FORMATION OF RESIDENTS' GROUPS

Governing — A Conflict of Ideas

The concept of individuals participating in government and decision-making has a history of being problematic. The divergence between the representative and participatory concepts is dependent upon the ideological perspective adopted. Schumpeter, a leading theorist on the 'representative method', states that "Institutional arrangements are for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote" (Schumpeter 1943:269). This perspective as developed by other writers has three main aspects: (1) high levels of participation and interest are required from a minority of citizens, and "the apathy and disinterest of the majority plays a valuable role in maintaining the stability of the system as a whole" (Berelson 1954); (2) elections are central to the democratic poligarchy system because they provide the mechanism by which non-leaders can place control over leaders (Dahl 1956); and (3) leaders are representatives of competing elites (Sartori 1962). This orientation has led to attention being directed towards the electoral process and decision-making within communities. These approaches have been criticized for placing too great an emphasis on individual choices.

Those advocating the participatory aspect emphasize (1) the gradation of participation from manipulation to citizen control (Dennis 1970); (2) the degree to which "an organization of a system of actors [leads] to the production of qualitatively new effects on the social structure" (Castells 1976:151); and (3) the possibility of "actors occupying 'places' in one or more structural elements of the urban system [uniting], and — in certain cases — [linking] their practices to those 'imported' from other spheres" (Pickvance 1976:27). This orientation has led to attention being directed towards the control government and private enterprise exercises on those outside the political decision-making process.

In discussing the conflict, Pateman (1970) locates its source in the conflict between the classical theorists. J. Mill and J. Bentham were primarily concerned with the national arrangement of the political system. Participation of the people had a narrow function; it was to ensure that good government was achieved through the sanction of loss of office. Rousseau and J.S. Mill, on the other hand, saw the participation of the individual as having a "psychological effect on the participants, ensuring that there is a continuing inter-relationship between the working of institutions and the psychological qualities and attitudes of individuals interacting with them" (Pateman 1970:22). The vote was the method for ensuring a system of consensus, but Rousseau also envisaged as a pre-requisite, a society of economic equality and economic independence. He drew attention to considering how the social order is affected by the structure of the human personality, and J.S. Mill (writing later) expanded this orientation to include education.

The importance attached to either representative or participatory government has been dependent upon the historical circumstance. For example, writers after World War II, in reacting to the totalitarian states which had mass participation prior to the war, focussed on the lack of interest in politics by the general public, or the complexity of industrial society which is too complex for the common man to comprehend, or on the totalitarian tendencies of the lower-class individual.

The significance of this discussion is that it points to the fact that the nature of governing is still not resolved. The previous chapter discussed the problems Council members face in regards to their legitimacy as being 'representatives' of the residents of Unley. For residents' groups within Unley, the question emerges as to what degree of influence they do have in influencing Council decisions. That this historical questioning of the nature of governing can re-emerge indicates that as a

social concept, it has not been resolved. The fact that it has not been resolved means that the issue can emerge in new circumstances and be continually redefined.

In this chapter I will posit that the recent emergence of residents' groups within Western urban centres is the result of the conflict over the way in which urban land-use is decided upon. Specifically, residents' groups have protested against the effects of commercial developments (and sometimes governmental developments) on residential areas. The discussion on resident mobilization within Unley will be specifically examined as this leads to an understanding of how attempts to broaden involvement in local decision-making regarding land-use can be influenced by residents' groups.

Residents' Groups

Residents' groups have emerged as a means by which individual residents, within a geographical area, can collectively act so as to attempt to influence local Councils as they make decisions regarding land-use. Residents' groups have utilized the political belief system which emphasizes the 'participatory' aspect of government as opposed to the 'representative' aspect. This political belief system is utilized by residents' groups to such a great degree that it has almost become synonymous with citizen participation. In developing this legitimizing political belief system, residents' groups have drawn on a basic conflict ('representative' vs. 'participatory') which still remains unresolved.

While residents' groups have questioned the basis of representative government and attempted, in theory, to broaden the basis of who participates in local decision-making, in practice this has not been achieved. Residents' groups, for the most part, are dependent upon the actions of a few professional people and the issues which are acted upon reflect upper-middle class concerns.

Residents' groups are pressure groups whose basis of organization is confined to those who live within a local Council boundary. In this sense residents' groups are geographically-based. The stated focus of residents' groups is to address the physical and social plans for the area. With such a focus, activities are primarily addressed to the local Council although action could be directed towards the State or Federal government. "Resident" is the term used because it emphasizes the idea that those who reside in a particular area have a basis upon which to enter local decision-making processes.¹

Residents' groups, although mainly based within local Council boundaries, receive support from other types of pressure groups. When the Builders' Labourers' Federation placed their Green Bans on projects they were acting in terms of defining land-use, even though they had sectional interests. National groups such as the Royal Institute of Planners are directly involved in land-use issues through their professional role, which includes the perpetuation of their profession, as well as through their interest in bringing technico-environmental rationales to land-use decisions. Departments within Government and semi-official agencies, such as the National Estate Trust, become involved in land-use decisions, but only when interests meet. A more important type of support for residents' groups are the ad hoc pressure agencies which basically respond to particular issues on a city, state or national level. The anti-highways group in

¹'Ratepayers' and 'resident' are sometimes used interchangeably, depending on the speaker. The term "ratepayer" was somewhat more appropriate until 1977 because prior to that date tenants' names were not automatically on the voting list and this tended to discourage tenants voting in local elections; also they did not have the legal basis upon which to object to building applications. Hence until recently, only ratepayers had access to the local political process. The term "ratepayer" also has the connotation that only those who pay rates should have a voice in Council decisions. The use of the term "resident" indicates either an awareness of the change in the legal basis, or the belief that living in an area qualifies one to be involved in the local politics.

response to the MATS plan, or the South Australian Cyclist Protection Association are examples of these.

The Development of Citizen Participation

The recent emergence of residents' groups occurred initially in the United States,² where the aim of citizen participation was to involve those excluded from the decision-making process in the hope that major socially-defined disorders (e.g. riots) would not occur. The programmes were primarily developed at the Federal governmental level and have been questioned as to the degree of success in attaining their original purposes. In a more sober fashion, the British government looked at citizen participation in terms of planning. This produced the well-known Skeffington Committee Report,³ which advocated participation as a planning tool for the development of 'better' cities. In both countries the role of citizen participation as viewed by governments, although incorporated within a political framework of decision-making, addressed the socially-defined problem of physical and social planning within industrial cities.

'Citizen' or resident participation first emerged in Australia in Sydney, New South Wales. The enormous growth of Sydney between World War II and 1971 created pressures to re-develop the inner-city area. Conflict over land-use emerged around opposition to highrise development (at Woolloomooloo and The Rocks),⁴ proposed highway developments (Glebe),⁵

²U.S. Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Title IIA, Section 202-23, Community Action Programs.

³People and Planning Report of the Committee on Public Participation in Planning. Great Britain Department of Environment. HMSO, 1969, London.

⁴The Rocks — a historical landmark, sold by the government to private enterprise for development in 1962. Development plans ensued and were objected to and finally in 1971 the Builders' Labourers' Federation placed a 'green ban' on the whole area.

⁵The Glebe — an estate of the Church of England, where 700 houses were to be built. The Federal Government (Department of Urban and Regional Development) was involved with a residents' committee to plan the intra-class community in 1970.

and the increase in the building of flats in North Sydney.⁶ Various groups mobilized (middle-class residents, conservationist groups, and the Builders' Labourers' Federation) and brought about a new State Planning and Environment Commission in 1974. During this period the concept of citizen participation became an element in discussions between residents, planners, some levels of government, builders, and developers. These problems and formations emerged in Melbourne⁷ as well.

When considering the development of citizen participation one sees its emergence in a broad framework: it occurs in the United States, Great Britain and the major cities of Australia. Developments in South Australia (Adelaide) will be examined more closely because the events in Unley were part of the Adelaide-wide phenomenon of resident participation.

In 1962 a plan by the South Australian Liberal Government to introduce major highways into Adelaide produced a great deal of criticism from citizens within Adelaide and subsequently in the local Councils. The response was sufficiently negative for the MATS plan to be dropped. This point in time became known as the "birth of citizen participation in Adelaide".

Participation on the part of residents became incorporated into formal groups in several areas; most notably in the inner and outer suburbs. The problems being addressed were similar in that they focussed on land-use, but the nature of the problems varied. The outer suburbs had inadequate services, as the populations had not yet reached the point where government would provide hospitals, day-care centres, parks or

⁶North Sydney — an inner-city suburb having experienced increased flat, office and traffic developments, had a residents' group emerge in 1969 which elected Councillors in 1971 to local Council, who were committed to resident participation.

⁷Melbourne City Council's Strategy Plan and Community Planning Scheme.

schools. The groups which formed were oriented towards involvement in obtaining these services.

The inner-city areas, however, came together on very much the same type of problems. The more important ones being (1) the increase in traffic from the outer suburbs (which were using non-arterial roads as access to the CBD) and (2) the development or potential development of high-density housing estates and office buildings in areas which had previously been primarily single-dwelling residential areas. The concern with land-use and traffic problems brought about a change in the orientation and composition of local Councils. The older, traditional Councils which favoured re-development and were 'progress'-oriented were replaced by Councils focussing on amenities for the area. In the inner-city areas, in addition to the traffic and land-use concerns, attention was focussed on amenities such as open space, trees, the preservation of historical buildings and the desire to have buildings which were community centres. In most of the residents' groups which were formed, social services were addressed in terms of the need for kindergartens or day-care centres for the children of working parents.

One suburb which did not follow this pattern of residential group formation is that of Hindmarsh Council in which the Bowden-Brompton Association formed. The area, primarily industrial and of low socio-economic status focussed on the provision of social services such as legal aid, food co-operatives, personal counselling and assistance with employment. The physical concern of the group was the inadequate sewerage. This area was markedly different in that it had less trees, open spaces and community centres and more traffic and industrial developments than the metropolitan city as a whole. Yet the group's focus was on the provision of basic services. One active member said this was because

People don't care about the residents here — factories can go in because this area is designated as a factory area. The people here have personal problems which doesn't allow them the freedom to organize things. Either problems in the family or jobs are immediate. Although most people who are involved live in the area, the demands on positive energy and time are very great.

Bowden-Brompton and the residents' organization there has not been studied extensively but reference to this group is important because by comparison one can gain an understanding of the implications of the other inner-city residents' groups. The residents' groups in the inner-city suburbs place a high emphasis on the importance of the residential environment. The movement of industry into these suburbs would be strongly opposed, yet industry, as part of the city's location for employment, has to have a location. Residents' groups for the most part are oriented towards preserving their residential areas, forcing the undesired components of the city into other suburbs. Bowden-Brompton has those elements of urban cities which the other areas do not want.

To return to the discussion of the formation of residents' groups within metropolitan Adelaide, with each residents' group formed independently, ten groups formed a Federation of Adelaide Metropolitan Residents' Association in 1972 (FAMRA). The organization was initiated by one prominent member of the St. Peter's Association and received a great deal of publicity in the local media. Through personal contacts he was able to establish credibility as an expert in the broader community. The federation decided to follow along the same lines as the Coalition of Residents' Action Groups (CRAF) in New South Wales and the Citizen Action Federation in Melbourne (CAFM). Some residents' groups did not join the federation because of the fear of losing their local autonomy, but many did and individual membership quickly rose to 1,650.

The initial purpose of the federation was to "make politicians aware of the environment and the need to do something for the quality of life besides use it as a catch-phrase". The initial actions undertaken were: (1) to research and make public comments on the Jordan Report which argued for limiting Adelaide's population to one million; (2) to present seminars, briefs and research papers concerning the ways in which the environment can be preserved; (3) to alert and mobilize residents' groups and local Councils against the State Government's recommendations for the amalgamation of some local Councils. The Local Boundaries Commission Report⁸ and the subsequent reaction by local Councils and residents' groups against Council amalgamation, indicated the clear perception of local Councils as being the basis for 'democracy', in Adelaide.

Resident Participation in Unley

The Unley Residents' Society (URS) emerged as the combination of several residents' protest groups in 1973.⁹ Prior to its formation one group was protesting the construction of a six-storey office building on Greenhill Road, another group was objecting to sixty flats being built in Goodwood and yet another group was opposed to an eight-storey, 24-flat development in north Unley. All of these applications came before Council within a short period of time in 1973. The leading activists of these groups came together and formed the URS, which immediately had 500 members. A large percentage of this membership came from the northern half of the City.

⁸The South Australian Government released a study (The Local Boundaries Commission Report) which recommended that the 137 local Councils within South Australia be reduced to 72, for the purposes of efficiency and administration.

⁹Prior to the formation of the URS, an Unley Progress Association existed but did not have the momentum or organizational support that the URS acquired.

Members of the URS for the most part were Australian; purchasing their homes; had young families; were in the professional occupational category; and had lived in the area for less than eight years. They saw their activities as being directed towards stopping the trend which had developed in the latter part of the 1960's, specifically flat and office developments.

After the initial formation, the society became primarily involved in a legal battle against Mainline Investment Ltd. when they attempted to build a six-storey office building on Greenhill Road.

The area had been zoned R3A which meant that the zone was intended primarily to accommodate "dwelling houses, multiple dwellings and residential flat buildings, including those of greater than three storeys in height, at densities ranging from medium to high". While the area was primarily to be used for residential purposes, this was not the sole purpose. Council, upon receiving the Mainline application, gave public notice and heard objections from residents in the area. They decided to approve the application with the provision that there should be adequate landscaping.

The Unley Residents' Society decided to appeal against Council's decision to the State Planning Appeal Board. As it was not formally incorporated at the time of the appeal, the URS acted through an individual who was both a resident and a member of the URS. The hearings (of which there were nine) occurred between March and July 1974. Both groups, the appellants and respondents, relied greatly on planning professionals in the presentation of their arguments. As indicated in the statements of witnesses, legitimacy rested within the professional capacity of the

representatives.¹⁰ The debate centred on the invasion of privacy, the increase in traffic and the changes in the character of the area.

Arguments

Issues of debate	URS	Mainline
privacy	invasion	protected (by trees)
traffic	increased	increase not noticeable
character	drastically altered	landmark for area

In the debate which occurred, it is particularly ironic that the amenities for which the URS had campaigned were used against them as arguments in support of building the office complex. For example, the three bus routes (on King William Road) and the Glenelg tram line were cited as reasons for the area being used as a commercial centre. The URS would generally support public transport in opposition to the use of the private car. The growth of large trees is viewed as positive in terms of natural beauty by the URS, yet it was the denseness of local trees which provided Mainline developers with the argument that the privacy of dwellings would be protected. It was such ironic twists of interpretation which frustrated some of the residents involved.

The decision by the State Planning Appeal Board went in favour of the URS. The reason given was the "combined effect of the height, mass and colour of the proposed building would create a building of great prominence and that such prominence would detract from the character and amenity of the locality and would be a disadvantage to the community at

¹⁰Nearly all witnesses opened by stating their qualifications — regarding education, degrees or certificates in planning, listing their professional experience in terms of length of service, scope of experience (state, local, commercial, private, etc.), and, for some, the financial magnitude of the projects they had undertaken.

large" (Planning Appeal Board, Nos. 284 and 288 of 1973:9). Mainline Corporation subsequently lodged an appeal with the South Australian Supreme Court, in an attempt to reverse the Planning Appeal Board decision. The URS decided to contest this application. In a fund-raising effort to support the case (URS would have had to pay legal costs of about \$1,500 if they had lost), the reason for continuing was stated as,

To back down now would be to invite developers to have an 'open-go' on multi-storey construction anywhere *in Unley*. If the society (through Mr. Butcher) were to advise our solicitor that we would not be contesting this application, Mainline would automatically win their appeal, and we would see the start in Unley of highrise in its worst form (Letter to URS members, 1974).

The success of the URS in winning the State Planning Appeal case was highly effective in mobilizing and publicizing the URS within Unley. This was obvious in the front page headings in the local newspaper, such as, "Residents Block High-Rise Plan. Unley Residents' Society has won a major battle in its continuing campaign against high-rise development" (*Courier*, August 7, 1974). Also important was the type of development which they defeated. Mainline Investments Ltd. is a part of Mainline Construction which at the time was one of Australia's fastest growing builders, involved in building offices, factories, apartments, hospitals, hotels and homes. Hence, the developers of the six-storey office building represented 'Goliath' who was defeated by a small, recently formed residents' group. In addition to the success in the State Appeal Courts, this case was one of the first in which a residents' group won a Planning Appeal Board decision. This case indicated not only the success of URS, but created a precedent by which other residents' groups might have similar successes.

The role of local Council in this debate needs to be examined as well. Council, at the time of the original approval, was itself divided as to whether or not it should be granted. By stating at the time of the

decision that residents could take Council's decision to the State Planning Appeal Board, Council indicated its ambivalence on the issue. While some Councillors felt they had to make such a decision because of the then existing zoning regulations, other Councillors gave a great deal of support to such developments. For example, "there is no hope of residential development along Greenhill Road and the area is ideal for highrises. We are driving prospective business out of the area. Council is being faced with good development but it keeps saying no, no, no" (*Courier*, April 3, 1974). Even though Council as a whole felt legally bound to support the application, their lack of initiative in refusing the application was interpreted by residents (particularly those who were members of the URS) as being in support of high-density development. The overruling of Council's decision by the State Planning Appeal Board was given the interpretation that Council had made the wrong decision. The fact that Council would have to pay the Appeal costs (because of their defeat) from ratepayers' money further undermined Council's image in terms of supporting the residents of Unley.

The legal battle against a large building/investment company contributed in a major way to defining the URS as a strong, viable group capable of preserving the residential quality of Unley. The case also began a series of incidents which undermined the image of the 'traditional' Council. Council did not appear to be more concerned with the quality of life in Unley than with the financial interests of developers. One aspect which needs to be examined is why this particular development was selected and successfully opposed. Office complexes, although of smaller size, had been built along Greenhill Road, without the reaction produced by Mainline's application. I would suggest that the particular location of the proposed application within Unley played a major role in determining the successful opposition.

The area, bounded by King William Road, Young Street, Palmerston and Greenhill Road, comprises the sole area of relatively high income in the northern part of Unley.¹¹ In the battle against Mainline, the URS, as a citywide-based group, relied heavily on the skills of the residents in the area. These skills are evident in the submissions made to the Planning Appeal Board. The skills included knowledge of zoning matters and access to architects, planners and lawyers, through whom the case could be developed. Also, more importantly, the fact that there were residents who were willing to tackle a legal battle is indicative of a high level of self-esteem. Another factor is that if the case had been lost, the URS would have had to pay the cost of the case. This particular area had the financial backing to take such a risk. In another area with lower levels of education, professionals and financial resources, the case probably would not have been taken up, nor would it have been as successful. I would suggest that the success of the URS was strongly influenced by the socio-economic characteristics of its members who resided in the area. Conversely, the residents of the area, by utilizing a residents' group with broad concerns, were able to present their individual concerns within the framework of the whole community rather than appearing to act out of self-interest.

The ideology of citizen participation and the formal organization of residents' groups was occurring on both the national and metropolitan level. Within Unley, physical changes which were apparent visually had occurred in a relatively short period of time. It was the combination of these two facets which created a stage upon which URS could enter to fight

¹¹With a family income of over \$18,000 per year, it ranked over twice the Unley City average, was below the city average in terms of migrants (in a broader area of high concentration of migrants), and had a high degree of professionals living in the area.

the Mainline building application. The actors were well equipped to enter the stage in that they had the financial backing and the skills to present the fight. The success of this action presented a concrete symbol to the residents of Unley, upon which they could further mobilize.

The activities of the URS were at their height from the time of the Mainline Investment Appeal through to the final acceptance of the zoning regulations for Unley. After this period the URS maintained its involvement in such issues as holding a survey of needs for Fullarton Park, having a representative on the Road-closure Committee, issuing newsletters regarding developments, operating an after-school child-care programme, holding meetings for local elections, etc., but it failed to maintain a high momentum of activity. This was especially the case after a 'scandal' which developed into a major issue in which the URS was accused of having undemocratic control over Council (see Chapter Five — The Retirement of the Town Clerk). The reasons for this can be cited as obvious ones: movements lose their dynamism after the initial period of growth; the leaders moved on to other issues; conflict emerged within the group, etc. These did occur, but the main reason for the collapse was the inability of the organization to represent the totality of Unley. The URS gravitated to the role of overseer of issues but director of none. The emergence of specific associations such as the Hyde Park Association, and various road-closure groups reflect this. The URS established the framework for citizen participation within Unley, but in terms of organizational roles other groups formed responding to their own immediate needs. For the most part, while still predominantly set within the framework of the upper-middle class, conflict occurred intra-class, and a broad issue group such as the URS could not function in this situation.¹²

¹²It is of interest that the faction of Council in opposition to the URS at this time made a public comment on the need for 'ratepayers' (not residents) to get involved in local politics and to get out of the apparent state of apathy.

Conclusion

The emergence of residents' groups as the organizational embodiment of the ideology of citizen participation has occurred due to (1) conflict over land-use by differing interest groups, (2) the growth in the power of the State Government, hence facilitating local government control over land-use controls, and (3) the technical-environmental problems surfacing in Western industrialized cities which has brought into question the ability of 'representative' democracy to successfully protect residents' interests.

Within Unley, conflict over defining land-use arose at the City level in that large corporations wanted to develop Greenhill Road primarily for office buildings. These were opposed by residents who wanted to maintain the area primarily as residential. Conflict over defining land-use also arose within the City as a road-closure system was introduced which provided certain amenities for some residents. The reliance by southern residents upon the automobile to get to the city centre has created a conflict within Unley over the use of the arterial roads. While the metropolitan area of Adelaide is continually expanding in terms of land claimed, the demand for inner-city land space has also increased and this has produced conflict as different interest groups attempt to obtain their use.

The emergence of residents' groups has occurred as a result of the increasing control the State Government has obtained over land. It arises at a point in time in which the power of the State is sufficiently strong to attempt to challenge the pre-existing pattern of land being privately owned. Residents' groups frequently direct their protests towards the local Council with the expectation that Council has the authority to meet their demands. Often this is not the case, as the actual authority which

Council has over urban planning is limited. The material on Unley bears this out. The office developments along Greenhill Road and the flat development in Goodwood occurred because there was no prohibitive legislation. The mobilization of residents' groups in opposition to the developments, and the increasing controls of the State Planning Department came together so as to pass re-zoning legislation which prohibited such developments without Council approval.

The attention which has been focussed on the 'environment' in the preceding ten years has created a concern for the physical environment, which is perceived as being 'ruined'. The incorporation of terms such as "pollution", "noise levels", "clear air", etc. all reflect this concern. Concurrent with this public concern, professions have emerged which direct their work and interests towards resolving these perceived problems. While the development of the technico-environmental rationale can be perceived as an ideological development, I will assume that the development of the city formation has produced physical problems with which residents' groups are concerned. This technico-environmental rationale has developed a body of knowledge which is used in the debates over land-use.

The power to define land-uses, in the past, has primarily been in the hands of private enterprise. The conflict between residents and local governments in Western urban centres over land-use issues has brought into question the ability of government to 'represent' residents without their participation in land-use decisions. This conflict has brought to the surface unresolved problems of governing in democracies, but this non-resolution has provided for those involved, an ideology which legitimizes their actions. While residents' groups for the most part direct their activities towards specific issues (e.g. a particular office or flat development) inclusive to the objection is a critique of local government's

ability to protect the interests of the residents. Because this broader critique is subordinate to the specific protests, citizen participation has been able to crystallize into an ideology which has values and ideals beyond the immediate situation.

The change in land-use within Unley produced dramatic visual alterations to the residential areas. The formation of residents' groups is dependent upon two levels of networks; those networks at the neighbourhood level providing the basis for collective action and those networks at the professional level providing the expertise for presenting the argument. That similar land-use changes and similar group formations were occurring elsewhere encouraged residents to see their objections to the developments on a collective basis. Viewing the objections on a collective basis led to action on a collective basis: that being the formation of residents' groups.

The formation of residents' groups, however, is not a phenomenon which has cut class lines, even though it is geographically-based. The issues selected and the people involved represent the concerns of the upper-middle class. The exclusion of industry from Unley, and its concentration in Brompton-Bowden indicates the class bias of the issues selected. Those who are able to enter into the decision-making process require higher educational levels in order to understand the technical aspects of the planning discussions; financial security is required to enter legal battles in which costs are potentially high; and high status is required both to have the self-esteem to pursue the issues and to have the credibility to be listened to.

The individual actions of residents are situated within the macro-levels of land-use changes, the growth of the power of government in land-use controls, and the growth of the technical-environmental rationale. These broad changes have facilitated the expansion of the upper-middle-class

influence in decision-making. Hence the expansion in decision-making has occurred, but it is restricted by social class boundaries.

CHAPTER SIX

CASE STUDIES ON RESIDENT PARTICIPATION
IN LAND-USE DECISION-MAKING

This final chapter will present two case studies of decision-making which have affected land-use within Unley. In both cases, residents mobilized in opposition to specific land-use plans. An examination of such mobilizations provides us with material for analyzing the process of citizen participation. These case studies are presented because they signify the way in which the upper-middle class can translate the basic economic concerns for land values into (1) definitions of environmental protection, (2) concepts of justice, and (3) a questioning of the local Council in terms of its expertise.

In the Fullarton Park case study, through the efforts of a residents' group, Council was influenced to refuse approval for the construction of a shopping centre in favour of financing the development of a major park. This was possible because of a shared value system among Council members and the active residents. This shared value system included an appreciation for trees, older building estates, and the right of affluent people to live separate from shopping centres. Thus a considerable amount of the budget was allocated for the purchase of an additional park, even though other areas in the City of Unley were lacking park space. However, once the park was purchased, there appeared a division in the expectations of residents over the nature of the park. Conflict emerged but this conflict was intra-class. The amenities which were obtained, despite the intra-class conflict, were class-based in terms of the distribution within Unley.

The second case study, that of the street-closure scheme, will be presented in greater detail because of the complexity of the event. The road-closure area encompassed a range of socio-economic groupings, giving rise to the potential involvement of a wide range of people.

The road-closure scheme highlights the importance of 'planning' with regard to decision-making, at both the local and State Government

level. The use of 'planning' expertise in land-use decisions effectually brings into the decision-making process those who are educated while excluding those who are less educated.

In the case of Fullarton Park, it was the shared environmental values which facilitated obtaining the park. In the road-closure area, in addition to these shared values, access to higher education affected involvement in decision-making. Thus in both cases the domain of resident participation is an upper-middle class phenomenon.

Conflict over Amenities

Late in the year (1973) an application to build a shopping complex on Fullarton Road came before Council for approval. The lot to be developed was known as Hughes Estates, which consisted of a thirteen-roomed bluestone house and large gardens which dated back to 1882. The Estate trustees preferred to sell the land to Unley Council for a park or museum. Immediately after Council published the "notice of application", a residents' group formed calling themselves the Hughes Estate Land Preservation Committee (H.E.L.P.). A petition with 250 signatures was presented to Council objecting to the proposed development and called upon Council to purchase the space for "open space for the community". The reasons cited for why Council should take such action were:

That for orderly and proper planning, Unley and Fullarton must be provided with parks and play-grounds...Hughes Estate provides the one opportunity for a most suitable area as a park (H.E.L.P. Publication 1973).

The argument was legitimized in terms of "model acreages" desired by the State Planning Department, Unley Council and Fullarton ward. These were as follows:

Table 33: Recreation Acreage

Purpose	Acreage desired by State Planning	Space available	
		Unley	Fullarton
Sports field	156.8	29.0	
Playgrounds	58.8	5.0	2.50
Parks and gardens	78.4	32.0	19.00
Other	196.0	4.0	2.25
Total	490.0	70.0	23.50

(H.E.L.P. Publication 1973)

After discussion with residents and the State Government, Unley Council purchased Hughes Estate for \$412,000, with the State Government paying half of the cost at the end of 1974. In the 1976-77 Council budget year, Council obtained an interim State Grants Allocation and spent an additional \$20,000 on physical development and the hiring of a co-ordinator for what then became known as "Fullarton Park".

The Park was located on Fullarton Road in the southern section within Myrtle Bank/Highgate and Malvern suburbs. Such a location made Fullarton Park seem associated with the eastern side of the City of Unley. While local residents used the Park, the various activities established tended to draw residents from the adjacent Councils (Mitcham and Burnside) or from the metropolitan city at large.

The types of programmes operating at the Park were primarily oriented towards the young, educated middle-class people living in the immediate area (classes in pottery, batik, bridge, art appreciation and herbal cooking, an "alternative school", play groups and club meetings). The Park placed a great deal of emphasis on residential 'involvement' which is a middle-class characteristic. "We would like people to call us and let us know of ways in which they would like to become involved", said the co-ordinator in an interview (February 1, 1977). The centre also

attracted (mainly through personal contacts with the co-ordinator) the attention of arts groups within Adelaide. They were interested in using the Park as a venue for an Adelaide-wide community-based arts programme. The combination of these two groups produced a Park which was furnished with secondhand furniture, sponsored activities which were somewhat at odds with the prevailing norms (e.g. the alternative school and "a fair to learn and experience, *not* to buy"). The interests of these groups and the lack of direct Council management and funding, produced a situation in which the influential Fullarton residents became active in objecting to the Park, and pressured Council to gain greater control. An example of the objections was expressed in a letter to the *Courier*:

One welcomes the childrens' playgroups being formed in Fullarton Park, but a childrens' playgroup cannot be constructed with the best of intentions, out of vandalised pieces of rotting boat, sundry tyres suited for the garbage dump and other discarded junk. Finally the interior of the grand old house is in urgent need of refurbishing preferably not gathered directly from the premises of 'Steptoe and Sons'. Let us have some civic pride and create a park at least as attractive as Hazelwood Park in Burnside. The idealism that halts unplanned commercial development is of value only if it has the practical resources and energy to construct a park that is aesthetically pleasing in its place (*Courier*, March 23, 1977).

The friction between these two groups on the style of Fullarton Park did not occur between the groups but was directed toward Council. The group which utilized the Park consisted of younger professionals oriented towards "do-it-yourself" programmes and had participated in the Parks activities such as attending URS meetings, utilizing childrens' programmes and taking classes. This group had a sense of "developing a community centre". As the centre was funded by Unley Council, correspondence was directed to Council in general, specifically through the Town Clerk.¹

¹This was a new Town Clerk, not the one involved in the zoning by-laws issue.

The group which was opposed to the way in which the Park was being used and were not involved in the Park (even though several of them were instrumental in getting Council to purchase the space), addressed the problems to their Fullarton Ward Councillors. By using this avenue they presented the issue of the Park as an amenity in their area, rather than a city-wide amenity.

Councils responded by establishing the Fullarton Park Advisory Committee to manage the centre after "several months of trial-and-error uses" and then spent additional monies to improve the facilities. The "exploratory-creative" aspects which were characteristic of the earlier period ended and the programmes while still being middle-class-oriented (e.g. mothers and babies day out, a library, club meeting) took on a more traditional service aspect for that area.

The purchasing of the Park in the first place indicated a willingness by Council to spend \$226,000 for an open space. While Council had the cost-shared agreement with the State Government which facilitated the purchase, it was still a large expenditure in terms of Council's total funds.

Table 34: Expenditures on Recreation Grounds and Open Space, 1971-1977

Council year	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77
Council expenditure on open-space and recreation	100,547	104,941	107,267	402,810	291,335	236,699

(Council Annual Reports)

The expenditure was considerable when one considers the restricted access to the centre for the general population of Unley. The purchase of this space within the affluent suburbs indicated the higher priorities

given to the affluent areas over the less affluent areas. In the distribution of parks in Unley, one sees this as well (see Map XII). The friction between the two groups of residents indicates a conflict intra-class rather than a unity in regards to the style of amenities. Even though the experimental nature of the Park declined, the residents still had access to a community centre in a large open space. Despite the conflict within the locality, the area benefited at the expense of the other suburbs in Unley.

Residents' Participation: Conflict at the Street Level

The preceding discussion on the developments of Fullarton Park indicates ways in which friction can develop between groups of people who yet nevertheless still benefit in terms of overall gains. In the Fullarton Park case the friction was directed towards Council rather than between the groups. The road-closure issue is an important case study of citizen participation because it had the following elements: (1) it covered an area of mixed socio-economic classes, (2) the area included the ethnic communities of the Greek and Italian migrants, (3) the local Council attempted to incorporate citizen participation as a tool for decision-making, and (4) the residents formed various groups to represent their interests. The conflict over road-closures indicates how individuals collectively act so as to pursue their interests, while at the same time their choice in action is circumscribed by the layout of the land, the history of the land and the social definitions of land-use.

The Road-closure Area

The area of the pilot road-closure scheme is approximately one and one-half square miles and contains a population of 13,500 living in 4,500

dwellings. This is approximately one-third of the City of Unley. The area is surrounded on all sides by major arterial roads. These roads are for traffic movement from the southern suburbs into the city centre. Congestion has developed on these roads and motorists were increasingly using interior non-arterial roads. The physical layout of the road system in the northern half is not conducive to excessive vehicular movement as the roads are not laid in a 90-degree grid as is frequently the case in Australian cities. The roads in the northern portion are also narrow, whereas in the southern portion the roads were built as wide avenues. The traffic increase has been cited as the reason for the increased accidents occurring in the preceding seven-year period. These included one death, one residential house damaged by a bus and numerous minor accidents. The area in terms of housing styles produces a gradation of housing types. In the northern portion there are numerous row-cottages, maisonettes and flat developments. This style lessens as one moves southward, where in the most southern portion the houses are predominantly large, single-house dwellings on large lots of land (see Map XXII). (For the purpose of this discussion I will call the northern portion 'Parkside' and the southern portion 'Malvern'. Wattle Street is the dividing line.)

The socio-economic area is also graduated as can be seen in detail in the socio-economic tables (Table 39). Parkside has a higher concentration of children than Malvern.² Malvern has a higher concentration of the elderly than Parkside.³ Parkside has the city's highest concentration of Greek and Italian migrants, while Malvern has below the city average. Malvern has a high degree of professionals and clerical workers whereas

	<u>Age 0-19</u>	<u>Age 0-9</u>
Parkside	30%	13%
Malvern	25%	5%

³This is primarily due to the substantial Home for Incurables, and three private hospitals.

MAP XII: ROAD-CLOSURE SCHEME AREA

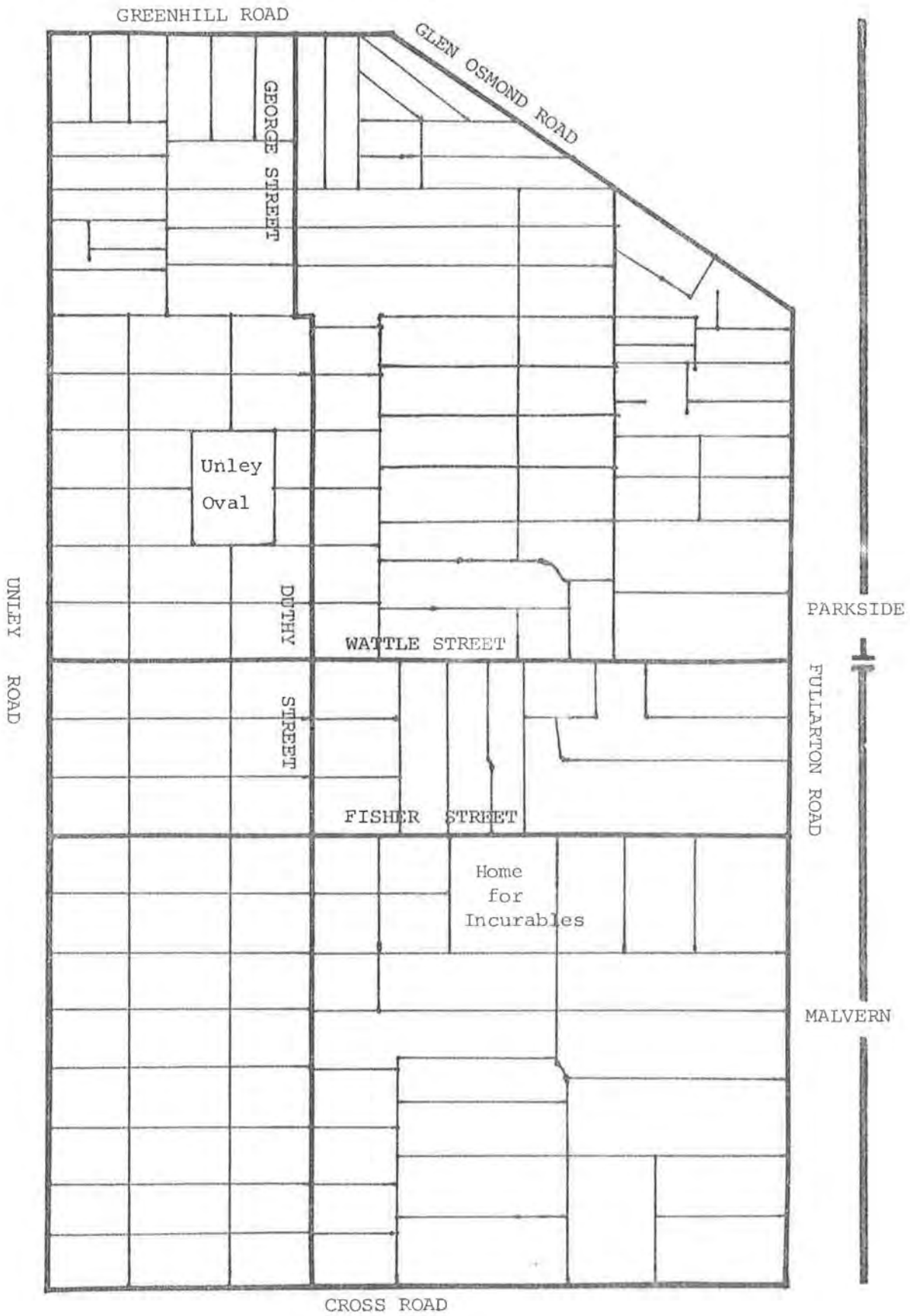


Table 35: Comparison of Socio-economic Indices of Concentration for Parkside and Malvern

Age			
	0- 9	Sm	Sm
	10-19	+	-
	20-29	+	-
	30-39	S1	S1
	40-49	+	-
	50-59	Sm	Sm
	60+	-	+
Ethnic			
	Italians	+	-
	Greeks	+	-
Occupation			
	Professional	-	+
	Administrative	Sm	Sm
	Clerical	-	+
	Sales	S1	S1
	Communication	Sm	Sm
	Labourers	+	-
	Service	+	-
Home-ownership			
	Tenancy	+	-
	Home tenure-purchase	-	+
	owned	+	-
Flats		+	-*
Income			
	\$15,000-\$18,000	-	+
	\$18,000 +	-	+
	25%-49% over \$15,000	-	+
Education			
	Child private	-	+
	B.A.	-*	+

Key

- + positive in attribute based on being above city average.
- negative in attribute based on being below city average.
- S the same degree of distribution of attribute.
- S^s distribution equally spaced in both areas, but attribute exists to a ("s") small degree.
- Sm distribution equally spaced in both areas, but attribute exists to a ("m") medium degree.
- S^l distribution equally spaced in both areas, but attribute exists to a ("l") large degree.

* there are some

Source: 1976 Federal Census

Parkside has a high degree of labourers and service workers. Home ownership is higher in Malvern than it is in Parkside and flat developments and tenancy are high in Parkside. The educational level attained in Malvern is higher than the city average while in Parkside the level of education attained is lower. In summary, as indicated on Table 39, Malvern consists of a predominantly high-income, professional and educated population whilst Parkside has a higher concentration of people with lower incomes, who are less educated and have more manual occupations.

Malvern/Parkside were modified in terms of residential protectedness by the re-zoning by-laws. Under the 1971 zoning, Malvern was zoned R2, and R3A which was essentially for single-dwelling residential houses. The northern half of Parkside was zoned R2B and R3C which was for flat and office developments. When the zoning regulations were changed in 1976, Malvern and Parkside both became zoned R2A which meant that flat and office developments needed the consent of Council prior to development. This meant that Parkside was provided with a greater degree of residential protection because of the re-zoning. The Parkside area was also being developed by Council in that attention was being given to playgrounds (for example, Young Street and Leicester) and the planting of trees in order for the area to become more attractive.

The Pilot Road-closure Scheme

The road-closure scheme was initially introduced in order to reduce the number of accidents in the area due to the increased traffic. Given that some scheme had to be implemented to counter the accidents the selection of traffic control schemes were fairly narrow. The option which had been rejected earlier by residents was to expand the arterial roads into highways. This was stopped by public pressure in 1968. The scheme

selected involved road-closures which had two primary effects: (1) the directing of traffic through specific roads considered wide enough to carry the increased traffic, and (2) the creation of cul-de-sacs on streets in which closures occurred. In the physical and social planning perspective this was considered as a desirable technique because it introduced amenities for those residents living on the closed streets, that is, quietness due to lack of traffic, safety and expanded playroom for children (those entering the street were expected to be either residents or friends, thus exercising greater care in driving) and an increase in the "spirit of community" as closed roads encouraged more neighbourliness than open roads.

The selection of the road-closures as a plan for implementing traffic controls in Malvern/Parkside was viewed by the State Traffic Board Research Committee as definitely creating a better living area for the residents as well as reducing accidents.

When the scheme was presented to Unley Council in 1973 Council was initially miffed that they had not been consulted prior to the scheme being passed to the Minister of Transportation for acceptance but voted its approval in principle in August 1973. The scheme essentially was the introduction of thirty-four road-closures, with Duthy/George Streets providing the internal north-south corridor, and Wattle Street providing the east-west corridor. The road-closures were evenly spread throughout the area. During the year that Council was attempting to get the required funding to implement the scheme (from the Federal Government) several groups of petitioners sent in requests for closures on their streets. The need for a traffic control system was emphasized in March 1974 when a man was killed, and a city bus ran into a retired couple's home. The man whose home had been run into obtained 250 signatures on a petition to Council from local residents. The petition expressed the desire for the

road being closed for safety, "but apart from the concern of safety, the situation (has) become so bad (that) one family sold out, the rest of us are now worried what effect the accidents will have on our land values" (Mr. Dyer, 1974). Residents from Marlborough Street shortly afterwards presented a petition requesting that their street be closed off for "safety reasons". These accidents and the petitions supporting the road-closures were advertised in the *Courier*,⁴ and generally created the climate of looking forward to the scheme being implemented. The accidents were viewed as a "safety problem" but in the first instance the tone of the residents was fear that the high accident rates would reduce land values. In the second instance, the tone expressed was that of wanting a cul-de-sac on their particular street.

Problems Emerge: Stage I

After Council obtained a federal grant of \$70,000 in December 1974 for the closures, Council displayed the road-closure scheme in the local newspaper and then proceeded to construct the black-and-white striped fences which indicated a closed road. It was at this point that conflict began over the location of the cul-de-sacs. A Wattle Street resident, after consulting with neighbours, sent a petition with 172 Wattle Street signatures to Council protesting Wattle Street being made into the main east-west corridor. The petition was presented to local Council and to the Minister of Transportation. The petition stated,

the scheme is designated to reduce traffic accidents and lower noise in some areas...but Wattle Street residents have been completely disregarded and denied any say in the matter. They are the people who will be penalized with a substantial increase in traffic, pollution and noise, as well as a substantial decrease in property values.

⁴The local newspaper distributed to nearly all households with no charge.

The petition, signed by residents with apparent self-interests, was supported by another smaller petition from outside the area. The other petition emphasized that,

Elderly people are suddenly confronted with heavy traffic and noise, while younger people who have invested in homes in the street are faced with the threat of a drop in (land) values and the complete inconvenience of living on a major road.

The argument presented by those who were opposed to the conversion of Wattle Street into the primary east-west corridor, addressed the problem in terms of the lack of consultation prior to the decision being made. This implied that the discussion could have either (a) produced another scheme, or (b) prevented opposition to the plan. The major concern was the expected increase in traffic even though Wattle Street had already been serving as the east-west corridor due to its centrality and width of road. The extent to which Wattle Street would have increased traffic was never determined but "major road" was continually used by residents even though in comparison to other roads the level of traffic was still within the range of residential areas.

After receiving the petitions, Council concluded that "the greater number of people were to benefit from the scheme, so that the few people on Wattle Street had to take some losses, unfortunate as that may be". The residents from Wattle Street who attended this meeting came to the conclusion that Council was not sympathetic. In response they went back to Wattle Street and through door-to-door conversations (contact had already been made through the petition), decided to form a Save Wattle Street Campaign Committee (SWS). The group consisted primarily of professionals or administration-level employees and their wives. They elected a young solicitor, who lived on the street, as the campaign committee's chairperson. They then decided to hire a town planner to draw up alternative proposals. The group was aware of the technical aspect in physical

planning and viewed a town planner as the qualified person to draw up such a plan. By doing this they were adopting a technical orientation to a problem mainly concerned with amenity distribution. The committee (through the town planner) in their proposal suggested that (1) Wattle Street should be closed west of Duthy Street, (2) Fisher Street and Wattle Street should be made into alternating one-way streets, (3) that these recommendations be implemented in the second half of the pilot study in order to measure the effectiveness of such a scheme. Wattle Street's presentation to Council introduced a new element into the debate which had not existed before. Initially safety was the primary concern but then the issue of land value and noise levels were added. The planner in addressing the issues added "environmental and community factors". The SWS group in their objection to the scheme were beginning to develop the issue in terms of environmental-technical rationales. This approach derived from the professional, educated orientation of the group as a whole. This is more apparent when one considers the nature of the opposition to the road-closure in the less affluent area of Parkside.

Opposition to the pilot scheme surfaced from the southeast corner of Parkside. The *Courier* carried an article on a family "deli" which had been forced to close due to the road-closures. The "deli" owners, perceiving a loss in customers due to the increased difficulty of getting to the shop by automobile, requested people to sign a petition in the store. Through this they obtained 170 signatures and this was sent to Council. When asked, in a personal interview, why they hadn't hired a planner and formed a committee to pursue the issue, the response was "Oh, we don't have time or money for that sort of thing".

The residents of Wattle Street (although not everyone was involved) were facilitated in their attempt to mobilize a pressure group by the singularity of their concerns, that is, 'Wattle Street' was the only focus

rather than the broader road-closure scheme. This was facilitated also by the social composition of the street in terms of having highly skilled residents with education levels and occupations which facilitated the development of alternative plans. These plans were developed within the framework of technical-environmental considerations. As meetings were not organized by the Parkside "deli" owners, it became difficult to obtain a motivating consensus against the road-closures. The lack of meetings and any consensus contributed to SWS playing a dominant role in the direction of the road-closure issue.

The alternative plans developed by SWS were taken before Council. During this time the issue expanded into the political arena. The Member of Parliament (Liberal Movement) who had a small fraction of the area within his constituency, was quoted in the paper as saying that "Wattle Street was carrying too much traffic for the safety and convenience of its residents...this is another example of the dictatorial powers of the government". The Member of Parliament (ALP) whose constituency covered most of the road-closure area responded by stating that "the closure of streets in the Unley area should not become a political football". He then continued to describe how he had door-knocked in the area and found support for the scheme. With the issue being discussed by the political parties, Council emphasized that it is "we, in local government, who are close to the people whom we represent". This emphasis on being 'close to the people' was stated when Council supported and sent the SWS recommendations to the State Road Traffic Board for approval.

The comments of the Members of Parliament in the debate extended the forum of disagreement over the road-closures. While most people recognized that the State-level politicians only enter local-level politics when they can use issues to attack their opposition, such comments bring to the surface images that local Council can be wrong in decision-making.

The possibility of Council being wrong encourages resident action. This can be seen in this case. When the Liberal Movement Member of Parliament criticized the Labor Government (even though the scheme arose within the State bureaucracy), the SWS took this an encouragement to pursue their concerns.

The Minister of Transportation announced, upon receiving the SWS recommendations, that,

Statistical data compiled to assess the effectiveness of the Unley road-closures confirms there has been a marked reduction in the number of road accidents in the Unley area. For the two-month period immediately after the pilot study commenced, accidents were reduced by 64% in the internal road system, and 47% on the peripheral arterial roads...I have agreed to close Wattle Street since the data was collected so that we might see a further reduction in accident figures.

With this announcement Wattle Street was closed for a six-month period of evaluation (June 1975). The following six months were comparatively quiet in that residents' groups were not meeting with the road-closures as their primary concern. Council with their ideological commitment to citizen participation distributed (in August 1975) brochures to every household in the area, encouraging 'feedback' on the road-closures. The brochures were in English, even though one-third of the area had a high concentration of Greek and Italian migrants whose fluency in the English language was generally known not to be high. Of the 135 replies returned, two-thirds were suggestions for improving the scheme with only 46 objections to the scheme. Dissatisfied with the number of returns, Council (in December 1975) hired consultants to undertake an attitudinal survey in the pilot area to ascertain the residents' attitude eleven months after the pilot study began. Council's commitment to ascertaining the attitudes of the residents towards the development of the road-closure was due to (1) the uneasiness which existed because a road-closure scheme

was defeated by residents in Melbourne in the previous year, (2) a road-closure scheme being implemented in the adjacent Burnside Council which was also having problems due to resident action, and (3) Council consisted of six URS-supported Councillors who had run in the election, with a public commitment to citizen participation in local affairs.

The attitudinal study found support for the system of road-closures. Sixty-nine percent of the residents questioned (it was a random sample) thought the street-closures were "a good idea" and 67% thought that the street-closures should "be made permanent". Only 25% of the people interviewed thought that the closures were a "bad idea". A breakdown of the reasons cited for approval and disapproval are as follows:

Of the 69% who supported the closures, reasons given were:		Of the 25% who wanted the closures removed, reasons given were:	
safety	79%	inconvenience	75%
less cars	9%	confusing	11%
upgrades area	7%	dangerous	8%
easier to drive	3%	other	6%
other	2%		
	<hr/> 100%		<hr/> 100%

(Road-closure Study, Unley, 1976)

The results of the survey could be questioned in terms of the validity of the questions asked and the sampled base, but the importance of the survey is that it represents an attempt by Council to assess the degree of support for the closures. The survey methods were handicapped by financial restrictions but such expenditures are unusual for local Councils. The traditional basis upon which Councillors make their decisions lies in their perceptions. If a Councillor has incorrect perceptions, it is expected that he or she will not be re-elected. The use of surveys to measure residents' concerns indicates a different basis for decision-making. Decision-making based on survey results indicates (1) a recognition of sociological methods (scientific) for assessing responses, (2) a recognition that "interests groups" can be dominant in

issues while surveys attempt to find attitudes which are more widely held, (3) a survey gives Council a technical tool upon which to legitimize their decision-making thus freeing them from personal assessments. The survey results located areas of potential problems and provided Council with an image of seeking resident concerns, and indicated a measure of support for the road-closures.

Problems Emerge: Stage II

In April 1976, Council held public meetings on the issue of the road-closures. At the public meeting, the URS addressed the problems that smaller roads were having due to the increased traffic on their roads after Wattle Street had been closed. This concern had been brought to the attention of the URS through some of its members who lived on these roads. Residents from Eton Street and Edmund Avenue, as separate groups addressed Council on the increased traffic on their streets as the result of Wattle Street being closed. The Fire Brigade also presented an objection. They claimed that the closed routes increased the length of time it took to get to fires although there had not been cases yet where this was evident. Other individuals addressed the need for an east-west corridor. They presented this as a solution to the increased traffic on the smaller streets. While this concern was expressed individually, the question had been asked in the survey. Responses to the question indicated that 73% of the responses thought there should be an east-west corridor. A further 67% specified Wattle Street and/or Fisher Street for the corridors as these roads traditionally were the east-west corridors prior to the scheme.

The seeming acceptance of the scheme indicated by the relatively quiet period previous to the hearings appeared not to be the case. The small number of responses to the brochure and the survey results indicated

a general acceptance of the road-closure system, but there was dissatisfaction with the distribution of the cul-de-sacs. The issue of safety had been the initial reason for establishing closures. During the eleven-month period some residents had experienced the benefits of living in the cul-de-sacs. The desire for a previously unknown amenity had increased. Modifications to the original plan intended to decrease problems had in fact increased them. Traffic had been diverted onto roads which previously had not had traffic. When the east-west corridor (Wattle Street) was closed, people realized that the closure caused a greater inconvenience than they wanted. The increase of traffic on some streets was associated with the absence of an east-west corridor. Council, who thought events were going relatively smoothly were thrown into chaos for which they had no solution. For answers, they turned to professional planning consultants. The consultants were hired to conduct a study evaluating and reviewing the traffic control measures adopted over the twelve-month period. They were also hired to put forward recommendations.

The study, which became known as the Tonkin Report, was completed in July and in its first level of recommendations recommended that Wattle Street be opened. The reasons cited for this recommendation were that "while Wattle Street had experienced an increase of 18% in traffic density on the eastern section and 23% increase on the western section prior to the closing of Wattle Street; while closed other streets had experienced 150%-580% increase". The consultants viewed the penalty on the other streets due to Wattle Street being closed as too severe. The report reiterated that Wattle Street had traditionally been the higher-density traffic road. Council accepted the report and by announcing that "a final decision on the Unley Pilot Road-closures is expected to be made within three weeks", indicated that Council had made up its mind about the matter.

The Chairman of the Council's Sub-committee gave a forewarning when he said "we won't be pleasing everyone, but we realize we can't please everyone".

Between the release of the Tonkin Report and the ominous report of the chairman, SWS became active and worked against the re-opening of Wattle Street. SWS's argument was that there had been alternative recommendations in the Tonkin Report which Council hadn't considered, namely that Wattle Street *and* Fisher Street be opened. SWS attempted to gain support and/or sympathy from other residents in the area. The chairman of SWS stated "we believe that other residents of the area already enjoying the benefits of closures in their own streets, see the fairness of our claim". Rather than give support to SWS another group formed in opposition, calling itself Save Our Streets (SOS). SOS petitioned Council, objecting to Wattle Street being left closed. The chairperson stated that "while a handful of Wattle Street residents will benefit, a whole lot of residents in other streets will be disadvantaged...why has Wattle Street ceased to be the traditional thoroughfare it has always been?"

During this time, a group on Fisher Street were mobilizing as the SWS and SOS groups were looking to alternative schemes and the Tonkin Report had recommended that both Wattle Street and Fisher Street be used as the east-west corridors. Fisher Street is a broad avenue with primarily wealthy families living on the street. The residents did not organize an official group because "if they were to form a group, they would have only one voice; individually they have more influence because of who they know, where they work and being ratepayers". The group was generally older than the group on Wattle Street and had lived in the area for a longer period of time. As individuals they prepared full statements which were read out in public meetings, and used planning and legal expertise without actually having to hire them as Wattle Street did. The

stated primary concern for this group was safety, but in a heated moment it was stated that "local Council would have to provide compensation for any value lost on their properties". The spokesman for the group had been an active member within the URS, and was respected for his past efforts in bringing about zoning changes.

At the end of Stage II, it was generally agreed that the road-closure scheme was a good idea but there were differences of opinion about the necessity for an east-west corridor. SOS thought Wattle and/or Fisher Streets should be opened to take traffic off the smaller streets. SWS thought some alternative must be found so that Wattle Street could share in the benefits of the cul-de-sacs. Fisher Street did not want increased traffic on their street. Council was divided as to the best way of resolving the problem, but also Council members could not come to a clear decision themselves. This was indicated by the vacillation in coming to a decision between July and November 1976.

During this period, the issue was given front page coverage in the local newspaper, debates were occurring in churches, and in the URS (which had members on all sides), and between neighbours. The conflict created a higher degree of interaction between neighbours in that meetings were held in homes, leaflets and notices were written signifying joint efforts, and the signing of the petitions forced neighbours to address each other personally. The higher incidence of interaction created greater contact between neighbours but also facilitated a greater potential for conflict between the three groups.

The impact of the debate on the road-closure area did not expand beyond the pilot study boundaries. At most, non-pilot study residents wrote letters to the local newspaper complaining of the difficulties in getting through the "rat maze".

Group Alliances

SOS, SWS and Fisher Street membership are predominantly from the Malvern area. The groups all essentially supported the idea of the road-closures, but they disagreed on the distribution of the amenities. In the earlier stages, SWS attempted to find support amongst the broader community; SWS could not argue that the road was being converted into an east-west corridor, because traditionally it had filled this role. Instead the argument developed that all residents should share fairly in the distribution of traffic and this argument gained the support of the broader community. In order for SWS to push for their street being closed, they had to support the principles of road-closures, hence supporting those who already were benefiting. When Wattle Street was closed, the feeling in the pilot study area was that Wattle Street should be given a "fair go".

Several months later it was found that the traffic from Wattle Street was being diverted into other streets at a significant level of increase. At this point support for SWS dwindled and the previous agreement of "we'll support your road-closures, if you support ours" fell into disarray. The two groups were in direct competition while still supporting the road-closure scheme. At this point both groups facing potentially the loss of road-closures altogether, both began to look to opening Fisher Street as a solution. This was supported by the Tonkin Report.

When SOS and SWS focused on Fisher Street, leaders from Fisher Street attempted to make contact with the Parkside residents to combine for an attack on the road-closures as a whole. This failed because of the "obvious self-interest of the Parkside people as well as their rudeness".

Thus when the issue came before a road-closure committee the conflict had reached a high level. SOS and SWS were beginning to feel frustrated and depressed about their inability to come up with a solution

which was fair to everyone. The close physical proximity of most of the people involved also heightened the anxiety, because most of the active people lived within a twelve-by-five block radius of each other.

Stage III: The Final Conflict

With conflict existing within Council and between streets with no apparent conclusion in sight, Council decided once again to hire consultants to conduct a study of the problem. This time consultants were hired from Melbourne so that the most 'objective' perspective could be found. Also a physical planner and a social planner were hired in the hope that all angles would be covered. Council specified that the consultants would have to work with a residents' committee thereby including residents in the decision-making.

Council gave a list of people who had been involved in the issue either as group members or as individuals from which the consultants were to select a committee. The consultants chose ten highly professional residents to sit on the Committee. A summary of the resident members is as follows:

- Dr. Bray — A university lecturer who had been involved in residents' groups prior to the road-closure issue. In late 50's.
- Mr. Copley — A chemist residing outside the pilot study area, but operates a chemist shop within the area. In mid-50's.
- Reverend Fleming — A minister who lives and has a parish within the pilot study area. In early 40's.
- Mr. Hay — A solicitor who initiated the SWS. In his mid-30's and has recently moved to the area and is renovating his home.
- Dr. Bennett — A medical practitioner who was one of several who initiated Save Our Streets. In late 30's.
- Dr. Gill — A medical research scientist, who initiated the formation of Save Our Streets. She conducted a survey of peoples' attitudes towards the road-closures. Early 40's.

- Mr. Finlay — Lives in the Parkside area and is a retired plumber.
- Mr. Kerr — A young solicitor who has recently moved to the Parkside area. He subsequently ran for the Federal ALP.
- Mr. Nolan — A dentist who has his office in the Malvern area but resides in the Parkside area. President of the URS, and is on the committee due to that position.
- Mrs. Stafford — A teacher who was previously an Unley Councillor. Active in the Edmund Avenue Protest Group.

The consultants from the start presented themselves as individuals who placed a high value on community, safety for residents, and the environment. They supported citizen involvement provided that the "changes bring benefit to a greater number of persons, and the people who lose do not lose too much".

The proceedings established by the consultants were separate meetings with SOS and SWS as they were formally constituted, and meeting with other individuals who had been active in the proceedings. They also had meetings with Council to include them in the process of developing a compromise. The meetings with the Committee were open to the public and attendance was poor at the first but higher in the subsequent meetings. Attendance by interest affiliation can be charted as follows.

The basis for attending the meetings was unclear. Within the Committee some thought they had been asked to join because of their individual perceptions of the problems. Others thought their basis of involvement was that they represented either geographic areas or particular groups. Only one person, the URS president, was formally nominated as an organizational representative but he also participated as a resident. The public who attended did not know the basis upon which they were invited to attend. The notices in the papers invited the public to attend, but although the consultants did for the most part answer questions, addressed discussion was centred within the Committee.

The Committee Process

The meetings of the Road-closures Committee started with a tone of hope that the consultants would be able to find a solution which they had not been able to do. The consultants were initially treated very nicely. It appeared that if they were "nicely" treated then the "nice people" would be listened to, perhaps. The discussions were highly technical and led by the physical planner.

As the Committee proceeded to work towards a solution which consisted of the opening of Wattle Street and Fisher Street, the niceness to the consultants faded and remarks about their returning to Melbourne where they had come from surfaced. The Fisher Street group began to challenge the whole basis of the enterprise as it began to seem less and less likely that Fisher Street would remain closed. The traffic figures of the consultants were challenged, they questioned the consultants' concern of 'safety for children', they questioned the legitimacy of the people selected to compose the Committee, and finally, they questioned the abilities of the consultants, emphasizing that the consultants had designed a road-closure scheme in Fitzroy, Melbourne, which had failed. At the conclusion of the meetings, a form of consensus amongst the Committee members emerged (with the exception of the Fisher Street representative). The consensus was that Wattle Street and Fisher Street would have to be opened. In order to compensate for the disadvantages created by such open roads, the Committee recommended that these roads should be reduced to single lanes with tree planting to occur in order to reduce the image of the roads as speedways.

The developed plan went before Council and was accepted. The Fisher Street people investigated the possibility of bringing legal action against Council for opening their street, and attempted unsuccessfully to

gain compensation for the perceived loss in land value. Thus ended a two-year debate within Unley about the road-closure scheme. The debate had been very heated at times and was coming to the point at which people would accept anything provided the community wasn't wrecked by the hostilities. The local Council had spent a significant amount of money in the hiring of consultants in order to work out an acceptable scheme. Such an expenditure could have been problematic as it was directed towards improvements in only one-third of the Council area. The road-closure scheme was one of the first attempts by Council to definitely include citizen participation in decision-making, and most felt that it was worthwhile although expensive, considering local Council's budget.

The perceptions frequently held by the active members involved in the road-closure issue was that Council was powerful and unconcerned with the process of involving residents. The road-closure issue brought about a change in most councillors' perceptions of the problem and this, they publicly conceded, "had been a learning process for them as well". Most expressed concern with the fact that they had to rely on experts to solve a local problem. They did not perceive themselves as having the necessary knowledge.

For the residents living in the area, the actions were decided upon by the upper-middle class even though the issue affected all economic classes in the area. The failure to translate relevant material into Greek and Italian excluded the migrants from the discussion. The concerns for middle-class amenities such as trees, quietness, bicycle paths, etc. excluded the lower-class people from having shared concerns. The high qualifications of the people selected for the Roads Committee intimidated the lower-income people and preserved the area of discourse for those who had university qualifications. While citizen participation was an attempt to represent all people residing in the area, there was no real concern

that all people were represented. Those people on the Committee who lived in areas surrounded by people with similar class concerns, contacted their neighbours. Those who lived in the Parkside area, which had a greater mix of classes, attempted the least to survey the neighbours and mainly thought they had been asked to join the Committee as individuals and not as representatives. In this way, apart from the survey, the attitudes of the lower-middle class were not assessed.

Chronology of Events: Road-closure Scheme

- 6-1969 Unley Council engaged the State Road Traffic Board to investigate a plan for increasing the safety for the Malvern Parkside area.
- 1970 The South Australia Enquiry into Road Safety lists Unley area as requiring a road plan to increase traffic safety.
- 7-1973 The Road Traffic Board presents a road-closure scheme for the area, for a trial period of eighteen months.
- 8-1973 Unley Council approves scheme.
- 1973 Council receives petitions for road-closure scheme from street groups.
- 12-1974 Funds made available to Unley Council to implement scheme.
- 2-1975 Council places pilot scheme on display.
- 3-1975 Save Wattle Street Campaign Committee formed, in opposition to Wattle Street being used as an east-west corridor.
- 5-1975 SWS Committee approaches Council requesting support to modify scheme in which Wattle Street would be closed.
- 5-1975 Petition from Parkside residents comes to Council objecting to scheme.
- 5-1975 Two M.P.'s for area speak to issue -- one in favour, the other opposed.
- 7-1975 Wattle Street closed by modifications to pilot scheme for a six-month period.
- 7-1975 Council leaflets mailboxes to obtain response to closures.
- 12-1975 Council hired consultants to carry out an attitudinal study on the closure scheme.
- 2-1976 Study report release showing support for scheme.
- 4-1976 Public meeting held by Council to hear objections. Residents in favour but want Wattle Street opened for east-west corridor.
- 7-1976 Tonkin report recommends that Wattle Street be opened.
- 9-1976 Motion in Council to open Wattle Street, Council referred decision back.
- 9-1976 Save Our Streets Committee formed objecting to Wattle Street being left closed, causing increased traffic on their streets.
- 11-1976 Council decided to conduct another study.
- 12-1976 Melbourne consulting firm hired to conduct study, with responsibility to work with a Residents' Committee.
- 1- 4-1977 Consultants conduct study.
- 4-1977 Consultants present plans to Council, with Wattle Street open.
- 1977 Road-closure scheme established.

CONCLUSION

I have attempted to examine the way in which land-use is determined within an inner-city suburb of metropolitan Adelaide. Land-use is frequently ignored in the study of social formations yet the arrangement of spatial forms is basic as a symbolic representation of the existing social order. I have examined the role of local Council in decision-making with regards to land-use and the emergence of residents' groups who opposed certain forms of land-use. I have not taken these formations as the object of study in themselves but as the articulation of the social process which determines spatial form.

In northern Unley, land-use was changing from a deteriorating residential area to one in which large offices and flats were being constructed. This construction was part of an expansion of tertiary industry into the adjacent suburbs. The southern half was, and is, preserved as an affluent single-family dwelling area in which large developments have been greatly restricted. As more affluent residents moved into the northern half of Unley, political actions occurred which influenced decision-making so that the benefits of the wealthier southern half of the city were partially expanded to the northern half. The process by which this occurred included replacing the Council members in terms of their orientation; the emergence of collective action (residents' groups); the development of land-use controls such as zoning and street-closures and the provision of amenities.

An important aspect of the changes which have occurred is the upper-middle class characteristics and concerns of the actors. Those areas within Unley which have the greatest protection as residential areas consist primarily of upper-middle class occupants. Choice in residential location is prescribed by access to the financial resources required and those who are more affluent have the greater degree of choice. The persons most likely to achieve maximization of exchange value because of

the situational advantages in home location are those in the upper-middle class. This is because of the shared values between Council members, as the decision-makers, and the active residents. From the case studies it becomes obvious that Council's orientation arises from its own similar class interest. Fullarton Park was purchased because it was viewed as a pleasant amenity. The question of how one should distribute amenities amongst classes or areas did not arise. In the road-closure issue, the grappling by Council members and residents with the technical information presented by the consultants indicates the presupposition on their part that it would be primarily highly educated, professional people who would be involved in the making of a decision. From this the suggestion follows that decision-making with regards to land-use within Unley is primarily in the lands of the upper-middle class.

The second aspect which emerges from this examination is that although land has multiple uses, it is the concern with exchange value which predominates in land-use decision-making. The housing market varies in its price-setting dependent upon access to amenities which are in high demand or the distance from aspects which are viewed as being unacceptable. The importance of this was revealed in the opposition to office developments which led to the organization of the major residents' group, and in the conflict over the implementation of the road-closure scheme.

The increase in demand for land by the commercial and tertiary sectors had the effect of increasing the price of land and altering its character. Commercial developments can reduce the use-value of a residential area while raising its exchange value for commercial use. It is this process, as specified in the developments of Greenhill and King William Roads, which mobilized residents to be concerned with the exchange value of their residences.

Hence the emergence of residents' groups arises from the way in which the land market determines land prices; placing a higher emphasis on exchange value than on use value. As the market fluctuates in terms of what is defined as valuable, changes in land-use serve to either threaten or enhance housing prices. The concept of resident participation has emerged as a critique of the way in which government has either (1) made decisions which favoured commercial interests over those of the residents or (2) did not have adequate power to control the commercial developments. The strengthening of government control through legislation of land-use provides the context in which residents have moved into the decision-making process; and at the same time has specified the ways in which this occurs. While residents appear to have greater opportunities to influence land-use, in fact, it has only been the upper-middle class which articulates this process.

APPENDIX

1 Age

- a 0-9 years
- b 10-19 years
- c 20-29 years
- d 30-39 years
- e 40-49 years
- f 50-59 years
- g 60 years and over

2 Migrant

- a Greek
- b Italian

3 Family Income

- a Family incomes over \$18,000 per year

4 Occupational

- a 0 - Professional: medical doctors, lawyers
- b 1 - Administration, executive
- c 2 - Clerical
- d 3 - Sales
- e 4 - Transportation and communication
- f 5 - Production and processing
- g 6 - Service workers

5 Ownership

- a Home ownership
- b Tenancy

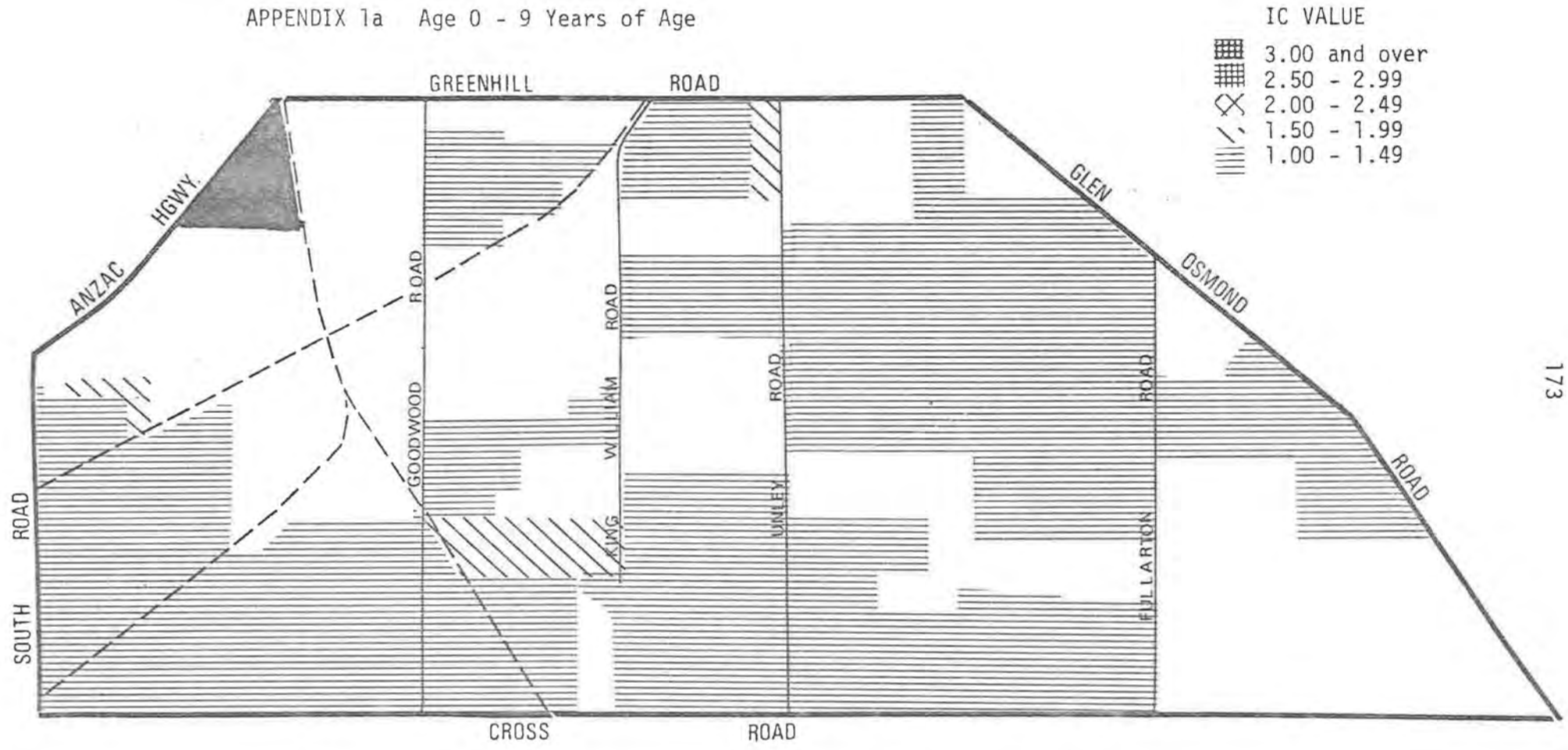
6 Education

- a Tertiary education level

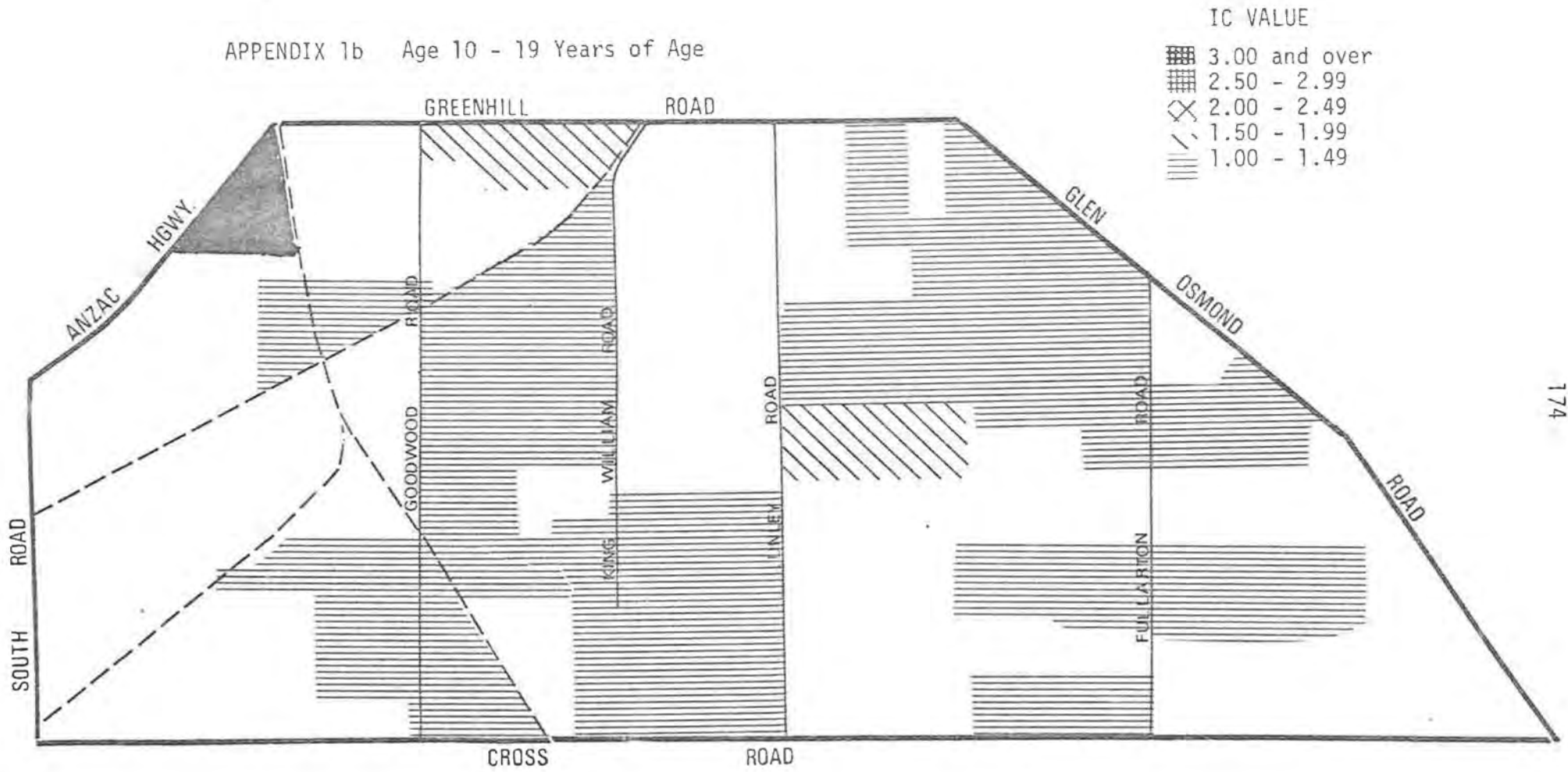
7 Residential Tenure

- a Homes owned
- b Homes mortgaged
- c Homes and flats rented

APPENDIX 1a Age 0 - 9 Years of Age

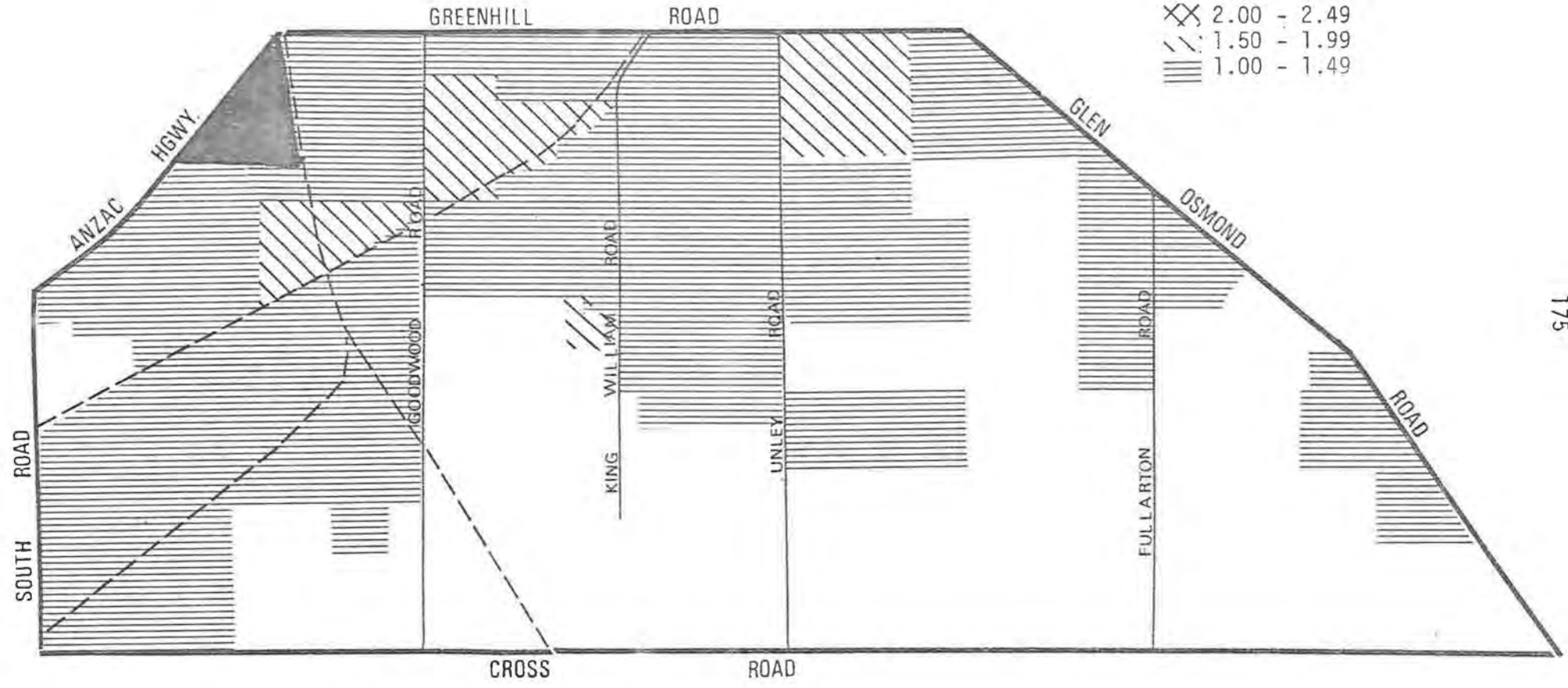
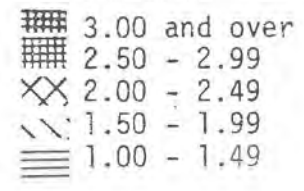


APPENDIX 1b Age 10 - 19 Years of Age

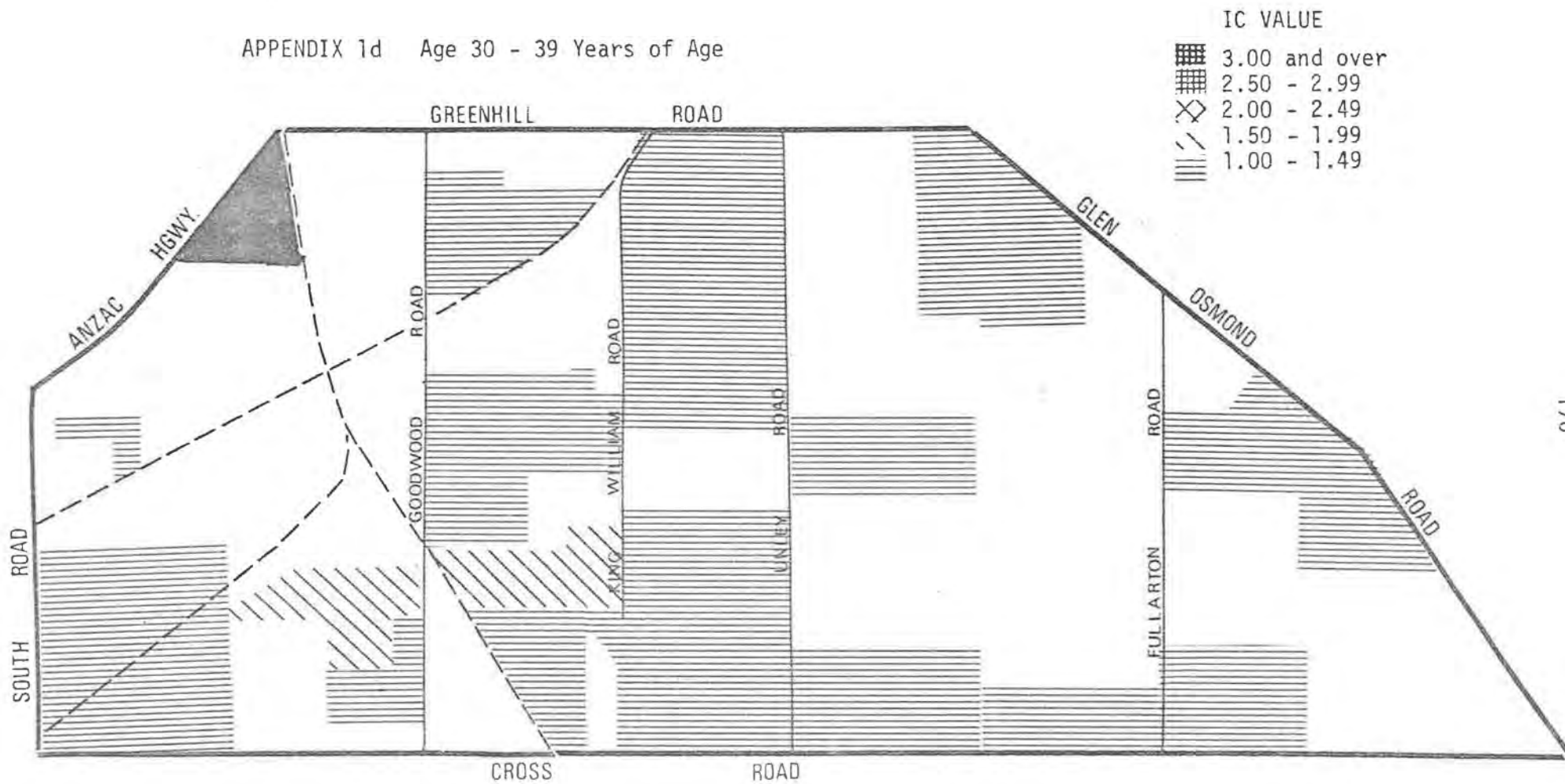


APPENDIX 1c Age 20 - 29 Years of Age

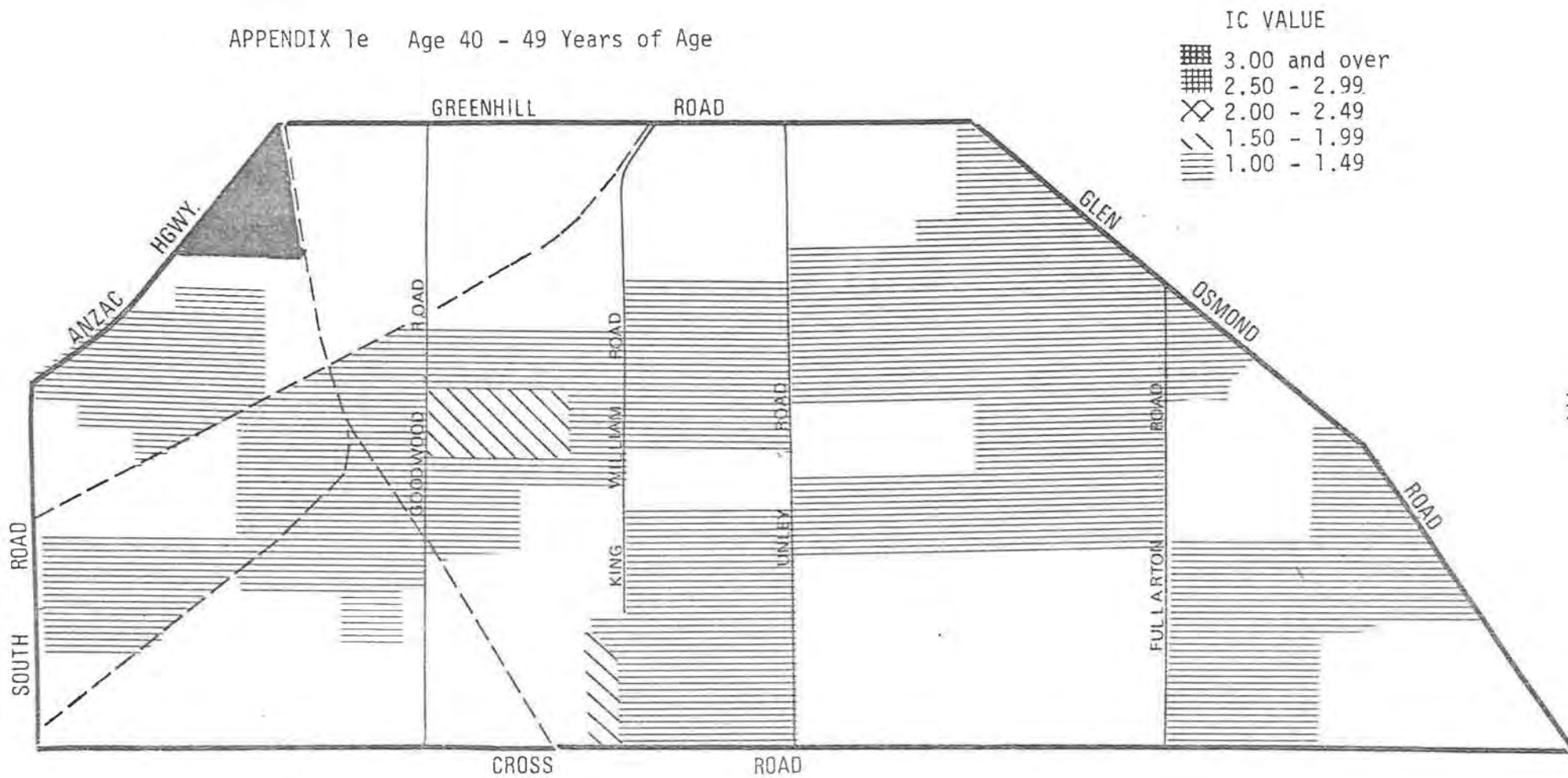
IC VALUE



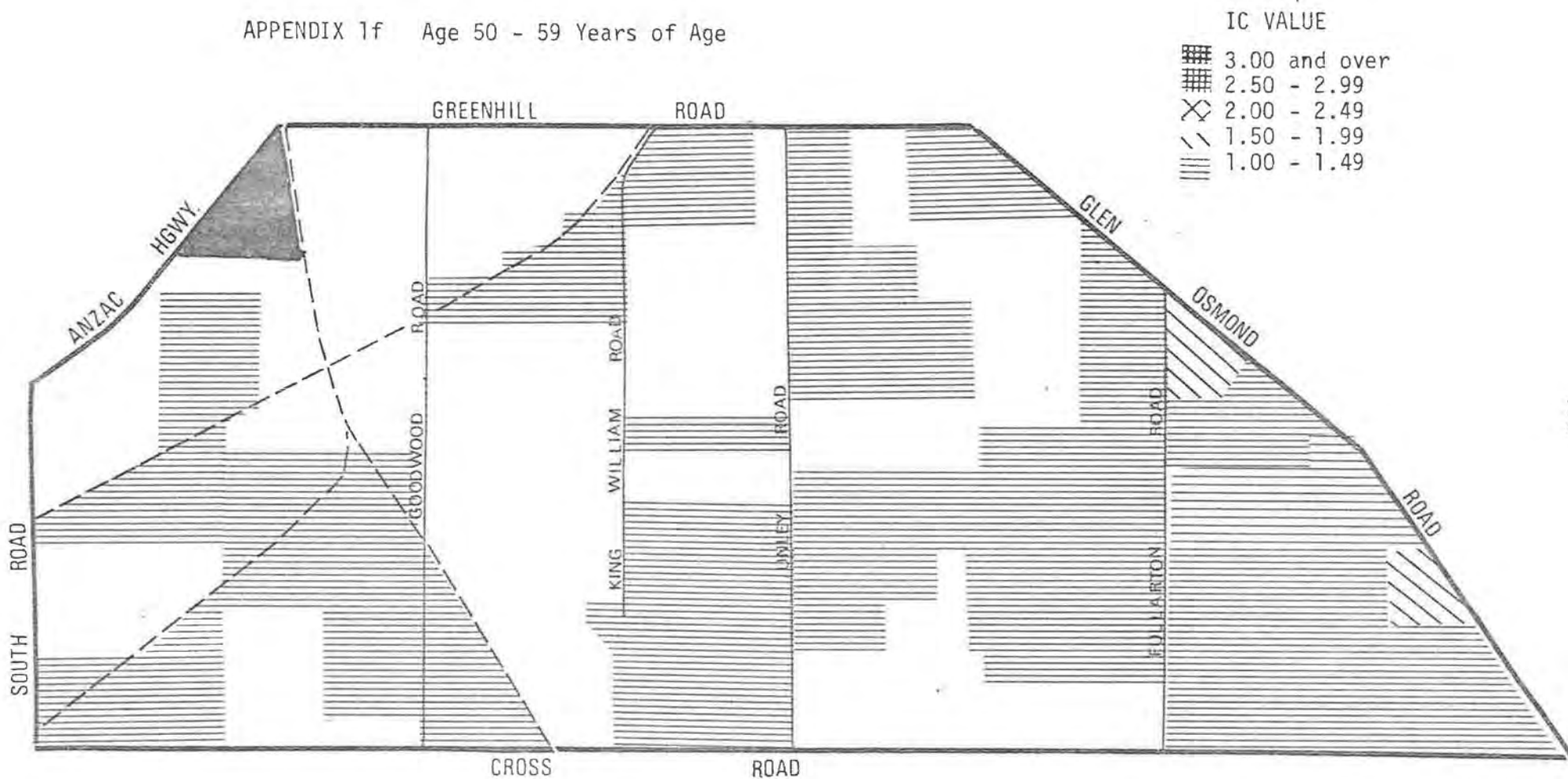
APPENDIX 1d Age 30 - 39 Years of Age



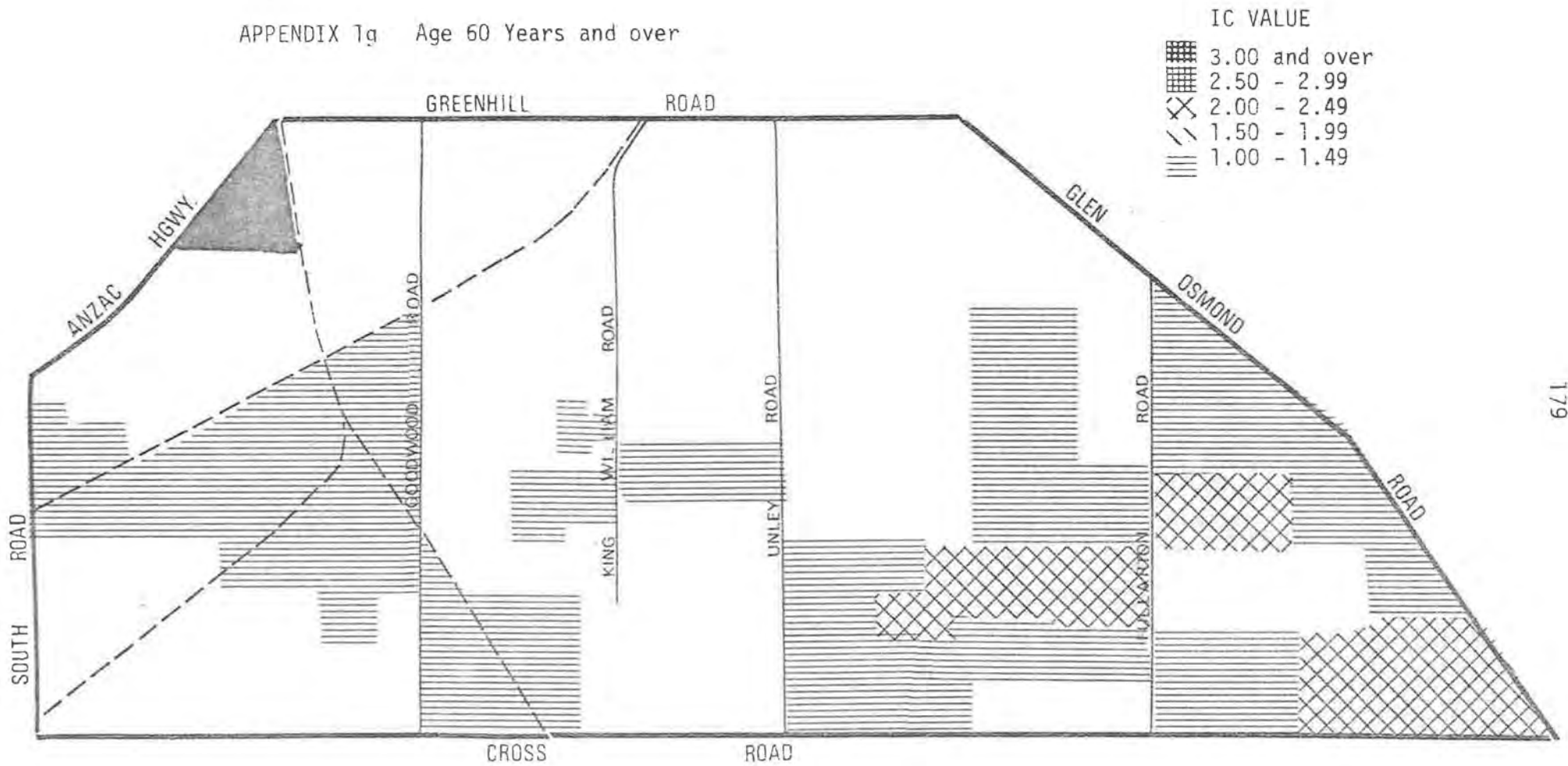
APPENDIX 1e Age 40 - 49 Years of Age



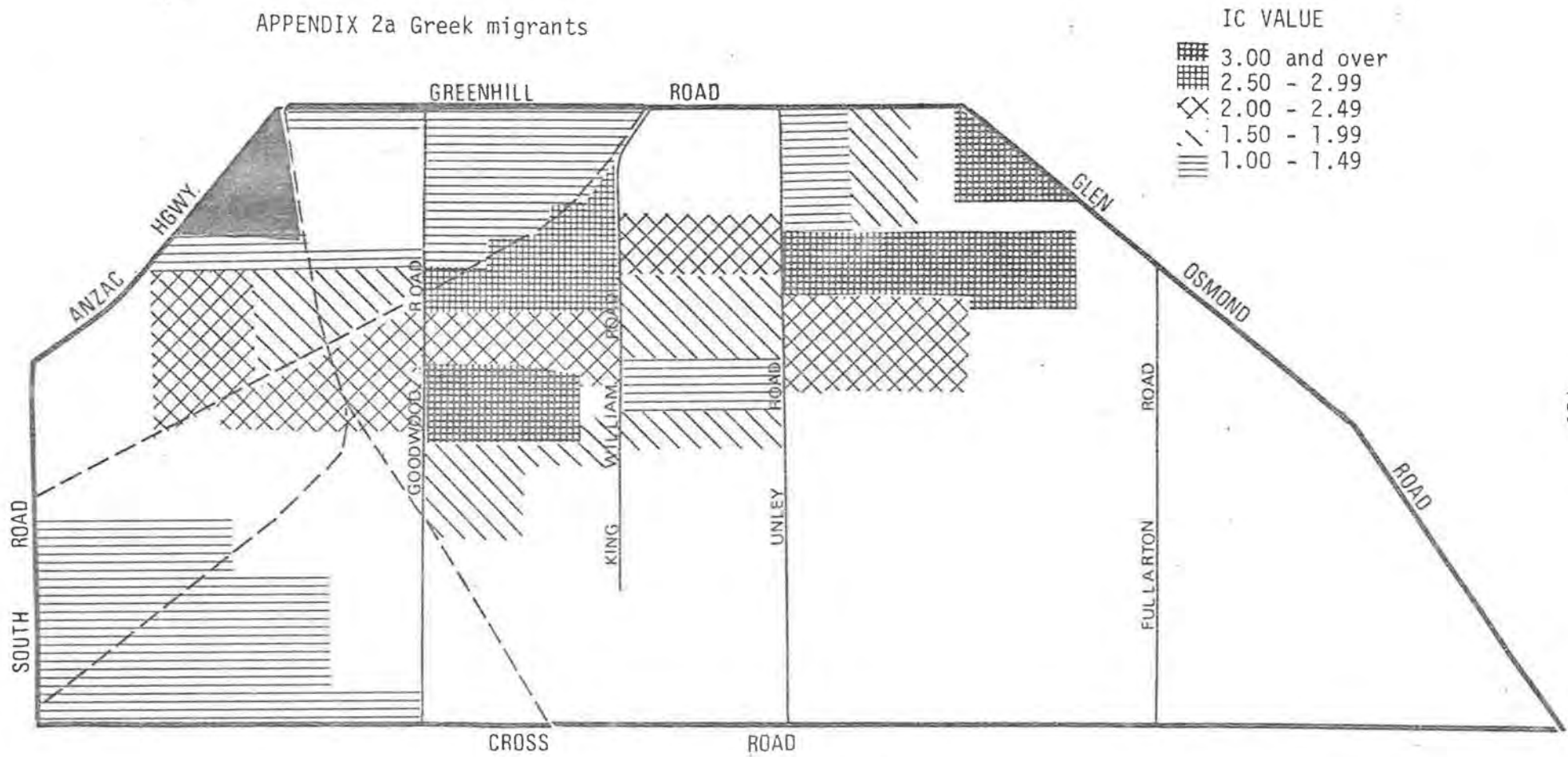
APPENDIX 1f Age 50 - 59 Years of Age



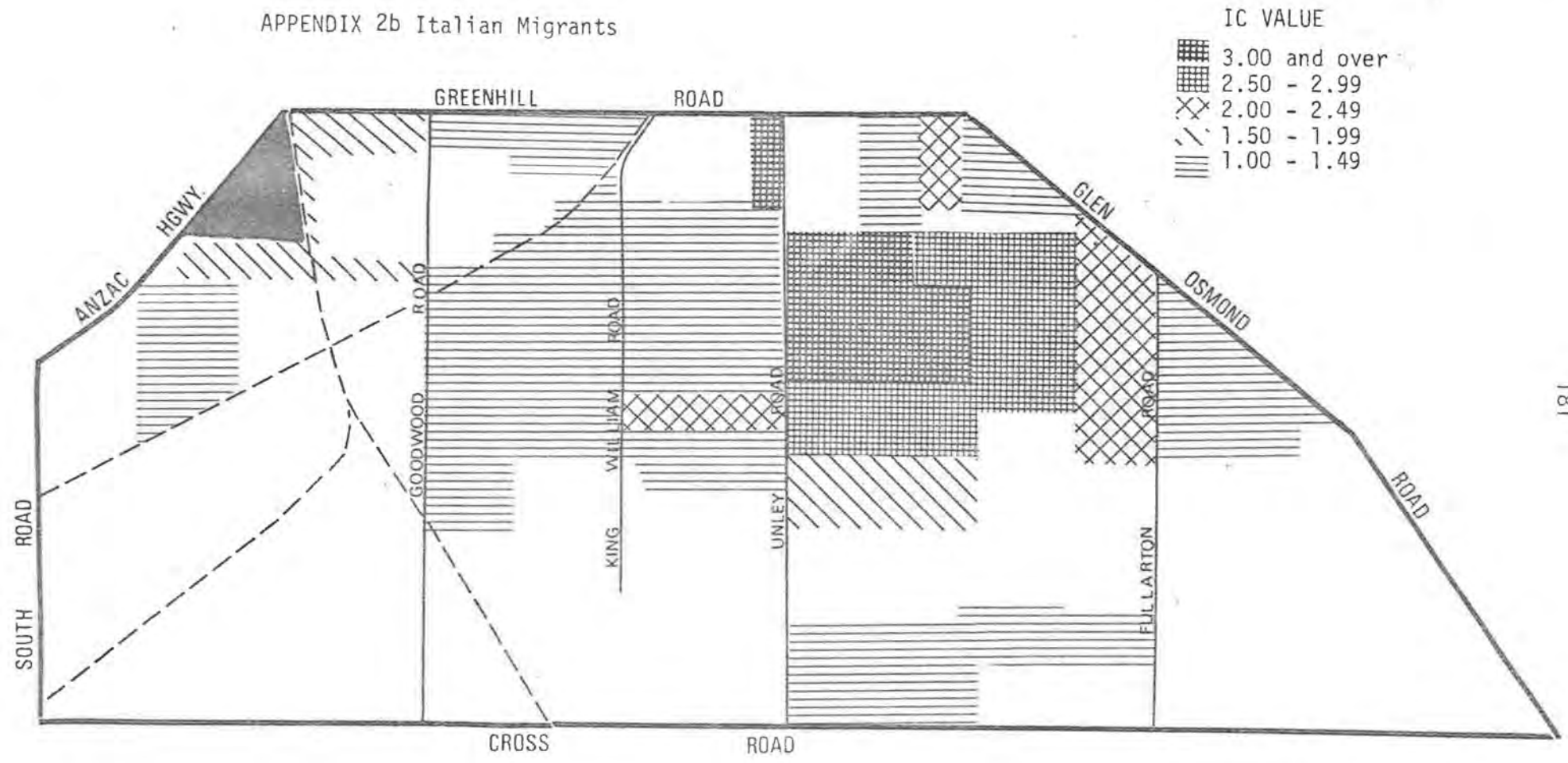
APPENDIX Tg Age 60 Years and over



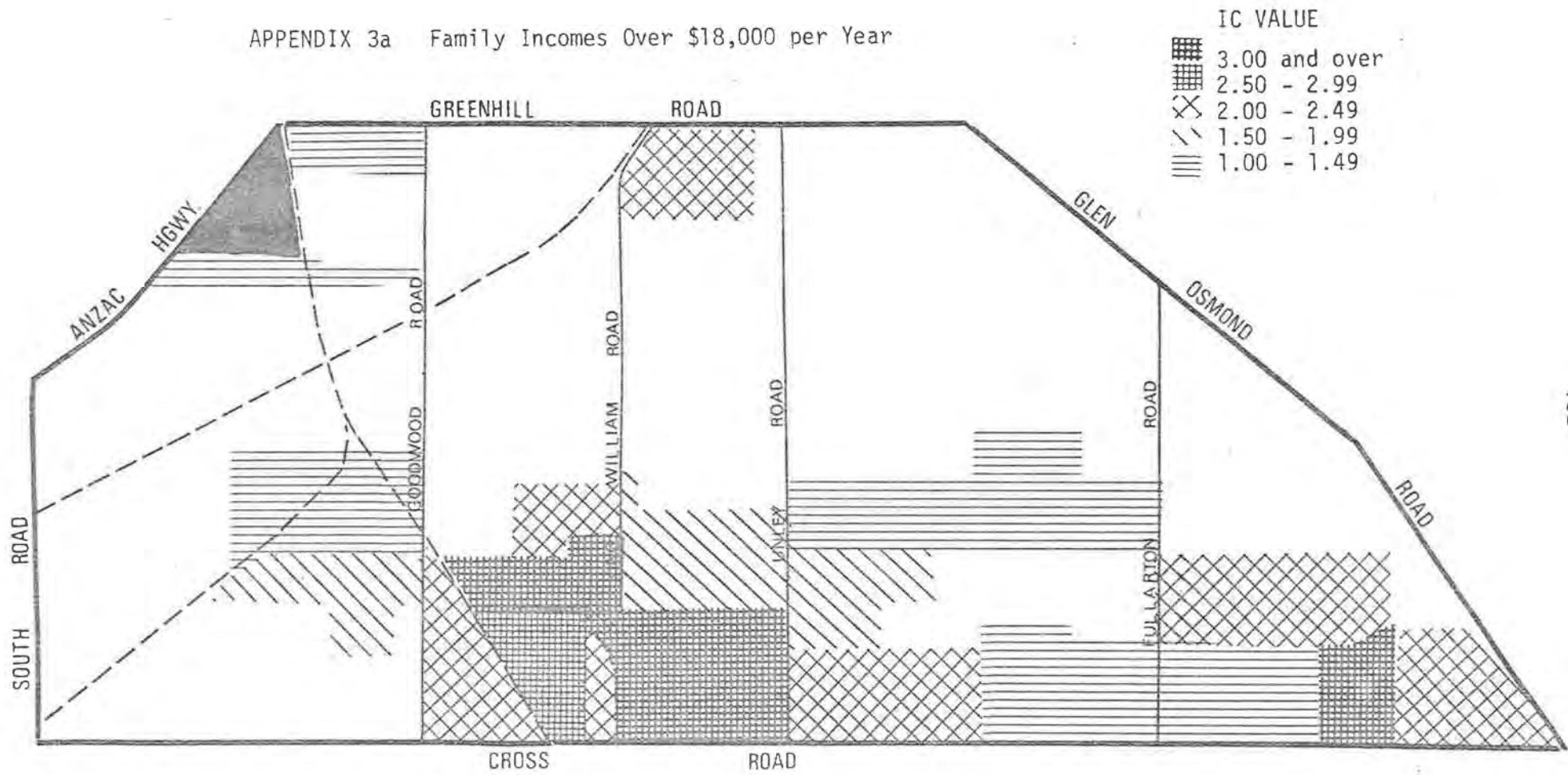
APPENDIX 2a Greek migrants



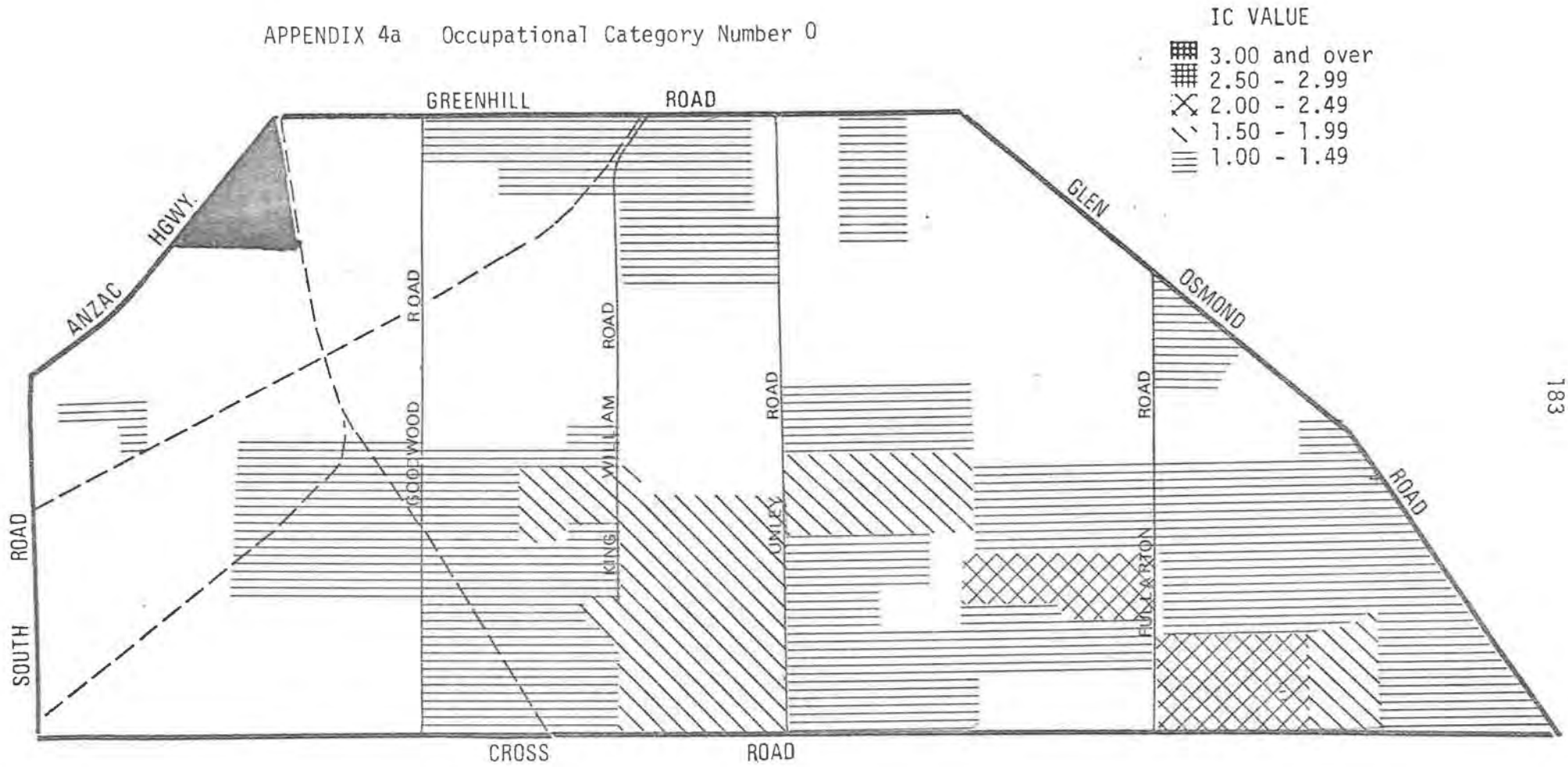
APPENDIX 2b Italian Migrants



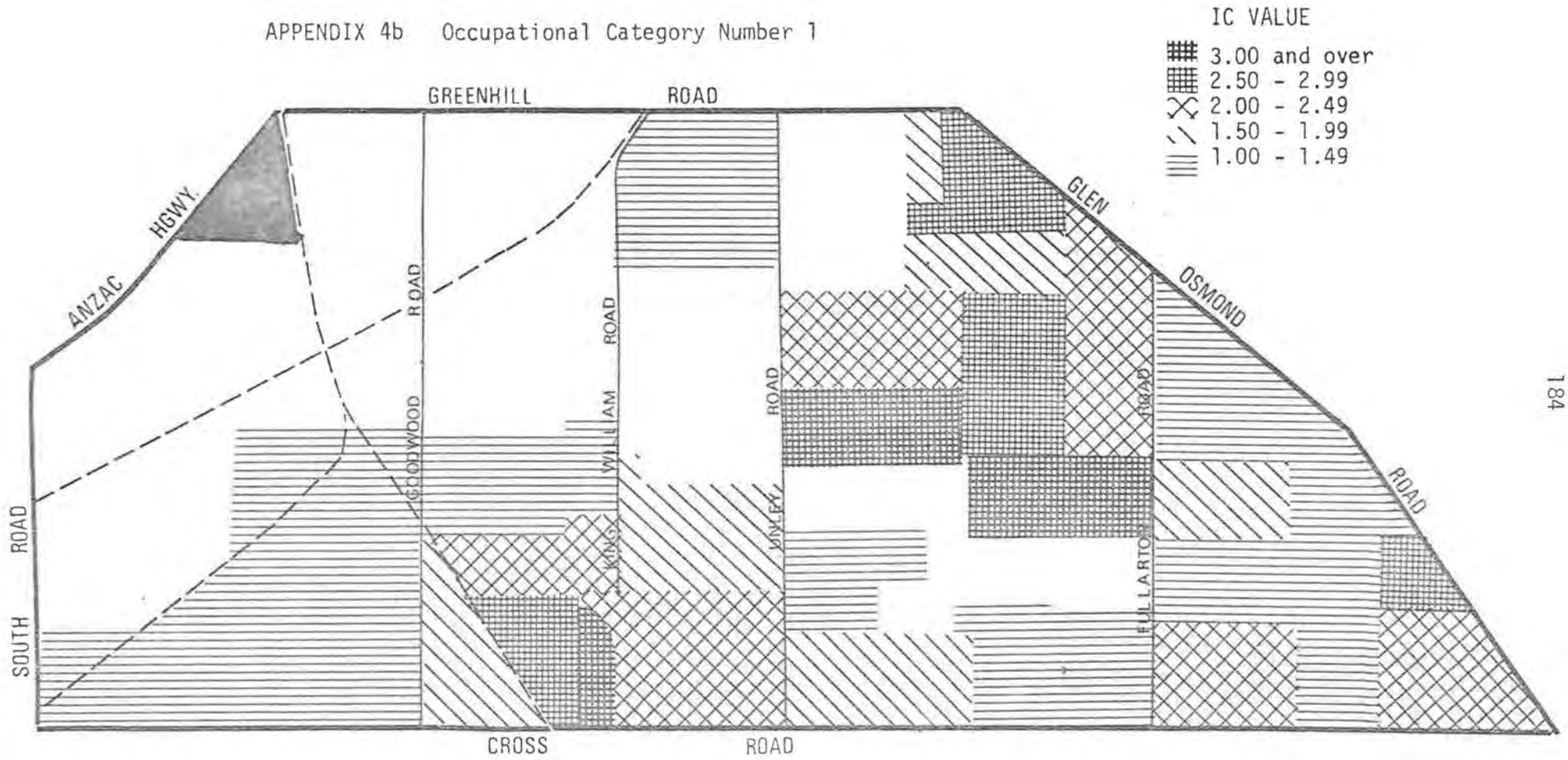
APPENDIX 3a Family Incomes Over \$18,000 per Year



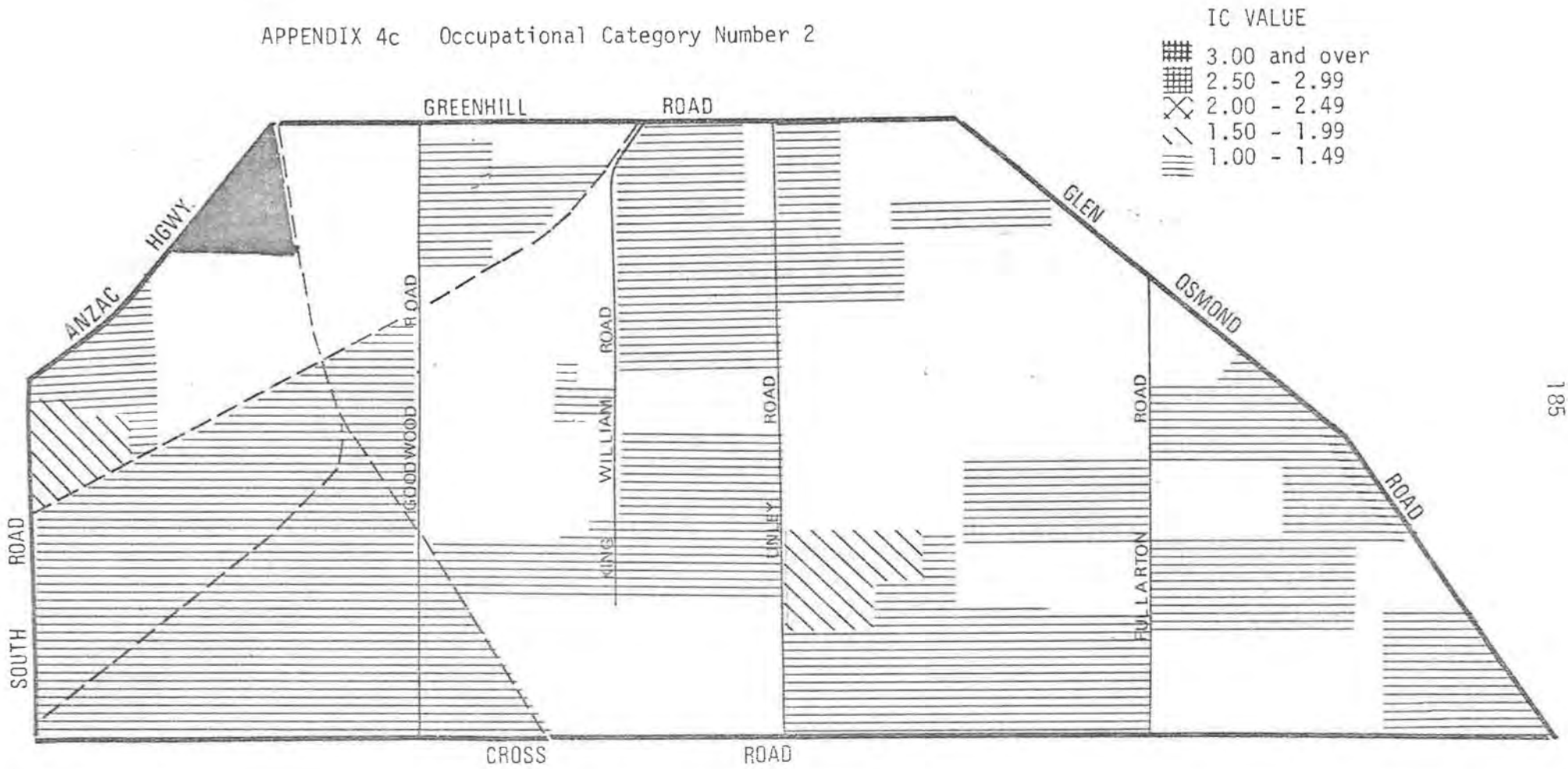
APPENDIX 4a Occupational Category Number 0



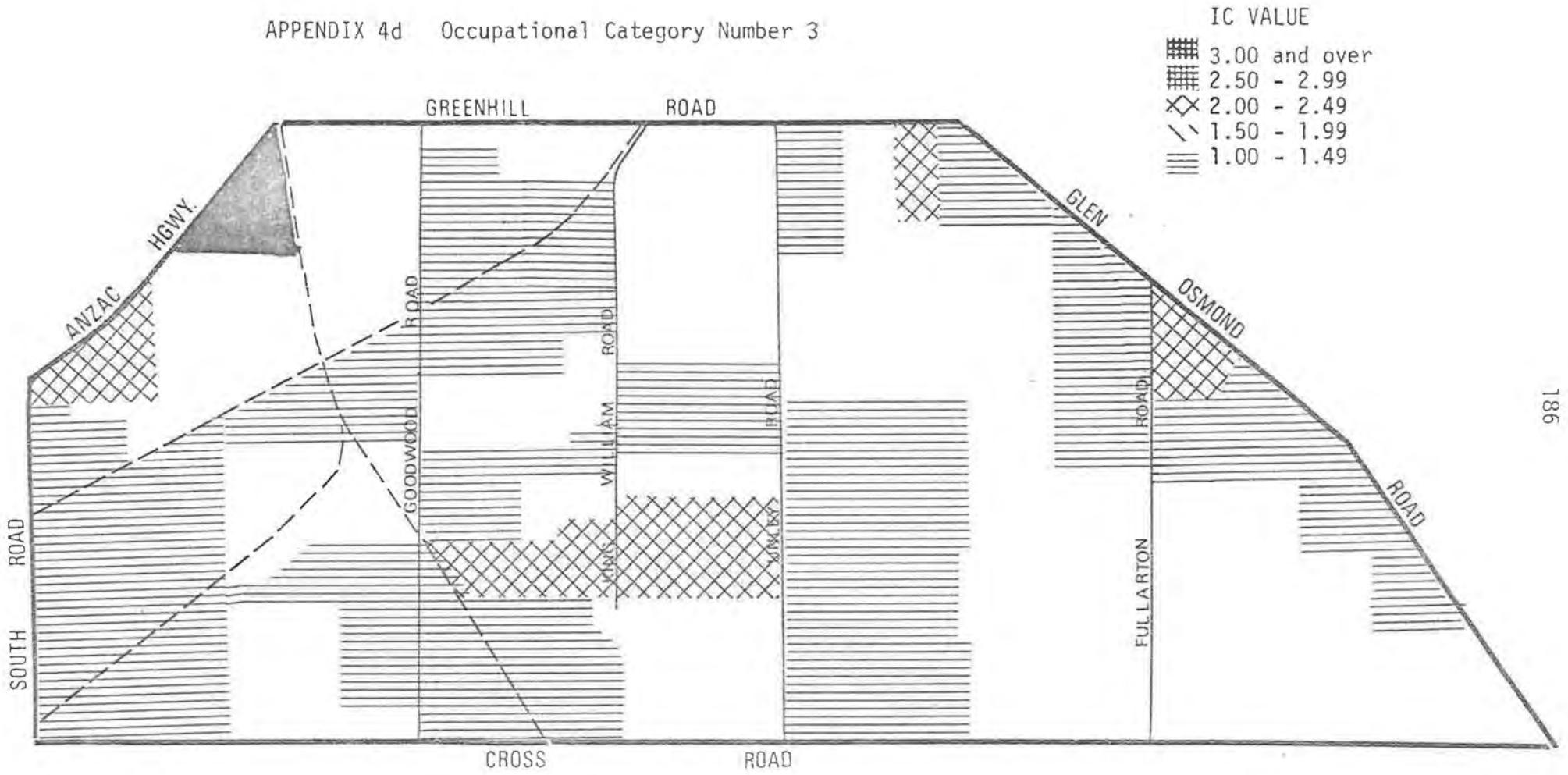
APPENDIX 4b Occupational Category Number 1



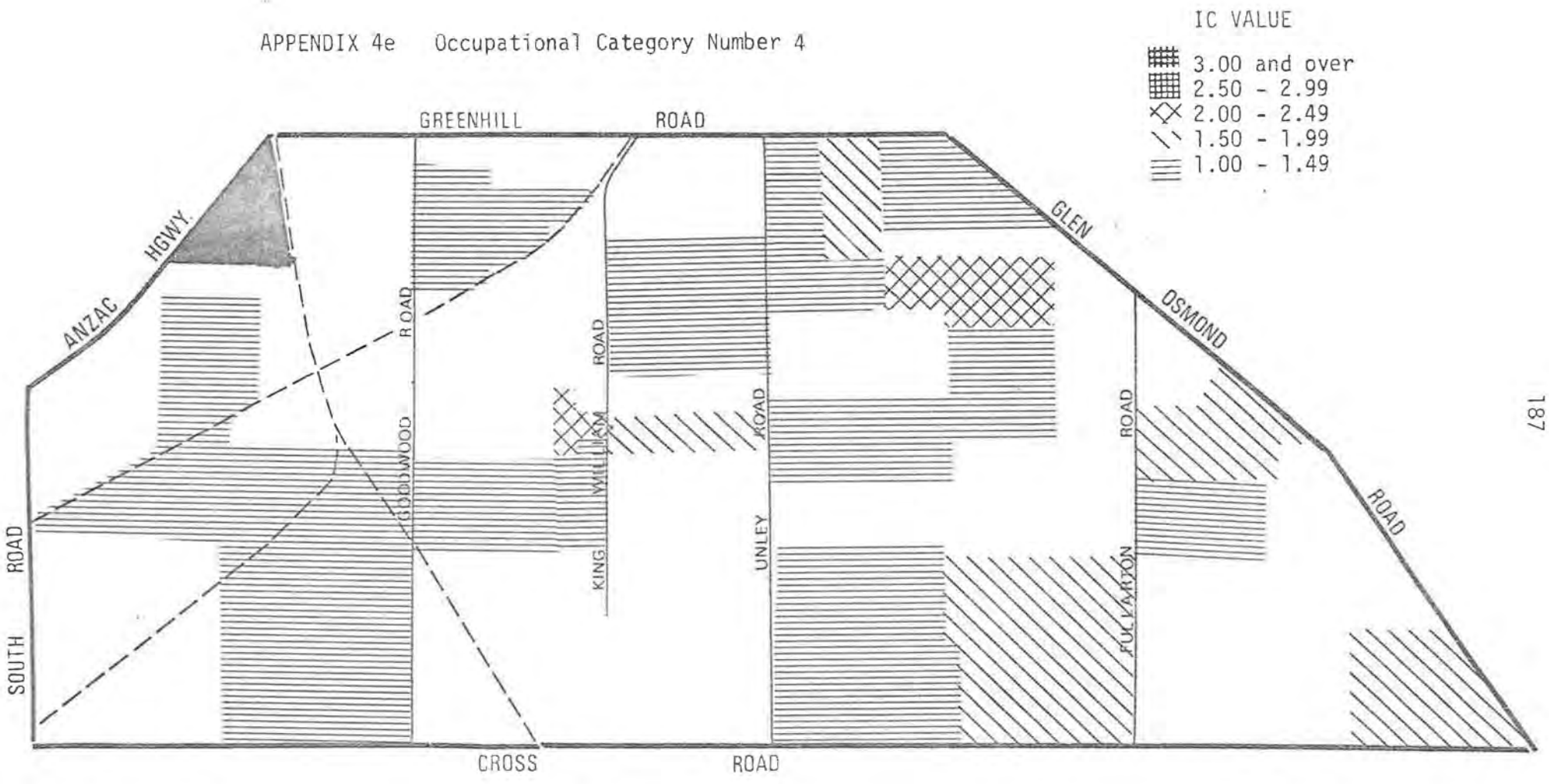
APPENDIX 4c Occupational Category Number 2



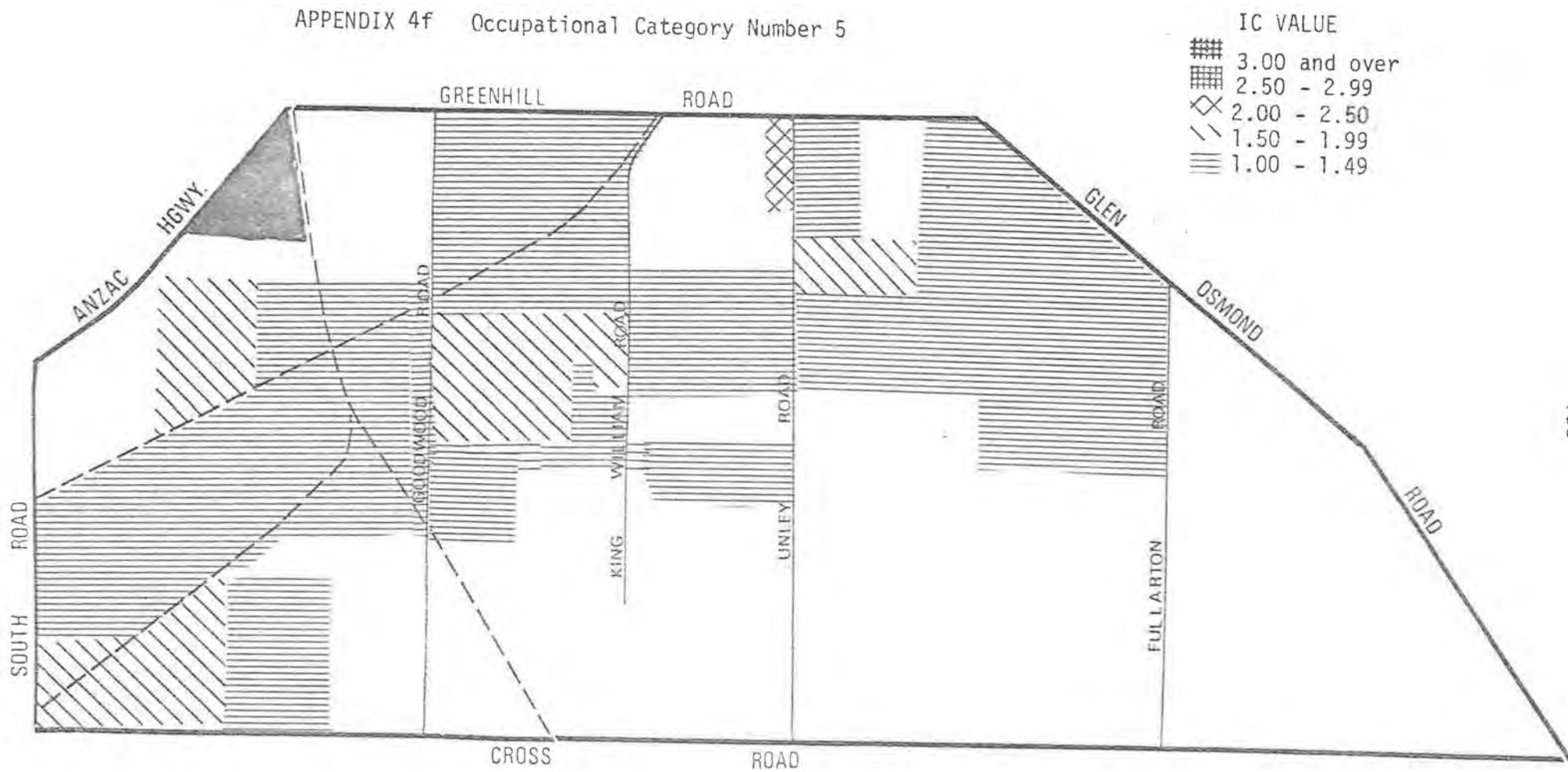
APPENDIX 4d Occupational Category Number 3



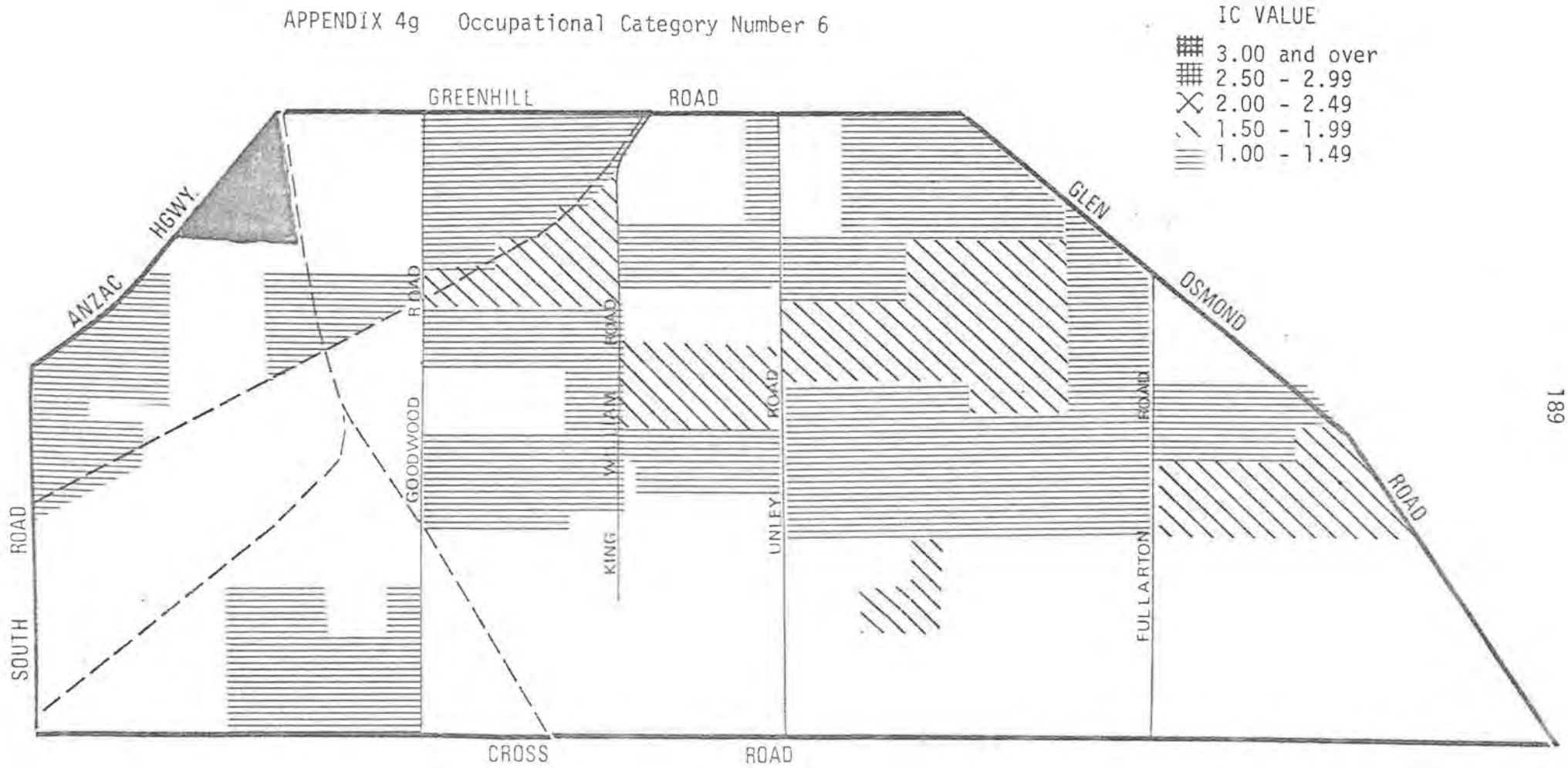
APPENDIX 4e Occupational Category Number 4



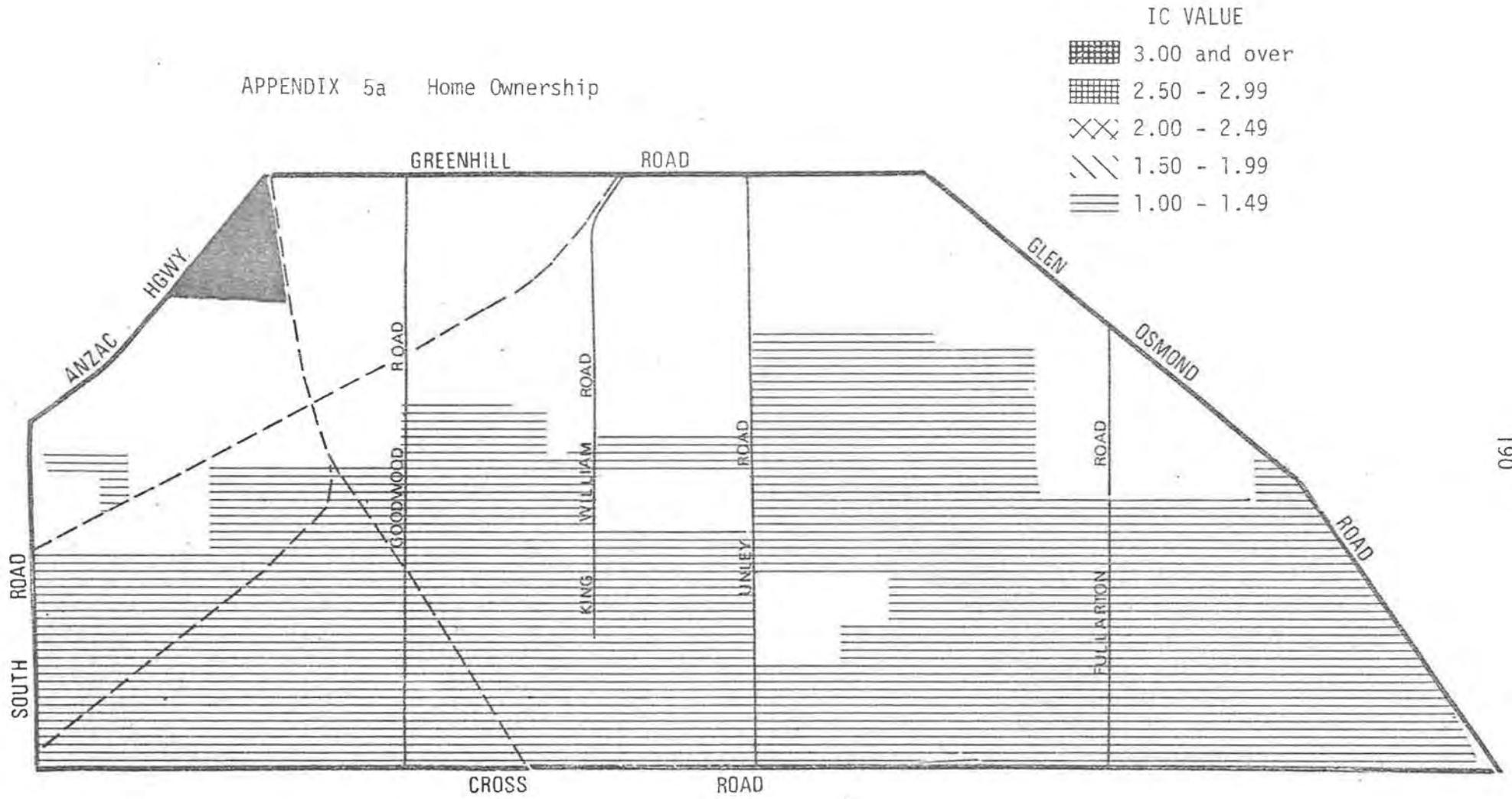
APPENDIX 4f Occupational Category Number 5



APPENDIX 4g Occupational Category Number 6

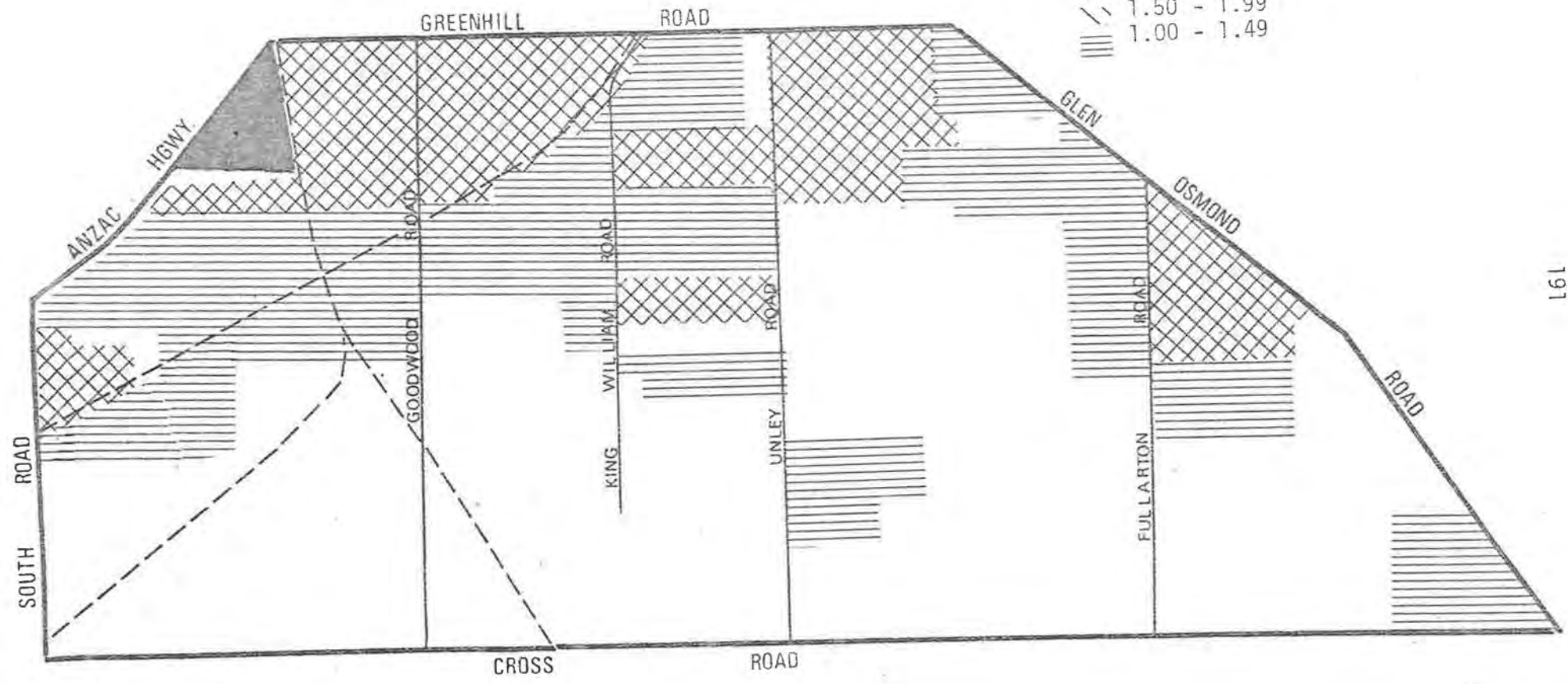
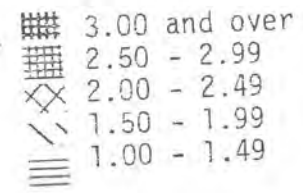


APPENDIX 5a Home Ownership

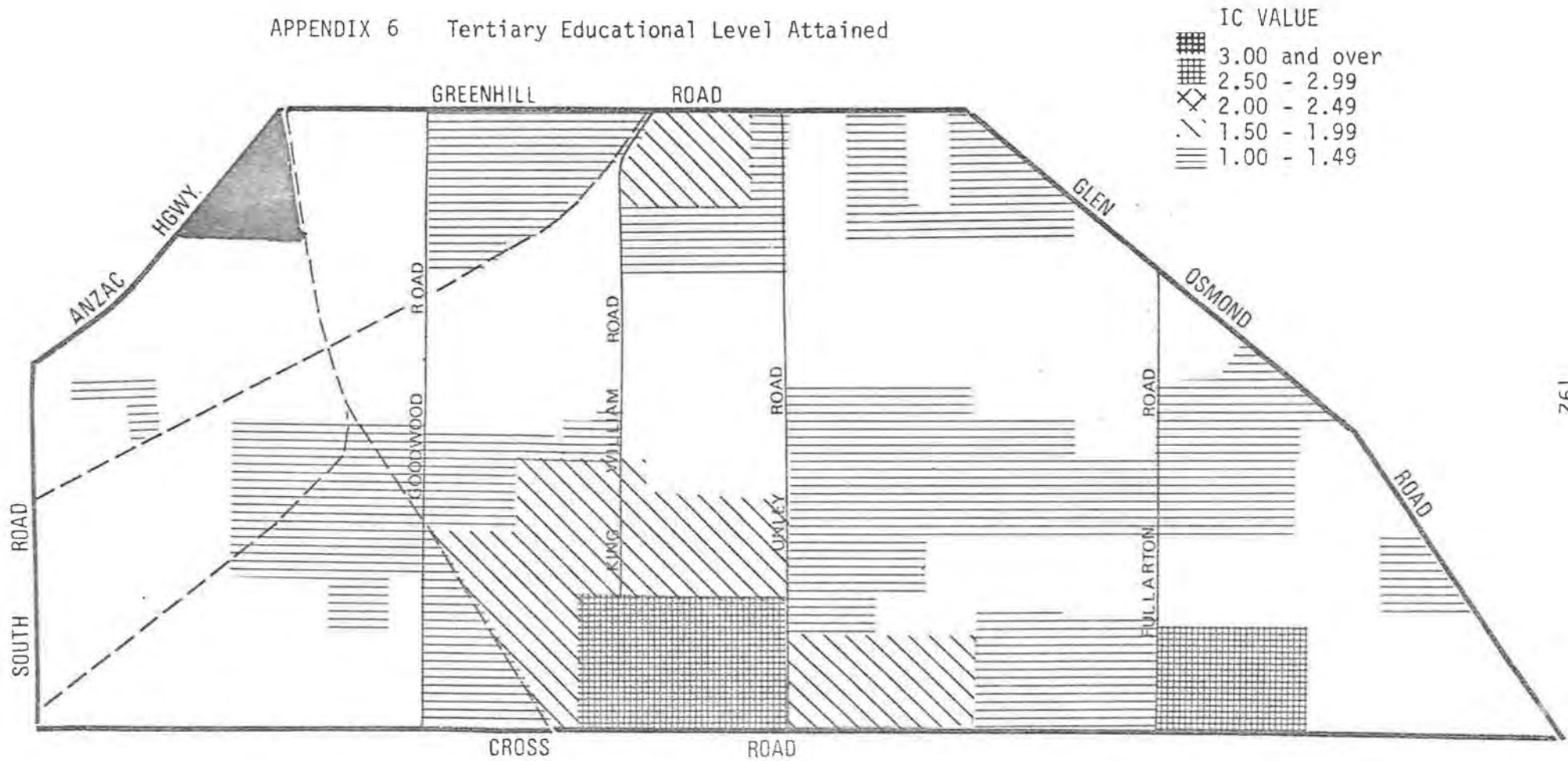


APPENDIX 5b Tenancy

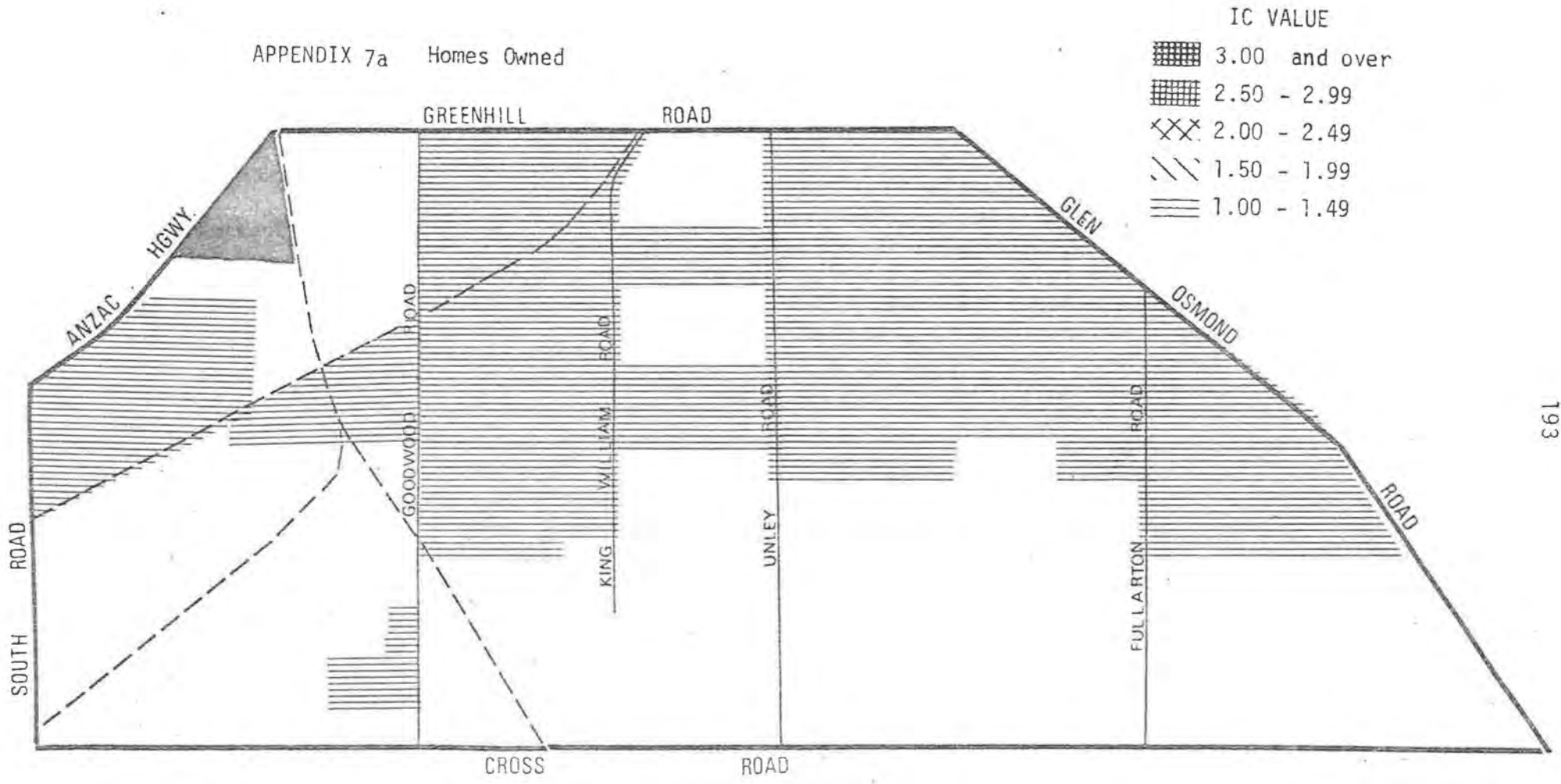
IC VALUE



APPENDIX 6 Tertiary Educational Level Attained



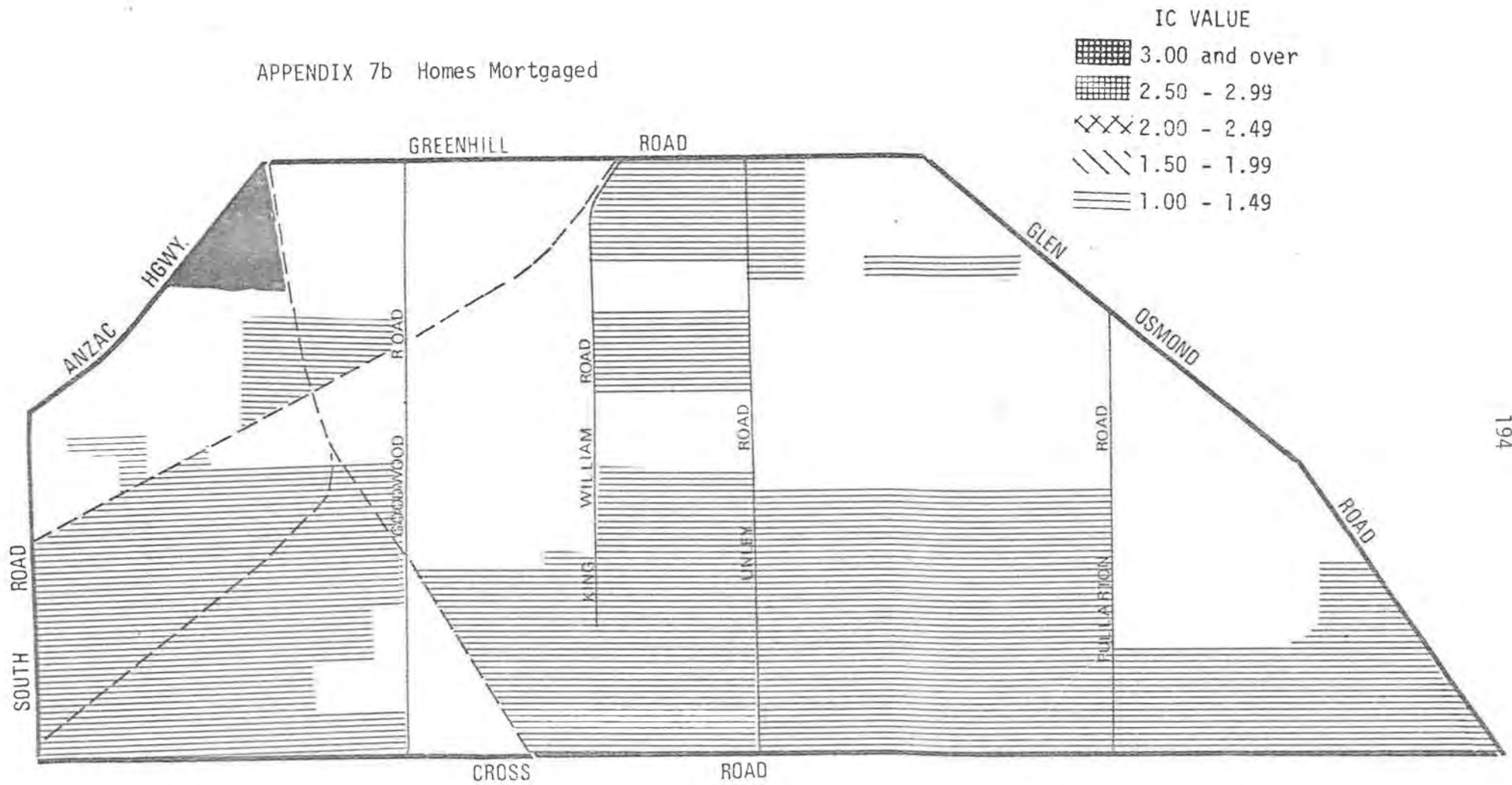
APPENDIX 7a Homes Owned



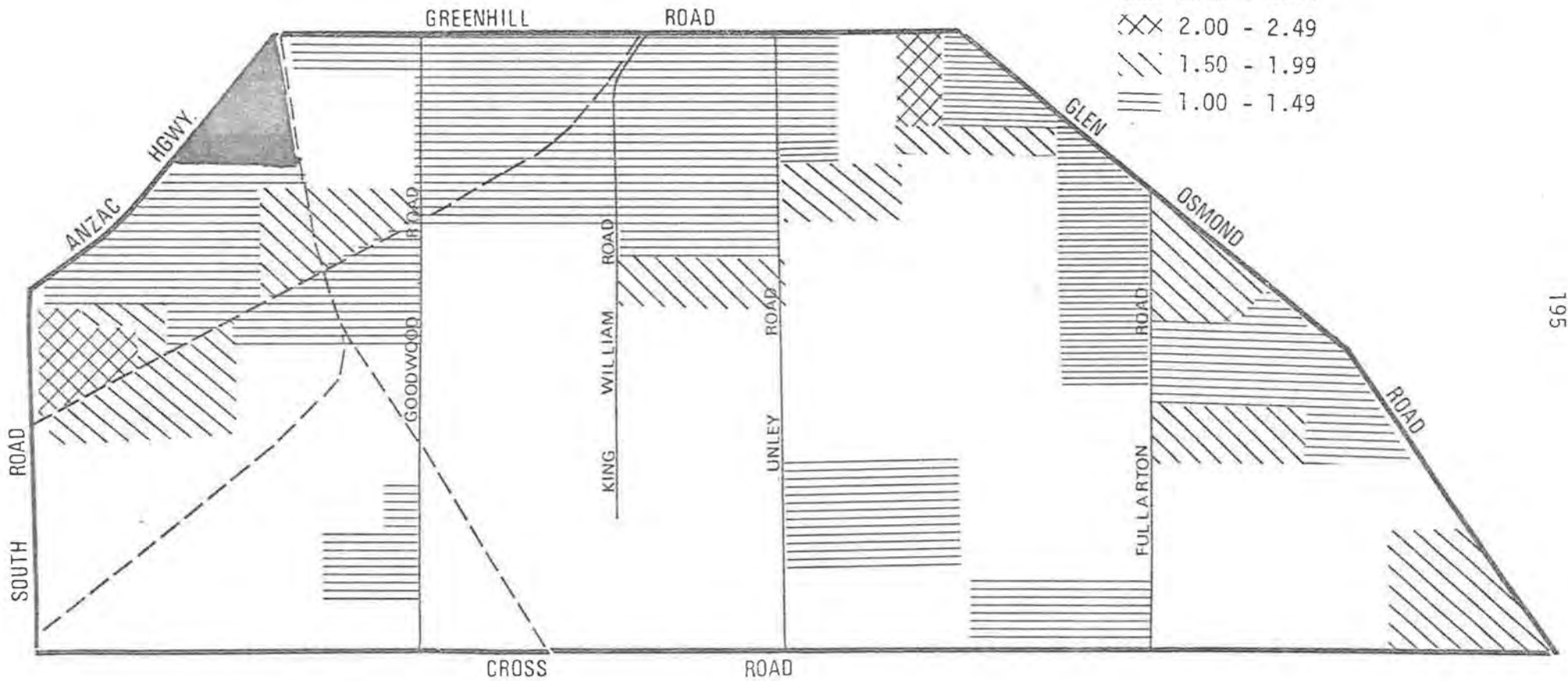
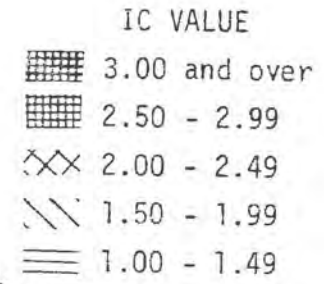
IC VALUE

	3.00 and over
	2.50 - 2.99
	2.00 - 2.49
	1.50 - 1.99
	1.00 - 1.49

APPENDIX 7b Homes Mortgaged



APPENDIX 7c Homes and Flats Rented



BIBLIOGRAPHY

References Cited

- Bennett, C.
1976 The Role of Local Government in the Administration and Development of Town Planning in South Australia. Masters in Town Planning thesis, University of Adelaide.
- Berelson, B., P. Lazarsfeld, and W. McPheg
1954 *Voting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Blewett, N., and D. Jaensch
1971 *Playford to Dunstan: Politics of Transition*. Melbourne: Cheshire.
- Castells, M.
1976 "Is There an Urban Sociology?" In *Urban Sociology: Critical Essays*. C.J. Pickvance, ed. London: Tavistock.
- Connell, R.W.
1977 *Ruling Class, Ruling Culture and Studies of Conflict, Power and Hegemony in Australian Life*. Melbourne: Cambridge Press.
- Cropley, A.J., and M.L. Kovas
1975 *Immigrants and Society: Alienation and Assimilation*. Sydney: McGraw Hill.
- Crowley, N.G.
1971 *Housing in South Australia*. Melbourne: Economic Research Department of the Housing Industry Association.
- Dahl, R.
1956 *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dennis, N.
1970 *People and Planning: The Sociology of Housing in Sunderland*. New York: Faber and Faber.
- Donnison, D.
1976 "The Politics of Housing". *The Australian Quarterly*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (June), 18-31.
- Donovan, P.
1978 *Heritage Survey - National Estate Program #32*. Unley: City of Unley.
- Evans, A.W.
1973 *The Economics of Residential Location*. New York: St. Martins Press.
- Giddens, A.
1973 *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies*. London: Hutchinson University.
- Harvey, D.
1973 *Social Justice and the City*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Henry, F.S.
1953 The Garden Suburb. M.A. thesis, University of Adelaide.

- Kemeny, J.
 1977 "The Ideology of Home Ownership". *Arena*, No. 46, 81-89.
 1978 "Home Ownership and Finance Capital". *The Journal of Australian Political Economy*, No. 3 (September), 89-97.
- Kilmartin, L., and D.C. Thorns
 1978 *Cities Unlimited: The Sociology of Urban Development in Australia and New Zealand*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- LaMarche, F.
 1976 "Property Development and the Economic Foundations of the Urban Question". In *Urban Sociology*. C.J. Pickvance, ed. London: Tavistock.
- Martin, J.I.
 1978 *The Migrant Presence: Australian Responses 1947-1977*. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin.
- Marx, K.
 1967 *Capital* (three volumes). New York: International Publishers Edition.
- Minigone, E.
 1977 "Theoretical Elements for a Marxist Analysis of Urban Development". In *Captive Cities*. M. Harloe, ed. London: Wiley.
- Pahl, R.E.
 1970 *Patterns of Urban Life*. London: Longmans.
- Pateman, C.
 1970 *Participation and Democratic Theory*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Payne, G., and E. Cosh
 1972 *History of Unley 1871-1981*. Adelaide: Corporation of the City of Unley.
- Pickvance, C.G., ed.
 1976 "On the Study of Social Movements". In *Urban Sociology: Critical Essays*. London: Tavistock.
- Poulantzas, N.
 1973 *Political Power and Social Classes*. London: New Left Books. (Translation editor, T. O'Hagan)
- Ricardo, D.
 1957 *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*. London: Dent. Pub.
- Robbins, J.
 1975 *Local Government and Community in South Australia*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Adelaide.
- Sartori, G.
 1962 *Democratic Theory*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Schumpeter, J.
 1942 *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. New York: Harper Bros. (second edition)

Stimson, R.J., and E.A. Cleland
1975 *Socio-economic Atlas of Adelaide*. Adelaide: Flinders University of South Australia.

Williams, M.
1974 *The Making of the South Australian Landscape: A Study in the Historical Geography of Australia*. London: Academic Press.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Great Britain Department of Environment
1969 *People and Planning: Report on the Committee on Public Participation in Planning*. London: H.M.O.

U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity
1965 *Community Action Programs*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printer.

Australian Commonwealth Government

Bureau of Statistics
1971 Federal Census. Canberra.
1976 Federal Census. Canberra.

Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs
1968 "Migrants in Australian Society". Australian Immigration Reference Paper. Charles Price. Canberra.

Housing Corporation
1978 "Buying a House" (pamphlet). Canberra.

South Australian State Government

Lands Department Valuer General's Office
1976/77 "Monthly Sales Reports". Adelaide.
1977 "Average Sales Prices and Residential Properties". Adelaide.

Legislation
1934/76 Local Government Act, Sect. 881(a).
1978 Residential Tenancy Act.

Planning Appeal Board
1973 Case Nos. 284, 288. Adelaide.

The Corporation of the City of Unley

City of Unley
1967/77 Annual Reports (mimeograph).
n.d. "How Your Dollar Was Spent" (mimeograph).
1965/77 Records.
1977 "Road-closure Survey" (mimeograph).
1977 "Statistics" (mimeograph).

Courier (Unley, South Australia), 1950-1978.

Works Consulted

- Althusser, L., and E. Balibar
1970 *Reading Capital*. London: New Left Books.
- Axelrod, M.
1956 "Urban Structure and Social Participation". *American Sociological Review* (February).
- Boyd, R.
1952 *Australia's Homes: Why Australians Built the Way They Did*. Victoria: Penguin.
- Burgess, E.
1925 "The Growth of the City". In *The City*. R.E. Park, ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Castells, M.
1972 *The Urban Question*.
1977 "Towards a Political Urban Sociology". In *Captive Cities*. M. Harloe, ed. London: Wiley.
- Collins, J.
1975 "The Political Economy of Post-war Immigration". In *Essays in the Political Economy of Australian Capitalism* (Vol. 1). E.L. Wheelwright and K. Buckley, eds. Sydney: ANZ Book Company.
- Dahl, R.A.
1961 *Who Governs?* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Dobriner, W.H., ed.
1958 *The Suburban Community*. New York: Putnams.
- Fara, S.F.
1956 "Suburbanism as a Way of Life". *American Sociological Review*, 21, 34-37.
- Ferris, J.
1972 *Participation in Urban Planning*. LSE Monograph, Occasional Papers in Social Administration, No. 48.
- Gans, H.J.
1967 *The Levittowners, Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community*. New York: Pantheon. London: Allen Lane.
1968 *People and Plans*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gouldner, A.W.
1971 *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology*. London: Heinemann.
- Harloe, M.
1977 *Captive Cities: Studies in the Political Economy of Cities and Regions*. London: Wiley.
- Harvey, D.
1976 "Labour, Capital and Class Struggle Around the Built Environment in Advanced Capitalist Societies". *Politics and Society*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 265-295.

- 1977 "Government Policies, Financial Institutions and Neighbourhood Change in United States Cities". In *Captive Cities*. M. Harloe, ed. London: Wiley.
- Isard, W.
1956 *Location and Space Economy: A General Theory Relating to Industrial Location, Market Areas, Land-use, Trade and Urban Structure*. Cambridge Press.
- Jones, F.L.
1969 *Dimensions of Urban Social Structure*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
1972 *Housing and Poverty in Australia*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Kearney, I.F.
1975 "The Involvement of Finance Companies in Real Estate Lending". *The Developer* (December), 13-17.
- Kemeny, J.
1977 "The Political Economy of Housing". *Arena*, No. 49, 31-43.
- Lojkine, J.
1976 "Contributions to a Marxist Theory of Capitalist Urbanisation" In *Urban Sociology: Critical Essays*. C.G. Pickvance, ed. London: Tavistock.
- Lukes, S.
1974 *Power: A Radical View*. London: Macmillan.
- Lynd, R.S., and H.M. Lynd
1929 *Middletown: A Study of Contemporary American Culture*. New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Miliband, R.
1973 *The State in a Capitalist Society*. London: Quartet Books.
- Mullins, P.
1977 "The Social Base, State and Urban Effects of a Brisbane Urban Social Movement". *ANZJS*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 29-35.
- Neutze, G.M.
1965 *Economic Policy and the Size of Cities*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
1977 *Urban Development in Australia: A Descriptive Analysis*. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin.
- Pahl, R.E.
1977 "Managers, Technical Experts and the State: Forms of Mediation, Manipulation and Dominance in Urban and Regional Development". In *Captive Cities*. M. Harloe, ed. London: Wiley.
- Pritchard, R.E.
1976 *Housing and the Spatial Structure of the City*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Rex, J., and R. Moore
1967 *Race, Community and Conflict*. London: Oxford University Press.

- Rex, J.
1977 "Sociological Theory and the City – A Response to Some Recent Trends in Australasian Urban Sociology". *ANZJS*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 218-223.
- Sandercock, L.
1975 "Capitalism and the Environment: The Failure of Success". In *The Political Economy of Australian Capitalism*. E.L. Wheelwright and K. Buckley, eds. Sydney: ANZ Book Company.
1976 *Cities for Sale*. Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press.
1978 "A Socialist City in a Capitalist Society? Property Ownership and Urban Reform in Australia". *The Journal of Australian Political Economy*, No. 3 (September), 66-79.
- Simmie, J.
1974 *Citizens in Conflict*. London: Hutchinson.
- Stretton, H.
1970 *Ideas for Australian Cities*. Melbourne: The Author.
- Timms, D.W.G.
1972 *The Urban Mosaic: Towards a Theory of Residential Differentiation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weber, M.
1905 *The City*. (1966) Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press.
1947 *The Theory of Economic and Social Organization*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wirth, L.
1938 "Urbanism as a Way of Life". *American Journal of Sociology* (July).